

CLASS FORCES
in the
DEVELOPMENT
of

FREE PUBLIC EDUCATION

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by

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Earliest American education was imported from Europe and continued in the tradition of its aristocratic heritage. Its dominant social function was the "preservation of religious faith and the existing social and economic order." (1) The two main forces determining the character of schools were institutionalized religion and the class structure of society. Further, any distinction between these two is more apparent than real. (2) The protestant sects, both in New England and the Middle Colonies, recruited their clergy chiefly from the privileged groups in society, and in turn were supported by the more substantial farmers, planters and merchants. In the New England colonies there was "virtual identity of the dominant religious group with the ruling class," giving rise to a Puritan plutocracy which reigned until late in the 17th Century. (3) In Virginia, and the Southeast, where adherents of the English National Church were motivated by material rather than religious interests, the class structure of society was particularly marked. It was here that indentured white servitude, and later Negro slavery, were especially to flourish. Here, likewise, did the plantation economy emerge. (4)

Consistent with the structure of colonial society, there were two distinct schemes of education, one for children of the well-to-do, and another for children of the common people. The former began their education with tutors, in endowed "public schools" or in such other private institutions as the "dame schools" of New England. Secondary schools were fashioned after the English grammar school designed to prepare boys of the "better classes" for college. The Massachusetts Law of 1647, for example, in addition to requiring each town with fifty families to appoint a teacher for "all such children as shall resort to him to write and reade," ordered further that any town with 100 families

shall set up a grammar school....to instruct youth so farr as they shall be fitted for ye university. (5)

These New England Latin schools were never popular institutions. Rather, they were "conceived, supported, and perpetuated by the few." (6) In Virginia, the sons of planters who were to sail abroad to college or enter William and Mary nearby were usually prepared for admission by family tutors or at the few private schools kept by clergymen. (7) Colleges, of course, were far removed from the common people, and were attended only by the sons of professional, merchant, and planting classes. (8) By the 17th Century it had become "proper" for country gentry and rich merchants to send their sons to Oxford and Cambridge as a matter of "decorum and reputability." (9) Preparation for careers as preachers, orators, statesmen, doctors, lawyers, or "gentlemen" defined the immediate goals of education for sons of the favored classes. (10)

In the light of the education provisions for the well-to-do, those for orphans, children of indentured servants, and children of the poor reveal the "class character of colonial education...in starkest outline." (11) The predominating practice, consistent with the tradition of the English "Poor Laws," was to bind out as apprentices the children of the common people. Illustrative is the Massachusetts Law of 1642. Not only did it charge overseers of a given town with responsibility to supervise the education of youth, especially as regards "their ability to read

& understand the principles of religion & the capitall lawes of this country," but also gave them

power.... to put forth apprentices the children of such as they shall find not able & fitt to imploy and bring them up. (12)

Indentures for apprenticeship were sometimes voluntary, as in the case of one Jonathan Stoughton, of Connecticut, who, in 1727, with his father's consent

...hath put him selfe an apprentice to Nathan Day....: blacksmith and white smith to Learn his art, trade or mystery after the manner of an Apprentice to serve him until the sd Jonathan Stoughton attains the age of twenty-one years....(13)

Frequently, however, indentures were compulsory. In 1747, for example, the "selectmen" of Leicester, Massachusetts, "with the assent of two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace," entered into an agreement to

... bind out to the sd. Matthew Scott & to his Heirs Executors & and Adminrs as an Apprentice Moses Love a Minor aged two years and Eight months with him & them to live & dwell with as an apprentice during the term of Eighteen years & four Months (Viz.) untill he shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years....he being a poor child & his parents not being able to support it... sd. apprentice...shall ... serve at such lawful employment...as he shall learn from time to time....be capable of doing...& not absent himself from his or their service without Leave & in allthings behave himself as a good & faithful apprentice ought to do. (14)

Apprenticeship itself yielded distinct educational outcomes, especially along lines of vocational training. Further, in day and evening schools the young apprentices were usually taught to read, to write, to cipher, and, of course, to "understand the principles of religion & the capitall lawes." In the New England towns, these schools were provided by the township; in the southern and middle colonies, chiefly by philanthropic societies. Higher schools and colleges, of course, simply did not exist for the children of the poor. (15)

Unquestionably, religious and humanitarian motives contributed to such educational provisions as were made for the poor. Adequate interpretation of those provisions, however, must recognize their direct, and perhaps more fundamental, economic motif. Cheap labor was scarce during the Colonial Period, and the apprentice system afforded help for the "better classes" at almost negligible cost. It likewise provided for the training of a much-needed class of artisans, and freed the well-to-do from much of the burden of pauper relief. Further, it contributed to the "proper" upbringing of a "good & faithful" subservient class, thus preventing the rise and growth of a "Barberous, Rude or Stubborn" class of servants who might turn out to be "Pests instead of Blessings to the Country." (16)

Thus, in its control, structure and content, early American education was well-accommodated to the dominant religious influences and class divisions of the society it served. Even the concept of free public schools in the modern sense seemed not to have been born.

The idea of elementary or for that matter, secondary or collegiate schools supported by taxation, freed from clerical control and offering instruction to children of all classes, found no expression in colonial America. (17)

In preparing "favored youth for the church or the semi-cultured life of the great planation," and the children of the dependent poor for dutiful service both to God and their earthly "Masters," Colonial education tended to perpetuate class distinctions. Clearly, it was education to support the then existing social order. (18)

The immediate effect of the American Revolution upon education was disastrous. Most rural and parochial schools were closed. By the end of the War, colleges were generally impoverished. Between 1783 and 1789, when the new state faced a critical struggle upon which its very existence hung, little or no attention was paid to education. (19) But once independence had been consolidated into what promised to be an abiding political structure, there emerged a new interest in education, and especially in its relations to social organization. (20)

The theorists of the new national state all addressed themselves to the problem of education. Scores of books and pamphlets appeared "on the function of education in the new social order." All deplored the impoverished schools and poor teachers inherited from the earlier period. All argued for a national system of popular education, universal in extent (some would even include girls), supported by general taxation, and running from elementary school to the university. (21) Robert Coram wrote:

It is a shame, a scandal to civilized society, that part only of the citizens should be sent to colleges and universities to learn to cheat the rest of their liberties. (22)

As summarized by the Beards, these 18th Century critics held that

the prime end of education was to help realize the ideals of progress, raise the general level of well-being, bring all citizens within the range of cooperative life, apply science to the service of mankind, prepare pupils for economic independence, instruct them in the duties of citizenship, instill in them republican principles, strengthen and enrich American nationality. (23)

Such education principles as these gave valid expression to the democratic premises which emerged from the American Revolution. Yet, the theorists who gave them birth were generations ahead of their day. Much more practical considerations were to define the actual conditions of education during the first three decades of national life.

The early period of the new Republic was especially characterized by rule of the aristocratic class. Washington, Madison, Hancock, Adams, Hamilton, Jay - all were substantial representatives of the well-to-do. The Federalist Party, political instrument of the privileged class, remained dominant until after the turn of the Century. Suffrage was restricted to the propertied few. (24) The French Revolution had "awakened the masses of mankind throughout the world," and "the aristocracy was badly frightened." It "prophesied the end of civilization, if the advance of the populace could not be halted." (25)

Even such broad-minded men as Daniel Webster in Massachusetts and Chancellor Kent in New York feared the results of universal suffrage, and opposed the movement. Webster held that under universal suffrage the wealth of individuals would be subject to "the rapaciousness of a merciless gang," while Chancellor Kent likened manhood suffrage to a mighty engine which would "destroy property, laws, and liberties." (26)

It is within this framework that one must view the conditions of education during the period immediately following the American Revolution.

The Federal Constitution, "though framed by the ablest men of the time, was framed by men who represented the old aristocratic conception of education and government." (27) It was adopted by states in which "less than one-fifth of the entire white male population ... enjoyed the right to vote." (28) It is not surprising, therefore, that the new Constitution was completely silent on the question of education. So likewise with the early state constitutions. Of the 11 or more state constitutions drawn up between 1776 and 1800, all but two were equally silent on the subject of schools and education. (29) Even as late as 1820, ten of the 23 states then forming the Union made no mention of education in any of their constitutions, and most of the education clauses in the other constitutions were but general declarations encouraging learning and virtue. (30)

By and large, up to about 1820, the pattern of education remained much the same as during colonial days. (31) The one outstanding development of the period was the rapid growth of academies. Begun in the mid-18th Century in protest against the rigid classicism of the Latin schools, the more liberal institutions which at times received some aid from public funds, flourished under private auspices which bid for the tuition and "patronage of sons and daughters of merchants and farmers who could not hope to attend institutions of higher education." Thus, they provided secondary education for an emerging and "hitherto untouched middle stratum of the population." (32) Apprenticeship and pauper schools, of course, continued as the chief educational vehicle for the poor.

The Revolution had aroused "democratic enthusiasm for the rights of man" and the frontier "was contributing substantially to a liberalization of suffrage, an equalization of opportunity, and a more democratic outlook everywhere." Yet, education lagged, and "only faintly responded to the ideas of '76."

Had the more radical elements dominated during the formative years of the new republic, it is possible that the caste character of the schools might have been undermined...But the conservatives stabilized their privileges and built the state, and although education theory did reflect the fervor of our own and the French Revolution, school practice did not substantially change its class character. (33)

Many influences contributed to a revival of interest in education during the first half of the 19th Century. The Sunday School Movement, the City School Societies, the Monitorial System, and the Infant School Societies were especially important. (34) Much more fundamental, however, were the social, economic and political developments of the time.

The middle period was characterized by the rapid development of manufacturing, and in consequence, the rapid growth of cities. The new type of factory work presaged the end of home and village industries, together with the system of apprenticeship. The rising industrialists came increasingly to challenge the power of the older aristocracy. There emerged a new and articulate proletariat, especially in the cities along the seaboard.

Once the industrial revolution was fairly started, its effects upon culture...were swift and cumulative. Under its stresses and strains the whole social structure was recast. To the old fortunes made from shipping and trade were added greater and more numerous fortunes wrung from textiles, steel, hardware, pottery and railways. There were now large family estates to

be taxed for popular education....As the shadow follows the sun, so in the wake of the expanding middle class came the ever-swelling industrial proletariat with its tendencies to radical opinion concerning society and government. (35)

The Federalist Party, which had lost control of Jeffersonian Democracy in 1801, ceased to exist as a national party in 1817. After 1815, when only four states granted the right to vote to all male white citizens, and especially after 1820, there developed a strong democratic movement to abolish the property qualifications for suffrage which had long supported the rule of the old aristocracy. The new states of the West were leaders in this development, all but two of those east of the Mississippi granting full manhood suffrage at the time of their admission to the Union. (36) From Washington to Adams, each president had represented the old aristocracy. But the newly aroused masses were now impatient with the claims of upper-class superiority. Full manhood suffrage gave the Western farmers and the urban working classes a new preponderance of influence in the affairs of government. They used it in 1828 to elect "a man of the people" as President. (37) It was with the ascendancy of Jacksonian Democracy that America first witnessed the rise of popular government and of popular education.

"For a nation of farmers and mechanics, bent on self-government and possessed of the ballot, there was only one kind of educational program in keeping with self-respect, namely, a free and open public school system supported by taxation and non-sectarian in control." (38) This, together with their allies, they set out to attain, but their goal lay along the path of prolonged agitation, propaganda, and persistent struggle.

The aristocracy of wealth was justly fearful over the new popular threat to its security. "The unruly mob that invaded the White House when Jackson was inaugurated in 1829 seemed to symbolize a new power," (39) which must be curbed. Strenuously, of course, did they oppose the increasing demand for free, tax-supported public schools. Aligned in this opposition was an array of the naturally conservative elements of any society - the old aristocracy, wealthy tax-payers of the industrial centers, big planters of the South, most of the significant religious sects (Lutherans, Reformed-Church, Mennonites, and Quakers), proprietors with capital investments in private schools, "politicians of small vision," and others. (40) Some of their arguments sound curiously contemporary.

Public school legislation was characterized as "impractical, visionary, and 'too advanced'." Besides, "no State could long meet such a lavish drain on its resources" as would be entailed by general education. Government, it was claimed, "had no right to interfere between a parent and his children in the matter of education." It would be improper for government to injure the "vested rights" established by the money which had gone into private and parochial schools. Public schools would not benefit the masses, "who are already as well cared for as they deserve." They would tend to "educate people out of their proper position in society," thus breaking down "long-established and desirable social barriers." Further, "education is something for a leisure class, and though poor have no leisure." (41)

Excerpts from two editorials which appeared in the Philadelphia National Gazette during the summer of 1830 illuminate considerably the dominant class character of opposition to free public schools.

It is our strong inclination and our obvious interest that literary acquisitions should be universal; but we should be guilty of imposture if we professed to believe in that consummation. Literature cannot be acquired without leisure,

and wealth gives leisure. Universal opulence, or even competency, is a chimera, as man and society are constituted. There will ever be distinctions of condition, of capacity, of knowledge and ignorance, in spite of all the fond conceits which may be indulged, or the wild projects which may be tried, to the contrary. The "peasant" must labor during the hours of the day, which his wealthy neighbor can give to the abstract culture of his mind; otherwise the earth would not yield enough for the subsistence of all; the mechanic cannot abandon the operations of his trade, for general studies; if he should, most of the conveniences of life and objects of exchange would be wanting; languor, decay, poverty, and discontent would soon be visible among all classes. (42)

The beginning of the second editorial is strongly suggestive of a much-used slogan of present-day American politics.

It is an old and sound remark, that government cannot provide for the necessities of the People; that it is they who maintain the government, and not the latter the People. Education may be among their necessities; but it is one of that description which the state or national councils cannot supply, except partially and in limited degree. They may endow public schools for the indigent, and colleges for the most comprehensive and costly schemes of instruction. To create or sustain seminaries for the tuition of all classes....is beyond their province and power. (43)

Though of little practical consequence, it is of theoretical significance that the utopian socialists of that day gave support to the cause of reaction. In 1829 for example, one pre-Marxian "left-wing" labor leader in New York attacked the claims that free public schools would redound to the economic benefit of the workers. He "charged the Manns and Barnards with putting the cart before the horse."

....Let all remember that those who undertake to hold back the people from their rights of property...until education, as they call it, can first be communicated....either do not understand themselves, or pursue the course they are pursuing, for purpose of diverting the people from the possession of these rights; that they may be held in bondage, even yet longer. (44)

Among the champions of the public school movement were philanthropists and humanitarians, "public men of large vision", frightened Protestants (especially Calvinists) who viewed with alarm the increased flood of Catholic immigrants from Ireland and the Continent, and especially the newly enfranchised farmers in the West and organized industrial workers in the cities of the East. (45) They argued that free public schools would tend "to prevent pauperism and crime" and "reduce poverty and distress"; that pauper-schools were "inimical to public welfare", and private and church schools "inadequate to meet the needs of a changed society"; that "a State which has the right to hang has the right to educate", and preservation of republican institutions depends upon "education as to one's civic duties"; that general education would "eliminate wrong ideas as to the distribution of wealth"; that "only a system of state-controlled schools can be free to teach whatever the welfare of the State may demand"; and that "the free and general education of all children at public expense is the natural right of all children in a Republic." (46)

Various proponents of free schools sought contrasting social goals through the aegis of general education, and their arguments differed accordingly. Of especial significance in this regard is the contrast between professional educators and organized labor.

Most educators argued for the education of the masses as an instrument to inculcate moral virtues and "respect for law and order," to prevent the "anarchistic dissolution of republican society", and to "promote industrial prosperity." (47) They appealed to wealthy industrialists to provide free public schools as a matter of self-interest. For example, Alonzo Potter, author of the famous teachers manual *School and Schoolmaster*, insisted that an educated worker "works more cheerfully, and therefore more productively." He "regarded education as the means of inspiring workers to perform the most humble duties with unflinching fidelity." (48) The secretary of the state board of education in Maine asked, in his report for 1847,

What surer guaranty can the capitalist find for the security of his investments, than is to be found in the sense of a community morally and intellectually enlightened? (49)

Similar in its appeal to merchants and industrialists was the query of Caleb Mills.

Would he (the merchant) finds so large a share of his profits engulfed in the whirlpool of bad debts, if the people were honest? Can the manufacturer invest his capital with equal security among an ignorant and vicious people, than he would in an intelligent and virtuous community? (50)

John Armstrong, in 1833, warned a North Carolina audience that:

When Revolution threatens the overthrow of our institutions, everything depends upon the character of the people. If they are ignorant, they will surrender themselves to the control of their passions, and submit to be guided by noisy political fanatics. (51)

So likewise did Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, perhaps the greatest apostles of free schools, emphasize the values of mass education to the financial interests of their day. Mann, even though a severe critic of the sins of industrial capitalism, sought to show that

education has a market value; that it is so far an article of merchandise, that it may be turned to pecuniary account; it may be minted, and will yield a larger amount of suitable coin than common bullion. (52)

The more conservative Barnard went even farther. Not only did he make "appeals to men of wealth to support education in their own interest and to further their own security," but he included in his "Object of Teaching" a catechism "designed to help the teacher provide the proper economic truths (i.e. the blessings of capitalism) to workers and their children. (53)

Unlike the educators, who appealed to the self-interest of capitalists in support of the status quo, organized workers demanded free public schools as a matter of republican rights. The 1830 Report of the Working-Men's Committee of Philadelphia, a lengthy document based upon months of investigation, decried

the inadequate provisions for public instruction throughout most of the State, denounced the pauper-school system as "incompatible with the rights and liberties of an American citizen," criticized the existing public school system for the "limited amount of instruction it affords," and set forth this challenging statement of democratic educational principle.

The original element of despotism is monopoly of talent, which consigns the multitude to comparative ignorance, and secures the balance of knowledge on the side of the rich and the rulers. If then the healthy existence of a free government be, as the committee believes, rooted in the will of the American people, it follows as a necessary consequence, of a government based upon that will, that this monopoly should be broken up, and that the means of equal knowledge (the only security for equal liberty) should be rendered, by legal provision, the common property of all classes. (54)

A resolution adopted at a General Meeting of Mechanics and Workingmen held in New York City, in 1829, resolved,

that next to life and liberty, we consider education
the greatest blessing bestowed upon mankind;

and resolved, further,

that the public funds should be appropriated (to a reasonable extent) to the purpose of education upon a regular system that shall insure the opportunity to every individual of obtaining an competent education before he shall have arrived at the age of maturity. (55)

A meeting of workingmen held in Philadelphia in the same year, protested that:

No system of education, which a freeman can accept, has yet been established for the poor; whilst thousands of dollars of the public money has been appropriated for building colleges and academies for the rich.(56)

Rather than appeal to the self-interest of the wealthy for free public schools, this newly enfranchised industrial proletariat demanded action by its elected representatives. In 1830 in Boston, a meeting of "Workingmen, Mechanics, and others friendly to their interests," resolved:

that the establishment of a system of education, attainable by all, should be along the first efforts of every lawgiver who desires the continuance of our national independence. (57)

That same year, an Association of Workingmen formed in New Castle, Delaware, incorporated into its constitution this appeal for political action:

Let us unite at the polls and give our votes to no candidate who is not pledged to support a rational system of education to be paid for out of the public funds. (58)

For this work of propaganda hundreds of School Societies, Lyceums, and Educational Associations were organized; many conventions were held, and resolutions favoring state

schools were adopted; many "Letters" and "Addresses to the Public" were written and published; public-spirited citizens traveled over the country making addresses to the people and explaining the advantages of free state schools;....many governors sent communications on the subject to legislatures not yet convinced as to the desirability of state action. At each meeting of the legislatures for years a deluge of resolutions, memorials, and petitions for and against free schools met the members. (59)

The outcome of this "Battle for Free Schools" are generally known. It by no means established universal public education, but, at least in the North, significant progress was made. The pauper-school idea was virtually eliminated, thus undermining the colonial heritage of class education. Sectarian control was largely broken. To some extent, education was opened to women. Schools for defectives began to appear. The principles of tax-support and state control were firmly established. There emerged two new and tremendously significant types of educational institutions, the free public high school and the state university. "It may truly be said that every essential feature of modern public education was either worked out or fairly anticipated...by the middle of the 19th Century. (60)

The ante-bellum educational advances ushered in by political democracy in the agricultural West and the industrial East were but meagerly shared in the South. With but few cities and little manufacturing, laggard in the extension of full white manhood suffrage, retarded by the institution of slavery, still "dominated...by the planting aristocracy and removed from the main currents of science and industrialism, the South in general was content with its few private institutions for the upper classes and with classical instruction as the basis of collegiate learning." (61) Such few educational beginnings as had been made were shattered by the Civil War. (62)

Although major attention is given in the next chapter to post-War educational developments in the South, at least two general truths merit recording here. In the first place, precisely as in the North, only with the general enfranchisement of the common people, and the breaking of aristocratic rule, was the structure of public education laid in the southern states. It was the much-maligned Reconstruction governments of the late '60's and the early '70's that first established state systems of free schools in the South. (63) Second, and of equal significance, with restoration of the planting class to power in the late '70's, the new systems of public education went promptly into eclipse. (64) They were not to emerge again until after the turn of the Century. By then, in the wake of an expanding industrial democracy, public education for the rest of the nation had forged ahead at an ever accelerating pace.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Curti, Merle, The Social Ideals of American Educators. New York; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935, p.4 ff;
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., also Beard, Charles A., and Beard, Mary R., The Rise of American Civilization. New York; MacMillan, 1935. Vol. I, pp.166-180; also Cubberly, Ellwood P., Public Education in the United States. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1934.
5. Cubberly, Ellwood P., Readings in Public Education in the United States. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1934, p.19
6. Quoted by Curti, op.cit., p.22; see also Cubberly, Public Education in the United States, op.cit., p.255
7. Beard and Beard, op. cit. p.176
8. Curti, op.cit.; Cubberly, op.cit.
9. Beard and Beard, op. cit., p. 167; also Cubberly, op.cit.
10. Beard and Beard, op.cit., p.181. (As the Beards, and others, also point out, girls, though admitted to the elementary schools to learn to read, the catechism, and perhaps some arithmetic, were excluded as a matter of course from the grammar schools and colleges. They received no higher education unless it be offered by a family tutor. P.181)
11. Curti, op.cit., p.23
12. Cubberly, Readings in Public Education in the United States, p.17
13. Ibid., p.40
14. Ibid., p.41
15. Curti, op. cit.,; Beard and Beard, op.cit., pp.176-182; Cubberly, op.cit.
16. The words of a contemporary, as quoted in Curti, op.cit., p.23
17. Beard and Beard, op.cit., p.177
18. Curti, op. cit., p. 23
19. Cubberly, op. cit., p.82
20. Beard and Beard, op.cit., p.486; also Curti, op. cit., p.581
21. Beard and Beard, op. cit. pp.486-487
22. Ibid., p.487
23. Loc. Cit.
24. Cubberly, op. cit. pp.150-151
25. Counts, George S., The Prospects of American Democracy. New York; John Day Company, 1938, p.112
26. Cubberly, Public Education in the United States, op.cit.p.151 (footnote)
27. Ibid., p.150
28. Reiser, E.H., The Evolution of the Common School, p.273 (Quoted by Cubberly, Ibid., p.150 footnote)
29. Cubberly, op. cit. p.94. (The two exceptions were Rhode Island and Connecticut.)
30. Ibid., pp.94-95
31. Ibid., pp.94-111
32. Beard and Beard, op. cit., p. 494; see also Cubberly, op.cit., pp.112-17
33. Curti, op.cit.p.24
34. Cubberly, op.cit.pp.120-142
35. Beard and Beard, op.cit., pp.725-726
36. By 1845, five additional eastern states had extended the same full voting privileges to their citizens, and "the old requirements had been materially modified in most of the Northern states." Cubberly, op.cit. p.151, also pp.142-52.
37. Ibid., pp. 152-53
38. Beard and Beard, op.cit. p.810
39. Curti, op.cit. p.51
40. Cubberly, Ibid, p.165
41. Ibid, p.166

FOOTNOTES (Cont.)

- 42. Cubberly, Readings in Public Education in the United States, op.cit. pp.167-168
- 43. Ibid. p.168
- 44. Curti, op. cit. pp.90-95, 198
- 45. Beard and Beard, op.cit., pp.810-811; Cubberly, Public Education in the United States, op. cit., p.164; Curti, op.cit., p.198
- 46. Cubberly, Public Education in the United States, op.cit. pp.165-66
- 47. Curti, op. cit. p.60 ff.
- 48. Ibid. pp.77-78,94
- 49. Ibid. p.80
- 50. Ibid., p.82
- 51. Ibid. p.80
- 52. Ibid. p.112
- 53. Cubberly, Readings in the History of Public Education in the United States, pp.160-61
- 54. Cubberly, op. cit. pp.160-61 (Readings)
- 55. Cubberly, op. cit. p.173 (Public Education)
- 56. Ibid.
- 57. Ibid. p.174
- 58. Ibid.
- 59. Ibid., p.167
- 60. Beard and Beard, op.cit., p.815; see also Cubberly, op.cit., p.281 and Curti, op.cit., p.199
- 61. Beard and Beard, op.cit., p.814
- 62. Cubberly, op. cit., pp.408 ff.
- 63. Cubberly, op.cit. pp.435 ff.
- 64. Cubberly, op. cit. pp.664 ff.