SELECTED CRITICISMS OF EDUCATION IN THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY 1900-1950

By

Samuel Jesse Underwood

A THESIS

Submitted to the College of Education
Michigan State University of Agriculture and
Applied Science in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

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The purpose of this study was to make a survey of all the periodical articles on education appearing in The Atlantic Monthly between 1900-1950 to discover the nature of the critical attacks on education during the first half of the twentieth century. Education receives a mass of critical attacks during periods of stress and strain, and the writer felt that a careful look at an outstanding periodical would reveal trends during such critical attacks and offer some insights into the causes and effects of such social pressures on education. Since the period under consideration included two World Wars, a crippling depression, and other social and political upheavels, the writer assumed that education would reflect these phenomena. It was found that educational criticisms were directly related to what was transpiring in society at large.

Generally speaking, the survey of the articles in this magazine substantiates the fact that education reflects the dominant aims of society of which it is a part. As one reads all the materials, he gains the impression that one of America's favorite pastimes is the criticism of social institutions--especially education. Educators oftentimes invite criticisms by their lack of aggressive leadership, and this study indicates that many ill-conceived remarks could have been forstalled by a dynamic and vocal type of educational leadership.

Observing the fifty year period at one glance indicates that education has made important strides in improving its program. A significant trend was the development of the junior college, a peculiarly American institution, to meet the needs of terminal education and training beyond the high school on the community level. There were similar

developments in the elementary school, the high school, and the universities. There are evidences that gains in the support of free public education were further strengthened during the period under consideration. Vocational education came into its own during the first half of the twentieth century, and the Federal Government continued to support vocational education.

To conclude that education is better today than it was at the beginning of the century would be a valid conclusion, for one sees evidences of this improvement in regards to the curriculum, financial support, extension of educational opportunities, and school administration. This study indicates that there are other improvements which could be made. Such an improvement is the need for better public relations, which would include interpreting the work of the school from kindergarten to the graduate school to the general lay public. Educators need to keep their hands upon the public pulse by surveying the popular publications, for the laissez-faire philosophy in this regard is worse than none at all. Finally, the study shows that laymen are concerned about education and want to contribute to its improvement. Such a spirit behooves educators to take the helm of leadership and capitalize on this public interest.

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CHAPTER I

THE AMERICAN SCENE, 1900-1950

The dominant note at the beginning of the twentieth century was one of affluence and optimism. Writing in the New York Times editorial section January 1, 1900, the editor expressed this mood in saying that "the year 1899 was a year of wonders, a veritable annus mirabilis, in business and production."[1] He suggested that prosperity left none of our industries untouched, and touched nothing that it did not enrich. "It would be easy," he continued, "to speak of the twelve months just past as the banner year were we not already confident the distinction of highest records must presently pass to the year 1900."[2] The Reverend Thomas R. Slicer, pastor of All Souls' Church in New York City, preached a powerful sermon in which he anticipated the emphasis of the new century. He intoned:[3]

> We have taken down our walls. We have extended our limits. We are no longer fortressed by what were then the almost impassable seas, but have made them a pathway over which American warships and merchant ships carry out the mission of this country.

Elsewhere in his sermon the New York divine mentioned the observance of George Washington's death and burial exactly a century before. He solemnly advised the worshippers to follow the example of the father of the country who had been entombed in Mt. Vernon. Thus, the keynotes of the period, as it were, were sounded by the editor of one of the most influential newspapers in the world and one of the well-known ministers of the period. Interestingly, the minister reflected the old and prevailing idea of manifest destiny of America in his sermon; and the

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1 Editorial in the New York Times, January 1, 1900.
2 Editorial in the New York Times, January 1, 1900.
3 News item in the New York Times, January 1, 1900.

buccinators emphasize both the spiritual and material values of the time.

These values undergirded all phases of activity in the early part of the twentieth century, and it should be pointed out that these values had their roots in the preceding century. The nineteenth century had brought astounding changes in all realms of life, but these changes were perhaps more evident in the material realm. America had made the gradual but sure change from an agricultural country to one of teeming industry. Beset with diverse types of revolutions, society had experienced a rapid succession of changes which were literally breath-taking. Through the years the concept of democracy was broadened to accomodate these changes, but there were many evidences of stress and strain during this turbulent and troubled period. The development of machinery revolutionized the farming industry and made it possible for one man to produce what scores had formerly produced. The century evidenced the spanning of the continent with railroads which tended to bring the East and West closer together and to stimulate a new type of nationalism, to say nothing about inter-state commerce. The latter part of the century, according to the famous American historian, Frederick J. Turner,[4] witnessed the disappearance of the American frontier; but the nation still held to much of its frontier psychology.

Political and Economic Differences

The North emerged as the industrial leader of the nation, leaving the South and West to the pursuit of agriculture. However, before the North became supreme in the industrial upheavel, the nation was forced

4 Frederick J. Turner, The Frontier in American History, Henry Holt and Company, (New York, 1948), p. 9.

to decide the issue during the Civil War. Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, had been in office but a few months when he issued a call for volunteers to save the Union. The firing on Fort Sumter in South Carolina was the initial spark which set off one of the most tragic and unfortunate wars in the country's history. After four years of wanton destruction and blood shed, the South lay prostrate and bleeding from the ravages of war. As a result of this contest, entire State Constitutions had to be rewritten; and the South suffered tragically during the Reconstruction Period which was characterized by bitterness and suppression of the Old South as it had existed for almost a century.

The industrial revolution introduced many problems, and there were many inequalities which paved the way for the formation of huge and powerful labor unions. Notable among the labor unrest of the latter part of the nineteenth century was the famous Haymarket Square riots in Chicago where a group of strikers was fired upon by policemen who were trying to break up a protest meeting of the union. An irate judge sentenced seven of the eight strikers to death. The crusading pen of William Dean Howells, famous realist in the field of literature and later editor of The Atlantic Monthly, called the nation's attention to the injustices of the sentences; and it was largely due to his efforts that three of the men were set free by Governor J.P. Altgeld of Illinois. A New York traction strike resulted in the deaths of several union members and innocent by-standers, and the fight for the rights of labor was long and bitter. The most widely-discussed one was the Pullman strike, which tied up East and West traffic on the railroads for several months. Eugene Debs, a former railroad worker and Socialist candidate for president, authorized the strike because he felt that his

union members had been treated unfairly. When the strike spread to several other railroads and the United States mail could not be delivered, the President called out troops to break the impasse. Debs was sentenced to six months in prison for inciting the strike, and the United States Supreme Court upheld the sentence. William Dean Howells immortalized the traction strike in his novel, A Hazard of New Fortunes.

Religious Activities

The spiritual aspects of the period were reflected in numerous religious events. The publication of Charles Darwin's Origin of the Species in 1859 led to numerous struggles between the fundamentalist and the orthodox wings in religion; and this struggle has not been completely resolved--even in this enlightened mid-twentieth century. Even though this publication was a product of the nineteenth century, its influence continued to be felt well into the twentieth century. Repercussions of the publication were witnessed in the famous Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee, where William Jennings Bryan was the prosecuting attorney. While the religious zealots were somewhat naive in their contentions, the trial was a climax between the new scientific spirit and divine revelation, or the two dominant threads in the period under consideration. H.L. Mencken, editor of the American Mercury and well-known iconoclast, covered the trial and wrote a rather interesting observation of this trial. After giving a rather scathing report of his observations in Dayton, Tennessee, he concluded:[5]

> Finally, we got tired of the show and returned to Dayton. It was nearly eleven o'clock--an immensely late hour for those latitudes--but the whole town was still gathered in the courthouse

5 H.L. Mencken, "The Hills of Zion," pp. 413-414. Quoted in John K. Hutchens, The American Twenties: A Literary Panorama, J.B. Lippincott Company, (New York, 1952).

> yard, listening to the disputes of theologians. The Scopes trial had brought them in from all directions. There was a friar wearing a sandwich sign announcing that he was the Bible champion of the world. There was a Seventh Day Adventist arguing that Clarence Darrow was the beast with seven heads and ten horns described in Revelation XIII, and that the end of the world was at hand. There was an evangelist made up like Andy Gump, with the news that atheists in Cincinnati were preparing to descend upon Dayton, hang the eminent Judge Raulston, and burn the town. There was an ancient who maintained that no Catholic could be Christian. There was the eloquent Dr. T.T. Martin, of Blue Mountain, Miss., come to town with a truck-load of torches and hymnbooks to put Darwin in his place. There was a singing brother bellowing apocalyptic hymns. There was William Jennings Bryan, followed everywhere by a gaping crowd. Dayton was having a roaring time. It was better than the circus. But the note of devotion was simply not there; the Daytonians, after listening for a while, would slip away to Robinson's drug-store to regale themselves with Coca-Cola, or to the lobby of the Aqua Hotel, where the learned Raulston sat in state, judicially picking his teeth. The real religion was not present. It began at the bridge over the town creek, where the road makes off for the hills.

Other evidences of the conflict between religion and science are not hard to find, for the period has many examples of college professors who lost their jobs because of attitudes they held and statements they made in defense of the scientific way of looking at things. Andrew D. White, President of Cornell, said in his History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom, that "Darwin's Origin of Species had come into the theological world like a plow in an ant-hill. Everywhere those rudely awakened from their old comfort and repose had swarmed forth angry and confused. Reviews, sermons, books light and heavy, came flying at the new thinkers on all sides."[6] Thus, because of ferment of the period along religious lines, many notable men were fired from their jobs. Among them were Professor Alexander Winchell of Vanderbilt University, Doctor Crawford H. Toy of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Doctor James Woodrow of the Southern Presbyterian

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6 Andrew D. White, A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom, MacMillan Company, (New York, 1904), Vol. I, p. 70.

Seminary, Professor Charles A. Briggs of Lane Theological Seminary, Doctor David Swing, pastor of the Fourth Presbyterian Church of Chicago, and Reverend Theodore Parker of the Unitarian Church of Boston. Fortunately, many eminent scientists and other public leaders intervened to stop this needless mass hysteria.

Andrew D. White, President of Cornell, pointed out that advances in knowledge had always been opposed by blind and narrow religionists. Professor Asa Gray, perhaps the most outstanding botanist in 1873, and Charles W. Eliot, brilliant young President of Harvard, helped to heal the breech between these two contending forces. Even Mark Twain "proposed the erection of a monument to Adam before the great progenitor of the race should be entirely supplanted by Darwin's monkey." This problem has been a recurring one in education over the past fifty years, and it is interesting to note how violent the conflict became from time to time.

Economic Forces

Since the first part of the twentieth century was characterized by economic struggles, some of the important movements in this field should be indicated to show their influence in the field of education. These struggles originated in the preceding century, but they were still very much of a problem in the twentieth century. Big business was the order of the day; and the organizers of trusts, cartels, and other forms of monopolies over the manufacture and distribution of goods and services believed that they were anointed, as it were, by God Himself to bear the weaknesses of the poor. Labor had little or no protection from exploitation; in fact, labor was not yet recognized by big business as having legitimate bargaining positions. During President Theodore Roosevelt's

administration a prolonged struggle ensued between labor and management, cutting off the mining and distribution of anthracite coal. The operators refused to bargain with labor on the ground that labor received fair compensation and that the laboring man had no right to strike for what he considered his rights. George F. Baer, President of Philadelphia and Reading Railway, expressed the point of view of management in a famous letter which is reported in Mark Sullivan's Our Times: America Finds Herself. [7] After appropriate salutations, Baer begins,

> I have your letter of the 16th instant.
>
> I do not know who you are. I see that you are a religious man; but you are evidently biased in favor of the right of the working man to control a business in which he has no other interest than to secure fair wages for the work he does.
>
> I beg of you not to be discouraged. The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for--not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country, and upon the successful Management of which much depends.
>
> Do not be discouraged. Pray earnestly that right may triumph, always remembering that the Lord God Omnipotent reigns, and that His reign is one of law and order, and not of violence and crime.

Such a letter could not be kept from the public, and it found its way into the press of the country where it was received with mixed reactions. Religion and business were juxtaposed in a deliberate attempt to break the back of labor and to protect the powerful monied class. Even though President Roosevelt had the Sherman Anti-Trust Law at his disposal, he could not get the necessary support from Congress nor the Supreme Court to help break the costly strike. Through skillful manouvering, including encouragement by an ex-president, Grover Cleveland, who was a

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7 Mark Sullivan, Our Times: America Finding Herself, Charles Scribner's Sons, (New York, 1927), p. 425.

Democrat, and subtle pressures, he finally settled the strike; but he had to call out the Army and declare a national emergency to end it.

Another example of the accumulation of wealth is to be found in the organization of The Standard Oil Company in the latter part of the nineteenth century by John D. Rockefeller, a former bookkeeper of Cleveland, Ohio. Rockefeller was a brilliant organizer in his own right, and he applied pressures to get a monopoly in the petroleum industry in this country. With the accumulation of a vast personal fortune and a Republican Congress, Rockefeller grabbed millions without too much interference from the Federal Government. However altruistic he might have been in giving his money to the philanthropic agencies and in contributing to the growth of the country through his organizational ability, he still remains a good example of the "benevolent despot" in the field of high finance. The list of the trust-makers of the period would not be complete without mentioning the following: J. Pierpont Morgan, Andrew Carnegie, Charles M. Schwab, William M. Rockefeller, Charles R. Frick, Henry C. Frick, August Belmont, and John W. Gates. This period saw a veritable epidemic of publications about the trusts,[8] but the solution to the problem had to wait until the beginning of the twentieth century when the Federal Government finally showed big business which was the more powerful.

Reform Measures

Lest it be imagined that the period was one of complete disorganization, the positive side of society should be mentioned. Before

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[8] Some of the books of this period would include: W.M. Collier's, The Trusts; Jeremiah W. Jenks', Trusts and Their Relation to Industrial Progress; H. Apthrop's, Trusts and the Public; G. Gunton's, The Mother of Trusts; J. Hardesty's, Trusts; S.C.T. Dodd's, Book of Trusts; a few of the pamphlets were: H.L.Chafee, "To What Are The Trusts Leading;" L.L. Hopkins, "The Impending Crisis," and F.A.Adams, "Who Rules America."

doing this, however, other examples which tend to support the idea that the early twentieth century was one of wholesale reform should be presented. Perhaps the best example of this would be the background of the Pure Food and Drug Acts which had its beginning in the publication of a novel which literally shook the foundations of big business throughout the United States. If one were to compile a list of books which have changed the world, Upton Sinclair's The Jungle would certainly have to be on such a list. Mark Sullivan gives a rather capable picture of the background to the book in the following terms:[9]

> In 1906, Upton Sinclair, a young man devoted to romantic philosophy, realistic literature, and experimental socialism, finished a novel, (A Socialist periodical, The Appeal to Reason, financed Sinclair with $500, upon which he lived for seven weeks among the stock-yard workers), named it "The Jungle," carried the manuscript to five different publishers who rejected it, decided to print it as he could, and asked his friend, fellow Socialist, and fellow author, Jack London, to write the announcement. London, seeing the novel as what the author meant it to be, described it as an appeal for socialism, a protest against "wage slavery," and wrote:
>
> 'Circulate "The Jungle," Dear Comrades: . . . The book we have been waiting for these years! It will open countless ears that have been deaf to Socialism. It will make thousands of converts to our cause. It depicts what our country really is, the home of oppression and injustice, a nightmare of misery, an inferno of suffering, a human hell, a jungle of wild beasts. And take notice and remember, comrades, this book is straight proletarian. It is written by an intellectual proletarian, for the proletarian. It is to be published by a proletarian publishing house. It is to be read by the proletariat. What "Uncle Tom's Cabin" did for the black slaves "The Jungle" has a large chance to do for the white slaves of today.'

Sinclair feared that his novel would be given the silent treatment, but he found that his book soared to the best seller position in the nation. As is often the case in literature, the public failed to understand that this book was intended to convert people to the socialist position and took the descriptions quite differently from what Sinclair

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9 Sullivan, op. cit., pp. 471-472.

had intended. Industrialization of the meat packing industry gave his novel many paragraphs of local color, but Sinclair was amazed that the public missed the point of his sausage grinding machine example. This descriptive paragraph was intended to show how machinery had replaced hand labor and consequently cut down on the number of employees in the meat packing industry. He proceeded to describe details of poor sanitation in Packingtown, which was the epithet he gave to the meat-packing business at Chicago. Detail after detail of poor sanitation showed how an impersonal food combine was conspiring to poison the health of the nation through its neglect of cleanliness. One of his most moving paragraphs concerned the squeals of little defenseless pigs, when their throats were slit; and he had intended for this description to be symbolic of the whole tragedy with which he hoped to arouse the general public to action. His description follows:[10]

> One could not stand and watch very long without becoming philosophical, without beginning to deal in symbols and similes, and to hear the hog-squeal of the universe. Was it permitted to believe that there was nowhere upon the earth, or above the earth, a heaven for hogs, where they were requited for all this suffering? Each one of these hogs was a separate creature. Some were white hogs, some were black; some were brown, some were spotted; some were old, and some were young; some were long and lean, some were monstrous. And each of them had an individuality of his own, a will of his own, a hope and a heart, a desire; each was full of self-confidence, or self-importance, and a sense of dignity. And trusting and strong in faith he had gone about his business, the while a black shadow hung over him and a horrid Fate waited in his pathway. Now suddenly it had swooped upon him, and had seized him by the leg. Relentless, remorseless it was; all his protests, his screams, were nothing to it; it did its cruel will with him, as if his wishes, his feelings, had simply no existence at all; it cut his throat and watched him gasp out his life. And how was one to believe that there was nowhere a god of hogs, to whom this hog-personality was precious, to whom these hog-squeals and agonies had a meaning? Who would take this hog into his arms and comfort him, reward him for his work well done, and show him the meaning of his

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10 Upton Sinclair, The Jungle, Doubleday, Page & Company, (New York, 1906), pp. 41-2.

> sacrifice?. . . A most terrifying shriek . . . followed by another, louder and yet more agonizing--for once started upon that journey the hog never came back-- at the top of the wheel he was shunted off upon a trolley, and went sailing down the room. And meantime another was swinging up, and then another, and another until there was a double line of them, each dangling by a foot and kicking in frenzy--and squealing. The uproar was appalling; one feared there was too much sound for the room to hold--that the walls must give way or the ceiling crack. There were high squeals, and low squeals, grunts, and wails of agony.

The author of this paper doubts if there is a more touching personification of the porcine mammal Suidae Sus in the whole realm of literature.

Throughout his novel he gave examples of the filth, vermin, and disease which were designed to expose Packingtown and to arouse the public. President Theodore Roosevelt read the novel and used it as a basis for appointing a committee to make an on-the-spot examination of conditions for him. Needless to say, the President probably understood the real import of the shocking novel somewhat better than the general reading public did; but he was too wise to let this opportunity pass without using it to pressure an un-cooperative Congress into action when it was a question of the public welfare. This widespread concern for the American stomach spread into the area of drugs where patent medicines were the panacea for the poor and unlettered.

Chemists were hired on a grand scale by food and drug manufacturers to help them make even more money, and the general public began to suspect that there was a grand conspiracy, even a trust, in a vital area which had influence over their lives. Thousands of dollars rolled into un-scrupulous patent medicine companies, and hundreds of dollars went into an ambitious program of advertising. Since the reading public had been saturated with yellow journalism and sensationalism for some time,

it was nothing extraordinary to find hundreds of columns of this type of advertising. When one patent medicine maker solicited testimonial letters from his purchasers, he proceeded to make plans to use these letters for the purpose of making more money. He sold the whole batch of testimonials to his brother manufacturers so that they would find an easy market. Speaking of the chemist's role in this chicanery, Mark Sullivan points out some of the practices in the following terms:[11]

> The chemist suggested drugs which, added to foods, prevented their too early decomposition, and coloring matters which concealed decomposition that had already taken place; and still other substances possessing the magic property of restoring foods, already deteriorated, to a deceiving simulation of freshness. Stale, rancid, soiled, and unsalable butter, in various degrees of putrefaction, was made over and sold for fresh. Eggs, which the passage of time had made a little more than mellow, and which for that reason had been theretofore unusable; eggs which would have ruined the reputation of any old-time grocer selling them to an old-time housewife whose senses were experienced in recognizing the more advanced phases of nature--such eggs, in the new impersonality of big business, its complexities and secrecies of his chemistry, were deodorized with formaldehyde, became a standard commodity of commerce, and were sold in enormous quantities for cake-making. In the earlier period of the use of cold storage, the word "fresh" when used in connection with eggs as well as meat, conveyed no necessary guarantee of nearness in time to the living animal. Apples, of which the succulence, in their pristine stage, had proved over-alluring to some of the smaller invertebrates; and other apples in a condition that represented too great a zeal for conservation, were made into a jelly which, mixed with flavoring substances derived from coal tar, appeared on the market labelled "currant," "blackberry," "plum jam," "pure apple butter."

In spite of the fervid reform movement on the part of manufacturers, the public did not feel that the reform was conclusive enough and began to apply pressure on Congress for the passage of some law to protect them. President Theodore Roosevelt delivered his message to

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11 Sullivan, op. cit. pp. 502-504.

Congress December 5, 1905, demanding passage of such a bill. For a while it appeared that the meat-packing and drug dispensing lobbies in Congress would defeat the measure which had been submitted. The arguments against the bill were curious and questionable, and the opposition included Senator Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island. He based his argument on the liberty of the people and drug in the States' Rights issue. He even tried to argue that the people's liberty to purchase goods in a free market would be curtailed and, what's more, unconstitutional. His arguments ran like this:[12]

> Is there anything in the existing condition that makes it the duty of Congress to put the liberty of all the people of the United States in jeopardy?. . . Are we going to take up the question as to what a man shall eat and what a man shall drink, and put him under severe penalties if he is eating or drinking something different from what the chemists of the Agricultural Department think desirable?

Congressmen were quick to point out fallacies in Senator Aldrich's arguments, for the intention of the bill was not to abridge the freedom of the consumer but to force the manufacturers and distributors to label their wares. It was felt that all commodities in inter-state commerce should contain a label which truthfully described the contents, and it was shown that this would not abridge the consumer's freedom but enlarge it. Senator McCumber answered his colleague by saying:[13]

> On the contrary, it is the purpose of the bill that a man may determine for himself what he will eat and what he will not eat. It is the purpose of the bill that he may go into the markets and when he pays for what he asks for that he shall get it, and not get some poisonous substance in lieu thereof, for the benefit of some particular individuals who desire to make a little money out of the sale of these poisonous articles which are imposed on the public.

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12 Ibid., pp. 502-504
13 Ibid., p. 532.

The pure Food and Drug Act seemed assured of passage when the powerful American Medical Association brought pressure upon Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, who led the opposition in Congress. But it took more than an aroused public to answer the challenge of the lobbyists and certain stubborn Congressmen. Even President Roosevelt had to use his influence and apply pressures in order to get the bill through Congress. Roosevelt appointed a commission to investigate, but the thing that worked the trick was the wholesale boycott of these items by the public. The agitation for this bill almost became an international issue because the businessmen were arguing that foreign trade had been adversely affected by the uproar for the bill. Too, the Congress accused the President of meddling in the legislative branch of government. Nevertheless, the Pure Food and Drug Act became the law of the land on July 1, 1906, despite the opposition. Congressman James W. Wadsworth lost his seat in Congress for opposing the bill, and the success of the legislation meant that the President had been elevated to the real leadership of the Republican Party. Some argued that the legislative branch of government became more independent of the executive branch later when the question of Prohibition became a burning issue for the nation.

Social Criticism

Few men have influenced the thinking of a country in quite the same way as did Edwin Markham, a California school-teacher, with his poem,"The Man With The Hoe, (Written After Seeing Millet's World-Famous Painting)."He had seen the renowned painting by the French peasant artist in Scribner's Magazine in 1886, and the painting made such an impression on his mind that he wrote a poem which became the

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symbol of man's struggle with social and economic forces. Writing in a widely-distributed popular magazine, Markham explained the motivation for the poem in the following terms: [14]

> I sat for an hour before the painting and all the time the terror and power of the picture was growing upon me. I saw that this creation of the painter was no mere peasant, no chance man of the fields, but he was rather a type, a symbol of the toiler, brutalized through long ages of industrial oppression. I saw in this peasant the slow but awful degradation of man through endless, hopeless, and joyless labor.

The poem was first published in the San Francisco Examiner, January 15, 1899; but such a poem was destined to receive national circulation within a very short time. The general reading public understood the poem's message and began to quote it rather widely. Newspapers, periodicals, and pamphleteers seized the poem; and thousands of copies were to come from the nation's presses for distribution and discussion. Some writers sneered at the poet's message, saying that the treatment of the oppressed tended to make the average man a "brother to the ox." While it might be difficult for modern readers to understand why this poem should have such a universal appeal, there is no doubt that the poem became the symbol of the struggle of the common man in his attempt at betterment of his position as a member of society.

Many a minister took the subject of the poem for the text of a sermon, and one college president used the theme for a series of lectures which he gave many times throughout the country. Sociologists pointed out the implications of the poem by showing the results of the machine upon mankind during the early part of the century. Even William Jennings Bryan, the boy orator from the Platte and unsuccessful candidate for the presidency of the United States, used the poem in his

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14 Edwin Markham, The Saturday Evening Post, December 16, 1899.

arguments against the powerful monopolies which he hoped to smash. Bryan attempted to answer the critics of the poem by stating: "The literary sycophants who strew rhetorical flowers in the pathway of the successful. . . complacently throw the responsibility for failure in life upon God, or Nature, or upon man himself." Over and over again the theme was used in commencement addresses, and the cartoonists of the period literally drew hundreds of pictures for the popular newspapers and periodicals. Parodies, ranging from mild acceptance to bitter disapproval, found their way into print. Perhaps the most honest criticism of the poem was expressed by E. P. Powell when he said: [15]

> Mr. Markham shows us the workman of civilization, not going up from the animal, but going down from what God made him. . . Such an interpretation of man and labor, especially of agricultural labor, at this time, puts the poem in alignment with that pessimism and explosive arraignment of social order in which sentimentalism strikes hands with brute force.

Even the President of the United States used the poem when he spoke before Congress, but it was William Jennings Bryan who made political hay from it. Suggesting why the poem had become an expression of the prevailing mood of the American people, he wrote in a periodical article in December, 1899: [16]

> It is not strange that "The Man With the Hoe" created a profound sensation. It is a sermon addressed to the heart. It voices humanity's protest against inhuman greed. There is a majestic sweep to the argument; some of the lines pierce like arrows. How feeble in comparison have been the answers to it. The extremes of society are being driven further and further apart. Wealth is being concentrated in the hands of a few. At one end of the scale luxury and idleness breed effeminancy; at the other end, want and destitution breed desperation. . .

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15 E.P. Powell, The Coming Age, November, 1899.

16 William Jennings Bryan, The Saturday Evening Post, December 16, 1899.

Trends in Immigration

One may gain further insight into the reasons why Upton Sinclair and Edwin Markham's propaganda pieces had such a wide appeal by remembering events which gave rise to these publications. Was it not true that immigrants had to people the hundreds of factories where machinery was replacing hand labor? Were not hundreds of agricultural workers flocking to the growing cities because machines had made farm workers largely unnecessary? Government and industry welcomed immigrants gladly, for the immigrant was needed to fill the holds of ships, to take up homesteads, to purchase the surplus acres of the railways in the west, and to supply the man power which an expanding American industry needed. The Federal Government stimulated this immigration by the passage of permissive laws and setting up an Immigration Bureau in Washington. From the last quarter of the nineteenth century immigrants had streamed into the "melting pot" to meet these needs. The national strains of these immigrants seemed to matter very little in the early days; however, the nation began to look carefully at the nationality of immigrants preceding the first World War and almost completely stopped the flow of aliens into this country during the early twenties.

The immigrant's dream of the new world was couched in a romatic vein in many instances, and this mass transplantation was bound to have implications for the social, political, and economic aspects of American life. Thus, the attitudes toward immigration ranged all the way from permissive acceptance to legal exclusion; and one should be reminded that President Eisenhower faced this problem in the recent admittance of Hungarians who were trying to escape blood-shed and

oppression at the hands of the Russians. Who were these immigrants, and where did they settle in America? The first wave of immigrants was composed of Irishmen, Germans, Swedes, and Danes, followed by Italians, Jews, Poles, Finns, Croats, Roumanians, Czechs, Rutherians, Latins, Turks, and Greeks. The Germans, Swedes, Finns, and Czechs located chiefly on the farms of the old Northwest and contributed to the population of Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska and the Dakotas. The Irish generally moved to the cities of the North; while the Jews tended to the sweat-shops of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The Italians supplied the labor market with day laborers; while the Poles, Croats, Slovenes, Roumanians poured into the stockyards of Chicago and Kansas City, the coal mines of Pennsylvania and Illinois, the textile mills of Fall River, Lowell, and Paterson, the steel mills, the iron foundries, the salt, copper, and lead mines of North, East, South, and West.

Effects of Immigration

Among the pressing problems introduced by immigration were: conflicts over cheap labor, difficulties in the assimilation of a new cultural background, exploitation by business and industry, stress and strain in the religious area, and a host of other related problems. Education reflected these problems throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Certain pressure groups exerted influence to round up the Japanese on the West Coast in the early days of the second World War when it was feared that the Japanese were contemplating an invasion of the West Coast after the successful bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Agitation for religious reforms was further intensified by the crusading Catholics, whom many accused of attempting

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to build a "Catholic Empire" in this country and trying to put the Pope on a throne; and this struggle over the place of religion in society expressed itself during the first half of the twentieth century. Isabel Leighton's The Aspirin Age, (1919-1941), [17] gives an excellent history of the revival of this post-Civil War organization which was organized in the South to provide a social outlet for returning veterans and to support the changing demands of society. Even though the principle of the separation of Church and State was accepted early in the country's history, there were many sides of the question which were to plague school administrators, church fathers, and lawyers, who tried to reach compromises to this controversial problem. Indeed, the legal documents of this country reflect this problem to a marked degree; and one must understand the roots of the problem to determine the relative value of the many laws which have been passed in this area. The early dream of free public education for all American youth seemed, at times, to be entirely thwarted by concerns in the area; and had not religion played a very significant role in the founding, growth, and development of the United States?

American Education: A Pre-View

What, then, was the nature of education at the beginning of the twentieth century? One of the brilliant leaders in the field, Nicholas Murray Butler, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University--later president, summed up the nature of the age in 1900 in an address before the National Educational Association. His address was published in Proceedings of that year: Butler expressed his opinion in the

17 Robert Coughlan, "Konklave in Kokoma," quoted in Isabel Leighton's The Aspirin Age, Simon and Schuster, (New York,1949),pp.105-129.

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following terms:[18]

> But who can know the 19th century? Development so rapid, changes so startling, inventions so undreamed of, crowd each other in a whirl of confusing images when we try to picture this century and to note its salient facts. It is the century of Napoleon and of Lincoln, of Hegel and of Darwin, of Goethe and Kipling, of Bessemer and of Rockefeller. More leaders of enterprise and more captains of industry have appeared during this one hundred years than in all previous recorded history. The average of human intelligence and of human efficiency has been raised to a point, in the United States certainly, which a few hundred years ago would have entailed notoriety, and perhaps distinction. Prosperity and querulousness, desire and happiness, have all multiplied together. How can this be interpreted? . . . The wisest answer seems to me to be this: The 19th century is preeminently the period of individual liberty--political, religious, intellectual, industrial; and its manifold triumphs and achievements are due to the large opportunities which have been granted to individual initiative and to individual expression. The greatness, the shortcomings, and the contradictions of the 19th century are alike due to this.

The individual liberty of which Professor Butler spoke was destined to change educational practice and to lead to broader opportunities and freedoms in the field of education. Whereas the top classes had gone to the colleges and universities in the past for advanced training, it became necessary to look at this problem critically in the face of the emancipation of the common man with ever expanding freedoms and liberties. Shorter working hours for the laboring class led to more leisure time, and the distribution of wealth began to have direct bearing on the possibility for wider educational opportunities. Could not one say that the machine age had been partially responsible for a shift in values from the old classical education to a more utilitarian type of training? Perhaps this was the significance of the Morrill Act which led to the establishment of colleges where the practical arts received a good deal of attention and support from the Federal Government.

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18 Nicholas Murray Butler, "Status of Education at the Close of the Century," Proceedings National Educational Association, 1900, pp. 188-189.

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Education came to be regarded as the hand-maiden of economic betterment in society at large, and this argument has had wide currency throughout the twentieth century. Our recent drop-out studies, as well as scholarship studies, show that this economic issue in education is very much alive in 1958.

The shift in emphasis from the old trivium and quadrivium in American colleges occurred rather slowly, but changes were suggested by educational leaders in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Charles W. Eliot, distinguished President of Harvard University and educational reformer of national reputation, was one of the outstanding leaders in educational reform. Coupled with the great names of Edward L. Thorndike, John Dewey, Francis Parker, William James, William T. Harris, Henry Barnard, Horace Mann, and others, Eliot did his best to get in step with the times and to lead the movement in educational improvement. His concern over the improvement of opportunities resulted in the elective system at Harvard University, and this renovation had widespread influence in all phases of education in the United States. His plan fostered the freedom of election of courses in place of the measure of faculty prescription which had been practiced until the latter part of the nineteenth century. Eliot was not only interested and influential in the area of improvement for colleges and universities; he also took a keen interest in the secondary schools as well. But it should be noted that the old idea of mental discipline persisted well into the twentieth century.

Educational Agencies

Even though there was a gradual establishment of standardizing associations in the East during the last two decades of the nineteenth

century, these associations did not define the purposes of the high school conclusively. The National Education Association was the only organization of national scope, and it was through this agency that many reforms were effected. The association appointed a Committee of Ten to make recommendations as to how the secondary school could be improved, and this committee had some effect in the field of secondary education. One interesting outcome of this committee was stated by Henry S. Canby who attended the meetings of the association. He summarized the problems which existed at the close of the nineteenth century in the following terms:[19]

> We went to school for facts and got them. Facts about Latin, facts about history, facts about algebra, which gave us a valuable experience in taking intellectual punishment without a quaver. But of education there was very little because,with one exception, none of the teachers were educated. They had knowledge but, not knowing what to do with it, passed it on to us in its raw condition of fact. They knew facts, but could neither relate nor co-ordinate them. They believed in their subjects with the absolute conviction of the baker that his bread is the staff of life, but there was no passion in their belief, and, to tell the truth, not much reason. If you learned history, you knew history--whether you became thus historically minded I never heard anyone either in school (or college) inquire.

William E. Drake, in his The American School in Transition[20] dismissed the work of the Committee of Ten with the remark that the committee "strained like a mountain and gave birth to a mouse." He had reference to the fact that the committee upheld the idea of formal discipline and that the study of the classics, formal history, literature, and grammar were highly important to the high school curriculum.

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19 Henry S. Canby, The Age of Confidence: Life in the Nineties, Rinehart & Company, (New York, 1934), pp. 104-105.

20 William E. Drake, The American School in Transition, Prentice-Hall, Inc., (New York, 1955), p. 235.

One positive contribution of the committee was that it recommended that the schools needed better-trained teachers who were skilled in a higher grade of scholarship. Since this committee had its existence and support in a national association, it did tend to focus attention upon some of the critical issues in secondary education.

Educational Progress

Thus, the twentieth century occupied itself with the extension of educational opportunities through individual study, reports of commissions, and other activities by the State and Federal governments. The American people expressed their faith in education through its support, and education became the biggest business in the world. Edgar W. Knight, educational historian and widely-known writer in his field, made some important observations about America's robust faith in education in the twentieth century. He said in part: [21]

> Notwithstanding its weaknesses, however, public education continues to hold the confidence of the American people. Probably no other theory, or doctrine, of democracy has for them such fascinating interest as the theory, or doctrine, that relates to the equality of educational opportunity. Probably no other principle of democratic government has had so much claimed for it. It is comforting in its almost romatic promise of an educational Utopia. The validity of many of the claims of the democratic school system finds encouraging support in actual practice. The public school has played and continues to play a most vital part in the spiritual advancement of the American people as well as in their material advancement, and it has served to guide them toward high-mindedness as well as to increase their material riches and power. The principle of universal education, although far from complete in practical application, has uplifted and enriched them and quickened and refined their life.
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> The increased and constantly increasing economic well-being of the average citizen of the United States--the widespread material prosperity of the country at large--is largely due to the extension and application of this principle. Comparative statistics dealing with the increase in per capita wealth, bank resources, savings accounts, and other evidences of economic power

21 Edgar W. Knight, Education in the United States, (Third Revised Edition), Ginn and Company, (Boston, 1951), pp. 569-570.

> made a very impressive showing in the three or four decades prior to 1929. Public education then had its most effective development. And along with the personal and corporate accumulations of material wealth went also a rapid rate of progress in public welfare generally, promoted largely by the public school, which has served to give the average American citizen an appreciation of public services and has led him to demand many others. . . These endeavors and sacrifices are impressive tributes to the belief of the American people in the effectiveness of public education. Sometimes, indeed, they seem to see in it the panacea for the ills and weaknesses inevitable in a democratic society. But even when the public school, like other theories or dreams of democracy, falls short in reality or practical application and fails to fulfill its promises to the masses for whom it was established, their faith remains robust. They refuse to see comedy in the democratic theory of education or to decry it, as opponents and cynics often do.

The "robust faith in education" of which Professor Knight speaks so ably surely underwent serious stresses and strains throughout the twentieth century. It was during this period that America fought two World Wars, went through a paralyzing depressing, reached un-dreamed of heights in the development of democracy, and enjoyed the luxuries which a technological age could provide for its citizens. President Woodrow Wilson, an idealistic college professor and President of the United States during World War I, led the country into a war whose stated objective was "to make the world safe for democracy." He formulated his famous fourteen points which he presented at the Paris Peace Conference at the close of the war against German imperialism. It was he who nominated Clemenceau, "the grand young man of France," chairman of the peace conference which was to have settled the economic, political, and social problems growing out of the war. Critical and stern realist, Clemenceau had been chairman of the conference for a very short time when he began to chide his American counterpart about his fourteen points by remarking that Wilson had more points in his statement than God Almighty had expressed in the Ten Commandments. Wilson had hoped

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to bring America into the League of Nations to keep peace and enjoy international good will. However, he brought his treaty to an uncooperative and stubborn Congress which refused to ratify the League of Nations. Wilson took his case to the American people, but the country was too tired of war and too complacent to heed the importance of the message. Wilson died an unhappy man because of the failure of his dreams, and it took another war before this country realized that isolationism was not a tenable position.

The twenties may stand out in history as a period of conservative politics and heightened nationalism; and the period will surely have to be labeled the period of "wonderful nonsense," whose expression in the jazz age, the revolt of the younger generation, speculation in stocks and Florida real estate, speakeasies and bathtub gin, high-pressure salesmanship and installment buying, spectator sports, Rotary and Kiwanis, flappers and lounge lizards, radio and the movies, and success stories and true confession magazines--all testify to the interests of the twenties. Women's suffrage and Prohibition were reflected in the roaring twenties, and these two movements would require a book in themselves. But what was the nature of American letters during this first half of the twentieth century?

Literary Activities in the Twentieth Century

American writers turned their attention to the social surroundings for materials; and such names as: Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, Willa Cather and James Branch Cabell are all important in literature. Theodore Dreiser assured himself a place in literary history with the publication of a score of novels. Among his more influential ones are: Sister Carrie, Jennie Gerhardt,

The Financier, The Titan, and An American Tragedy. While he had to wait until the twenties for universal recognition, Dreiser was a name to be reckoned with during the first quarter of the century. The social satirist, Sinclair Lewis, turned his attention to the manners, habits, morals and speech of middle-class America to produce some of the best satire of the century. Lewis' Main Street, Babbitt, Elmer Gantry, Arrowsmith, and Dodsworth deal with the problems of a machine age. Interestingly, Sinclair Lewis was the first American author to be honored, in 1930, with the Nobel Prize for literature. One of America's outstanding short story writers, Sherwood Anderson, produced revealing stories of American life. His The Triumph of the Egg, Horses and Men, and Winesburg, Ohio are examples of the penetrating analysis of character which Anderson made famous in the medium of the short story. Willa Cather will be remembered for her treatment of women characters in her novels. Some of her more important ones are: O Pioneers!, The Song of the Lark, My Antonia, The Lost Lady, and Death Comes for the Archbishop. Upton Sinclair has already been discussed elsewhere; but the name of James Branch Cabell requires some comment, for he is one of the finest stylists and ironists of the period. His novels reveal a comic writer of no mean consequence; his best known books are: The Rivet in Grandfather's Neck, The Cream of the Jest, Jurgen, and Beyond Life.

Added to this survey of literary "greats" of the late twenties was a host of young writers, all of whose novels were full of significant promise. Ernest Hemingway, Glenway Wescott, Thornton Wilder, E. E. Cummings, John Dos Passos, Elizabeth M. Roberts, Thomas Wolfe, and William Faulkner are the most notable ones among this list. Perhaps

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the work of these authors are too well-known to require comment. In addition to this impressive list, one would have to catalogue the names of the more promising poets who graced the American scene during the twentieth century. Edgar Lee Master, Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, Edwin Arlington Robinson, and Robert Frost would have to be mentioned as the most important poets of this period. This period also contributed such poets as: T.S. Eliot, Robinson Jeffers, Hart Crane, Leonie Adams, Ivor Winters, and Allen Tate. All of these literary figures made pertinent comments about American life in their works; but the period was not limited to poets and novelists, for there were important contributions in the fields of history, literary criticism, economic theory, philosophy, and periodical literature.

Periodical Literature

The newspapers of the period underwent a shift in emphasis from the yellow journalism stage, in its rawest sense, to the sensational type of reporting which is common today in many newspapers. The popular publications had to modify their editorial policies in order to keep up with the times and to swell their coffers with the wonderful cash which could be earned through vigorous advertising schemes. The Saturday Evening Post and Collier's brought messages of cheer into two million homes each week through their preoccupation with such subjects as: gaining success in business, displaying prowess on the golf links, and winning the beautiful daughter of employers in marriage. The women's magazines, namely, Ladies Home Journal, Woman's Home Companion, Pictorial Review, and McCall's—all dedicated their pages to advice on housekeeping, the latest fads and frills in the area of fashions, diets for slenderer contours, and a host of other

departments dealing with the concerns of modern American woman. Serious intellectual magazines were circulated widely; and the more famous of these were: New Republic, Dial, The Atlantic Monthly, and The American Mercury. Of course, this list only mentions a few of the well-known periodicals of the time; but all of these had their greatest influence during the first three decades of the twentieth century.

The Atlantic Monthly: A Sketch

An outstanding magazine, which had its beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, continued to influence public opinion through the first half of the twentieth century. The Atlantic Monthly was established in 1857 at the now famous dinner given at Parker House, Boston, Massachusetts. The editorial policy of this influential magazine was announced in the first issue of the magazine in these words: "In politics, The Atlantic will be the organ of no party or clique, but will endeavor to be the exponent of what its conductors believe to be the American idea. It will deal frankly with persons and with parties, endeavoring always to keep in view that moral element which transcends all persons and parties, which alone makes the basis of a true and lasting prosperity. It will not rank itself with any sect or anties: but with that body of men which is in favor of Freedom, National Progress, and Honor, whether public or private." Since its founding in 1857, The Atlantic Monthly has enjoyed a host of distinguished contributors. Some of the better known are: James Russell Lowell, William Dean Howells, Walter Hines Page, Mark Twain, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Bret Harte, Woodrow Wilson, Ernest Hemingway, Albert Einstein, T.S. Eliot, Bertrand Russell, and George Bernard Shaw. Its editors have been men of distinction; and the complete list

of editors includes: James Russell Lowell, James T. Fields, William Dean Howells, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Horace E. Scudder, Walter Hines Page, Bliss Perry, Ellery Sedgwick, and Edward A. Weeks.

Realizing that The Atlantic Monthly appeals to the college graduate, one can not deny the influence of the magazine upon the field of education. Since education exists within a social setting which is always shifting, it is highly important to indicate some of the major social, political, and economic movements which have changed society in order to determine possible influences of these same forces upon education. The assumption that education changes as society shifts its point of view can be demonstrated by an analysis of the articles which appeared in this magazine. Because The Atlantic Monthly appeals to a somewhat selected reading public and because the editorial policy has consistently assured the magazine contributions by influential public men, the writer of this paper chose to make a study of this particular magazine. The latest statement of the editorial policy was made by M.A.DeWolfe Howe when he said:[22]

> If The Atlantic Monthly were a repository; if it confined itself to the discussion of Roman antiquities, or the sonnets of Wordsworth, or the planting of the colony in Massachusetts Bay, no one but the specialists would concern themselves with the opinions expressed in its pages. But it happens to be interested in the present world; curious about the actual conditions of politics and society, of science and commerce, of art and literature. Above all, it is engrossed with the lives of the men and women who are making American what it is and is to be.

On careful examination, the selection of articles shows that the editors kept the editorial policy in mind in choosing what was published. The contributors of articles represent a select group in

22 M.A. DeWolfe Howe, The Atlantic Monthly And Its Makers. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press., Inc., 1919, p. 97.

the sense that their purposes were not primarily to amuse or to entertain, and this point influenced the writer's decision to use The Atlantic Monthly in preference to The Saturday Evening Post, The Country Gentleman, or The Woman's Home Companion whose aims and purposes are quite different.

Conclusions

This chapter has set the stage in the realm of social, economic, and political factors for a consideration of the articles in one of America's leading literary magazines. Many of the topics to be covered have a direct relationship to those forces which have been thus described. Many of the writers on educational topics are themselves educators, and the validity of the criticisms may be checked by contrasting what the educators have to say to what the laymen express in their columns. This study will show the relationship of the changing social conditions to the emerging problems in the educational world. By comparing the subjects in the magazines to those written by authorities in the field of education, the writer will suggest how the professional educators tended to influence popular writers on the subject of education. Thus, the method of this study will be to give a survey of the important educational problems during the period under consideration by referring to the opinions of experts. This description of the educational problems of the period will be followed by a treatment of the articles which appeared in The Atlantic Monthly. The writer hopes to establish a relationship between the appearance of the articles cited in the magazine and the remarks by authorities of what they considered the important problems in education. An evaluation of these articles will be made, and the problems will be grouped under

the following headings: definitions of education, elementary education, secondary education, and higher education. The last two chapters will deal with a critical analysis and give conclusions of the study.

The next chapter will deal with the definitions of education as they appeared in The Atlantic Monthly during the period covered by this study. Since it is felt that a summary of these definitions must be given in order to establish a rationale for the analysis of the problems presented, the writer will describe and comment upon these definitions.

CHAPTER II

WHAT IS EDUCATION?

The Atlantic Monthly published articles about education from its beginning, and the contributors tended to comment upon the same problems which were being discussed in the educational journals. Many of the writers tended to define education in terms of what they expected education to accomplish; the articles reflect the author's awareness of the influence of the social and cultural forces upon the field of education. Any attempt at defining education would necessarily be expressed in terms of the person's values, beliefs, or philosophy of life. Of course, the prior question of the nature of man and his ultimate destiny would influence the conclusions which the writers reached. It is interesting to note that the attempts at defining education are not all inclusive because of the complexity of the factors involved; but it is revealing that the writers, on the whole, were cognizant of the influences of social and cultural forces upon such a definition.

Forces Influencing Education

Political events during the period tended to call for a critical look at democracy and to suggest some remedies for improvement, and education was one of the avenues through which this critical evaluation was undertaken. Dallas Lore Sharp, former professor of English at Boston University, underlined some of the weaknesses of education and called for needed reform. He said in part:[1]

> If education for democracy is understanding based on common training and personal acquaintance in school, then education for individuality--a thing as elemental and personal as life itself--cannot possibly be the product of any school, but must begin in the

1 Dallas Lore Sharp, "Education for Individuality," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 125, June, 1920, pp. 528-538.

> home, the only institution of civilization devoted to the oneness of life against life's many-ness. The class, the school, the group-idea, is a prime factor in education for democracy. Nothing better has been devised to this end than our common public schools.

During periods of strain, such as World War I, it was obvious that social, political, and economic forces would influence public opinion in this social area. Nathaniel Horton Batchelder spoke to the issue in his defense of the democratic way of life when he said: "Education is quite as much a matter of habit and attitude of mind as of subject-matter."[2] While the concept of mental discipline influenced educational definitions and practices after the war, it is worthwhile to note that Batchelder marks an important departure of the widespread support of the idea in the layman's magazine and other areas. Thus, one may see that the political, economic, and social forces were taken into account in this attempt to define education. The United States had just helped defeat the Germans in World War I, and the stresses and dislocations during this war period brought into focus certain weaknesses in American education which needed careful attention. Criticisms of the status quo led to a critical look at educational practices, and these criticisms were one of the forces which tended to bring the subject into sharp focus.

Criticisms of Education

Trying to justify some of the apparent weaknesses of education, Henry W. Holmes grappled with the problem in the following terms:[3]

> Education suffers in America from confusion of purposes. Justified a hundredfold in our faith in schooling as an instrument of democracy, we have cared more for the spread of education than for its fitness

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2 Nathaniel Horton Batchelder, "Democracy and Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 125, May, 1920, pp. 651-657.

3 Henry W. Holmes, "Chaos or Cosmos in American Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 140, April, 1927, pp. 493-503.

> for specific ends. We have been interested in quantity rather than quality. For the most part our public enthusiasm for education has been uncritical, and the actual arrangement of subjects in our school programmes has been largely the result of tradition, harried here and there by the raw winds of pedagogical theory. Not even in vocational schools do we know exactly what we want, to say nothing of the more difficult question of how to get it. In liberal education we are so far from clarity and agreement as to the ends to be served and the means to be used that the situation, in spite of a certain fixity, is little better than chaotic. Our professional students of education have been devoting their energies, perhaps inevitably, to the development of techniques for a scientific attack on the problems of the curriculum, and it is only within the last few years that the light of penetrating analysis has been turned on to one of the most important problems in our whole educational undertaking--the problem of what to teach in our secondary schools. So far we have made small headway, and tradition remains generally undisturbed. College requirements have kept Latin enthroned and protected, but nearly futile as a means of education. Mathematics has been struggling with some success to find its most fruitful form. Modern languages are just beginning to mean something in favored spots; history and science have been stifled; English drags, and such subjects as home economics and other forms of practical arts have had no freedom to find their place and proper goals. The root of the difficulty lies in the relationship between the secondary schools and the colleges. . . Our confusion as to purposes is one of the reasons for the lack of a coherent system of schools in this country.

Thus, Holmes says that the clearer the goals of education are made the better the task may be accomplished. Other laymen noticed the importance of the great social experiment which appeared to have weaknesses which needed correction. Albert Jay Nock touched upon this problem when he said:[4]

> Still, education seems as yet to be a subject of experiment with us, and I observe with interest that, according to some educators, the next experiment will be the revival of the small college. There is obviously no more saving grace in smallness than in bigness; everything depends upon what the small college is like. The forecast, however, sets one's fancy going. Perhaps--one must have one's doubts about it, but perhaps--without too much infringment on nature's policy, or deflection of our great moral and social mission to the world at large, one small laboratory experiment might be tried, such as has never been tried by us. I mean an experiment in educating educable persons only. It would be interesting and possibly useful to set up two small institutions, a school and an undergraduate

4 Albert Jay Nock, "American Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 147, May, 1931, pp. 588-597.

> college, both so well endowed as not to cast a strain whether a student came near them or not, and both committed wholly to the pursuit of formative knowledge; the school's attendance limited, say, to sixty, and the college's to two hundred. The school should take pupils at the age of eight, and carry them on until they could meet the college's requirements. Neither institution should take any account whatever of bogus democratic doctrine, the idolatry of mass, vocationalism, or the pretended rights of ineducable persons. If such persons presented themselves they should be turned away, and if anyone got in and afterwards was found for any reason or to any degree ineducable he should be forthwith forced out.

Many of the values and attitudes which American educators held before the war came into sharp focus when hundreds of draftees were turned down for military service due to illiteracy. Even though there was a widespread feeling of frustration and disappointment during the twenties, writers continued to beg for needed change in American educational practice to right the ills which had been emphasized during the war. The foregoing quotation indicates that the author was aware of some of the weaknesses in American education.

Progressive Education

Some writers complained that progressive education could be blamed for the ills of the public school system. Such writers refused to accept the changes in the philosophic framework which undergirded the public schools. In many cases, educators were put on the defensive rather than being occupied with an offensive interpretation and application of the new education. William Wistar Comfort raised his voice in protest in these terms:[5]

> Public education has been so watered down in this country to suit the digestion of all young citizens that this truth about the severity of competition will not be palatable in all quarters. It has so long been possible for anyone with two legs and a pair of arms to find work and a living that any discovery to the contrary is unwelcome. Our education for many years has been for decent

5 William Wistar Comfort, "Competition in Education--The Facts and a Prophecy," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 147, February, 1931, pp. 233-236.

> mediocrity; social, physical, and intellectual development has all been blended into an innocuous whole by our schools and colleges; it has not been the fashion to work anywhere near to one's capacity for fear of being a 'grind' or of missing the team or the fraternity; some have thought it clever to 'get by' without work. But it is perfectly evident that under the exigency of competition, if for no other reason, our colleges are soon going to become institutions of learning in fact as well as in name. Those who are too clever to study and those who are too dull to learn will be excluded. A minimum of sincere interest in intellectual things will be expected and demanded of all students in reputable institutions. Self-development through study will be put first, and the physical and social activities will take their normal places in a well-rounded education, instead of the exaggerated roles which they occupy in the minds of many people.

The weaknesses of American education which existed during the 1920's could not be attributed to progressive education, but it is interesting to note that a layman's magazine showed an interest in education by publishing several points of view and explanations. The writer of this thesis would like to turn now to the definitions of education as they were reported in The Atlantic Monthly, and the reader is reminded to keep these forces in mind while considering these definitions.

Education as Mental Discipline

The most widespread understanding of the word education was undoubtedly related to the nineteenth century idea of education as mental discipline, or the training of the mind. Even though this understanding of the term pervaded the thinking of many people during the first half of the twentieth century, some writers were beginning to define education more broadly. The foregoing criticisms of education indicate a strong preference for the term "mental discipline" as the best definition for the word, and it is important to realize that the forces at work in society would bring this crucial point into conflict with the older idea of education. But there is evidence in these selected articles that mental discipline was one of the powerful ideas underlying education during the first half of the

twentieth century.

It was logical for many writers to ask themselves what courses in the curriculum of the school would contribute most to mental discipline, if this were the accepted definition of the term. During the first part of the twentieth century when many courses were competing with the tradition courses, the criterion for the inclusion of new courses seemed to be: "Will the course contribute effectively to mental discipline or the training of the mind?" The classicists insisted that students should be introduced to Greek, as it was the best medium for effecting mental discipline. Science was only slowly accepted in the curriculum, although the science teacher pointed out that his subject was the best possible one for mental discipline. Speaking about the newer courses which were vying for entrance and acceptance in the curriculum, President William J. Tucker of Dartmouth College pointed out in a symposium on education at the beginning of the twentieth century that classical learning had not been replaced as a means of mental discipline. He noted, moreover, that science had not been completel accepted in the curriculum at the beginning of the century. He viewed the problem in these terms:[6]

> Apart from those who believe in the indispensableness of Greek Culture, there are more who have not as yet found its equivalent in the modern languages, in history, or in the sciences. The 'problem' here really lies in the secondary schools rather than in the colleges, and is concerned largely with the order and method of instruction. Physics rests so far upon mathematics that it is impossible to get any full disciplinary value out of physics as taught in advance of the required mathematics. History is still forcing its way into the secondar schools, with no sure consensus of opinion or action in regard to method on the part of secondary school-teachers. No modern language, representing an equal discipline with Greek, has yet made a place for itself beside Greek in the preparatory schools. When the necessary advances in the newer preparatory subjects have once been made, Greek

6 William J. Tucker, "The Problems Which Confront Our Colleges at the Opening of the Twentieth Century," Education, Vol. XX, September, 1899-June, 1900, pp. 586-597.

> will yield its supremacy. Doubtless it will before that time. The colleges will accept wider terms of admission, knowing that some of them are lower, and endeavor to make up the deficiency through advanced work in these subjects which are stronger in their later than in their elementary discipline.

However much educational leaders drew upon the past in justifying education, society shunned the new developments and would not accept them as the status quo in the field of education. One writer, Martha Baker Dunn, spoke nostalgically about the past and spoofed the present when she said:[7]

> It was the Puritan conscience, we are told, which "Put rock foundations under this republic;" in the minds of some old fashioned people the belief still obtains that courage and loyalty and self-control and self-sacrifice lie at the foundations of both national and individual character, and that the nation or the individual who forsakes these ideals will, in spite of all the opportunities and training of schools and colleges and universities, remain radically uneducated.

Training of the Mind

Thomas Huxley raised a storm of criticism when he was invited to speak at the dedication of John Hopkins University in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Frederick Ireland quotes Huxley's concept of education on the elementary level and gives this statement in support of his contention that education is a matter of training of the mind. The quotation follows:[8]

> Now I have a very clear conviction as to what elementary education ought to be; what it really may be when properly organized; and what I think it will be, before too many years have passed over our heads, in England and America. Such education should enable an average boy of 15 or 16 to read and write his own language with ease and accuracy, and with a sense of literary excellence derived from the study of our classic writers; to have a general acquaintance with

7 Martha Baker Dunn, "Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 86, September, 1905, pp. 345-352.

8 Frederick Ireland, "High Schools and Classics," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 124, July, 1919, pp. 47-53.

the history of his own country; to have acquired the rudiments of the physical and psychological sciences.

In April, 1920, Frank E. Spaulding spelled out his definition of education. He suggested that the clearer one defined the goals of education the better the end product would be. In this regard, he said:[9]

> There are three minimum, definite, comprehensive objectives that American public education should at once set for itself. They are: first, essential elementary knowledge, training, and discipline; second, occupational efficiency; third, civic responsibility.
>
> Essential elementary knowledge, discipline and training should be understood to include so much as results from successful completion of the full elementary-school course in the best school systems--a course requiring, as a rule, eight years of regular attendance, thirty-six to forty weeks a year. The details involved in such a course are too well and generally known to require enumeration here.
>
> The present eight-year elementary-school course, as it is carried out even in the best school systems, is not here proposed as a fixed or final ideal, especially in details, of the first objective of public education. It should be understood to be inclusive, not exclusive, or any improvements that may be made in content, in method, or in organization, affecting the latter years of the typical elementary-school course.
>
> The first objective is the indispensable basis of the other two, occupational and civic responsibility; it makes the full achievement of these two practicable. Indeed, it does more than that: it affords direct and invaluable preliminary training for both occupation and citizenship. Such training, however, can never go beyond the preliminary stage, not merely on account of the limitations of time, but even more certainly on account of the limitations of the pupils occupational and civic responsibility cannot be achieved by boys and girls before reaching fourteen years of age.

Spaulding's comments were occasioned by the weaknesses of American education which were made painfully evident during the stress and strain of the first World War. In addition to the numerous articles in the layman's magazine, the reader is reminded of the work of national committees during this period who published statements on the aims of education.

Education: The Sum Total of the Curriculum

A statement which suggests the modern-day definition of curriculum

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9 Frank E. Spaulding, "Educating the Nation," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 125, April, 1920, pp. 528-538.

as all the experiences which the school sponsors was made by H.D. Sedgwick. He viewed the educational process in broad terms; he felt that the school should be concerned, therefore, with the forces which contributed to the development of human personality. Some critics would question the assumption that the school should be concerned with such a broad program, but Sedgwick felt that education was of vital importance in American society. His remark in this connection was:[10]

> Education is the working of all forces that fashion a man during the plastic years, before his habits become fixed and his character determined. No one can escape education even if he would; whatsoever may be his lot, his spirit will be led toward one desire or another, his mind will fasten and feed upon some chosen thoughts, his heart will make something dear to itself.

Education as a Process

Another writer who joined his colleagues in helping to define education was Arthur E. Morgan. He does not give a very comprehensive definition; but he does indicate, as so many of the writers in this publication did, one particular facet of the problem. He had this to say:[11]

> Education is not an institution devised and adapted by men, and kept alive by ceaseless vigil. It is an innate process of human life, as inherent as is physical development from infancy to maturity. Educational stimuli do not need to be produced and transmitted to the child by external application. They unfailingly originate within him, just as surely as do hunger and thirst. They may be awakened, guided, controlled, trained, inhibitions may be removed; but in the main they work according to their own laws. To have faith in creation as it expressed itself in the instinctive demand of youth for education; to sit at the feet of childhood and to learn its ways; to use to the utmost, and to direct wisely, its resources of interest and desire--this is educational wisdom. To ignore these great resources, to assume that we must work with childhood as with clay, expecting no innate determining activity on its part, but merely moulding it to fit a preconceived conventional type--this is educational tragedy.

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10 H.D. Sedgwick, "A Gap in Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 87, May, 1901, pp. 68-72.

11 Arthur E. Morgan, "Education: The Mastery of the Arts of Life," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 121, March, 1918, pp. 337-346.

> The theories which educational innovators of recent centuries have forced upon us are to no small extent a direct by-product of the doctrine of total depravity. Though the doctrine itself has been abandoned by men of modern outlook, yet its implications continue to control our conventional educational systems. To orthodox American educators, a child's tendencies are essentially unreliable and are largely bad. These men require that the child be drilled in useless subject-matter; that his life be fitted to an intellectual straight- jacket, and that he smother his deep-rooted love for adventure and inquiry, accepting their statements as final authority; and when the spirit of youth rebels, and its life, thwarted in normal growth, expresses itself in unlovely ways, their remedy is to turn the screws still tighter.

Professor Morgan concluded his discussion with a proposed solution to the problem which he raised elsewhere in his discussion. He concluded:[12]

> We should include in our programme the development of social relationships, interests, and responsibilities. Habits should be acquired of effective expression of considerableness and good will, and of the elimination of social friction through the medium of courtesy, good manners, and good form, this 'good form' to consist of consummate skill in living the Golden Rule, not of proficiency in the mannerisms of an exclusive social class.

Educational Objectives

Throughout the period under consideration many writers were asking themselves about the goals or objectives of education and the factors involved in the problem. Since one's definition of education is related to the goals or objectives of education he hopes to achieve, these were pertinent considerations. Claude M. Fuess, brilliant teacher at one of of the influential private preparatory schools, attempted to show how he would attain the ideal in education. He felt that teachers were very important in helping students to realize their fullest potential. He envisoned this inter-play between teacher and pupil as an imitative process in which the student worked with master teachers whose skills and understandings could be imitated by the student. This appears to be a departure from the strict text-book centered learning which the idea

12 Ibid., p. 338.

of mental discipline implies. However, it must be pointed out that this was merely one technique in achieving educational goals and objectives. Fuess said:[13]

> The ideal education is that which an immature mind absorbs almost unconsciously from close contact with a more mature one--such relationships as existed between Alexander Hamilton and George Washington, between John Hay and Abraham Lincoln, between Henry Cabot Lodge and Henry Adams. In Hamilton, Hay, and Lodge some fire was kindled by association with a flowing intellect, that the flame was one which the world will not willingly let die.

Fuess touched upon an important aspect of education when he introduced the importance of the teacher in helping students to realize educational goals which had been formulated.

Another writer who apparently toyed with the question: What is education? was Victor Morawetz. His definition includes several elements which Fuess did not mention. He realized that education was far more than the mere training of the mind, and one can see implicit evidence of this assumption in his statement about education. He did not agree that the individual should memorize a body of knowledge in the process of securing an education; he felt that the whole personality of the individual was involved in the process. The progressives used a phrase, "education of the whole child," which closely resembles what Morawetz has in mind in his statement of educational objectives. Since Morawetz's statement is perhaps the most comprehensive one, the writer would like to quote it in its entirity:[14]

> The greatest aids to success and happiness are:
> (1) A sound and vigorous body.
> (2) Ability to think clearly.

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13 Claude M. Fuess, "The New Spirit in Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 153, June, 1934, pp. 753-760.

14 Victor Morawetz, "Needed Objectives for Our Schools," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 148, December, 1931, pp. 802-803.

(3) Ability to speak and to write one's own language clearly and forcibly. (Ability to think clearly and ability to use language, correctly commonly together, each being in large measure dependent on the other.)

The principal aims of our schools, therefore, should be to furnish training of the body, training of the mind to think clearly, training in the use of the English language, and training of character by inculcating his standards of honor. Education of the young should not, as commonly is the case, consist of memorizing book learning and acquiring more or less superficial knowledge relating to a variety of subjects. Of the graduates of our secondary schools, the majority are not well developed physically and have not learned to think clearly to express themselves in good English. In ancient Athens, education consisted principally of training the body, training the mind, and training in the use of the Greek language. Other languages were not studied and there was little written knowledge; yet the ancient Athenians have never been surpassed in literature, in philosophy, or in art.

Book learning can be acquired at any age; but the body and faculties can be developed only by training in childhood and youth. This training, therefore, should be carried on intensively in the primary and preparatory schools. However, as the preparatory schools are designed to fit boys for college, they cannot materially alter their curricula until the colleges change their entrance and graduation requirements. The lead, therefore, should be taken by the colleges by making their entrance examinations tests of the capacity of applicants for higher education rather than tests of memory.

Training in accurate thinking and apt expression cannot be acquired by merely learning lessons and passing examinations. It can be acquired only by free discussion with competent teachers and by the preparation and criticism of papers. Of course, students must have informed themselves by reading upon the subjects to be discussed or written about, and the subjects chosen should be such as require clear thinking and discriminating expression. Students should also be required to pursue certain cultural studies such as English literature and history (though these require principally the exercise of memory) and they should devote part of their time to the acquisition of general information by reading books of their own choice. But the principal objective should always be to train the students to think straight and to express themselves in good English. All the teachers, THEREFORE, SHOULD be selected with special reference to their clarity of mind and their mastery of the English language.

Ability to speak and to write one's own language clearly and forcibly and to speak with a good voice and distinct enunciation is the greatest power and the greatest charm that can be acquired. Special attention should, therefore, be given to this subject in all the classrooms. The students should be taught to debate and to speak before an audience.

Thorough physical education should be obligatory, and its main purpose should be to develop a sound and vigorous body. It should include not only gymnasium work, but also tennis, swimming, and

other sports that probably will be kept up in their life. Each boy should receive special training according to his physical needs, and any faults of carriage should be corrected.

To obtain the best results, students in the upper grades of a preparatory school and students at college must be taught in groups classified according to their capacity and industry. Only those students who are fitted for training in a particular group should be admitted to it and only those who show industry and make satisfactor progress should be retained. It should be recognized that the education of students of exceptional ability who are likely to become leaders in the community is of the utmost importance. The welfare of a democracy depends in great measure upon the quality of its leaders.

It is suggested that there be established a model secondary boarding school specially designed to furnish the training above recommended to promising boys at moderate cost. It should not be a school for the sons of the rich, but should be of a democratic character. Ample endowment would be necessary so that the cost of board and tuition would be within the reach of parents of moderate means and so that scholarships could be provided for the training of poor children of exceptional ability. It should be recognized that the education of children of exceptional ability, who are likely to become leaders in the community, and also the development of competent teachers for other schools, are matters of national importance. A democracy can exist without the millions of graduates of the kind commonly turned out by the high schools and other secondary schools, but it cannot endure without well-informed leaders of ability and character whom the voters are willing to follow.

Spiritual Aspects

One educator who had a great influence upon public education during the latter quarter of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century was Nicholas Murray Butler. While Professor John Dewey's name would assuredly head a list of the most influential educators during the twentieth century, Professor Butler was an educator whose leadership must be acknowledged. Estimates of his contemporaries, evidence of his widespread influence, and the number of publications and addresses, give some indication of Butler's importance in the development of educational practices and procedures in American education. While most of his professional activities were accomplished during the latter part of the nineteenth century, it was inevitable that his influence should reach beyond the confines of that century. Giving the presidential address before

the National Educational Association at Denver, Colorado, July 9, 1895, Butler defined education in his talk which was entitled:"What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?" His address was published in a volume of collected papers which he entitled The Meaning of Education. His underlying theme throughout the address was an emphasis upon the spiritual aspects of education; he said in part:[15]

> It is the cultivation of man's reason, the development of his spiritual nature. It elevates him above the pressure of material interests. It makes him superior to the pleasures and pains of a world which is but his temporary home, in filling his mind with the higher subjects than occupations of life would themselves provide him with. . .This is the poetical form of the truth that I believe is pointed to by both philosophy and science. It offers us a sure-ground for our educational theory. It reveals to us, not as an hypothesis but as a fact, education as spiritual growth toward intellectual and moral perfection, and saves us from the peril of viewing it as an artificial process according to mechanical formulas. Finally, it assures us that while no knowledge is wortheless,--for it all leads us back to the common cause and ground of all,--yet that knowledge is of most worth which stands in closest relation to the highest forms of the activity of that spirit which is created in the image of Him who holds nature and man alike in the hollow of his hand.

Writers in The Atlantic Monthly pointed out the spiritual significance of education, and it is interesting to note that these definitions were formulated during the period of mechanization of American life. Professor Briggs gave his definition in an article early in the twentieth century. He believed that:[16]

> The main object of school and college is the same,--to establish character, and to make that character more efficient through mental discipline. In the transition from school to college, continuity of the best influence, mental and moral, is the thing most needful. Oddly enough, the only continuity worthy of the name is often (in its outward aspects) neither mental nor moral, but athletic. . . When all students of all colleges, and all boys of all schools, believe, and have the right to believe, that their teachers are their

15 Nicholas Murray Butler, The Meaning of Education, The Macmillan Company, (New York, 1903), pp. 37-66.

16 L.B.R. Briggs, "The Transition From School To College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 85, October, 1900, pp. 354-359.

> friends; when the educated public recognizes the truth that school and college should help each other in lifting our youth to the high ground of character,--the school never forgetting that boys are to be men, and that college never forgetting that men have been boys,--we shall come to the ideal of education. Toward this ideal we are moving,slowly but steadily. When we reach it, or even come so near it as to see it always, we shall cease to dread the transition from school to college.

Some writers gave more comprehensive definitions than others, and many of the writers in The Atlantic Monthly pointed out some facet of a definition. John Jay Chapman, for example, suggested that education is related to the sum total of human activity. He has this to say about a definition of education:[17]

> What is education: What are Arts and Religion and all those higher interests in civilization which are always vaguely held up to us as being the most important things in life? These things elude definition. They cannot be put into words except through interposition of what the Germans call a 'metaphysics.' Before you can introduce them into discourse, you must step aside for a moment and create a theory of the universe, and by the time you have done this, you have perhaps befogged yourself and exhausted your readers. Let us be content with a more modest ambition. It is possible to take a general view of the externals of these subjects without losing reverence for their realities. It is possible to consider the forms under which art and religion appear,--the algebra and notation by which they have expressed themselves in the past,--and to draw some general conclusions without becoming entangled in the subject itself.

Thus, Chapman held, elsewhere in the above article, that education could not be defined as some of his contemporaries would insist; but he did point out the debt which America owed to Germany for putting pedagogy on a scientific basis. Nevertheless, the writer of this thesis holds that education should be defined as comprehensively as possible in order that society could comprehend the issues involved. Without getting lost in a maze of semantic quibbles, the writer holds that it is possible to construct a theory of the universe out of which a definition of education

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17 John Jay Chapman, "Learning," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 106, July, 1910, pp. 125-136.

evolves; and Professor Chapman's contention that such a thing could not be done effectively indicates an inherent weakness which seems to undergird many of the writer's attempts to define education. The most pressing problems of the early part of the century reflected this search for values. With the introduction of the elective system and the broadening of educational opportunities, many writers defined education in operational terms.

Character Training and Education

Character training is another subject which is closely related to the topic of the spiritual aspects of education. Edward O. Sisson pointed out this aspect of education in his article early in the century. It is interesting to note that his stress on character has received much attentic as the century has unfolded. Granted that character is an important aim in education, Sisson did not indicate clearly how character was to have been taught. He said:[18]

> No one would be apt to deny that character is the aim of education. This axiom is still a part of our formal pedagogy, and by many it is supposed to govern our practices; it is proclaimed at educational gatherings, and appears regularly in books and articles. But in the woof and warp of educational thought and teaching it has no such place as it had in previous ages.

Abraham Flexner, keen critic and impatient reformer in the fields of education and medicine, maintained stoutly that education was to be equated with mental discipline. He said that mental discipline attempts to train such faculties as: reason, imagination, and observation. Flexner makes sport of those who would define education in any other terms, and he is joined by Doctor Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University on this point.[19]

18 Edward O. Sisson, "An Education Emergency," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 106, July, 1910, pp. 54-63.

19 See Charles W. Eliot's article: "The Case Against Compulsory Latin, The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 119, June, 1917, pp. 352-361, and Ernest C. Moore's What Is Education.

In his article on mental discipline in The Atlantic Monthly for April, 1917, Flexner refers his reading audience to Earnest C. Moore's What Is Education? Professor Moore states that the three forms of knowledge are: common sense knowledge, scientific knowledge, and philosophic knowledge; and he makes a powerful plea for the support of the idea of mental discipline in his book.

Professional Versus Liberal Education

Perhaps the greatest progress in education had been made in the establishment of professional schools and the inclusion of scientific studies in the curriculum in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Many educators and laymen raised serious questions about the efficacy of the new education which was being introduced. It is understandable that there was urgency and concern about these changes. Many feared that technology would replace many of the values which were held. Ephraim Emerton voiced his concern about where the college was going in the following terms:[20]

> The answer is to be found in a return to the conception of a necessary and essential union between learning and the higher life of the spirit. This conception must be made to enter vitally into every grade of our education from lowest to highest. It must not be set in opposition to the other conception of learning as essentially applicable to some human purpose. It must be united with it, so that our youth may grow up steadily to the conviction that a gentleman is a better tool than a scrub,--that he will work better, play better, and fight better; and conversely that he who will not work well, play well, and fight well is no gentleman. In that sense I should be glad to have it said of our education, as my English friend said of his, that American education is primarily intended for gentlemen.

John Jay Chapman expressed concern about the new education and spoke of

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20 Ephraim Emerton, "Gentleman and Scholar," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 85, June, 1900, pp. 773-778.

the outcomes in terms of retardation of children. He comments:[21]

> This miscarriage of education has been developed and is being conducted by some of our greatest educators, through a perfectly unconscious adaptation of their own souls to the spirit of the age. The underlying philosophy of these men might be stated as follows: 'There is nothing in life nobler than for a man to improve his condition and the condition of his children. Learning is a means to this end.' Such is the current conception of education. . .You wish to help the American youth. This unfortunate, benighted, ignorant boy, who has from his cradle heard of nothing but business success as the one goal of all human effort.

Thus, education was thought of in terms of a panacea and cure for all the social ills. Americans were slowly rallying to the financial support of education for everybody, but widespread concern about education followed when society paid the bills. At times, moreover, the abiding faith which man had in education as the agent which was to usher in the millennium wavered under the strains of new developments in society. Had not this country exported its graduates to Germany for advanced degrees until the latter part of the preceding century? With the establishment of graduate school in this country, America felt that she had matured somewhat in the field of education and believed that she could supply a type of education which America needed.

Clement L. Smith, president of the American Philological Association, pointed out some of the ills of American education and defined education in an address before the American Philological Association in July, 1899, in these terms:[22]

> The visible traces of the struggles are with us yet in the curious assortment of degrees,--now fortunately diminishing in number,--bachelors of arts, of letters, of philosophy, of literature, of science, or what not, which decorate our college graduates, standing ostensibly for so many supposed varieties of liberal culture,

21 John Jay Chapman, "Learning," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 106, July, 1910, pp. 125-136.

22 Clement L. Smith, "The American College in the Twentieth Century," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 85, January, 1900, pp. 219-231.

> and giving currency and countenance to false and pernicious views of what liberal culture is; for an education which aims to equip for particular callings, however, useful it may be, is not the liberal education which should be the single aim of the college. . . It should be the aim of the secondary school, too. . .For the essence of a liberal education lies in the aim, not in the studies pursued,--not in letters, not in science.

Elsewhere Professor Smith defined clearly the role of the college and the lower schools. He said that:[23]

> The school is for the many, the college is for the few; but these few are to be equipped for higher service, for leadership; and who shall say that the community has less interest in the best intellectual equipment of its leaders than in the general intelligence of multitude?

Classical Versus Modern Education

Sir Richard Livingston, the great classicist and President of Corpus Christi College and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University in England, indicated the job of education when he said:[24]

> But there is nothing in our modern educational theory comparable to Plato's Republic-- still the greatest of all books on education. For Plato saw what we ignore, not only that education is the basis of the state, but that the ultimate aim and essence of education is the training of character-- to be achieved by the discipline of the body, the will, and the intelligence; therefore, he planned his whole scheme to this end, yet in such a manner that the intellectual education was in no way distorted or ignored, that the intellectual and moral coincided. We, where we attack the problem at all, do so in an amateur and haphazard way. It is not surprising that human character has not improved, for we have never taken its improvement seriously in hand. We have spent time and careful thought on physical health; but what have we done comparable for the health of the character? Our system of spiritual or ethical medicine (if I may so phrase it) is in much the same position as medicine itself in the eighteenth century: good in patches, but wholly inadequate and generally unprogressive, and needing, if any real advance is to be made, hard thought, exact study, and methodical treatment.

Interestingly enough, Sir Richard Livingston touched upon the problem of the failure of the school to develop character. When the home insisted

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23 Ibid., p. 225.

24 Sir Richard Livingston, "Education and the Training of Character," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July, 1946, pp. 81-86.

that the school take over more of the duties which the home had formerly done, the school left itself open for attack when juvenile delinquency became so widespread. The changed nature of the home certainly brought this problem into sharp focus; the educators are still feeling the impact of this problem on education.

The writer of this paper would like to point out that every writer did not emphasize the same aspect of education in his definition of the term, for education has tended to become more and more complex as the twentieth century unfolded. In some respects, one might say that education as a social science was becoming more systematized. That all the writers who attempted a definition of education in The Atlantic Monthly focused their attention on some aspect of a definition reveals something about the growing complexity of education in the United States. At the beginning of the twentieth century, education was considered to be that process which led to the training of the mind. The old idea that the mind was composed of several compartments, so to speak, and that each of these areas had to be analyzed continued to play an important role in education during the nineteenth century. Mental discipline was one of the most pernicious terms ever to be coined and given currency in educational circles, for it has led to many types of restrictions. In this regard, one can still see evidence that education as a social science is one of the most conservative and traditional human activities, for it seems to sling to out-dated concepts such as this even though there is not too much validity attached to such a term. However, one may discern an ever-broadening conception of the nature of education by noting the articles which have been quoted in this chapter. For example, the term became expanded from the notion of mental discipline to such things as:

character training, moral training, education for citizenship, training for democratic living, and many other similar phrases. This expansion of the term had its origin in the social environment out of which it evolved, and one needs to understand that these attempts at a definition of education are not too different from the definitions which appeared in the educational journals during the same period. With this fact in mind, one can understand the specific remarks which follow by keeping these definitions in mind clearly.

The next chapter will deal with some of the problems in elementary education as The Atlantic Monthly reflects them. The author of this thesis will include criticisms and suggestions for the improvement of elementary education and will show how the concepts of education during the period influenced educational practices of the period under consideration.

CHAPTER III

THE PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The public elementary school was established throughout the United States during the nineteenth century. It was available to most of the children in this country without cost, providing students of diverse backgrounds with a minimum common educational experience, which was supported by public funds and completely controlled by the whole community rather than by religious or political groups. Lawrence Cremin[1] notes that the public elementary school had won its most important battles in its struggle for recognition and support by 1850. By the end of the century the elementary school had undergone many changes and refinements; one of the noticeable changes was reflected in the nature of the student body which was quite different from the student body of the dame schools, the infant schools, and the other common schools of an earlier period. Another important difference was that education began to be looked upon as a national tool. Summarizing some of these changes in public education, Cubberley suggests that education was effecting important changes in American life. He makes his points in the following manner:[2]

> The general result of the vast and far-reaching changes which we have just described is that the intellectual and political horizon of the working classes has been tremendously broadened; the home has been completely altered; children now have much leisure and do little labor; and the common man at last is rapidly coming into his own. Still more, the common man seems destined to be the dominant force in government in the future. To this end he and his children must be educated, his wife and children cared for, his

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1 Lawrence Cremin, The American Common School, Teachers' College Bureau of Publication, (New York, 1951), p. 219.

2 Ellwood Cubberley, The History of Education, Houghton Mifflin Company, (New York, 1948), p. 736.

> home protected, and governments must do for him the things which satisfy his needs and advance his welfare. The days of the rule of the small intellectual class and of government in the interests of such a class have largely passed, and the political equality which the Athenian Greeks first in the western world gave to the 'citizens' of little Athens, the Industrial Revolution has forced modern and enlightened governments to give to all their people. In consequence, real democracy in government, education, justice, and social welfare is now in process of being attained generally, for the first time in the history of the world.

Forces Affecting Education

If it be true that education reflects the dominant aims of the society of which it is a part, one should examine the aims of society to determine whether education is actually making significant contributions to the development of mankind. In spite of the fact that progress in the establishment of free public elementary schools was dependent upon court decisions in many cases in the nineteenth century, many reforms were made by such dynamic public figures as: Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Calvin Stowe, William T. Harris, G. Stanley Hall, Bishop John Spalding, William James, John Dewey, William H. Kilpatrick, Nicholas Murray Butler, and others. These men provided the type of educational leadership which tended to bring the aims of the schools into closer touch with those of society at large. Thus, the turn of the century was a time in which society had developed a tremendous faith in the free public schools which had been emerging for over a hundred years in this country. Educational publications exerted an important influence over the direction of education in the United States during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the popular and literary magazines continued to publish articles on educational subjects. The Atlantic Monthly was sensitive to the problems of the educational world, and it is interesting to note that the periods of stress during the

twentieth century were reflected in the articles which appeared in this magazine. One would expect that the articles on education during the first decade of the twentieth century would express an optimistic mood; and, actually, this is the case. America faced the new century with confidence in its ability to make progress in all areas, and this attitude prevailed until World War I ushered in a period of re-examination and adjustment.

Education: Then and Now

The first article on education was warmly human, and a case could be made for the shift in educational emphasis which this article suggests. Elementary education had become highly formalized in the nineteenth century through the Herbartian influence in this country. The curriculum consisted of facts to be learned and knowledge to be assimilated in the hope that the child would use this knowledge in later life. But with the development of the new psychology in the last decade of the nineteenth century and its far-reaching effects on the school curriculum, elementary education shifted from a formalized type of experience to one which took into account the nature of the child and his environment. In other words, the curriculum became less formalized and more cognizant of the needs of the child in his social surroundings. The influence of religion on elementary education began to wane under the impact of the new secular concern in society at large. These influences on elementary education were beginning to be expressed at the turn of the century. Considering the fact that woman's suffrage had not been decided in this country, it is interesting to note that a woman who had been elected to a school board commented

upon her experiences in the following manner:[3]

> Once upon a time--that is the way good stories used to begin--a certain Maine town electrified itself by choosing a woman to serve on its superintending school committee, and--to precipitate myself into the narrative as dramatically as possible--I was that woman. . .My experiences as a school official ushered me into a new world,--I was very much in the position of a neophyte about to be initiated into mysteries.
>
> I began to make discoveries--disheartening discoveries: the educational problem is one whose workings can never be fully accounted for by the accepted laws of nature. . .the constant contemplation of this problem had the effect of upsetting my previous theological convictions, and even of rendering the consolations of religion a doubtful quantity, since, after studying 'the tricks and manners' of youth, the claim that they possessed souls seemed absolutely untenable. The continuous, wearying routine of school life, the endless monotony combined with endless variation, the limitless demands of patience, the iteration and reiteration necessary to impress a single idea on the mind of the average pupil,--all these I marked, and gained some idea of the difficulty of the problem with which educators are confronted--a problem rendered the more discouraging by the fact that in its solution it continually demands the impossible.

One may surmize that conditions in Maine were somewhat typical of conditions in other states; and, if this were true, Martha Dunn's observation suggests something about the complexity of educational problems at the turn of the century.

Science and Religion in Education

Conflicts between the new scientific spirit and religion added to the complexity of the problems with which society had to deal. While the problem of the separation of church and state was reflected in all areas of education, its most striking influence was felt in the elementary and secondary schools. At the turn of the century this country had just been on an imperialistic binge which recalled the English concern over the white man's burden of caring for under-privileged groups. In addition to this imperialistic nationalism, many people

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3 Martha Baker Dunn, "The Meditations of an Ex-School-Committee Woman," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 86, July, 1900, pp. 36-45.

became concerned about the over-all moral decadence which grew out of the swelling of towns and cities to meet the industrial demands of a changing economy. Pulpiteers claimed that there was a direct relationship between crime and the lack of religious instruction in the public schools. Those who support the teaching of religion in the public schools have used the argument that Bible teaching would help to solve the problem of juvenile delinquency, but there are few educators who would accept this as a solution to such a complex social and economic problem. Apparently, some writers did not agree that religion should be taught in the public schools. One of these writers, Herbert W. Horwill, suggested his opinion in this manner:[4]

> The prevalent optimism concerning the present conditions of American education as a whole is broken by an almost unanimous confession of failure in one particular. . .the typical young American does not know the Bible as his father knew it. 'It is apparent that familiarity with the English Bible as a masterpiece of literature is rapidly decreasing among the pupils in our public schools'. . .There is undoubtedly room and need for improvement. As the majority of the population passes through the public schools, the introduction of biblical teaching into these schools throughout the country suggests itself as the most obvious means of bringing about the desired reform.
>
> The conclusion of the whole matter is that teaching religion is the work of the churches and not of the state. If for any reason it has fallen into neglect, the duty of repair lies upon those organizations which have been formed for the express purpose of the spread of Christianity. It is well for the churches themselves that they should be thrown upon their own resources in this respect, and cease hoping to obtain assistance from Caesar in the establishment of a kingdom which is not of this world. . . In America no less mischief is done to the spread of true religion by the spectacle of the church member who demands that the state shall set up in every schoolhouse a light that has not yet been kindled within his own home.

Thus, Horwill viewed the matter as a responsibility of the church and home and stated that there were two obstacles which would prevent the teaching of religion in the public schools. He felt that it was

4 Herbert W. Horwill, "The Bible in the Public Schools," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 92, September, 1903, pp. 296-304.

difficult to treat sacred writers without provoking acrimonious discussion, and he thought that religious considerations might come to the forefront if the public schools undertook an ambitious program of instruction, even though this would have been quite impossible under existing laws. Furthermore, he doubted that a knowledge of Biblical characters had any direct relationship to questions of right conduct.

Concern over religious instruction seemed to be more pressing during periods of stress and strain. It appears that the nation went along on an even keel on this matter until the country was faced with the issues of World Wars in the second and fourth decades of the twentieth century. After the two wars many people examined their values in the light of the problems which were raised as a result of war. As indicated elsewhere in this study, the famous Scopes trial gripped the attention of the nation in the early twenties; and it is natural that people should question the status quo in the realm of morality during periods of decision. After World War II, Clyde Lemont Hay[5] wrote a book which attempted to give the background of the McCollum Case in Champaign, Illinois, where suit was brought as a result of religious instruction in the public schools on a released-time basis. Before America entered World War I on the side of the Allied Powers, Washington Gladden, professor of theology, outlined his point of view on religious instruction in The Atlantic Monthly. He had this to say:[6]

> The place of religion in popular education is not a new problem, but it bids fair to be one of considerable urgency in the near future. In all the more advanced nations the government has

5 Clyde Lemont Hay, The Blind Spot in American Public Education, The Macmillan Company, (New York, 1950), 110 pp.

6 Washington Gladden, "Religion and the Schools," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 115, January, 1915, pp. 77-86.

> assumed the responsibility for the education of the people. As a necessary consequence of both of these tendencies the religious element in popular education has been constantly diminishing. In our own country we may say that religious teaching has practically disappeared from the public schools. By many good citizens this fact is greatly deplored. All our Roman Catholic neighbors point to it as a radical defect in our system of popular education, and assert it is having grave consequences in the godlessness and immorality of the generations thus neglected; and many earnest Protestants substantially agree with them. . .Morality can not be adequately taught apart from religion. Because the state cannot teach religion, the state cannot adequately conduct the work of educating its youth. For agnostics and for non-Catholics, to whom these interests of religion are not vital, the state may maintain secular schools; but Roman Catholics must not entrust the souls of their children to such defective care. This puts a considerable burden on the Catholic citizens, who are taxed, of course, to maintain the public schools. They maintain that this is an injustice, and they are asking for relief.It does not seem practicable to remit that portion of the tax which is expended on the schools, and the alternative is a plea for subsidizing of Catholic parish schoo from the public treasury. Concerning this we are told that there is not entire unanimity among Catholics; that there are those who object to such subvention on the ground that the schools would thus be in danger of losing their independence, since state aid would necessarily mean some measure of inspection and regulation by the public authorities. Rather than risk this interference they would continue to bear their present burden. Most of the Catholic leaders, however, appear to be willing to face that peril, and the demand for state aid to parochial schools is likely soon to be articulate and urgent.

Gladden insisted that parents should do the job of religious training, and he felt that the church should put its emphasis upon this goal instead of insisting that the state support a program of religious instruction in the public schools. He questioned, as did Horwill, the contention that Bible reading in the public schools would have a direct influence upon morality. In this regard, he concluded:[7]

> That the perfunctory reading of a few verses from the Bible every morning will produce any material improvement in the intelligence of the people upon Bible subjects, or in public morality, it is not reasonable to expect.

These were the only articles in The Atlantic Monthly dealing with the

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[7] Ibid., p. 68.

important issue of the separation of church and state, and it is significant that these two writers tended to agree with the principle of separation of church and state so far as public education was concerned. Even though the problem cropped up several times throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the principle was reaffirmed by court action whenever pressures were exerted in this area. The gradual emergence of this principle guaranteed a secular instead of a sectarian emphasis in public education.

Influence of Science on the Schools

The impact of science on the public schools expressed itself in many ways, and the rapid accumulation of knowledge in the scientific fields intensified the social problems and made it necessary for society to make adjustments in the light of such an accumulation of knowledge. The emphasis of the new psychology had channeled the development of the elementary school curriculum into the direction of a study of the child and his needs, and science was directly responsible for the development of the testing movement which was to have such an important influence upon education during the first half of the twentieth century. The development of John Dewey's philosophy of education was still another aspect of the growing emphasis on science in American education. Agnes E. Meyer pointed out the importance of bridging the gap between science and society, and she made a plea for narrowing the gap between scientific progress and social adaptation. Technology, she felt, was responsible for this gap in society; she made this point clear when she said:[8]

I cannot give a more dramatic picture than this of the truth

8 Agnes E. Meyer, "Are Our Schools Doing Their Job?" The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 183, February, 1949, pp. 32-36.

> this education has fallen behind in one of the central problems with which our democracy must cope; namely, the split that exists in our civilization between science and society, between our accumulation of expert techniques and our spontaneity in applying those techniques to the problems of everyday living. . .the specific problems of the public school and its curriculum is to bridge this gap between our immense resources of knowledge and the social maladjustment that stares us in the face whether in our great cities or in our rural areas.
>
> The obvious necessity of adapting the school curriculum to community needs, in order that we may build a better world, is already felt in the modern trends of curriculum-making. What are they?
>
> 1. Educational methods in the lower reaches are becoming less formal in ways of learning and in human classroom relationships.
>
> 2. The teachers are aware that the curriculum must be centered on the problems of the environment.
>
> 3. The curriculum is aimed at making the school a greater power for good in the life of the community.

Objectives of Education

John Jay Chapman held that the purpose of teaching was to acquaint the learner with the existing tradition, and this position tended to support the classicists who did not approve of the new developments in education. Chapman's argument is couched in the form of a plea for the study of languages through which Western tradition has been passed to on-coming generations. He remarked:[9]

> All teaching is merely a way of acquainting the learner with the body of existing tradition. If the child is ever to have anything to say of his own, he has need of every bit of his expressive medium to help him to it. The reason is, that, so far as expressiveness goes, only one language exists. Every experiment and usage of the past is a part of his language. A phrase or an idea rises in the Hebrew, and filters through the Greek or Latin and French, down to our time. The practitioners who scribble and dream in words from their childhood up,--into whose habit of thought language is kneaded through a thousand reveries,--those are the men who receive, reshape, and transmit it. Language is their portion; they are the priests of language.

The conflict between the classicists and modernists was indicated by several writers during the early part of the twentieth century.

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9 John Jay Chapman, "Learning," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 106, July, 1910, pp. 135-136.

Gradually, the writers began to attack the changes which were transpiring in terms of the aims or objectives of the public schools. The conservatives yearned to hold the line against the progressives, and the progressives tended to take advantage of the changing social conditions in examining the aims and objectives in the light of these changes. While the conservatives continued to view education as mental discipline, the progressives--under the influence of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, and others--insisted on defining education functionally. Viewing education in this manner, the progressives were necessarily opposed to such things as: formal drill, rote learning, and mental discipline, which were characteristic of the conservatives. The child study movement of the latter half of the nineteenth century focused attention on a systematic study of the child and tended to set the stage for changes in methods and techniques of teaching in the elementary school. Another causal factor was related to the enrollment of "all the children of all the people" in the elementary schools. This democratization of public education lead to a critical examination of the program of the elementary school. Willard Giles Parson's article illustrates the procedure of taking stock of the aims of education in order to determine the direction it should take. He viewed the existing confusion in aims as indicative of the fact that the aims needed examination and clarification. To make this point, he said:[10]

> In hitting a mark a great deal depends on clearness of vision. It is advisable to decide in the first place, at which mark to aim. In the matter of arranging a system of public schools the state is trying to hit a mark, and it behooves it to know just what that is and where it lies. And in the putting of the system

[10] Willard Giles Parsons, "Making Education Hit the Mark," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 97, April, 1906, pp. 433-444.

> into practice, all the way along the line, it would be well if the aim could be kept in mind, distinct and clear. The teacher who assigns the daily lessons, the board that determines curricula, the public that supports and influences schools, need constantly to ask themselves two questions: What is the mark? and, how is it reached? As for teachers, it may be they do sometimes incline to assign the next lesson because it comes next in the book. We hear much, and need to hear much, about the necessity of elevating the standards of instruction. But the teachers are the least of this trouble; they keep their eyes open pretty well; and they are better than the system.
>
> The confusion of these (cultural and vocational) aims is the chief cause of the present blindness of our education. Nearly every course in every school tries for both at once, and consequently misses altogether. For different aims require differently directed courses. Vocational aims require vocational courses, dealing with vocational subjects; cultural aims require cultural courses, dealing with cultural subjects. Is that not almost too obvious a remark? Yet it needs to be made, and made again, and shouted, for education is getting a little deaf (in the high places) as well as blind. And to this must be added the insistence that each aim be kept pure. In vocational courses the aim must be supreme. In cultural courses the cultural aim must be supreme.

The importance of an elementary education was expressed in terms of a student's being able to read the Bible, but society became more complex with the mechanization of industry and the transformation of the economy into industrial channels where it had formerly been an agricultural economy. As society became more complex education became more diversified, and the direction of education was determined largely by the aims and purposes which society set in terms of a changing social scene. Therefore, the articles in The Atlantic Monthly dealing with the aims of education as a whole and elementary education specifically reflected this broad social movement of reinterpretation of the role of the schools in American society. Harriet Finlay-Johnson gave a picture of elementary education early in the twentieth century, and her description suggests an awareness of the forces in society which were calling for attention. One may sense in her article an awareness of the inappropriateness of older methods to the newer demands for

education. She said:[11]

> 'Going to school!' What are the mental pictures conjured up by these words? Four walls, cupboards, books,(not the cupboards of home by any means, and perhaps a different class of books), blackboards, drawing-models, easels, museum, kindergarten materials--these comprise the skeleton, the bare bones of 'school.' Much has been done to emancipate the twentieth-century child from the ancient drudgery of learning, but still, to a great extent, 'shades of the prisonhouse begin to close upon the growing boy when he is old enough to go to school.' The desks are made and designed carefully for the express purpose of being sat in. The boy will have to learn to sit still when he longs for movement. Others will dictate to him as to when he ought to move about, and he will move in common with numbers of other children--by rule--by drill. The books, the blackboards and all the other articles of furniture will soon represent to him merely so many pieces of apparatus by means of which he will study, in common with others, uniform lessons; or, perchance, have thin films of information laid over his mind in order that it may be skimmed off again by questioners and examiners. For, although we hear a very great deal in these days about 'self-expression' in school, yet those 'in authority over us' still appear to require the self-expression served up in the same old dishes of methods, accompanied by the flavoring of time-tables, notes, schemes, marks, reports, and examinations which seasoned the metal good of those who went before us. The consequence is that the so-called self-expression is not an expression of what the child really thinks and feels at all; to use our culinary figure again, it is really a kind of mental mockturtle--an imitation and a sham.
>
> What is that you say? 'What about the 3 R's?' Why these scholars are taking the 3 R's in their stride, as it were. When they want to remember their parts, they write and transcribe them. When they need mathematics they actually measure, weigh, and calculate. You have seen them. How do they strike you? Are they not sane, healthy, promising little citizens? Do not their nice, natural manners impress you? And which 'day in school' did you most enjoy? Which made you feel most alive? Which accomplished most? Let these Utopian scholars preach the Gospel of Happiness for other children--let them have their share in leavening the whole lump.

Cornelia James Cannon recognized that the schools would have to change their programs in order to take into account new social factors caused by ferment in the business and industrial world. She indicated the role which teachers assumed in the educational scheme of things,

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11 Harriet Finlay-Johnson, "Education Dramatized," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 109, February, 1912, pp. 256-264.

and she pointed out that criticism of the educational system appeared to be somewhat of a national sport. Like so many of the writers, she spoke in very general terms; but her remarks definitely have applicability to the field of elementary education as well as to the whole realm of education. She demonstrates an awareness of a changing emphasis when she spoke of the training for self-expression which was a departure from the mental discipline point of view. She said: [12]

> What part does education, as obtained from our educational institutions, play in the development of our children?
>
> Criticisms of our schools is so popular that the stigma of inferiority seems to rest upon the entire system. Some of the censure is undoubtedly an expression of the high ideals the critics hold for education in a democracy; but a good deal of it is simply a manifestation of our national habit of abusing our public institutions. As a matter of fact, where there is any kind of serious educational effort in the country, the children of the next generation are receiving a superior education. It is not so good as that we hope our grandchildren will receive, but it is much better than that which was meted out to us. Indeed, it is in most cases so much better than we citizens, in our indifference, deserve, that we can only congratulate ourselves upon the unceasing labors and high standards of the pedagogic profession, of which we are the caviling beneficiaries.
>
> The outstanding characteristic of the new education is its emphasis upon training for self-expression. It is an education of release. We are apt to be impressed by its unpleasant manifestations, which stand out prominently, and distract our attention from the much more striking gains in power and effectiveness. We can so easily see the whole method as devised to exaggerate a natural self-assertion, when in reality it is a potent agent for the reduction of the fears and phobias which have tortured mankind, and a strong stimulus to the development of a new-self-reliance and a richer personal consciousness.
>
> The word 'release' is to many minds the signal for the attack to begin. Suppressions, subordination, are the watchwords of such critics, of human nature. But, unless we woefully misread humanity, the impulses that guide our conduct are reasonably decent. Taking us as a whole, we are right-minded, fairly unselfish, and properly tolerant of each other. Otherwise we should not waste effort embodying moral standards in the form of law, nor attempt the enforcement of our systems.
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> Our fundamental need, in order to develop a full and rich civilization, is the free play of those energies of men which

12 Cornelia James Cannon, "The Crabbing of Youth by Age," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 131, June, 1923, pp. 787-796.

> constitute the raw material of which any civilization is made. Those energies are the powers our educators are striving to release. The liberation of a force which is to function does not mean that the lid is off. Every expression implies a repression somewhere else. One muscle can be effective only if another muscle gives way. Similarly, in the activity of any aspect of personality, controls and inhibitions of other aspects are inevitable.
>
> But the emphasis of this new education, which is predicated upon a faith in human nature, is not that self-control is unimportant, but that self-expression is essential. Which categories of conduct shall be subject to self-control, and which to self-expression, is decided by the ethical ideals of the nation; but the need of our democracy to-day is for fewer repressed critics and for more potential contributors.
>
> The educator's methods are various. He strives, through a varied curriculum, to reach children of diverse interests and capacities, and to make their abilities available by appropriate training and discipline. The old idea of education, as some task the child must perform for the edification of the teacher, is as extinct as the dodo. Instead, the child's effort is for the benefit of the other children in the school, or just for the pure joy of acquisition and expression. The emphasis is less on the personal possession of wisdom and more on the social responsibility for the good gift of education.

Another article reflects the re-evaluation of beliefs; it was written after World War I by Doctor William Trufant Foster, president of Reed College, Oregon. Doctor Foster believed that education could be improved by careful attention to teacher training and by inaugurating a program of in-service training for teachers already in the field. Throughout his article he emphasized that one needed a clear vision of what schools should be in order to effect changes in society. His remarks follow: [13]

> And so, in war or in peace, the chief defense against the foes of morale is education. And as there is only one agency of education that can be made to reach effectively all the future citizens of the state, the morale of a nation is largely in keeping of its public schools. It is commonplace to say that the nation will be no better than its public schools, and the schools no better than the teachers; but it is no commonplace to grasp the idea that

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13 William Trufant Foster, "The Morale of the School," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 131, June, 1923, pp. 772-778.

> the teachers will be no better than their dominant purpose. Since the right conception of that purpose is the backbone of school morale, the chief means of strengthening the teaching profession is a training of prospective teachers and a continued training of teachers in service which insures a broad and compelling view of the function of the school. To open up such a vision, training must proceed beyond the uninspiring details of classroom method and the dull facts of the too remote history of education. Otherwise, teachers are like soldiers who memorize many facts concerning past wars, with little idea what it is all about.
>
> A full understanding of the mission of the public school in defending the morale of the nation against its enemies cannot come without a knowledge of economic and political institutions. In these fields, virtually all the enemies of morale dig their trenches. Yet the traditional high-school and normal-school training, neglecting these fields, leaves the teacher a prey to hordes of vagrant, half-clad theories. It is the result of a professional requirement, if he knows the meaning of Bolshevism, for example, or sabotage, or the effect of recent legislation on the distribution of wealth; or if he understands the function of capital, the cost of living; or if he has read the history of Socialism, or of education at all, but merely the tools of education. But the total effect of such studies is not liberalizing or inspiring; and teachers' training courses are weakest in the one field that could make the vocation most fraught with meaning. No teacher can to-day gain a vision of the wider reaches of his work without an economic and political outlook.

Doctor Foster expressed his point of view rather forcefully and his awareness of the need for defining the proper role of the schools in American life was shared by other people. Professor Anderson's statement of the function of the schools was more definite than Doctor Foster's, and it indicates the importance of the broadening objectives of the schools. "Their proper function," he said," is not merely that of furnishing intellectual and moral training, but of assimilating our whole people to an American type, and of checking the tendency toward a social stratification that will prevent the common sympathy and understanding necessary for the cooperative effort of a democracy." [14] Underlying all of these general comments upon aims and objectives was the

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14 A.W. Anderson, "Politics and The Public Schools," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 87, April, 1901, pp. 433-447.

notion that education must recognize the implication of the many changes in American life. Some of the articles dealing with the elementary schools were of a general nature, but many of them emphasized the importance of the aims and objectives of education. Several articles plead for the democratization of the nation's schools, and these articles imply that the old traditional educational pattern was not democratic in form and organization.

One gets the impression that education was in the process of change from noting the number of articles which dealt with the subject. However, the writers in The Atlantic Monthly were not vocal in suggesting a method of reorganization of the public schools. They concentrated on defending the status quo or on calling for specific reform without clearly defining a method of solving the educational problems which were plaguing educators. Apparently, the vogue of criticizing the public schools has been practiced throughout the history of this country, at least, so far as the public schools are concerned. When one realizes that the public which supports the public schools has a right to know what is happening to its sons and daughters, it seems quite natural that such criticisms should be made. That educators did not provide the type of educational leadership which would have forestalled many of the popular criticisms of education seems apparent, but one should be careful in evaluating the effectiveness of educators in terms of the number of critical articles which appeared in one of the important and influential literary magazines. But one can not deny that The Atlantic Monthly was critical of educational developments of the period under consideration.

Curriculum Changes

Several articles dealing with the curriculum were published, some

of these articles were motivated by the growing interest in science, while others were motivated by other forces in society. The articles dealing with the curriculum show that there was a changing attitude toward the curriculum of the elementary and secondary schools. For instance, Louis C. Elson's article tends to justify music on the grounds of the needs of people in the area of music rather than on the grounds of music for music's sake. His description of musical education was:[15]

> In the primary school classes, all are taught to join in singing, and this choral activity is continued as the chief element of public musical instruction until the end of the high school or academy work. In the college, if any change is made, it is generally in the direction of harmony, counterpoint, and composition. Yet it may be taken as an axiom that nine-tenths of the graduates from all classes of educational institutions, excepting conservatories of music, will not be actively musical in subsequent life; they will enjoy music, so far as they are able, from the passive side. Surely these submerged nine-tenths have some rights in the domain of music and some claims for an education fitted to their needs; classes in musical appreciation are a more crying necessity than the omnipresent classes in singing. . . Let the public schools aid in training an intelligent musical taste, and the American composer will tread a much less thorny path.
>
> Noble compositions and possibly a great American national anthem (our most notice[illegible] musical lack) will soon follow. At present not one pupil in a hundred understands the gentle art of listening to music.

Earnest Elmo Calkins had some things to say about geography in the elementary school curriculum of the Central Primary in New York City. His article is a nostalgic summary of the development of the school curriculum. He speaks of the use of slates, benches, maps, and charts in the elementary school, and his comments upon recess verge on a spirit of worship of things past. His point was that the early texts determined the curriculum in the area of geography. He said:[16]

> Geography has flowered into an amiable hobby, a love of old

[15] Louis C. Elson, "Our Public Education in Music," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 92, August, 1903, pp. 252-255.

[16] Earnest Elmo Calkins, "At The Central Primary," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 133, April, 1924, pp. 493-502.

> maps for their own sake,--the older the better,--like the love of old books. He likes his maps drawn without too much allegiance to theodolite and sextant, maps in which the old cartographers' imagination found full play, where terra incognita is more interesting than terra cognita with beasts and fish and ships out of scale, and the four winds blowing with puffed-out cheeks from the corners.
>
> And so the Central Primary, without giving him much of what may be called formal education, did its share toward equipping him with two permanent interests--the alphabet and maps; and one aversion--arithmetic. The Books triumphed over the State.

Another article dealing with the curriculum was written by a medical doctor. He reminded his readers that serious attention should be given to the reading problem in the nation's schools. His position was that many minor physical defects could be discovered and treated before serious reading disabilities developed. In this regard, he wrote: [17]

> More than one factor may be present: a retraining program which depends in part on what the child can learn by ear and eye should not be started until his hearing and vision have been examined. Someone--teacher, family physician, pediatrician, psychologist, neurologist, or counselor--should make an objective estimate of the situation of the child, and leave no stone unturned to get at all the possible causes or contributing factors. All this need not be too time-consuming or expensive or require special skill or training, no hairline distinctions need be made; a slight diminution in hearing, a little variation from normal vision, are certainly not significant. . . Intelligent, industrious children who have a specific language disability can be helped. Try to recognise and then to understand such children. Given proper remedial aid, many of them have done fine work in our best colleges and professional schools. They are not queer, they are not problems. They offer the teacher a challenge and an opportunity.

An extract from a parent's article indicates a point of view related to the elementary school curriculum. Professor Ivy Kellerman Reed believed that the elementary school curriculum oftentimes hindered growth in children, and he proposed to do something with his own son to

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17 J. Roswell Gallagher, "Can't Spell, Can't Read," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 181, June, 1948, pp. 35-39.

prove his point. Thus, he started to give his son serious attention by following his interests and providing learning experiences which the child could assimilate. Noticing that his son was making undreamed-of progress, Professor Reed expressed his observations in an article in The Atlantic Monthly when he said:[18]

> Ability to read easily and rapidly, a knowledge of arithmetic and geography roughly equivalent to the work of the third and even higher grades in the public schools, and an attitude toward intellectual pursuits which will make learning and study a pleasurable pursuit instead of a task during the rest of his life--these are the achievements of little Erik, aged four years and three months. The saving in actual years of schooling, and the immediate capacity for increased enjoyment, as well as tangible information possessed, are almost too great to estimate in any comparison with school grades. Subtracting the first year and a half of his life, which were occupied with learning to walk, to talk, to manage a spoon, to avoid hot radiators, mercilessly hard corners of tables and chairs, and the like, we can speculate interestingly upon the proportion of gain by the time the boy is twenty years old. We see, at any rate, that it pays to begin early to take advantage of the child's desire and ability to learn, which are manifest in infancy, and which diminish from childhood on through youth, maturity, middle age, and senility. . . I believe that he is more amenable to reason than if he were taught the school subjects in the usual stern and systematic method.

The fallacy in Professor Reed's conclusion is that he abstracted a general principle from too few cases and he could be criticized for using his son, who was obviously atypical, for the basis of his observations. Other writers criticized the elementary school curriculum, but some writers did not base their criticisms on personal observations as Professor Reed did--at least, they used more conclusive data to justify their contentions.

Another general criticism of the elementary school curriculum was related to the teaching of literature in the grades. Edward Yeomans

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[18] Ivy Kellerman Reed, "The Three R's at Four Years Old," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 123, May, 1919, pp. 664-668.

claimed that the teacher was the crucial concern in the teaching of literature. That teachers did not always understand the purposes of the school was one of his contentions. While his objection was not couched in terms of method or content, he focused attention on the teacher whose duty it was to facilitate learning. He remarked:[19]

> It particularly remains for school people to show that they fully understand what schools are for--and then proceed to put the emphasis upon those things that are radical; that produce an enlightened heart and a right spirit within us, to guide a trained mind and hand.
>
> By the magic of intimate friendly intercourse with a wise and sympathetic teacher, who can interpret life and its arts to his pupils, who long ago accepted Whitman's philosophy and asks not good fortune within himself and distributes it wherever he goes, you get a school; and by no other means or method whatsoever.
>
> For a school, said a great teacher the other day in my hearing, has always been just a person--is now--and ever shall be; substitutes are invariably futile.

Thus, if one judges the validity of these criticisms on the basis of the number of the articles in The Atlantic Monthly dealing with the curriculum, one would have to conclude that the writers did not view the curriculum as the most important problem in the field of elementary education. The only subjects to be treated were geography, music, and literature; if this had been of primary concern to the writers, they would have dealt with many of the other subjects with which the elementary school curriculum is concerned. An explanation for this dearth of articles concerned with the curriculum may be found in the fact that The Atlantic Monthly is not a professional magazine which deals with technical subjects related to the school; the articles were chosen on the basis of their widespread appeal to a non-professional reading audience. Furthermore, the professional journals in the field of

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19 Edward Yeomans, "Literature in the Grades," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 127, March, 1921, pp. 328-337.

education were designed to treat technical problems. Thus, the articles tend to be more general than specific. But the articles of a general nature do reflect some of the broader problems of society and suggest that changes in society were demanding attention in the field of education.

Conflicts Between Classicists and Modernists

One of the general problems was reflected in the conflict between the classicists and modernists, but this problem was not peculiar to the field of elementary education alone. Many authors raised objections about the developments in the schools, and these objections seem to indicate a sort of disagreement with these modern developments. The objections definitely reflect a philosophical position, and the author's judgments were further influenced by their background of experience. Such an objection was raised by L.B.R. Briggs, professor at Harvard University. Professor Briggs discounted the new education and opined that the changes which he was experiencing in the educational world would lead to chaos. No doubt Professor Briggs over-stated the case by using the word chaos, for this has not been the case. He referred to himself as old-fashioned in these terms: [20]

> Old-fashioned people have old-fashioned doubts about what seems to them a showy all-around substitute for education,--a sort of bluff at general culture, such as we see when children, at great expense to their schools (the new education is almost ruinously expensive), dissipate their minds by studying a little of everything. . .The curse of modern education is multiplication of subjects and painless methods. I suspect that in another generation we may even overdo the 'enriching' of the grammar school. I do not undervalue the pleasure and the profit of what is called 'a bowing acquaintance' with a variety of subjects: the mistake is to accept

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20 L.B.R. Briggs, "Old-Fashioned Doubts About New-Fashioned Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 86, October, 1900, pp. 463-470.

> such an acquaintance as education. I still doubt whether we can do better for our children than, first, to drill them in a few subjects, mostly old ones: then to give them a modest general education in college, or in all but the last year or two of college; then to let them specialize as energetically as they can (but not exclusively),--throughout to keep in their minds not pleasure only, but the stern Lawgiver who wears the Godhead's most benignant grace.

Thus, Professor Briggs indicated his conservative position. His objection to the multiplication of the school subjects was prompted by the development of new subjects which were introduced as a result of the study of the nature of the child and a more scientific way of planning the learning experiences in the school. He supported the textbook-centered rather than the child-centered curriculum, and his argument about the expense of the new education was not his principal objection. Naturally, a teacher who uses the textbook method of teaching can handle far more students than a teacher who uses the child-centered method of teaching. The latter method, taken to its ultimate extreme, would mean that there would be a teacher for every student; perhaps, Briggs had this in mind when he contended that the child-centered method of teaching was "ruinously expensive."

The conflict between the classicists and modernists was reflected in another article which was penned by Agnes Repplier. The argument took the form of a disagreement with the content, method, and philosophy of the new education. While it is true that these general articles commented upon quite different aspects of the school program, the author's point of view can be determined readily. Repplier's position indicates her disagreement with modern education, and her enumeration of tasks for the child to learn shows her impatience with

the status quo. She said:[21]

> It is not enough that the child should be taught to handle skillfully the tools of all learning,--reading, writing, and arithmetic: his sense of form and his aesthetic nature must be developed by drawing; his hand must be trained by manual work; his musical nature must be awakened by song; he must be brought into harmony with his external environment by means of nature lessons and the study of science; his patriotic impulses must be roused by the study of American history and by flag drills; temperance must be instilled into him by lessons in physiology, with special reference to the effects of alcohol on the human system; his imagination must be cultivated with the help of Greek and Norse mythology; he must gain some knowledge of the great heroes and events of general history; he must acquire a love for and an appreciation of the best literature through the plentiful reading of masterpieces, while at the same time his mind should be stocked with choice gems of prose and verse which will be a solace to him throughout his later life; it might be well if, by displacing a little arithmetic or geography he could gain some knowledge of the elements of Latin or a modern language; in some manner must be roused in him a love of trees, a respect for birds, an antipathy of cigarettes, and an ambition for clean streets; and somewhere, somewhere in this mad chaos he must learn to spell! Do you wonder that teachers in progressive schools confide to us that they fear their pupils are slightly bewildered? Do you wonder that pupils do not gain the habit and the power of concentrated, consecutive work?

Elsewhere, Repplier quoted Wilson Farrand's opinion, taken from his book, The Existing Relations Between School and College, in support of her contention. She loathed the doctrine of interest which appeared to be very important to the progressives. Interest alone was not her primary concern, since she felt that there were principles and laws which were far more valid than this criterion of interest. Taken to its ridiculous extreme, the doctrine of interest could mean that the child should be free to pursue his interests of the moment to the exculsion of other things. However, this meaning of the term represents a popularization which the modernists did not attach to the term. The quotation

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21 Agnes Repplier, "Popular Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 113, January, 1914, pp. 1-8.

which she chose to support her objection was:[22]

> 'The theory that school work must appeal to a child's fluctuating tastes, must attract a child's involuntary attention, does grievous wrong to the rising generation; yet it is upheld in high places, and forms the subject-matter of many addresses vouchsafed year after year to long-suffering teachers. They should bring to bear the energizing force of interest, they should magnetize their pupils into work. Even Dr. Eliot reminds them with just a hint of reproach that if a child is interested, he will not be disorderly, and this reiterated statement appears to be the crux of the whole difficult situation. Let us boldly suppose that a child is not interested,--and he may conceivably weary even of films,--is it then optional with him to be or not to be disorderly, and what is the effect of his disorder on other children whose tastes may differ from his own?'

Another writer summarized the conflict between the classicists and modernists by poking gentle fun at the modern educators who were typified by a "make-believe, bustling kind" of enterprise. He held to the old tried and true principle of mental discipline, which had had wide currency during the nineteenth century. This idea implied a textbook-oriented learning situation which did not take into account the nature of the child nor his needs in society. The child was viewed as a vessel to be filled with the facts, and it made little difference whether these facts would be used in later life or not. It was felt that the mind ought to be disciplined and formed by the facts which were to be found in textbooks, and many people felt that transfer of training would occur automatically in real life situations. The implications of this point of view led Samuel Orth to make this judgment:[23]

> These, briefly, are the charges. They may be summed up by saying that, in a very general and unsatisfactory way, the schools teach the elements of mental processes; that they, to this extent

22 Ibid., p. 6.

23 Samuel P. Orth, "Plain Facts About Public Schools," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 103, March, 1909, pp. 287-297.

> only, teach morals; and that they leave the aptitudes, manual and mental, in about as dormant a condition as they found them.
>
> Maybe, if there were more genuine enterprise, not the make-believe, bustling kind, among educators, there would be a great deal less carping and parsimoniousness on the part of the people. Maybe the public would hail with great joy and cooperation such an energizing of the schools. Maybe it is too much to hope that this tranquility, freedom, and enterprise shall ever abide in the schools that belong to an impulsive public which often seems to prefer a self-complacent mediocrity to a virile efficiency.

Orth's summary indicates serious public concern about the role of the public schools in American society. Under the impact of various changes in American society; many people were asking if the schools should do more than shape the mental processes. The mere fact that writers were raising the point indicates that society was beginning to demand more from the schools than drill, rote learning, and memory work to meet the new demands of society.

Progressive Education

After 1921 the term "progressive education" was used extensively in The Atlantic Monthly. While John Dewey's philosophy had been formulated and tested in actual classroom situations long before this date, it took some time for the movement to become widespread in the school systems throughout the United States. Remembering that America entered World War I and devoted her energies to the winning of that war, one would be safe in surmising that much of the creative energies of the country went into the war effort. Thus, in the post war period, when society was examining the schools, progressive education was a force which received considerable attention. The editors of The Atlantic Monthly felt compelled to inculde an explanatory note of the definite type of education which included the following characteristics and published them in the introductory materials which the editors appended

to the article when it appeared:[24]

1. Competitive games in which there is some opportunity for action.

2. The abandonment of the formal recitation.

3. A more flexible programme.

4. Correlation of book-knowledge with the daily life of the child.

They suggested that the term was first used in 1919, but it should be pointed out that the definition given by the editors was a descriptive rather than a philosophical definition such as a professional educator might express. Also, the characteristics which the editors listed were intended for the general reading public and not for the professional educator whose knowledge would necessarily be more technical and more inclined to elicit a more specialized connotation than the general lay public would be expected to know. By listing these characteristics of progressive education, the editors revealed that they were definitely not familiar with the movement. According to Professors Edwards and Richey,[25] the progressive schools "exhibit a spirit of freedom; stress child initiative and self-activity; abandon logically arranged subjects in favor of projects and units of work developed around central themes or functions of social life; and emphasize self-expression and personality adjustment." Basically, progressive education's key words are: activity, purposes, child-centeredness, freedom, interest, self-activity, and learning to do by doing. Thus, the editors of The Atlantic Monthly used descriptive phrases which, at best, tell only part of the story of progressive education. The issues between the conservatives

24 Editors' Note, The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 127, February, 1921, p. 227.

25 Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, The School in The American Social Order, Houghton Mifflin Company, (New York, 1947), p. 734.

and progressives were summarized by William C. Bagley, conservative of Teachers College, Columbia University, when he asked:[26]

> Should our public schools prepare boys and girls for adult responsibilities through systematic training in such subjects as reading, writing, arithmetic, history, and English, requiring mastery of such subjects, and, when necessary, stressing discipline and obedience, with informal learning recognized but regarded as supplementary rather than central?

William H. Kilpatrick, leading spokesman for progressive education, defined the issues in progressive edusation when he posed the question:[27]

> Should our schools make central the informal learning of experience and activity work, placing much less stress on formal, systematic assignments, discipline, and obedience, and instead seeking to develop pupil initiative, discipline, and responsibility as well as mastery of basic subjects, by encouraging pupils to show initiative and develop responsibility, with teachers, while in control, serving primarily as guides?

In speaking of progressive education as it was understood in 1921, Cobb said:[28]

> That the progressive movement is open to criticism, no one should intelligently deny. It is still young, still unformed, still empirical. It may on occasions go to extremes in its reaction against the formalism of the present system. But it is a healthily growing movement, the defects of which time and experience will eradicate. It is not as yet standardized. Therein lies its power and appeal. It is a movement still open to change, ready and eager for intelligent criticism and aid. It is a movement for you and for me; and its ultimate will be what you and I conspire to make it.

Even though the writers in The Atlantic Monthly recognized the progressive movement as such, it is interesting that they did not attack the movement as vigorously as some popular writers have during a later period. The articles discussing the movement were few and inconclusive,

26 Edgar W. Knight, Twenty Centuries of Education, Ginn and Company, (Boston, 1940), p. 407.

27 Ibid., p. 407.

28 Stanwood Cobb, "A New Movement in Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 127, February, 1921, pp. 227-234.

and it is interesting to note that the editors of The Atlantic Monthly showed a marked misunderstanding of the progressive movement. Many people looked upon the pragmatic philosophy as an expression of America's affirmation of the scientific method in the realm of human behavior. The shift from other worldliness to this world's problems seemed to assure the experimental method a place in the American scheme of things. Walter S. Monroe states a definition of pragmatism in these terms: "The keynote of experimentalism is the belief that the good life is most fully realized when maximum individual and social growth is taking place through the continuous process of reconstructing experience."[29] The application of this definition in education is far removed from the traditional textbook method with rote memory and the accumulation of vast bodies of factual information which have little application in terms of the reconstruction of human experience.

Claude M. Feuss, Headmaster of Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, commented warmly upon progressive education in an article which appeared in the early 1930's. His article reflects a growing acceptance of the movement, and it is significant that the director of an academy would lend support to the accomplishment of this new philosophy. Feuss underlined the effects of progressive education when he said:[30]

> Progressive Education was organized as a movement and slowly adopted as a creed. No one familiar with education to-day can deny that there has been an astonishing change in the attitude of the teacher toward his pupils. He regards them as individuals, not as a dozen or a hundred similar units, and treats them not only with

29 Walter S. Monroe, Encyclopedia of Educational Researeh, The Macmillan Company, (New York, 1950), p. 894.

30 Claude M. Feuss, "The New Spirit in Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 153, June, 1934, pp. 753-760.

> firmness but also with sympathy. . .That the modern school is a friendly, somewhat intimate place--not a pentitentiary--is due to the influence of the teacher. The old time pedagogue was likely to be remote, inaccessible, and austere, convinced that his function was chiefly punitive. His twentieth-century successor is more amiable, more cooperative, perhaps more worldly. It must be admitted that there were even a century ago some wise and stimulating teachers, with the ability to arouse younger disciples. But with even the best of them the relationship was that between a drill sergeant and his squad of privates, and the idea of compulsion was seldom absent. The modern technique has given real teachers a chance. . .It has been intimated that conditions in our schools are better now than they were. What has been called the Progressive Education movement has done much to alter the situation. The Progressive Educators, like all enthusiasts, have been fanatics, emotionalists, charlatans, contemptuous of tradition, aiming chiefly to criticize and destroy. But it is largely because of the sanity, the courage, and the persistence of their leaders that education in the United States is more effective under Franklin Roosevelt than it was under Andrew Jackson.

Doctor Carl Joachim Friedrich, Associate Professor of Government at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massuchesetts, was moved to comment upon progressive education after a visit to the famed Lincoln School in New York City. His visit to the school was made in 1923, and he explained that he promptly forgot the methods used in that school until his daughter was old enough to enter the primary school. His remarks indicate a disagreement with the methods of progressive education as he understood it, but he is the only writer to raise any objections during the period with which this study is concerned. His criticism of the method was motivated by personal considerations rather than the broad positive philosophical considerations which motivated Feuss. Speaking in informal and intimate terms, he said:[31]

> My thoughts did not return to the subject of primary education with any amount of vigor until our children approached school age. To be sure, one argument which I had used in discussing the Lincoln School with my friend had stuck in my mind, and I had at times repeated it when the question of elementary education came up at tea parties. Perhaps it had stayed with me merely because she had

31 Carl Joachim Friedrich, "This Progressive Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 154, October, 1934, pp. 421-426.

> not been able to answer it, though I am afraid it did not affect her, since she later went in for progressive education in a big way.
>
> I had asked her simply: 'Don't you think that such a school is better for children like yours, who can look forward to a life of leisure and comfort?' It was really a horrid question to ask her, since she was an avowed progressive and social reformer, and nothing was probably as repellent to her as the thought of a leisure class. And yet, when I elaborated my point, she found it momentarily convincing, or maybe she was merely polite. 'My children,' I told her, 'will have to work for a living, and the likelihood is that they will be professional men like myself. Now the competition in all lines of professional work is daily more severe. If we go further in the direction of a socialized community, that competition will further increase, because opportunities will be given to gifted children of impecunious parents who will struggle the harder, since their chance to get an education will depend upon their proficiency.

This series of articles indicates that The Atlantic Monthly recognized the importance of the school of pragmatic philosophy and its implications for education. Only one writer questioned the movement in education, and the champions of the movement appeared quite complimentary on the whole. But the movement came in for extreme critical attack during the early 1950's. These attacks seemed to parallel the widespread feeling of disillusionment in this country following the economic dislocations of the post war period and America's military support of the United Nations in South Korea. Pragmatism also influenced other social institutions; and one could say that the pragmatic philosophy, with its emphasis upon the fundamental dignity and respect for the individual, had many implications in society at large as well as in specialized social insitutions.

Inequalities in Education

Because of the unequal economic and social situation in the several states, there was a tremendous variation in the school systems throughout the country. Even though public education was supported by a

tax-paying public, many states simply did not have the wherewithal to develop a system of elementary schools and provide the necessary buildings, supplies, and staffs to man them. In the South, the support of a dual school system strained the economy to such an extent that the negro schools did not receive as much financial support as did the public schools for the whites. Rural schools appeared to suffer more in this regard than did the public city schools; and because the South is largely agricultural, one must admit that the status of Negro education in the South must have suffered enormously. Several national philanthropic organizations donated huge sums of money to help equalize educational opportunities in the South. What started out as an ambitious program of school construction by the Julius Rosenwald Fund terminated with a thorough study of the elementary schools in fifteen Southern states. The committee which made the study of the elementary schools was horrified to discover that the school program was composed largely of drill, rote learning, and incompetent teachers. As a result of the study, The Julius Rosenwald Fund decided to appropriate money to aid in the education of Negroes in the South. Edwin R. Embree reported the situation in this manner:[32]

> Let us consider, then, what we should expect to-day from the little red school-houses of the countryside.
>
> First, whatever else is done, the school must provide skill in the use of the three R's. No child is prepared to take his place in the modern world without competence in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Language and number are tools so basic to our civilization that teaching them is the first task of any school. The only thing we need to remember in this connection is that language and number are, after all, simply tools to be used in various ways. They are not ends in themselves. The chief fault in the teaching of them is that the lessons in reading and writing and arithmetic become so formalized that the pupil scarcely under-

32 Edwin R. Embree, "Little Red Schoolhouse--1938 Model," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 160, November, 1937, pp. 636-643.

> stands why he is learning them. In fact, in spite of the great amount of time devoted to these primary subjects, a shocking number of children—especially in the rural regions—do not acquire even an elementary knowledge of them.
>
> In addition to the three R's, the rural pupil should get an acquaintance with two other fields: handcrafts and the processes of nature. We advocate these not at all as 'vocational subjects,' but simply as essential tools quite as general in their use as language or arithmetic.
>
> Now the addition of these other fields(nature study, art, music) of interest will not in itself protect the school from rote teaching, but it will help toward connecting the lessons with life. The big problem is to get each of the elementary tools constantly applied so that there will be a clear relationship between living and learning, between tools and their application. This is what is meant by the slogan 'learning by doing.' It is the basis of the programmes of the so-called activity schools and the chief feature of the movement which calls itself 'progressive education.' Skill and knowledge--it cannot too often be repeated--are of no value unless they are put to use; children cannot learn even the elementary skills unless they practice them.

The study of the nation's school systems by private and public groups was caused by many factors. The great depression of the 1930's caused society to question all of its public and many of its private institutions. New developments in the public schools which were related to the applications of the pragmatic philosophy to education contributed to the turmoil in the entire educational scheme in this country. The elementary schools received far more critical attention in The Atlantic Monthly than the public secondary schools, and this was true because compulsory attendance laws forced the masses to stay in school longer. Mass unemployment tended to force the secondary school students to remain in school, as there were not enough jobs to absorb all of the secondary school students who wanted to go to work before completing their high school training. These were some of the reasons for the critical articles which appeared in The Atlantic Monthly during the 1930's.

Critical Attacks on Education

One of the most critical articles to appear was written by Maude Dutton Lynch. She brought into sharp focus many elements of the elementary school which caused concern. Her article was written during the depression, and it is perhaps indicative of the mass loss of faith in public education which the depression encouraged. She said:[33]

> As a nation we have become not only education-conscious but education-mad. Consider the disconsolate father who, as he sits before the fire with catalogues of thirty boys' schools piled high before him, regrets that his only son can take advantage of but one of these de luxe opportunities which are offered him. That is the case more or less with all of us anxious parents. And to be sure that no child of ours shall miss any of his chances, we have joined eagerly with educators, psychologists, and other parents to organize and develop a standardized programme of living which, almost from birth to adulthood, our children have no escape.
>
> And what is this programme that has been so carefully devised by specialists? At 15 months of age, about the time the average child walks alone, we find this small individual entering school life. Brought at nine or ten in the morning to a preschool, he is carefully examined for colds and charted for future study. Then together with a group of children of his own age, he is put out to play with toys which psychological tests have shown to be the proper size, weight, and interest for his tender muscles and awakening mind. Later he is fed a properly balanced meal, prescribed by an expert dietitian, and then put to bed for a definite period of rest and sleep. At a duly appointed hour he is returned to his waiting nurse or mother to be taken home. As he grows older his toys change to suit his years, his meals become more varied, and his day at the pre-school lengthens. This, in essence, is his life for nine, ten, or possibly twelve months of the year until he reaches regulation school age.
>
> When he is six years old he enters first grade, which is usually a half day session. The afternoons he spends in the park, under the watchful supervision of a nurse where limitation of space and lack of suitable materials make normal play practically impossible. By the time he has reached the fourth or fifth grade his school day has been extended into the afternoons, and this is followed by an hour or two of organized play. Saturday--or what is left of it after the barber, the dentist, and the orthopaedic surgeon have deducted their dues--is usually unscheduled up to this age, but from then on it falls more and more into the hands of boys' and girls' clubs, Scout organizations, music teachers, and dancing masters. In short, by the time the

33 Madue Dutton Lynch, "Conscripted Children," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 148, August, 1931, pp. 232-236.

> child has reached his teens he is likely to be carrying an eight- or nine-hour job practically six days a week.
>
> This, in brief, is the system which has been laid out for us by child experts and educators generally, and the well-to-do parents of America have accepted it without question as the normal and natural procedure in the upbringing of their children. Thus, in an era of peace, we are conscripting our children for education just as deliberately as, in time of war, we are conscripting our children for the army. . .
>
> Someone--I think it was Amy Lowell--has said that no one would ever be a poet who wasn't born one, for it is too hard work. It may be that parents are poets of a sort, and that being a parent is too difficult a job for those who are not born to it. So, after all, we need not be too astonished to discover that thousands of fathers and mothers are complacently abdicating their responsibilities and allowing their children to be conscripted into the ranks of standardized schooling which we so ignorantly call education.

An anonymous writer--she remained anonymous for fairly obvious reasons--made some critical comments because teacher's salaries were not paid during the depression in Chicago. The article is written in the form of a diary, and it is very effective in giving a dramatic punch to what she has to say. Even though society had an abiding faith in education, it became apparent that teachers were the first group to feel the cut-backs in salaries during the economic upheavel of the thirties. To give a representative picture of the situation, the writer of this paper has chosen notations from the diary which show the development of the crisis in Chicago. Here are the teacher's reflections:[34]

> March 29.--Infuriated by the constant use of the phrase 'unpaid teachers' by the newspapers to force selfish legislation through Springfield, I stepped to the telephone to-night and asked to speak with the editor of the Herald and Examiner. I actually got him and talked for ten minutes before he summoned a reporter to take down what I had to say. . .What I wanted, I said, was a radio broadcast by leading teachers urging citizens to wire their representatives at Springfield that the teaching body did not want

34 "Spasmodic Diary of a Chicago Schoolteacher," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 152, November, 1933, pp. 513-526.

> the rights of voters jeopardized by the use of 'teachers' welfare' as a screen. To my surprise I got it. In less than an hour and a half I heard my own words being hurled back at me by four speakers. They sounded a trifle hysterical, but all right. . .I have been told that I have a 'messianic complex.'
> June 9.—The last day of school is always anticlimatic. Today was doubly so. We were turned loose for the summer without pay and without hope of pay. What I need is to be turned out to pasture, but instead I shall have to find a job. The family is furious at my independence--two letters on the subject today. 'Come and spend the summer with us.' Can't be done darlings, unless I can go like the wise men, bearing gifts. And I can't.
> July 10.—Yesterday the Board passed a so-called economy measure wiping out the junior high schools, closing the one junior college in the city, and abolishing all manual training and domestic science in the grade schools. Teachers' classes in the high schools will be increased from five to seven, and there is to be one principal for every two grammar schools. Swimming instruction, too, is wiped out, and the physical education department is halved. This is the second step in a programme designed to wreck public education. The first was to starve the teaching force into submission. This action is in direct conflict with the National Recovery Act, since it adds to unemployment by throwing more than 1,000 teachers out of work.

From 1939 to 1947 The Atlantic Monthly was strangely quiet on the subject of elementary education. However, there were many articles dealing with higher education, religion in education, priority in education, and other subjects. Since the United States was again involved in global war, it is understandable that the writers would be concerned with the war effort. One can find this same concern in the professional educational journals during this period when such topics as: education for victory, education and the war effort, the army training methods, and post-war problems in education. With so many teachers lost to industry to help in war production and the continued reminder of the post-war boom in enrollment due to increased birth rates during the war, one might explain this hiatus with a great deal of difficulty. The general Federation of Women's Clubs in collaboration with The Atlantic Monthly offered a prize of $1,000.00 for the best essay on

education, and the judges chose two winners out of the hundreds of articles which were submitted from all over the United States. Miss Grace Williamson, graduate of the University of Alabama and teacher in her home state, was one of the winners in this contest. Williamson's essay on "Schools I Want And How To Get Them" follows:[35]

> By all means, I'd like to have special schools for problem children. Here the teachers would have very special training to cope with the intricate mazes of the minds of children who steal, annoy others, show complete indifference. These special teachers should have only a very few children. This arrangement would then allow the regular teachers more time to spend with a normal group. There should also be schools for the gifted children, the unusually bright children. They would be a challenge to one another, just as the Quiz Kids are, and would have to work to capacity. Too often today, in our zeal for taking care of the average children, we neglect the bright.
>
> I want schools with the best equipment possible. This would include comfortable seats for all children. Today in many schools we are Procrustean in our ideas. We expect big children to fit in small desks and little children to pull themselves out to fit large desks. The lighting arrangement should be adequate. There are too many rooms making out with the scanty provision of one or two drop cords with small bulbs. If the building is steam-heated, the furnace and the radiators should be in good working order. Furnace heat is not much good to you unless you can depend on it to keep warm. There should be plenty of books, maps, globes, visual aids of all kinds. Today there is a dearth of maps especially.
>
> I believe, in a few short years, there will be a psychiatrist in every school. They need to be there to help children who are obsessed with fears of death, of the end of the world coming; to help those who are handicapped by inferiority complexes. She should also help decide what children should be sent to the school for problem children.
>
> I want every school to have the free services of a doctor, a nurse, and a dentist. In a check-up, if it is found that a child has malocclusion, it will not merely be noted on his card and then the card filed away. Something will be done about it.
>
> Then when we have educated ourselves to live in peace with the rest of the world, maybe we can take the money that we would have spent on war and use that on education.

Catherine Squires who was educated in North Dakota and was serving as Chairman of the New London School Board in New London, New Hampshire,

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35 Grace Williamson, "Schools I Want And How To Get Them," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 180, July, 1947, pp. 41-43.

was the other winner of the contest. It is significant that the judges felt led to award the prize for these two essays, for they appear to emphasize different aspects of the problem. Squires states her case in these terms:[36]

> I believe, first of all, that the need for new and improved schools must be met. Secondly, the schools I want will have better teachers with better pay. Thirdly, the schools I want will have rethought their whole philosophy of education. Most schools ought to re-examine their objectives. Aside from some markedly progressive--or conservative--private schools, and public vocational schools, who knows what many tax-supported institutions wish to accomplish? For what are they trying to educate? Even in the vocational groups there might be a questioning of the course to see if the student is given, to quote Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, 'a sense of purpose which will illuminate not merely the forty hours he works but the seventy two he does not.'
>
> These, then, are the schools I want: more and better-equipped physical structures; schools with better teachers, better paid; revised curricula with released time for religious instruction; and an all-prevading emphasis on world-mindedness.

Summary and Conclusions

Thus, the articles dealing with elementary education ranged from very general comments about the aims and objectives of education to a sort of "how to" set of articles during the period under study. Looking at the majority of the articles on elementary education, one should observe that the writers, on the whole, did not give evidence that they were cognizant of the tremendous changes which were taking place in education as a result of the economic revolution which was taking place in the enocomy. While it is true that the economy was changed from a rural to an industrial one during the nineteenth century, the full impact of this change was not felt until the first few decades of the twentieth century. From a careful look at the writers' comments in The Atlantic Monthly one does not see evidence that the role of education

36 Catherine Tuttle Squires, "Schools I Want And How To Get Them," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 180, September, 1947, pp. 76-78.

was expanding and that education would have far-reaching contributions to make in the training of citizens for the new type of social order which the industrial revolution effected. Many of the articles appearing in this chapter indicate that educators were slow to recognize their expanding opportunities in the light of the problems raised. If one may judge the editor's position regarding education from the articles he chose to publish, it would appear that he was inclined to maintain the status quo rather than to suggest new methods of coping with educational problems. Furthermore, the editor shows marked mis-understanding of educational theory in his definition of progressive education. The most serious bias exhibited by the editor of The Atlantic Monthly lies in his presenting the idealistic and pragmatic positions to the exculsion of other approaches to educational theory. Thus, one would be justified in concluding that the articles dealing with elementary education were not representative of what was transpiring in the school systems in the United States during this period.

Since The Atlantic Monthly was not concieved to be a manual for the professional educator, one can understand the broad and general treatment of problems in the field. This broad and general treatment of problems in the field of elementary education is appropriate for the purposes of the magazine, for the reading public to which the magazine appeals is highly heterogeneous. Such problems as: individual differences, instructional methods and techniques, discipline, intelligence, achievement testing, organization, administration, and supervision were properly confined to the professional educational journals which were established to deal specifically with these types of problems in elementary education. The value of a general treatment of educational

problems lies in the fact that a popular literary magazine exerts influence among the university-trained reading audience, which might not subscribe to the educational journals. Therefore, the reading audience of this magazine would not find the problems treated from the point of view of the professional educator except in so far as a professional educator might contribute articles to this magazine. Wherever possible, the identifications of professional educators have been made so the reader of this paper may make his own judgments on the matter. Education was not the only field to be discussed in The Atlantic Monthly by professional people, as there are articles on foreign policy, international affairs, domestic and foreign trade, and others, written by specialists in these fields.

The next chapter deals with the problems of secondary education as they are reported in The Atlantic Monthly. Not too many articles dealing with secondary education were published, for this magazine printed a vast amount of materials on the college and university. Some important problems were discussed in the field of secondary education--particularly those which show the relationship of the secondary schools to the colleges and universities--; and these articles will be treated systematically.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Having shown something of the nature of elementary education in the United States from the point of view of The Atlantic Monthly, one should consider the demonstrable aspects of secondary education in this country. Important as the secondary schools are in the American educational scheme, many people look upon the secondary schools as a continuation of the elementary schools. Ellwood Cubberley, eminent educational historian, spoke of the state university as the "capstone" of the American educational system; and it is this program between the college and the elementary school with which this chapter is concerned. The secondary schools at the beginning of the twentieth century were quite difierent in purpose and organization from the academy, which was the most popular form of the secondary school in the United States until about 1860. It grew out of the Latin Grammar School, and the academy enjoyed its most widespread popularity during the nineteenth century. By 1860 there were about 6,000 academies with more than 260,000 pupils enrolled.[1] Since the academy appealed largely to those who were going on to college and since the enrollments in the elementary schools continued to swell during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a need developed for a secondary school for students who were not anticipating college entrance. Other important reasons for the development of a different type of secondary school includes: the need for a terminal institution, the desire for a more practical curriculum, the increasing numbers of students who were taking advantage of secondary education, and the legalization of free public

1 C.W. Odell, The Secondary School, The Garrard Press,(Champaign, Illinois), 1939, p. 7.

education through the secondary school which was made possible through the decision of the famous Kalamazoo Case of 1874. Furthermore, a continuing interest in the applications of science to industry and other fields called for a different type of secondary school. Benjamin Franklin had introduced the notion that this country needed a secondary school which would serve the needs of students whose interests lay in practical subjects, as distinguished from the classical curriculum of the Latin grammar school.

Education and Social Change

The first half of the twentieth century was a period of ferment and change in the field of secondary education. Some stability in the secondary school was effected as a result of the study of the situation by The Committee of Ten, but many educators did not agree that a classical emphasis was the solution to the problems which arose. The old idea of a liberal education whose primary concern was with an aristocratic class was looked upon as inadequate to meet the changing needs of society. Confusion as to aims and purposes of secondary education took the form of a conflict between those who supported the theory of mental discipline and those who demanded a more realistic approach which would take into consideration the actual life needs of people. Henry W. Holmes underlined the importance of this confusion by calling for a re-statement of the aims of education. He apparently realized the relationship between philosophy and actual practice, but he did not venture a statement of aims. He merely pointed out that confusion was the result of the lack of aims. Holmes' statement was:[2]

> Our confusion as to purposes is one of the reasons for the

2 Henry W. Holmes, "Chaos or Cosmos in American Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 140, October, 1927, pp. 493-503.

> lack of a coherent system of schools in this country. There is no discernible consistency in the multiplicity of our educational units and their endless variations. Six-year elementary schools stand alongside eight-year and seven-year junior high schools, or no junior high schools, together with proposals for the four-year junior high school. We have 'regular four-year high schools and senior high schools of three years. The junior college, a two-year unit beyond the senior high schools, has been added in a rapidly increasing number of cities, chiefly in the West, and without exact definition of its function. . .In general, the organization of our schools, whether public or private, offers no testimony that we have translated into a definite scheme of schooling any clear and progressive philosophy of the social consequences of education. Our schools form a maze, a labyrinth, with any number of entry points and exits. Our procedure lacks not only simplicity but integrity. It is a sprawling, spineless profusion of educational 'opportunities.'

Conditions such as Holmes described reflect that society was experimenting with new types of systems to meet the needs of twentieth century man. Those who viewed change as bad or wanted to hold to accepted patterns could be called conservatives, and this element was quite vocal in the support of the theory of mental discipline. But some writers were just as insistent that the theory of mental discipline was not realistic and therefore ought to be disregarded in the field of education. Abraham Flexner's position was that mental discipline was a moot question, and he expressed his point of view in this manner:[3]

> When doubts are suggested as to the value of certain time-honored subjects included in the elementary and secondary curriculum, one is told that the subjects in question are valuable because they 'train the mind.' 'Training the mind' is therefore a phrase which expressed a definite educational theory--the theory, namely, that the most important function of the school is to discipline the mental faculties so that in after life they will be servicable instruments ready for effective use. The faculties to be thus trained are memory, reason, imagination, observation. People who believe in 'training the mind,' or in 'formal discipline,' which is the same thing technically expressed, almost invariably hold that the time-honored subjects--Latin, algebra, geometry, and so on--best serve his purpose. They believe that subjects which will themselves probably never be used furnish the most effective mental

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3 Abraham Flexner, "Education as Mental Discipline," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 119, April, 1917, pp. 452-464.

> gymnastic, to use another favorite expression; that memory developed by learning Latin grammar, observation practiced in distinguishing moods and tenses, reason practiced in algebraic or geometrical operations, are so many weapons, in fighting trim, ready to be put to such uses as arise out in the world subsequently. The theory of mental discipline or formal discipline is therefore the bulwark of conventional or traditional education.

Thus, Flexner made the point that mental discipline was the chief concern of those who did not want to accept any other theory of education. In some instances, the theory of mental discipline is unresolved today; but, on the whole, this theory has been replaced by a different conception of education. Those who subscribed to this theory believed in a static type of educational experience which could best be described in terms of formal drill and rote learning; but those who disagree with the theory look upon education as a dynamic process which takes into account personality constructs which the former theory would not accept.

The Emerging Secondary School

One factor which encouraged the establishment of secondary schools was the increasing number of school laws, particularly in the State of Massachusetts where in 1827 a law was enacted to encourage a non-college preparatory school. After the Civil War new economic and social forces were responsible for the rapid spread of the secondary school. The Kalamazoo Decision of 1874 was perhaps the most important milestone in the history of American education, for it legalized the levying of taxes on the community for the support of secondary education. The importance of this decision lay in the fact that other states cited this precedent in passing measures which would assure a system of secondary schools which would be free and supported by the community at large. The next step in the evolution of the modern public

secondary school was the decision by the several states to support this particular type of secondary system. Thus, by 1890 the United States Bureau of Education listed 2,526 secondary schools whose enrollments included more than two-thirds of all the pupils enrolled in the secondary schools in the United States. The rapid spread of popular secondary schools and the increasing demands for reform by the colleges led to a serious study of the secondary schools in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Studies of Secondary Education

Professor Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, was largely responsible for a careful study of the secondary schools by an outstanding group of educators. Eliot was motivated to look into the problems of secondary education because he felt that in order to improve the work of the college both the elementary and secondary schools must be improved. He prevailed upon the National Education Association to finance such a study, and the association appropriated the money for the Committee of Ten[4] which began its study in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The work of the committee had far-reaching effects upon the whole school program in this country. One influence of this study was to connect the work of the elementary school with that of the high school; it also had a definite influence on the private colleges and state universities. Summarizing the impact of the work of this

4 The members of The Committee of Ten were: Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University; William T. Harris, Commissioner of Education; James R. Angell, President of the University of Michigan; John Tetlow, Headmaster of Girls' High School, Boston; James M. Taylor, President of Vassar College; Oscar D. Robinson, Principal of the High School, Albany; James H. Baker, President of the University of Colorado; Richard H. Jesse, President of the University of Missouri; James C. MacKenzie, Headmaster of Lawrenceville School; and Henry C. King, Professor, Oberlin College.

famous committee, Edgar W. Knight lists these points:[5]

> As early as 1893 definite recommendations were made by The Committee of Ten, and a few years later by the Committee of Five. Out of these and other suggestions the scope of secondary education is being extended downward by what is known as the junior high school and upward by the so-called junior college. The one movement seeks to afford a richer educational opportunity to provide for individual differences, to co-ordinate elementary and secondary education more closely, to furnish educational guidance, and to save time; the other undertakes to solve the problems arising in the increased numbers who desire and deserve educational advantages beyond those provided by the conventional high school, in the congested conditions of the colleges and in the demand for easier access to higher educational opportunities and for the reduction of expenses involved in leaving home for such advantages. The junior-high-school movement has developed rapidly, but the junior college has not yet made wide popular appeal.

Even though the Committee of Ten did not attempt to solve all the educational problems it raised, its work had important and significant influences because of the comprehensive nature of the study. The work of the committee represents an important departure from practices of the nineteenth century public schools, for it was the first study which was done on a national level with such a distinguished group of American educators. Writing in The Atlantic Monthly early in the twentieth century, Edward O. Sisson expressed the opinion that the committee's report was the most important educational document to be published in this country. "The Report of the Committee of Ten is probably the best known and most authoritative educational document in America."[6] Sisson felt that this report was significant because it shifted the focus of educational emphasis in secondary education from a preparatory role to the role of preparing boys and girls for the

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5 Edgar W. Knight, Twenty Centuries of Education, Ginn and Company, (Boston, 1940), pp. 275-276.

6 Edward O. Sisson, "An Educational Emergency," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 106, July, 1910, pp. 54-63.

duties of life. There is no doubt, however, that Sisson's estimate of the report is far more laudatory than the facts would indicate. Part of the significance of this report was that it was done by an eminent group of American educators, and Sisson was inclined to be complimentary because the report was the first one to be done on a national level. If one judged the accuracy of Sisson's opinion from the standpoint of enlightened suggestions offered by the Committee of Ten, he would have to say that Sisson's evaluation of the report is misleading. Professor William E. Drake had this to say about the relative importance of the study:[7]

> It might be said that the Committee 'strained like a mountain and gave birth to a mouse.' In the report, which was submitted in 1893, no enlightened suggestions as to how to improve the secondary school were offered. The doctrine of formal discipline was upheld. It was suggested that provision be made for a more thorough study of the classics, of formal history, of literature, and grammar. Emphasis was placed upon the need for better-trained teachers and a higher grade of scholarship. Although the recommendations of the Committee were not sensational, they did focus attention upon the essential issue in secondary education.

To expand this point, one needs to look at the report of the famous committee and to indicate some of the recommendations. The doctrine of mental discipline which had enjoyed wide currency in the nineteenth century was re-affirmed. The classics, as well as formal history, literature, and grammar, were the best subjects through which this doctrine of mental discipline could be expressed. The committee emphasized the need for better-trained teachers, and the problems of scholarship also received attention. The committee surveyed the course offerings of the secondary schools and discovered "nearly forty" subjects

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7 Drake, op. cit., p. 235.

being offered. Although the committee did not identify thirteen of the irregularly-taught courses, some authors implied that the committee had reference to such practical courses as: bookkeeping, stenography, manual training, domestic science, and art. The twenty seven most commonly taught courses were classified under the following heads: (1). Latin, (2). Greek, (3). English, (4). Modern foreign languages, (5). Mathematics, (6). Physical sciences, (7). Biological sciences, (8). Geography, and social sciences. Even though the work of The Committee of Ten re-affirmed the theory of mental discipline and encouraged an intellectualistic approach to the problems of the secondary school curriculum, its work focused attention on the significant problems which were to receive serious attention during the twentieth century.

The educational journals published hundreds of articles which dealt with the problems raised by educators; and The Atlantic Monthly continued to publish articles which dealt with educational problems. One should note, however, that there are gaps between the appearance of articles on education in this magazine. This can be explained by the fact that The Atlantic Monthly did not attempt to publish as many technical articles about education as did the learned journals. It appears that the magazine devoted more attention to the elementary schools and the colleges than it did to the secondary schools during the first half of the twentieth century, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter. But it is both significant and interesting that the articles in the literary magazine often paralleled the topics which were being discussed in the educational journals. Some of the articles dealing with secondary education were in the form of criticisms, and

these articles reveal that the writers were cognizant of some of the weaknesses in education.

Criticisms of Education

Alfred E. Stearns pointed out some fallacies in the modern educational scheme, and he represents the position that the modern education was too utilitarian and too materialistic. He felt that the new education was dangerous because it would not prepare students "to live." But it should be recognized that the twentieth century is the age of scientific experimentation and the equalization of opportunity for all types of people. Much of Stearns' objection had its origin in his philosophical position--namely, idealism. Stearns objected to the "new education" on the basis that it was too utilitarian. This latter position had its bases in the pragmatic approach rather than in the idealistic or naturalistic conception which had enjoyed wide support during the nineteenth century. Stearns said:[8]

> The modern educational ideal so loudly proclaimed by its advocates furnishes a marked contrast to the old. At its basis it is frankly materialistic and utilitarian. Practical efficiency is its goal. Not all will admit it, but there can be no doubt that the materialistic spirit so overwhelmingly present in our American life to-day has been a powerful factor in shaping and coloring our modern educational ideals. 'Fit our youth for life,' is the insistent demand of the new. 'Fit our youth to live' is the cry of the old.

Stearns' objection to the new educational methods is similar to those expressed by many people, and his method of attack on the modernists includes name-calling. He loathed what he called "these modern pedagogical experts," but his complaints were based on a personal preference which could not be defended systematically. Claude M. Fuess expressed the contrary point of view by contrasting the "new spirit in education"

8 Alfred E. Stearns, "Some Fallacies in the Modern Educational Scheme," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol.118, November,1916, pp. 641-653.

to the old accepted pattern which had wide acceptance during the nineteenth century. Fuess' argument tends to focus more attention on the student rather than on the subject content. The reader should note, however, that two decades separate these two opinions--consequently, this fact would have some bearing on final judgments and comparisons. Fuess' point of view is illustrative of a position which many educators accepted. He supported the notion of more emphasis upon the student rather than upon the materials which were to be mastered. He said:[9]

> In general, it is fair to say that seventy-five years ago virtually no direct attempt was made to train boys,--to adjust themselves to the environment in which, after leaving school, their lot was to be cast. The methods of instruction were still mediaeval not to say primitive. The universal practice was the recitation, adopted as a convenient opportunity of ascertaining whether or not the student had learned the assigned lesson. There was little discussion in the classroom, the teacher laying down the law from his throne and the pupil submisively accepting it. Independent thinking was neither encouraged nor tolerated. . . School was looked upon, in general, as a place to be avoided. . . I admit you can not make a student drink, but I believe you can make him thirsty. This principle is, I am sure, fundamental in education.
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> That the modern school is a friendly, somewhat intimate place--not a penitentiary--is due largely to the influence of the teacher. . .The modern technique has given the real teacher a chance.

It should be noticed that the colleges and universities took the lead in the reform of the secondary schools in this country. Naturally, the colleges were interested in what the secondary schools taught, for most of the students entering the institutions of higher learning received their training in the public schools. When the colleges and universities modified their programs, it was almost imperative that the secondary schools follow the lead in order to graduate students who would be accepted for further training in the institutions of higher learning.

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9 Claude M. Fuess, "The New Spirit in Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 153, June, 1934, pp. 753-760.

Because many high school administrators and teachers resented this arbitrary leadership of the college people, disagreements led to conflicts between the high school and the college. But the pattern of education as evolved in this country was too well established for the secondary schools to entertain serious ideas of becoming the most important element in American education. Those who tried to ignore the reality of college entrance requirements were in about the same position as the ostrich which conceals his head in the sand when danger approaches. Abraham Flexner pointed this issue up more systematically than any other writer in The Atlantic Monthly. Flexner maintained that preparatory schools were the answer to the situation, and he was critical of the colleges for their experimentation with educational procedures. Speaking on this point, Flexner said:[10]

> The preparatory school is the embodied answer of practical education to the college entrance requirements. The colleges set up an arbitrary and external test for admission. They tell the teacher that his candidate must achieve within a specified number of minutes a minimum percentage in certain definitely defined areas of knowledge. 'Very well,' it is not for me to question the terms upon which you open your gates,--still less to defy them. I shall comply,' and the preparatory school results.
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> The mere fact that annual conferences between colleges and secondary schools are held for the consideration of matters of mutual interest does not radically alter the relation in which they stand to one another. The terms of admission to college are prescribed from above, and are more or less meekly accepted below. Similarly, the most effective ways of meeting them have been worked out by the preparatory machinery without serious question on the part of the higher authorities. Neither institution has properly concieved its relation to the other; neither institution has yet learned to subordinate itself to a large and inclusive conception of education. For while the colleges have been freely, even recklessly, experimenting with educational novelties in their own field, they have simultaneously tightened the screws on the secondary schools.

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10 Abraham Flexner, "The Preparatory School," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 94, September, 1904, pp. 368-377.

No doubt Flexner's critical estimation of the college's experimentation had reference to the elective system which was introduced by President Eliot of Harvard University. However good or bad the elective system might have been, it was destined to be aped by colleges all over the land. Thus, Flexner's condemnation fell on deaf ears. Furthermore, the preparatory school was relegated to a minor role in American education, for its college preparatory function could not meet the increasing demands for college entrance by such large numbers of students.

Another writer recognized this problem, but he took a different approach than Flexner did. Doctor L.B.R. Briggs, professor of English and dean of the faculty at Harvard University, advocated a broader conception of education. He called for cooperation in the solution of the problem and dreamed of reaching the ideal in education. Professor Briggs said in part:[11]

> The system of gradually increased responsibility at school must be met halfway by the system of friendly supervision at college,--supervision in which the older undergraduates are quite as important as the Faculty. . .When all students of all colleges, and all boys of all schools, believe, and have a right to believe that their teachers are their friends; when the educated public recognizes the truth that character,--the school never forgetting that men have been boys,--we shall come to the ideal of education. Toward this ideal we are moving, slowly but steadily. When we reach it, or even come so near it as to see it always, we shall cease to dread the transition from school to college.

Briggs appears idealistic, because the problem of the proper relationship of the college and the secondary school has not been completely solved. While it is true that the colleges and secondary schools cooperate more extensively today than they did in the early part of the century, the trend toward this has developed after many trials and

[11] L.B.R. Briggs, "The Transition From School To College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 85, March, 1900, pp. 354-359.

errors. As the century unfolded, the argument moved from the realm of the general to the specific. Thus, the problem of the curriculum received considerable attention; and this problem has a direct relationship to the problem of the coordination of the secondary school and college.

Critical Attacks on Education

During the last few years of the period with which this study is concerned two articles dealing with the so-called "quackery" in the public schools appeared. Albert Lynd, former teacher and graduate of Harvard University, vehemently opposed many activities of the public schools; his attack reminds one of the current "Johnny-Can't-Read" criticisms of the public schools. Realizing that Lynd's article was controversial, the editors of The Atlantic Monthly prefaced Lynd's article in this manner: "Mr. Lynd took his A.B. and A.M. at Harvard; after a year of further study in Belgium he taught history at Stanford and Harvard; but not until he had been elected to a school board did he appreciate the changes in our public schools and the ironbound and stultifying system which is producing the accredited teachers in the schools today. Mr. Lynd speaks as a parent and an ex-teacher now happily established in business in Boston." Lynd complained that the proliferation of courses in the schools of education had watered down education until it was all but meaningless. He had some critical things to say about the principals who were supposed to be leaders in the secondary schools. Speaking of the principal, he said:[12]

> Next to the minister, the high school principal of thirty years ago was the most learned fellow in town. Today you may find

12 Albert Lynd, "Quackery in the Public Schools," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 185, March, 1950, pp. 33-38.

> your local high school in charge of a brisk Kiwanian whose 'professional' training has been free of the elements of traditional culture. His teaching experience may have had nothing to do with letters or science; it may have been in auto driving or basketball or pattern-making or guidance;' no matter in any case, because what counts in the advancement of his career is his accumulation of courses in 'administration.' He may even wear the splendid title of Doctor, earned through researches into the theory and function of a school cafeteria. He may not be able to decipher the Latin date on the cornerstone of his own school building, or to read a single word in any other foreign language, living or dead, or even to write a decently turned paragraph in English, but he can lead an enraptured class discussion in A Democratic Solution of Our Traffic Problem.

Interestingly enough, Lynd's attack rests largely on the basis of classical education which is reflected in the statement that the modern principal could not read the Latin on his school building--or, any other foreign language, as Lynd puts it. Elsewhere in his attack he spoofs pedagogy--with its duplication of courses; and he suggests that parents run for school boards in order to rid the public secondary schools of "hocus pocus" of the pedagogical experts. He ends his attack in this manner:[13]

> The public schools have a long way to go before they can realize our ideals of equality, solidarity, and universal justice. But we can readily transform the quality of our public education if we use the invincible human forces engendered by cooperative living and prove that our democratic processes are more than equal to all the dynamic problems of the day.

Such a criticism of the public schools did not wait too long for an answer from educators and lay people. The editors of The Atlantic Monthly were swamped with replies to Mr. Lynd's article, and they called this to the attention of their readers when they printed Dr. Gilbert Case's article in rebuttal. Professor Case was Chairman of the Department of Education at Brown University, and his rejoinder was

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13 Ibid., p. 38.

chosen as the best answer to Lynd's challenge. His response to Mr. Lynd was:[14]

> Our educational enterprise has inevitably become extremely complicated. Our school ladder has been going through the elementary grades to the kindergartens, the nursery school, and now the pre-nursery schools, while on the upper rounds of the ladder we are extending educational service in the field of adult education to include attempts (in at least one adult education program) to help actual seniles in making better adjustments to the very last stages of life experiences. Along with this vertical expansion has gone a bewildering increase in the kinds of educational activities, both curricular and extracurricular, on all grade levels in public schools. A great deal of this much maligned 'enrichment' has been forced upon the schools through the failure of church, family, and various social institutions to perform as they once did in guiding youth. The problems created by the growing complexity of our environment have also had to be reflected in our schools.
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> In his first paragraph, Mr. Lynd laments the prevalence of a type of high school principal who, though he may be able to lead 'an enraptured class discussion in A Democratic Solution of Our Traffic Problem,' has difficulty in deciphering the Latin date on the cornerstone of his school building. Such a predicament, of course, is too bad. But even though Mr. Lynd has a point here, I still feel that if one had to make a choice of a school administrator on the basis of even such trivial abilities, I'd favor the man interested in today's traffic problems, which involves life, limb, and the pursuit of happiness. The Roman system of number symbols was a clumsy arrangement that effectively blocked Roman mathematical progress for centuries and perhaps ought not to be on a modern high school building. After all, we are in Anno Domini MCML face to face with the mathematics of the Atomic Age.

Aside from this rather effective answer to Mr. Lynd's argument, the writer of this paper would like to point out other weaknesses of Lynd's position. One is tempted to raise the question of Lynd's authority to judge such matters on the basis of his having left the field of education for the field of business. It is probable, at least, that Lynd was criticizing education through the eyes of a business man; but, what's more significant, here is a man whose personal bias for the

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14 Gilbert E. Case, "Quackery in the Public Schools: An Answer," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 185, June, 1950, pp. 57-60.

classics shines through in his criticisms of the public schools. Since the problem of the place of the classics in the secondary schools was resolved in the early part of the century, Lynd's appeal to the classics weakens his position from the point of view that Latin and Greek were not given a vote of confidence by the public which ultimately determines the direction of the public schools in this country. Further, his attack is symptomatic of a weakness in education which calls for careful attention. Educators are far too prone to sit back and accept the periodic attacks on education without doing very much about these attacks. If professional educators conducted an intelligent and vigorous program of educational leadership, many of the critical articles would never be dignified by publication nor circulated to confuse the public. Oftentimes educators put themselves in an awkward position by attempting to answer indiscriminate criticisms on education without doing very much in the area of dynamic leadership which would forestall many of the misunderstandings which lie at the base of many of the popular attacks on education.

Language Arts

Just prior to the beginning of World War II, James L. Mursell spoke quite bitterly about the defeat of the public schools. One could conclude that education is a sort of social barometer which reflects the pressures which develop in society at a given time. Society tends to take a second careful look at its social institutions when periods of stress seem to depose cherished ways of doing things. So it was with the approach of the second World War which was just around the corner. Mursell complained that the conventional high school curriculum was inadequate, and many people had made this complaint since the beginning

of the twentieth century. Education appears to be one of the most conservative forces in society, for it is slow to change. Mursell's support of the argument for change is but one in a long list of articles, but it is interesting that his argument includes approval of the experimental schools. He said:[15]

> To organize the schools in terms of flexibility rather than rigidity is no small or easy task. It calls for much revision of the conventional procedures and instrumentalities. Yet it can be done, and in fact the work is going on apace. For the benefit of those conservatives who may think that the way to get children to learn more in school is a return to the good old days of high pressure and rigid requirements, I project one more nugget of ascertained fact. It has been shown that the experimental schools actually produce better subject-matter learning than the conventional schools, with pupils of equal ability. Carry such tendencies further, and we have good reason to expect still more satisfactory results. What we contemplate is, to be sure, a breach with some of our most adamantine traditions and customs. But we have before us the problem of an intelligent rather than a stupid approach to the task which is of such supreme importance in a democratic society--the task of bringing to the individual his birthright of culture. It is a task in which we cannot afford to, and need not, accept defeat.

Mursell's support of the experimental schools indicates that he would not agree that the classical languages had significance for the modern school. Frederic Ireland opposed the deletion of Latin and Greek from the secondary school curriculum. He appeared to base his argument on a cursory survey of high school students in the area of vocabulary and gave some rather interesting examples which he felt supported his contention that Latin and Greek were necessary tools of the twentieth century pupil. While his argument could be refuted, it is, nevertheless, interesting to note his report:[16]

> The average high-school graduate, who has studied no other

15 James L. Mursell, "The Defeat of the Schools," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 163, March, 1939, pp. 353-361.

16 Frederic Ireland, "High Schools And the Classics," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 124, July, 1919, pp. 47-53.

language than English, cannot even understand literary English, much less use it. He does not know the meaning of words, though they define themselves upon their faces to those who have a very little knowledge of the foundation tongues. I do not mean the nomenclature of botany and faunal naturalism and anatomy, or psychology and physical science, though these are easy to one who knows a little Greek. I mean ordinary words one floor above the street. I induced the teachers in our home high school to try their fourth-year pupils on some non-technical words. Those who had studied the classics defined the words well. The students of English pure and undefiled, who excelled even Shakespeare in that they knew no Latin and no Greek at all, presented papers so extraordinary as to be beyond belief without documentary proof. The first one presented, written by an American-born boy who had studied English eleven years in school, contained the following definitions:--

Pomp--a dancing slipper.
Genealogical--gentle, kind.
Chronic--a record.
Phosphorescent--gaseous, bubbling.
Stamina--an excuse.
Cynical--circular.
Hypocrite--one who talks religion continually.
Diaphanous--strong-headed.
Hieroglyphic--a hereditary gift.
Eugenics--a study of etiquette.
Sycophant--one-eyed.
Symposium--sympathy in verse.
Phenomena--reasons for not doing what should have been done.
Hierarchy--hereditary rule.
Parable--capable of being peeled.
Polynesia--an island in the Indian-Ocean near Java.

As to six other words in a list of thirty-four in all, he had no views whatever. Thirteen he defined correctly.

If the classiphobiacs want to know 'Why, Why, Why' some of us believe the few hours spent in the study of foundations may be useful in the development of linguistic architecture, let them try any exclusively English class in any school, on a list of words derived from Latin or Greek, and compare the answers with those given by students of Cicero and Horace and Homer. . .Heaven and earth shall pass away, but words shall not pass away; and the only easy way to learn their meanings is to study the roots from which they have sprung.

That learning Latin and Greek is the best means of teaching vocabulary development does not justify the teaching of these classical languages. A defensible refutation of Ireland's argument might be that this is quite expensive in teaching vocabulary; and some would object that the classical languages are affectations or ornamentations. This latter

accusation touches upon the position that education should be utilitarian in nature, and there are many who hold this position. Many educators have attacked the teaching of classical languages in the secondary schools on the basis that these languages are not practical and that one does not need to translate Caesar's exploits, since there are many excellent translations of these works available. It is interesting to note a carry over of the language argument in the advanced graduate school in America where the modern foreign languages are required for the advanced degrees. Some schools have abandoned a reading knowledge of two foreign languages for advanced degrees and have substituted additional course work in lieu of this requirement. But there are those institutions which hold tenaciously to the language requirement for the advanced degrees.

Another writer who attacked the teaching of Latin in the secondary schools was Charles W. Eliot, the exponent of the elective system at Harvard University. However, Eliot's position was quite different from Ireland's. Where Ireland had defended the teaching of Latin and Greek for their vocabulary value, Eliot remarked that Latin was merely a hurdle to an increasing number of youth who wanted to enter the institutions of higher learning. He argued that many colleges were banning Latin as an entrance requirement because students were being accepted on certificates, thus making it all but impossible for the university to require the classical languages as an entrance requirement. Eliot's position was stated in the following terms:[17]

> The immediate reason that most state universities have abandoned all requirements in classical languages for admission is that they desire to maintain close affiliations with the public schools. Now,

17 Charles W. Eliot, "The Case Against Compulsory Latin," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 119, March, 1917, pp. 352-361.

> public high schools the country over have almost ceased to provide instruction in Greek; and they maintain instruction in Latin with increasing difficulty. Their pupils are as a rule accepted at the state universities on certificates; and this practice tends to maintain somewhat intimate relations between high schools and these universities. The wish of principals and local school boards or committees are more regarded by the state universities than they are by the endowed universities and colleges; and the state universities feel and express more sympathy with the serious difficulties which beset public high schools than the endowed institutions do. Nevertheless, the endowed institutions, particularly those that aspire to attract students from all parts of the country, always desire to keep in touch with the public high schools; so that the graduates of those schools can, through a moderate amount of extra study, obtain admission to the endowed institutions of their choice. Behind this immediate reason for dropping Latin requirements, however, lies an increasing sense of their inexpediency in a democracy which wishes to have the secondary and higher education as accessible as possible to all competent youth. Some people are furthermore convinced that the Latin requirements are futile; that is, that they do not really promote scholarship or 'cultivation' in the youth who have been forced to comply with them.

Quite a different set of circumstances gave rise to the following critical article on language instruction in the secondary schools in America. Many factors contributed to the entrance of German into the curriculum in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Before this country organized a serious program of advanced graduate studies, American students went to the German universities for the doctor of philosophy degree. Thus, many students felt a definite need for German for this reason alone. But as the curriculum expanded to include languages other than the classical Latin and Greek, German was included for literary and aesthetic reasons. Another reason for its inclusion in the curriculum had to do with the increasing commercial activities between Germany and the United States. When World War I was declared, there was an almost immediate reaction against everything German in this country, including the language. Angry parents began to complain that German should be dropped from the school curriculum, and many

states met this demand by dropping German. These arguments against German show that the schools are sensitive to outside pressures. Even though the schools normally reflect a slowness to change, the extreme nationalistic feelings during World War I forced the schools to drop the German language from the curriculum. A writer who chose to remain anonymous for fairly obvious reasons--reprisal, both political and economic--spoke heroically about the teaching of German in the public schools.[18] He said:

> Shall German continue in the grade schools and in the high schools? Shall the German staff be maintained in colleges where there are not enough students to keep them employed? These are the questions that the formost educators, the press, the people of the time persist in bringing forward. It is doubtless a problem that will be with us for a generation. After a generation the thing will largely solve itself. The most radical declare for a complete boycott. Others are represented by Theodore Roosevelt, who, declaring that 'America is a nation and not a polygot boarding house,' reiterates the prudence of eliminating German from all the elementary schools, and reserving it solely for a purely utilitarian language in secondary institutions.

Contrary to the writer's judgment, the problem did not persist for the reasons he indicated for a generation, for many schools offered German in their programs after the defeat of Germany. Two decades later the problem re-occured when America entered World War II on the side of the Allied Powers, but the reactions were not as violent against the teaching of German as they had been during World War I. One explanation for this toleration was that German was encouraged for its value in psychological and cultural warfare. There are fewer secondary schools offering German today than there were during the period prior to World War I, and the reasons for offering German are different from those advanced in an earlier day.

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18 "Anonymous Thoughts of A Teacher of German," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 122, September, 1918, pp. 372-376.

College Entrance Requirements

Another article which had reference to the curriculum in the secondary school was written by Albert S. Cook in 1901. Cook pointed out another aspect of the college's concern over college entrance requirements by discussing the teaching of English in the lower schools. He felt that the colleges should provide a constructive sort of leadership for the lower schools in this regard, and he did not appear to be pessimistic about the end results. Indicating the influences which colleges had on the lower schools, he said:[19]

> The pressure thus exerted by the colleges upon the preparatory schools has in many instances been transmitted by them to the grammar schools, with the result that the worst evils are in course being remedied; and certain high schools have courses in English extending over four or five exercises a week, conducted by enthusiastic, winning, and competent teachers. Unfortunately, there is a premature movement on the part of a few high schools to emancipate themselves from all dependence upon college requirements,--or, as their representatives would say, an unreasonable obstinancy on the part of the college in holding to their requirements,--a movement which, unless carefully watched, will go far to nullify the progress which has been made, since it is only through the harmonious cooperation of all parts of our educational system that the indispensable results can be obtained.

This article shows the relationship of the secondary schools to the colleges and universities, and it hints that some secondary schools were trying to free themselves from the demands of the colleges and universities in regard to entrance requirements.

Some of the negative aspects of the elementary and secondary school curriculum were pointed out by William H. Allen early in the twentieth century. Allen's article was motivated by a conference of school administrators who studied the physical welfare of the schools. The conference attempted to look into the external factors which influenced

19 Albert S. Cook, "The Teaching of English," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 87, May, 1901, pp. 710-722.

the school curriculum and pointed out some rather striking weaknesses in the schools in this regard. Throughout the twentieth century school administrators tended to pay more attention to this side of the instructional program than had been the case during the preceding century. As the school shifted its emphasis from a sort of preoccupation with an intellectual training to a concern about the total environment of the child, the school environment was improved. Today, one sees evidence of this continuing concern in the sight-saving classes, visiting teacher services, counseling and guidance services, and other important auxiliary services provided by the elementary and secondary schools. In this regard one can learn a great deal about the emergence of this concern by contrasting Allen's report of conditions to what is happening today. Allen said:[20]

> At a recent conference in New York City on the physical welfare of school children, a school principal declared that our present curriculum is manufacturing more physical defects every year than school physicians and school nurses can correct. To the surprise of the laymen present, the school men were of one mind as to the havoc wrought by school life, if not ruined by glazed paper, small type, lines of wrong length, or prolonged concentration. Dry sweeping fills the air with dust, and combines with bad ventilation, lack of water, and dust-raising physical exercises, to supply conditions that favor the growth of disease germs, more particularly the tubercle bacilli. Seats and desks defom the spine and hips, and cramp lungs. Required home-study deprives the child of play and sleep, and accentuates the effects of harmful school environment. Highly trained teachers explain the composition of air in an atmosphere often more poisonous than that of the average sweat-shop. Boys and girls unable to breathe through the nose because of adenoids and enlarged tonsils are deprived of recess for not being able to describe the passage that leads from the nose to the wind-pipe and lungs. Children fortunate enough to be physically able to meet school requirements are handicapped in their studies, and for that reason reduced in industrial efficiency, because they must march side by side with children suffering from removable defects.

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20 William H. Allen, "A Broader Motive For School Hygiene," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 101, June, 1908, pp. 824-829.

It would be difficult to determine whether the above description is an over-statement of the case or not, but one can conclude that such an article would focus attention on the problem of school health. Again, whether such an article had significant influence in the area of school construction or building accommodation can not be determined; but the twentieth century did experience the professionalization of school administration which had a great deal of influence in the area of physical accommodations of school plants to the learning situation. Perhaps the best evaluation of such an article would be that it tended to focus attention on this important matter of hygiene in the nation's schools.

Vocational Education

That secondary schools did not exist for the sole purpose of preparing boys and girls for college was related to the inclusion of vocational courses in the secondary school curriculum. At least, the argument was used that many students would not go to college; and it was contended that these students needed some type of education which would meet their needs. Booker T. Washington, eminent Negro educator and founder of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, had a tremendous influence in the field of industrial education in the secondary schools during the early part of the twentieth century. He argued that the Negroes of the South could improve their lot in life by giving considerable attention to vocational education. With the emancipation of the Negro after the Civil War and the inauguration of the Reconstruction policies by the Federal Government, the Negro had to face the problem of education with a changed status. Washington felt that the Negro could assure himself a place in the nation by turning to vigorous

and systematic training of the hands as well as the training of the head. Since some intelligent Southern leaders realized the importance of Washington's work with Negroes in providing economic independence for a large segment of the population, he was encouraged by private citizens to conti his work. As his program gained wide attention, Washington pointed out t h many Southern white school superintendents cited his success in vocationa education before state legislatures as arguments for appropriations for this type of education for the white pupils. Commenting upon vocational education for Negroes, Washington had this to say:[21]

> Aside from the reasons I have given showing why the South favored industrial education, coupled with intellectual and moral training, many of the whites saw, for example, that the Negroes who were master carpenters and contractors, under the guidance of their owners could become still greater factors in the development of the South if their children were not suddenly removed from the atmosphe and occupations of their fathers, and if they could be taught to use the thing in hand as a foundation for higher growth. Many of the whi people were wise enough to see that such education would enable some of the Negro youths to become more skillful carpenters and contracto and that if the laid an economic foundation in this way in their generation, they would be laying a foundation for a more abstract education of their children in the future.

Five years after Washington's article, Paul H. Hanus took up the theme of vocational education. He tried to show the importance of vocational education in the secondary schools by giving a slightly differ ent twist to the argument. Whereas Washington felt it important for economic reasons, Hanus insisted that it had a definite place in the schools on the basis of its liberalizing potential. In this regard, he said:[22]

> I do not wish to belittle the psychological value of manual

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21 Booker T. Washington, "The Fruits of Industrial Training," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 92, October, 1903, pp. 453-462.

22 Paul H. Hanus, "Industrial Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 101, January, 1908, pp. 60-68.

> training, but the strongest reason for giving it a place in our scheme of public education is that it introduces our youth to a sympathetic understanding of the constructive activities which constitute so important a part of contemporary life . . . The manual training, like other school activities, has been used largely as a means of 'general education' regarded as an end in itself or as preparation for further (usually technical) education.Our elementary schools and our high schools together constitute, theoretically at least, one continuous educational scheme through which a youth, whatever his circumstances in early life may be, may secure the elements of general culture; preparation secured in school, a college education, or enter at once on professional study in nearly all the professional schools of the country.
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> The public school system in which we take a just pride, as now planned, does not reach the majority of our youth during the critical period of adolescence. This is the period when life aims begin to have a serious and lasting importance; when the habits formed rapidly acquire permanence; when the plasticity of earlier years gives place to stability. And because this is so, what happens to him then is likely to permanently shape his future. Yet during this period we send the great majority of our youth into the world without further systematic educational influence, and usually without any comprehension of the serious purposes of life, or training in the endeavor to realize them.

Edward Yeomans[23] insisted in his article in 1920 that vocational education should be offered in secondary schools to effect a training of the hand and head. The roots of vocational education extend to the provisions of the Congressional Morrill Act of 1862 which encouraged the establishment of land-grant colleges. The passage of the Smith-Hughes Bill in 1917 indicated that the Federal Government had specific concern for vocational education in the nation's schools. The bill set up a Federal Board for Vocational Education and stimulated instruction in agriculture, trades, home economics, and industrial subjects by providing financial aid to the schools. Both national and state governments showed further interest in vocational education by the passage of child labor legislation and compulsory-school-attendance legislation.

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23 Edward Yeomans, "School Shop," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 125, June, 1920, pp. 813-819.

Since the federal and state governments stimulated vocational education, it is understandable that The Atlantic Monthly published fewer articles on this topic after 1920 when financial support had been established.

One may conclude, on the basis of the foregoing articles, that the authors in this magazine felt the curriculum of the secondary school to be important. A good deal of attention was given to arguments about the importance of classical languages. The arguments ranged from personal preferences to the contention that the classical languages were out of tune with the deomcratic tradition, and these articles dealing with the curriculum indicate that some school systems were examining their school programs rather critically and suggesting different approaches. Vocational education received considerable attention, and this fact was important in determing the direction the high schools would take in this regard. Many schools throughout the United States have instituted vocational guidance departments to help secondary school students make intelligent decisions in this vital area. One should realize that this continued emphasis upon vocational and industrial education is consistent with America's interest in business and industry which receives so much attention today. Curriculum committees on a local and national level have been organized to study the problems in this area, and the beginning of these committees goes back to the early part of the century.

The Junior High School

The development of the junior high school during the twentieth century was one of the significant movements in the field of secondary education. This movement did not receive much attention by the writers

in The Atlantic Monthly. In fact, only one author made observations about the junior high school. In 1937 M.E. Herriott lauded the establishment of the junior high schools and called for further developments and refinements of this particular type of school organization. It must be remembered that the purpose of the junior high school was to provide for a smoother articulation between the elementary and the high school. Its organization had been based on the premise that the junior high school, for psychological and social reasons, was more nearly related to the needs of pre-adolescence. Herriott spoke of the junior high school in this manner:[24]

> During the past twenty-five years, junior high schools have become widely established. Educators with a vision of better schools and with the hope that this new unit would free teachers from a stratified school system have been primarily instrumental is establishing this new unit. Not every junior high school has justified the aspirations of these seekers for a new order. But good prospecting has been done. Even though some veins were soon exhausted and others were in dry canyons that could not be supplied with adequate water, rich deposits of pay dirt and thick veins of the mother lode have been found.

If the problems treated by The Atlantic Monthly do not appear too numerous, the reader should understand that this is not a weakness on the part of the editors. The reading public of this magazine was far more interested in the problems of higher education than it was in the problems of the elementary and secondary schools. The articles which did appear treated the same subjects which the professional journals were discussing. Obviously, the editors realized the interrelationship of the secondary schools and colleges and chose to publish some articles in this area. The writers themselves determined that secondary education would receive some attention, for they realized that to improve the

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24 M.E. Herriott, "The Junior High School," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 160, December, 1937, pp. 778-783.

program of the colleges and universities one had to improve the secondary and elementary schools which supplied the students to the former institutions. The next chapter will show how the university combined forces with those of the college to bring about desired changes in the high school program. The chapter will deal with the problems of the public institutions as well as the endowed private schools, both religious and secular, for their problems were somewhat similar.

CHAPTER V

HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education in this country has had a long and interesting history, and there has been an interest on the part of the higher institutions to correlate their work with the work of the public schools. Beginning in the Colonial Period, the training of leaders for the Church was the primary concern of educational institutions; and many of the leaders in Colonial America had received their training in Europe before immigrating to this country. When it was realized that these leaders would take their learning with them to the grave, attention was given to the establishment of institutions to remedy this situation. The type of training offered during this period was an imitation of the training which the colonists brought with them to this country, but the practical problems of clearing vast forests, establishing homesteads, organizing a system of government, and taking care of the fundamental needs of food, clothing, and shelter, encouraged a modified system of institutions which would more nearly meet the needs of people in the new country. Contact with European culture persisted during this trying period of readjustment, and developments in Europe continued to have an impact upon American culture. But, through the years, America developed a system of institutions which more nearly accommodated the social, political, and economic aims of this country.

One of the first modifications, and, perhaps the most important, was the development of a democratic form of government. Related to this was the idea of the proper function of religion in civil affairs. Religion played an important role in the government until certain leaders called for a separation of Church and State. The very nature of

conditions in this country, plus the fact that America was a polygot of nationalities, made this separation necessary. This separation of civil and religious affairs was reflected in the educational institutions from the Dame Schools to the colleges, and one can still see evidences of this separation at the present time. Whether higher education should remain classical in orientation and whether the college or the university, as it developed in a later period, should receive the encouragement of society were important problems which called for consideration. Social, political, and economic forces determined the nature of the struggle for higher education in this country; and the pattern of higher education underwent many changes in the process of its emergence. Developments in the field of science, which called for a different conception of man and his destiny, tended to give a secular direction to higher education. Conflicts between the classical and practical traditions were intensified by developments in the field of science. The organization of a political system which would serve man's needs in a changed environment tended to influence education. The study of the organization and administration of the elementary and secondary schools in the nineteenth century set the stage for many problems in the field.

Concern over higher education was marked by efforts of college personnel to improve the programs of the secondary schools. The college had emerged as an extension of the secondary school, but the questions of professional education beyond the college level began to be raised when American scholars had to go to Europe for the advanced professional degrees. When this new scientific knowledge began to circulate widely, vocational education, with its concern for applications of scientific knowledge to the fields of practical living, began to receive attention.

The federal government stimulated the establishment of colleges with the passage of the Morrill Act in the middle of the nineteenth century. Thus, many factors made it necessary for society to make some rather fundamental decisions about the direction of higher education in this country.

Educational Problems in 1900

To set the stage for a consideration of the articles which were published on the subject of the college and university in this country, the writer would like to summarize what several distinguished college and university presidents considered the important problems in higher education at the turn of the century.[1] Their opinions were published by Education,[2] a professional journal which conducted a symposium on "The Problems Which Confront Our Colleges at the Opening of the Twentieth Century." The problems which these college presidents listed were: (1). the elective system, (2). personal freedom of students, (3). controversy over the classics, (4). the interest of students in merely securing degrees, (5). The tendency toward specialization, (6). the lack of interest of students in politics and government, (7). the failure of the colleges to imbue students with public spirit, (8). the need for the integration of the cultural and disciplinarian values in the college curriculum, (9). the loss of simplicity in college education, (10). the growing complexity of administration, (11). the predominance of athletics, (12). the apparent failure of the colleges

1 The college presidents were: Charles F. Thwing, Western Reserve University and Adelbert College; William J. Tucker, Dartmouth College; Arthur T. Hadley, Yale University; Franklin Carter, Williams College; and John Henry Barrows, Oberlin College.

2 William J. Tucker, "The Problems Which Confront Our Colleges at the Opening of the Twentieth Century," Education, Vol. XX, September, 1899-June 1900, pp. 586-597.

to integrate their programs with actual life, and (13). the danger that the colleges would unwittingly blunder in or be led to be placing emphasis upon crass materialism.

By the turn of the century the topic of higher education received more space in magazines and newspapers than it had ever received in these media of communication. During the first quarter of the century there was far more discussion of higher education than this country had seen in its entire history. The Atlantic Monthly continued to devote more attention to the problems of higher education than to any other educational problem during the period of this study. If one were to explain why this was true, an answer would be found in the fact that the reading public was composed largely of college graduates and it was only natural that this type of audience would be far more aware of the problems of higher education than it would be of the problems of the lower schools. The first article dealing with higher education was penned by Professor Clement L. Smith, President of the American Philological Association; his article was the presidential address which was given at the thirty-first annual session of that organization in July, 1899. His address was published by The Atlantic Monthly because of widespread interest in its contents. Professor Smith spoke about the development of the graduate school and cautioned that the undergraduate program should not be neglected. It will be noted that he suggested many of the problems which were reported in the above-mentioned symposium. He said:[3]

> The last three decades of the nineteenth century will be known as a period of extraordinary progress in American Education. To the

[3] Clement L. Smith, "The American College in the Twentieth Century," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 85, February, 1900, pp.219-231.

> American college they have been a period of unsettlement, starting many problems, solving few, and completely transforming its environment; so that the college will pass into the new century with many questions pressing upon it, so far-reaching and fundamental that the wisdom of experience of thirty years more will hardly suffice for their solution. . .The causes that have produced this change have worked upon the college in different ways,--from below, from within, from above; but they are all really one cause working through various channels. It is customary to speak of this cause as the growth of the elective system; but the elective system is itself a result, or rather a method. The real cause, of which the elective system is merely the manifestation, due not so much to increase of knowledge,--for not all new knowledge is straightway fit for educational purposes,--but rather the conversion of new fields of knowledge of the use of education. . .Within the college, the broadening of the educational horizon has necessarily developed the elective system, with its great advantages and its attendant dangers, the control of which presents one of the most difficult problems in college management today.

Professor Smith's remarks about the elective system proved to be correct. The elective system introduced a completely different trend in education, for the burden of course selection revolved upon the shoulders of the students instead of being decided arbitrarily by what many felt was an archaic system of requirements by the colleges. If the center of gravity shifted from subject content to student choice, the change was prompted by many factors; the recognition by Professor Smith that there were other facets of the problem is merely a reflection which many other people suspected and expressed. John Bascom came to somewhat the same conclusions in an article which he contributed early in the nineteenth century. Unlike Professor Smith, he listed many causes for the changes which he noted. Bascom said, in part:[4]

> The last half of the nineteenth century was marked by exceedingly rapid social changes, especially in the United States. The more immediate causes of this movement were the discoveries and inventions which preceded and accompanied this period, and

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4 John Bascom, "Changes in College Life," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 91, June, 1903, pp. 749-758.

> gave to men an entirely new mastery over material agents. This power was the occasion of a great increase in production, which, in turn, gave rise to a wholly unprecedented concentration of capital. Industrial processes have taken on immense magnitude, and events push forward with proportinate rapidity. Changes in social conditions which have been accustomed to creep slowly forward now begin to walk, and those which were wont to walk have fallen into a run. Good and evil overtake us before we are hardly aware of their presence. Snow which has been forzen immovably to the mountain side begins to loosen, and may at any moment precipitate itself into an avalanche.
>
> The changes in college life should not be allowed to drag us down from the mount of vision and fling us, mere waifs, into the turmoil of events, a stream that hushes its own roar by a final plunge into the gulf of oblivion.

Among the forces which Bascom recognized and expressed with such finesse were: (1). conspicuous gains in the amount of instruction in science, (2). the elective system, (3). the increase in the size of institutions, (4). changes in the methods of instruction from drill to the laboratory method, (5). the increase in enrollments, (6). conflicts between practical and non-practical courses, (7). the waning of student interest in commencement exercises, (8). the change of status by colleges to universities, (9). the training in physical things, and (10). the growth of expense, increase of salaries, and the magnitude of endowments. Many writers expressed what they thought the problems of higher education were, and there was some overlapping of these problems as enumerated by the writers. However, these introductory articles ought to be included in this study in order to show the similarities and differences in the thinking of the authors and to identify the climate out of which these problems developed.

Another writer framed a slightly different list of problems. Henry S. Pritchett appears to have entertained a more comprehensive view of the whole field of education when he formulated his principles upon which re-organization in higher education should be based. He apparently

realized, perhaps more clearly than some of his contemporaries, the relationships of these problems to the elementary and secondary schools. His formulation of problems took this form:[5]

> It seems clear that the work of the next two decades in American education is to be a work of educational reorganization; and this reorganization must include elementary and secondary education as well as higher education, for the problem of national education is really one problem, not a series of unrelated problems. To-day our schools, from the elementary school to the university, are inefficient, superficial, lacking expert supervision. They are disjointed members of what ought to be a consistent system. The work of reorganization is so enormous that one is almost at a loss to answer the practical question. Where should such reorganization begin? The answer to this question must come, in the end, from the intelligent leadership of teachers, and from the cooperation of teachers themselves, and from the cooperation of teachers in all parts of our system of national education.

With this affirmation, Pritchett proceeded to list the areas in which he felt reorganization was most pressing. The formulation of a consistent and comprehensive philosophy of education and the training of teachers for increasing services were the first, and presumably, the most important areas of reorganization. He felt that vocational education needed careful consideration due to progress in the physical sciences. He was concerned about the articulation from secondary to higher schools; and he voiced concern over a closer coordination between high schools and college. Closely related to this point was the problem of college entrance requirements. Pritchett returned to the field of philosophy in his next item by calling for a clearer definition of the functions of higher education. Last but not least, Pritchett called for a clarification of the research function of the colleges and universities. Speaking before his colleagues at the University of

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5 Henry S. Pritchett, "The Organization of Higher Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 102, December, 1908, pp. 783-789.

Michigan, the same man expanded his ideas on the purposes of research. Since this has been one of the important functions of the university over the years, the writer of this thesis shall quote his remarks on this subject:[6]

> It has been my purpose rather to state questions than to argue them; not to propose a substitute for our present administration of the university, but rather to point out certain tendencies in it. To inquire whether, if the republic be the ideal system of administration, it is not also a good one for the scholar, and to ask, at least in these days when events move so rapidly, whether administration of the university as it is now organized tends toward the development of a larger type of professor and a finer order of students; to ask whether we are developing the mechanical side of the administration at the expense of the spiritual side.
>
> For after all, we can never too often remind ourselves that the first purpose of the university is not to further industrial development or to increase the wealth of a state, but that it is the development of the intellectual and spiritual life. This development can take place only in the air of freedom, however, evident are the dangers which freedom brings with it. Wealth, power, the niceties of life, may all grow in an atmosphere of limited or of artificial freedom, but only in the air of real freedom can be grown that spirit and that intelligence which shall minister to those things which are spiritual and to those things which are eternal.

Yet another articles dealing with the subject of higher education was contributed by Professor Pritchett. He attempted to emphasize the importance of coordinating the work of all educational institutions. He emphasized, as he did in the previous articles, the urgency of this issue when he said:[7]

> A great change has come in three decades. With the establishment of the Johns Hopkins University, the growth of the state universities, and the increasing influence in education of Americans who have enjoyed European study, the university idea was transplanted to America. It has shown in three decades an extraordinary growth, measured by the number of universities and the facilities for study and research. One of the most significant results is the influence of the university idea upon the American

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6 Henry S. Pritchett, "Shall The University Become A Business Corporation?" The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 96, September, 1905, pp.289-299.

7 Henry S. Pritchett, "The College of Discipline and The College of Freedom," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol.102, November, 1908, pp.603-611.

> college, and the growing need for a more consistent educational organization which shall coordinate secondary school, college and university. Sir W.H. Preece, in a recent address before the Royal Society of Arts says, 'In America a national coordinated system will be evolved which will make the United States the best secularly educated country in the world, and its educational policy thoroughly organized. I believe that these hopeful words are likely to come true, but it is evident that, before that time, much must be done to clarify the present educational confusion. This is the educational problem of the next twenty years, and we are just now squarely facing it.'

One may check Professor Pritchett's consistency by reading these three articles carefully, and one would have to agree that he touched upon the significant and recurring problems, if one judges on the basis of the statements by the five college presidents who were cited earlier and on the basis of the other writers on this theme.

Liberal Education

The next statement of this theme was made by Professor David Snedden whose article was entitled "What of Liberal Education." The term "liberal education" has several connotations, but Snedden defined it in terms of the end product of subject matter learning. While this is a somewhat narrow meaning of the phrase, the meaning is not as relevant as the point he made about the limitations of those engaged in liberal education. He said:[8]

> Schoolmen--teachers of the liberal arts in school and college can be credited with a fine devotion to the study of those fields of knowledge in which their scholarly interests lie; but, with rare exceptions, they have not been students of teaching. They have mastered subject-matter, the means of education,--but not pedagogy, the art of applying the means. They have not yet evolved a satisfactory philosophy of liberal education to supersede the store of educational dogmas, psychological misconceptions, and cultural mysticism which they inherited. . .Efficiency in education, as elsewhere in the regions of conscious effort, involves on the one hand a fairly clear conception of goals to be reached, and on the other a degree of certitude as to the probable functioning of the means and methods employed. Our institutions devoted to

[8] David Snedden, "What of Liberal Education?" The Atlantic Monthly Vol. 109, January, 1912, pp. 111-117.

> liberal education are not able to apply to themselves tests of efficiency along these lines; they have no acceptable formulations of their purposes; and equally(and partly as a consequence) they have no sufficient evidence as to the efficiency of procedure which they use.

Criticisms of Graduate Schools

Particularizing his criticisms of the graduate schools somewhat more definitely than did Snedden of liberal education, Abraham Flexner, author of the well-known book, Universities,--American, English, German, and prolific commentator in the field of higher education, leveled a scathing attack on certain inadequacies of the American graduate schools. Among other things, he iterated that graduate schools were too collegiate--that is, they were not turning out trained people in what he called "high culture." Continuing his tirade, he accused the universities of paying far too much attention to the undergraduate arm of the university to the exclusion of the graduate branch. Harvard University was cited as an example of pseudo-professional schools which clung like barnacles to the university; he had reference to the Harvard School of Business Administration. His closing remark concerned conflicts between business and learning. At the end of this list of indictments of the American graduate schools, Flexner summarized in this fashion:[9]

> In closing, let me briefly summarize my conclusions:--
> 1. There has been a genuine and spectular improvement in facilities and opportunities for graduate study since the first graduate school was formed in the United States.
> 2. On the other hand, no graduate school in the land, with all the increase in money, libraries, equipment, and staff, is a clear-cut exemplification of what a graduate school should be. The graduate school has succumbed to the college in respect to numbers and organization; it has suffered grievously from the influx of degree hunters, and from the creation, on a graduate

9 Abraham Flexner, "Failings of Our Graduate Schools," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 149, April, 1932, pp. 441-452.

> basis, of merely technical schools--often hardly that; its scholarly standards have been lowered by inbreeding and by irrelevant considerations in making appointments--consideration of the college from which the possible candidates were graduated, of the section from which they come, of the race or religious sect to which they belong.
>
> The evils which I have enumerated cannot be rapidly cured; certainly they cannot be cured everywhere at once. Unfortunately, the plant must be kept going, and students' fees supply a considerable part of the requisite funds. But at least universities could gradually be directed toward other and higher goals; and, as their funds grow, abuses that now bring income could be lopped off. The gradual process of discarding abuses and irrelevancies would in course of time completely change the quality and atmosphere of our universities, even if nothing else at all were done.

Of all the critics of higher education, Flexner was the most out-spoken. He held several important positions--including a position as director of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and Director of the Institute for Advanced Study in New York; and he lectured widely in England under the auspices of the Rhodes Trust. His publications received wide attention in this country, and one reviewer pointed out that Flexner exhibited biases in his publications. Whatever the worth of his remarks, one would have to accept the fact that he published widely in the field of higher education.

Flexner was appointed secretary of the General Education Board in 1917 and held that office until the late 1920's. The movement of general education was organized to combat narrow specialization in the several fields of knowledge; and, in spite of Flexner's association with this organization, he continued to support the research function of the university. His ideal of the modern university included other aspects, but he consistently emphasized the importance of the research function. In the strongest possible terms, he affirmed:[10]

> On the contrary, it ought to be the most skeptical and

[10] Abraham Flexner, "A Modern University," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 136, October, 1925, pp. 530-541.

> and inquiring of intellectual agencies. It takes nothing on faith--neither Newtonian laws of gravitation, Darwinian theories of evolution, germ theory, Kantian ethics, democratic institutions, wisdom of the fathers, virtues of the jury system, nor anything else. Under the heaviest sense of responsibility for the truth, and therefore with the exercise of the utmost care of which the human mind is capable, the university is concerned to pursue the search for truth, wherever the search lead, and to train young men, to find it, respect it, teach it, and, if need be, die for it. Only so can the vast forces which are latent in the human mind and which are being released from nature be brought to work for the general good.

Defining the role of the university in American life in the early 1930's Flexner sketched further weaknesses of the university as they then existed. His taking cognizance of the relationship of the university to the other educational organizations is reminiscent of Professor Pritchett who was cited above. Flexner remarked in this regard:[11]

> In order to determine the part which the university should play in American life, we must begin by taking into account our general educational scheme, however much we may hope in time to alter it. As things now stand, the scope of the elementary school is fairly clear; that of the high school is less clear; as to the college, general confusion prevails; the graduate and professional schools are, taken as a whole, chaotic. Elementary school, high school, college, all lack intensity, with the result that the more capable students emerge, at twenty-one or twenty-two, far too immature, intellectually speaking. For this situation, taken as a whole, I can suggest no rapid remedy. Not until the American home is more exacting, the training of teachers more severe, the recognition of the supreme importance of taste and intelligence far more common at present, will the output of American schools and colleges be of sterner stuff; and not until the output of schools and colleges is better can the standards of graduate and professional work be generally raised, though there is absolutely no reason why any one institution might not now do anything it pleased.
>
> If, then, we eliminate elementary education, secondary education, all kinds of mere training involving drill in process, and finally a variety of skills that the individual must acquire for himself, there is still left a considerable number of higher activities of predominantly intellectual and cultural character. In my judgment, these constitute the field of the university--these and these alone.

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11 Abraham Flexner, "The University in American Life," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 149, May, 1932, pp. 620-627.

Flexner must have exerted a good deal of influence in this field, if one judges on the basis of the number of articles he contributed to The Atlantic Monthly. He is well-known for his work in medical education where he criticized the lack of professional emphasis on respectable courses in a doctor's training. As indicated above, he published an important book in the field; and, the fact that he was accused of personal biases does not detract from his stature as a leader. The educational journals in the twentieth century are full of reviews of his works, and this is another evidence that he must have stimulated a great many people. Because a man is outspoken in framing his personal convictions is not a serious limitation, for Flexner had the courage to stand up before all the world and declare his position. Perhaps America needs more men of his caliber to help solve the pressing problems in the field of education.

The State University

A writer who was more timid than Abraham Flexner in expressing his identity touched upon the subject of the state university. This self-styled "Athenian" had some rather bitter things to say about the lack of funds with which to operate a university, and the nature of his remarks perhaps called for a concealment of his identity more than personal reservations. Many other writers concealed their identities, so this college president should not be castigated for doing what others did. The subject of the article was far more important than the identification of the author. This anonymous writer said: [12]

> The truth is that the legislature is much more interested in penitentiaries and the reform schools than in the university, and

12 An Athenian, "Our State University," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 89, April, 1902, pp. 536-544.

> more interested in a reputation for economy than in anything else. Moreover, the title of the agricultural college commends itself to an agricultural community. The university is treated as a step-child of the state, and receives but a niggardly appropriation. The good day of suitable buildings and equipment, of adequate salaries, of departments properly manned, of a more extended influence, is once more put off. The president comes back to his accumulation of work feeling the sickness of hope deferred, and once more goes through the wearisome task of saying to ambitious young instructors that no promotion with increase of salary can be looked for, and to overworked professors that they cannot have the assistants whom they need, or the apparatus which they can hardly do without, or the accommodations which seem absolutely essential; that, in short, for yet another two years sixpence must do the work of a shilling. . . Yet they join hands with a good will and go on with their work of undiminished energy. . . The university is raising its own standards and the standards of the secondary schools. It is drawing after it the sectarian colleges, which must either follow its lead or drop into a position of preparatory schools. The state university is alive, and it has a future.

This position reminds one of the present-day struggles of college presidents and deans with state legislatures for the appropriation of funds for the operation of the state universities. As is so often the case, educational institutions are the first organizations to feel the effects of economic dislocations in society; but college and university personnel continue to devote their energies to the ideal of higher education regardless of economic inequalities. Many people consider this phenomenon to be peculiar to the United States, and one explanation of this condition has a direct relationship to the values which Americans hold. If the state university was drawing the sectarian colleges after it, as the author stated, conditions in 1902 were different during that period from what is true today. All over the United States there are many small liberal arts colleges struggling to keep their doors open, but society continues to support these small liberal arts colleges because of loyalties to a religious affirmation and belief, and to the objectives of these institutions. One gains insight by this

comparing present conditions to what this writer propounded to be the case in the past.

Herbert W. Horwill argued the case of the small college, using a somewhat different line of reasoning. His arguments were not different from those advanced today, even though the emphasis is slightly shifted. Horwill contended that the small school was not a research institution, that is, it should not compete with the university in this regard. Taken to its extreme, this position would lead to the point that the small college should be little more than a preparatory school for advanced training in private or state universities. Few small college men would hold this position, for they emphasize other intangible benefits for attendance at a small college. That the size of the small college makes it possible for more and better individual attention to students is a recurring argument in this area. Few small college catalogues or brochures fail to proclaim this virtue to potential students. Strangely enough, many students matriculate on the basis of this appeal even though the mere fact that a school is small does not necessarily mean that its educational standards are high or that adequate guidance will be given. Horwill said:[13]

> The opinion that small colleges are doomed is rapidly hardening into an axiom. The prevailing megalomania of the twentieth century is to sweep them away with its other victims. . . There are indications that the hubbub of these protestations is stirring the small colleges themselves into doubts whether they have a right to be alive. They are beginning to ask what they must do to be saved, and some of them are attempting to answer their own question by making themselves look as much like large colleges as their size permits. If they are 'to compete with the universities,' said a professor the other day, they must do this, that, and the other thing that the universities do. Since the frog attempted to

13 Herbert W. Horwill, "The Opportunity of the Small College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 87, June, 1901, pp. 763-771.

> compete with the ox, there has been no such misconception of opportunity. The fable of the hare and the tortoise shows a better way.

Many small colleges contracted university fever during the early part of the twentieth century, and this disease is prevalent, though on a more restricted scale today. The small colleges must perform some function and meet the needs of a particular section of American society, for they have been with us for some time now.

Another writer spoke of the state university as the "crowning" of the American educational system. Professor Pritchett has been cited above, but the author is quoting another article in this section by the same man because of its relationship to this section. He was quoted earlier because his remarks on the problems of higher education were appropriate to the development of the theme under consideration. He had some complimentary remarks for the work of the state university, and this was not the case with all the writers who spoke about this topic. He said:[14]

> Of the school system thus inaugurated the state university which crowned it was the most striking achievement, and remains to-day the best evidence that we have in our democracy of the ability of the people to create and conduct the agencies which they need for their own development. In no other nation of the world, at any time in its history, have institutions of the higher learning so essentially democratic, and on the whole serving so well the needs of a democracy as do the best of our state universities, been developed so quickly. If our American democracy were to-day called to give proof of its constructive ability, the state university and the public-school system which it crowns would be the strongest evidence of its fitness which it could offer. . .The American university is to-day the home of that (democratic) faith. It is a faith which is real and vital, which takes hold upon the emotions as well as upon the minds of men, which stirs their hearts and their imagination. It is the faith of humanity and in humanity. Under its inspiration great works are to be done. Science and art and literature shall become alive.

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14 Henry S. Pritchett, "The Spirit of the State University," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 105, June, 1910, pp. 741-753.

> And the American university, which embodies the intellectual aspirations of a free people, is becoming day by day the representative of their spiritual aspirations as well.

The tone of this quotation suggests the abiding faith which Professor Pritchett had in higher education. As so often is the case when college presidents make public pronouncements, they often say what they are expected to say—that is, what the general public expects them to say. But this statement goes beyond that in its power and sincerity.

As mentioned early in this chapter, classical education was one of the problems which many writers recognized. When the colleges and universities introduced technical subjects into the curriculum and the enrollments began to swell as a result of changes in entrance requirements, the classical element in the curriculum had to compete with these newer courses. The classical influence in higher education in the United States was imported from Europe, but the pattern of the American university had its origin in England where the name had a different connotation from its American counterpart. The only two universities in the United States not built around a college of earlier origin are Johns Hopkins University and Clark University. With this explanation in mind, let us look at what Homer Edminston had to say about classical education in the United States:[15]

> The graduate school, which concerns our subject more directly, is a peculiar institution well deserving of a separate and special treatment. Some forty or fifty years ago Americans began resorting in considerable numbers to German universities, and thence returning home introduced into our colleges the spirit and methods of German research. They urged the plea that the United States should not be allowed to lag behind the standards of higher education set by Europe, and also that poor students who could not afford to go abroad might study at home, especially if they were the holders of paid fellowships. In response to this demand,

15 Homer Edminston, "Classical Education in America," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 104, August, 1909, pp. 260-273.

> graduate schools were established in connection with our leading colleges, and one or two as independent institutions. They are, of course, professional schools, and have never been regarded in any other light. But the circumstances in which they arose have given them a character totally different from schools of law and medicine. . .
>
> The American graduate school, with its requirements of (what is called) original research, thesis and doctor's examination, is an alien system at the best. It was borrowed almost unchanged from the Germans, a people naturally addicted to laborious scholarship, but insufficiently endowed with genius and inspiration. And even in Germany, wise observers are condemning the hypertrophy of 'intellectualism' to which it has led. Scholarship even at its best should never be allowed to dominate the intellectual life of a people that hopes to be great. But who that knows the facts will assert that scholarship in American universities is at its best? The tempting of needy students by stipends, and by the hope of subsequent employment, is hire and salary, and not the promotion of useful knowledge.

Thus, Edminston gave an historical sketch of the development of the American university and suggested the subject of standards in higher education. At the appropriate place, the writer will discuss standards in higher education and show that the writers in The Atlantic Monthly recognized this problem.

Role of Higher Education

One of the members of the Lowell family of Boston and president of Harvard University, A. Lawrence Lowell, discussed the work of higher educational institutions under the label of "Universities, Graduate Schools, and Colleges." President Lowell wrote his article some years after Charles W. Eliot's presidency at the same institution, but there can be no denial of Eliot's influence in Lowell's attitudes which follow:[16]

> Devotees of the existing system will maintain that there are now such opportunities in the graduate schools, that they now produce some men of mark, and that the number of these is at best small. That is true, but the conditions might be better than is

16 A. Lawrence Lowell, "Universities, Graduate Schools, and Colleges," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 150, August, 1932, pp. 215-222.

> possible in the present composition of such schools. The crowd of less capable and less ambitious students, with the routine inseparable from mass production, has not the attraction or driving force of a small selected group of men of rare abilities. These should be candidates for a degree, because their attention should be directed, not to causes and examinations, but solely to progress toward their own objectives. They should live in contact with one another and with older men, both in their own subjects and in others.

Another distinguished college president, Doctor James Bryant Conant, gave the convocation address for the celebration of the 150th anniversity of the establishment of the first state university at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in May of 1946. Despite the fact that Professor Conant's remarks were concerned with a particular university, there is similarity in point of view between his remarks and those of President Lowell of Harvard University which are quoted above. Both expressed an interest in the affairs of student life on university campuses. Conant said:[17]

> The health of our universities depends on keeping a balance between the advancement of knowledge, professional education, general education, and the demands of student life. From time to time, every institution will be threatened by the overgrowth of one of these four elements or the atrophy of one or more. But by and large it seems clear that in the next few years it is the advancement of knowledge which will be in need of the greatest encouragement and support.

When an eminent scientist expresses himself in this manner, one should take notice, for it is this relationship among the several functions of the university which continues to be a perplexing problem.

With this survey of statements and analyses as a background, one can understand more easily the particular problems which will be discussed during the remainder of this chapter. It has already been suggested that higher education received more attention during the first

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17 James Bryant Conant, "America Remakes the University," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 177, May, 1946, pp. 41-45.

quarter of the twentieth century than this country had experienced during its entire history. Advanced degrees were awarded on an honorary basis before the turn of the century; in fact, holders of the bachelor's degree who had received their first degree could pay the necessary fees and be awarded either an honorary master's or doctor's degree. In many instances, even the doctor of philosophy degree was awarded on the same basis until the beginning of the twentieth century; and it took a threat of exposure by a national educational organization before this situation was changed. This was one of the many problems which plagued college administrators during the period of development of institutions of higher education in the United States. Such problems as: university extension, academic freedom, competition between colleges, standards of work, and the development of the junior college, were some of the specific problems receiving attention. These problems grew out of the social climate, and the importance of the solutions to these problems lies in the fact that their solution determined the direction higher education took in this country.

University Extension

To turn to one of these problems, let us discuss the issue of university extension. As the colleges and universities assumed an expanded role because of the many changes in society, university extension was looked upon as the best method of extending the influence of the university into the community, state, and nation, where vital problems needed solution. From rather modest beginnings, this movement has developed into one of the most important functions of the modern state university. One need only discuss the problems of the state university with college personnel to discover this truth, for most

university workers would rank this high on a list of their problems. Professor Lyman P. Powell summarized the first ten year's work of university extension in the United States in these terms:[18]

> University extension is meant for those for whom religion is intended, for those whom life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is intended. It is meant to help the ignorant who desire knowledge,—that they may learn wisely; to reveal to the half-educated the insufficiency of their knowledge; to rouse intellectual sluggards; to stimulate those who are in the right way; to bring questioning to the hearts of the self-satisfied. There is no class for which University Extension is not intended nor to which it has not ministered. There have been courses--not a few, but many--to audiences made up entirely of the very poor; of the poor; of the poor and of those who are not rich; of these and of all the well to do; of the ignorant but eager; of the cultivated but not learned; of teachers; we might also say--having in mind the summer meetings--of scholars; finally, of people of all conditions who have some leisure for study or reading, and look to the lectures for suggestions and leading.

This ambitious and comprehensive statement of the work of university extension is more inclusive than the more limited view which is oftentimes expressed. Americans, who keep their eyes focused on practical results much of the time, tend to view university extension as a means of getting the latest developments in their respective fields; to these people, university extension is somewhat narrower in scope than what Professor Powell had in mind.

Academic Freedom

The next problem was related to philosophy, as it dealt with the often nebulous idea of freedom. Professor Meiklejohn opened his remarks with a list of rhetorical questions; then, as a sort of considered after-thought, he formulated some answers to these same questions. He

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18 Lyman P. Powell, "Ten Years of University Extension," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 88, September, 1901, pp. 393-403.

said:[19]

> How shall we win and keep that(public) confidence? That is the urgent problem for us and for the people we serve. How shall we teach unless the people listen? How shall they listen unless they know that we can teach and that we will?
>
> Unless a people find, in colleges or elsewhere, some place of criticism, some place where truth is sought, where thought is free, there is no hope for freedom of the people.
>
> The college must teach, and first of all, must make the people understand what teaching is. How shall we let them know that we are serving every interest that they have and yet are slaves to none of them, that we will listen to every thought they bring and yet will weigh and value them with thoughts of other men in mind?
>
> There is no other way than this: to study and to teach. And teaching is the attempt to make men free.
>
> Physician, heal thyself!

Two authors discussed the subject of academic freedom; their points of view are almost identical. Academic freedom did not induce the same types of pressures in the first decade of the century as it has induced during the past several years when political conditions in the country have been quite different. Howard Crosby Warren defined the term in his article and spoke about it in general terms. He said:[20]

> Freedom of teaching, as scholars understand the term, means control of university instruction by the teaching profession itself, untrammeled by outside interference. The university teacher is a prophet of the truth. His tenure of office should not be determined by political, theological, or popular approval; but he should be held accountable to his own calling.
>
> In point of fact, the teacher to-day is not a free, responsible agent. His career is practically under the control of the laymen. Fully three quarters of our scholars occupy academic positions; and in America, at least, the teaching investigator, whatever professional standing he may have attained, is subject to the direction of some body of men outside his own craft. As investigator he may be quite untrammeled, but as teacher, it has been said, he is half tyrant and half slave.

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19 Alexander Meiklejohn, "Freedom of the College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 121, January, 1918, pp. 83-89.

20 Howard Crosby Warren, "Academic Freedom," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 114, November, 1914, pp. 689-699.

Warren said elsewhere that the church and state were the two most important restraining influences on academic freedom--with slight preference to the former. He cautioned that the fields of economics, philosophy,and psychology were points where cases of academic freedom were most apt to develop.

Doctor Arthur Twining Hadley, President of Yale University, was the other writer on the problem of academic freedom. He indicated an interesting dichotomy in the area when he said:[21]

> In the fields of politics we have gone far toward removing the corresponding difficulty which once existed, when all institutional reform carried with it, or at any rate seemed to carry with it, the danger of revolution. We have learned to draw the line between the group of actions which Mill characterized as self-regarding, and another group of actions which more immediately concern the safety or interest of others. By permitting liberty in the former field and restricting it in the latter, we seem to have secured the advantages of freedom without exposing ourselves to the worse dangers. We have combined the maximum of progress with the minimum of revolution. But in educational matters we have not yet learned to draw this line. We have not learned to separate the rights of the discoverer from the duties of the teacher, or to secure the advantages of freedom without the dangers. Nay, that very progress of legal conservatism which lessens the teacher's dangers in one direction binds him by closer shackles in another, and renders his conflict of duties more perplexing. The establishment of a well-ordered legal system, which gives the teacher permanent position and recognition in the state, tends to make him in fact, if not in name, a part of the public service, engaged in preparing others for that service; and it brings him under a contractual relation with authorities, public or private, who pay him for his teaching and conceive that they have the right to say what he shall teach.

Both of these statements were written before the development of loyalty oaths in the field of education and investigation committees in the field of politics. The American Association of University Professors has been active in this area during recent years, since education has tended to reflect the confusion which exists in society in this regard.

21 Arthur Twining Hadley, "Academic Freedom in Theory and Practice," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol.91,February,1903,pp.152-160.

Whatever influence these forces have had in this area, these two men touched upon a problem which continues to cause real concern in the present day. That academic freedom does not mean academic license is a painful lesson to learn, but it promises to be a problem with us for some time to come.

The Elective System

President A. Laurence Lowell of Harvard University formulated a statement about the elective system and its influence in the colleges and universities. Raising of the issue by him was interesting, since Harvard University was the place of the development of the elective system under the leadership of President Eliot. Many people felt that the elective system was consistent with democratic principles and lauded the effects of this system in higher education. Others were just as vocal in attacking the elective sytem, and it is revealing to see what an important exponent of this system had to say on the subject. He said:[22]

> When the elective system was first introduced, its advocates believed that it would have a powerful selective influence, by offering to each student ampler opportunity for self-development in the branches of learning that he might prefer. The opponents of the system did not deny this, but complained that the undergraduate was not capable of judging what was best for him, and that to follow his own bent would lead to a one-sided development. In the plans of men, the indirect, and therefore unforseen, consequences are often more important than those which form the subject of discussion. The elective system--which has to a greater or less extent penetrated almost all our colleges--did, indeed, furnish an opportunity for self-development; but at the same time it weakened the stimulus to exertion. It was based upon the assumption that opportunity alone is enough, that a man will put forth his utmost powers if he can do so in a congenial field. Yet this is by no means true, even in the case of the highest genius. Many a man of talent has worked only from the stress of poverty, groaning all the time at his hard fate. Shakespeare

22 A. Lawrence Lowell, "Competition in College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 103, June, 1909, pp. 822-831.

> himself did much of his writing under the pressure of finishing plays for the stage; and the difficulty of keeping artists and literary men up to time is notorious,--a difficulty not wholly due to the fitful inspiration of the muse.

Interestingly enough, an eminent exponent of the elective system felt constrained to spell out some cautions as the above quotation indicates.

Standards in Higher Education

Professor Horwill[23] introduced quite a different type of problem when he called for a national standard in higher education whereby institutions would not have difficulties in classifying students when they transferred from one institution to another. A national standard was made necessary by the hundreds of students who were graduating each year with the bachelor of arts degree, thus it was difficult to compare the records of students who were trained in different institutions. Horwill recognized the value of degrees which were awarded by institutions with a national reputation, but he felt there ought to be some common basis for the colleges which were awarding more and more degrees each year. In his opinion, the situation was so chaotic that even the Commissioner of Education himself could not gauge accurately the comparative worth of the degrees granted by all the institutions in this country. Besides, the standardization of degree requirements would have improved the quality of instruction; and it was this assumption which underlay Horwill's position.

Honor Systems in Higher Education

Professor Briggs of Harvard University discussed yet another problem in the colleges and universities; he attempted an explanation

23 Herbert Horwill, "A National Standard in Higher Education," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 90, September, 1902, pp. 329-335.

of college honor. This has been a pressing problem since the beginning of organized teaching; but it received more attention in this country as the colleges began to admit thousands of unselected students whose abilities differed so widely. Professor Briggs explained the importance of the issue in these terms:[24]

> College dishonesty in written work is hard to eradicate, because rooted in impalpable tradition,--that damaging tradition which exempts students from the ordinary rules of right living, and regards as venial, or even as numorous, acts intrinsically allied to those of the imposter, the forger, and the thief. It is incredible that a youth of eighteen should not see the dishonesty of handing in as his own work, for his own credit, a piece of writing which he has copied from a newspaper or from a book, or from the writing of a fellow student, or which he has paid another man to write for him. Nobody who can get into college is so stupid that he cannot see the lie involved. Everybody sees it clearly if the writing is for a prize, and if the fraud deprives a fellow student of his fair chance; but if a youth has spent all his available time in athletics, or in billards, or at clubs, or at dances, or at the theatre, and if a thesis is due the next day, what is he to do?

Attempts to remedy this situation or to eradicate it have been advanced from time to time. Some schools have developed honor systems which have proved to be unsuccessful in all cases, but these systems at least place the responsibility for conduct on the shoulders of the students rather than on the teacher.

College Entrance Requirements

Ralph Boas suggested an adjustment of college entrance requirements to meet the needs of the changed nature of the students who were attending the colleges and universities. He singled out the fact that many institutions used their entrance requirements improperly and complained that this condition would lead to serious consequences. He painted a rather bleak picture for those colleges which followed this

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24 L.B.R. Briggs, "College Honor," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 88, October, 1901, pp. 483-489.

procedure when he warned:[25]

> Most disquieting of all, however, is the feeling that, in the perpetual fight against bigotry, superstition, racial intolerance, and inverted nationalism, the colleges seem to be abandoning the side of the angels. It may be hard to see one's college harboring strange men with alien ways, to see the happy spirit of youthful friendship weakening beneath the fierce and relentless pursuit of knowledge which, to these strangers, is the whole of college life; but it is harder to see one's college fostering mother hates and racial dissentions, the parent of bitterness which for years will be a canker in the minds of men. Colleges will doubtless say that, in selecting their students in their own way, they have no such purpose. However, what usually matters is not the purpose of an act, but its result.

The problem has received consideration by the national organization of college admission counselors, but it is significant that it was stated so forcefully in the early 1920's.

President Lowell of Harvard University made a survey of the relationship of college training to distinction in life by surveying Who's Who In America to determine the level of training of those appearing in this volume. "If appearance in Who's Who is a measure of distinction in life," he concluded,"chance of college men is a trifle better than one in seven, or nearly twice as great as that of average graduates."[26] Another article along this line is a rather interesting answer to the question: Could Darwin be produced in an American university today? Richard Maclaurin[27] answered in the negative. His reason was that such men are not produced in any university, since such men as Charles Darwin are born and not made. He felt, furthermore, that

25 Ralph Philip Boas, "Who Sahll Go To College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 130, October, 1922, pp. 441-448.

26 Lawrence Lowell, "College Rank and Distinction in Life," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 92, October, 1903, pp. 512-520.

27 Richard C. Maclaurin, "Darwin At An American University," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 108, July, 1911, pp. 192-198.

the present American college might have retarded if not checked Darwin's intellectual development entirely. These are two different approaches to the problem of evaluation; and, while they are amusing, they do give insight into the problem of evaluation.

The Junior College Movement

Doctor George Herbert Palmer, Professor Emeritus of Harvard University in the field of philosophy, raised a provocative issue in higher education when he wrote an article on the subject of the junior college movement in America. The junior college was one of the significant developments in higher education during the first half of the twentieth century, but the junior college has been modified considerably in purpose and function over the years. Professor Palmer rather innocently indicated that the junior college began as a movement and developed into a torrent, to use his phrasing. In 1927 he said that 375 had already been established and that five new ones were opening their doors every month. Because of the rapid multiplication of this type of institution, he viewed the junior college movement as the most menacing and urgent aspect of contemporary education. Professor Palmer thought that college professors were not opposed to this institution because of the elementary work students did, and this was one factor which encouraged its success. His article raised a storm of protest country-wide when he said:[28]

> Wherever Junior Colleges are strong, colleges will drop their first two years and will add two graduate years, chiefly of professional study. The unique intermediate culture college of America will disappear, and with it the great troop of men and women who, having had contact with scholarship, have become leaders

28 George Herbert Palmer, "The Junior College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 139, April, 1927, pp. 497-501.

> in idealism and centres of civilization for our waste places. The financial backing of these persons, the main support of our colleges hitherto, now ceasing, we must, like the universities of Europe, come into dependence on the State and let our politicians refuse money if we teach such science as they do not like. I do not detect the flaw in this argument. Will someone point it out?

An anonymous writer was quick to accept Professor Palmer's challenge and to disagree with Professor Palmer's point of view: to give the arguments at some length, the writer of this thesis will quote a key passage to be found in the article. It was as follows:[29]

> We hear it said that junior colleges are peculiarly adapted to handling the masses who seek higher education without capacity for absorbing it, and that they form a protective sieve for the universities, which will be thus saved from lowering standards to the mob level. But we have no assurance that, by junior-college aid, such students will not go on to the higher institutions in greater numbers. And what of the brilliant youth caught in the junior-college trap. The student of superior mentality is now passed through the lower schools with greater rapidity. He is ready for college young. His parents fear to send him away. He is placed in a local junior college. There he starves intellectually, and grows warped and bitter under administrative repression.
>
> The previous line of educational growth in the United States has been a settling downward in the system of subjects and of method. The high-school of to-day is the college of yesteryear. But the junior college, reversing this process, bids fair to turn to-morrow's college into a mere grandiose high school. Time alone can show whether, as the two new educational institutions become established, they can develop suitable personnel and standards of their own, or whether the blight of their origin is ingrained in their very make-up and the already thin substance of American education is to be diluted this much further. There is an heredity in insititutions as in individuals, and the junior college was born in the high-school family. Certainly if junior-high-school positions are to be forever the reward of grade-excellence, and if junior-college jobs are filled indefinitely from the high school ranks, then higher education in America has received a body blow. Whether the city boards of education under which the two-year colleges increasingly operate can resist the inevitable pressure toward this course remains to be seen. And one also wonders whether, in the present state of popular sentiment that makes possible the frequent proposal and occasional passage of the so-called anti-evolution bills, it is safe to expose college training to the short-range public scrutiny which is the lot of any local junior college.

29 "The Junior College Menace: As Seen From Within," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 139, June, 1927, pp. 809-812.

These two articles stirred up such violent reactions throughout the country that the editors of The Atlantic Monthly were forced to print an explanation to the hundreds of readers who sent in letters of protest. Professor Palmer took a rather narrow view of the function of the junior college, and this institution's supporters of today would censure him for taking such a limited view of the function of the junior college. Historically, the junior college has been viewed as a preparatory school; but there are other important functions of this peculiarly American institution. It has become an extremely important institution in the areas of vocational education, adult education, general education, and terminal education. It tends to be looked upon in the middle of the twentieth century as an extension of the work of the secondary school, and this multi-phase institution seems to be highly developed. With this background in mind, Palmer's synthesis of the letters which he received on the subject should be given. First of all, Palmer said that the junior college menace could be met by requiring all applicants to universities to take all previous examinations before admittance--paying no attention to certificates on which the junior college throve. Secondly, he favored putting this un-American type of education to national debate as a deterrent to its further development. Next, Palmer felt that parents should control the transition time between childhood and youth instead of leaving this task to the junior colleges; he argued that sending a child away from home as soon as he graduated from high school would solve the problem of independence for the home-kept student. Lastly, he expressed the opinion that a broad liberal education was simply not available in the junior colleges; he also referred to junior colleges as glorified

vocational schools which were only advertisements for real-estate speculations. This latter issue seems to be beside the point entirely. So ended the discussion of the junior college movement.[30]

Higher Education For Women

What was happening to the higher education of women during the period under consideration? The emancipation of women in this country during the second quarter of the twentieth century set the stage for serious efforts of the higher education of women. During the roaring twenties women made places for themselves in business and industry and in many of the professional fields which had been heretofore closed to women. Leaders in the movement included some distinguished women who lectured, wrote, and persuaded the nation to free women from a rather servile status which kept women in the home or bound as domestic servants. The emancipation of women had far more significant influences than the number of articles in The Atlantic Monthly would seem to indicate; but the following articles on the education of women are significant. In the late 1920's Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve, eminent champion of women's rights and president of one of the colleges for women, reported the results of a conference of several distinguished women who headed the girl's colleges in the East.[31] According to the report, the group vindicated the work of the women's colleges and called for further support and encouragement of this important type of educational institution. As reported by President

30 George Herbert Palmer, "The Junior College Again," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 140, December, 1927, pp. 828-830.

31 The group included: Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve, Barnard; Ada L. Comstock, Radcliffe; Marion Edwards Park, Bryn Mawr; William Allan Neilson, Smith; Mary E. Wooley, Mount Holyoke; Henry Noble MacCracken, Vassar; and Ellen F. Pendleton, Wellesley.

Gildersleeve, the group pointed out inequalities of opportunity of women in these terms:[32]

> The question which we wish to raise is one of fair play. We have sketched the history of achievements of the colleges for women. They invite scrutiny and they can stand comparison. They are eager to go on, to develop, to experiment. The material which is being sent them in great numbers consists of the daughters of men who hold them as their dearest possessions. For their physical welfare and for their pleasures they lavish their means. For the training of their minds and the development of their personalities the provision they make, in comparison with that made for their brothers, is meagre and grudging. Do Americans believe in educating women or do they not? If they do, the question is one of justice rather than chivalry.

Obviously, this group of distinguished men and women called for a type of education for women which would be far more comprehensive than the finishing schools which had provided a veneer of refinement in the social graces rather than providing for their intellectual development. They championed the cause of complete equalization of educational opportunity on a par with that of men.

A decade before Professor Gildersleeve published her challenge, Zona Gale contributed an article on co-education. It was in the form of an evaluation of co-education as it had been practiced before the Woman's Suffrage movement. Important flaws in the co-education movement included two problems: Gale said that boys refused to take courses with girls in many instances, for the boys felt that girls should not compete with them. She also felt that the women exhibited purely social aims and that they were not seriously interested in higher education. She concluded her article in this manner:[33]

> If we put faith in what we see of coeducation, we are of

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32 Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve, et al, "The Question of Women's Colleges," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 140, December, 1927, pp. 577-584.

33 Zona Gale, "What of Coeducation?", The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 114, July, 1914, pp. 92-106.

> course obliged to admit that after fifty years and more of experimentation in America the effect of coeducation on the students undergoing it is not wholly desirable. Similarly, after uncounted thousands of years of living, the experience of individuation is not always operative to develop the substance so expressed. But if we are wise, we shall voluntarily abandon neither coeduation nor living, on account of conclusions important only as they furnish bases for examination and modification. And the reactions from four years of educational life are important in our seeking for democracy--and for other things.

Mabel Barbee Lee, assistant dean at Radcliffe College, outlined the job of the education of women rather effectively in an article in the 1930's. She reviewed the history of the movement and called for continued support of education for women. Since her article is an excellent summary of the problem, the writer would like to give one key quotation from her article:[34]

> The novelty of educating women has not yet worn off in spite of the fact that many of our mothers and some of our grandmothers have received college degrees. The question of their mental capacity is no longer one of debate, for they have settled that by their high scholastic records; but their ability to take social initiative for themselves is still one of the burning topics of the day. . .President Eliot, one of the greatest of education leaders in his time, had said that the 'real object in education, in so far as the development of character is concerned, is to cultivate in the child a capacity for self-government, not a habit of obeying the dictates of honor and duty as enforced by action and will power.' Such an ideal must have been in part the inspiration for the first adventure in promoting self-governing associations in the colleges. And if the orignial purpose has been somewhat obscured, it is, perhaps, because ideals have a way of eluding the efforts of men to capture and shape them in concrete forms.
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> The colleges educating women in their turn, should be free, financially and morally, to develop their cultural objectives without being distracted by extraneous issues; such as the bobbing of hair a few years ago, and, more recently, the smoking of cigarettes. There will always be hypercritical parents and alumnae; the general public will continue, doubtless, to contribute to the cause its sheaf of uninformed opinions. But these things need not disturb institutions that are firmly established. It is their duty to become leaders in promoting more mature social attitudes toward women, not only as students, but as

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34 Mabel Barbee Lee, "Censoring The Conduct of College Women," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 145, April, 1930, pp. 444-450.

> citizens in the community at large where they must work and make their homes.

Such were the comments on the education of women in The Atlantic Monthly. The problem was not treated extensively, but it did receive some attention in this famous literary magazine. It would appear that the final stage in the complete emancipation of women occurred during the period of the second World War when women took positions in industry to relieve men for front-line combat. They were also drafted into the service to perform important duties for their country. The records of their performance in all areas has been so satisfactory that the idea of equality is an accepted fact today.

Critical Attacks on Higher Education

During the twentieth century there were many critical attacks in the area of higher education; some of these criticisms have been indicated somewhat incidentally as other problems have been discussed. But the writer would like to turn now to a more systematic treatment of specific critical articles in the area of higher education as they were reported in The Atlantic Monthly. President Henry S. Pritchett, perennial contributor to The Atlantic Monthly, attempted to identify and classify the groups which were making critical remarks about higher education. Pritchett categorized these groups in this manner: "The serious critics of the college fall into three groups: the college teachers, students of the social order, and the business man. To state the matter in a different way, the college is being criticized to-day from three points of view: that of the college teacher, that of the social reformer, and that of the business man."[35] Of these three groups,

35 Henry S. Pritchett, "The Critics of The College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 114, September, 1914, pp. 332-341.

college teachers were the most critical. College teachers complained about the lack of breadth in the curriculum and the lack of scholarship on the part of students. The college teacher felt oftentimes that the president and the members of the boards of trustees had little understanding or sympathy of the teacher's problems; and, if this was true, the college teacher perhaps had reason to complain. Social reformers in the area of religion and politics were another group in Professor Pritchett's list. But he felt that the business man was the most persistent critic in the field of higher education. The business man criticized the colleges and universities for being uncritical of their own processes and for being too careless with funds. This group favored a critical administrative examination of the colleges and universities on much the same basis as was current in the field of business and industry. Professor Pritchett's identification of the critics of higher education proved to be correct for the most part; the reader can judge this as the criticisms are discussed.

One critical attack on higher education fell outside this category, as it was made by President Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago. President Hutchins attempted to reorganize education at his university by awarding the bachelor of arts degree at the end of the sophomore year, and he announced that he had received support for his plan from fourteen college presidents. However, W.H. Cowley refuted President Hutchins' announcement by which this plan would be copied in other institutions. He said that not only had the plan been refuted but that a national educational association had deplored the Chicago Plan.[36] Few institutions, indeed, have copied President Hutchins' plan.

[36] W.H. Cowley, "War on College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 169, May, 1942, pp. 719-726.

Another series of critical attacks on universities came out of Chicago where the Chicago Tribune conducted a crusade against Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Dartmouth. These colleges and universities were accused of subversive activities under the leadership of Moscow, Rhodes Scholars, Wall Street, and the New Deal. Louis M. Lyons, eminent newspaperman, collected and analyzed many of the news stories and editorials which the above-mentioned newspaper published. He concluded that "The Tribune with its slanted and twisted news stands out as an absolute anomaly in the area of responsible journalism."[37] Lyons further evaluated the Tribune by making fun of the editor. "Under Colonel Frank Knox," he said, "the Chicago Daily News used to caricature the Tribune owner as 'Col. McCosmick,' a comic character. This is a kinder verdict than history will render." Activities during World War II and opinions of responsible public figures tend to confirm the smear techniques which Lyons pointed out.

George Parkin raised a lively issue in higher education when he criticized the inadequacy of American institutions on the basis of the failure of such large numbers of applicants to pass the qualifying examination for the Rhodes Scholarships which were established by a renowned English industrialist. According to the terms of Rhodes' will, a considerable sum of money was set aside to provide college and university training for qualified American students who wanted to acquaint themselves with English culture at Oxford University. After thirteen years of operation, George Parkin pointed out some serious

37 Louis M. Lyons, "Libeling Our Colleges," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 183, January, 1949, pp. 39-42.

weaknesses in American higher education when he said:[38]

> Of all the candidates for scholarships throughout the Union during the last thirteen years, now numbering more than two thousand, about one-half failed to pass the qualifying examination, which is equivalent to what at Oxford is called 'Responsions,' the lowest standard on which a man is allowed to remain at the University. It is a singular fact that those failures have occurred almost as frequently in the older Eastern States as in the West, and in the North as in the South, where education is supposed to be less advanced. This seems to indicate that the underlying causes are general through the Union. The examination is considered quite elementary according to Oxford standards, and is passed by boys of 17, 18, or 19 from the grammar, high, and great public schools. Those who take it in America are required to have at least sophomore standing at some recognized degree-granting university or college. They are most frequently graduates. In one state having an exceptionally large and varied university organization and numerous student body, out of nineteen candidates who presented themselves in two years, only two succeeded in passing the examination.

Among the causes for failure in this regard were: (1). serious weaknesses in American secondary and higher schools, (2). the requirement of more accurate knowledge in the English test than in the American ones, (3). poor work or preparation by preparatory and elementary schools, (4). lack of training in classical subjects such as Greek and Latin which were not offered in this country, (5). interest of the American student to get out of school and make money earlier than his European counterpart, (6). too little value on scholarship in the United States, (7). cultural limitations in the homes, (8). preference for graduate work at home where the American student could have job connections, and (9). the fact that Oxford was the hot-bed of classical influence.

These criticisms were answered by Frank F. Bevine who was a former Rhodes Scholar. He suggested that Americans are the most sensitive

38 George Robert Parkin, "Rhodes Scholarships and American Scholars," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 124, September, 1919, pp.365-375.

nation in the world and hinted that something must have been wrong with Oxford University and the system when one half of the candidates, which numbered over a thousand, failed to pass the examination. Bevine recalled that the test required sight translations of Latin as well as the writing of a composition in that language, and he said that this was not a valid test for Americans who did not study Latin. That the examination was open to an un-selected population was another fallacy in Parkin's report. Also, Bevine made much of the fact that the qualifying examination was administered at the time the American boy was finishing his college education, thus making it all but impossible for him to prepare for the examination. Bevine also felt that the "Rhodes Trust" asked for one class of students and criticized us on the basis of yet another class. Conducting his rebuttal to Professor Parkin, Bevine said:[39]

> What appears to be the chief trouble is that the Rhodes Trust is impatient of results and unnecessarily disturbed over the careers of the American scholars. One loses sight of the fact that the Rhodes Scholars have only begun their part in carrying out the Rhodes idea on completion of the three years at Oxford. The scholarships were not intended as a means of competition in the examination schools, but were for the purpose of giving young Americans an understanding of the real England, her men and her ideals. In this they have been eminently successful, for almost without exception the Rhodes Scholars treasure their experiences at Oxford.

Bevine seems to have answered Parkin's criticisms of the Rhodes Scholars, for there were no more articles on this subject in The Atlantic Monthly.

Academic Weaknesses

Professor Paul V. West quoted a study of the results of a recent content test as evidence that the American college student did not know

39 Frank F. Bevine, "The Inadequate Rhodes Scholar: A Defense," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 124, November, 1919, pp. 665-669.

very much in a factual way.[40] His conclusions were based on such limited data that they are almost negligible, if not insignificant; but this attempt at an evaluation of higher education was in the same category as others which have been discussed thus far. An article which was related to this subject was written by Constance Warren,[41] who made a case for the introduction of graduate methods--that is, research--in order to give the student experience with factual knowledge upon which principles and generalizations are based. A conversation with a business man whose son was about to enter college contained elements of the same type of criticism as the two already mentioned. The father of the boy accused education of operating on a "convoy system" which turned out poorly-trained individuals. "We educational engineers with good material and on a cost-plus basis ought to be able to turn out an individual job superior to the usual product," Lyman concluded.[42]

Evaluation in Higher Education

The problem of evaluation of higher education was voiced by William Nichols. He had some rather critical things to say about higher education when he said:[43]

> Our passion for well-rounded education is such that we are in danger of manufacturing a nation of billiard balls. The catalogue of any American college gives a fair idea of the final steps in the educational process as it is now applied. The student must first concentrate, or major, in one subject, and take several courses in that; then he must distribute, or minor, in other courses, taken from prescribed combinations of subjects. The

40 Paul V. West, "What Do College Students Know?", The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 127, March, 1921, pp. 391-393.

41 Constance Warren, "The Graduate Approach in an Undergraduate College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 161, June, 1938, pp. 788-791.

42 E. Lyman, "Putting It Up To The Colleges," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 144, November, 1929, pp. 626-628.

43 William I. Nichols, "The Convention of Going To College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 143, October, 1929, pp. 447-456.

> first will make him profound; the second will make him broad. In most cases, moreover, he must have studied a certain amount of Latin or Greek, to make him classical, and modern languages in certain combinations to make him erudite.
>
> His body, as well as his mind, must undergo certain treatments at the same time. He cannot matriculate until he has shown a certificate of vaccination. He cannot graduate until he has demonstrated his ability to swim. He must have fulfilled his physical-training requirements by taking part in an approved sport for at least three hours a week; by taking special corrective exercises if his posture is deficient, and by attending a series of lectures in hygiene.
>
> When he emerges from the stages of this process and receives the imprint of a college degree--behold, the Greek ideal, healthy mind in healthy body, and both as well rounded as can be.

No doubt this former assistant dean at Harvard University and recently-turned business man put his fingers on some of the issues in higher education which were eliciting criticisms, but this enumeration of problems were indicative of the degree and less of the kind of problems which had been advanced.

Robert M. Hutchins of Chicato University noted the effects of the practical influences of society in higher education in a critical article. Professor Hutchins is perhaps the best-known American champion of the idealistic philosophy of education, and it is interesting to note how his philosophy undergirded the following comments:[44]

> The pressure of the practical appears everywhere in our educational system. The result has been trivialization. Courses in how to drive an automobile have lately appeared in an excellent middle-Western university. The newspapers report an effort to institute courses in bicycle riding in the public schools of South Bend, Indiana. These are simply two of the most recent instances of the general trend of American education. It is so full of action that thought seems fated to disappear from it. The danger of the American universities is not celibacy, but polygamy. They are mated to so many different kinds of action that nothing but a few divorces can save them from the consequences of their ardor.

Hutchins is well-known for his granting the bachelor of arts degree at the end of the sophomore year and his support of the "great books" idea

[44] Robert M. Hutchins, "Reply To Professor Whitehead," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 158, November, 1936, pp. 582-588.

in higher education. The "great books" movement was designed to acquaint students with the significant ideas which have had influence in the western world; and there have been some followers of this idea. However insistent Hutchins was in criticizing the institutions of higher learning on the basis of their offering practical instruction, the colleges and universities have followed the trend of giving more and more emphasis on this latter movement.

In explaining the reorganization of the educational program at St. John's College, Springfield Barr showed that this school had been influenced by the University of Chicago, where the "great book" movement was the rage. St. John's College embarked on a revolutionary program of banning textbooks for all courses and by instituting a curriculum based on the "great books." The elective system also received a set-back at St. John's College when this program was started. Commenting upon the subject, Barr said:[45]

> In the conferences that followed, the Committeee proposed for St. John's, and the Board accepted in principle, that the College should abolish the elective system and the textbook and substitute for them an all-required four-year course based on the study of the great books of the Western tradition, of the sort which American colleges of liberal arts had furnished before Eliot of Harvard had introduced the elective system and the elective system had introduced vocationalism, a growing intellectual chaos, and, finally, the illiterate alumnus. . .We are turning back to the great books precisely because they conveyed the great and permanent ideas which had nourished our civilization at every period of healthy growth.

Although the program at St. John's College received a great deal of comment in the educational journals and the press, this movement has not received widespread support from insitutions of higher learning in the United States. At least, this article suggests that colleges and

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45 Springfield Barr, "A College in Succession," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 168, July, 1941, pp. 41-49.

and universities were experimenting with new ideas to meet the critical attacks on higher education.

Education and Military Training

Quite a different set of circumstances motivated Captain McGeorge Bundy of the United States Army to write his article to scold twelve college presidents who had written an open letter to President Roosevelt in the 1940's opposing the adoption of compulsory military training. When Germany and England declared war and much of Europe was over-run by the invading armies, many people realized that the United States should assist the Allied efforts in defeating the Germans. President Roosevelt persuaded Congress to provide assistance through the lend lease program whereby England could receive vast quantities of war material from the United States. Congress approved a system of national conscription with the passage of the Selective Service Act. During the debate of the issues involved in this bill, several college presidents wrote to the president protesting the passage of such an act. Captain Bundy scolded these college presidents when he said:[46]

> The returning soldier will have a deep and lasting hunger for education. Not all of what he wants, of course, is yours to give. Not every man is looking for the training of the colleges. But among us there are many tens of thousands who are waiting for the day when we can again go to you for light and truth--for a sharpening and deepening of our minds that these last years have left us badly needing.
>
> We will go eagerly and humbly, but if we find in your colleges a way of life still unrevised to meet the facts as we have had to meet them, we will not stay as long or drink so deep as you and we now hope. It would be your great loss, and ours, if, in your eagerness to keep the old, you should lose your great, shining chance to mold the new. For the road is forward, gentlemen, not back.

Of course, Captain Bundy did not anticipate the G.I. Bill which was

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46 Captain McGeorge Bundy, "A Letter To Twelve College Presidents," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 175, May, 1945, pp. 54-56.

approved after World War II to help these veterans who had been in service to continue their education. but he seemed to realize that the war had brought out severe weaknesses in higher education which needed attention. More particularly, the captain objected to the theory of isolation in world affairs; with this objection, the writer of this paper concludes his survey of specific problems which received attention during the first half of the century in The Atlantic Monthly.

Criticisms of College Professors

There were several articles dealing with the college professor as well as the college president during the first half of the twentieth century. The problems discussed under this category include: faculty salaries, tenure, professional activities, and other assorted problems. If one were to formulate a popular image of the college professor from the articles which appeared on this subject, he would visualize a person who exerted important influences without being paid too well for his services. This image would be different from the popular image of the high school administrator as portrayed by the popular radio program known as "Our Miss Brooks" in which the principal is lampooned as a tyrant and a ne-er-do-well. Faculty salaries have been an important problem through the years, and this certainly received attention in The Atlantic Monthly. To gain an understanding of these important educational officers in higher education, one should examine the following examples as they were reported in the magazine under consideration.

An amusing trio of articles were contributed by one Wendell Brooks Phillips who was professor of English in a small liberal arts college in Georgia. Professor Phillips received his bachelor's degree from Piedmont College in Georgia where he was teaching at the time the

articles were written, and he completed his advanced training at Harvard University where he had a brilliant record. Since his series of articles are illustrative of what was happening in one small liberal arts college in the South, and, as he said, all over the United States, one ought to report his case rather fully. Giving the background to his "hick" college, Phillips said:[47]

> There are plenty of hick colleges all over the country, but the one in which I teach is so perfect an example that it might be used as a yardstick by which to measure all the rest. Not a single quality is missing: we have a deep purpose in life; we are not only poor but desperate; we supply a college education to rustic boys and girls for about the price of a secondhand Ford; we neither dance, drink, nor smoke, and pet as little as possible; in short, we are so different from the usual college of movie and popular novel that you really ought to know something about us.
>
> Most colleges think they are poor; but have you ever heard of a college without a single building? Our recitation hall is a converted livery stable; our library is a redeemed doctor's office; our girls' dormitory is a reclaimed summer hotel; our boys' dormitory is a reformed dwelling house; and our chapel is a regenerated Chautauqua hall. Actual money is so scarce that we have resorted to a complicated system of barter far more interesting than ordinary getting and spending. I buy milk from a neighboring farmer, but I wouldn't think of paying him money for it. Each month I write him an order for thirty quarts' worth of tuition, with which the farmer's son pays his bills at the college treasury. And the treasurer charges the sum against my salary account. I receive a good part of my salary in the form of peaches, potatoes, hams, and firewood from the college farm. Even as it is, however, salaries are always in arrears, and are very small when they are paid. So we have to scheme, and patch our clothes, and, when tempted to have an appendicitis operation, simply subdue the impulse.
>
> The ideal student in the eyes of the administration is the docile, conforming student who makes fairly good marks, but who has no original ideas, nor any questioning fire in him. Every trace of individuality is censored out of our poor little college paper by official supervision. The faculty will not allow dancing because 'the trustees wouldn't hear to it.' The trustees say it really doesn't matter to them, but 'the parents would be outraged.' Most Georgia parents seem quite willing that their sons and daughters should be thus carefully guarded at college, but they readily let them dance when they come home. . .
>
> Yes, these are the medicines I have drunk, and the spells

47 Wendell Brooks Phillips, "I Teach In A Hick College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 149, March, 1932, pp. 327-332.

> which hold me to this preposterous but enchanting place. My old Harvard roommate who faithfully continues to write me letters even from the courts of the mighty once tried to wean me away from this land of the hicks. But he is now resigned. It is no use, he says, since I am only a sort of super-hick myself. Well, why not? Being a super-hick is something new in the way of a career, and it suits me exactly. Like Brer Rabbit, I am never able to feel at home when very far away from my native brier patch.

Such beautifully written prose brought notoriety to the school where good Professor Phillips had interpreted the subtlties of Wordsworthian stanzas for twenty years, and the trustees looked upon this article as sufficient cause for dismissal. But the situation at home simmered down because of the influence of this great and widely-respected professor. Professor Phillips complicated his situation further when in the very next year he penned an article in which he described the students of a "hick" college in a romantic fashion.[48] Of them he said:

> Each autumn they come to us anew; and if I were asked to name at once their most striking quality, I would venture: Outwardly, it lies in their extra-ordinarily good manners; inwardly, in the predominance of sentiment over all other considerations. By good manners I hardly mean familiarity with the latest book of etiquette, but grace and dignity of bearing, with tact and kindness for even the most casual encounters.

Again, the article created quite a sensation in this quiet little Southern college town; but Professor Phillips was not allwed to remain at his post this time. After his dismissal, he explained the issues as he saw them in this manner:[49]

> And just what was the issue? Essentially it was this: the trustees considered my attitude a menace to Christian education; I, on the other hand, considered their attitude a menace to education of any kind. The trustees were quite oblivious of the fact that in this issue the college, fully as much as I, was on trial.

But the college won! However, the contributor's column of the magazine

48 Wendell Brooks Phillips,"Students in A Hick College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 151, April, 1933, pp. 412-418.

49 Wendell Brooks Phillips, "I Was Fired From A Hick College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 156, October, 1935, pp. 396-403.

was filled with articles dealing with Professor Phillips' dismissal. If the conditions were similar to those reported by Professor Phillips in other small liberal arts colleges all over the country, there were no evidences of this to be found in the magazine with which this study is concerned. No doubt, similar cases could be found, for this case developed during the collapse of the American economic system of the early thirties. Be that as it was, these three articles indicate some of the problems of the college professor; and college professors still face many similar problems in mid-century.

An anonymous self-styled "Scrutator" pointed out some aspects of what he called the professor's dilemma. There are many elements of the same sort of dilemma existing in the present day. The author said:[50]

> The professor's dilemma is a delicate one. If he plays sage and remains within his academic groves, other men will point a finger of scorn at him and quote Bernard Shaw: 'Those who can, do; those who cannot, teach,' and if, itching to carry his thought into action, he dares to break loose and take part in practical affairs, he will be discredited as a wild-eyed visionary who has spent his life in 'mental acrobatics.'

Another writer on the theme explained why the job of the college president was such a difficult one in the United States. The last two articles fall within the tradition of the conflict between the town and gown, but the conflicts are peculiar to American education. Writing anonymously for obvious reasons, the author of the next article gave some reasons for difficulties in the office of the college president:[51]

> The last quarter of a century has been a period of ferment in education as in all things else; and the marvelous changes which have taken place in the world of commerce, production, and transportation are scarcely greater than those which have been known in

50 "The Professor's Dilemma," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 152, July, 1933, pp. 124-125.

51 "The Perplexities of A College President," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 85, April, 1900, pp. 483-493.

> the field of instruction and of investigation and research. The leaven of Johns Hopkins and of Harvard has been steadily working through the entire mass of American colleges, precisely as that of Harris and Hall and a score of others has been changing all theories and practice in the public schools of the country. The establishement of the land-grant colleges in all the Western states give a new importance to applied science; and the wonderful advances made by investigation, quickened by the necessities of production and commerce, have created many new professions, and have given new dignity to the old. It is scarcely too much to say that engineering and architecture, for example, to-day stand shoulder to shoulder with law and medicine; that the principals of free high schools and the superintendents of state or civic systems of free education are well abreast of the college professor on the one side, and of the successful business man on the other; and that the president of a modern university, while possessing the scholarly thought and habit of the old-time college executive, must also be distinguished by most of the qualities and characteristics of a modern captain of industry.

The writer of the foregoing article complained elsewhere in his article that the president's hands were tied by the board of trustees, and he said that the chief executive of an institution of higher learning ought to be free to carry out the policies which the members of the boards of trustees formulated. Bliss Perry of Harvard University recognized the same problem and suggested that there ought to be a close relationship between college personnel and the public.[52] Andrew S. Draper, himself a college professor, outlined some characteristics of the college president when he said:[53]

> All this calls for a rare man. He ought, in the first place, to be reasonably at peace with mankind and in love with youth. He must have the gift of organizing and the qualities of leadership. He ought to have been trained in the universities, not only for the sake of his own scholarship, but that he may be wholly at home in their routine and imbued with their purposes. He must be moved by public spirit as distinguished from university routine or merely scholarly purpose. He must be a scholar,--but not necessarily in literature or science or moral philosophy. It is quite as well if it is in law, or engineering, or political history. He

52 Bliss Perry, "College Professors And The Public," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 89, February, 1902, pp. 282-288.

53 Andrew S. Draper, "University Presidency," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 97, January, 1906, pp. 38-42.

> must be sympathetic with all learning. He can no longer hope to be a scholar in every study. He can hardly hope to administer such a trust or fill such a post without some knowledge of and considerable aptitude for law. His sense of justice must be keen, his power of discrimination quick, his judgment of men and women accurate; his patience and politeness must give no sign of tiring, and the strength of his purpose to accomplish what needs to be done must endure to the very end. Yet he must determine differences and decide things. He must have the power of expression, as well as the more substantial attainments. Beyond possessing sense, training, outlook, experience, resistive power, decision, and aggressiveness, he ought to be a forceful and graceful writer and at least an acceptable public speaker. In a word, the president of an American university is bound to be not only one of the most profound scholars, but quite as much one of the very great, all-around men of his generation.

This, in Draper's opinion, the college president would have to be a superhuman person, to put it mildly. Today, the typical college president is more of the business executive type of person than the scholar which Draper characterized, although there are some examples of this latter type of college president.

Several writers complained about the salaries in their articles when the discussed other problems, but there were two articles dealing with this topic exclusively. An anonymous writer complained about his $1,400.00 salary because he felt that a man with a doctor of philosophy degree should merit more money than that sum. He consoled himself by teaching in summer school in order to support his family, but he hinted that he was considering the possibility of taking a job in industry where he could receive a decent living wage for his labors.[54] Another author was squeamish about signing his name, so he merely gave his initials to conceal his identity somewhat. He said:[55]

> If the profession of teaching is to attract the highest type of efficient manhood, a living salary must be paid. A man who

54 "Family Finances of The Young Professor," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 124, August, 1919, pp. 232-237.

55 G.H.M.,"What Should College Professors Be Paid?", The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 95, May, 1905, pp. 647-650.

> devotes his life to the cause of the advancement of education must feel a "call" to it. He should be of a type which joyfully relinquishes all desire to accumulate worldly wealth or to live in luxury. Large salaries, commensurate with what equal ability would bring in other lines of work ($10,000 to $50,000), might be just, but would be undesirable, as they would tend to serve as bait to attract mercenary and lower types of men.
>
> But a man fit to occupy a chair in a university should be paid enough to enable him to live in decency and comfort, rearing and educating his children, and retiring in his old age to something other than absolute penury.

By and large, professor's salaries have tended to be lower than the salaries paid in business and industry; and the colleges have lost many capable teachers, both during the war and the post-war period, because they could receive higher salaries working in the war industries. The problem of faculty salaries continues to be a pressing problem today, but America has not supported the notion of paying high salaries to teachers on any level.

Collegiate Athletics

An interesting series of articles dealing with athletics appeared in The Atlantic Monthly during the first half of the century. One may note that the criticisms in the field of athletics grew more violent as time passed, and an explanation of this fact might be that the abuses in this field demanded more attention as the century unfolded. Quite a different explanation was given by Ira N. Hollis in these terms:[56]

> The old idea of education was that a youth could obtain all the benefits of a college training from books. The value of a sound body was recognized in theory, but in practice no systematic method of obtaining it seemed to be thought necessary. A college simply represented study and books. Education, crystallized along conventional lines, was confined mainly to men entering the profession of law, medicine, and divinity. Now all is changed. The modern college is obliged to take into account the demands of commerce, and the applications of science to the well-being of man. Many of the professions now require the higher education as a

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56 Ira N. Hollis, "Intercollegiate Athletics," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 90, October, 1902, pp. 534-544.

> foundation, and the majority of subjects taught have been placed on college catalogues within a few years. The dominating note underlying courses of study for undergraduate students is, before all else, the production of enlightened citizens. Physical vigor has therefore acquired a practical significance which it never had before. It is fast becoming as much a man's duty to take proper care of his body as it is to cultivate his reason. Most colleges have been forced to provide the opportunity for some kind of physical training.

In 1910 Lorin F. Deland scolded Harvard University for the lack of trained coaches who could make a winning team at that institution possible. Deland suggested the professionalization of football throughout the country, as he viewed this solution as the only practical means of providing for competition among the colleges in this sport.[57]

Four years later, C.A. Stewart criticized athletics on the basis of their pernicious influences on the moral life of the students in college. Among the abuses which he listed were the following: (1). athletics encouraged betting, gambling, and cheating, (2). in their zeal to win against all odds, members of teams were oftentimes instructed to inflict deliberate injury on the stars of the opposing team, (3). athletics encouraged bribe-taking, (4). there were infractions of the elligibility rules, (5). athletic competition encouraged hero worship of the stars. His formula for reform was "abolish it altogether. The editors of The Atlantic Monthly advised their undergraduate readers of Stewart's article to keep their opponent's college team in mind as well as their own to observe the accuracy of Stewart's analysis. Stewart concluded his article in this manner:[58]

> The abolition of all intercollegiate athletic contests involves the destruction of many phases of undergraduate life very dear to

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57 Lorin F. Deland, "Football at Harvard And Yale," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 106, November, 1910, pp. 700-713.

58 C.A. Stewart, "Athletics and the College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 113, February, 1914, pp. 153-160.

> the college man. To mention the subject seriously is to brave the epithet 'old fogey,' and to hear the scornful laugh of those who believe that nothing can successfully assail the position of intercollegiate athletics as one of the most valuable features of college life. It is a fact, however, that many thoughtful men, occupying positions of influence in college administration, are at present contemplating with alarm abuses which have crept into this phase of undergraduate activity,--abuses which to them seem so serious and so deeply rooted as to justify the abolition of the whole system of intercollegiate contests.

Such issues as the preceding articles raised in the field of intercollegiate athletics led to the establishment of powerful athletic associations which were organized to supervise athletics. Many of the criticisms of athletics that one hears today are not unlike those reported earlier in the century, and there are many people who maintain that college athletic programs should be curtailed or abolished altogether.

Endowments and Philanthropic Foundations

As the colleges and universities expanded their services and as the economic situation in many areas of life became acute, the institutions of higher learning began to be hard pressed for funds to meet their needs. The last quarter of the nineteenth century experienced the organization of powerful trusts and monopolies, and many people made vast fortunes through these organizations. The colleges, as well as other institutions, accepted enormous amounts of money from some of these organizations and private individuals; and one author criticized the institutions for accepting what she called "ill-gotten gifts." She said:[59]

> All over the country, a tide of criticism is rising against the acceptance by churches, charities, and colleges, of wealth won by methods which the moral sense of the community is beginning

[59] Vida D. Scudder, "Ill-Gotten Gifts To Colleges," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 86, November, 1900, pp. 675-679.

> to distrust. One need not use a misleading phrase such as bad money, one need hold no quarrel with monopolies, to feel that there is cause for the scruple. No one questions that the mammoth fortunes which are coming to be a distinctive feature of American life are sometimes made by methods which are cruel if not technically dishonest, methods pushed perilously near the limits of what even the crude conscience expressed in common law considers legitimate,--pushed some say, though the fact can rarely be proved, beyond those limits. Wealth exists which has been piled together by means unscrupulous and unchristian. It stands in the public mind as a symbol of unrestricted self-seeking and greed; it has to the knowledge of many left behind its shining heaps a ravaged desert track of despair. There is a growing tendency on the part of owners of money of this kind to spend lavishly on works of public utility, on the endowment of churches, charities, universities. It is a paradoxical situation. With the one hand, the owner of such wealth thrusts his competitors into the abyss of commercial ruin, or grinds the faces of the poor: with the other, he hands the resultant gain to the Christian institutions of the land, which gratefully accept it, and rise to chant the paen of democracy triumphant. . .There is no duty before the academic and religious world in America more pressing than the duty of strengthening the demand that methods of acquiring wealth come wholly under the dominion of the moral sense. There is no opportunity more significant, more in danger of closing forever, than the opportunity of convincing the public at large, by definite sacrifice of worldly advantage, if need be, that the intellectual life of the country, as represented by its organized centres, is distinguished, is disinterested, honest and free.

Scudder's accusation was but a reflection of the economic conditions of the country of the time, as the period was characterized by the organization of the most powerful monopolies this country had ever seen; and there were many abuses in this area. Since the institutions of higher learning have always been sensitive to the pressures which exist in society at large, it is highly probable that there were some irregularities along this line. Another author, William B. Munro, was suspicious of the motives of many colleges when he posed the question: are our colleges playing poor? The author had this answer to the question:[60]

> I have sometimes wondered why big business, when its shortcomings are thus exposed to the world by college professors, does

60 William B. Munro, "Are Our Colleges Playing Poor?," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 142, October, 1928, pp. 433-440.

> not reciprocate by sending some meticulous fellow to probe financial methods of the colleges in quest of a tu quoque alibi. There would be no difficulty in finding a lot of them, for there is hardly a single off-color practice in corporate financing that does not have its counterpart in our institutions of higher learning. College professors, as a class, are quick to see the mote in the other fellow's eye. They take the righteousness of their own institutions as self-evident. In their courses on public finance, business organization, and accounting, they will dissect a municipal budget or a corporation balance sheet with caustic comments, forgetting that criticism, like charity, can sometimes make its best beginning at home. . .Of course there is a reason why the colleges are not always ready to practice what they preach for the benefit of others. They claim to be engaged in the pursuit of truth, but that is not the whole story. The colleges are also engaged, with equal ardor, in the pursuit of funds. They want more endowment, and there are two good talking-points in their quest for it; namely, that the college authorities have great financial competence in handling the funds already committed to their care (as is proved by the high yield), and second, that if additional benefactions are obtained they will be made more productive with the same efficiency. . .The endowed colleges of the United States, taking them as a whole, are giving a high return for the generous benefactions which they have received and are receiving. They have greatly improved their methods of accounting and of financial reporting during the past quarter of a century, which is in part due to the pressure exerted upon them by the various educational foundations. But there is still some distance to be covered before the college professor of business administration can feel himself safely out of a glass house.

William Munro was professor of government at Harvard University and a college trustee, and he should have been expert in the subject which he discussed. These two very different articles on the subject of college finances were harbingers of what was to come later in this area in higher education, for today several powerful funds exert tremendous influence in this area. Another evidence that the colleges reflect the influence in society at large was related to Baxter's reference to the influence of inflation upon the colleges during the year of 1948 when business and industry were experiencing an inflationary cycle. James Baxter, president of Williams College, pointed out that inflation and the war had all but ruined the small colleges; he begged

for financial support to save the small colleges from ruin.[61] These, then, were the articles dealing with the financial picture of higher education.

There were several articles dealing with the evaluation of institutions of higher learning from several different points of view. While some of these evaluations were general in nature, some of them indicated the awareness of problems which were destined to plague the colleges throughout the first half of the century. Two articles by Edward S. Martin gave advice to his children on the merits of college education. In 1917 Martin advised his daughter to be thankful that she was living in the post war years and that she could look forward to such freedom of action as the Woman's Suffrage Movement assured.[62] Earlier, he had written an article in the form of a letter to his son suggesting that he get all he could out of college in spite of shortcomings in the colleges in social, economic, and religious areas.[63]

Religion and Higher Education

Philip E. Wentworth, graduate of Harvard University, raised the question of the influence of religion in higher education when he accused his alma mater of destroying his religious faith. This was one of few articles on the broader topic of the separation of church and state, and it must be recalled that there were far more articles dealing with this subject in the elementary and secondary schools. Wentworth said:[64]

The breakdown of Christianity is particularly unfortunate in

61 James Phinney Baxter, "Inflation Hits The Colleges," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 181, March, 1948, pp. 59-62.

62 Edward S. Martin, "A Father To His Graduate Girl," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 119, June, 1917, pp. 732-736.

63 Edward S. Martin, "A Father To His Freshman Son," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 110, September, 1912, pp. 441-446.

64 Philip E. Wentworth, "What College Did To My Religion," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 149, June, 1932, pp. 679-688.

> in America, where our educators are so busy building new dormitories and thinking up new systems of instruction that they do not see how urgently the situation calls them to redefine the purposes for which their pedagogical machinery exists. In so far as the colleges destroy religious faith without substituting a vital philosophy to take its place, they are turning loose upon the world young barbarians who have been freed from the discipline of the church before they have learned how to discipline themselves. Perhaps this was what one of my least orthodox professors had in mind when he once said: 'There are few men in the world who have earned the right not to be Christians.'

This article is an example of a personal argument against the colleges. If one accepts Wentworth's report at face value, he must agree that college had some influence over his choice not to enter the ministry. However, there are many graduates of state and private universities who have left college with a deeper and more permanent religious commitment than they professed before going to college. Wentworth's article occasioned a response by Bernard Iddings Bell, Professor of Religion at Columbia University and Warden of St. Stephen's College. Professor Bell had this to say about religious indifference in the colleges and universities:[65]

> One of the most serious charges brought against the typical American university of the moment is that its graduates are, for the most part, either antagonistic to religion or else, more commonly, indifferent to it. There seems to be no doubt that the facts bear out the allegation. Occasionally this undoubted irreligion becomes vocal, as in the case of the man who lately wrote for the Atlantic Monthly of what happened to his faith while he was at Harvard. But more often religion is simply ignored. It is quite true that students talk a great deal about it, rather strangely much if it be as dead a thing as they commonly insist. 'Bull sessions' turn to it as the most usual alternative to talk about sex. But this chatter is for the most part vague and uninformed, and gets nowhere. Probably that is why it makes such an excellent subject for those interminable bickerings which undergraduates substitute for intelligent conversation.

Thus, Professor Bell tended to support the contention that religious

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65 Bernard Iddings Bell, "Universities and Religious Indifference," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 150, September, 1932, pp. 316-320.

emphasis on college campuses was not too great; and the fact that there are church-related colleges for those students who desire religious instruction on the college level explains why there were such a few number of articles dealing with this topic. As has been indicated elsewhere in this thesis, the battle over the separation of church and state took place in the public schools where attendance is required.

The last article to treat the subject of evaluation in the colleges and universities was printed in the late 1940's during the war years. Paul P. Cram questioned certain weaknesses of American colleges and called for reform when peace was won. "Once victory has been won," he said, "we must turn a pitiless eye on our education short cuts, the sentimental softness of our pedagogy, our willful blindness to the bitter lessons of the past, and must reject our projections of a sordid epoch from educational thought and practice."[66]

Conclusions

In conclusion, the writer of this thesis would like to comment upon some of the broad movements which have transpired in the field of higher education as they were reported in The Atlantic Monthly. Generally the writers discussed the problems which had been recognized by authorities in the field as the significant topics for consideration during the twentieth century. But there were some areas in which there was no mention of significant movements in higher education. For example not one writer mentioned the higher education of the Negro in the United States, except incidentally. This problem has proved to be a vital one to the whole field of education, and the problem could have been ignored because of widespread acceptance of the theory of segregation. The

[66] Paul P. Cram, "Undergraduates And The War," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 166, October, 1940, pp. 410-421.

most significant development in this area was perhaps the Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1952, when the theory of separate but equal facilities for Negroes received its most telling blow. This decision has had a long history; and it is strange, to say the least, that The Atlantic Monthly did not publish articles dealing with this topic. Further, one should note that federal aid to education, The Civilian Conservation Corps, and other depression measures--all of which impinged upon higher education--were ignored. It is also interesting that many of the writers discussed in this chapter were educators, for one would not normally expect the professional educator to devote so much of his time to the writing of articles for a popular literary magazine on education. But one senses the urgency of the solution of educational problems by comparing what the professional educator said as compared to what was said by the writers who were not profesional educators. One could conclude that there were far more discussions of the problems of higher education in The Atlantic Monthly than there were of the problems of the elementary and secondary schools, and one should mention the fact that the editors of this magazine did not slant the issues by the choices the made in publishing the articles which they chose.

CHAPTER VI

CRITICAL ANALYSES

To set the stage for an analysis of educational articles appearing in The Atlantic Monthly, some comments ought to be made about the publication. Admittedly, there are important differences between publications because of editorial policies; and one would expect to find both general and specific reflections of these differences in publications. Therefore in making a critical analysis of certain selected criticisms of education as they are reported in The Atlantic Monthly, some general comments about the magazine itself must be made. By way of comparison, the author of this paper has chosen to measure the significance of the articles which are reported in this thesis on the basis of the judgment of authorities in the field of education. Some writers outside the field of professional education will also be consulted to support the selection of significant trends in education. The extent to which the writers in The Atlantic Monthly recognized the important problems in education during the first half of the twentieth century will be indicated by showing what the authorities considered these problems to be. Wherever the philosophies of the writers are known, the writer will indicate this fact. The writer will make his position known in order that the general reader may evaluate the extent to which the writer's judgment and experience influence the study. Finally, the implications of this study will be suggested after the analyses have been completed.

Brief History of The Atlantic Monthly

The Atlantic Monthly must be classified as one of the important literary magazines in the United States. It has just celebrated its hundreth year of publication. The reputation of the magazine has been

determined largely by the editors. The first editor was James Russell Lowell, an important nineteenth century American poet. Other well-known literary figures who have been editor of the magazine include: William Dean Howells, realistic novelist; Thomas Bailey Aldrich, one-time editor of Every Saturday; and Bliss Perry, former professor of English at Princeton and Harvard Universities. Horace E. Scudder was an eminent publisher and part owner of the magazine; he was the fifth editor of the magazine. Walter Hines Page, whose services as United States Ambassador from 1913 to 1918 brought him fame, was the sixth editor. He was educated in the South and became literary adviser to the firm of Houghton, Mifflin and Company before being selected editor to to succeed Horace E. Scudder. At the turn of the century, The Atlantic Monthly was purchased by Ellery Sedgwick, who became its editor. Sedgwi held several important offices in the field of publications before purchasing the magazine; and his acquiring the magazine marked the end of the influence of James T. Fields, earlier publisher and owner. Following Sedgwick, the present editor, Edward A. Weeks, took over the responsibility of the editorship of the magazine in the early 1930's. This distinguished group of editors shaped the editorial policies of th magazine and selected the materials for publication. From its launchin in 1857 at the now famous dinner at the Parker House, Boston, Massachusetts, The Atlantic Monthly has enjoyed a host of famous contributors. To mention a few: James Russell Lowell, William Dean Howells, Walter Hines Page, Mark Twain, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Bret Harte, Woodrow Wilson, George Bernard Shaw, Albert Einstein, Alfred North Whitehead, and Bertrand Russell have all contributed to make this conservative monthly justly famous the world over. It was started "with

the definite purpose of concentrating the efforts of the best writers upon literature and politics, under the light of the highest morals." In its first issue The Atlantic Monthly announced: "In politics, The Atlantic will be the organ of no party or clique, but will endeavor to be the exponent of what its conductors believe to be the American idea. It will deal frankly with persons and with parties, and which alone makes the basis of a true and lasting prosperity. It will not rank itself with any sect of anties: but with that body of men which is in favor of Freedom, National Progress, and Honor, whether public or private."[1] Data on the circulation of the magazine is reported in "Atlantic Facts and Figures," a publication by the editor's office. According to this document, the average circulation of mail subscribers is 164,000; and the average circulation of single copy sales in 36,000-thus, the average yearly circulation is 200,000 copies.

The policies of the magazine under the editorship of Sedgwick have significance for this study, for he became the editor at the turn of th century and changed the direction of the magazine. A quotation from the above-mentioned publication will suffice to show the nature of this change; it follows:[2]

> The ATLANTIC under Mr. Sedgwick broke away from the limitatio by which most literary periodicals up to that time had been bound. Confronted by the success of the then rising 'mass circulation' magazines, which sought quantity circulation regardless of quality and used the resulting advertising revenue to outbid conservative magazines for famous authors, Mr. Sedgwick felt that there must be enough people in the country who cordially disliked the methods of this new journalism to make possible the successful publication of a magazine with utterly different aims.

1 Albee, Virginia, "Atlantic Facts and Figures," Unpublished mimeographed statement by the editors,(The Atlantic Monthly Press), Cambridge, 1957. 4 pp.

2 Ibid., p. 3.

> 'He did not,' says Frederick Allen, writing in the Outlook and Independent, 'aim at a huge audience of newsstand buyers; he aimed at a small audience of intelligent men and women who would subscribe in advance and keep on subscribing year after year if the magazine satisfied them. . .He himself, and many of his friends, enjoyed essays and cared little for fiction; he decided to reduce the fiction to a minimum and cultivate the essay. He relied chiefly on new writers. . .professors, scientific men, professional men, business men, to whom writing was an avocation but who could speak with authority and conviction in the field of their special competence. And instead of editing for a mythical general public he edited for himself, and tried to find for the ATLANTIC the sort of reader who liked what he did.
>
> 'The ATLANTIC as it took shape under his hands dealt informatively with the major problems of the whole world, political, economic, social, international--but not with them alone. Its most absorbing interest was in the human predicament and the human reaction to it. . .This policy has been amazingly successful. Since 1909 the circulation of the ATLANTIC has increased slowly and almost uninterruptedly from less than fourteen thousand to one hundred and seventy thousand.
>
> The circulation methods have been those indicated in the above quotation. The ATLANTIC has ever sought to find the "Atlantic reader," the person who would derive enjoyment as well as information, entertainment as well as help, from its pages and who would not only remain on the lists himself year after year but, through his enthusiastic liking for the magazine, would bring to it as subscribers his friends and acquaintances.

Since it has been impossible to determine the nature of the reading public except from the point of view of the editors, the author of this thesis must conclude that the reading audience is composed largely of college graduates. "It is a national magazine in the truest sense," say the editors, "dedicated to the interests of a thoughtful, informed and steadily growing public, discussing new ideas and new conditions exemplified in literature and politics, in the arts and sciences, in social studies and pleasure, and living to the full the overflowing life of the modern world."

The writers of the articles on education include many professional educators and laymen who, for one reason or another, have spoken about the educational problems as they viewed them. Several eminent college

presidents have written articles for The Atlantic Monthly; many college professors and secondary school administrators have likewise written articles for this magazine. One influential college president was Charle W. Eliot, president of Harvard University and originator of the famous elective system in colleges and universities; and he appears to have stimulated a host of writers to contribute to the magazine. He was an avowed critic of classical education, and he advocated a realistic approach to a type of education which would take into consideration the nature of man in an age which placed so much emphasis on technology. Because of his convictions, he constantly complained about the teaching of Latin and Greek in the colleges of this country. He felt that these languages were not in keeping with the spirit of democracy and that other subjects of a more practical nature would make it possible for a person to live a fuller and more satisfying life. Eliot also exerted influence in the area of the reorganization of the secondary schools, for he apparently realized that the colleges and universities could not be improved successfully without taking cognizance of what transpired below and above the college. His influence was expressed through professional magazines and by the addresses and speeches he made about education. Other well-known college presidents who wrote articles for The Atlantic Monthly include: Arthur T. Hadley, A. Laurence Lowell, Henry S. Pritchett, Andrew S. Draper, William J. Tucker, Robert M. Hutchins, and James Bryant Conant. The point of view of these college presidents has been indicated elsewhere in this study, but one would have to conclude that this list represents the important college presidents in the United States. College professors and deans of colleges and universities also contributed articles from time to time throughout

the half century with which this thesis is concerned. Many lay citizens wrote articles about education, and it is interesting to see that their comments were quite different from those of the professional educator. One should indicate that the majority of the writers in The Atlantic Monthly were men; and the American attitude toward women certainly accounts for this fact. Of the hundreds of writers in the area of education, there are but some twenty women included. Likewise, there are few articles by Negroes; the best known Negro contributor was Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskghee Institute in Alabama. Several parents wrote amusingly about the problems their children would face when they went to college; and, on the whole, the articles by laymen were necessarily of a less technical nature than those written by the professional educators. With this preliminary identification of the contributors to the magazine, the writer of this paper would like to turn to the educational problems of the period as they were indicated by important professional educators.

Survey of Educational Problems

Doctor Edgar Wallace Knight, Kenan Professor of Education at the University of North Carolina and distinguished educational historian, wrote a book in which he suggested the major educational problems during the first half of the twentieth century. Professor Knight experimented with the materials in his book for several years in a cour which was labeled "Contemporary Trends and Issues in American Education at the University of North Carolina, Duke University, and the Universit of Michigan. He determined the trends in education by a careful study of original sources such as: the proceeding of national and local educational associations and societies, acts of legislatures, decisions

of courts, and discussions in the daily press and in periodicals that were not altogether professionally educational in character. In the preface to his book Professor Knight spoke of the first half of the twentieth century in these terms:[3]

> This book was prepared in order to tell the story of the grow of education in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century, a growth that was then more conspicuous than in any other period of the nation's history. Moreover, the history of American education during those decades was a significant part of the progress in economic and industrial, political, and other social developments with which it was closely interwoven.
>
> Changes in the scene between 1900 and 1950 were striking in elementary, secondary, higher, and professional schools, and also in extension of educational effort which was not commonly accepted when the century began. Elementary education was expanding and becoming more favorably accepted than in any other period since th inception of the universal school, public secondary education was becoming more widespread than in any earlier period, and new opportunities in higher education were little if any less promine At the same time, other developments were appearing in directions that were little thought of in 1900. These, which are here set out as faithfully as the records permit, form an extraordinary story of educational growth in a half century that is perhaps unmatched in history.

He continued his preface by listing some of the important conclusions which he drew on the basis of his survey of the original sources in the several fields. In his opinion, education reached its most "lofty" triumphs during the first half of the century; and he spelled out the task of the second half of the century by suggesting that the task was "to do qualitatively what has been quantitatively done so well ever since 1900." Another conclusion was that the American people were becoming more aware of the persistent issues that influenced them. He spoke of these issues as being clearly outlined against a pattern of world events, and suggested that education seemed to promise to become one of the most important instruments of peace. He pointed out that

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3 Edgar W. Knight, Fifty Years of American Education: A Historical Review and Critical Appraisal, The Ronald Press, (New York, 1952), pp.v-v

educational issues were more widely discussed than at any other period in the history of the United States. Some indication of the period may be surmised by considering the chapter headings in his book; these are: "Then and Now," "The Expanding Common School," "Education For All American Youth," "Democracy Enters College," "Graduate, Professional, Summer, and Extension Work," "Teachers and Teaching," "Trends in Administration and Support," "During Military and Economic Crises," "What The School Men Said," and "Other Trends and Developments." In order to indicate the problems as Professor Knight saw them, the writer of this thesis would like to look at the chapters in some detail.

The first chapter compares and contrasts educational problems and lists several problems which are peculiar to the twentieth century. The establishment of educational associations and the expansion of educational journalism was one of the significant developments of the period. The period also saw an increase of the national government's interest in education and a new emphasis on education and internationalism. Religion appeared to be gaining ground after serious conflicts with Charles Darwin's theory of the origin of species, and a renewed emphasi on religion was exemplified by a revivalistic movement in the early 1950's. More money was being spent for bowling alleys and billiards tha was being spent on library facilities, according to Professor Knight. "The first half of the century," Doctor Knight said,"witnessed many efforts to purge teachers by loyalty oaths, and the issue of academic freedom in 1950 was more acute than ever."[4]

Significant trends in the field of elementary education, according

4 Ibid., p. 3.

to Professor Knight, were: (1). an increased awareness of the needs of elementary schools, (2). increase in attendance in elementary schools, in length of school term, in expenditures for schools, and in the reduction of illiteracy, (3). studies in retardation and elimination in the elementary schools, (4). compulsory attendance and child labor laws (5). interest of specialists in the construction and reconstruction of the curriculum of the elementary school, (6). financial support of "the school of the people" did not keep pace with the increases in national wealth, (7). tremendous increases in the birth rate in this country, and (8). the secularization of the elementary schools.

The forces which had influence over the field of secondary education during the first half of the century were related to the economi political, and social problems of the period. Confusion, which was occasioned by the increase in knowledge and by an increase in economic wealth, expressed itself during the period. The public high school received more attention during the period, and serious efforts toward the improvement of the curriculum was one of the significant problems. Another movement was the experimentation between 1930 and 1950 to furth improve the relations between secondary and collegiate education. Thus, Knight viewed the trends as having a relationship to the old issues and introducing some new problems.

Professor Knight indicated that there were some problems in higher education which had been present since earlier times, and he used the phrase "Democracy Enters College" to indicate the trend in higher education. He listed the following problems in higher education: the college curriculum, the place of the private and independent institutio the increasing belief of Americans in the economic value of academic

degrees, the rising costs of a university education, concern over federal control through federal scholarships and fellowships, dissatisfactions with the elective system, and provisions for regional cooperation in higher education. Academic freedom was also listed as one of the significant problems in the field of higher education. Closely related to these problems were those connected with graduate schools, and serious concern about the quality of professional degrees, especially the master's and the doctor's was apparent. Knight viewed the development of summer schools and extension work as a "phenomenon without parallel in the social history of the world." Adult education enjoyed widespread interest and increased the problems of colleges and universities. The work of the university presses was seriously challenging the commercial presses.

The most pressing problem in the area of teachers and teaching was financial support and salaries. The first half of the century was a period in which teaching became more highly professionalized. At the turn of the century the majority of teachers were being trained by six different types of institutions, but the institutions of higher learning gradually accepted this function. Educational administration and supervision had their most significant development during the first half of the century, and the problem of providing financial support for the nation's biggest business continued to be a problem. Knight quotes Keesecker[5] who lists the following significant trends in administration and support of schools:

1. An increase in legislative activity affecting the composit

5 W.W. Keesecker, State Boards of Education and Chief State School Officers, Bulletin 150, Number 12(Washington, D.C,1950), U.S. Government Printing Office, pp. 109-110.

and organization of state boards of education.

2. The restriction of state control over education by the governor (1) by his removal from state boards of education and (2) by a trend away from the appointment of state boards by the governor.

3. The abolition of constitutionally created ex officio boards.

4. The removal of all ex officiis(sic) members from state boards of education.

5. The removal of professional educators from membership on state boards.

6. An increase in the number of members on state boards.

7. The selection of state boards by popular vote.

8. The selection of state boards by school-board conventions.

9. Increased legislative and policy-making responsibility of state boards.

10. Broadening the scope and functions of general state boards of education.

Professor Knight concludes his book by listing a series of miscellaneous trends and developments in education; among these trends and developments were: (1). increased interest in education as evidenced by the G.I. Bill of Rights and other activities, (2). efforts for better international understanding through education, (3). the activities of the philanthropic foundations which were pouring huge sums of money int the support of education, (4). the education of the Negro, as well as that of "God's second mistake"(women), (5). intercollegiate athletics, (6). growth of the scientific study of education, of the educational survey, and the construction and use of objective tests, and (7). the growing concern of the influence of the Supreme Court which attempted to become the national school board. The writer of this thesis has reviewed extensively Professor Knight's book because it appears to be one of the most authoritative studies on the trends and developments in the field of education during the first half of the twentieth centur

Kilpatrick's List of Educational Problems

Another educator of international fame reviewed the problems of

education at mid-century. Doctor William H. Kilpatrick, one of the best known figures in the area of progressive education in the United States summarized what he considered the important problems in education to be at mid-century. He said in part:[6]

> As to the social-moral aims of education, two groups deal inadequately with these; first, those just named who ignore behavi as a necessary factor in learning and use books instead(this incl many recent ambitious programs for 'general education,'contempora civilization,' and the like); second, those who overstress vocatio preparation, giving 'cultural' subjects only a 'lick and a promise The world situation is too critical for such inadequate measures. Youth must be reared from childhood to grapple with life's proble at each developing level. This means constructive discussion to pl school work; it means building attitudes of concern for the commo good(as increasingly perceived); it means attacking controversial issues(within the growing intellectual reach); it means pursuing social purposes in the community. In these various ways must each youth build effective citizenship.
>
> The specific tasks seem to be: (i) remake the elementary sch consistently on the new outlook which it now professes; (ii) rebu the secondary school on the basis of living and learning: dethron memory and cramming for examinations; abolish the subservience to entrance examinations and college entrance requirements; put the high school on a basis of the finest and richest living that teac and pupils can together devise; (iii) so rebuild the college as t get true living(behaving) into its program; educate its instructo for full true teaching; bring the teaching and management thinkin abrest of the best really known.

In comparing Professor Knight's remarks to those of Professor Kilpatric one may conclude that there are significant similarities. Even though Professor Knight was an idealist, he agreed with Professor Kilpatrick i his identification of educational problems. Yet another educator touche upon the problems in education during the first half of the twentieth century. Doctor Foster R. Dulles, professor of history at Ohio State University, gave the following appraisal of education:[7]

> Educational advance, scientific activities, intellectual and

6 Bruce Bliven, Twentieth Century Unlimited: From The Vantage Poi of the First Fifty Years, J.B. Lippincott Company,(Philadelphia,1950), pp. 210-211.

7.Foster Rhea Dulles, Twentieth Century America, Houghton Mifflin Company, (Boston, 1945), p. 177; p. 350.

artistic ferment were further evidence of the period's expansive spirit. Between 1898 and 1914, the number of children in public schools rose from fifteen to twenty million and the high-school population doubled. The 'little red schoolhouse' was giving way to larger consolidated schools, in part due to the introduction of school buses in outlying districts. The enforcement of compulsory education laws was being tightened up throughout the country. Yet at the same time that one in every twenty-five persons between nineteen and twenty-three was attending college, the average period of schooling for the population as a whole was only six and a half years.

At the same time, there was also further progress along the general educational front. The increase in students in elementary school, high schools, colleges, and universities, already noted for pre-war years, still continued, with especially spectacular gains in college enrollment. It had reached a total of three hundred thousand in 1914, yet by the end of the nineteen-twenties this figure was approximately a million. Summer schools, extension courses, and correspondence courses flourished; junior colleges and state teachers' colleges multiplied; and at the top of the educational ladder, graduate schools attracted more and more students.

The traditional calm of academic halls was disturbed by discussion and debate over the purposes and methods of education in a democracy. In large part through the influence of John Dewey, educator and philosopher, there was widespread experiment in progressive schools, and for all the criticism evoked in conservative circles, the new principle of 'education for life' made many converts among educators. In the realm of higher learning, there were attacks upon the traditional curricula, while proponents of a return to the classics repudiated the elective system. Underlying all such controversy--the science of education, the one hundred best books, progressive schools, humanism, freedom of the individual, and pedagogical discipline--there nevertheless appeared to be a trend away from the liberal arts with increasing emphasis upon scientific, professional, and even vocational training.

It should be remembered that Professor Kilpatrick helped to popularize the work of John Dewey, American educator and philosopher. Their positi rests on the premise that if a thing worked over a long enough period of time, it was true. They were not concerned with working out a comprehensive system in the classical sense, but they attempted to provide a method which would accomodate American culture. It would be correct to say that the individual was the primary concern of these two pragmatists. John Dewey lived to see his famous philosophy gain

wide popular support, and Professor Kilpatrick is still active in the field of philosophy. Thus, one's philosophy provides the framework for the identification of problems; but more important, it provides the method for the solution of the problems which exist in society at large. And one senses Professor Kilpatrick's method in the above quotation.

Newspapermen Look At Education

Yet another evidence that the twentieth century exhibited certain educational problems was expressed by Erwin D. Canham, editor of The Christian Science Monitor. Canham, together with members of the staff of this influential American newspaper, wrote a book at the mid-centur point in which progress in the field of education was noted. Their chapter on education is entitled "Education in Ferment"; and Canham spoke of the forces in society which led to confusion which was reflec in the educational institutions. The chapter was introduced in this manner:[8]

> The field of education is, however, so vast and so accuratel a mirror of the choices and desires and dreams of all the people, that almost anything one can say of it, good or regrettable, is bound to be a fact somewhere.
>
> There are countries, for example, where the education of children is shot through with prejudice and lies. The schools behind the Iron Curtain and teaching as Hitler bent it to his dark purposes but a decade ago are sharp reminders in our time that 'education' is not in itself good or beneficial. It is what its people make it.
>
> Granting this, then, its confusion concerning aims, its figh for academic freedom, its shortage of buildings and teachers, its inequality of opportunity even in wealthier free lands, can speak urgently to us of our shortcomings. On the other hand, the nation wide public school system of the United States, to take one example, is one of the greatest achievements the world has ever known.
>
> Also, it is in our time that education has taken a step ahea

8 Erwin D. Canham, Awakening: The World at Mid-Century, Longmans, Green & Company, Inc., (New York, 1950), pp. 132-140.

> that can only be described as approaching the spiritual. The leaven at work in the area of educational policy has brought a new attitude toward the child.
>
> Now almost taken for granted in democratic lands, education has come into its own only in the twentieth century. Individuals had grasped it before, but only as we reach the mid-century milestone can we look out across the free portions of the world and see education reaching out to embrace this new concept that has already revolutionized entire areas of schooling.

These newspapermen spoke of the first half of the century as the age of the child psychologist, and they described the changes in the classroom in the physical area to accomodate children. They spoke of movable chairs which could be used for small group discussions and other learning activities, and they indicated that this change from the arrangement of desks in screwed-down rigid rows to a more flexible arrangement indicated a changed way of looking at the learner. They spoke of the revolution in teaching methods whereby reciting from memory had given way to individual and group investigation and evaluation in which the materials were geared to the natural interests of young people. Other trends and developments, according to these newspapermen, were:[9]

1. The consolidation of schools which was made possible through improvements in transportation facilities.
2. The development of two-year junior or community colleges which extended educational opportunities upward.
3. Progress toward equal educational opportunities for minority and racial groups was slow but steady.
4. Wide-spread discussion and progress in the area of federal-aid legislation to help the more backward areas to provide adequate educational facilities.
5. Education for citizenship received a great deal of attention during the first half of the century.
6. Experimentation with core programs.
7. The development of general education courses as distinguished from a more specialized type of training.
8. Further secularization of education.
9. The organization of national organizations such as the National Citizens Commission for the improvement of education.

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9 Ibid., p. 140.

These were the problems in the field of education during the first half of the twentieth century as expressed by three eminent college professors and a group of editors of one of America's influential newspapers. Even though this group did not state the problems in the same way, they agreed largely on the identification of the problems which existed during the period covered by this study. That there would be differences as to methods of solving these problems among the writer seems apparent, but all of these men suggested trends which, more or le seem to indicate the direction which the solution of these problems would take. Few men would hazard a guess as to what the problems would be in the second half of the twentieth century, but there can be no doubt that the problems of the second half of the century would have a direct relationship to those which plagued society during the first half of the century.

Comparisons of Problems

How do the articles in The Atlantic Monthly compare with the judgments of the experts as reported above? Broadly speaking, there was not a problem which these experts mentioned that was not treated by the writers in The Atlantic Monthly. Since the points of view of the writers of the articles have been indicated at the appropriate places in this study, it is not necessary to juxtapose each article with the problems raised by the authorities in the field of education. Rather, the writer would like to indicate the broad general agreements and emphases which seem apparent. Judging from the number of pages devoted to educational matters from 1900-1950, one would have to admi that education received as much space as did any other broad field wi which this magazine was concerned. Out of a total of 84,776 pages

printed during this period, some 6,915 pages were devoted to educational problems. Every issue of the magazine except four contained an article about education, and this tends to show that the editors were aware of the importance of this subject to its reading audience.

One of the most obvious comparisons could be made on the basis of the number of articles treating specific areas of education. If one were to make such a comparison, he would have to agree that there was far more attention paid to the field of higher education than to elementary or secondary education. This fact is true because higher education underwent phenomenal developments during the first half of the century. While it was true that graduate and professional schools were established during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the schools made many significant changes during the twentieth century. Many articles dealing with the aims and objectives of higher education were reported, and the same thing was true in the field of elementary and secondary education. Standards in higher education received considerable attention, and this led to the establishment of regional and national associations in the field of education. These associations were instrumental in effecting a more realistic approach to the problem of the proper relationship of the lower schools to the colleges and universities in this country. The majority of the writers in this area were professional educators, and their treatment of the issues would necessarily be more technical in nature than the lay person who discussed the same issues. The group of writers who contributed most to this broad field were: college professors, deans, presidents, and other college personnel. As one would suspect, most of the college presidents were men; but there were four or five distinguished women college

presidents who wrote articles in this area.

Some of the writers on higher education were extremely critical o specific problems in the area. Of the group of professional educators, there appears to be an evenly divided emphasis on the problem of a broad liberal education as opposed to a more narrow and specialized type of training. Those who supported a broad liberal education appear to have lost ground to those who were supporting the specialized curriculum. The classical languages such as Latin and Greek received a great deal of attention during the period, and the modern foreign lang such as French, Spanish, and German received considerable treatment. T general feeling seemed to be that languages for their own sake did not have a place in the American college or secondary school. The arguments ranged from the contention that they were un-democratic to t position that they were impractical. During the two world wars especia the teaching of German was violently attacked on the grounds that Amer opposed everything German including the language. But this attack on t German language lessened after the two world wars. Almost every gradua school in the United States still requires a reading knowledge of Germ and French, or some other modern foreign language, for the advanced degrees.

One would have to account for the criticisms of higher education identifying the critics and suggesting some of their motives. There we several business men who leveled criticisms of the colleges and universities because of the management of finances. A professor of econom pointed an accusing finger at the colleges and universities because of irregularities in the field of finance.[10] He felt that the colleges need

[10] William B. Munro, "Are Our Colleges Playing Poor?" The Atlanti Monthly, Vol. 142, October, 1928, pp. 433-440.

to clean their own houses before accusing business organizations of improper activities. Other criticisms by this group of business men included serious accusations that the colleges and universities were poorly organized and managed. One author spoke of educating students on a cost plus basis; and broadly speaking, the criticisms reflect the confusion which existed in society at large in this regard.[11] Others criticized the higher institutions for what they cited "the crass multiplication" of their courses and of "watering down" their offering until a college education was all but meaningless.[12] This type of criticism has been rather widespread, especially since the second World War; and one sees evidence of a continuation of this particular type of criticism of education today. Typical of this type of criticism are the works of Arthur Bestor, Mortimer Smith, and Rudolph, none of whom appear in The Atlantic Monthly. Yet their books fall into this general category of educational criticism. In the main, these critics represent vested interests, for it has been demonstrated by authorities in the field of education that this type of criticism contains many erroneous generalizations.

A significant development of higher education during this period was the experimentation with different organizational types of schools to meet the demands of widespread agitation for reform in this area. Writers in The Atlantic Monthly tended not to deal with the more technical problems of education, and this area was not treated at any length. The development of the junior college and adult education

11 E. Lyman, "Putting It Up To The Colleges," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 144, November, 1929, pp. 626-628.

12 Lynd, op. cit., p. 35.

received some attention; but, here again, the treatment was not comprehensive. The junior college movement got under way during the early twenties, and the movement took the country by storm in the 1930's. There were two articles about the development of the junior college, a they were largley critical of this paritcular type of educational organisation. A retired college professor rather innocently called for information on the subject and received support from a person who was teaching in a junior college at the time. [13] The junior college was looked upon as an extension of the work of the secondary school, and t general consensus was that developments in this area would seriously weaken the work of the four year liberal arts colleges. This was not t case, as the junior college has emerged into a pattern of community colleges wherein the education of youth has been planned and conducted on a local level. One of the significant functions of the junior colle at the present time is to provide educational opportunities for continuing education and adult education, and this development appears to be taken for granted today. There was very little discussion of the organizational patterns of the elementary and secondary schools, as th tended to be too technical a subject for this type of magazine.

Another broad general field in higher education which received considerable attention was the subject of the aims and purposes of education. As they were expressed in this magazine, they differ somewh because each author's judgment would naturally tend to express his particular preferences in this area. But all the writers appear to be

13 George Herbert Palmer, "The Junior College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 139, April, 1927, pp. 497-501; see also: "The Junior College Menace: As Seen From Within," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 139, June, 1927, pp. 809-812; and George Herbert Palmer, "The Junior Colleg Again," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 140, December, 1927, pp. 828-830.

cognizant of the relationship of the ends of education to the actual classroom practices, even though they did not all spell these differen out comprehensively. The two major points of view seem to be related t the pragmatic and idealistic schools of philosophy, and there appears be a slight preference for the latter philosophic position.

A preoccupation with the evaluation of the work of the institutio of higher learning is another broad theme which received attention by the writers in this literary magazine. The evaluations were expressed in terms of what college training would mean in dollars and cents larg In this category, several parents wrote articles in which they gave advice to their children. The usual injunction of the parents to their children in these articles was to make the most possible of college training in spite of the weaknesses evident in the college programs. Some of the weaknesses which these parents pointed out were related to the lack of religious training in the colleges of this country. There were several evaluative articles in the area of athletics, and the consensus was that organized athletics ought not to be a part of the college program. Regardless of these criticisms, organized athletics seem destined to be a part of the college and university programs for some time to come, as powerful athletic associations have been organiz to meet some of the criticisms of the program and to campaign for the development of physical education in the nation's schools. The usual complaints of the standards of work were voiced both by college perso and business men. It was maintained that many people were gaining admittance to institutions of higher learning who ought not to be in college. This accusation had a direct relationship to the continued interest in securing a college degree; in fact, the half century was

characterized by what could be called a mass mania for the diplomas and degrees which the institutions of higher learning awarded its graduates. With this type of evaluation, it would seem only natural that the value of the college degree should be measured in terms of its monetary worth. And it was just this controversial point which occasioned so much comment from educators and laymen as well. Thus, while there were apparent disagreements in the area of evaluation, the mere fact that so much interest was expressed in this area seems to indicate that the American public was becoming more and more education conscious.

Many of the articles dealing with the elementary and secondary schools were motivated by the college and university people who began to make studies of their programs in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The colleges and universities apparently realized that there could be little if any real reorganization of higher education without some consideration of the relationship of the lower schools to the institutions of higher learning. Stimulated by the study of the college and university programs, the secondary schools were forced to modify their programs to meet the changing trends in higher education. The most significant problem of the secondary schools was the curriculum, and it was in this area that the writers made their most significant contributions. Generally, the writers tried to interpret the curriculum and to indicate why changes in this vital area were necessary. Confusion in the area of curriculum was indicated by the work of the famous Committee of Ten which made a national survey of the course offerings in the nation's secondary schools. Course offerings differed widely over the United States, and the Committee of Ten stimulated a certain amount of standardization as a result of its survey. Although there was

many criticisms of the work of this national committee, one must agree that this was one of the first national committees to focus attention on the entire school system in this country. Following this committe, there have been many studies of the secondary schools; and one must recognize the importance of these committees in the area of secondary education. Several writers commented upon the work of these committees, and they agreed that these committees had had beneficial results.

The subject of the increase in enrollments was another problem which interested the writers. Compulsory school legislation extended the number of years of school attendance, and more careful enforcement of these attendance laws tended to swell the numbers of those who were in attendance in the elementary and secondary schools. Although glarin inequalities existed between the several states in the area of financi support, there were evidences that the nation was becoming more consci of the effects of education on the nation's welfare. Changes in teachi methods seemed to be a wholesome indication that education had somethi to offer "all American Youth."

It is understandable that the writers in one of the influential literary magazines would not treat the educational problems from the standpoint of the professional educator. In general, though, the probl which the professional educator pointed out were the same problems whi the writers in this magazine treated. There was more of an indication a vested interest by the writers on the subject of higher institutions than there was on the elementary and secondary school level, for there seemed to be general agreement that the latter types of schools were to serve all the children of all the people. Some evidences of this general assumption may be gathered from the articles which commented

upon the organization and administration of these types of schools. If one were to draw any conclusions from the articles treating the elementary and secondary schools, he would certainly have to recognize the fact that the writers gave unqualified support to the principle of universal education on those levels. That there were slight disagreeme as to the implementation of the procedures or methods to be used in attaining universal education does not cancel the importance of this conclusion, for America is beginning to understand the relationship of education to the general welfare of the nation on a national and inter national level.

One ought to explain the apparent emphasis on higher education an to suggest some reasons why the elementary and secondary schools did not receive a comparable amount of space in this magazine. A partial explanation is that the reading audience determined the types of articles which would be of interest and concern. It is an accepted fac that the reading level of many newspapers and some popular magazines i geared to a public whose educational level falls within the general ar of the eighth grade. This was not the case with The Atlantic Monthly, and this fact would explain the importance of publishing articles whic would appeal to the reading level of the subscribers. The vocabulary level is far higher than one would expect to find in many popular newspapers and other periodicals. It would be safe to say that the readers of the magazine are, on the whole, college graduates; and one would expect such a reading audience to express far more interest in the problems of higher education than they would in the elementary an secondary schools. Moreover, there was a different type of writer in area of higher education. The majority of the articles in this area w

written by professional educators, that is, college presidents, deans, business managers, and college professors. The remainder of the articl on higher education was written by well-trained people whose professio preparation and experience gave them a background from which to draw i writing about the problems of higher education. Thus, the editorial policy and the nature of the subscribers would seem to indicate that the writers would have to be rather skilled in the art of writing before their articles would be considered for publication. One evidenc that the editors were sensitive to public opinion is to be found in a feature column known as "The Contributor's Column" in which the subscribers expressed their opinions in letters which they wrote. The writer of this paper read all of these columns in the hope of discover a trend in this area. On the whole, there were few articles in this column which dealt with education; but there were many letters protest the firing of Wendell Brooks Phillips from Piedmont College in Georgia The writers of these letters were extremely critical of Professor Phillips' treatment at the hands of the board of trustees of this smal Southern liberal arts college. The issue of academic freedom was menti by several of these writers, and it would seem that this case received far more attention than it deserved on the basis of the three articles which Professor Phillips wrote for the magazine. It appears that Professor Phillips challenged the administration several times before his firing, and he reported in his final article about the episode th he had been given proper notice before his expulsion.[14]

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14 Wendell Brooks Phillips, "I Was Fired From A Hick College," The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 156, October, 1935, pp. 396-403.

In addition to reading all the articles which had any relationship to education in The Atlantic Monthly, the writer of this thesis made an examination of many of the articles which dealt with law, medicine, politics, and other related fields. From this examination the author concluded that the magazine did not show any marked biases in its choices of articles or writers. For example, one could not determine the political preferences of the editors from a reading of the articles in the field of politics, for the articles did not show any particular preferences in this area. Most of the articles on foreign policy were written by specialists in that field. During the two World Wars the writers appeared to agree that America should play an active role in the wars to stop aggression, but the tone of the articles could not be classified as radical. The writer of this thesis concluded that the editorial policy of the magazine assured a fair and balanced treatment of the issues in the several fields. On this basis, one has to conclude that the topic of education received as fair a treatment as did other topics with which the magazine dealt.

The Writer's Position

The writer would like to explain his position in order that the general reader may be able to evaluate this study. The writer tends to accept the pragmatic philosophy on the whole. He has an abiding interest in the improvement of society through its organized institutions and he believes that the individual possesses intrinsic worth and dignity. The best possible society, in his opinion, is one in which every individual--regardless of race, color, or creed--has equal opportunities in all areas of life. Strong convictions as to the worth of each individual in society makes the writer sensitive to the

importance of knowledge and its application to the human scene. The author believes that the best possible solution to any problem can be made on the basis of experimental evidence which has been tested and found adequate. Education is viewed as a dynamic process which has its most important significance in its application to the improvement of t individual. Thus, he is not afraid of change so long as the change has its roots in the scientific method.

The writer developed several theories of education on the basis o this study. First, it seemed to the writer that educators are far more aware of the importance of public relations than they were a century a That educators would take the time and energy from their professional activities to explain and clarify certain issues in education seem to indicate that this assumption has validity. The literary magazine has shown more interest in education during the first half of the century than it has shown in the past, and this fact could be explained by the fact that education is America's biggest business--consequently, it would demand a great deal of attention as such. Secondly, educators ca keep posted on trends and developments in the field of education from reading the articles in a popular literary magazine such as The Atlant Monthly. So often the professional educator is so specialized in a particular aspect of education that he might not get such a broad treatment of issues as such a magazine affords. The professional educa needs to develop an awareness of current trends and problems in the f of education, and he can certainly do this by keeping up with the pop literary magazine. Lastly, the popular literary magazine is somewhat a mirror of the aspirations, goals, and problems of society; and the efficient educator can not afford to ignore this source of current hi

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

In this study the writer has made a search for the topics on education which have interested the general reading public; he has tr to determine what the issues were in education from making a study of one of America's most important literary magazines. Another purpose o this study was to determine the issues in the field of education duri the first half of the twentieth century as they were reported in text books and other sources to see what agreements there were in the identification of the problems which were thus reported. It was hoped that some broad trends in the whole field of education could be deter by making a study of this nature. Finally, the writer felt that such a study as this would make contributions to educational literature dealing with critical attacks on education which appears to be on the increase at the mid-century point. Because the twentieth century experienced the establishment of a host of professional organizations which published journals for the professional educator and because th popular magazine tended to publish vast numbers of articles dealing w education, the writer felt that The Atlantic Monthly would be the bes choice for such a study.

The organization of the materials is based upon the materials themselves, that is, the chapter headings--The American Scene 1900-19 What is Education?, Elementary Education, Secondary Education, and Higher Education--were chosen because the articles tended to fall int these categories. The writer did not deal with the articles on educat which did not fall into these categories, tho there were several such articles outside this classification. For example, there were several

articles about education in foreign countries and a few occasional poems about teachers and teaching which had little or no bearing on this study. In the first chapter the writer indicated the broad politi social, and economic movements which existed in society at large and which were indicated by the writers quoted and set the stage for the study of the educational problems which grew out of this setting. The social principle that education reflects life about it was exhibited b spelling out the broad movements in the American scene from 1900 to 19 The second chapter reports the definitions of education as they were formulated by the writers themselves. In order to avoid making judgmer on the definitions of education from the point of view of the author a to set the stage for the study of the problems of the whole area of education, the writer felt that his establishing the framework throug the definitions which the writers themselves gave would assure conclu that would be more valid and reliable. In so far as shifting patterns society affected these definitions of education, the writer has attem to indicate this fact by his organization of the materials on a topic basis. The next three chapters were organized in the same manner, for writer felt that this arrangement would indicate more strikingly the importance of the problems by arranging them in this manner. Qualitat the writer identified the writers and made evaluations of these artic in the proper places. Finally, a critical analysis of the whole study was made by showing what some important educators and public figures thought the educational problems of the first half century to be. The job of formulating conclusions is the burden of this chapter.

One conclusion would have to be that The Atlantic Monthly is a chronicle of events which took place during the period under consider

There is striking evidence for this conclusion in the entire sweep of articles, for few important events in society at large were ignored by the writers of the articles for this magazine. That the topics on education appeared in the magazine indicates that the subjects were so important that they found expression in a literary magazine. Moreover, the authors of the articles were not mere dilettanti, for a significant number of writers on the subjects of education were professional educators. And the writers who were not professional educators were, to say the least, skilled individuals--or else their articles would not have been accepted for publication by the editors of The Atlantic Monthly. If the purposes of this magazine were to instruct and to entertain, one would have to concede that both of these purposes were realized.

Historically, education has played a vital role in the United States. The period with which this paper has been concerned may be characterized in many different ways, but the labeling of specific periods would contribute little to this study. Educational problems of the twentieth century originated in earlier periods; it would be correct to say that there were more differences in degree rather than in the kind of problems which were expressed in the twentieth century. The principle of the separation of church and state was one of the problems, and this problem persisted in the twentieth century. Some important developments in this area include the distribution of free textbooks in the parochial schools, bus transportation for students who attended the parochial schools, and religious training on a released time basis. This particular problem seemed more pressing during periods of stress and strain. That this problem will continue to be with us during the second half of the

century seems assured if religion continues to have the influence it has always had. The extension of education opportunities is another problem which continued to receive widespread attention during the twentieth century. There were tremendous increases in the numbers of students who attended elementary, secondary, and higher schools during this period; and the dream of a more enlightened citizenry came nearer to realization than it had ever come before. Forces were at work which seemed to offer educational opportunities to all people in spite of race, color, or creed; and the ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States in this area was one of the significant milestones in the history of American education. This problem promises to be a lively one for some time to come, but there are indications that important progress has been made in this area. Though changes in the field of education appear to be slow, they are nevertheless steady.

Concern over the best type of educational organization led to the development of the junior high school on one level and the junior college on another level. These developments were perhaps the most obvious, but they indicated that the teaching profession was interested in providing a more realistic type of educational program for students. The junior high school attempted to bridge the gap between the elementary school and the senior high school, and it has received wide support during this period. Advances in the field of child psychology influenced teaching methods and techniques in this particular educational institution, and the physical plants likewise received professional attention. The realization of the nature of the problems of pre-adolescence and the organization of the junior high school to take care of these problems seem to indicate that education was becoming more and more aware of the need

of students. The junior college movement had its most rapid growth during the late 1920's and early 1930's; and many educators looked upo this peculiarly American institution as one of the most significant advances in the field of education. It offered programs for those stud who would continue their education at other higher institutions, and i also provided educational opportunities for adults on the community level. The American public has always shown concern about keeping the elementary and secondary schools under their control, and the developm of the junior college seemed to express this same desire. Even though there were many petty jealousies between the junior colleges and other institutions during the period, this institution has developed into a community agency which seems to offer unlimited possibilities.

The Atlantic Monthly mirrored important developments in the field of higher education, and some of these movements continue to have significance today. Graduate schools had their most spectacular develo ment during this period, and higher education enjoys a professional spirit which was not always the case in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The multiplicity of advanced degrees, intense specialization, higher costs of education, and other administrative problems have plagued the advanced graduate schools through the first half of the twentieth century. National educational associations in the area higher education have mushroomed during this period, and there were similar developments in the areas of the elementary and secondary schools. Professional journals which published articles of interest t the thousands of professional people employed in the field of educati made their debuts during the period. The organization of teacher's unions created many problems. That The Atlantic Monthly was one of th

agencies which made information on the field of education available can not be ignored. Another problem which was just as pressing in the nineteenth century as it is during the twentieth century was the ques of the teaching of the common skills. This particular issue has recei attention by the twentieth century critics on all levels of education endeavour, particularly on the elementary and secondary school levels Applications of the statistical methods in the field of education has contributed to the comparison of educational results on a national le some critics have seized upon these statistical reports and attacked the schools for a water down of their curricula. The current battles the area of reading, writing, and arithmetic have a direct relationsh to this attack on the public schools. Confusion exists as to what tea method will produce the best results, and the popular writers in this area are not always professional educators. Applications of the pragm philosophy to teaching has led to serious criticisms of the public schools; the general nature of these attacks is that the schools are becoming too easy and devoting far too much time to the sozializatior process to the neglect of formal subject matter. On the whole, educat have answered these critics with some gusto; but the writer of this thesis feels that the professional educator misses the boat in many instances by not playing a more realistic role in explaining what the schools are attempting to do in an effort to avoid some of these mis- leading and unfortunate attacks upon the public schools. In higher education there have been similar critical attacks; the reader will recall that the series of articles dealing with the Rhodes Scholar i the chapter on higher education are in this particular vein. The tea colleges and the schools of education throughout the country have

experienced critical attacks in the areas of content and method. Progr has been made in all these areas, however; and it would be correct to that these attacks on the public schools have led to serious efforts o the part of educators to make improvements. But the American habit of criticizing the public institutions, particularly during periods of stress and strain, appears to be a continuation of a pattern which originated in an earlier period.

The earliest comments upon education in this magazine dealt with formulation of aims and objectives, but after 1910 the articles becam more specific. National educational organizations were quite active i this area in the twentieth century, but the confusion which existed i this area suggests that there is no comprehensive philosophy of life America from which the aims and objectives might evolve. The widespre discussion of the aims of education could lead to significant progres in the field of education; at least, preoccupation with the aims of education is a sign that many people consider this area to be importa and worthwhile.

Interest in the aims and objectives of education were no doubt related to the developments of the pragmatic philosophy in the field education during this period. Professor John Dewey formulated this famous philosophy while he was professor of education at the Univers of Chicago, and he persuaded authorities there to help him test his theories in the area of childhood education by establishing an eleme school. This famous laboratory school was discussed widely during th first quarter of the century, and the applications of Dewey's philos to education elicited many articles in The Atlantic Monthly. The fir articles dealing with this subject described John Dewey's philosophy

as a movement, but the articles which appeared in the mid-thirties tended to be evenly divided between acceptance and rejection of the movement. Pragmatism had its most widespread acceptance in the area o elementary and secondary education, but the people in higher educatio were extremely critical of the movement. Whatever the causes for this lack of interest in pragmatism in its beginning phase, there can be n denial that pragmatism has found wide support in the colleges and universities in the United States. Other forces contributed to the sh of emphasis from memorization and rote learning in American education however, the pragmatic philosophy had important and significant influences in this area. The child seemed to come into his own from the standpoint of education during the first half of the twentieth centur and the changes in this regard were extremely important in the direct education would take during the last half of the twentieth century. During the Colonial Period, the child was looked upon in many instanc as a little "imp" whose will was to be broken. Discipline was harsh, and the literature is full of examples of the cruel types of punishme which were meted out to the children. The teacher was quite often ste commanding that there be "perfect order" in the classroom. Discipline has shifted from authoritarian control to a more democratic type of control; and, on the whole, the child's lot is considerably different than what it was during the nineteenth century. One may read news ite reporting cases of corporal punishment in the present day, but these the exception rather than the rule. Trends in the treatment of the s called sub-normal student are related to this issue. Some people have referred to the first half of the twentieth century as the age of th child psychologist. Child guidance clinics, special education classe

vocational guidance, and citizenship education, as well as other movements, testify to the fact that society is beginning to accept th idea of education for individual differences.

The chaos that exists in the realm of international affairs has impinged upon education during the first half of this century, but th are indications that education is beginning to be looked upon as an agency which has valuable contributions to make in this area. After t second World War when the United States was busy helping with the rehabilitation of devastated countries, education played a vital role in helping foreign countries to recover from the effects of war. Amer has begun to make significant contributions to world peace through it program of scholarships and exchange of teachers with foreign countri Many state and private universities have branches of their institutio in foreign countries, and there is a constant flow of students comin to this country to study in the American schools. America appears to emerged from the second World War as the recognized leader of the We World, and it gives evidence of having accepted this role.

By way of summary, The Atlantic Monthly has been a faithful chronicle of the events which happened in the field of education dur the first half of the twentieth century. Trends in the development o both public and private education may be determined by examining the issues of this magazine. While the professional educational journals provide information for the educator, the popular literary magazine a valuable source of information for the non-professional but inform general public. The history of The Atlantic Monthly has been suggest elsewhere in this study, but it needs to be said that the magazine changed its policies just after the turn of the century. From its

in the middle of the nineteenth century to the turn of the century, th editors preferred to emphasize literary forms such as the short story, the novel, and the novelette, and other types of fiction. Since the tu of the century the essay has been the most important literary from in the magazine, and this form lends itself to the discussion of problem more readily than some of the other literary forms. Many magazines which were established during the nineteenth century ceased publicati before the twentieth century, and that The Atlantic Monthly has continued to command the respect of 200,000 subscribers indicates someth about the importance of this magazine in American life. The format of magazine has been altered somewhat over the years, but the structure the magazine remains essentially what it was during the nineteenth ce The "Contributors Column" and "The Peripatetic Reviewer" have been ad within the past twenty years, and these are excellent vehicles for th publication of letters to the editor and for editorial comment and bo reviews. Another helpful feature which began around 1930 is a column which makes short biographical comments upon the writers for the identification of the people who contribute to the magazine. This pa feature proved helpful in identifying the many writers who contribute to this publication. The editors did not identify the authors of the articles until the 1890's, and there were several authors who remain anonymous when they discussed controversial issues in the field of education. The writer of this thesis has indicated the reasons for t anonymonity at the appropriate places, so there is no further need f comment on this point. The most welcome change in the format from th writer's standpoint was the inclusion of the month of publication in the table of contents, as this facilitated his search for articles

dealing with education. Since the writer of this thesis had a great deal of experience in the field of journalism, he feels qualified to judge the make up and format of the magazine. It is one of the most attractive magazines in the field in the United States, and the quali of the art work, the printing, and editing contribute to its success. Such a superior magazine merits the attention of all people who are concerned with American education.

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