A HISTORY OF THE VALUE OF EDUCATION IN COLORADO

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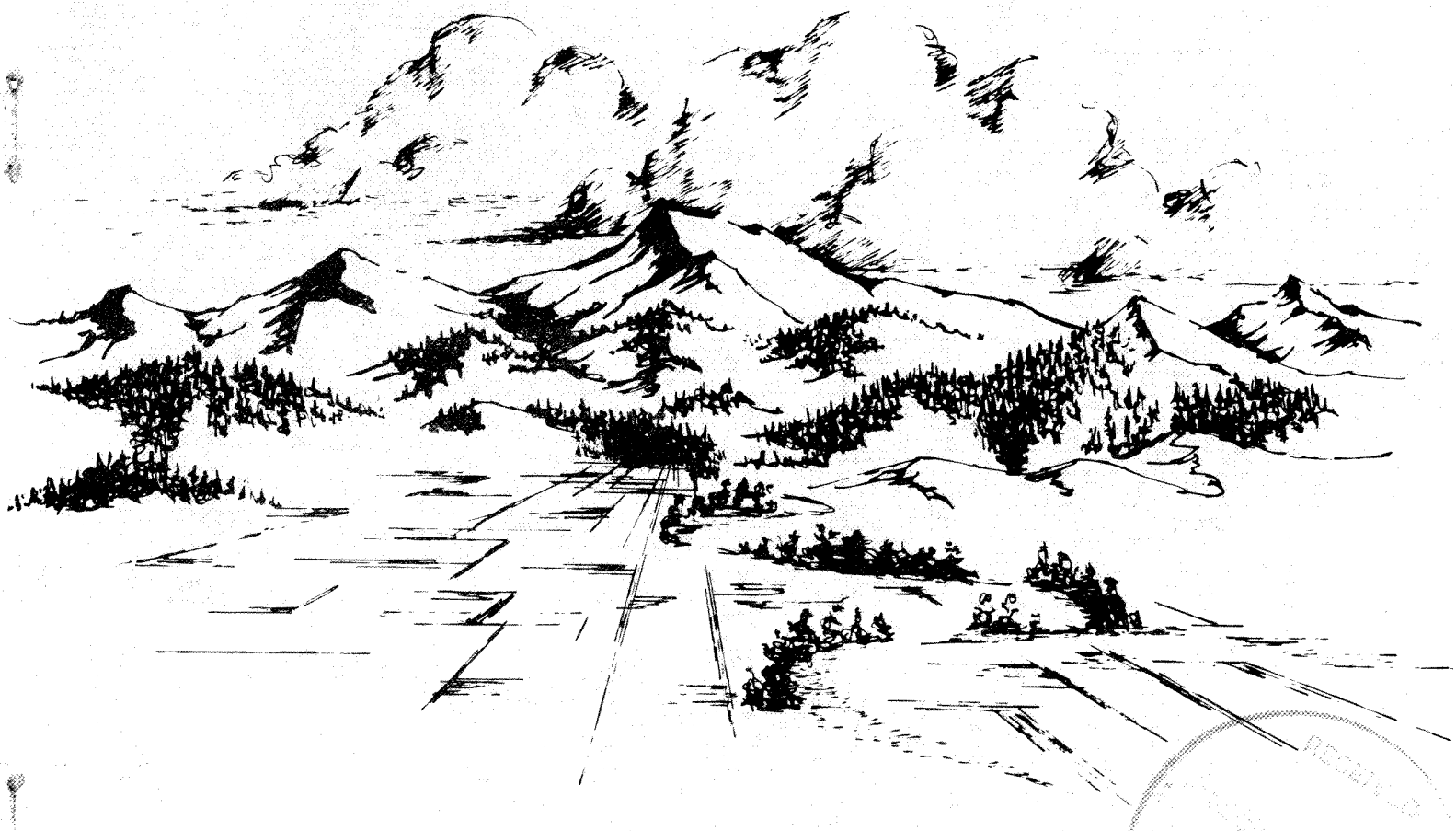

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Until recently the past has been regarded as a document linking the development of American democracy to the progress of public education. This history (according to Cremin, 1965) was designed to convince teachers of their high calling, and to cover over the low status that they actually possessed (see, for instance, Beale, 1936). Now a challenge is being issued to the traditional version of the connection between the public schools and the structural forms of society. It flows from two sources: a wave of criticism following on the dark findings of social scientists (Coleman, Jencks and the rest) about education's potential for living up to its own promise, and the emergence of a so-called "revisionist" (see Lazerson, 1973) history critical of the prevailing interpretation of the past. Our educational failures, whatever these may be, are neither, according to the new historians, "accidental nor mindless, but endemic and built into the system as a part of its reason for being" (Lazerson, 1973:270). The schools, so this argument goes, have acted mainly to retain, by shaping the children of the less favored to a dominant social order's requirements, the class structure of society. This has been achieved within an institution fashioned by the joining of an elaborate administrative bureaucracy-- with ostensively objective criteria for selecting out a meritocracy in which the diploma replaces property as the basis of rank and priviledge-- to an ideology of equality and opportunity that masks the school's real function, which is to suppress the weak while enhancing the advantage of a professional establishment. What follows is a modest effort to trace the outlines of this same argument as it applies specifically to education in Colorado, in order thereby to make sense of the historical record of the values associated with schooling in this state.

INTRODUCTION

It is given in the perspective that informs this

study that the first and one persistent of education's values[1] is that of transmitting and so sustaining those underlying and over-arching sentiments that describe the ethos of society at large. According to this assumption whatever secondary values might be associated with educaction they will reflect in their particulars the ideals that predominate in society at any particular time.

What I want to suggest, then, in strictest accord with the main lines of systematic sociological thinking on the matter, is that those values that have been historically associated with education in Colorado are ones that have expectedly matched the ideals subscribed to by the spokesmen of the dominant social order, the history of whose ideals, as it relates to the thesis that will be developed here, is usually taken to look something like this: Stage I, personal independence; Stage II, group conformity and; Stage III, meaningful independence.

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[1] By "value" I refer to any articulated conception of the desirable (a celebration of a people's ideals, which, it is supposed, influence the selection from among various available means and ends of action which ones will be taken as solutions to the practicalities of day-to-day living).

In what follows I will have a chronicle of the ideals directing education in Colorado, as those ideals have been expressed by its (education's) various spokesmen,[2] stand as an expression of this very value scheme.[3]

STAGE I

Education in Colorado, as elsewhere, has been valued throughout its history primarily as a means of preparing persons for membership in the community, of carrying out a program of socialization, in other words, that has consisted largely of the promotion of appropriate values.

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[2]I must acknowledge the possible weakness of an approach like this one that naively trusts the public statements of such influentials as accurate portrayals of the actual and prevailing sentiments of the educational community and its sponsors. It should be kept in mind, however, that Colorado's educational leaders, especially in the early years of state building, have been only a few, powerful and more than just a little influential, men. Of Aaron Gove, for instance, who was superintendent of Denver public schools, 1874-1904, it has been said that he "had a greater influence in the making and administering of a city school system that any other man in America" (according to the Journal of Education, June 28, 1894).

[3]This scheme, which though it is prominently accessible in the work of such classical sources as Maine, Durkheim and Tonnies, to name just a few, is taken as presented here from Getzels ("On the Transformation of Values," School Review, August 1972).

"In the education of the people," argued the delegates to the Colorado Teachers' Convention of 1875 as a preface to resolutions prepared for the state's constitutional convention to meet a year later, "the object is to fit them to be good citizens" (Rocky Mountain News, December 29, 1875).

"Society has established the public schools," they added, "for the purpose of correcting deficiencies in natural education as an agency whose objective is to form correct public opinion" (Rocky Mountain News, December 30, 1875).

Education in Colorado has from the beginning been consistently valued as a way of transmitting the cultural ideals-- though the specific content of these has been several times transformed-- to which its public has subscribed.

Early on (Stage I), in the era of rugged individualism that marked the period of the original development of the state, education was expected to "develop mental power in the minds of the pupils, promote a love of the good and beautiful and inspire some degree of refinement" in

them (Colorado School Journal, January 1890).[4]

Such a minimal expectation did not yet ask of education that it accomplish the very special task, that would later come to characterize it, of social selection and channeling, of identifying talent and matching it with demand. Indeed, there was in the beginning in this state a resistance to the "tendency to implant in the minds of patrons, pupils and teachers of schools the idea that the wisest form of education must have reference for fitting pupils to some particular trade, profession or business" (Colorado School Journal, January 1890), a tendency that was already current elsewhere.

What was wanted was merely that the schools "banish the ignorance and intellectual stupidity" (Colorado School Journal, October 1890) which existed then among the unenlightened and unsympathetic[5] elements in every community,

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[4]This journal is referred to extensively in this work. For a period of time, starting in 1893, it served as the official organ of public education in the state, through which the opinion of the state upon questions of school policy was expected to reach local school officers.

[5]That there was considerable lack of sympathy for the

not as an end in itself, however, but as a means for achieving the only slightly less well publicized end of social control.

The idea of social control is one entailed by the notion of socialization, mentioned earlier in giving education's reason for being. Socialization is the general process by which a person learns to be a participant member in his society, by which he learns, in other words, the expected patterns of behavior appropriate to its ultimate values. Social control is the specific mechanism through which society perpetuates this process, by inducing conformity (social control is usually defined so that its end is seen as one of social order) with it. The educational institution is one of the channels through which society transmits its cultural ideals to succeeding generations. It is also one of various means used by society

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cause of the public schools is shown by editorial comment carried in the Rocky Mountain News (1864) deploring the fact that school claims (the First Territorial Legislature of 1861 had provided for a permanent school fund, declaring that 100 feet of each new mining property be set aside for the support of the schools) were being systematically "jumped."

to bring its recalcitrant members back into line.

Now it is no secret that among the arguments given on behalf of the common school by its preeminent advocate, Horace Mann, was one that lay principal stress on its possibilities as an inexpensive police force. Mann argued, for instance, in an 1848 report to the Massachusettes Board of Education, that all ways of controlling human conduct had, up until then, failed, and that the one untested means for ending immorality was a system of universal education.[6]

"In a sense," writes Joel Spring (1972:76), whose work, along with that of Michael Katz (1972)[7] has given

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[6] According to Cremin ("The Republic and the Schools," Teachers College Record, 1957).

[7] For any sociologist persuaded to accord his own with Max Weber's version of the sociological endeavor-- which recommends (Weber, trans., 1947) that sociology be directed toward the interpretive understanding of meaningful human conduct, considered in its course-- a certain amount of respect is due the points of view of studied social actors as such sentiments are revealed in concrete situations. According to such a perspective the problems of the sociologist are like those of the historian. Yet the sociologist cannot be a historian, and, in fact, to the very extent that his work succeeds as sociology, it must fall short of being honest history. The trouble is that

me direction in the pursuit of the thesis that is just beginning to be developed here, "the American Revolution replaced the use of force with education as a means of maintaining social order. There was a strong feeling that some method had to be used to assure good character otherwise a Republican government would result in social chaos." This was one reason that the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 set aside land for education. The ordinance stated: "Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind,

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the sociologist, in order to accomodate his work to the rigors that describe the scientific standing to which it aspires, must bring to his studies conceptual frameworks by which a properly historical interest would be loath to be constrained. Nevertheless, much good sociology, within the limits of such constraint (Weber's own formulation of the structure of bureaucracy and Marx's analysis of the class system are examples), strives to be true to the historical character of its subject matter, and much good history is significantly informed by sociological concepts as well. Two contemporary historians of American education who have prosecuted their art under the auspices of sociological concepts, and upon whose work I have drawn extensively during the past few months for the structure of my own search of the educational record in this state, are Spring and Katz. The concepts that gloss their separate retrieves of the history of education in America are those of (1) bureaucracy, and (2) social class.

schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

Mann, it is known, was a student of the science of phrenology, assessed today, because it proceeded by the analysis of the size, shape, and location of the bumps on a person's head, as something akin to fortune telling, but in its time, as an artifact of a naturalistic theory of behavior, a profound influence-- promising as it did that education could provide for the good society by building character in children-- on the formulation of liberal school rationale. Among other things that it assumed, you see, was that the mind is composed of certain set faculties (thirty-seven of them) that govern the attitudes and actions of individuals. Behavioristic in outlook, then, the theory maintained that human character could be modified, that desirable faculties could be cultivated and undesirable ones eliminated through their exercise (or disuse).[8]

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[8]This account is gleaned from Cremin (The Transformation of the Schools: Progressivism in American Education, 1961).

The involvement of early education in this state in a program of social control much like that advocated by Mann, motivated by similar desires for social order and predicated on a like theory of mind and of learning, is not difficult to document.

Moral training, as the primary aspect of education, was particularly emphasized. "It is suggested," says the Colorado School Journal (November 1890), "that Normal schools, training schools and institute experts undertake to give to their students a notion, that first and most important, if a teacher would succeed, is the ability to control; that the greater half of the child's training is the cultivation and strengthening of the virtues of obediance, order, and punctuality. This being accomplished, the other and smaller part, teaching, is to the earnest seeker easily acquired."

"The great majority of our citizens come to us," the journal continues (November 1890), "not from the immigrant steamships, but from the public schools. Whatever may be done or left undone by our colleges, it adds, "let us see to it that in the... public schools... there

be introduced, steadily pursued, and strongly emphasized, such studies as tend to make moral, intelligent, loyal citizens...."[9]

The words in which the above advice is introduced would lead one to suppose that the intensely moral education at which Colorado's early schoolmen aimed-- an education which, as we shall see, was just as intensely individualistic in outlook-- was more the result of the strong strain of Puritanism that they had brought with them to the frontier,[10] than of any fear on the part of these men of the peculiar menace that had raised itself with the appearance of large scale industrial organiza-

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[9]Higher education, in the early days, even among the state's educators, was not generally held in very high regard. The question of a state university was one deferred by the delegates to the 1875 convention, and it would be some time before the special colleges would find general favor. As late as 1904 Z. A. Snyder, president of the state normal school at Greeley, complained that even the high schools, in as much as they tended to be "preparatory schools" that catered to the wants of institutions of higher learning, were not "schools for all the people" (Proceedings of the Colorado Teachers' Association, 1904).

[10]In praising the "vigorous common school measures" of Larimer, Weld and Boulder counties the editors of the

tion in the cities of coastal America, the dread depraved and shiftless urban proletariat bequeathed to the new world by Europe. But though such a trouble may have seemed, at the time, a long way off for Colorado, it should not be overlooked that many of the state's early educational leaders came to the territory equipped with a considerable foresight gained from experience in vast urban areas (nearly half of the delegates to the state's first teachers' conference had emigrated from either New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio or Illinois).[11]

At any rate, though the cause of their original concern may have differed from that which moved the eastern reformers in the same period, Colorado's early

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school journal accounted for the "happy condition" of these areas by pointing out the "high character" of their people, most of whom were of "Puritan antecedents" (December 1890).

A regular feature of the journal during the early years was one on so-called "Temperance Education," which included such exotic titles as "Temperance Arithmatic."

[11]Though the population of the state as a whole in the period immediately following the war between the states was generally of a background that was rural and southern (according to Gastil, "Homicide and Regional Cultures of Violence," American Sociological Review, 1971).

schoolmen moved purposefully from the beginning upon a policy of education which prescribed that pupils would receive moral training.

Such training, it was hoped, would produce individually responsible citizens, and such training was, in practice, an individual matter. It was believed best that "each pupil work for and by himself" (Colorado School Journal, October 1890), not with his classmates.

Nor was the teacher to obtrude himself upon the educational process. "If the instructor performs the work before the class," it was thought, "many seem to understand because they have been told what to expect. To obtain the best results the pupil must perform the work himself" (Colorado School Journal, October 1890).

The teacher as an active co-participant in the educational process was not much valued. "Children are wheedled, coaxed and flattered into doing the right thing," when the instructor takes too active a part in the process of learning, complained the journal, "thus rendering the students more and more susceptible to this class of influence, and less able to act upon their

own volition" (July 1890).

Independence was what was wanted. "The one great object of the school in our times," the journal announces (July 1890), "is to teach the pupil how to use books-- how to get out for himself what there is for him in the printed page. Oral instruction... is a great waste of the teacher's energy and an injury to the pupil. The pupil acquires a habit of expecting to be amused rather than the habit of work and a relish for independent examination" (July 1890).

"No other faculty of the individual is of so much value as that form of will power," claims the school journal (September 1893), "that enables one to act in accordance with his own judgment rather than his inclination. Give all men always the power of doing always what their judgment tells them is for their own best interest, and the saloon, the gambling house, and the brothel would be eliminated from the social problems."

Education in the eraly days was expected to be an exercise of a pupil's "higher faculties," the goal of

which was the production of a self-sufficient and morally upright citizen. Such an expectation was an outgrowth on the part of schoolmen of a desire to have the schools play a part in the maintenance of the social order, primarily by providing a check on the spread of so-called social problems, among which the foremost was that of crime of every sort.

This concern is given trenchant illustration by a curious series of events occuring in the 1890's. At that time there was abroad, according to the school journal, an incidious theory that enjoyed alarming popular esteem that the spread and growth of the common schools was somehow (if only statistically) implicated in the spread and growth of crime in America. Crime, it was noted, was associated with the cities, where the graded schools were first introduced and where public education by and large flourished.[12]

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[12] In appraising the effects of the compulsory school act the journal (March 1893) notes that for the period 1890-1892 total school population for the state had increased by 11 per cent, while total school enrollment was up 17 per cent and average daily attendance some 23

The President of the United States, Mr. Cleveland, commissioned the head of the Bureau of Education, a Mr. Harris, to send a panel of American scholars to Europe to study with then prominent European criminologists, charging these scholars to come up with an alternative theory of crime (one that would challenge the notion that increases in crime were explained by the growth and spread of the common schools).[13] The results of their studies were eagerly anticipated by the editors of the school journal, and though a promised follow-up to the story never appeared, what did, some eighteen months later in the section of the journal regularly devoted to "Education and Crime" is perhaps just as telling a demonstration of the very real concern of the state's educators for the problem reflected in that title.

In the school journal, June 1894, there appeared the outline of a "child study" proposed by the state normal

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per cent for the same period. Most of this growth was accounted for by the growth of the city schools (for the period 1890-1892, ungraded schools-- country schools, by and large-- showed an increase of 3.8 per cent, while the graded and high schools, largely an urban phenomenon, showed increases of 26 and 38 per cent respectively).

school which asked, among other things (including measures of such "hereditary" student characteristics as those of "thought," "aesthetics," and the "will") for records of pupils' eye color, size and shape; hair color, texture and quantity; nose type and size; facial structure; head shape and size; lip shape; and size, shape and position of the ears!

Among the people with whom America's team of scholars had studied was one Cesare Lombroso, the prominent criminologist of the times, whose theories proposed that criminals are, by birth, a distinct type of person. This type could be recognized, it was thought, by stigmata or physical anomalies, such as an asymmetrical cranium, long lower jaw, flattened nose, and so on. Though such anomalies did not in themselves cause crime, they identified the personality that is predisposed to criminal behavior, and thus explained it. Thus the Colorado child study.

Education in the early years tried to answer to what it thought society wanted, and that was, as much as anything else, children disciplined to fulfill their independent places in the social order. The schools, then, functioned

as agencies of socialization and social control, that proceeded by a program of moral and intellectual training to turn out self disciplined citizens.

Such a program was in all respects compatible with the sort of theory of the mind that enjoyed currency at the time. Popular philosophies of knowledge (like Locke's) then held to a notion of a substantive mind, made up of a full fledged set of faculties, like those, say, of perceiving, retaining, recalling, attending, imagining, and so on, which are shaped by exercise upon the materials of experience. Associated with this notion was one of the transferability of these faculties. A faculty, say memory, developed in remembering Latin conjugations, would be better able to remember in any other field. Consequently, the curriculum need not have been very wide. A few well selected subjects providing exercise for the various but very definite faculties were all that was necessary. Through the force of tradition the languages were used for the memory, mathematics for reasoning, and so forth.

STAGE II

This philosophy and the practices it supported of

course no longer obtain. Their places were taken in our system of values, around the turn of the century, by other ways of thinking. These came together to form a new image (Stage II). The older system had founded education's value upon the notion that practice at learning assured the survival of individual virtues that were basic to the common good. Against this vision the new image stressed the idea that goodness instead not only attaches to but derives in the first place from sociality itself.

This new ethic had the support of new systems of thinking and the moral backing as well-- in the face of what many regarded as an oversecularized school system that had driven not only sectarianism[13] but morality itself from the purview of public instruction-- of the

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[13]Anti-clerical feeling among the fathers of the state was considerable. Not only did the framers of Colorado's constitution call for the abrogation of all territorial laws "looking to the enforcement of Christian morality," but three times they petitioned among themselves (ultimately without success) to ban the use of "the Bible in public schools, whether ostensibly as a text book or avowedly as a book of religious worship" (Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention, January 8, 1876).

agents of the so-called character education movement.

The new philosophical systems-- like Dewey's, which stressed that learning is not only an activity but a social one-- coalesced around the notion that education pertains not only to preparation for life but makes necessary reference to daily living, within which learning takes place, so it was had, as a continual reconstruction of experience. Exeprience worthy of that name, it was held, is always experience in and of the connected affairs of everyday life. Learning, on this view, both originates in and has its purpose fulfilled by social order.

According to the new ideal much if not most of a child's education would consist of learning to live through living. The important purpose of education would remain that of socialization as an arm of social control. Now, however, a well-formed citizen would be shaped not merely by direction in the proper exercise of his properties, but by the effects upon his personality of involvement with his peers.[14]

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[14]The accumulated consequences of these effects were

At the peak of the character reform movement in this state (or, at least, what corresponded in Colorado to the national movement captured by this title and responsible, among other things, for the development of such organizations as the Boy and Girl Scouts) a call was made to the teachers of Colorado that would not have been out of place in the early years (Stage I) already discussed: "Fellow teachers, let us make our lives count in the lives of those we teach; let us feel each day that we have inculcated a part of that spirit that creates not altogether citizens that can read and write and add and subtract, but those who know how to behave themselves and do so because they know it is right and they have no other desire" (Edward Knight, Superintendent of the City Schools of Lamar, before the Prowers County Teachers' Association, November

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little anticipated. Though the new ideal can be viewed metaphorically as a mechanism of society's genius for matching the demands of its own structures, its end product, the so-called student subculture, is today one of a plurality of forces demanding the dismantling of the system erected upon it. A recent survey by the Purdue Opinion Panel, for instance, shows that over 40 per cent of high school students agree with the radical critique of education (that schools are repressive, non-productive, and inhuman).

21, 1925).

But things were not really so much the same as this might make them seem. With the new emphasis a broadening of the curriculum was begun which was to culminate in the new and fully graded and comprehensive high schools. Morality, while it remained a central focus of education, was no longer a list of maxims but an intricate complex of social behavior-- like competing while appearing to cooperate-- which required years of apprenticeship. The elementary school, one the sole justification of public education, now became an initial step on the way to high school, where some would be finally socialized while others would be guided in increasingly refined training for still further schooling and finally success.

While the new ideal, like the one which had preceded it, was accompanied by its own formal rationale, it would be a mistake to account for it by pointing directly to the issue of the academy. Structural changes in society itself emerged concomitantly with the new ethic and its official explanation, and the new structures were ones with a definite purpose arguably serving definite interests.

Some feel that the great war was responsible for the conditions that promoted the move for educational reform. Indeed, a part of the fervor with which the task of social engineering was approached is attributable to the intense Americanism of the war years. Here in Colorado a convention of teachers in 1919 gave voice to the belief that "the schools should be used in every way possible to inculcate information and ideals among adults as well as children," and that a state law should be enacted "in the interests of Americanization and making instruction compulsory for all in the elements of good citizenship" (Colorado Education Association, Proceedings of the Convention, November 4-8, 1919).

So strong were the feelings of those assembled that they concluded with the following resolve: "The thing which makes boys and girls good citizens must be retained while all that does not contribute to this end must be eliminated from our schools..." (Proceedings of the Convention, 1919).

But citizenship was just as much a celebrated cause in the early years. The issue remains of accounting for

why it was now expected to work itself out in such a very different way. Many attribute the impulse for reform to a new practicality stemming from a concern for social adjustment and, in fact, there was such concern, though where it announced itself too soon or too strongly it met with opposition. Along with its role as a socializing agent of social control the school was now being asked to function as a mechanism of social selection. But socialization could not be abandoned for specialization in the schools because they were both a part of the same image of a corporate society, the newly emphasized and patterning ideal of the industrial age in progress. Producing an individual willing and prepared to cooperate in doing his own special part demanded both sorts of education. It was for this reason that suggestions made for separate trade schools were at first rejected.[15]

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[15] A flourish of sentiment in favor of separately maintained vocational schools held briefly at about the turn of the century, when it was noticed that an effect of child labor laws had been the abandonment of school failures to the streets and alleyways. Class education, a popular notion in those times, became the justification for the neighborhood school, whose virtue it was that its course

> The average business man believes that he has delivered himself of a wonderfully wise and instructive sentence when he says our boys and girls should receive a practical education. It seems to me that the chief object of the teacher's work should be... to promote a love of the good and beautiful and inspire some degree of refinement.... What I resist is the... idea that the wisest form of education must have immediate reference for fitting pupils to some particular trade... (N. C. Miller, before the La Plata County Teachers' Association, April 1890).

Such resistance would be overcome, when it could be shown that a differentiated program of studies was possible within one institution with unity and socialization still an important part, but again, socialization had been the very essence of the earlier scheme and can hardly account for the new. Education would remain something that a certain few did to others to make them "orderly, moral and tractable" (Katz, 1971:ix). Now, however, the class biases that had been present in the system from its origin would only assume a more pronounced character. Where the old school, however patronizingly, had directed its efforts to all young children in much the same way, the new system was designed to benefit those who would go on to

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of study would be determined by the socio-economic status of its neighborhood.

complete their schooling and those who would not in different ways. The new system was designed and continues to meet the demands of a rising middle class that it act as a sorting device enabling their children to retain or improve their advantage, while all the time making the children of the poor "orderly, industrious, law-abiding and respectful of authority" (Katz, 1971:xvii-xviii)-- in a word, company men.

What shaped the direction of public schooling, as well as most other of society's institutions, was the development of modern industrial systems. It was corporate enterprize that first encountered and defined the problems that gave rise to the new educational purpose, and devised the means for meeting them.

The development of modern industrial systems, created as a way of coping with the emergence of an urban working class, shaped the new system of schooling in a variety of ways.

> In the first place, inherent in the modern factory was a problem of social organization which required the employer to take an active interest in the social life of his worker. Out of this concern grew industrial education programs and social act-

> ivities which were designed to fit the worker into the modern industrial organization. These industrial programs became models for the types of activities adopted by the public schools. Company periodicals, clubs, assemblies, and other social activities can be considered precursors and models for the whole range of extracurricular activities what were to become part of the modern school. In some cases actual programs, like home economics, were transferred from factory education activities to the public schools. In the second place, the modern factory system made direct demands on the public schools to produce workers with the correct social attitudes and skills (Spring, 1972:22).

Social leaders and industrial entepreneurs, so a growing and persuasive argument goes, used innovation and expanded educational opportunity in their own interests, imposing their own values and their concerns on the working class and the poor.

The impulse for these tactics sprang, as much as anything else, from the concerns of city fathers and school men to halt the process of cultural differentiation inherent in the increasing diversity of American life, and to forestall the development of a much feared urban proletariat.

This worry, transformed into a general fear of decentralization, spread rapidly westward, to a frontier in

which the school could no longer be counted on to merely mirror values everyone was already comfortable with, but was asked to be a source of consensual values no longer environmentally available.

Lest it be thought that such an analysis as is being carried on here is out of place in a review of the educational values of this state, it must be mentioned that Colorado's early schoolmen were not only quick to adopt the principles and methods of their more urbane counterparts (the association in this state kept a close eye on developments especially in Chicago, reporting regularly, through the journal, on the proceedings of its board),[16] but also were intimately connected with the formulation of those principles and methods.

Teachers at the association meetings of 1904 decided that "many of the problems that we have in Colorado... could be resolved by educating the wives and daughters of

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[16]Following closely, in 1917, the progress of Chicago's innovative hot lunch program, the journal noted happily that upon its adoption the decrease in incorigibles and backward children was very pronounced. "This bit of nourishment and pleasant food," the editors con-

the working class to be more intelligent home makers..." (Proceedings of the Colorado Teachers' Association, 1904).

Such sentiment, which signals the onset of the kind of thinking that would eventuate in the comprehensive high school, is expressed in words that echo those of the literature of those times, among which an especially influential piece was Tolman's Social Engineering (1909). This book, along with Scott's Social Education (1908), comprised a veritable compendium of the enlightened practice of the day. Many of Tolman's recommendation were based in part on the findings of studies conducted by the department of sociology of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in 1901.[17] A question which one of these studies raises, and which goes to the heart of Tolman's notion that paternalistic control of the worker was good for business, is this: "If the worker comes home to a supper

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cludes has cured many cases of bad conduct and general mental deficiency.

[17] The department was established as part of an effort by the company to avoid unionization through a welfare program (the department also carried on experiments in social control). The company's resistance to unionization led finally to the Ludlow Massacre of 1914.

of tasteless food, served without any attempt at making it inviting, or the table attractive, is there any wonder that he seeks the saloon as a stimulant?" (Tolman, 1909:39).

The implication of this, in light of the research concerns which provoked its utterance, is clear: The worker who shuns the tavern is probably more efficient that his workmate who does not. The values that a moral education would promote are the very ones required by the industrial system.

Like Tolman, Scott, who perverted Dewey by concluding that cooperation, a means to the end of an active society in Dewey's view, was itself the end of education, was connected also with the Centennial State. During the year 1901-1902 Scott performed a series of experiments at the Colorado Normal School which led him to conclude that the role of the school was to impose a sense of social obligation and group dependency. "It is not primarily for his own good that the child is taken from his free and wandering life of play. It is for what society can get out of him... that he is sent to school" (Scott, 1908:6).

Toward this end, of getting something out of child-

ren, especially those who might otherwise, if left to the care in upbringing of others outside and less than sympathetic to the new order, wind up a social deficit,[18] a new system of education was designed. Its model structure was the comprehensive high school.

"The parallels" (Spring, 1972:124-125) "that can be drawn between the socialization programs of the factory and school are not accidental. Both believed they faced the problem of internal fragmentation and both believed that the new institutions of society required a cooperative individual."

The task of the schools in the new industrial age became that of integrating the individual into the enlarged cooperative purpose of a dynamic, corporate society. "Essentially," writes Spring (1972:125), "the same image of the needs and organization of society was reflected in the socialization of both the schools and the factories."

Specialization in the schools, it was feared, threatened the goal of socialization. In providing different

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[18] Morality, now a commodity, was morality with a price.

courses of study the schools created the same problem of "social isolation" (Spring, 1972:108) caused by specialization:

> Educators believed that like the factory worker on the assembly line, the student in separate courses of study was losing a sense of unity and interdependence. A differentiated course of study directly threatened the goal of training a self-sacrificing and cooperative individual (Spring, 1972:108).

The generally accepted solution to the problem was the comprehensive high school, whose basic principle was the maintenance of a differentiated program within one institution capable just the same of providing unity through socialization resulting from extra-curricular activities. Since unity was not innate within a fragmented program of learning, it had to be imposed.

"The methods paralleled markedly the factory programs of clubs, outings, assemblies, magazines, and the other means used to create a corporate spirit" (Spring, 1972: 109), in order to meet the needs of the new corporate state, and in the end in the interest of those who ruled its structures. In the new high school it was clubs, athletics, assemblies, student government and newpapers,

all the frills which, in fact, have become the very symbols of what secondary education is all about.

In Colorado, as elsewhere, such programs were quickly adopted. Arguing, in the journal (December 1925) on the need for student councils as a means of training in citizenship, O. E. Brown of Greeley points out that "new freedom for women, for children, for men in industry... and for teachers, has lowered efficiency, which will stay lowered until those affected realize responsibilities...."

But more than efficiency, law and especially order were the impetus for the new ways. By the 1930's programs running the gamut from hall patrols, student councils and newspapers to special courses in "good manners and fundamental virtues" were offered for "regular credit... and without apology" (Colorado School Journal, May 1930), as a "logical way" of preparing students "to meet the crisis of lawlessness" (Colorado School Journal, May 1930) which seemed to have existed then. This process, quickly completed, of the division of education's function along the lines of socialization and specialization, resulted in a structure that is still with us today.

STAGE III

In the meantime, the technological structures erected originally in order to symbolize and in doing so impress upon the mass of America's people an artificial unity continue to exercise their influence in a time when they have surely outlived whatever usefulness they once owned, now, moreover, without a self-sufficing claim to moral purpose. The machinery of selection, pushed to its limits by the cold war fears of the 1950's when it was decided that education served not only community but the national interest,[19] continues to function in a cruelly scientific way, if only for those it was intended for, when for reasons that have more to do with demography than an increase in social mobility or the permeability of class lines it sac-

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[19] Norman Miller, of Pueblo, citing then United States Commissioner of Education, Dr. Lawrence G. Derthick, writes in the journal (February 1959) that "Numerous studies have shown that money spent for education is not simply 'well spent' in some theoretical terms, but that it actually is returned to the economy with interest. Such investiments definitely make for positive gains in the form of high productivity, higher standards of living, more rapid advances in technology, and a stronger foreign policy and greater military potential. All of these fields... involve our national... strength, prestige and... even... survival."

rifices to its own unbridled whimsy the children of a technical and professional establishment whose contest offers no prize. At the same time, the children of the poor and the working classes are still barred from the contest, no amount of demonstrated ability being capable of earning them even recognition, but only, as studies (see, for example, Porter, 1974) have shown, a showing of themselves, as a result of their socialization, artful in the ways that the dominant order values.

CONCLUSION

The theme of this paper, that the schools serve only a few and have not helped the many, is today, among historians of education, a popular view. It is pinned here to the argument that the institution, and even reform, of public education in Colorado as elsewhere, originated in the self-serving interest of the few, in order to control the many while also assuring the certification of their own, and that this order was imposed, in the main, out of hostility toward America's latent pluralism. If I were to offer a conclusion about this state of affairs, which, of course assumes that our educational system is

bad, it would be one that accords with Greenbaum's vision (1974) of the need for American education to found a new ideal based not in the hope of homogeneity but the reality of cultural pluralism, on the eve of the nation's bicentennial year and the state's 100th anniversay, descriptive of the society that envelops the educational form.

The counsel of a 1972 United States Supreme Court decision upholding the right of the Amish to disobey compulsory education laws in order to maintain their own culture, captures-- because it recognizes the flimsy authority of the present order and the need to sustain alternative nexus of values (the comparison of the present order to the fragiley monolithic structure of the Dark Ages is not incidental)-- is apposite here. The decision reads:

> We must not forget that in the Middle Ages important values of the civilization were preserved by members of religious orders who isolated themselves from all worldly influences against great obstacles. There can be no assumption that today's majority is right... and others... wrong (Wisconson versus Yoder, 406, U. S. 205, 1972).

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The purpose of the internship program is to bring organizations involved in community and economic development, environmental problems and the humanities together with institutuions of higher education and their students in the West for the benefit of all.

For these organizations, the intern program provides the problem-solving talents of student manpower while making the resources of universities and colleges more available. For institutions of higher education, the program provides relevant field education for their students while building their capacity for problem-solving.

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