Early education in the Americas was fundamentally a religious activity. For instance Christian efforts among the Indians were only a dimension of the religious purposes that framed educational activity in Old World France. Roman Catholic social philosophy allowed no compromise in the spiritual direction of education, and both in informal socialization patterns and in what formal provisions existed the doctrine and aim of religion coincided with that of education. At the general level, education was intended to produce religious conformation in thought and behaviour; at the higher level, education was to produce a progeny of clerical leadership. The paternalistic authority of church and monarch was carried from the Old to the New World, where it perhaps became even more pervasive, due to the initial absence of alternative institutional developments. In education, the exclusive role of the state (though not insignificant) was confined to financial subsidization.

Most of the nonreligious functions now associated with formal education were, in the 17th and 18th centuries, carried in other institutional sectors: the family, the community, the vocation. Just as there was no sharp break between church and school in formal learning, there was an easy transition between the information and behaviour necessary for work and life as transmitted in the course of various socialization experiences. Thus, the self-sustaining and isolated life of the farmers, the wild and solitary ways of the coureurs de bois (fur traders), the miniature of European manners and customs established in the cities by the gentry—all contained within their own cycle the educative procedures for life in that society. Education as a separate institution was understandably associated with learning not related to the business of life.

New England

The year 1630, chronicled in New England annals as the beginning of the Great Migration, witnessed the founding there of Puritanism as the established religion. Rejecting democracy and toleration as unscriptural, the Puritans put their trust in a theocracy of the elect that brooked no divergence from Puritan orthodoxy. So close was the relation between state and church
that an offense against the one was an offense against the other and, in either case, “treason to the Lord Jesus.”

In Puritan moral theology the young, like the old, were sinners doomed by almost insurmountable odds to perdition. To God, indeed, even infants were depraved, unregenerate, and damned. Hence, the sooner the young learned the ground rules of the good society, as revealed in the Bible, the better. The task of teaching them first befell the parents. Later, when they were old enough, the burden was conferred upon the school. The first secondary school was probably the Boston Latin School. Founded in 1635, it was modeled on the grammar schools of England, which is to say that it put an overwhelming emphasis on the ancient languages and “humane learning and good literature.” By the 1640s the idea of town-supported schooling had lost its novelty.

If towns braved the first steps in education, then the Commonwealth of Massachusetts did not trail far behind. In 1642 it ordered parents and masters of apprentices to see to it that their charges were instructed in reading, religion, and the colony’s principal laws. Five years later, the General Court reinforced this enactment with yet another. Aimed at the “old deluder Satan,” it undertook to thwart him from keeping “men from a knowledge of the Scriptures,” by requiring every township of 50 households to commission someone to teach reading and writing. The law also directed towns of 100 families to furnish instruction in Latin grammar so that youth might be “fitted for the university.” Finally, the measure required teachers to be paid by “parents or masters . . . or by the inhabitants in general.” The measure was given only a pallid obedience, but its assumption that the state may compel the schooling of its young and that in order to support education it may impose taxes is pertinent to subsequent times.

The first colonists had scarcely settled when in 1636 the General Court appropriated £400 “towards a school or college.” When two years later John Harvard died and left the institution his library and some £800, the grateful founders honoured their school with his name. Designed to train youth for important Puritan places, particularly in the ministry, the college accepted only those who could read, write, and speak Latin in prose and verse, besides knowing Greek nouns and verbs familiarly. Once admitted, the student was lodged at the college, pledged to a blameless behaviour, and put upon a prescribed four-year course of grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, ethics, ancient history, Greek, and Hebrew. If he weathered these
hazards, he was made a bachelor of arts (B.A.), and, if ambition stillroweled him, he could enroll for another three years to become a master of arts (M.A.).

So things sat until the century’s passing. Then, swayed by the intellectual breezes of Europe’s Enlightenment, Harvard College ventured some earnest renovation. Its texts, cobwebbed with Aristotelianism, were replaced with newer ones by Locke and Sir Isaac Newton. In 1718 it added mathematics and sciences to its offerings, and 20 years later it enriched itself with a professorship of mathematics and natural philosophy. There were the usual grumblings from conservatives, and in 1701 a number of Congregational parsons, all Harvard sons, distressed by their alma mater’s dalliance in newfangled ideas, inaugurated the collegiate school of Connecticut, now Yale University.

The new academies

Disdainful of the challenging intellectual values, the secondary schools continued in their classical tracks. By the 18th century, however, their tradition was playing out, especially among the rising nabobs of the marketplace. When the old schools failed to respond to their demands for an education calculated to prepare their sons for everyday living, they resorted to private schooling. From such endeavour emerged the academy. The first school of strictly native provenance, it made its advent in 1751 in Philadelphia (the Philadelphia Academy), the work in the main of Benjamin Franklin. What differentiated it from its classical antecedent was its promotion of “useful learning,” to wit, the vernacular, modern languages, history, geography, chronology, navigation, mathematics, natural and applied science, and the like.

The first academies addressed themselves solely to boys, but time saw them vouchsafe instruction to girls in a “female department,” which in turn gave way to the “female academy,” whose curriculum reflected debates of the time about female education. Fine arts, domestic subjects, and training for occupations open to women were included, though some female educators stressed intellectual attainment rather than practical learning.

Private ventures always, academies generally were not loath to solicit outside assistance—some, indeed, as in New York, enjoyed a public subsidy. Whatever their special character, to their very end they maintained their original purpose of bringing education
into closer consonance with “the great and the real business of living,” as Phillips Academy of Andover, Massachusetts, phrased it when, in 1778, it held its first sessions.

The middle colonies

The religious uniformity that marked the Puritan theocracy was missing in the middle colonies. From New York through Delaware there flourished a host of sects whose scriptural interpretations were diverse—often, in fact, in collision. Nor was there even the tie of a common language, for the settlers came from many lands. Divergent in religion and language, the bedrock in those times of elementary schooling, the middle colonists could not accommodate themselves, as did the Puritans, to a single school teaching reading and religion to all the children of the neighbourhood. Instead, they depended on parish or parochial schools, each of them free to teach by its own denominational lights. True, for a time New Netherland, with its established Dutch Reformed church, maintained some town schools, but, after the English seized the colony (renaming it New York), such endeavours ceased. Pennsylvania, linguistically and denominationally the most heterogeneous of the colonies, began its educational history by ordering the erection of public schools and the instruction of children. But the ordinance fell prey to powerful sectarian antagonisms, and in 1701 the colony essayed to make peace by sanctioning the establishment of parochial schools.

Like the New Englanders, the middle colonists aspired to establish colleges, but, with no friendly lawmakers to sustain them, they found their task heavily hobbled, and the mid-1700s were upon them before their hopes materialized with the advent, in 1746, of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). There followed King's College (Columbia) in 1754; the College and Academy of Philadelphia (Pennsylvania) in 1755; and Queen's College (Rutgers) in 1766. Common to these schools was their stress on the ancient languages, metaphysics, and divine science. At the same time, however, one discerns signs of a new liberalism. Both Rutgers and Columbia announced their interdenominationalism. Pennsylvania offered courses in physics, and in 1765 it became the first colonial college to sponsor systematic instruction in medicine.

The Southern colonies
Unlike New Englanders, Southerners resided not in villages but on widely scattered plantations. For years, town life was impossible and so, per consequence, were town schools. But even had their establishment been feasible, the odds against them were staggering, since the ruling classes, like their analogues overseas in England, were averse to schooling the young under governmental direction. Instead, they regarded education as a personal concern, the affair of parent and church rather than of the state. Left thus to their own devices, Southerners schooled their young to suit their taste, the rich resorting to tutors and private schools and the rest scratching out an education as best they could. Time saw the appearance of a number of free schools serving those who were neither rich nor poor. For the offspring of the low-down and unregarded folk, Virginia enacted its law of 1642. An echo of England's Poor Law, it provided for the “relief of such parents whose poverty extends not to give them [the children] breeding.” For this purpose it ordered the creation of a “workhouse school” at James City to which each county was to commit two children of an age of six or over. There, besides being reared as Anglicans, they were to be “instructed in honest and profitable trades and manufactures as also to avoid sloth and idleness.” Amended several times, the statute became the model for similar legislation throughout the South.

The first Southern college was founded in Virginia in 1693. William and Mary College was chartered to propagate the “Liberal Arts and the Christian Faith,” with particular stress on preparing young men for the Anglican pulpit. As the 18th century swept on, the secular interest that had invaded Harvard appeared in Virginia, and there ensued a waning of the earlier religious motivation. In 1779, led by Thomas Jefferson, the college trustees refurbished the school with chairs in medicine, mathematics, physics, moral philosophy, economics, law, and politics. The chair in divinity was discontinued as “incompatible with freedom in a republic.”

The socials and historical setting

From the mid-17th century to the closing years of the 18th century, new social, economic, and intellectual forces steadily quickened—forces that in the late 18th and the 19th centuries would weaken and, in many cases, end the old aristocratic absolutism. The European expansion to new worlds overseas had stimulated commercial rivalry. The new trade had increased national wealth and encouraged a sharp rise in the numbers and
influence of the middle classes. These social and economic transformations, joined with technological changes involving the steam engine and the factory system, together produced industrialism, urbanization, and the beginnings of mass labour. At the same time, intellectuals and philosophers were assaulting economic abuses, old unjust privileges, misgovernment, and intolerance. Their ideas, which carried a new emphasis on the worth of the individual—the citizen rather than the subject—helped not only to inspire political revolutions, sometimes successful, sometimes unsuccessful, but, more important, to make it impossible for any government, even the most reactionary, to disregard for long the welfare of the common man. Finally, there was a widespread psychological change: man's confidence in his power to use resources, master nature, and structure his own future was heightened beyond anything known before; and this confidence on a national scale—in the form of nationalism—moved all groups to struggle for the freedom to direct their own affairs.

All these trends influenced the progress of education. One of the most significant results was the gradual acceptance of the view that education ought to be the responsibility of the state. Some countries, such as France and Germany, were inspired by a mixture of national aspiration and ideology to begin the establishment of public educational systems early in the 19th century. Others, such as Great Britain and the United States, under the spell of laissez-faire, hesitated longer before allowing the government to intervene in educational affairs. The school reformers in these countries had to combat the prevailing notion that “free schools” were to be provided only for pauper children, if at all; and they had to convince society that general taxation upon the whole community was the only adequate way to provide education for all the children of all the people.

The new social and economic changes also called upon the schools, public and private, to broaden their aims and curricula. Schools were expected not only to promote literacy, mental discipline, and good moral character but also to help prepare children for citizenship, for jobs, and for individual development and success. Although teaching methods remained oriented toward textbook memorizing and strict discipline, a more sympathetic attitude toward children began to appear. As the numbers of pupils grew rapidly, individual methods of “hearing recitations” by children began to give way to group methods. The monitorial or Lancasterian, system became popular because, in the effort to overcome the shortage of teachers during the quick
expansion of education, it enabled one teacher to use older children to act as monitors in teaching specific lessons to younger children in groups. Similarly, the practice of dividing children into grades or classes according to their ages—a practice that began in 18th-century Germany—was to spread everywhere as schools grew larger.

The early reform movement: the new educational philosophers

The late 18th and 19th centuries represent a period of great activity in reformulating educational principles, and there was a ferment of new ideas, some of which in time wrought a transformation in school and classroom. The influence of Rousseau was profound and inestimable. One of his most famous followers was Pestalozzi, who believed that children's nature, rather than the structure of the arts and sciences, should be the starting point of education. Rousseauist ideas are seen also in the work of Friedrich Froebel, who emphasized self-activity as the central feature of childhood education, and in that of Johann Friedrich Herbart, perhaps the most influential 19th-century thinker in the development of pedagogy as a science.

Pestalozzi

The theories of the Swiss reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi laid much of the foundation of modern elementary education. Beginning as a champion of the underprivileged, he established near Zürich in 1774 an orphanage in which he attempted to teach neglected children the rudiments of agriculture and simple trades in order that they might lead productive, self-reliant lives. A few years later the enterprise failed, and Pestalozzi turned to writing, producing his chief work on method, How Gertrude Teaches Her Children, in 1801, and then began teaching again. Finally in 1805 he founded at Yverdon his famous boarding school, which flourished for 20 years, was attended by students from every country in Europe, and was visited by many important figures of the time, including the philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte, the educators Froebel and Herbart, and the geographer Carl Ritter.
The Pedagogy of Pestalozzi

In spite of the quantity of his writings, it cannot be said that Pestalozzi ever wrote a complete and systematic account of his principles and methods; an outline of his theories must be deduced from his various writings and his work. The foundation of his doctrine was that education should be organic, meaning that intellectual, moral, and physical education (or, in his words, development of “head, heart, and body”) should be integrated and that education should draw upon the faculties or “self-power” inherent in the human being. Education should be literally a drawing-out of this self-power, a development of abilities through activity—in the physical field by encouraging manual work and exercises, in the moral field by stimulating the habit of moral actions, and in the intellectual field by eliciting the correct use of the senses in observing concrete things accurately and making judgments upon them. Words, ideas, practices, and morals have meaning only when related to concrete things.

From these overarching principles there followed certain practical rules of educational method. First, experience must precede symbolism. There must be an emphasis on object lessons that acquaint the child with the realities of life; from these lessons abstract thought is developed. What one does is a means to what one knows. This means that the program should be child-centred, not subject-centred. The teacher is to offer help by participating with the child in his activities and should strive to know the nature of the child in order to determine the details of his education. This means that the stages of education must be related to the stages of child development. Finally, intellectual, moral, and physical activities should be as one.

Much of Pestalozzi’s pedagogy was influenced by his work with children of the poor. Thus, there was a strong emphasis on education in the home. The development of skills was emphasized, not for their own sake, but in connection with intellectual and moral growth. Manual training was important for the head and heart, as well as for the hand. Whereas the reformers of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution stressed the “emancipation” of the lower classes, Pestalozzi aimed at helping poor people to help themselves. This was social reform, not social revolution.

Froebel and the kindergarten movement
Next to Pestalozzi, perhaps the most gifted of early 19th-century educators was Froebel, the founder of the kindergarten movement and a theorist on the importance of constructive play and self-activity in early childhood. He was an intensely religious man who tended toward pantheism and has been called a nature mystic. Throughout his life he achieved very little literary fame, partly because of the style of his prose and philosophy, which is so academic and obscure that it is difficult to read and sometimes scarcely comprehensible.

**The Pedagogy of Froebel**

Froebel's pedagogical ideas have a mystical and metaphysical context. He viewed man as a child of God, of nature, and of humanity who must learn to understand his own unity, diversity, and individuality, corresponding to this threefold aspect of his being. On the other hand, man must understand the unity of all things (the pantheistic element).

Education consists of leading man, as a thinking, intelligent being, growing into self-consciousness, to a pure and unsullied, conscious and free representation of the inner law of Divine Unity, and in teaching him ways and means thereto.

Education had two aspects: the teacher was to remove hindrances to the self-development or “self-activity” of the child, but he was also to correct deviations from what man's experience has taught is right and best. Education is thus both “dictating and giving way.” This means that ordinarily a teacher should not intervene and impose mandatory education, but when a child, particularly a child of kindergarten age, is restless, tearful, or willful, the teacher must seek the underlying reason and try to eradicate the uncovered hindrance to the child's creative development. Most important, the teacher's dictating and giving way should not flow from the mood and caprices of the teacher. Behaviour should be measured according to a “third force” between teacher and child, a Christian idea of goodness and truth.

School, for Froebel, was not an “establishment for the acquisition of a greater or lesser variety of external knowledge”; actually, he thought children were instructed in things they do not need. School instead should be the place to which the pupil comes to know the “inner relationship of things,” “things” meaning God, man, nature, and their unity. The subjects followed from this: religion, language and art, natural history, and the knowledge of
form. In all these subjects the lessons should appeal to the pupil's interests. It is clear that, in Froebel's view, the school is to concern itself not primarily with the transmission of knowledge but with the development of character and the provision of the right motivation to learn.

Froebel put great emphasis on play in child education. Just like work and lessons, games or play should serve to realize the child's inner destiny. Games are not idle time wasting; they are “the most important step in the development of a child,” and they are to be watched by the teachers as clues to how the child is developing. Froebel was especially interested in the development of toys for children—what he called “gifts,” devised to stimulate learning through well-directed play. These gifts, or playthings, included balls, globes, dice, cylinders, collapsible dice, shapes of wood to be put together, paper to be folded, strips of paper, rods, beads, and buttons. The aim was to develop elemental judgment distinguishing form, colour, separation and association, grouping, matching, and so on. When, through the teacher’s guidance, the gifts are properly experienced, they connect the natural inner unity of the child to the unity of all things: e.g., the sphere gives the child a sense of unlimited continuity, the cylinder a sense both of continuity and of limitation. Even the practice of sitting in a circle symbolizes the way in which each individual, while a unity in itself, is a living part of a larger unity. The child is to feel that his nature is actually joined with the larger nature of things.

Herbart

Johann Friedrich Herbart was a contemporary of Froebel and other German Romanticists, but he can hardly be put into the ranks of such pedagogues. During his lifetime his sober, systematic “philosophical realism” found little approval; and only posthumously, during the latter half of the 19th century, did his work achieve great importance. He is regarded as one of the founders of theoretical pedagogy, injecting both metaphysics and psychology into the study of how people learn.

The Psychology and Pedagogy of Herbart

As a young man of 18, Herbart had studied at the University of Jena under the idealist philosopher Fichte. It was a long while before he broke from the spell of Fichte's teachings and turned to
philosophical realism, which asserts that underlying the world of appearances there is a plurality of things or “reals.” Change consists simply in the alteration in the relations between these reals, which resist the changed relationships as a matter of self-preservation.

Ideas, like things, always exist and always resist change and seek self-preservation. It is true that some ideas may be driven below the threshold of consciousness; but the excluded ideas continue to exist in an unconscious form and tend, on the removal of obstacles (as through education), to return spontaneously to consciousness. In the consciousness there are ideas attracting other ideas so as to form complex systems. These idea masses correspond to the many interests of the individual (such as his home and his hobbies) and to broader philosophical and religious concepts and values. In the course of mental development certain constellations of ideas acquire a permanent dominance that exercises a powerful selective facilitating influence upon the ideas struggling to enter or reenter the consciousness.

In his systematic account of the nature of education, Herbart conceived the process as beginning with the idea masses that the child has previously acquired from experience and from social intercourse. The teacher creates knowledge from the former and sympathy from the latter. The ultimate objective is the formation of character by the development of an enlightened will, capable of making judgments of right and wrong. Moral judgments (like reals) are absolute, springing from contemplation, incapable of proof and not requiring proof. Ethics, in other words, is the ultimate focus of pedagogy.

In the classroom, it is the aim of the lessons to introduce new conceptions, to bind them together, and to order them. Herbart speaks of “articulation,” a systematic method of constructing correct, or moral, idea masses in the student’s mind. First the student becomes involved in a particular problem; then he considers its context. Each of these two stages has a phase of rest and of progress, and thus there are four stages of articulation: (1) clarification, or the static contemplation of particular conceptions, (2) association, or the dynamic linking of new conceptions with old ones, (3) systematization, or the static ordering and modification of what in the conceptions are deemed of value, and (4) methodization, or the dynamic application and recognition of what has been learned. Herbart phrased this system of instruction only in very general terms, but his
successors tended to turn this framework into a rigid schedule that had to be applied to every lesson. Herbart himself warned:

We must be familiar with them [the methods], try them out according to circumstances, alter, find new ones, and extemporize; only we must not be swallowed up in them nor seek the salvation of education there.

The United States

Administered locally everywhere, schooling of the United States's masses in the republic's younger days was immensely diverse. In New England primary schooling enjoyed public support. In the South apart from supplying a meagre learning to pauper children, the states abstained from educational responsibility. In the middle states elementary schools were sometimes public; more often they were parochial or philanthropic. Only beyond the Alleghenies was there any federal provision for education. There, under the Articles of Confederation the Ordinance of 1787 reserved a plot of land in every prospective township for the support of education. The measure not only laid the groundwork for education in the states of the Ohio Valley and the Great Lakes, it also became a precedent for national educational aid. Thus, in 1862 the Morrill Act granted every state establishing a public agricultural college 30,000 acres (12,000 hectares) of public land for each of its lawmakers in Congress. Since then some 12 million acres (five million hectares) have been distributed, on which some 70 of the so-called land-grant colleges currently flourish.

Several of the Founding Fathers expressed belief in the necessity of public education but only Thomas Jefferson undertook to translate his conviction into actuality. Convinced that democracy can be effective only in the hands of an enlightened people, he offered Virginia's lawgivers a plan in 1779 to educate schoolchildren at public cost for three years and a few gifted boys beyond that. The proposal encountered resistance from both the ruling classes and the clergy; they regarded instruction as a private or an ecclesiastical prerogative. Jefferson's plan was rejected, as was another he submitted some 40 years later. Although his ideas enlightened educational thought throughout the country, only one of Jefferson's dreams reached actuality in his lifetime: the University of Virginia opened in 1825, the most up-to-date institution of its sort, the first frankly secular
university in America and the closest to a modern-day conception of a state university.

The Educational Awakening

When Jefferson died in 1826 the nation stood on the threshold of a stupendous transformation. During the ensuing quarter century it expanded enormously in space and population. Old cities grew larger and new ones more numerous. The era saw the coming of the steamboat and the railroad. Commerce flourished and so did agriculture. The age witnessed the rise of the common man with the right to vote and hold office. It was a time of overflowing optimism, of dreams of perpetual progress, moral uplift, and social betterment.

Such was the climate that engendered the common school. Open freely to every child and upheld by public funds, it was to be a lay institution under the sovereignty of the state, the archetype of the present-day American public school. Bringing the common school into being was not easy. Against it bulked the doctrine that any education which excluded religious instruction—as all state-maintained schools were legally compelled to do—was godless. Nor had there been any great recession of the contention that education was not a proper governmental function and for a state to engage therein was an intrusion into parental privilege. Still more distasteful was the fact that public schooling would occasion a rise in taxes.

Yet the common school also mustered some formidable support, and finally, in 1837, liberal Massachusetts lawmakers successfully carried through a campaign for a state board of education. It is especially to Horace Mann, the board's first secretary, that Massachusetts credits its educational regeneration. To gather data on educational conditions in Massachusetts, Mann roved the entire commonwealth. He lectured and wrote reports, depicting his dire findings with unsparing candour. There were outcries against him, but when Mann resigned, after 12 years, he could take pride in an extraordinary achievement. During his incumbency, school appropriations almost doubled. Teachers were awarded larger wages; in return they were to render better service. To help them Massachusetts established three state normal schools, the first in America. Supervision was made professional. The school year was extended. Public high schools were augmented. Finally, the common school, under the authority of the state, though still beset by difficulties, slowly became the rule.
What Mann accomplished in Massachusetts, Henry Barnard (1811–1900) achieved in Connecticut and Rhode Island. More reserved than Mann, Barnard has come down the ages as the “scholar of the educational awakening.” He became the first president of the Association for the Advancement of Education and editor of its American Journal of Education, in whose 30 volumes he discussed virtually every important pedagogical idea of the 19th century.

Similar campaigns were under way in other areas. In Pennsylvania the assault centred on the pauper school; in New York it was against sectarianism. On the westward-moving frontier, old educational ideas and traditions had to compete in an environment antagonistic to privilege and permanence. There was controversy everywhere, however, over the state’s right to assume educational authority and especially its power to levy school taxes. Future handling of this issue in the West was foretold in 1837, when Michigan realized a state-supported and state-administered system of education in which the state university, the University of Michigan under the leadership of Henry Tappan, played an integral part.

**Secondary education:**

Once the common school was solidly entrenched, the scant opportunity afforded the lower classes for more than a rudimentary education fell under increasing challenge. If it was right to order children to learn reading, writing, and arithmetic and to offer them free tax-supported schooling, some reasoned, then it was also right to accommodate those desiring advanced instruction. Before long, a few common schools, yielding to parental insistence, introduced courses beyond the elementary level. Such was the germ of the high school in the U.S.

The first high school in the United States opened in Boston in 1821 as the English Classical School, a designation that soon was changed to English High School. Designed for the sons of the “mercantile and mechanic classes,” it provided three years of free instruction in English, mathematics, surveying, navigation, geography, history, logic, ethics, and civics. In 1825 New York City inaugurated the first high school outside New England. The next year Boston braved free secondary education for girls judiciously diluted and restricted to 130. When the number of applicants vastly exceeded this figure, the city fathers abandoned the project.
The high-school movement was spurred less by these diffuse developments than by legislation by Massachusetts in 1827 that ordered towns of 500 families to furnish public instruction in American history, algebra, geometry, and bookkeeping, in addition to the common primary subjects. Furthermore, towns of 4,000 were to offer courses in history, logic, rhetoric, Latin, and Greek. The measure lacked public backing, but it set the guideposts for similar legislation elsewhere. The contention that government had no right to finance high schools remained an issue until the 1870s, when Michigan’s supreme court, finding for the city of Kalamazoo in litigation brought by a taxpayer, declared the high school to be a necessary part of the state’s system of public instruction.

Education for Females

Though the common school vouchsafed instruction to girls, girls’ chances to attend high school—not to say college—were slight. The “female academies,” attended mainly by daughters of the middle class, were not numerous, and they varied in their emphases, often stressing social or domestic subjects. The truth is that as late as the 1840s, when the lowliest man could vote and hold office, women were halted by taboos of every sort. But as America advanced industrially, and more and more women flocked to the mill and the office, their desire for greater educational opportunity grew. As in the struggle for the common school, the cause of women’s education bred leaders, many of whom founded schools and communicated internationally. In 1833 Oberlin College in Ohio hazarded coeducation and 20 years later Antioch College also in Ohio, followed suit. Beyond the Mississippi every state university, except that of Missouri, was coeducational from its beginning. The East moved more warily; Cornell University was the first Eastern school to become coeducational, in 1872.

Higher Education

While women were crusading for greater educational opportunity, the college itself was undergoing alteration. It had begun as a cradle of divinity, but, as the 18th century waned, it was displaying a mounting secularity. In the course of the 19th century, not only did colleges surge in number, but some of the more enterprising of them undertook to reshape their purpose. Soon after its opening in 1885, Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania
announced courses for the master's and doctor's degrees. Inspired by the scholarly accomplishments of German universities, Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, founded in 1867, put its weight on research. Twenty years later Clark University in Massachusetts opened as a purely graduate school. Soon the graduate trend invaded older schools as well.

The early normal schools, or teacher-training schools, were primitive; often they were merely higher elementary schools, rehearsing their students for a year in basic reading and arithmetic, rectitude and piety, some history, mathematics, and physiology, and, if they survived, a rudimentary pedagogy. After the 1860s the ideas and experiments of Pestalozzi and Froebel combined with widespread social-democratic influences on education and advances in psychological thought to change schooling. This confluence, which was most noticeable in elementary education, resulted in the appearance of the kindergarten and in methods proceeding from the nature of the child and including content representing more of the present society. While much of the rationale was religious or mystical, the outcome was socially and psychologically more realistic. Since the early phases of schooling were initially the only concern of teacher training, it was natural that the idea of preparing teachers to use techniques derived from the new concepts, including the greater systematization introduced by Herbart, and the necessity for teachers to learn specifically about the child would substantially augment teacher-training programs and lay the groundwork for immense institutional expansion in the first half of the 20th century.