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On Citizenship: The Evolution of Civic Education from Mann to Meier

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ON CITIZENSHIP:
THE EVOLUTION OF CIVIC EDUCATION FROM MANN TO MEIER

Senior Project Submitted to
The Division of the Social Studies
of Bard College

by
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Annandale-on-Hudson, New York
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In exploring the various dimensions of the public school system in this country, it's been impossible for me to forget the history my family has had with education. My mother is a teacher, and has been for the majority of my life. Her mother, like her grandfather before her, was a teacher, and will never let you forget it. My father, whose grandfather was a rabbi, spent many years as an English teacher, as well as a music teacher. And finally, as if there weren't already enough in the family, there's my first cousin, who has spent her post-undergraduate years teaching at inner city charter schools in New York. All of them, though engaging in the profession at different points, and in different places, were mobilized by a similar desire to make a difference. They chose to use the profession as a means of furthering their intellectual pursuits, but also as a means of performing a civic duty. To quote my mother, "I have always chosen professions that are so-called 'helping professions.' Teaching, perhaps more than many, is transformational. There is an ancient teaching in Judaism and in other religions that, 'whoever saves one life, saves all of humanity.' This belief drives me, which is why I (and I suspect Grandma) wanted to teach instead of choosing other types of work."

In an effort to recognize my mother's words, I would like to acknowledge her before anyone else. Her strength and sense of self have always been an inspiration to me. I love her so much. To my father, who has always been there for her, and for me: I love you too. To my closest friends at Bard: Kevin Barbosa, Kabir Khana, and Liam Hopkins. You have been a constant source of support through this process. Thank you so much. And last, but definitely, definitely, not least, to Halina Piasecki. I could not have done this without you. I love you.

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Introduction

In John Stuart Mill's (1806- 1873) view, controlling the possible abuses of political power was central to the stability of a democracy. "Men, as well as women," he posited, "do not need political rights in order that they may govern, but in order that they may not be misgoverned."¹ Echoing the tenets of classical liberalism, Mill pursued a political design that tempered a presumed set of negative effects intrinsic to a government of the people. He argues that a constitution balances the values of the state with the values of the people. A constitution therefore establishes a legal foundation away from which a state cannot deviate. The point of all these guidelines for Mill was to act as a means of protecting the freedom of each citizen through protecting the people from being "misgoverned."

Indeed, Mill was reluctant in trusting the state as the sole provider of guidance for its citizens. In this way, Mill argued for stricter limitations upon the government's actions. As Alfonso Damico (1942-present) writes on Mill's behalf, "Freedom, whether it is defined as the enjoyment of natural rights or as the absence of restraints, is seen as dependent upon a system of mutual forbearance whereby each man can enjoy his liberty so long as he does not interfere with others."² By virtue of this testament, the citizen inherited an imperative role in society, in balancing his own conception of freedom with the freedom of others. In this way, each citizen must check his own rights in order not to negatively interfere with the rights of others. This establishes a symbiotic relationship wherein each citizen is not only responsible for his own actions and desires within society, but also is responsible for allowing other citizens these same inalienable rights. Through this system, the implications of Mill's argument coincide with equal political participation of the people. In representing an equally balanced relationship between the

¹ Alfonso Damico, *Individuality and Community*, (Ohio State University: 1971) 159

² Damico (1971) 103

government and the citizens, Mill thereby champions an ideal political coalescence of both citizen and state to provide for internal governmental balance.

As Mill posited, a “superior” defense of democracy did exist. The most legitimate check to the each citizen’s personal needs and desires culminated in the government’s contribution to each citizen’s political education. He wrote:

The first element of good government, therefore, being the virtue and intelligence of the human beings composing the community, the most important point of excellence which any form of government can possess is to promote the virtue and intelligence of the people themselves... The government which does this the best has every likelihood of being the best in all other respects, since it is on these qualities, so far as they exist in the people, that all possibility of goodness in the practical operations of the government depends.³

Effectively, democracy directly relates to political participation and education, in that, as Damico underscores, the “emphasis...is not simply upon the control of power but upon politics as a form of civic virtue and education whereby power is widely shared and individuals are socially minded.”⁴ Democracy then, as articulated by Mill, was an inherently selfless type of political organization; one that focused on the welfare of the community as a whole, instead of on a single class of individuals. In advocating for the significance of educating each individual within a greater community, Mill emphasizes the need for political education within a society based on political participation. If the state expects each citizen to contribute toward the betterment of the political mechanism, then each citizen must be educated in a way that enhances his ability to advocate for himself among the concerns of others. If each citizen understands his rights and how to advocate for them, then the political system will inevitably be based on the consolidation

³ Damico (1971) 159

⁴ Damico (1971) 160

of many educated, if not differing, views. This establishes a paradigm wherein each citizen need not agree with the tenets of others, but due to each citizen's ability to advocate for himself, no discrepancy occurs between different classes of people in the same given society.

Unfortunately, United States history has proven that the politics of exclusion have been and remain prevalent within our society, and that in practice the United States government does not utilize an idealizing theory. Even today, not every citizen has been afforded the right to participate within the confines of the state. Although our governmental system bases itself on an original abstract theory of democracy (from the original Greek *demos cratia*, or rule by the people)⁵ this definition begs the question: which people are ruling within society? Originally conceptualized in Aristotle's *Politics* (350 BCE), the definition of citizenship as illustrated within ancient Greece illustrated both the complexity, and longevity of this issue of political participation. Aristotle was aware of these difficulties (III, 1). The question was who should be counted as a citizen? For example, much like today, the task of determining what rights and liberties immigrants and refugees have has remained both problematic and controversial. Therefore, arguing that all inhabitants are citizens, regardless of creed, ethnicity, or background maintains an inherently progressive conception of citizenship, one in contrast to the reality of classifying citizenship status in America, and originally in ancient Greece. In Aristotle's view, "He who has the power to share in deliberative or judicial office of any state is said by us to be a citizen of that state; and speaking generally, a city is a group of such persons adequate for a self sufficient life (III, 1 1275b19-21)." Aristotle's qualification bears an exclusionary element, since he did not bestow the same rights to every single body within a given polity.⁶ Only native,

⁵Liddell and Scott define δημοκρατία (democratia) in their *Intermediate Greek English Lexicon* as "popular government or democracy," 183

⁶ Donald Morrison, *Aristotle's Definition of Citizenship: A Problem and Some Solutions* (University of Illinois Press, North American Philosophical Publications, 1999) 144-145

freeborn males could be classified as enfranchised in his view of a democratic state. As a product of this mode of classification, women, children, immigrants, and refugees, among other groups of people, could not become enfranchised citizens. As a result, they could not participate in either the legal or political systems.

Irrespective of the exclusionary element in Aristotle's *Politics*, the main goal of the regime that he envisioned was to promote the common good. This conception of the common good in itself shared similarities with the democratic design for which John Stuart Mill advocated. While the former sought to organize the state in such a fashion that promoted the interests of the *politeia*, or the rights of citizens,⁷ the latter similarly understood the role of the people as promoting the interests of the state as a function of having also bolstered the welfare of smaller communities. This reflexive relationship, despite Aristotle's fear of the majority unjustly mistreating the minority, and Mill's calculated view on the negative state, was one of checks and balances.⁸ Moreover, the implications of both Aristotle and Mill's arguments both highlight the importance of the role of the citizen as advocator for the transference of pressure onto the governing bodies of their respective societies.

As Alfonso Damico reminds us, "The task of politics is an infinitely more varied and difficult one."⁹ In saying this, Damico calls attention to the idealized vision of society presented by the conception founded in classical liberalism. While this school of thought recognized an unequal relationship between the status of the citizen and of the state, Damico argues that an unequal relationship also exists between different classes of citizens. He speaks to this point,

⁷Liddell and Scott define *πολιτεία* (*politeia*) in their *Intermediate Greek English Lexicon* as "the condition and rights of a citizen; citizenship," 654.

⁸ Damico (1971) 102-103

⁹ Damico (1971) 108

“The creation of a positive pattern of interactions between the individual and his environment,”¹⁰ must transcend the “view of society where individuals, on one side, confront various coercive social institutions, on the other side.”¹¹ This theory of an atomistic individualism argued that this individualism must be tempered by a social contract dependent upon the equal education of the civic body. The idea of political participation therefore addressed this problematic condition by working to enhance the political awareness of the citizenry. In doing so, the objective became to realize the promise of politics more broadly. Through public action and equal education, this model aimed to work toward alleviating negative social forces, and proved less costly and more auspicious than working individually.¹²

Similarly, for John Dewey (1859- 1952), political education led to a more informed citizenry, and therefore was fundamental to improving the social dynamics of society.¹³ For him, in realizing his idea of a “social man,” the design and role of the community were brought to the forefront of discussion surrounding governance and political education. As Dewey wrote in *Ethics of Democracy*, “Man had to be seen as an essentially social being, joined to other men in a social organism by a common will.”¹⁴ In contrast to the conceptual framework supporting an atomistic individualism, Dewey promoted quite the opposite: the citizenry was constituted by various and sundry publics, brought into being by negative externalities thrust upon them. These

¹⁰ Damico (1971) 108

¹¹ Alfonso Damico, *Individuality and Community*, (University of Florida Press: 1978) 73

¹² Damico (1971) 187

¹³ “The political and governmental phase of democracy is a means, the best means so far found for realizing ends that lie in the wide domain of human relationships and the development of human personality. It is, as we often say, thought perhaps without appreciating all that is involved in the saying, a way of life, social and individual. The keynote of democracy as a way of life may be expressed, it seems to me, as the necessity for the participation of every mature human being in formation of the values that regulate the living of men together: which is necessary from the standpoint of both the general social welfare and the full development of human beings as individuals.” Damico (1971) 186

¹⁴ John Dewey, *The Ethics of Democracy* (University of Michigan, Philosophical Papers, Second Series, Number 1. Andrews & Company Publishers, 1888) 7

externalities were brought forth namely by the state or by the market, which were grounded by similar interests, shared intentions, and mediated by an efficient communication system. In practice, this form of government precluded any distortions, or unclear and dubious behaviors and interpretations from arising, but in theory, the government could not account for the discrepancies in wealth, education, and background imposed upon the citizenry by the politics of exclusion, discussed above. Therefore, political education for Dewey aimed to eliminate these discrepancies and provide for a civic body as a community, with regard to the unique circumstances of each citizen.

Indeed, Dewey believed that the role of communication was central to resolving democratic issues.¹⁵ As communication relates to the subject of information, it assumes a dynamic influence over society; communication can either be used to distort reality, as with propaganda for instance, or it can be used to alleviate societal issues, and properly organize “publics” so that they may subsist as meaningful networks that promote the mutual interests of its members.¹⁶ In *The Public and Its Problems*, communication formed the ability to make public deliberation fruitful. Through employing an optimistic view with respect to the potential role that communication could play, Dewey wrote, “To learn to be human is to develop through the give-and-take of communication an effective sense of being an individually distinctive member of a community; one who understands and appreciates its beliefs, desires and methods, and who contributes to a further conversion of organic powers into human resources and values.”¹⁷ In

¹⁵ Damico (1971) 63

¹⁶ “There is more than a verbal tie between the words common, community, and communication. Men live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common. What they must have in common in order to form a community or society are aims, beliefs, aspirations, knowledge—a common understanding—like-mindedness as the sociologists say.” Damico (1971) 62-63; John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, p. 83

¹⁷ Dewey, John. *The Public and Its Problems* (New York: Henry Holt, 1927) 332

positing that communication could improve the welfare of “publics,” and of their participation in politics, Dewey argued for a more pragmatic approach to the structure of communities.

However, communication itself requires effort. Only if “publics” expend that effort can they form more cohesive groups and depart from a multitude of societal inhibitions. In learning how to accommodate for these ends, members of a given community are naturally faced with different perceptions, which they must reconcile in order to move forward. For Dewey, education satisfied the role of accounting for them, and in addition, imported a means of incentivizing members of a community to discover avenues of resolution.¹⁸ Damico also speaks to this point, and argues, “An important part of a student's education is learning how to actively cooperate with others who share his desire to better understand some problem or subject.”¹⁹ In this way, education extends beyond obtaining knowledge for self use, and impels students to develop relationships with one another in order to achieve common goals. The role of education therefore encompasses both personal knowledge, in order to act within a political system, and the skills necessary to understand the needs of others, in order to balance these with the needs of the self to develop an integrated and rational society based on community.

Through applying Dewey’s conceptual framework surrounding education to the national level, the element of citizenship assumes the central role. In that the primary intent of schools is to both teach students how to function in small communities, and how to prioritize the shared interests of the group over their own, citizenship as a principle perpetuates this dynamic and engenders a political environment amenable to a more balanced democracy. Damico writes to this point, “Individuals must also learn how to be citizens. Through a process of open inquiry and communication, citizens in a democracy learn that the state is more than just a piece of

¹⁸ Damico (1971) 63

¹⁹ Damico (1971) 6

machinery for personal safety and common convenience. Rather, politics becomes an activity for solving men's collective problems through collective participation and action.”²⁰ In effect, this was civic education: a type of schooling that efficiently prepares for a national, political environment, which satisfies the general principles of a balanced, democratic system.

This project aims to elucidate the different definitions of civic education through time, and to accommodate for the many events within the United States that have led to different reforms of this concept. By taking a historical and diachronic approach, this project emphasizes the differing needs for civic education through time. The chapter starts with the work of Horace Mann (1796-1859) and his early educational philosophy, based on the religious concepts of Calvinism, and later on phrenology. The chapter goes on to analyze his many different attempts to propagate a moral education, and his modes and methods of accomplishing this goal. This analysis underscores the role of moral value systems on providing for communities of people. The chapter goes on to analyze the foundation of the Common School Movement, which stems from these ideals, with the work of Catharine Beecher (1800-1878). Beecher also championed a moral education, and sought to teach her students to act. The chapter analyzes her attempt at education both on the Northeast and later on the frontier. In studying both Mann and Beecher, a new definition for civic education emerges. This chapter ends by analyzing the joint impact of both Mann and Beecher on subsequent practices of civic education.

The second chapter of this project highlights the issue of race during Reconstruction, and the impact of educational practices on informing the views of men of color. This chapter begins with the cultural context of this era before analyzing the life and philosophy of W.E.B Du Bois (1868-1963). By analyzing the alternate education received by DuBois as opposed to other men of color, this chapter highlights the impact of education in determining one's role within society

²⁰ Damico (1971) 6

and the methods used to advocate for personal rights. This chapter then goes on to discuss the life and works of Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) and juxtaposes his life and education through the institution of slavery. By acknowledging the different factors present within the educations of both Du Bois and Washington, this chapter highlights the inherent discrepancies within the educational system at this time, and the widespread impacts of these inequalities and inconsistencies. This chapter concludes with analyses of the legacies of both men, and the differing ability of each to advocate for himself within a society governed by and for white men.

The last chapter of this project explores the cultural context of the Civil Rights Movement, and goes on to analyze the impact of the ESEA (Elementary and Secondary Education Act) passed by Lyndon B. Johnson (1908-1973) in 1964. The chapter goes on to study the impact and issues highlighted by this bill. From there, the chapter goes on to discuss the educational philosophy of the era, through the inception of the Open Class Movement. From there the chapter studies the educational approach of Herbert R. Kohl (1937-present). By establishing the values of community within his own classroom, Kohl acknowledges the external factors of oppression in the community beyond the classroom, and teaches his students to facilitate their growth both in and out of school. Deborah Meier (1931-present) expands on this notion of a democratic classroom environment, and teaches civic education through communication between teachers and students, which inspires joint respect and fosters a community within the institution. Both these educators elucidate the ways in which a classroom can serve as a microcosm for the world, and thus prepare their students for their roles as citizens.

This project highlights the evolution of civic education as the definition of citizenship changes through time. In understanding the different historical periods in this project, the different methods and modes of educational practice are contextualized. Each historical moment

calls for a different type of education, yet all of these educators through time elaborate on the values of a democratic and civic education. This project aims to uncover the origins of these ideals, study their progress through time, and understand how different events and contexts propel these modes of teaching forward.

I. Religion & Community

Within the history of educational philosophy, American education has been directly influenced by the adoption of democratic values. These democratic values manifest themselves in many different ways. A historical approach, or the study of the evolution and definition of democratic ideals, necessitates the understanding of the principles of American education more generally. The fundamental element derived from the concept of democratic virtues materializes within the practice of civic education. In essence, civic education offers the capacity for an individual's engagement with society. This relationship between the individual and the larger national context demands the renunciation of personal interests in favor of the interests of a greater public. Adopting the principles of civic education initiates a relationship between the student and society, whereby the student recognizes that he or she functions within a larger context, outside of personal desires and modes of thought. The student does not sacrifice their talents and interests; rather, they use these talents and interests to aid society as opposed to the self.

To begin this historical approach, this chapter analyzes the discourse surrounding democratic and civic education pioneered in the modes of thought and personal achievements of Horace Mann (1796-1859). The philosophy of this educator thus represented a coalescence between democratic and civic values. In Mann's life's work, he emphasizes the necessity for self-improvement through an acknowledgment of the interests of the community at large. After discussing the religious influence of Calvinist doctrine on Mann's work, this chapter goes on to analyze the effects of his teaching on Catharine Beecher (1800-1878), and her educational philosophy. By examining her approach to education through the Common School movement,

Mann's influence remains apparent, and Beecher's philosophy solidifies his preexisting beliefs.²¹ In comparing the theory and practice of these prominent figures in education, this chapter provides a background for continued study of both civic, and democratic education, and the ability of these two values to function in unison.

Horace Mann's teachings, philosophy, and achievements have designated him as one of the foremost contributors to the American educational system.²² Mann served on the Massachusetts State legislature (1827-1837), and later as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. Mann was eventually admitted to the United States House of Representatives in 1848, serving until 1853 after many years of public service. Even afterwards, Mann continued to work for the public good, as he saw fit. By 1852, a year before retiring from his position in the House, Mann transitioned one last time. To the chagrin of the people of Massachusetts, and more specifically of those at a convention of the Free Democracy of the State in Lowell, Mann rejected a nomination for Governor on the same day as being chosen as Antioch College's first president.²³

Growing up on a farm in Franklin, Massachusetts, which was a town southwest of Boston, Horace Mann became a rather socially conservative character. Rarely offering to open up to other people, or engage in youthful debaucheries, typical of individuals his age, Mann's personality would rightly be described as reserved.²⁴ This reserve then translated into an

²¹ June Edwards, *Women in American Education, 1820-1955: The Female Force and Educational Reform*, (Westport:Connecticut, 2002) 7

²² Paul E. Peterson, *Saving Schools: From Horace Mann to Virtual Learning*, (Cambridge: Massachusetts, 2010) 21

²³ Mary Peabody Mann, *Life of Horace Mann*, (Washington:D.C., 1937) 383

²⁴ Even in interactions with his mother, with whom Horace stayed in close contact with until he was twenty years old, his wife, Mary Peabody Mann wrote, "His habits of reserve were such, that, by his own account, he never told even his mother of personal physical sufferings until they revealed themselves by their own intensity; and of his mental emotions he never thought of any thing but to keep them to himself." M.Mann (1937) 9

introspective and deep way of thinking, inspiring Mann towards religious pursuits and modes of thought, which then impacted his later pedagogical approach.²⁵

Impressed by his preacher, Dr. Emmons, a so-called hyper-Calvinist who had been employed by the people of Franklin for more than fifty years, Horace's early childhood established itself as one marked by the philosophies of his pastor. Mann referred to this pastor subsequently:

A man of pure intellect, whose logic was never softened in its severity by the infusion of any kindness of sentiment. He expounded all the doctrines of total depravity, election, and reprobation, and not only the eternity, but the extremity, of hell-torments, unflinchingly and in their most terrible significance; while he rarely if ever descanted upon the joys of heaven, and never, to my recollection, upon the essential and necessary happiness of a virtuous life.²⁶

Mann discloses the significance of his pastor's effect on his spiritual and mental life, and in doing so discovers Calvinism's more reflexive nature. These concepts of "depravity, reprobation, and hell-torment," as a polarized worldview, solely focused on sin and human torment. However, as a result, this allowed Mann to conceptualize his own views on his faith in opposition to his pastor's.²⁷

While it wasn't until Mann was twelve in which he made the choice to reject John Calvin's doctrine, once he had, his vision of society, and how to engage with it became immutable.²⁸ In a letter to a friend Mann wrote, "From that day, I began to construct the theory of Christian ethics and doctrine respecting virtue *and* vice, rewards *and* penalties, time *and* eternity, God *and* his providence, which, with such modifications as advancing age and a wider

²⁵ Peterson (2010) 27

²⁶ M.Mann (1937) 13

²⁷ Peterson (2010) 26

²⁸ M.Mann (1937) 15

vision must impart, I still retain, and out of which my life has flowed.”²⁹ As corroborated by Mann’s letter expressing the application of the ideals impressed upon him, through the process of his transition he demonstrated a self-imposed understanding, which highlighted the positive effects that his religious values could deliver. Instead of solely espousing a life colored entirely by contempt and sin, as a function of introversion Mann effectively turned Dr. Emmons teachings on their head.

Indeed, Mann’s upbringing was heavily influenced by religion. Being subjected to Calvinist doctrine, Mann was coerced to follow a strict, but measured interpretation of theological teachings³⁰. In comparison to other religious sects of Christianity, Calvinism understood an individual’s life on earth to be predetermined before birth. Such as one’s life was or would reveal itself to be, insofar as being constituted by “total depravity,” Calvinists believed God’s will was unconditional.³¹ More specifically, election, namely those individuals whom God chose to be saved, did not have the ability to change their destiny. In a letter to Mann’s sister in July of 1836, he wrote:

We are, to be sure, to love God; yet it is not for his welfare, but for our own. The individual who does not feel that love, is bereft of a source of unfailing happiness; but he may still perform the first of duties towards his fellow-men: and much higher do I believe he stands in the scale of moral being, who faithfully with his Maker may be feeble and interrupted, than the man whose contemplations are so fastened upon the Deity, that he forgets those children of the Deity who require his aid.³²

²⁹ M.Mann (1937) 15, emphasis mine

³⁰ Mann writes, “Like all children, I believed what I was taught. To my vivid imagination, a physical hell was a living reality, as much so as though I could have heard the shrieks of the tormented, or stretched out my hand to grasp their burning souls, in a vain endeavor for their rescue.” M.Mann (1937) 14

³¹ Mann writes, “Had there been any possibility of escape, could penance, fasting, self-inflicted wounds, or the pains of a thousand martyr-deaths, have averted the fate, my agony of apprehension would have been alleviated; but there, beyond effort, beyond virtue, beyond hope, was this irreversible decree of Jehovah, immutable, from everlasting to everlasting.” M.Mann (1937) 14

³² M.Mann (1937) 50

In effect, Mann's early childhood, as impressed by Calvinist doctrine, was accordingly defined. Although while his interpretation of theology supported several of its tenets, namely in embracing the notion of sin, Mann clearly imposed his own understanding. In contrast to Dr. Emmons, a man whose sermons were ostensibly devoid of the "joys of heaven," or of the means one could employ to lead "a virtuous life," Mann compensated for these insufficiencies by exhibiting a visceral, and protracted desire to help his proverbial neighbor.³³ In this way, Mann formed his own conception of what it meant to be a citizen within a larger context, rather how to subsist within a single community, dictated by strict theological precepts.

Through his newfound interpretation of Calvinism, manifested most acutely after he graduated from Brown University³⁴, Mann determined that the cultivation of knowledge exemplified his ideal practice. In reconceptualizing his loyalty to God as reverence for knowledge, he felt that one's relationship with their consciousness intrinsically became a reflection of God's will.³⁵ As a result, Mann's practice remained aligned with religion. Stemming from a central tenet of Christianity, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you," Mann allowed his personal and professional life to be well informed by this understanding. Mann's life was fully documented by his wife, Mary Peabody Mann, in her text, *The Life of Horace Mann*. She speaks to this conception:

He wished every child of God to be so situated as to lay hold of the means of self-improvement. He considered it the first duty of government to put these means within the reach of everyone. He did not believe that men were created to minister to their own pleasures, or even to their own self-improvement merely; indeed, he did not believe that

³³ "Where he saw fidelity to duty, love to man, allegiance to God, he gave his great heart. He recognized the tie which binds man to God even in the humblest form of piety in the simple and ignorant, and no less in those who acknowledged it amidst the errors and tyranny of human creeds." M.Mann (1937) 44

³⁴ "The Unitarian sect was nearly unknown, and 'everywhere spoken against,' at the time he went to college; and he did not go where it prevailed, but to Brown University, where, while he was a scholar, there was what is called a 'revival of religion.'" M.Mann (1937) 18

³⁵ M.Mann (1937) 61

any self-improvement could be vital which did not consciously ally itself with the improvement of others.³⁶

As a result, Mann's conception of the purpose of knowledge came to define the foundation of his seminal contribution to society. As it would later be termed, the Common School movement, Mann's desire to cultivate self-improvement as allied with communal development would initiate the public school system that has grown into the educational institutions the United States retains today.³⁷

Common Schools were, in principle, theoretically rooted in the frameworks arranged by the early Pilgrims.³⁸ Given the social dynamic between those early Americans taking refuge within the borders of the New World, and the oppressive English governments that they fled from, the Pilgrims' agendas posited ideals of individual choice (similar to Calvinists, Puritans also enforced volitional claims to faith), and of a social contract, which sought to engender an agreeable, and necessarily inclusive form of societal planning. As Mary Mann wrote, "Common and equal opportunities of education for all was the primitive idea of those men who had been so signally made to feel how unequally human rights were shared."³⁹ Theoretically, the intent of this ideal, 'common and equal opportunity,' was meant to inculcate a sense of community within society, reinforcing the impact that a mutual value system could deliver. In uplifting these ethical standards for communal living, maintaining shared interests, common goals, and a similar moral code were brought to the foreground. For Mann, the foundation of Common Schools themselves constituted these same ideals. In his view, the school, as a democratic institution offered to all

³⁶ M.Mann (1937) 61

³⁷ Peterson (2010) 21

³⁸ M.Mann (1937) 63

³⁹ M.Mann (1937) 63

classes, constituted itself with these ideals in order to propagate them through its students and into society at large.⁴⁰

This mode of thought and language bore on the ideals practiced and exalted by Mann, as he chose to champion religious concepts within his own ideal vision of education.⁴¹ For him, religion was the locus by which these ideals were transferred. As he wrote in a letter dated April 28, 1848, “You [Rev. D. Wight, Jun.] ask whether ‘literary qualifications’ alone are sufficient for a teacher. I answer, that, in my opinion, they are not. Moral qualifications, and ability to inculcate and enforce the Christian virtues, I consider to be even of greater moment than literary attainments.”⁴² In accordance with this opinion, the Common School movement illuminated Mann’s insistence on the role of religion within education, but more importantly, of Mann’s desire to engender the proliferation of moral values. Determined to engender a shift in the audience that schooling at large was to affect, a central interest of the movement was to expand the student body from only benefitting the elite.⁴³ This elite was primarily comprised of property-holding white children. The less enfranchised groups, namely those whom could not afford to be educated in the first place, or whose natural characteristics such as class, constrained them to a specified social stratum, did not benefit from these previous models.

Therefore, Mann desired to engender these moral virtues across classes, and this desire led him to initiate the Common School Movement. This movement addressed the issues Mann took with previous models of education⁴⁴, and was based on the concept of phrenology. The “science” of phrenology studied the sizes and shapes of people’s head to determine their moral

⁴⁰ M.Mann (1937) 63-64

⁴¹ Peterson (2010) 27

⁴² M.Mann (1937) 262

⁴³ M. Mann (1937) 63

⁴⁴ Peterson (2010) 17

and intellectual nature.⁴⁵ Although now considered the base for the eugenics movement, for Mann phrenology complicated his relationship with religion and combined religion with the moral interests that aligned with Christian ethics.⁴⁶ Mann believed in the Common School Movement for the same reasons, and defined the success of the Common School Movement by its ability to make moral education accessible to all classes of people.⁴⁷ For Mann, value systems trumped intellect, and the underlying intentions of the Common School Movement were to recreate society in the shape of Christian ethics, or an ideal. He instituted these beliefs in the Massachusetts Board of Education, and founded a school in Lexington, Massachusetts to propagate these teachings and instill the value of moral education.⁴⁸

In order to enact these changes within a real school system Mann took the position of president at Antioch College. Mann moved to Ohio, where he assumed the college's most esteemed role as president. Mary Peabody Mann writes of Horace's transition to Antioch College, "All was uncertain as to the future, except that an untried enterprise was before him, insuring great labors; but he was animated by a strong hope that he should be able to put into action many long-cherished and favorite views."⁴⁹ For Mann, assuming the position of president was a perfect opportunity to impress the ideals that he had spent a lifetime developing upon a student body. In addition, accepting the responsibility in place of a gubernatorial position, underscored the significance Mann ascribed to the role of education in society, as well as of the virtues he wished to continue promoting.

⁴⁵ Goldstein (2014) 22

⁴⁶ "The teaching of A, B, C, and the multiplication table has no quality of sacredness in it,' he [Mann] said in an 1839 lecture. Instead, the purpose of schooling was to lead students' 'affections outward in good-will towards men, and upward in reverence to God.'" Goldstein (2014) 28

⁴⁷ Goldstein (2014) 31

⁴⁸ Goldstein (2014) 25

⁴⁹ M.Mann (1937) 402

Mann's work set the stage for subsequent innovation within education at large.⁵⁰ Indeed, 19th century American public education was not a necessarily democratic enterprise,⁵¹ let alone widely compulsory.⁵² As illustrated by the class divisions pervasive within the era, only wealthy male citizens were privileged to an allegedly comprehensive, and advanced curriculum.⁵³ Education for women on the other hand was severely limited. Typical of most female educational institutions, schooling was concentrated around, "religious piety, public shaming, and social positioning."⁵⁴ Among the multitudes of women that chose to eventually participate in Mann's pedagogical experiment was Catharine Beecher. Born in East Hampton, NY, on September 6, 1800, to Lyman Beecher, himself an outspoken Calvinist preacher, and the father of Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Catharine Beecher was educated at Litchfield Female Academy, in Litchfield, Connecticut. In 1823, Beecher founded the Hartford Female Seminary where she remained until 1832. From 1829 until 1830, Beecher spearheaded a women's activist movement to protest the Indian Removal Bill orchestrated by President Andrew Jackson. In 1832, Beecher and her father relocated to Cincinnati, Illinois, to advocate for schools and teachers in the frontier. Finally, in 1852, Beecher founded the American Women's Teachers Association.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Peterson (2010) 30

⁵¹ The second chapter substantiates this assertion more comprehensively. However, as exemplified by *Brown v. Board of Education*, de jure segregation within public schools persisted until 1954.

⁵² "Though schools remained in local hands, Massachusetts became, in 1852, the first state to introduce compulsory education..Compulsory education laws also spread, so that by 1918 every state, the last being Mississippi, had a compulsory-education law." Peterson (2010) 30-31

⁵³ Goldstein, Dana. *The Teacher Wars: A History of America's Most Embattled Profession*, (Penguin Random House: 2014) 16-17

⁵⁴ Goldstein, Dana. *The Teacher Wars: A History of America's Most Embattled Profession*, (Penguin Random House: 2014), 17

⁵⁵ Sturges, Michael, "Catharine Beecher, Champion of Women's Education," *ConnecticutHistory.org*, connecticuthistory.org/catharine-beecher-champion-of-womens-education/

In essence, Beecher believed in the significant role of women in education. Her philosophy, and many achievements represent her continued commitment to democratic education, and her belief in the woman's role in the rearing of children.⁵⁶ This concept extends beyond the microcosm of the home, and into the classroom. Writing of Beecher's schooling at Litchfield Female Academy, Dana Goldstein wrote,

Each morning, the students would queue up to submit to a barrage of leading questions posed by the commanding headmistress: Have you been patient in acquiring your lessons? Have you spoken any indecent word or by any action discovered a want of feminine delicacy? Have you combed your hair with a fine-tooth comb and cleaned your teeth every morning? Have you eaten any green fruit during the week?⁵⁷

For Beecher, this form of schooling exhibited the majority of her early experience. In the sense that women were subjected to a narrow and dogmatic approach to learning, Beecher's education would rightly be defined as one of indoctrination. By virtue of its restriction to a formulation that society accepted, even when Beecher moved forward with her schooling, the expectations were that she would become an expert in the domestic arts, and thus better position herself for marriage.⁵⁸ In contrast, men were afforded the right to an education, which prepared them for specialized professions like the ministry, law, medicine, and investment banking, to name a few.⁵⁹

However, like Horace Mann, Beecher came to discover a place for religion in conjunction with public works as she pursued her subsequent passion of education. Despite the inhibitions that religion imposed, and in extension, the gendered discrimination that she

⁵⁶ "Woman, whatever are her relations in life, is necessarily the guardian of the nursery, the companion of childhood, and the constant model of imitation...It is her hand that first stamps impressions on the immortal spirit, that must remain forever." Goldstein (2014) 18; Historian Redding Sugg defined Beecher's conception of the role of the woman as guardian as, "the 'motherteacher' ideal -- the notion that teachings and mothering were much the same job, done in different settings." Ibid.

⁵⁷ Goldstein (2014) 17

⁵⁸ Goldstein (2014) 14

⁵⁹ Goldstein (2014) 18

experienced, Beecher assumed a newfound conviction that conversion did not merely lead to salvation, but that in actively exhibiting an aspiration to do good in the world, one had the capacity to satisfy those ends in practice without necessarily infringing upon a given value system. As she wrote to her father, "The heart must have something to rest upon, and if it is not God, it will be the world."⁶⁰ Ultimately, it was not that Beecher disavowed her faith in Calvinism; it was simply that, for the first time in her life she questioned the abiding structure that controlled her worldview, which consequently opened her mind up to new dimensions.

About a year after Beecher had this epiphany she put the progressive ideology that she consciously developed into action. Although being met with public consternation and bouts of sexism, Beecher founded the Hartford Female Seminary in 1823. The school, being grounded in her experience with an educational institution that largely inhibited learning anything beyond social conventions, taught quite the opposite. It was for Beecher, an opportunity to put pressure on the system. As such, Beecher employed a pedagogical technique that predated John Dewey's conception of teaching the "whole child" by seventy years.⁶¹ Through this holistic approach, Beecher stressed the practice of hands-on learning, taking students outside of the classroom and into the real world.

Additionally, Beecher went against the educational philosophy of the time by teaching her students: Latin, Greek, algebra, chemistry, modern languages, and moral and political philosophy. In her 1827 essay, "Female Education," Beecher wrote, "A lady should study, not to

⁶⁰ Goldstein (2014) 17

⁶¹ Goldstein (2014) 19; Among others, including Dewey, Dr. Joseph Mayer Rice is credited for the inception, or at the very least, the contribution of this idea. Maurice R. Berube writes, "It is the 'whole child' that Rice argues is the target of the 'new' and 'truly progressive spirit' of education. The 'old system,' according to Rice, 'forgets the child' whereas 'the new system is in large part guided by the fact that the child is a frail and tender, loving and loveable human being.'" Maurice R. Berube, *American School Reform: Progressive, Equity, and Excellence Movements, 1883-1933* (Westport:Connecticut, 1994) 17; Joseph Mayer Rice, *The Public School System of the United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1969) 21-23

shine, but to act.’ ‘She is to read books, not to talk of them, but to bring the improvement they furnish...The great uses of study are to enable her to regulate her own mind and to be useful to others.’”⁶² Effectively, Beecher's venture into unknown territory stemmed out of the more human desire of perfectibility, as Jean-Jacques Rousseau so eloquently defined this quality.⁶³ For her, adhering to an educational policy that deviated from the norm reflected an underlying subjective need to, like Horace Mann, help her proverbial neighbor, while concurrently moving the sociopolitical structure forward.

Beecher continued to engender positive action in her students through the belief that public works combined with religion are the ultimate aid to society.⁶⁴ Beecher understood that not every part of the country had access to education or an apparatus for education, and thus decided to spread her teachings and the benefits of the Common School Movement out West. Beecher states to this end, “In one of the best educated western states, one-third of the children are without schools; while it appears, that, in the whole nation there a million and half of children, and nearly as many adults, in the same deplorable ignorance, and without any means of instruction.”⁶⁵ In order to accomplish her goals, Beecher brought well-educated evangelical out West, and placed them in communities that did not have the proper tool necessary for education.⁶⁶ These women, guided by Beecher, were encouraged to instill “a new sense of moral

⁶² Goldstein (2014) 18-19

⁶³ Donald A. Cress, David Wootton, *The Basic Political Writings: Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (Donald A. Cress 2nd Ed) 53; Berube writes, “What Dewey and the other progressive education reformers borrowed from Rousseau was the idea of the child in a state of grace who grows physically, intellectually, and morally. ‘The very meaning of childhood,’ Dewey wrote, ‘is that it is the time of growing, of developing.’ In short, Dewey credited Rousseau with the concept of schooling as ‘a progress of natural growth.’ For Dewey then, Rousseau ‘sounded the keynote of all modern efforts for educational progress.’” Berube (1994) 15-16

⁶⁴ Goldstein (2014) 17

⁶⁵ Edwards (2002) 7

⁶⁶ Goldstein (2014) 29

power” within these communities.⁶⁷ Through attempting to bring education to the frontier, Beecher aimed to nationalize the Common School program and propagate her ideals, and thus establish a means for education in even the most destitute communities.

Both pioneers in education, these educators discovered a means to execute their passions without eliminating the basis by which they were spurned, and in doing so both Mann and Beecher demonstrated the efficacy of the school as a locus of democracy. In founding schools based on the principles of democracy and a moral value system, both Mann and Beecher ascribed a new definition to civic education. The educational institution both characters inhabited suggested that their culture and worldview ought to determine the mode of thought and pedagogy used to teach the student.⁶⁸ In place of this universal approach, the experience of Mann and Beecher exhibited the will for a reconceptualization of those predominant archetypes. In this way, Catharine Beecher's matured opinion constituted itself by action and self-improvement. Horace Mann's personal narrative identified itself with a similar dynamic, but only insofar as he ascribed his behavior to rest in communion with the larger populous as well. Ultimately, individual progress then depended upon collective growth, since only through collective growth could the possibility of genuine individual development come to fruition.

Consequently, the value of the community as a whole elevated the collective above that of the individual and their particular interests. By virtue of this dynamic, the school represented a conglomerate, which subsumed each individual's personal interests in favor of cooperative relationships. This context thrived upon the social, rather than one's private pursuits. As John Dewey wrote for the University of Chicago Press in 1899,

⁶⁷ Goldstein (2014) 29

⁶⁸ Peterson (2010) 16-17

“Here individualism and socialism are at one. Only by being true to the full growth of all the individuals who make it up, can society by any chance be true to itself. And in the self-direction thus given, nothing counts as much as the school, for, as Horace Mann said, ‘Where anything is growing, one former is worth a thousand re-formers.’”⁶⁹ Here Dewey’s conception of the amalgamation of individualism and socialism epitomized the theories of Catharine Beecher and Horace Mann, which could easily have been interpreted in their time as ingenuity, or on the other hand, subversive action. However, through Dewey’s conception, such a mode of interpretation would have dismissed the finer point. The objective was to transcend a view solely of the isolated character, of the brilliance of a given pedagogue, and to instead elevate a different paradigm, which focused on the inevitable social evolution that serendipitously qualified those pedagogues as “formers.”

⁶⁹ John Dewey on Education. Selected Writings: *The School and Society*. Edited and with an Introduction by Reginald D. Archambault, (University of Chicago Press Edition, 1974) 295-296

II. Race & Individuality

This chapter turns to the context of two historical case studies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Du Bois to illuminate the coalescence of theory and practice. To fully understand the theory surrounding education, practice must not be neglected. Through analysis of these men and their lives, contexts, and educational philosophies, the value of civic education in determining their mode of social interaction becomes apparent. As evidenced by the specific framework of a post-Civil War racialized society, the significance of education remains paramount, even within turbulent and tense societal moments.⁷⁰ This chapter will first lay the groundwork for each man's relationship with education, race, and thought, and will then go on to study in detail the discrepancies in approach between these two figures. In establishing the impact of context and education on subsequent actions and thought, this chapter outlines the societal issues highlighted by race, and the differing approaches to living in this society formed through educational practices.

During the Reconstruction era, Radical Republicans and activists demonstrated their solidarity with people of color.⁷¹ The creation of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865, an agency of the U.S. Department of War, primarily assisted freed slaves after the Civil War⁷². In addition, the ratification of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments guaranteed the right to vote regardless of race, and outlawed slavery. Thus, civil rights activists believed in the possibility of

⁷⁰ Jacqueline M. Moore, *Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and the Struggle for Racial Uplift*, (Wilmington: Delaware, 2003) 7; Michael Rudolph West, *The Education of Booker T. Washington*, (Columbia University Press: NY, 2006) 79; *Du Bois and His Rivals*, (University of Missouri Press, Columbia:Missouri, 2002) 50-51

⁷¹ Moore (2003) 7

⁷² Goldstein, Dana. *The Teacher Wars: A History of America's Most Embattled Profession*, (Penguin Random House: 2014) 52

racial cooperation. Indeed, the passage of constitutional laws did not eliminate racism or discrimination, yet, “supporters believed that the vote would allow freedmen to protect themselves.”⁷³ At the time, the federal government demonstrated that political equality was within sight.⁷⁴ However, the steps that the Radical Republicans took towards progress in the way of racial equality evidenced how insufficient those measures were.

Following the enactment of the Amnesty Act in 1872, which in itself succeeded Congressional opposition to President Andrew Johnson (1866-1868), political control reverted back to white Southern Democrats. As a result, because former Confederates became legally allowed to vote again “except for the highest officials and military generals,”⁷⁵ and also regained admission to the Union, southern state governments reinstated discriminatory laws that precluded people of color from political and social participation within society, especially in the South.⁷⁶ Laws were passed that mandated voters to pay a poll tax, and required literacy in order to engage in elections, therefore making political participation next to impossible for newly freed slaves, due to basic education having been prohibited during the antebellum era.

Subsequently, by the election of 1876, the Radical Republicans lost control of Congress to the Democratic Party. Following this event, both parties met at the Wormley Hotel in Washington D.C., and engendered the Compromise of 1877, an agreement which highly influenced the past Congressional elections.⁷⁷ As a result, social inequality and the conditions of people of color became more problematic. In describing the agreement, Jacqueline Moore states, it [the Compromise] in effect, “terminated Reconstruction programs and all military occupations

⁷³ Moore (2003) 8

⁷⁴ Moore (2003) 8-9

⁷⁵ Moore (2003) 9-12

⁷⁶ Moore (2003) 9

⁷⁷ Moore (2003) 9

in the South in exchange for a promise that the South would respect the rights of the freemen.”⁷⁸

In this way, Moore calls attention to actions taken by southern Democrats to again fully disenfranchise people of color. Consequently, a social system was restored that re-established antebellum social customs and norms. With the reversal of all legitimate measures that the Radical Republicans took to install a means of preventing discriminatory laws, and to move away from prejudiced social constructs, by 1896 the Democrats had engendered Jim Crow laws, which made segregation legal.⁷⁹ Accordingly, these sociopolitical dynamics constituted the setting in which Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois lived and acted on behalf of the respective platforms that each individually propagated.

Growing up in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, geography separated Du Bois from the veracity of the race problem. While he lived in rural Berkshire County in Western Massachusetts, black men and women constituted a noticeable minority. Among other places in which Du Bois was affiliated, he attended a white elementary school and Congregational church. As a result, his upbringing differentiated itself from the experience of black children from the Deep South, as he experienced racism, segregation, and discrimination to a much lesser extent. Du Bois reflects on this in *The Autobiography*:

In this way I must have gotten indirectly a pretty clear outline of color bars which I myself did not experience. Moreover, I couldn't rationalize my own case, because I found it easy to excel most of my classmates in studies, if not in games. The secret of life and

⁷⁸ Moore writes, “Neither Republicans nor Democrats expected the South to keep this promise, and African Americans were horrified by the compromise but could do little to stop it.” Moore (2003) 9

⁷⁹ The Supreme Court case, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, authorized Jim Crow laws in 1896. In this case the court demonstrated that it was not appropriate for the government to coerce social equality. In this way, the court thereby allowed segregation as long as state's provided equal accommodations, namely to people of color, e.g. public transportation. Six years before the court heard this case, they also declared that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional. The results of this decision presupposed the grounds necessary (mainly that state's began adopting exclusionary policies) for arguing the subsequent case in 1896. Patterson, James T., *Brown v. Board of Education: A Civil Rights Milestone and Its Troubled Legacy*, (Oxford University Press; New York, 2001).

the loosing of the color bar, then, lay in excellence, in accomplishment. If others of my family, of my colored kin, had stayed in school they could have risen to equal whites. On this my mother quietly insisted. There was no real discrimination on account of color — it was all a matter of ability and hard work.⁸⁰

In order to account for the color line, Du Bois emphasized the significance that classical education played in serving as the means for people of color to elevate themselves. For him, education demonstrated the inherent similarities between people across racial lines. This concept illuminated an underlying inconsistency with the prevailing conceptions regarding character-trait valuations based on race, namely scientific racism. By virtue of his alternate experience growing up in a predominantly white area of the country, Du Bois' personal experience was defined by inclusion in place of integration.⁸¹ This difference revealed to him in an organic way how northern white sensibilities were cultivated through schooling, rather than through inherently elevated properties possessed by whites. In this way, Du Bois believed that black men should have the same opportunities within education as whites, and thus advocated for the value of classical education as opposed to solely an industrial education.

To maintain his belief that black men could use the same apparatus as whites to elevate themselves, Du Bois assumed a unique position in his comprehension of the color line.⁸² Later in his life, he created a categorical definition that illustrated this social construction. For Du Bois, the imagined energy, which maintained a field of separation across the color line, constituted

⁸⁰ Bois, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk: Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*. Ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Terri Hume Oliver, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999) 75

⁸¹ Raymond Wolters writes, "Du Bois was not particularly good at baseball and football, but he was popular with schoolmates because he excelled at running, exploring, telling stories, and planning intricate games." Raymond Wolters, *Du Bois and His Rivals*, (University of Missouri Press, Columbia:Missouri, 2002) 9; In Du Bois' *Autobiography*, he expanded upon this experience, "In the ordinary social affairs of the village — the Sunday School with its picnics and festivals; the temporary skating rink in the Town Hall; the coasting in crowds on all the hills — in all of these, I took part with no thought of discrimination on the part of my fellows, for that I would have been the first to notice." Gates, Oliver, (1999) 94.

⁸² Gates, Oliver, (1999) 75.

itself in the form of a “veil.” He states, “There was no real wall between us... white people were just the same as I.”⁸³ Through his definition of said wall, the veil, Du Bois in extension came to understand the power of habit-making. For him, conceptualizing the effects that habit-formations had on society was akin to social conditioning.

Du Bois later discusses this concept in *The White World*, in that he writes, “The present attitude and action of the white world is not based solely upon rational, deliberate intent. It is a matter of conditioned reflexes; of long followed habits, customs and folkways; of subconscious trains of reasoning and unconscious nervous reflexes.”⁸⁴ Consequently, the struggle for racial uplift in Du Bois’ view demonstrated the existence of habit-formations, as forming within racialized schools. These ideals then persisted through their perpetuation in segregated communities, and presented a means for the affirmation of the color-line. In essence, the shortcomings of the Reconstruction Era became highlighted by social relations, such that the modes of social interaction themselves affected one’s perception of the race problem in general⁸⁵.

A classical education therefore helped other black students understand the totality of the world they lived in instead of just one vocational trade. From his own experience, Du Bois understood the power of thought, and believed that a classical education helped people of color understand the underlying systems of oppression within society. Through this understanding, Du Bois then believed that black men would weaponize this knowledge, and use it to both empower themselves and make informed political decisions. By publishing his writings, such as *The Souls*

⁸³ Bois, W. E. B., and Nathan Irvin Huggins. *Writings*. 8th ed. (New York, N.Y.) Literary Classics of the United States, 1986. 653

⁸⁴ Huggins (1986) 679

⁸⁵ In chapter nine of the *Souls of Black Folk: Of the Sons of Master and Man*, Du Bois calls attention to the role that physical proximity plays in affecting racial cooperation. In doing so, he argues for minority representation, and black solidarity. Huggins (1986) 477-478

of *Black Folk*, Du Bois maintained his program and aimed to appeal to a wider black audience. He urged his readers to understand the arbitrary distinctions between black and white people, and overthrow the power structure in place through a new mode of thinking.

Du Bois released many other writings, and published *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) to combat predominant views of scientific racism.⁸⁶ This text served to illustrate the sociological underpinnings of scientific racism to both blacks and whites. Through publishing this text, Du Bois aimed to provide a concrete sociological background to the tenets of scientific racism, and thus help his readers understand that these were constructs, not truths. In publishing this text, Du Bois maintained his program, and continued to champion the value of a classical education, through scientific study, to dispel widespread and systematized forms of oppression.⁸⁷

After finishing *The Philadelphia Negro*, and before it was published, Du Bois used this sociological framework to implement new methods of teaching at Atlanta University in 1897. Here he instituted arguably the first scientific school of American sociology.⁸⁸ Du Bois' goal in establishing this school was to provide a compliment to his writings, such as *The Philadelphia Negro*, and thus help black students understand the scientific and sociological background which disproved the beliefs of scientific racism. Du Bois speaks to his goals, "The world was thinking wrong about race because it did not know. The ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific investigation."⁸⁹ Du Bois scientific approach served to ground his views on the color line and the "veil" as he provided concrete evidence for the social construction of racism. In publishing his works and revolutionizing the school of sociology at

⁸⁶ Aldon Morris, *The Scholar Denied: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Birth of Modern Sociology*, (University of California Press: 2015), 45.

⁸⁷ Morris, (2015), 46.

⁸⁸ Morris, (2015), 57.

⁸⁹ Du Bois; Gates; Oliver, (1999), 197.

Atlanta University, Du Bois carried out his program and appealed to black students at the source to propagate and proliferate his beliefs.

In actively educating the black community through the study of sociology, Du Bois demonstrated the importance of a classical education for people of color. Du Bois believed that the predominance of scientifically racist habits and beliefs necessitated contrary empirical evidence to factually disprove these widely held views. A classical education proved invaluable in this pursuit, as Du Bois spread his teachings and combatted one form of “science” with sociological study and research. By becoming an educator himself, Du Bois undertook the role of educating the black civic body (the students at Atlanta University) and, thus, prepared them for expanded sociological, political, and scientific thought outside of the classroom.

A completely alternate school of thought surrounding the education of people of color emerged in the writings and teachings of Booker T. Washington. In contrast to Du Bois’ upbringing in idyllic Great Barrington, Booker T. Washington grew up in slavery. Washington grew up without the presence of a father-figure until enrolling in the Hampton school.⁹⁰ Upon his enrollment, his headmaster, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, assumed that surrogate role. Washington’s worldview from an early age predicated itself upon “the period that I spent in slavery.”⁹¹ In reference to his upbringing, West quotes Washington, and then adds further analysis, “The early years of my life...were not very different from those of thousands of other slaves’ ...’I was born in a typical log cabin,’ and it was there where he spent the better part of his first decade.”⁹² In describing Washington’s “home,” Michael West emphasizes the poor living conditions Washington dwelt in for a large part of his life.

⁹⁰ “Washington thought of Armstrong as the father he had never had; he modeled himself after the man, and Tuskegee after Hampton.” Moore (2003) 23; Wolters (2002) 45

⁹¹ West (2006) 74

⁹² West (2006) 71-72

Although Washington's living conditions were indicative of his determined position within the institution of slavery, Washington states that his life was not altogether despicable in comparison to the lives of other slaves. Michael West speaks to this point, "For Washington, his Master's, James Burroughs' residence, assumed the title of the 'Big House,' and while a slave, he [Washington] came to recognize his Master's family as not "especially cruel ... as compared with many others."⁹³ This quote from Washington stands in juxtaposition to many of his other quotes. As evidenced by a particularly grim memory that Washington himself understood as leaving the "deepest impression" upon his overall perception of slavery, Washington certainly recalled witnessing his uncle Monroe tied to a tree, and struck repeatedly with a cowhide whip. He wrote, "As each blow touched his back the cry, 'Pray, master! Pray, master!' came from his lips, and made an impression upon my boyish heart that I shall carry with me to my grave."⁹⁴ This discrepancy between Washington's memories of his time as a slave represent Washington's conscious effort to disguise his hardships to appeal to white Southerners.⁹⁵ This attempt to mask his years of hardship in order to gain favor with a white audience has been posthumously examined by historians, but during his own life this tactic proved quite successful for Washington in terms of his own advancement.⁹⁶ This example represents Washington's ability to

⁹³ West (2006) 73; Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 38.

⁹⁴ West (2006) 73; Booker T. Washington, *The Story of My Life and Work* (Toronto: J. L. Nichols & Co., 1900).

⁹⁵ West (2006) 78-79; "In the long term, Washington sought full equality for his race, but he effectively masked the ultimate implication of his social philosophy." Wolters (2002) 53

⁹⁶ West writes, "The contents of Washington's history are features of an advertisement for himself broadcast for the attention and donations of the nation. If he can be generous to white people, including former slaveholders, that stands him in good stead in his competition with rival Negro educators and other alms-seekers in the homes, offices, and churches of the North and South...And while all this may not make Northern white people at the turn of the century say Washington is the best man of the South and thus its natural leader, their inclining in that direction redounds to his benefit, too, because it means he will receive a decent hearing from them, and a hearing is a prerequisite to checkbooks being pulled out and purses opened." West (2006) 79

maneuver within a predominantly white system to achieve his own goals, mainly establishing a framework for racial cooperation through vocational education.⁹⁷

Washington continued with this facade, and wrote in *The Story of My Life and Work*, that the hardships he faced in growing up as a slave did not diminish his character.⁹⁸ In reality, as he recalled, his experience distinguished itself in that, despite the brutality he witnessed, he was afforded a relatively stable existence. He was not bought and sold or sporadically relocated, ordered to endure endless days of hard labor, or subjected to a life of separation from his immediate family. For him, life in servitude did not reflect the horrific existence of countless others. Although these experiences constituted the earliest chapter of Washington's life, his years in servitude, and the subsequent descriptions he offered of them, represented his calculated approach to the dissipation of the color line, especially to white Southerners.⁹⁹

After moving to Malden, Virginia, post-emancipation, with his mother and brother to reunite with his stepfather, Washington Ferguson, Booker T. Washington found work in the home of Lewis Ruffner. There, Washington worked as a houseboy, mainly under Mr. Ruffner's wife, Viola.¹⁰⁰ She eventually gave Washington permission and encouragement to assume a basic education, and he [Washington] learned to read, write, and do basic arithmetic. It took Washington some time to become acquainted with the norms of Ruffner's household. However, once he acclimated, even years later, the lessons Viola impressed upon him were, as he wrote,

⁹⁷ West (2006) 202-203; Moore (2003) 27-28;

⁹⁸ West (2006) 73-75

⁹⁹ Michael West writes, "Washington's theme...was the contentment, generosity, and devotion shared between slaves and their masters, master and their slaves. There was much in slavery, he said 'besides its hardships and its cruelties, much that was tender, human, and beautiful.'" Subsequently writing about a visit Washington made to Burroughs' plantation, West writes that Washington, "plucked a rose from a bush in front of the house and laid it upon the grave of his old master." West (2006) 75.

¹⁰⁰ Moore (2003) 18-19; West (2006) 121-122

“as valuable to me as any education I have ever gotten anywhere since.”¹⁰¹ In addition to allowing Washington the freedom to attend school, Viola impressed upon Washington her white sensibilities, teaching him “about the importance of manners and style as well as cleanliness and punctuality.”¹⁰² Later, Washington decided to attend a secondary school for people of color, thereby resolving to continue his formal education. Although the distance to the school that Washington chose was about five hundred miles from Malden, Washington hitch-hiked his way across the state. There he worked as a dockworker briefly, and at the same time he went over a month without a bath. He arrived at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute on the 5th of October, 1872.¹⁰³

The curriculum Washington learned at the Hampton Institute adhered to white sensibilities, and a pedagogical approach as defined by white Democrats intended for people of color. The headmaster, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, himself a devout Christian and white Williams College graduate¹⁰⁴, championed the belief that above all, “character and moral virtue were more important than either intellectual education or training for a trade.”¹⁰⁵ Manifestations of this belief were illustrated by certain school-sanctioned precepts. Armstrong evidenced this by imposing an expectation of his students that they exalt Victorian morality, and invariably attend chapel.¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, in maintaining the opinion that “slavery had encouraged laziness and given free rein to sensuality,”¹⁰⁷ Armstrong took heed of southern white sentiment relating to racial

¹⁰¹ Raymond Wolters, *Du Bois and His Rivals*, (U of Missouri Press: Columbia 2002) 42; Washington, *Up From Slavery*, 26.

¹⁰² Wolters (2002) 42

¹⁰³ Wolters (2002) 43

¹⁰⁴ Wolters (2002) 43

¹⁰⁵ Wolters (2002) 44

¹⁰⁶ Wolters (2002) 44

¹⁰⁷ Wolters (2002) 44

superiority. Wolters writes, “Given the widespread belief that blacks should be kept in subordinate roles, it may be that some emphasis on vocational training was needed to prevent the total eradication of black schools. If schools for blacks had not been made to appear as non-threatening as possible, there would have been fewer schools.”¹⁰⁸ Armstrong clarified his method and Washington’s later philosophy in accordance with this notion. Armstrong acknowledged the social context of the era, and therefore grafted the pedagogical approach to appease white sentiment. Ultimately, the intent of the educational program at Hampton was to confer upon its students the idea that work trumped laziness, and that hard work was an honorable means of social mobility.¹⁰⁹

In this way, the Hampton curriculum disavowed the conception that the intent of an industrial education was to keep people of color in their *place*.¹¹⁰ By teaching them industrial skills, this method denied people of color political agency in favor of the skills needed to sustain employment in the trades. In Samuel Chapman Armstrong’s view, emphasizing an industrial education presented a means for people of color to improve themselves. Industrial education could also enhance their private situation within society, without threatening the existing social hierarchy. Through employing the knowledge that Washington learned from Armstrong, as well as of his former role model, Viola Ruffner, Washington assumed a “reputation for turning out polite blacks who respected their superiors, as whites thought of themselves.”¹¹¹ For Washington, this perception of the color line informed his understanding of the race problem at large. In that he conceived the effects of industrial education as offering a tool by which to

¹⁰⁸ Wolters (2002) 45

¹⁰⁹ Wolters (2002) 45

¹¹⁰ Wolters (2002) 45

¹¹¹ Moore (2003) 27

gradually dissipate the color line, he also discovered a unique way to subsist in the post-Reconstruction era while at the same time contributing to the black community.

For Washington, an industrial education ensured stability for people of color. Due to the insatiable need for skilled labor, an education that sought to impart the knowledge required to work demonstrated the indispensable role an industrial education could play in providing the means to act on one's behalf. In this way, an industrial education presented a conduit for empowerment and job stability in the face of the Jim Crow south. While in direct contrast with a classical education, industrial education did not focus on the knowledge needed to make informed political decisions, and whites retained the means for agency in the political sphere. During the post-Reconstruction era, this power was abused in the laws passed by the Democratic Party. Consequently, in Washington's view, despite the shortcomings that an industrial education presented, an industrial education still maintained the grounds for fostering racial cooperation, and in extension, as a means to elevate the conditions of people of color of utter disenfranchisement.

Through his education at the Hampton school, and his relationship with Armstrong, a white man preaching his sensibilities to black students, Washington understood both the elevated social position and intentions of white men through Armstrong's cultivation of his desire for an industrial education for black students. As evidenced by the close relationship Washington had with Armstrong, Washington understood Armstrong's motives, and also understood how to satisfy the desired black man's position within white society.¹¹² Through the aid of Armstrong, Washington assumed the role Armstrong wanted, and utilized the framework given to him to appeal to the predominant standards white people, namely southern white Democrats, maintained for people of color.

¹¹² Wolters (2002), 47

As exemplified through a speech he gave in September of 1895, entitled, “The Atlanta Exposition Speech,” Washington demonstrated that a radical approach was not the most effective method.¹¹³ Supporters of his speech, of Washington, and of the other leaders that helped orchestrate the compromise, were called the Tuskegee Machine. The compromise itself was between people of color and Southern white leaders. In essence, this agreement stated that if people of color submitted to local precepts and worked, they would be afforded the right to due process under the law, and to a basic education. As a caveat, people of color could not focus on equality, integration, or justice if they wanted to receive funding for educational charities and institutions. In fact, the speech itself was never transcribed, despite having a highly influential social impact. Insofar as people of color gained *justice* as a result of the compromise, Southern white leaders demanded several conditions in return. People of color did not receive the right to vote, and law mandated that they tolerate this infraction; that they not retaliate against racist behavior, segregation, and discrimination. In addition, the basic education offered to them as a result of the compromise specifically prohibited a liberal arts education. Ultimately, the Southern white community only allowed for people of color to receive vocational or industrial training. However, these accommodations for Washington constituted a means of moving forward.

Washington’s practice therefore, in encouraging people of color to submit to a vocational education, did not prepare people of color with the means necessary to understand political affairs or foster their own political opinions. In keeping with the teachings of Armstrong, Washington taught that continued financial stability trumped civic-minded ideals.¹¹⁴ By ignoring the necessity of civic engagement for people of color, Washington operated within the

¹¹³ All information on speech found here: Moore (2003) 32-33; Wolters (2002) 51-53; West (2006) 51-57

¹¹⁴ Morris (2015) 58

preexisting system of oppression, and did not attempt to overthrow ingrained biases and discrimination, both social constructions meant to restrict black thought and political action.

In response to the Atlanta Compromise, the term “accommodationism”¹¹⁵ came into use to explicate the reaction those in opposition to the Tuskegee Machine felt. For them, namely for those following Du Bois, the compromise fell short in that the conditions that white Southern leaders demanded, reinforced and protracted discriminatory practices. In their view, the concessions disproportionately served southern Democrats in spite of black liberation. Instead, to counter the political maneuvers of southern Democrats, Du Bois argued from a different platform. In contrast, he waived Washington’s gradualist approach in favor of more immediate action, unequivocally calling for equal rights, rather than a nominal increase in liberties. For him, though almost invariably silenced by the academy and white philanthropists,¹¹⁶ Du Bois’ camp challenged the prevailing sentiment that people of color had to submit to white sociological impositions of power in order to protect their rights as citizens. In this way, Du Bois exercised his right of dissent to put pressure both on his counterpart, but more importantly on the system.

In conclusion, the cultural context in which Du Bois and Washington grew up primed their interpretations of black and white relations. During a period recognized for unequal relationships between the races and defined by the political maneuvers of southern Democrats, the education that an individual received both informed their conception of social relations.

¹¹⁵ In expounding upon this term, Jacqueline Moore writes, “As Washington gained the attention of important people, he began publishing articles in both the black and the mainstream press.... Mostly talking about the virtues of an industrial education as the best approach for blacks to improve themselves, he earned a reputation as an accommodationist, a man whom whites could rely on to keep an even temperament and propose conservative solutions.” Jacqueline M. Moore, *Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and the Struggle for Racial Uplift*, (Wilmington: Delaware, 2003) 30.

¹¹⁶ In *The Scholar Denied* (2015), Aldon D. Morris writes, notably in chapters four and five, that “the relationship between the Chicago school, Robert Park, Booker T. Washington, and Du Bois, demonstrated why the Chicago school and Washington had vested interests in marginalizing Du Bois.” He argues that, “this marginalization was not accidental but deliberate (xxii).”

Education also determined their position within society at large. Indeed, in combination, education and context formed the belief systems that Washington and Du Bois utilized to satisfy their interests, and the common goals that they set in pursuit of black liberation. While striving for those ends in dissimilar ways, they were forced to acknowledge the fact that the context in which they spoke affected the reception of their respective platforms. Nevertheless, as Washington and Du Bois discovered, the reality of the connection between education and context evidenced a crucial role vis-a-vis self-expression. The relationship of previous education with one's approach identified a more critical element. As illustrated by the post-Reconstruction era, the struggle for black citizenship heightened the significance of alternate forms of education, and the ramifications of these differing educational backgrounds.

For Washington, his famous international speech for a predominantly white audience at the Atlanta Exposition exemplified his advantageous position. The speech functioned as a microcosm, which represented the different approaches taken by Washington and Du Bois. Effectively, both Washington and Du Bois, though distinguished by vastly different personal experiences, were motivated to achieve similar goals. Presented with the same opportunity of liberating people of color, they used their respective platforms to challenge the structures they were introduced to. In sharing the view that education functioned as a means of alleviating social tensions, the primary conflict in Washington and Du Bois' pedagogical approach centered around different emphases on racialized social relationships. Whereby the former argued for a classical education, and focused less on vocational development,¹¹⁷ the latter inversely

¹¹⁷ At Atlanta University, Du Bois employed a pedagogical approach that underscored the value of a classical education. Among other things, he taught Latin and Greek. For Booker T. Washington, Du Bois' utilization of these disciplines in educating his students did the opposite of conferring onto them the capacity to properly function in a racialized society. On the other hand, Du Bois felt that a classical education would positively benefit his students, especially for the top tenth. For him, this auspicious minority represented a small fraction of black students who Du Bois argued would act as an intelligentsia.

challenged the sociopolitical structure. He [Washington] argued for a basic education, and magnified the significance of vocational development. Accordingly, Washington and Du Bois underscored different methods of cultivating individuality in relation to the context in which they were positioned.

Indeed, the post-Reconstruction era exacerbated the attainment and exercise of citizenship for people of color. As illustrated by the concessions southern white Democrats were afforded by the Atlanta Compromise, certain groups of people existed that demonstrated their willingness to sacrifice their rights in exchange for individuality.¹¹⁸ The notion of voting for instance, earlier believed by members of the Freedmen's Bureau before the election of 1876 as providing enough to protect the rights of newly freed slaves, exemplified a visceral desire, especially in 1896 Atlanta, for the exercise of citizenship rights. That education constituted an important means to the fulfillment of citizenship rights. These rights manifested in the relationship between action and inaction, volition and coercion. Washington and Du Bois represented those same rights. While of a fundamentally different character, their legacies symbolize the democratic attitude in which they shared.

Although Washington and Du Bois' respective pedagogical approaches constituted themselves by different educational programs, they shared a congruous desire to promote civic education. Washington and Du Bois sought to advance the education of people of color. They did so in order to intentionally offer their students a means to conceive of the color line, and in extension, of their place and role within society. In this way, Washington and Du Bois

To account for the majority of students he argued that a classical education would still be beneficial, insofar as it presupposed the grounds for self-reflection as relating to the self and to their position in society at large. However, Du Bois, like Washington, retained the belief that vocational education served an important role. The difference between Washington and Du Bois defined itself based on this view, in that latter did not emphasize vocational education to the same extent as the former. Jacqueline M. Moore, Raymond Wolters, et al.

¹¹⁸ Wolters (2002) 52

purposefully manicured their pedagogies to assist their students to procure a basis, by which they could act within society through their own means. As a result, Washington and Du Bois conferred upon their students the discretion and capacity to act for themselves, regardless of the political pressure that influenced their theoretical understanding. Ultimately, by the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s, Washington and Du Bois' measured pedagogical approaches, if employed, offer a means to both discern and realistically manage class warfare as well.

III. Democracy & Public Education in the 20th Century

The role of civic education persists through time as a means to engender democratic growth and stability. Through the propagation of democratic ideals, the public school system, as an extension of the state, must continue to implement techniques to serve democratic society. The continued relevance of this concept extends through the post-Reconstruction era and into the twentieth century. To begin, this final chapter first underscores the significance of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) to illustrate the role it played to further systemic oppression in America's public school system. In doing so, *Brown* introduces the groundwork, which effectively leads to later federal legislation in education. The first, named the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1957, authorizes unprecedented legislation that encourages public schools to develop lessons in science, mathematics, and foreign languages. Following the NDEA, this chapter then turns to the consequences of the post-Reconstruction era, and analyzes the way in which President Lyndon B. Johnson, who took office after President John F. Kennedy's assassination in 1963, grappled with social inequality through his War on Poverty.

In attending to Johnson's historic agenda after assuming the role of President, the chapter evaluates a law that came to mark Johnson's Great Society legislation, namely, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. After discussing the elements of the ESEA, this chapter moves on to examine the Open Classroom movement, and then considers two of its practitioners, Herbert Kohl (1937-present), and Deborah Meier (1931-present). Subsequently, the chapter emphasizes the contrast between public and private schools through their differing modes used in the propagation of civic education. To conclude, the chapter stresses the necessity of educators who choose to deliberately foster a sense of community within the microcosm of the classroom. For them, that choice in which they make affects more than the individual interests of

one child or family, but rather demonstrates the efficacy of the importance to act within civil society. Overall, this chapter illustrates the role that an inclusive public schooling environment can play to realize the educational philosophy of John Dewey: that it is imperative to teach the whole child in order to affect the whole of the larger national community.

During the 1950s and 1960s federal legislation significantly affected the shape of public education in the United States. Fifty-eight years after the Supreme Court established Jim Crow laws as a product of the case, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, a panel of white justices effectively reversed that decision. On May 17, 1954, the court unanimously declared “separate but equal” unconstitutional with their decision of *Brown v. Board of Education*. Largely due to the work of Thurgood Marshall, a prominent figure in the NAACP notorious for championing civil rights, de jure school segregation came to an end¹¹⁹. Chief Justice Earl Warren synopsisized the court’s decision. He wrote,

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group ... We conclude that, in the field of public education, the doctrine of “separate but equal” has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal¹²⁰.

Up to the *Brown v. Board of Education* case, school segregation had become commonplace throughout the country.¹²¹ Following the deterioration of the program that Radical Republicans spearheaded, white southern Democrats proved to overwhelm the narrative of the post-Reconstruction period.¹²² As a result, instead of states providing equal accommodations for the public, namely in the realm of public education, white children enjoyed a system of privilege at

¹¹⁹ Goldstein, 110

¹²⁰ Goldstein, 111

¹²¹ Goldstein, 111

¹²² Jacqueline M. Moore, *Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and the Struggle for Racial Uplift*, (Wilmington: Delaware, 2003) 9-12

the expense of people of color. Therefore, the efforts of southern Democrats negatively affected those citizens who were already disenfranchised and impoverished due to their socioeconomic status.¹²³

Accordingly, the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (1954), while legitimately ending de jure segregation, did not demonstrate a comprehensive end to inequities in public schooling at large. In the text, *Brown* only mentioned teachers once.¹²⁴ As Dana Goldstein notes, since “the justices did not define their terms, and in the absence of specific requirements white southerners turned to nakedly racist political tactics, collectively referred to as ‘massive resistance,’ that fought desegregation in large part by attacking veteran black educators.”¹²⁵ Consequently, laws were passed in southern states, which not only denied tenure¹²⁶, but in addition, allowed for teaching licenses to be invalidated if evidence was produced that proved one’s participation with an organization like the NAACP. This meant that individuals could not support school integration, and would be fired from their position at a given school if they did so.¹²⁷ Half of southern states maintained this policy.¹²⁸

Similarly, the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1957, which shadowed the launch of the Soviet Union’s Sputnik satellite, exhibited the shortcomings of federal legislation within the contemporaneous effort to alleviate economic disparities and unequal opportunity

¹²³ “Left to its own device after the Compromise of 1877, the South soon initiated a social system that separated blacks and whites by custom and attempted to give blacks a permanently subordinate status. Most of the freedmen, with no money, skills, or education, ended up farming rented land on the plantations where they had worked as slaves...black sharecroppers were not much better off than slaves.” Moore, 9-10

¹²⁴ Goldstein, 111

¹²⁵ Goldstein, 111-112

¹²⁶ The objective of this action, which was supported in 1955 by Alabama, Florida, Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Virginia, was to facilitate the process of managing employment within the school system. In effect, the law prevented people of color from competing with white teachers, especially during the period of integration. Goldstein, 112

¹²⁷ Goldstein, 112

¹²⁸ Goldstein, 112

within public schooling. On the one hand, the legislation introduced a means for the United States to engage in the Cold War. Title III of the NDEA, as Gareth Davies writes, “authorized the expenditure of \$75 million per year for the purchase of equipment that would enhance the teaching of science, mathematics, and foreign languages.”¹²⁹ On the other hand, the recipients of that large government expenditure were intended for high-achieving students.¹³⁰ In this way, “the law did not address educational inequalities driven by race and class,”¹³¹ in that the design of the act was meant to challenge the Soviet Union geopolitically, not to strengthen public education at home, or in extension, reinforce education as a locus of democratic growth.

Moreover, in 1964, a year after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, President Lyndon B. Johnson enacted an unprecedented piece of federal legislation.¹³² In fulfilling a goal shared by President Kennedy¹³³ and Radical Republican figures during the Reconstruction era,¹³⁴ President Johnson passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)¹³⁵. With the passage of this law, Johnson created a means for the federal government to effectively impact the

¹²⁹ Gareth Davies, *See Government Grow: Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan*, (University Press of Kansas, 2007) 14

¹³⁰ As Gareth Davies notes, “NDEA allotted federal money for a number of ostensibly Cold War-related purposes: loans to college scholarship funds for students intending to teach in elementary or secondary schools or with defense-related specialties; graduate fellowships for students interested in college teaching; seed money to induce states to establish programs for testing, guidance, and counseling in secondary schools; money to allow colleges to increase provision for advanced foreign language training.” Davies, 14

¹³¹ Goldstein, 113

¹³² Before the 1965 law, the federal government had not played such a pivotal role in how it influenced the agendas of public schools. X writes, “

¹³³ Gareth Davies wrote, “When Kennedy entered office in 1961 he listed federal aid to schools as one of his five top domestic priorities. One month into his presidency, he unveiled a \$2.3 billion, three-year proposal for construction aid and teacher’s salaries.” Gareth Davies, *See Government Grow: Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan*, (University Press of Kansas, 2007) 17

¹³⁴ J. Jenkins, J. Peck, *The Erosion of the First Civil Rights Era: Congress and the Redemption of the White South, 1877-1891* (Vanderbilt University: 2015)

¹³⁵ The ESEA was the precursor for President George W. Bush’s, No Child Left Behind act (2001), as well as for President Barack Obama’s, Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA, 2015).

agendas of public schools through federal funding.¹³⁶ As a result, the Johnson administration went further than the NDEA. Through the ESEA, Johnson was able to affect public education as a whole, rather than only those students who had already benefitted from the existing system.

Originally, the law promised \$1.2 billion dollars per year, which “united the Left and center around a new role for Washington as a standard setter for state education agencies and local schools.”¹³⁷ Utilizing the executive tools of presidential rhetoric¹³⁸ and spectacle, Johnson depicted the legislation, and expressed his intentions for it during the signing ceremony held in his hometown of Johnson City, Texas. With his [Johnson’s] elementary school teacher by his side he said,

By passing this bill, we bridge the gap between helplessness and hope for more than 5 million educationally deprived children... And we rekindle the revolution – the revolution of the spirit against the tyranny of ignorance. As a son of a tenant farmer, I know that education is the only valid passport from poverty. As a former teacher – and, I hope, a future one – I have great expectations of what this law will mean for all of our young people.¹³⁹

In this way, Johnson posited the intentions of the ESEA as a means to fight social inequality through the public school system. For him, education was directly connected with social mobility. As he said, “education is the only valid passport from poverty.” However, by implying that the role that teachers play within schooling functions as a panacea for socioeconomic

¹³⁶ In offering an example to represent how the ESEA incentivized public educational institutions to act in a specific way, as a result of the government’s federal aid package, Dana Goldstein wrote, “In September 1966 white administrators across the South reviewed Johnson administration regulations and reluctantly concluded that they would miss the chance for federal funding, or get sued, if they did not integrate schools... White parents panicked. Dozens of them flooded a school board meeting, where superintendent W.W. Elliott [of Tuscaloosa, Alabama] told them that although integration ‘upset our stomach,’ the district had no choice given Washington’s insistence... By 1970, even white supremacists... begrudgingly accepted... in exchange for significant federal education funding.” Goldstein, 117

¹³⁷ Goldstein, 114

¹³⁸ Tulis, Jeffrey. *The Rhetorical Presidency*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton U Press, 1987.

¹³⁹ Goldstein, 114

inhibitions in general, he consequently imposed sky-high, and intangible standards onto public education itself.¹⁴⁰ In doing so, while eager to transcend the limitations of the NDEA, Johnson neglected the main purpose of education as a locus of democratic growth and community development.

Indeed, in contrast to the NDEA, the ESEA focused on the bottom 19% of low-income public school students.¹⁴¹ In that way, the ESEA demonstrated the desire to attend to race and class, a measure that was not provided for in the NDEA. In addition, due to the law being directly tied with the War on Poverty, Johnson was able to expand the amount of funding available. As Gareth Davies writes, “The focus on poverty opened up a more politically realistic, indeed enticing possibility: *expanding* impact aid by adding concentrations of poverty to the list of factors that qualified a district for aid.”¹⁴² Furthermore, as Stewart McClure recalls of this development (who was at the time the chief clerk of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee) a quarter of a century after the ESEA deliberations, “The principle of federal impact was a damn good idea ... a child going to a poor school in a poor district should be considered suffering a national impact caused by the failure of the whole society to upgrade his disadvantaged area.”¹⁴³ Through the expansion of funding yielded by the ESEA, Johnson was indeed able to engender a positive shift in the status of public schools. As an effect, the ESEA “supplied low-income schools with up-to-date textbooks, established school libraries, and pulled at-risk students out of class for supplemental tutoring.”¹⁴⁴ Moreover, in that the ESEA provided a means to fund disadvantaged schools within the country, provided school districts complied with national

¹⁴⁰ “Johnson has been accused, in the words of historian Irwin Unger, of viewing education as ‘a magic cure for social failure and economic inequality.’” Goldstein, 115

¹⁴¹ Goldstein, 114

¹⁴² Davies, 36

¹⁴³ Davies, 37

¹⁴⁴ Goldstein, 114

directives, Johnson assumed a capacity to turn schools around that were falling behind. Ultimately, the legislation tremendously affected systems that were already in place by implementing new policies and enacting real change.

However, since the War on Poverty subsumed ESEA public school legislation, the ESEA demonstrated that, while the law caused several positive ramifications, namely forced integration, it [ESEA] did not comprehensively attend to the respective pedagogies employed by the country's thousands of teachers, only that teachers were equipped with "effective instructional strategies."¹⁴⁵ Although this law remedied the fundamental material discrepancies between disadvantaged schools in impoverished areas, the issue remained that teachers were not implored to find alternate educational strategies to provide students with the necessary tools to act in the classroom and, in extension, adult society.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, ESEA focused on teacher quality, and in Title II, Subpart 2 – Subgrants to Local Educational Agencies, it [ESEA] demonstrated that while teachers and principals required certain skills, the student's test scores underscored the primary goal of the school.¹⁴⁷ While more equally funded schooling afforded the students and teachers in under-privileged school districts the foundation from which to build and foster a democratic environment within the classroom, this law neglected the agency of teachers in the same way that *Brown v. Board* overlooked teacher's rights to teach.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ ESEA, Title II, SEC. 2123. Local Use of Funds, (3) A (ii)

¹⁴⁶ ESEA, Title II, Subparts 1 & 2, provided grants and subgrants to states and local educational agencies to reward "qualified" teachers that practiced a method, which resulted in high test scores. In this way, Title II rewarded, and thus encouraged a presumed set of social conventions, namely "proper" behavior, both of the teacher and the student.

¹⁴⁷ ESEA, Title II, Subpart 2, SEC. 2122, Local Applications and Needs Assessment (c) 2, "Requirements - Such needs assessment shall be conducted with the involvement of teachers... and shall take into account the activities that need to be conducted in order to give teachers the means, including subject matter knowledge and teaching skills, and to give principals the instructional leadership skills to help teachers, to provide students with the opportunity to meet challenging State and local student academic achievement standards."

¹⁴⁸ Due to ESEA's ambiguity within the text, the law failed to specifically identify effective alternative pedagogical techniques. In this way, ESEA presumed the efficacy of normative instructional

Speaking to this point, Lyndon Johnson addressed Congress in regards to these shortcomings. In March 1965, Johnson's speech, "the American promise," admitted that Johnson's own experience as a teacher had taught him that in order to address social inequality, teachers would not be able to resolve these matters on their own.¹⁴⁹ Teachers needed help, and he could deliver. Unfortunately, one law could not resolve the totality of the issue of stratification. As he said:

But all I knew was to teach them the little that I knew, hoping that it might help them against the hardships that lay ahead. Somehow you never forget what poverty and hatred can do when you see its scars on the hopeful face of a young child. I never thought then, in 1928, that I would be standing here in 1965. It never even occurred to me in my fondest dreams that I might have the chance to help the sons and daughters of those students and to help people like them all over this country.¹⁵⁰

Through admitting his own failures in education, Johnson underscored the separation between the experience of teachers and the needs of the student. This speech outlined the flaws within the system that Johnson envisioned, and thus necessitated subsequent reform through alternative pedagogical approaches.

James Coleman (1926-1995) delivered a report to Congress in 1966 in which he enumerated the deficiencies and limitations of the educational systems already in place.¹⁵¹ He specifically highlighted the incongruities between white and black schools.¹⁵² These differences included, above all, the lack of science and foreign language classes in black schools, along with

methodologies, and promoted them through local agencies. ESEA's generalities mirrored *Brown* in that the court decision did not account for, or offer alternatives either. Indeed, *Brown* only mentioned teachers once. Instead, as Goldstein wrote of the court decision, "the justices did not define their terms." There was an "absence of specific requirements." As a result, states were afforded the right to employ policies, which elongated discriminatory policies. Goldstein, 111-112

¹⁴⁹ Goldstein, 115-116

¹⁵⁰ Goldstein, 115-116

¹⁵¹ Goldstein, 120

¹⁵² Goldstein, 120

less qualified teachers. Coleman explicitly argued, “Just as a loaf of bread means more to a starving man than to a sated one, so one very fine textbook or, better, one very able teacher, may mean far more to a deprived child than to one who already has several of both.”¹⁵³ Coleman meant to highlight the importance of qualified teachers within disadvantaged schools, yet his audience instead construed this speech to imply the inevitable failure of teachers in the face of poverty.¹⁵⁴ Rather than acknowledging the changes that could be made to ensure the equal distribution of qualified faculty, Coleman’s audience interpreted this speech as the identification of a futile endeavor. The misinterpretation of this speech thus set the stage for new, concrete reforms that championed a progressive reaction to Johnson’s ESEA law.

The Open Classroom movement then was symptomatic of Johnson’s ESEA law and its many flaws and shortcomings.¹⁵⁵ The ESEA initiated a progressive backlash that aimed to remedy the issues brought to light by Johnson’s reforms. In essence, the Open Classroom required teachers to relinquish punitive powers in an effort to impel students to “act out” their hostilities and confusions in their own time and through their own efforts.¹⁵⁶ This approach encouraged negotiation with a previously existing authoritative school environment.¹⁵⁷ Herbert R. Kohl (1937-present) proved instrumental in founding this movement and implementing its policies within his own classroom.¹⁵⁸ Above all, Kohl instituted an isolated technique within a Harlem public school that denied authoritative measures by heralding an attitude of change

¹⁵³ James Coleman, quoted by Dana Goldstein, 121.

¹⁵⁴ Goldstein, 120

¹⁵⁵ Maurice R. Berube, *American School Reform: Progressive, Equity, and Excellence Movements, 1883-1993*, (Westport: Connecticut) 117

¹⁵⁶ Herbert R. Kohl, *The Open Classroom: A Practical Guide to A New Way of Teaching*, (Random House, Inc. N.Y.: N.Y.), 80-81.

¹⁵⁷ Kohl, 81

¹⁵⁸ Allan Parachini, an L.A. Times staff writer states, “Kohl, in fact, coined the term *open classroom* in a book by that name in which he described his prototype for a radically altered public school system.” Allan Parachini, “Free School’ Pioneer Awaits New Revolution : Herbert Kohl, Educator-in-Exile, Predicts a Swing Away From ‘Back to Basics’ Movement,” Los Angeles Times [Los Angeles], 07/19/1987.

through democratic practices.¹⁵⁹ This approach was only feasible on a very small scale. Kohl speaks to the success of this framework:

If you are angry with a student for fighting or for refusing to do what you want him to do, tell him and try to deal with the question of why you are angry. If someone tears up a book of yours, express our feelings about it to the students. Only when a teacher emerges as another person in the classroom can a free environment based upon respect and trust evolve.¹⁶⁰

In demonstrating his teaching methods within a small classroom environment, Kohl's mode of communication with his students constitutes a subversive act. Kohl not only denies the authority of his administrators, but also maintains the value of the student's voice. This approach fosters a relationship between teacher and student wherein each respects the other's conditions, and understands that in order to learn and grow, communication is imperative.

Kohl's strategy represents a direct contrast to modes of education that hinge upon larger ingrained issues of oppression such as racism, sexism, and elitism. He champions the values of agency, advocacy, and the conscious development of the self.¹⁶¹ Kohl inspires these modes of thought and expression through three teaching practices. The first he calls, "not learning," which he defines as utilizing one's ability to "not learn" concepts ingrained within societal conduct and norms such as misogyny, racism, or oppressive behaviors.¹⁶² He names his second pedagogical technique "hopemongering" defined as procuring the possibility of change independent of the

¹⁵⁹ Robert Monk, *Democracies of Education*, 1.

¹⁶⁰ Kohl, *The Open Classroom*, 81

¹⁶¹ Herbert Kohl, *"I Won't Learn from You": and Other Thoughts on Creative Maladjustments*, (W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., N.Y.:N.Y.) xiii.

¹⁶² Kohl defines not-learning in *I Won't Learn from You* as, "Not-learning is the conscious decision not to learn something that you could learn. It consists, for example, of ... yielding to community pressure to become racist or sexist – choosing not to learn something that you find morally offensive or personally noxious." xiii.

aforementioned ingrained factors within society.¹⁶³ The final pedagogical technique Kohl employs is “creative maladjustment.” He defines this technique as the conscious decision of each student to develop their own definition of themselves, independent of the labels society has previously impressed upon them.¹⁶⁴ With these three concepts, Kohl singlehandedly transforms the classroom into a progressive and unique environment that fosters self-growth and acceptance. He speaks to this point:

Not-learning and unlearning are both central techniques that support changes of consciousness and help people develop positive ways of thinking and speaking in opposition to dominant forms of oppression. Not-learning in particular requires a strong will and an ability to take the kinds of pressure exerted by people whose power you choose to question.¹⁶⁵

These practices implemented by Kohl underline his philosophy, as he actively challenges authority while encouraging his students to do the same. Naturally students find this task difficult, yet through adjustment these students then become more qualified to live, learn, and think within their communities. Kohl’s strategy does not represent a static approach to teaching; rather, only through *change* can these students act in a civic-minded democratic manner within the microcosm that Kohl has made for them, and, in extension, outside of the classroom in the larger societal context.

The Open Classroom movement extended beyond Kohl and also influenced the teaching and philosophy of Deborah Meier (1931-present), the first public school teacher to receive a

¹⁶³ “Hopemongering is the affirmation of hope and the dream of a just and equitable future despite all the contrary evidence provided by experience.” Kohl, xiii

¹⁶⁴ “Creative maladjustment is the art of not becoming what other people want you to be and learning, in difficult times, to affirm yourself while at the same time remaining caring and compassionate.” Kohl, xiii

¹⁶⁵ Kohl, 23

MacArthur Fellowship in education.¹⁶⁶ Meier adhered to the beliefs held by Kohl, and also ingrained within her students the notion of civic engagement as developed through intrapersonal relationships.¹⁶⁷ In this way, Meier stressed the importance of building a community. With the mechanisms of democracy in mind, she attempted to shift the language students used to conceive of the function of a democratic community. As she writes, “We wanted no ‘we’ versus ‘they’ in our community. Creating a democratic community was both an operational and an inspirational goal. While we were in part the products of what was called ‘open education,’ our roots went back to early progressive traditions, with their focus on the building of a democratic community, on education for full citizenship and egalitarian ideals.”¹⁶⁸ This call for egalitarian ideals emphasizes the significance of disregarding preconceptions based on race, gender, or class, and in doing so Meier implored her students to see each other as individuals in a shared community as opposed to subjects in a hierarchical institution. Meier expands on this conception, and asks her students to collaborate with each other in order to foster a democratic learning environment. By ascribing meaning to the values of community, Meier ushers in a new mode of thought wherein teachers, students, and their families maintain an open dialogue concerning the democratic ideals that unite all of them.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ As Kenneth Hope, who was the director of the MacArthur Foundation at the time, said upon awarding Meier with the fellowship, “This is the first fellowship given to a public school teacher.” Kathleen Teltsch, “MacArthur Awards of \$150,000 to \$375,000 go to ‘Outstandingly Talented’ 32,” New York Times [Chicago], 1987.

¹⁶⁷ “It’s important to be able to stand alone, to take personal responsibility. But it’s also important to learn to work together with others – to collaborate. That means not forgetting our family, our friends and our community as we gain success in life.” Deborah Meier, *The Power of Their Ideas: Lessons For America From a Small School in Harlem*, (Beacon Press: Boston, 2002) 41.

¹⁶⁸ Meier, 20

¹⁶⁹ “For us, democracy implied that people should have a voice not only in their own individual work, but in the work of others as well. Finally, we saw collaboration and mutual respect among staff, parents, students, and the larger community as a part of what we meant by calling our experiment democratic.” Meier, 22

Consequently, Meier echoes Kohl's view on the necessity of teaching students how to function within active systems of oppression in the outside world. Meier presents a dynamic approach to this issue through the acknowledgement of inherent external causes. To this point, she argues, "We don't create all the conditions that affect our students' lives; we can't stop the world our students live in while we do our work, a world that places crushing burdens on far too many of our young people."¹⁷⁰ This recognition on the pre-existing societal factors at play outside the classroom parallels the issues brought to light in the Coleman Report, as both Meier and Kohl demonstrate the role that educators can take on in their students' lives just by being educators. In stating that a teacher must acknowledge the impact of events occurring outside the classroom, Meier underscores the importance of an education with a larger worldview that extends beyond the classroom.

In comparison, Kohl highlights the significance that the role of the community plays to constitute a more open-minded, democratic conception of learning, and incorporates this notion within his mode of teaching. For him, he restructured the class agenda in a way that fostered a student's conception of difference, as well as of the external world. To exemplify this conception, Kohl took his students on a field trip twice a week. They "walked around the community, visited factories, the university, artists' studios, chemical laboratories, film studios, people's houses, supermarkets, furniture stores, etc."¹⁷¹ In this way, Kohl presented an alternative educational experience for his students. To do this, Kohl refrained from engaging with the prevailing attitude that the classroom experience constituted itself merely with textbooks to produce a "real" learning environment.

¹⁷⁰ Meier, 49

¹⁷¹ Kohl, *The Open Classroom*, 73-74

For Kohl, field trips were not an excuse to avoid “real” teaching, and instead, Kohl used these trips to provide students with a different type of “real” education. This practice was not traditional, yet still taught that the external community paralleled the classroom community.¹⁷² While other teachers themselves interpreted Kohl’s pedagogical style as unconventional and unfocused, Kohl himself believed that through these experiences it was possible to reveal the actual humanity or infallibility of the outside world. To affirm this view Kohl stated, “Not everything we saw was pleasant. We went to court, the welfare department, the police department, the children’s shelter.”¹⁷³ In effect, this holistic approach served as a means to impart democratic ideals onto his students.

In this way, difference or otherness, as elements commonly used by Populists to dissolve and distort the egalitarian conception of the democratic community, were in contrast for Kohl managed in order to develop the student’s vision of the real world. To achieve this, Kohl discussed with his students the realities and circumstances that the group observed on their trips, and compared that empirical evidence with the academic materials provided for them by the school.¹⁷⁴ Consequently, Kohl reconstituted the traditional classroom experience in a way that illuminated the existence of individuals within the community at large.¹⁷⁵ Through this alternative teaching method, Kohl assumed the capacity to frame the external world, the context outside of the classroom, in a tangible way. At the same time, Kohl reflected those accounts back

¹⁷² Kohl, 74

¹⁷³ Kohl, 74

¹⁷⁴ As Kohl describes this process, “We compared, for example, our impressions of factory work with the one presented in the school’s vocational guidance manual. We talked of justice as we saw it work against poor and black people in the courts and as the civics textbook explained it.” *The Open Classroom*, 74

¹⁷⁵ Kohl wrote, “The classroom ought to be a communal center, a comfortable environment in which plans can be made and experiences assessed. However one can open up the classroom as much by moving out of it as by changing the life within it.”

The Open Classroom, 75

onto the classroom itself, which demonstrated the dynamic and democratic function of the school as a locus of democratic growth and community development.

For Meier, private school education represented the antithesis of the school as a community by which democratic ideals could be developed for society at large. In her view, privatization engendered both a dismissal of those democratic ideals, as well as of a public school's capacity to foster them within their own communities.¹⁷⁶ Moreover, due to the measures private schools employ in order to make decisions concerning enrollment, Meier underscores an inherent flaw in relation to the degree that private schools can practice democratic values. Meier states, "While private schools can and often do foster high-order thinking skills and responsible citizenship, they're not required to do so "fairly." In fact, built into what makes them able to compete successfully is their sense of privilege, including the privilege of turning students away¹⁷⁷ for not being 'our type,' 'up to par,' or 'of high potential.'"¹⁷⁸ That private schools in fact do pride themselves on their level of selectivity,¹⁷⁹ illustrates the fundamental difference between private educational institutions and public schools. Indeed, the central function and aim of public schooling constitutes its primary goal and contribution to society. Ultimately, public schools are by definition of, and providers to the shared interests of the public, and in this way, they [public schools] do not renounce the notion that, in being a citizen, each individual plays a role, or becomes affected by society's vicissitudes.¹⁸⁰

In conclusion, to recognize the common thread between public schools and the larger community necessitates a theoretical understanding of the particular fractions of a given

¹⁷⁶ Meier, 8-9; Meier 76

¹⁷⁷ Meier supports this claim in that she states, "Private institutions, after all, are suited to responding to their particular paying clientele, rather than to any larger common good." Meier, 78

¹⁷⁸ Meier, 77

¹⁷⁹ Meier, 78

¹⁸⁰ Meier, 78-79

community, and how in sum, they affect practice. This relationship between theory and practice presupposes the task of creating an environment whereby community and individuality coalesce. For Meier, in relating to the shortcomings of private educational institutions, she underscores the ramifications of an abstention from the commitment to society's shared fate. She writes:

Schools can squelch intelligence, they can foster intolerance and disrespect, they affect the way we see ourselves in the pecking order. But that's precisely why we cannot abandon our public responsibility to all children, why we need a greater not a lesser commitment to public education. Children grow up, and the kinds of habits of mind they bring to both the workplace and the polling place will determine our common fate.¹⁸¹

In this way, Meier illustrates how imperative a commitment to public schooling is, in that she underlines the future roles in which children inevitably play. In her view, public schools prepare students, or in the case of some, do not prepare others for the external world.¹⁸² As being congruous with Kohl's understanding, Meier argues that schools and teachers affect the student's sense of self, and their relationship to other people. Schooling for them [Meier and Kohl], ought to influence the student's own conception of what it truly means to be a citizen, and for both, the cultivation of this notion cannot be taught solely with a book; it is by its very nature a social set of lessons.

¹⁸¹ Meier, 6

¹⁸² Meier states that the commitment to public education is not a partisan issue, as the consequences of neglect for society's shared fate by definition affect more than one political party or group. She writes, "Giving up on public schooling as our accepted norm would mean leaving our nation's children in the hands of unknown babysitters with unknown agendas. To want to know whom the baby-sitter is and what he or she is up to is not a right versus left issue. And this is true not only with respect to one's own child, but also with respect to our collective children." Meier, 8

IV. Conclusion

This project has explored the changing philosophies and practices of education through time, first with Horace Mann and Catharine Beecher, then in the Reconstruction era with Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, and finally in the twentieth century with Herbert Kohl and Deborah Meier. In analyzing the impact of cultural context on the changing modes and methods of educational practice, the one constant through these time periods is the role of Americanization in civic education. Americanization through education constitutes a process by which the state indoctrinates its citizens and employs its interests to mold a citizen to act with the interests of the larger community in mind.

This process can be seen in all the case studies within this project. With Horace Mann and Catharine Beecher, both educators aimed to instill moral values within their students and thus enable them to act within a moral framework. This practice encouraged students to recognize the larger American community that they inhabited, and act on moral principles for the benefit of this community. Americanization and civic education for both Mann and Beecher propagated moral interests over intellectuality. The process of founding new schools with these interests in mind, a tactic employed by both Mann and Beecher, served to spread these views and educate the wider American community with democratic and civic ideals.

Americanization can also be seen in the Reconstruction era, with the continuance of segregated schools, intended to maintain arbitrary distinctions to deny citizenship to blacks. Americanization in this period constricted much of the populous of America in favor of a hierarchical structure which designated white people as superior to all other races. W.E.B. Du Bois fought back against this form of Americanization, and championed a classical education, aiming to disavow these ingrained racist views which sociological science. He prepared his

students for the hardships they would face outside of the classroom through fostering a community and arming his students with the scientific tools needed to understand that the framework of American society was flawed. In contrast, Booker T. Washington used the mechanism already in place to herald a vocational education for blacks, thus teaching them how to maintain financial and job security for the long term. Vocational schooling denied students the ability to make political decisions, and instead maintained the status quo. In analyzing these two men in contrast to each other, the need for civic and democratic education is apparent in order to overturn ingrained beliefs based on arbitrary distinctions.

In the twentieth century, students still dealt with the backlash of the Reconstruction era, and could not avoid the arbitrary categories they were placed into based on intrinsic and continued systems of oppression. In this way Americanization served as a tool to understand one's role within the greater community. Kohl demonstrated this concept in his own classroom, and encouraged his students to acknowledge these systems of oppression and act accordingly. Kohl developed a community within his classroom that mirrored how he desired his students to engage with the world. Meier also addressed this concept, and developed an open dialogue and relationship between students, teachers, and parents to bring democratic values into the public school system. For Meier, Americanization was the process by which students, teachers, and parents understood their roles and the ramifications their actions had on a larger community. In this way, both Kohl and Meier advocated for civic education, and aimed to teach their students how to interact with American society at large, as students and later as citizens.

In essence, Americanization and civic education go hand in hand to inform the next generation how to act within society, in accord with civic values. Whether this civic education promotes further education, like Mann and Beecher, encourages scientific disproof of ingrained

beliefs like W.E.B. Du Bois, aligns with the current system like Washington, or champions the necessity and value of community like Kohl and Meier, civic education serves as a means to ground oneself within the larger framework of the national community. The process of Americanization contextualizes the need for civic education, and determines the role a citizen must play based on the foundational values of democracy. In order to maintain a democratic state, civic education must be employed.

An interesting incorporation to this project would more background and context on the beliefs of John Dewey and his teachings, and further study of the progressive movement within education at large. If these examples were incorporated into the project, further analysis could be done in regards to the background, context, and evolution of education in the United States. Through this continued study, it would be possible to further understand the role of education in American society, and determine whether civic education is a product of Americanization, or vice versa.

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