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An exception to the rule: Bank Street College of Education as an independent professional school (1916-1990)

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**An exception to the rule: Bank Street College of Education as
an independent professional school (1916–1990)**

Bailey, Jane M., Ed.D.

The College of William and Mary, 1991

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Ann Arbor, MI 48106**

**An Exception to the Rule:
BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
AS AN INDEPENDENT PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL
(1916 - 1990)**

**A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
The College of William and Mary in Virginia**

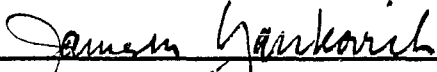
**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education**

**by
Jane M. Bailey
May 1991**

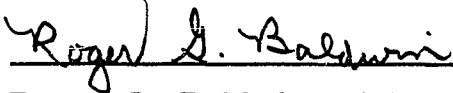
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**by
Jane M. Bailey**


Approved May 1991 by



**James M. Yankovich, Ed.D.
Chairman of Doctoral Committee**



Roger G. Baldwin, Ph.D.



Robert J. Durel, Ph.D.

To Dad

**For racing me to a college degree and winning,
teaching me by example the value of higher education.**

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PREFACE

In the spring of 1987 I came across a book review in the *Washington Post* of a new biography about an educator named Lucy Sprague Mitchell. I was intrigued but uninformed, so Professor John Thelin suggested I write my own review of the biography for *Educational Studies*. The research for that review led me to a small town in Vermont and a chance meeting with Lucy Mitchell's granddaughter who generously gave me a tour of the Mitchell summer compound. She showed me Mrs. Mitchell's personal effects and walked me through the buildings the Mitchells had built, lived in, and loved in. Suddenly the biography became alive and I realized what history is all about: the passage of dreams and ideas from one generation to the next. I became caught in the continuum of an educator's dreams and wanted to investigate deeper what can happen to those dreams as they get handed down through the ages.

I owe a deep personal gratitude to Professor John R. Thelin for showing me the value of such an investigation. His History of Higher Education course at the College of William and Mary infused meaning into history and quality into qualitative research. He has been the great teacher in my life.

As I was in the midst of my background research, Edith Gordon published her 1988 dissertation (S.U.N.Y. Stony Brook) on the history

of Bank Street College of Education. I am grateful to her work as she fleshed in the years at Bank Street that I was not considering. We look at Bank Street through different lenses and it was extremely helpful to have her historical perspective to complement my organizational perspective.

Doing historical research is like being a detective on the trail of history. It was fun for me to follow a trail blazed by Joyce Antler, the author of the biography of Lucy Mitchell. When I signed out some documents from Bank Street just under her signature I was struck by connections which somehow create meaning out of happenstance.

I am indebted to my patient and caring committee. Dr. James Yankovich was always supportive and helped me to keep things in perspective when I would get my head stuck in the clouds. His administrative experience within higher education helped me to glean keen insight into the nature of organizational operations. Dr. Roger Baldwin's guidance through my years at William and Mary has been both patient and thoughtful. He has kept me on track in more ways than he might realize. His willingness to continue serving on my committee even during his hiatus at the National Science Foundation is testimony to Dr. Baldwin's dedication and loyalty.

Some of my happiest moments during the writing of this dissertation were spent with Professor Robert J. Durrel of Christopher Newport College. Our discussions always left me thinking about more variables; always wanting to write more and better. His sociological perspective helped me to see Bank Street as a function of its environment and greatly enriched this study.

I owe Cathy Prigge a special thank you as both typist and friend. Her typing and editing skills are exemplary; but more important, she shows me daily the meaning of integrity.

During the three years that I worked on this project I received much support from the William and Mary School of Education in the form of a graduate assistantship as well as funding to attend the 1989 Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) Conference in Atlanta, Georgia. At that conference I was privileged to participate in a panel discussion, "Is the Ed. School the Dead School?" with Professors John Thelin, James Yankovich, and Burton Clark. I entered the higher education doctoral program in order to explore that very topic; just where do schools of education belong within higher education? It was a particular thrill to be able to enter into that dialogue with Professor Burton Clark of UCLA.

A Minor Research Grant from the College of William and Mary enabled me to travel to New York for Bank Street site visits and archival work at Teachers College, Columbia. My visits at Bank Street were made more productive thanks to the help of reference librarian Lelita Jaspal. I am also indebted to the many Bank Street people who shared with me both their time and insights.

The days that I spent with the Bank Street Collection in the Teachers College archives were blissful ones. Archivist Kate Rousmaniere was particularly helpful; she guided me through the Bank Street Collection and willingly retrieved documents for me--even after I returned to Virginia.

I am also grateful to Bonnie Hardwick, Head of the Manuscripts Division at the University of California, Berkeley for permission to quote from *Pioneering in Education*.

Throughout this project I was employed and supported by the Center for Gifted Education at the College of William and Mary. The Center's director, Professor Joyce VanTassel-Baska, was a constant source of support, encouragement and inspiration. Dr. VanTassel-Baska has taught me the value of blending theory and practice and shown, by example, how that can be done.

Seeds of a dissertation project get sown in strange ways. One such seed came from my mother, Grace Minto, who has for years lamented, "They just don't make teachers like they did at the Maxwell Training School for Teachers." Her lament prompted my interest in the relationship between higher education and teacher education. Another project seed was sown by my mother-in-law, Helen Bailey, whose years of work as Assistant to the President of Staten Island Community College led to wonderful dinner discussions about higher education administration.

There was life beyond this project, for which I am grateful. My husband Steve never gave up on me; he gently prodded me through my procrastination and put up with the turmoil created by such a long-term writing process. Kiera and Garrett have foregone, probably for good, homemade chocolate chip cookies and all those other neat things that Moms who write just don't do. I am thankful to them-- and to Kurt, whose intervening arrival did much to hasten the completion of this project.

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AS AN INDEPENDENT PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL
(1916-1990)**

ABSTRACT

This historical case study of Bank Street College of Education examines the organizational arrangement of an independent professional school as an alternative to standard college/university-based schools of education. Bank Street College of Education claims to be a school with a clear, purposeful mission that is organized in a free-standing arrangement. This study tests the efficacy of that claim by looking at five criteria for schools of education: clear mission, strong leadership, consonant external relations, mission-supported research, and strong structure; over five periods of time.

Using Burton Clark's (1971) theory of organizational saga and Grant and Riesman's (1978) notion that an organization uses its distinctiveness to generate necessary resources, Bank Street College was examined to see if and how it has maintained a distinctive mission.

It was discovered that Bank Street has a strong, operable institutional saga supported by the charismatic leadership of the founding leader, Lucy Sprague Mitchell. It was also found that environmental congruence has strengthened the philosophical mission of the College, but has diffused the operability of the mission. Although Bank Street offers an interesting alternative to standard college/university-based schools of education, its dependence on external funding makes its mission vulnerable to dilution.

Further research is needed to investigate the environmental vulnerability of mission-specific organizations.

**JANE M. BAILEY
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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Significance

On August 26, 1981 the Secretary of Education, Terrell H. Bell, created the National Commission on Excellence in Education. The Commission's report, *A Nation At Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* was presented to the American public in 1983. The scathing indictment of American public education touched off a series of reform reports (*The Making of a Teacher* 1984, *A Call for Change in Teacher Education* 1985, *A Nation Prepared* 1986, *Tomorrow's Teachers: A Report of the Holmes Group* 1986) in which the flaws in the American system of teacher education were implicated as causal factors in the alleged erosion of our national system of education. Calls to professionalize teaching were sounded in harmony with calls for new models of teacher education.

Most new proposals for teacher education assume that the standard university-allied organizational arrangements will be maintained. This assumption seems incongruous when schools of education "know that their position within the world of higher education, and often within their parent universities, is always ambiguous and often resented." (Judge 1982, 6).

Clifford and Guthrie (1988) maintain that university affiliation is not only desirable, but necessary to the very survival of teacher education. They believe this linkage is necessary because "no major occupational undertaking has achieved professional status without institutional linkage to higher education" and because necessary systematic educational research is best done in a university (Clifford and Guthrie 1988, 350). Paradoxically, they also note that schools of education "have become ensnared improvidently in the academic and political cultures of their institutions and have neglected their professional allegiances." (Clifford and Guthrie 1988, 3). The dilemma is how schools of education can foster their professional allegiances (i.e., their unique culture) while maintaining a necessary umbilical relationship with their host institution.

Although other professions face this same dilemma, the field of education faces the added complication of having never been fully accepted as a profession by the academic community (Etzioni 1969, Mattingly 1975, Sykes 1985). Literature generated by educationists often makes comparative professional references to law or medicine, but sociological literature makes comparisons between teaching and nursing or social work. Teaching is seen as a "semi-profession" as noted in Amitai Etzioni's (1969) *The Semi-Professions and Their Organization*. This semi-professional status accorded to teacher education serves to aggravate the already tender relationship between schools of education and the universities with which they are affiliated.

B.O. Smith contends that pedagogical education was deprofessionalized as it historically became incorporated into the university (Smith 1980, 9). Smith argues that in order to professionalize teaching, teacher training needs to be independent of the university. This free-standing status would presumably enable schools of education to finally control their own destiny and ultimately lead to the autonomy which is at the heart of a definition of professionalism. This idea is supported by the central recommendation of the *Study of the Education of Educators* (Goodlad 1990) that centers of pedagogy are needed in order to coalesce the mission specificity necessary for effective teacher education. Sykes (1985) also cites the difficulties with the institutionalization of teacher education in the university. Not only is there tension with the arts and sciences division of the university, additionally there is a tenuous relationship between the university and the public schools.

Given Clifford and Guthrie's (1988) notion that schools of education need university alliance (complicated as that relationship may be) juxtaposed with Smith's (1980) contention that schools of education don't need universities at all, a case study of a free-standing organizational model of teacher education becomes especially intriguing. The Bank Street College of Education is just such a model. Bank Street only grants graduate education degrees. It claims to have maintained the clear, purposeful mission that Goodlad et al. (1990) demonstrate has been lost as schools of education evolved into more diverse institutions. This independent graduate school of education has never been university-affiliated

and its free-standing professional school status makes it a candidate as the exception to the rule of university-based teacher education.

Bank Street was founded in 1916 as the Bureau of Educational Experiments by a group of progressive educators led by Lucy Sprague Mitchell. These educators were seeking an alternative to the existing state of public education in the early 1900's. The fact that this progressive institution was able to maintain viability when it was as theoretically out of the mainstream as it was practically (i.e., without affiliation with a host institution), is in itself unique.

A consistent criticism of schools of education is that they are not able to maintain a clear sense of purpose (Goodlad, Soder, and Sirotnik 1990). On the surface, it appears that Bank Street has indeed been able to maintain a clear, purposeful mission. It espouses to be an institution that uniquely blends progressive theory with practice in its program of laboratory-centered graduate teacher training which has a strong tie to its multicultural urban setting.

Although most campus laboratory schools nation-wide have been closed, Bank Street continues to operate an on-site school for 450 children. This school serves as a working model of the College's approach to learning and teaching. It purports to be a school which sets up child-centered learning environments to enable experiential, individualized instruction.

Bank Street College is located on 112th Street in New York City. It espouses a strong commitment to its urban setting. In 1964 the Bank Street faculty helped design the national Head Start program

and created guidelines for Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1965. In 1965, Bank Street published the landmark Bank Street Readers series which was the first multi-racial, urban-oriented basal series. The importance of an analysis of such an institution becomes magnified in consideration of the impending national multicultural demographic portrait and the present plight of urban education.

The Bank Street College of Education provides a model for examining Clifford and Guthrie's contention that schools of education need university affiliation; it is an organizational arrangement outside the context of mainstream university-based teacher education. If it can be shown that Bank Street can meet Clifford and Guthrie's tests for institutional viability without a university host umbilical cord, then B.O. Smith's design for a school of pedagogy may already be a reality.

Problem Statement

Clifford and Guthrie (1988, 360) suggest five conditions necessary to assure schools of education a productive role and useful niche in higher education; namely,

- (1) a clear sense of organizational purpose,
- (2) strong leadership and competent followership,
- (3) effective external relationships with professional education organizations,
- (4) high levels of research productivity, and
- (5) an effective alignment between organizational purposes and organizational structure.

I am interested in determining if Bank Street College of Education in many ways fulfills these conditions even though it is without university affiliation. Certainly other schema could be used to chart Bank Street's usefulness to higher education--the quantity and quality of teaching, research, and service being one alternative example. However, Clifford and Guthrie's (1988) five organizational checkpoints were specifically charted for schools of education. Since this particular structure developed out of the *Ed School* (1988) study, it seems appropriate for use as a way to examine the viability of a particular school of education; in this case, Bank Street College of Education.

Burton Clark's theory of organizational saga (1971) suggests that Bank Street's organizational legend and ideology strengthen its distinctiveness and thereby enables Bank Street to survive without university affiliation. How that saga has changed over time is a major consideration of this study.

Harold Hodgkinson maintains in his study *Institutions in Transition*, that there is a tendency for distinctive institutions to converge toward other institutional models so that institutions become more like each other (Hodgkinson 1970, 2). This is supported by Pace's 1974 comparative profile of eight types of institutions. Over time, Hodgkinson and Pace might expect Bank Street's distinctiveness to wane. Thus, I pose the research questions at five institutional benchmark time periods. My hypothesis is that Bank Street has managed to maintain its unique nature without succumbing to Hodgkinson's conversion theory, and that although the institution has had to adapt to outside influences

(e.g., regional accrediting regulations, funding needs, grant competition), the institutional adaptation responses have been strengthened by Bank Street's distinctive character (being a singular purpose institution having a particular philosophy of education for a specific clientele). This hypothesis is based on Grant and Riesman's finding in *The Perpetual Dream: Reform and Experiment in the American College* (1978) that institutional distinctiveness can enhance organizational adaptation responses.

The organizational adaptation responses may also be enhanced by a more institutional allegiance (nomothetic culture) than the usual individual professional allegiances (idiographic culture) that Clark and Guba (1980) generally attributed to standard (i.e., non-distinctive) institutional models of teacher education.

Research Design

Using Burton Clark's (1971) theory of organizational saga as the investigatory lens, Clifford and Guthrie's (1988) conditions for the viability of schools of education are superimposed on five Bank Street benchmark dates: 1916 founding; 1930 new charter; 1950 name change; 1970 place change; and 1990 present.

Research Question One: Is there a clear sense of organizational purpose?

The 1971 institutional self-study updated and reaffirmed the founding ideals of humanistic, child-centered, laboratory-based programs. Is the reality congruent with the rhetoric?

--What was the original organizational purpose?

--What was that purpose at each benchmark?

--Has the original purpose been reaffirmed, modified, or discarded?

--How is the purpose at each benchmark manifested?

--What is the distinctive nature of this purpose?

My expectation, based on Kaufman's (1985) theory of natural selection, is that Bank Street has managed to maintain a consistent, distinctive mission and that it uses this distinctiveness to generate the needed resources to maintain its viability.

Research Question Two: Is there strong leadership and competent followership?

Bank Street's saga indicates that its founder, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, was a charismatic driving force behind its institutional development. What has happened at Bank Street as her influence waned?

--To what extent did the founder (Lucy Sprague Mitchell) influence the organizational purposes?

--To what extent did the leadership during each benchmark period influence organizational purposes?

--To what extent did each administration marshal resources toward the organizational purposes?

--In what ways did the leadership promote the college mission?

My expectation, based on Burton Clark's (1971) theory of charismatic leadership, is that Lucy Sprague Mitchell was a personal driving force in setting up the organizational mission and that successive administrations have been strengthened by her legend. I would expect to find that the strength of the leadership is

related to the ability to keep focused on Bank Street's mission. I also expect to find that the followership is in-bred.

Research Question Three: Are there effective external relationships with other professional education organizations?

--What is the nature of Bank Street's external relationships?

--What are the external relationships with professional education organizations?

--Does Bank Street's lack of university-affiliation affect its external relationships?

--How do the internal institutional factors contribute towards or detract from effective external relationships?

--What external institutional factors contribute towards or detract from Bank Street's external relationships?

--How are Bank Street's external relationships strengthened or weakened by its mission?

Based on Aldrich's (1979) organizational response theory, I expect Bank Street's distinctive character enables it to take proactive steps to maintain effective external relationships.

Research Question Four: Are there high levels of research productivity?

Clifford and Guthrie (1988) maintain that the need for research productivity is the very reason university linkage is so important. What is the nature of research productivity in another setting?

--What is the nature of the research projects being conducted at Bank Street?

--Who are the researchers?

--How are the research results disseminated?

--How is the research that is conducted by Bank Street related to its organizational purpose?

--What are the internal mechanisms that support or inhibit research initiatives?

--What are the external factors that support or inhibit Bank Street's research initiatives?

I suspect that Bank Street uses its environment (Kaufman 1985) to generate research to support its mission specificity.

Research Question Five: Is there an effective alignment between organizational purposes and organizational structure?

--What is the governance structure and how does it facilitate the organizational purpose?

--How does Bank Street's distinctiveness add to or detract from the ability to meet organizational goals and objectives?

I expect to find that Bank Street has adapted both its purposes and structure to environmental influences (Kaufman 1985). However, I suspect that the purpose and structure adaptations were consistent with founding ideals (Clark 1971).

In order to answer each of the research questions, cultural evidence was gathered through Burton Clark's (1971) organizational saga indicators:

The Personnel Core: Who are the group of believers? Where do they come from?

To explore this, I talked with administration, faculty, and staff personnel as well as examined historical records.

The Program Core: What are the unique, visible practices, symbols, and rituals of Bank Street?

I examined the curriculum, customs, catalogs, calendar, atmosphere, course syllabi, public relations materials, and the campus laboratory school. I was a visitor to Bank Street events and an active observer of Bank Street activities.

The Social Base: Who are the alumni? What is the giving and support base? Are the alumni loyal to beliefs in practice? What is the external environment (social, economic, political, and geographical) affecting Bank Street.

Alumni and development records were examined and interviews were conducted with sample alumni. Selected books used to set the social-historical context were Lawrence Cremin's *The Transformation of the School* (1961), and *American Education--The Metropolitan Experience* (1988); and Diane Ravitch's *The Great School Wars* (1974), and *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945-1980* (1983). Newspaper and public reports were also used.

The Student Subculture: Who are the students? Where do they come from? Do they uphold the college beliefs? Where are they headed?

This information was gleaned from admissions records, retention rates, placement files, and student interviews.

Ideology: What is Bank Street's "invested institutional idea?" (Clark 1971). What is Bank Street's self-image and public-image?

The ideology was explored through Bank Street's mission statements within its charters and public documents. This was a

key question to all interviewees. Bank Street's public-image was assessed by newspaper accounts, media reports, and interviews.

Research Methods

Between 1987 and 1990 I made more than twelve site visits to Bank street for archival document retrieval, site observations, and interviews with administrators, faculty, students, and staff. I obtained a transcript of a 1962 interview with Bank Street's founder, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, and listened to other available oral histories in the Bank Street collection. These were analyzed in terms of the research questions.

For document analyses, I examined the founding and revised charters, regional accreditation reports, institutional self-evaluations, budgetary information, grant information, college catalogs, course outlines, annual reports, meeting minutes and other available documentation.

Research validity is dependent on (1) longitudinal analysis--placing events and people into an historical context and making the field visits over a period of time between 1987 and 1990; (2) qualitative analysis--using triangulation to integrate different methodology, e.g., oral history and document analysis; (3) multiple interviews and interview formats--using a diverse cross-section of people and a blend of structured interviews with predefined questions and ethnographic open-ended questions; and (4) demonstratable data presentation--reporting both the incidents and the context (Chaffee and Tierney 1988).

I am presenting the data as an historical case study written in a descriptive, narrative format that is chronological in nature. Each of the five benchmark time periods is treated independently; however, each period is contextually dependent on all preceding historical information. For each of the five chosen time periods, the results of personnel, program, alumni, student, and ideological investigations is presented in order to answer the five research questions. Conclusions are based on triangulated agreement.

Review of the Literature

The purpose of this literature review is to place the case study of Bank Street College into conceptual context. I will begin by examining a sample of the critiques of teacher education to see what continuing themes have been. I will then look at the organizational arrangements that house teacher education and what the literature says about the historical development of teacher education in America.

To clarify the basis of my research design, I will give an overview of organizational saga and culture theory. Next I will review what the literature says about distinctive institutions and their ability to survive. Finally, I will briefly review environmental response theory.

Critiques of Teacher Education

The most often quoted reform report of the past decade has been *A Nation At Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (1983). This report served to document the plight of the American public

school system and by association, implicate the present system of teacher education. Responding reports (*The Making of a Teacher* 1984, *A Call for Change in Teacher Education* 1985, *A Nation Prepared* 1986, and the Holmes Group's *Tomorrow's Teachers* 1986) give specific strategic plans for changing teacher education. The common themes include the need for more careful selection of teacher candidates, increasing the amount of liberal arts in the pre-professional curriculum, and increasing communication between the arts and sciences and the teacher education units of colleges and universities. Reform suggestions also include moving professional training to the graduate level and increasing the amount of clinical time in the field with more cooperation between local schools and the university.

Reports since 1929 have analyzed teacher training (e.g., *Commonwealth Teacher-Training Study* 1929, *National Survey of the Education of Teachers* 1933, *Teachers for Our Times* 1944, *The Education of American Teachers* 1963, *Educating a Profession* 1976, *A Call for Change in Teacher Education* 1985) in terms of the curriculum used and the students to whom it is taught. Critics (Barzun 1945, Bestor 1953, Koerner 1963, Silberman 1970, Ravitch 1983, Damerell 1985) have blasted the weakness of the teacher education curriculum and the poor quality of teacher candidates.

Organizational Arrangements of Teacher Education

What is not so common in the literature, are studies and reports about the organizational arrangements of teacher education. Clark and Guba's (1980) study of schools, colleges, and departments of

education indicates there are 1367 state-approved teacher education programs in the U.S. distributed across 12 institutional categories. This number of teacher training sites far exceeds the number of training sites for other professional fields. Seventy-two percent of all four-year institutions of higher education maintain state-approved teacher education programs.

The masters-level public institutions are the largest producers of education graduates. Thus, despite the diversity of institutions of higher education, the concentration of students in masters-level public institutions is dramatic (Clark and Guba 1980, 69). There are only seven specialized teachers colleges listed in the 1987 *Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education*: Harris-Stowe State College, Missouri; Sheldon Jackson College, Alaska; College for Developmental Studies, California; DeLourdes College, Illinois; Wheelock College, Massachusetts; Dr. Martin Luther College, Minnesota; and Bank Street College of Education, New York.

The 1985-1990 *Study of the Education of Educators* (SEE) by the Center for Educational Renewal at the University of Washington notes the integral relationship between work of educational faculty members and the institutional structures in which the faculty members work (Soder 1990, 702). Soder notes (p. 709) that the direction of change in schools, colleges, and departments of education is toward emulation of research institutions. The RATE (Research About Teacher Education) Project sponsored by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education compiled a profile of teacher education institutions and concluded that there is

little variation in the structure of teacher education institutions (Gallazzo and Arends 1989, 58).

Gary Rhoades (1990) has investigated the underlying social processes in colleges of education that produce their "somewhat spasmodic character--a history of both uncertainty and shifting certainties, of fitful shifts of purpose and form." (Rhoades 1990, 208). Using colleges of letters and science as a comparative model, Rhoades organizationally analyzes the conditions of colleges of education in different kinds of post-secondary settings from four general theoretical perspectives. One suggestion of the study is that schools of education's "linkage to and dependence on a professional market, as well as their subordination to the central units of university campuses (letters and science colleges), subject them to cycles of external pressure to reorganize." And that "extra-organizational conditions . . . predict oscillation rather than equilibrium." (Rhoades 1990, 209)

Places Where Teachers are Taught (Goodland, Soder and Sirotnik 1990) provides twenty-nine case histories of various teacher education programs. The organizational arrangement of each case is examined; however, other than the historical normal school model, all other cases are set within college or university contexts. No independent (i.e., free-standing) models are explored. What is explored is how the evolution of teacher education has been uniquely affected by the type of institution that houses it. A conclusion from this study is that the status of teacher education has declined as schools have evolved into larger and more diverse institutions.

B.O. Smith (1980) believes that it is the university affiliated organizational arrangement which deprofessionalized teacher education. He argues for an independent (i.e., free-standing from college or university affiliation) graduate school of education. A decade later, the central recommendation of the 1990 *Study of the Education of Educators* is the need for a center of pedagogy (Goodlad 1990, 192). Goodlad notes that this recommendation leaves institutions of higher education with open options for designing a center for pedagogy either inside or outside an existing college of education (p. 193). The critical point of this study is that an institution must have an exclusive commitment toward the education of educators; the mission of education needs to be central to a school of pedagogy.

Clifford and Guthrie's (1988) study of graduate schools of education confirms the notion that the culture of teacher education has been deprofessionalized. However, their conclusion is that changes must be made within the present organizational arrangements; i.e., schools of education must be linked with universities. Harry Judge (1982) suggests that teacher education needs a university arrangement and should be reserved for the graduate level.

Historical Development of Teacher Education

Pedagogy, the study of the art and science of teaching, emerged as a distinct field of study in the early nineteenth century (Borrowman 1966). Prior to that time, study in a liberal arts college was the only preparation needed for teaching (Cruickshank

1985, 15). With the emergence of American common school classrooms, a need was expressed by society for teachers to be professionally trained (Chandler, Powell, and Hazzard 1971, 158). The normal school model of teacher training was an institutional arrangement distinct from the pattern of nineteenth century higher education (Luckey 1903). These independent normal schools were training institutes for the common elementary schools. Pangburn (1932) notes that "normal schools were scarcely considered members of the academic family." (p. 28). Luckey (1903) points out that the success of the normal school as a training institute continued as long as education remained a matter of instruction and not of investigation and research (p. 60). However, he goes on to note the developing importance of research and scientific investigation as well as the rise of public secondary education in the late nineteenth century.

By the turn of the century, departments and schools of education were emerging within established colleges and universities (Schaefer 1970, Hug 1965). The founding of the teacher-education unit of the University of the City of New York in 1890 marked the first School of Pedagogy to hold equal rank with other professional schools within the structure of a university (Hug 1965).

As the century developed, the independent normal schools evolved into four-year state teacher's colleges. Smith (1980) contends that this is what ultimately deprofessionalized teacher education. He believes that once teacher education lost its autonomy by being incorporated within, or transformed into, a college or university, it was faced with loss of status. This is an

intriguing notion which runs counter to most of the literature which says that university affiliation is needed in order to give the "legitimacy that comes from offering degrees and affiliation with a college or university." (Jencks and Riesman 1968, 205). In the *Study of the Education of Educators* Roger Soder concludes, "Close association with the traditional font of theoretical knowledge--the university--will enhance either the substance or the appearance of the knowledge base, thus benefitting the profession." (Soder 1988, 302).

By the mid-twentieth century, the standard organizational arrangement of teacher education was college or university based. The typology for the *Study of the Education of Educators* (Sirotnik 1988, 243) placed teacher education organizational arrangements into six categories: major research universities, major public and private regional comprehensive universities or colleges, and four-year liberal arts colleges. This typology corresponds with the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching's typological scheme. Indeed "it is almost impossible today to find a distinguished school of professional training in this country which does not have university connections." (Dill 1980, 178).

Although the standard organizational model is university-affiliated, the academic tension between the arts and science division of higher education and the educationist division has been well documented (Jencks and Riesman 1968, Judge 1982, Sykes 1985). Professional education, both at the graduate level and the undergraduate level, is viewed only quasi-professionally and never is ranked with medical or legal training (Etzioni 1969, Sykes 1985).

The literature supports the notion that it is the educational organizational arrangement which is used to professionalize a field of study. Harry Judge (1982) contends that teacher education needs to be moved to the graduate level before it will be professionalized. Sykes demonstrates that "schools of law and medicine provide the models for the free-standing professional school." (1985, p. 269). Free-standing schools such as Litchfield Law School or the College of Physicians and Surgeons geographically gravitated to colleges so that Litchfield's move to New Haven prompted affiliation with Yale, and the College of Physicians and Surgeons' location in New York City fostered a relationship with Columbia (Mayhew 1971, 3).

Jencks and Riesman (1968, p. 211) chart patterns of professional school linkages with the university. Using the profession of theology as a model they note four separate professional school developments: 1) multipurpose institutions which developed seminaries as specialized subdivisions (e.g., Harvard and Yale); 2) seminaries which developed liberal arts divisions (e.g., Drew and Dubuque); 3) seminaries funded and remaining separate (e.g., Episcopal Theological School and Andover-Newton Seminary); and 4) seminaries that were long-established and traditionally independent which sought affiliation with a university (e.g., Union Theological Seminary with Columbia).

Other professions linked with the university in similar patterns; professional schools have a tendency either to affiliate with a multipurpose university or to expand into one (Jencks and Riesman 1968, 252). Thus, university connections are the norm rather than the exception of professional education in America. This is not the

case in other countries (e.g., the Soviet Union has professional schools, both in medicine and in law, wholly disassociated from the universities (Dill 1980, 178).

The American university-professional school connection seems to offer benefits to both sides of the equation. For the university, professional schools help it to be a "real university." Jencks and Riesman (1968, 215) cite Princeton's lack of a medical or law school as a prime reason it suffers from an image of being just an overgrown liberal arts college rather than being a true university. Professional schools also help institutions recruit a more selective undergraduate population hoping to continue into that university's particular professional school. Other benefits to the university include the asset to university fund-raising that professional school alumni become. In the case of schools of education, their high enrollment numbers generate state funds but their low relative training costs mean they get allocated less of this money. In other words, they generate funds without consuming them (Sykes 1985, 277); a lucrative situation for the university.

For professional schools, there is legitimation through acceptance by traditional academic disciplines. Mayhew (1971, 51) notes an increasing need by the professions for the arts and sciences knowledge base. There is also the use of the university context for professional education as a vehicle for upward social mobility. Earl Cheit's (1975) study of the growth of newer professional programs within the university context points to a symbiotic relationship between universities and professional studies.

Teaching, like other professions, is now firmly linked to the university. This linkage might be exemplified by the evolution of the Peabody Normal School into the George Peabody College for Teachers which eventually merged with Vanderbilt University. At the time of the 1978 merger negotiations, Peabody president John Dunworth noted, "neither Peabody nor any college of education could now survive without university affiliation." (Conkin 1985, 707).

The National College of Education is another single-purpose teacher education institution which caved in to pressures to diversify its mission. In 1982, it divided into two schools: the School of Education and the School of Arts and Sciences. "Teacher education lost ground as the National College of Education became a multipurpose institution." (Goodard, Soder, Sirotnik 1990, 211).

According to Sykes (1985, 270) the problem of teacher education is that it does not have the clear professional status of law and medicine. He sees the development of a university-based professional school as being a crucial resource in the quest to professionalize (Sykes 1985, 270).

The literature comes full circle back to the recent reform agendas which argue that teacher education must become more professionalized. Smith (1980) says this can be accomplished by removing teacher education from its university setting; Judge (1982), says to keep the context, but move it solely to the graduate level; and Clifford and Guthrie (1988) say it should be kept within the university, but redefined. Goodlad (1990) argues teacher education can be within or outside of the university, but it must be

a central mission of its organizational context to be a center of pedagogy.

Organizational Saga and Culture

In order to do a case study of a particular institution, I will be using organizational saga theory (Clark, 1971) which is intimately bound to the notion of an organizational culture. This will enable me to explore the nature and character of Bank Street College of Education.

Schein (1985) contends that organizational culture is a set of "basic assumptions and beliefs that are shared by members of an organization." (p. 6). By "organization," Schein means a stable social unit. Other ideas are that the culture is the dominant values espoused (Deal and Kennedy 1982) or the feeling and climate conveyed by an organization (Taguiri and Litwin 1968). Ouchi (1981) talks about an organization's guiding philosophy as being the manifestation of its culture.

Whatever the specific definition of organizational culture, there is much literature to support the notion that organizations have cultures which can be interpreted (Frost, Moore, Louis, Lundberg, and Martin 1985). Burton Clark (1971) sees that interpretation on two levels: the structural (patterns of relation and interaction of persons and groups within an organization), and the normative (shared beliefs, attitudes, and values of an organization).

Clark and Guba (1980, 77) note that institutions of higher education manifest an idiographic culture which emphasizes the self-actualization of the professor. This is in tension with a

nomothetic culture which would emphasize the goals of the institution. Clark and Guba make the generalization that schools and departments of education exist in an idiographic organizational culture.

Burton Clark's (1971) theory of organizational culture appears to be less dichotomous than Clark and Guba's generalization. Clark believes that organizations need to be defined in terms of their structure and their beliefs. It is the belief aspect of organizational culture that Clark argues becomes an organizational saga; i.e., "a collective understanding of unique accomplishment in a formally established group." (p. 500). Based on an initial strong and purposeful mission, a group of people develop strong allegiances toward that purpose and create legends which sustain the group and commit them to the organization. This organizational saga acts as both a motivating and unifying force (Clark 1970, 236).

Distinctive Institutions

Clark's theory of organizational saga (1970) merges with the notion of organizational distinctiveness. His (1970) study of *The Distinctive College* demonstrates that Antioch, Reed, and Swarthmore were able to succeed apart from the mainstream of higher education through their developed sagas. Grant and Riesman's (1978) study of *The Perpetual Dream: Reform and Experiment in the American College* stresses both mission specificity and belief as important components of educational experiments.

However, Harold Hodgkinson demonstrated (1971) that diversity is a declining force and that institutions in higher education are

becoming more like each other. C. Robert Pace's (1974) comparative profile of eight types of institutions demonstrated that the most distinctive institutions (i.e., those most effective at achieving their purposes) are the ones who enroll the fewest students and are in the most financial difficulty. The conclusion of Pace's study was that there is a convincing case to be made for the general decline in diversity and distinctiveness of institutions (Pace 1974, 130-131).

Environmental Response Theory

Kaufman (1985) says that institutional health is dependent on natural resources (e.g., money, enrollments) and thus institutions must be responsive to their environments. The implication of Kaufman's work is that a distinctive institution needs a correspondingly distinctive environment to support it.

Howard Aldrich (1979) demonstrates a population ecology model of organizational change wherein the nature and distribution of resources in an organization's environment determines how an organization will act. This stimulus-response theory is well-cited in the literature (Nystron and Starbuck 1981; March and Olsen 1976). What is consistent in the literature is the importance of resource availability to the continued viability of an organization or institution. Kuh and Whitt (1988) note that "Neither the institution's culture nor the environment can be defined independent of the other; each influences the development of the other." (p. 31).

Given Bank Street's unique organizational arrangement (i.e., its independent status) and distinctive character (i.e., its mission

specificity), it would appear that both organizational saga theory and environmental response theory are sound theoretical bases for an historical case study.

Limitations

This study examines Bank Street College of Education at five very specific time periods. It excludes intermediary times which have great significance on the total life of the organization. A more complete linear history may be found in Edith Gordon's (1988) *Educating the Whole Child: Progressive Education and Bank Street College of Education 1916-1966*.

This study is also not an evaluation study and therefore does not address the issue of value; i.e., is this a "better" organizational arrangement than another.

Chapter Summary

This case study of the Bank Street College of Education provides the opportunity to examine a unique teacher education program. Bank Street is singular both in its independent organizational arrangement and in its philosophical mission specificity. By examining this teacher training organization at five critical points in its history, it may be possible to glean clues as to the usefulness of this distinctive model to the larger teacher education community.

At each of the five historical benchmark periods, the same five indices are examined: organizational purpose, leadership, external relationships, research productivity, and governance structure.

These indices are explored through five organizational saga

indicators: personnel, program, social base, student subculture, and ideology.

Virtually all of the organizational arrangements of teacher education institutions in America are either embedded within an undergraduate college or affiliated with a university. Although Bank Street is titled a "College" of Education, it does not confer undergraduate degrees. It is also not affiliated with a university. Thus it has a unique free-standing arrangement of teacher education. An analysis of this distinctive organizational model may yield insight into a viable alternative to the troubled standard teacher education models. Bank Street College of Education may prove to be the very model that B.O. Smith called for in *Design for a School of Pedagogy* (1980) or that Goodlad (1990) recommends as a center of pedagogy. At the very least, it is an interesting and distinctive alternative to the standard university-allied models of American teacher education.

CHAPTER 2

1916: An Experimental Beginning

Organizations, unlike babies, are born with a conscious aim, a formulated task to perform.

Lucy Sprague Mitchell

Although the enthusiastic band of progressive believers who founded the Bureau of Educational Experiments in 1916 were filled with anticipatory plans for the future, it is doubtful they envisioned their fledgling experiment institutionalized as a college competing with Harvard for major grant funding in less than six decades. Lucy Sprague Mitchell and her cohorts were more immediately concerned with the cause of experimental education, a cause that was ripe for fruition in 1916.

Social and Political Context

The New York City of 1916 personified the urbanization of industrial America. More than 800,000 children were enrolled in the public schools and buildings couldn't keep pace with enrollment. Immigrants had been swelling school enrollments at a pace that doubled the N.Y.C. pupil register between the turn of the century and 1916. More than 100,000 children were on part-time or double session classes (Ravitch 190). The school drop-out rate was high

with nearly 50 percent of fourteen year olds leaving school. Ethnic slum neighborhoods with their concurrent problems of poor sanitation, high crime, and high rates of illiteracy were a sad reality.

It was the school that was cast as the "lever of social reform" (Cremin 1961, 201). Social reformers sought to lengthen the school day and strengthen the school's sphere of influence so that they could administer what Ravitch (1988, 191) calls 'preventive social work.' The social reform agenda required a curriculum broader than reading, writing, and arithmetic and use of school buildings for more than rote lessons.

The 1916 Commissioner of Education Report (U.S. Bureau of Education 1916, 39) cites three major problems faced by larger cities: the relation of education to industrial efficiency; Americanization of the immigrant; and military education in the schools. All three problems were exacerbated by the influence of the European war. The threat of war placed pressure on school systems to solve these problems, but solve them in ways that would preserve the democratic integrity of America. As noted in the Commissioner's report (p. 40), the industrially efficient European system of education had an aristocratic flavor that violated the roots of a democracy.

Attempts to deal with these problems polarized society into defenders of traditional schools with a curriculum of fundamental subjects and critics who felt traditional schools had failed industrial America and were therefore in need of revampment. New

York City played out this polarization through its trial of the renowned Gary system.

The Gary Plan

N.Y.C.'s Mayor John Mitchel was interested in making N.Y.C. schools both better and more economical. In the spring of 1914 he invited the School Board President and various other city officials to the Midwest to view innovative school programs. Indeed, Lucy Mitchell and Harriet Johnson (Bank Street's founding mothers) were sent by the Public Education Association [formerly the Women's Association for Improving the Public Schools (WAIPS)] to observe and report on the midwest innovations (Antler 1982, 562). They visited Gary, Indiana which touted a distinctive school system. Based on the notion of making full use of school facilities, students were organized into platoons and spent part of the day in classrooms and part in a work/play program. Elaborate shops were built for the students who contributed to a school community by caring for the school grounds, running a school banking system, and doing the school secretarial work. Both Mitchell and Johnson came back to New York enamored enough with the Gary program to lobby throughout the City for its adoption (Antler, 562).

Dr. William Wirt was the superintendent of the Gary schools and had been a student of John Dewey at the University of Chicago. His imaginative school plan was an effort to put progressive ideology into practice. This intrigued New York City's mayor who offered Wirt a contract to establish his system in New York on an experimental basis. This did not set well with N.Y.C. school

superintendent William Maxwell because the mayor had circumvented Maxwell in setting up Wirt's contract. The contract itself seemed exorbitant--\$10,000 for twelve weeks of work (Ravitch 1988, 203).

The Gary experiment was well underway in 1916 when the N.Y.C. Board of Education's chief statistician, Burdette R. Buckingham, released his evaluation of the experiment. The evaluation listed the Gary schools last in comparison to student rates of progress in traditional schools. Controversy raged over the poor statistical quality of the evaluation and the pros and cons of the Gary system. In mid-1916 the Women's Municipal League supported the Gary plan and supporters of the Gary system formed an organization called the Gary School League.

The 1917 N.Y.C. mayoral race was tied very closely to the Gary plan. When Mitchel was resoundingly defeated, the new Mayor Hylan announced that the Gary plan would be eliminated immediately.

The Gary plan was one manifestation of the developing progressive education movement. Cremin describes progressive education as a humanitarian effort to use the schools to improve the lives of individuals by broadening the school's programs and functions. This would include using schools to foster health, vocation, and the quality of family and community life. Progressive education also signified the application of pedagogical principles derived from scientific research in psychology and the social sciences. Finally, it implied the tailoring of instruction to different kinds and classes of children.

Representative Publications

The 1916 publication of John Dewey's *Democracy and Education* was a significant cornerstone for the progressive education movement. Exploring the interrelationships of science, evolution, industrialism, and democracy as they relate to education, Dewey provided more intellectual food for the troops of progressive educators. This followed his 1915 *Schools for To-Morrow* which described progressive education in practice. Specific experimental schools were described as evidence of progressive progress.

The Fifteenth Yearbook of the Society for the Study of Education (1916) contained Lewis Terman's "The Measure of Intelligence." The use of psychological tests and statistical measurements was another force permeating the field of education.

Also published in 1916 was Abraham Flexner's "A Modern School." This description of a better school to serve the needs of modern America circa 1916 called for more realistic study of the sciences and social life, firsthand experience for the learner, expansion of the arts, attention to the family, use of the community as a laboratory, increased attention to health, an experimental attitude, new teaching materials, and helping children to find real tasks (Dix 1939, 2).

These representative publications seem to embody the conflicting and challenging educational forces at work in the New York City of 1916. But they were forces acting on an existing highly centralized and entrenched school system. As pervasive as the forces of social reform and progressive education were, they had a tough time against the prevailing winds of the New York City

schools. Against this backdrop, Lucy Sprague Mitchell and her followers signed the charter for the Bureau of Educational Experiments.

Founding Purposes

The founding purpose of the Bureau of Educational Experiments evolved from a self-reported "vision" of Lucy Sprague Mitchell (Prescott 1962, 88). The essence of her vision was that education is one of the social sciences to be approached by the scientific method. Child study in 1916 was a burgeoning field; however, Mrs. Mitchell's concern was that the various study disciplines weren't talking to each other. She felt the need for a unique organization to be able to facilitate the practical usefulness of child study; to keep it from being so focused that it lost sight of the subjects: children. To this end, the Bureau was established as an organization for the interdisciplinary study of education; specifically, progressive education.

In Lucy Sprague Mitchell's autobiographical memoirs (Mitchell 1953, 454), she uses an organic model for the growth stages of the Bureau of Educational Experiments. She notes that, "Organizations, unlike babies, are born with a conscious aim, a formulated task to perform." And what was the conscious aim or formulated tasks of the Bureau of Educational Experiments? The original Bureau charter, signed in 1917, has a wordy paragraph which states the founding purposes as:

The particular branch of literature and science proposed to be taught is the literature and science of progressive education and educational experiments; and the manner of such teaching is by conducting educational experiments, collecting and disseminating information regarding progressive education, aiding and promoting, by financial assistance or otherwise, the conduct of educational experiments and the collection and dissemination of information regarding progressive education, and the performance and the doing of all and everything necessary, suitable and proper . . . for the accomplishment of any of the purposes . . . herein set forth.

Bureau of Educational Experiments Charter, 1917

A more succinct statement of aim can be found in the Bureau's plan of organization dated one month after the charter. The Bureau's "purpose shall be to collect and disseminate information concerning progressive education; and to promote and conduct educational experiments." (Proposed Plan of Organization 1917, Part I, Section 1). The charter specifically spelled out what the Bureau would not do:

. . . it is not proposed to confer degrees, nor to award diplomas, certificates, or other instruments, purporting to confer any literary, science, professional or other degree, nor to issue any license, nor to certify to the completion in whole or in part, of any course of study, nor to exercise any of the powers herein set forth for individual or private gain or benefit."

Bureau of Educational Experiments Charter, 1917

Although the Bureau voted to arrange its activities under the general form of an experimental school (Proposed Plan of Organization, 1917), it was to use that school to learn about children, not teach about children. As it was, it took several years

to solidify the experimental school that the 1917 Plan of Organization specified.

Both the charter and the Proposed Plan of Organization 1917 were signed a full year after Lucy Mitchell's cousin, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, offered to finance an educational project if Lucy Mitchell could devise a specific plan. It only took Mrs. Mitchell (in conjunction with her Columbia economist husband Wesley Clair Mitchell and the nursery school expert Harriet Johnson) a few weeks to propose a specific plan for the Bureau of Educational Experiments. This met with Mrs. Coolidge's approval and by October of 1916 the Bureau had opened its offices in Greenwich Village, New York (Antler 1987, 563). In other words, by the time the official founding words of purpose were written in 1917, the Bureau had been operationally defining them for several months. Projects to promote the cause of progressive education were already underway.

Although the specific sphere of influence for the Bureau was experimental education in private progressive schools, according to Lucy Mitchell (Mitchell 1953, 250) the overall goal for the Bureau from its inception was to be an influence on public education. With the defeat of the N.Y.C. Gary Plan in 1917, that goal became more elusive. But the purpose of the Bureau's educational experiments wasn't just to promote experimental education. Rather, it was to make experimental education mainstream education. The conviction in the cause of progressive education by the founders of the Bureau of Educational Experiments was the mortar between the initial fledgling experiments that the Bureau attempted.

Founding Leadership

Although the Bureau of Educational Experiments was set up by a consort of people, it was Lucy Sprague Mitchell who was the pivotal force within the founding community. It was Lucy Mitchell's vision that became reality in 1916 when her double cousin Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge (Lucy and Elizabeth had the same grandparents on both sides), offered to finance an educational plan that Lucy might deem appropriate. She offered Lucy Mitchell \$50,000 a year for ten years (Antler 1982, 560). Elizabeth Coolidge stipulated that all the money be spent each year (with no carryover to the next year) and asked that she not be made to understand the project--education wasn't her field.

In her published memoirs (1953, 455) Lucy Mitchell acknowledges the blessed freedom this offer presented--freedom for ten years to pursue her vision of combining child study and research for the advancement of progressive education. She also acknowledges the power this offer gave to launching an educational experiment. ". . . the Bureau of Educational Experiments, with almost the speedy maturity of a Pallas Athene, sprang into existence fully armed with the modern weapon of an assured income." This incredible offer was certainly an auspicious beginning to visionary incarnation.

Lucy Mitchell's Background

As Joyce Antler's (1987) biography reveals, Lucy Mitchell herself came from a background of wealth and influence. Her father, Otho Sprague, was a partner in what had become by Lucy's birth in

1878 the largest wholesale grocery in the world. Residing on the fashionable West Side of Chicago, the social world of the Sprague family included membership in Chicago's influential and intellectual clubs, including the Chicago Literary Club and the University Club. Lucy came of age in conjunction with the birth of the University of Chicago.

Chicago in 1892 was on the cutting edge of the industrial world in general and the American university in particular. With her father's and uncle's financial backing of both the 1892 Chicago World's Fair and the University of Chicago, Lucy Sprague had a front-row seat to a heady world of intellect and influence. During her formative teenage years she was able to attend dinner parties in her own home with people such as John Dewey and George and Alice Palmer. The Sprague household was characterized by social action with involvement in the Citizens' Association of Chicago (the nation's oldest municipal reform organization); the Citizens' League; support of the first American municipal symphony; the Chicago Art Institute; and Chicago's Relief and Aid Society.

It was through Sprague family connections to Alice and George Palmer that Lucy was able to go off to Radcliffe in 1896. George Herbert Palmer was chairman of the Harvard philosophy department. Living in the Palmer household gave Lucy the opportunity to hold her own with intellectuals such as William James, Josiah Royce, George Santayana, and Hugo Munsterberg. Considering her social status, her circle of connections, and her demonstrated intelligence, it is not so surprising that President Benjamin Ide Wheeler hired Lucy Sprague

to be the first Dean of Women at the University of California, Berkeley.

During her tenure as Berkeley's Dean of Women (1906-1912), ideas about education percolated within Lucy Sprague. Her strong relationship with her niece Polly Miller focused her interest on the world of children and how they learn. Polly was only four years old when she died. The two years before that were years that Lucy took over much of her practical care. In her autobiography (Mitchell 1953, 191), Lucy claims that "Polly was my first child teacher. Like all great teachers, she started me thinking."

The questions about how children learn became fused with her interest in teaching. Even when President Wheeler offered her the deanship, she said she would not be dean unless she could be on the faculty (Mitchell 1953, 192). Teaching was an important role to Lucy Sprague; perhaps more important than being Dean of Women.

But she was not just a nominal Dean of Women. She was acutely interested in the lack of professional opportunities available to women and the weak role that the University played in preparing women for the professional marketplace. As Lucy Sprague became more dissatisfied with her deanship position, she became increasingly concerned about finding professional roles for women other than teaching. In 1911 Lucy Sprague set off for New York to explore professional opportunities for women in which the University might take a stronger preparatory part. It is ironic that this trip to forge new avenues for women in the University became the millstone for sharpening the philosophy of a future training school for teachers. The search to broaden University opportunities

for women away from teaching led directly to a narrow professional school for teachers; not surprisingly, mostly women teachers.

New York Influences

Armed with letters of introduction, Lucy Sprague arranged to be a microscopic staff member for six different social organizations. It is obvious from both Mrs. Mitchell's autobiography and the transcript of an interview with her (Prescott 1962, 78-82) that these experiences shadowing a variety of occupations affected Miss Sprague in a profound way.

She was privy to Henry Street Settlement through the eyes of Lillian Wald. Lucy Sprague went out with trained nurses as an assistant nurse and saw much of life in Lower East Side New York tenements. During this time she roomed with Florence Kelly who was a prominent figure in labor problems. Kelly gave Lucy Sprague a job at her office working on a piece of labor legislation.

Lucy Sprague also worked with Pauline Goldmark for a research foundation doing an analysis of case studies. This gave her a respect for gathering statistics to solve social problems.

A third social agency was the Salvation Army. Lucy chose to do field work for them in the same area of New York where she had done her research foundation analyses. She wanted to be able to connect real people with her statistics.

Other agencies of exploration included the Russell Sage foundation and work with charity orphans.

The culminating New York influence on Lucy Sprague was her work with a vocational high school principal named Julia Richman.

Although she was not allowed to do anything except listen, her experience in the New York City school convinced her that working with children in the public schools was what she really wanted to do (Prescott 1962, 82).

During the train trip back to Berkeley after her months in New York, Lucy Sprague outlined two articles. Although she didn't recall the title of the first, it was what she reconstructed as "Social Studies for Grownups." The second was "The Whole Child." As Lucy Mitchell recalls in her autobiography (1953, 211) it was her first formulation of an educational belief.

In 1912, Lucy Sprague resigned as Berkeley's Dean of Women and married a Berkeley economics professor named Wesley Clair Mitchell. After an extended European honeymoon, they settled in New York City. Having just completed a magnum opus entitled *Business Cycles*, it didn't take Wesley Mitchell long to obtain an economics position at Columbia. Lucy Mitchell had her sights set on a job with the New York public schools.

Not readily obtaining a job with the public school system, Lucy Mitchell spent the three years before the Bureau was set up doing a variety of volunteer jobs throughout the New York City. The connections she made during these three years provided the fortuitous connections that enabled the Bureau of Educational Experiments to become a reality.

Dewey Influences

During this time she also took a course at Columbia with John Dewey. Although in her retrospective interview Mrs. Mitchell

admits to finding Dewey inspiring, she is remarkably reserved in her praise of him. Perhaps because the Deweys and the Mitchells frequently socialized, or because Lucy had personally known Dewey since she was a child, she was not enamored of his status within the progressive education clique. She is also reserved about crediting Dewey with forming her core educational philosophy. She goes so far as to deny being a follower of Dewey, but acknowledged that he gave her a fresh outlook toward other people (Præscott 1962, 84). Given her commitment to progressive education, her explicit response to questioning about Dewey's influence seems incredibly restrained. However, the evidence of Lucy Mitchell's Deweyan connections throughout her life demonstrate that Dewey's philosophy was a major factor in her educational philosophical development. Even her husband studied with Dewey at the University of Chicago and applied Dewey's philosophy to economics. Certainly Lucy Mitchell's letters to Mrs. Dewey and the Editor of *The New York Times* upon the death of John Dewey in 1952 are expressions of deep indebtedness to Dr. Dewey, both on a personal level and on an institutional level:

We, of the Bank Street College of Education--our Board of Trustees and our working staff--feel impelled to express our debt to John Dewey. Our organization began its life in 1916 in the ferment among school-minded and research-minded groups which was started in a large measure by John Dewey's writings and his pioneer laboratory school in the University of Chicago . . .

My own personal debt is also great . . . I read and pondered whatever I could lay hands on that John Dewey wrote . . . "

Letter to the Editor of *The New York Times*

June 4, 1952

Lucy Sprague Mitchell

Dewey was undoubtedly an intellectual influence both the Mitchell household and on the Bureau of Educational Experiments.

Early Projects

One pre-Bureau project was Lucy Mitchell's work with Frederick Ellis at the Neurological Institute in giving experimental tests to ungraded children in a public school. Then in 1915 the N.Y.C. Board of Education granted permission to the Psychological Survey (which had been organized by Lucy Mitchell) to conduct an investigation in the New York City Public Schools. This survey had been conceived to obtain norms for a series of tests of N.Y. public school children in poor areas of the city as a basis for further study of the value of mental tests for improved school room procedure. "The work led to the belief that the diagnosis made from the analysis of a reliable series of tests would be of practical value to the teacher in dealing with puzzling children." (Dewey, Child, & Ruml, xi). Although this work was initiated before the Bureau of Educational Experiments was chartered, it is one example of how the liaisons forged by Lucy Mitchell during her first three years in New York linked directly to the work of the Bureau of Educational Experiments as this project became part of initial Bureau work.

The Psychological Survey team met together in the attic of the Mitchell's Greenwich Village home. Many of the Survey team staff

served as initial members of the Bureau of Educational Experiments: Evelyn Dewey, Elisabeth Irwin, Harriet Johnson, and Lucy Mitchell were part of the original active members of the Bureau of Educational Experiments. The Survey team, like the Bureau of Educational Experiments itself, was organized in an interdisciplinary fashion. The team included testers, home investigators, examining physicians, and psychologists.

Mentor Influences

In her autobiography, Mrs. Mitchell credits three people with being her teachers--all of whom were pioneers in experimental education and all of whom she met and worked with on a volunteer basis during the years before the Bureau's founding. All three mentors joined the original Bureau staff.

Lucy Mitchell offered her services to the Public Education Association and worked with Harriet Johnson who was the head of "visiting teachers." She was the liaison between the public school and parents of maladjusted children. In her autobiography (1953, 250), Mrs. Mitchell notes that she counts Harriet Johnson as her greatest teacher.

Harriet Johnson had been a teacher in a private school, a tutor, and a trained nurse. She had also been on the Henry Street Settlement staff. She read systematically about the education of children. Harriet Johnson became a visiting teacher when the Public Education Association was beginning that public school service (Ellis in Johnson 1928, About the Author, unpagged).

The traits that Harriet displayed that Lucy so admired were that she was scientific, always demanding evidence, but also open-minded and experimental. She would re-examine her own practices in light of new evidence. She also delighted children and could be a companion as well as a student of little children (Mitchell 1953, 150). As Lucy's autobiography reveals, Harriet Johnson and Lucy Mitchell were of the same mind. Their collaborative team spirit provided the breath of life to the Bureau of Educational Experiments.

It was Harriet Johnson who brought Lucy Mitchell to Caroline Pratt's Play School (which later became the City and Country School). The school was in its first year and only had a single class of four-year-olds. Lucy Mitchell immediately recognized an experimental program for children that was the demonstrated practice of the theory that had been percolating within her own mind and heart for the past several years.

Caroline Pratt had been the teacher of a one-room school in Fayetteville, New York. She was recommended by a neighbor to the Dean of Teachers College in New York who offered her a scholarship which she accepted. She then worked in the Manual Training shop of the Philadelphia Normal School. Miss Pratt became restless under the curriculum imposed upon her by the traditional system of teacher training and always searched for new ways of teaching. She took courses at the University of Pennsylvania where she was influenced by Charles Henderson and subscribed for courses from the University of Chicago. In 1901 she set off for New York to carry out her own ideas of teaching which were dependent upon children's

needs, not adults preconceptions of children's needs (Pratt 1948, xi-xiii).

The philosophy in practice that Lucy Mitchell witnessed in Caroline Pratt's Play School came out of Pratt's belief that, "No child ever lavished on a history book the energy he poured into a game of cowboys and Indians. But cowboys and Indians are part of the history of our country which he must learn. What is wrong with learning history by playing it?" (Pratt 1948, 11). The children in her school learned by playing and doing. Indeed, Evelyn Dewey came to visit the school when she was gathering material for the book *Schools for To-Morrow* which she co-authored with her father. This mention of Pratt's school in the Deweys' book brought Caroline Pratt an increased number of visitors and offers of financial assistance. Mrs. Mitchell mentions in her autobiography that she kept returning to the Play School to learn what children were really like. It was a natural environment for studying children.

Another volunteer job that Lucy Mitchell became involved with prior to the establishment of the Bureau of Educational Experiments was as a mental ability tester. She worked with Elisabeth Irwin in her experimental class in P.S. 64. This experimental class later resulted in the founding of a Little Red School House which was a private experimental school (Antler 1962, 561). Elisabeth Irwin was a third mentor to Lucy Mitchell, enabling her to witness and work with her theory in practice. Elisabeth Irwin became part of the Psychological Survey team and part of the original Bureau of Educational Experiments active membership. This initial Bureau

team held similar beliefs in experimental education and provided a diverse network of experience upon which to draw.

Wesley Mitchell was more than just a cooperating husband in his wife's ventures. Although he was an influential figure in his own developing field of economics, he took an intimate interest in Lucy's work. He personally believed in the "group attack" to problem solving and helped formulate the group organization of the Bureau. Mrs. Mitchell also credits her husband (Lucy Sprague Mitchell Interview 1962, 89) with helping to handle the numerical and behavior records of children that the Bureau of Educational Experiments attempted to keep. She claims that the Bureau's record problems were similar to Wesley Mitchell's economic work on business cycles.

External Relations of the Bureau

Given the close-knit association among the founding working members of the Bureau of Educational Experiments, it is not surprising to find the external relationships of the Bureau of Educational Experiments intricately connected to one or more of the individual group members. The network of the Greenwich Village intelligentsia, to coin Cremin's phrase (p. 205), provided linkages to progressive experiments nationwide.

Evelyn Dewey's exploration of working education experiments (e.g., *Schools for To-Morrow* 1915 and *New Schools for Old* 1919) provided a direct association between the Bureau (of which she was an original active member) and two early projects supported by the

Bureau. One project was the support of the Porter School in Kirksville, Missouri.

On November 25, 1916 a special committee from the Bureau met with Mrs. Marie Turner Harvey to discuss the Bureau's support of Mrs. Harvey's rural school project in Kirksville, Missouri. The minutes of that meeting (November 25, 1916) reveal a monetary commitment by the Bureau in the amount of \$3,200 to support Mrs. Harvey's extension service work because "what has been done at Porter, Missouri, can be done universally." Mrs. Harvey was attempting to make the everyday life of the community (in her case, the rural community) furnish the main content of her curriculum. She represented the embodiment of progressive education in a one-room country school.

Although the relationship between the Bureau and the Porter school can be interpreted as a mere grant-in-aid, the motive to disseminate progressive ideology broadly can be seen in the committee's recommendation that "a letter be sent to the School Board and patrons of Porter School, explaining the purposes of the Bureau in making such an appropriation and inviting their cooperation and consent." The committee also planned to send announcements of the Bureau's support of the Porter School extension work to Dr. Claxton (Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Education), specialists in rural education in the U.S. Bureau, the Missouri State Superintendent, the Adair County Superintendent, the President of Missouri State University, and the Presidents of the Missouri normal schools.

Plans for a book about the Porter School experiment were also discussed at the November 25, 1916 meeting. Evelyn Dewey's 1919 *New Schools for Old* was the outcome.

A second project which the Bureau supported was a grant to Mrs. Marietta Johnson to try out her method of "organic education" (which she had developed in Fairhope, Alabama) in a New York City public school. John and Evelyn Dewey reported in depth about Mrs. Johnson's Fairhope work in *Schools for To-Morrow* (1915). The Deweys touted the Alabama experiment as a "living embodiment of Rousseauan pedagogical principles" (Cremin 1961, 151). Mrs. Johnson developed a child-centered curriculum to encourage a child's natural development and deal with the organic whole of a child.

The Bureau's monetary support to Mrs. Johnson's urban experiment included money for an extra substitute teacher (added to the public school teacher) and to retain Mrs. Johnson's services to supervise the teachers and give a series of lectures to a group of public school teachers. Lucy Mitchell notes in her autobiography (1953, 457) that the experiment was not very successful. Apparently Marietta Johnson had trouble adapting her curriculum to city conditions.

Relations With Public Schools

This particular experiment was also representative of the nature of the relationship between the Bureau and the New York City public schools. The Bureau yearned to play a pivotal role in public education. However, its relationship was reduced to the funding of

minor spot experiments (such as Mrs. Johnson's work and a nutrition experiment in P.S. 64)--experiments deemed unsuccessful even by the Bureau.

That is not to say that the Bureau didn't keep trying to influence public education. Its wedge was always the experimental, progressive sympathizers. Lucy Mitchell's pre-Bureau interest in Elisabeth Irwin's experimental class at P.S. 64 fostered a relationship that continued when the Bureau was founded. Her experiments had to do with classifying children according to their mental ability and attempting to modify the curriculum to meet their varying needs. Irwin's experimental work in the public school was encouraged by P.S. 64's principal, William E. Grady.

It was Mr. Grady who secured the N.Y.C. Board of Education's permission to allow Mrs. Mitchell's Psychological Survey Team to test public school children (Dewey, Child & Ruml 1920, v). The Bureau's Working Council minutes of April 16, 1917 indicate that Mr. Grady requested the Bureau issue a bulletin on pedagogical tests to encourage teachers to use objective standards. As a sympathetic public school administrator, Mr. Grady was a valuable link between the Bureau and the public schools. However, the link was not strong enough to forge a permanent bond between the Bureau and the public schools.

An initial project of the Bureau was to garner public support for the Gary School league. The first budget of the Bureau indicates \$808.79 that was earmarked specifically for a promotional exhibit supportive of the Gary School movement. Indeed, Joyce Antler notes (1982, 587) that, "A letter from the secretary of the Gary School

league to Mitchell at the Bureau in March 1917 stated in fact that there was 'no other group of people so keenly in sympathy with the Gary Schools.'" If that movement had been successful, the Bureau's inroads into public education may have been more fully developed during those early years. However, with the defeat of the Gary School movement, the Bureau was relegated to its peripheral private experimental school sphere of influence.

Language Codification

The language of progressive educators was in the process of being developed during the first World War. Certain expressions such as "education of the whole child" became buzz words for private, experimental schools. Lucy Mitchell realized the impact that progressive language could have on the community at large, She knew how important it would be to have a language that was precise and meaningful--not simply educator's jargon.

In an internal Bureau memo she wrote circa 1918, Mrs. Mitchell urged the Bureau to come to a common agreement about certain Bureau terminology: the teaching of science, the Play School Method, and Alexander's system of conscious control. She stated that "without some common understanding, I feel our work if not farcical is at any rate amateurish and uncertain to a disquieting degree." (Mitchell, 1918). She then goes on to articulate her understanding of these particular terms in order that the Bureau's Working Council could discuss and agree to a definition of this terminology. This explicit codification of Bureau language appears to indicate an understanding that their distinctive views on education needed to be understood by a world-at-large. It wasn't

simply enough that they knew what they meant by their own progressive jargon; their ideology needed to be codified and translated. The very language then of the Bureau of Educational Experiments became an important vehicle for their external relationships.

At this early stage of the Bureau of Educational Experiments, external relations were deeply personal rather than institutional. Virtually every alliance that the early Bureau formed came about through personal connections. Certainly the bond which had developed between Lucy Mitchell and Caroline Pratt prior to the Bureau's founding enabled the Bureau to eventually link with Pratt's Play School. The intellectual and social network of the Greenwich Village neighborhood became a progressive sphere of influence within the world of experimental education. And the financial independence of the Bureau enabled it to dabble in spot projects to promote its cause.

However, there was an undercurrent of pressure to make inroads into the public sector. In a letter to Wesley Mitchell dated February 9, 1919, Elizabeth Coolidge (the Bureau's benefactress) asks:

Won't you drop me a little line some time, telling me how you feel about the results as the fourth year (of the Bureau) approaches? Do they realize your hopes and expectations? And are they pointing toward a time when the Bureau will be demonstrated to be necessary to the Board of Education, in such a way as to transfer the responsibility from private into public administration?

Letter to Wesley Clair Mitchell
From Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge
February 9, 1919

A retrospective look at the spot-experiment nature of the Bureau's external relations indicates that the Bureau still had a long way to go before it could think about generating public funds to support its work.

Bureau Research Efforts

Experimental research was considered a fundamental mission of the Bureau of Educational Experiments. The distinctive bent to the Bureau's research interests however was that research ought to be integrally related to the schools. It not only should inform the practice (i.e., the school environment ought to be re-structured to respond to a child's learning needs as discovered through specific observation techniques), but practice ought to inform research (i.e., the observation techniques should be developed to capture the natural essence of children's learning behavior).

The period during World War I saw a burgeoning of the field of child study. The collection of quantifiable measures of children's growth was a hallmark of the era. The Bureau fought to make qualitative measures as important as quantitative measures. Lucy Mitchell recounts the story of how difficult it was to collect standardized growth measurements on toddlers because of their excessive wiggling. The Bureau was involved in a longitudinal study to chart individual children's growth patterns. Mrs. Mitchell recounts how the Child Research Institute at Minneapolis put babies in casts to measure them so that they couldn't wiggle. She goes on to note that, unlike the Minneapolis Research Institute, the Bureau

was interested in the very wiggle--along with the measurement (Mitchell 1953, 460). When she subsequently recounted the same story during a personal interview, she said it was a research institute in Iowa which casted children (Lucy Sprague Mitchell Interview 1962, 94). Whether the casting of children actually happened may be open to speculation. But Mrs. Mitchell reiterates the point that the merger of quantitative with qualitative measures was a key distinctive feature of the early research projects of the Bureau.

Although the qualitative nature of research was philosophically important to the Bureau, its early research projects seemed heavily weighted toward quantitative data collection. The Psychological Survey Team (which was actually put into action in 1915, before the Bureau was founded) spent several years testing public school children. *Methods and Results of Testing School Children* (Dewey, Child & Ruml 1920) painstakingly documents this project and demonstrates the quantitative nature of the survey.

However, what Lucy Mitchell constantly stressed was the importance of analyzing data and keeping it within its proper context. She notes in her autobiography (1953, 461) that her experiences testing public school children made her "steadily more skeptical of the I.Q. as an unmodifiable quantity and also of the value of an unanalyzed I.Q."

As important as scientific thinking was to the Bureau, there are several indications that the research experiments of the early years had difficulty balancing the notion of pure experimental inquiry with the idea of naturalistic observation. The autobiographical note

about Mrs. Mitchell's insight into the I.Q. as being an environmentally modifiable quantity is followed by her obvious frustration with the Bureau's staff psychologist Frederick Ellis. "He influenced our thinking greatly, but his perfectionist standards made him unwilling to publish anything that was suggestive but fell short of proof." (p. 462).

Mrs. Mitchell was also critical of John Dewey's wife for a similar reason. An initial project of the Bureau was to work with Mrs. Dewey on records she had kept of children in Dewey's Chicago laboratory school. But nothing ever got published because, according to Lucy Mitchell, Mrs. Dewey wanted to print the records without any commentary. "We felt that the records that she had kept were not the kind of records we wanted to stand for. She kept only a record of what was presented to the children; there wasn't anything about the children's reactions, which is what we were working on." (Prescott 1962, 85).

One of the difficulties of this initial research work of the Bureau was reconciling how to capture the qualitative information that the Bureau wanted to stand for in a rigorous, scientific way. Qualitative methodology became an implicit research interest of the Bureau.

When the Bureau Nursery School came to fruition in 1918 and the Bureau's relationship with Caroline Pratt's City and Country School became more formalized, observations and records of children became a focus of Bureau research. The Bureau hoped to somehow link these behavioral observations with children's growth patterns. Using an interdisciplinary method of data collection, a variety of

Bureau staff collected data on the children. Harriet Johnson collected the behavioral records. Dr. Edith Lincoln was the consultant on dental records, Dr. Franz Boaz worked on the interpretation of physical measurements and Dr. Robert Woodworth worked on the relationship of psychological measurements in relation to the physical measurements (Mitchell 1953, 460).

The Bureau's difficulty in trying to reconcile the physical growth data with the behavioral records created a fundamental dissonance within the Bureau. As Joyce Antler noted (1982, 560), the Bureau's focus on "the quantitative indices of children's growth and behavior thus coexisted somewhat uneasily with Dewey-inspired goals of progressive education."

The nature of the Bureau's research ventures during the initial years indicates an organization searching for a way to give expression to its progressive ideals. The 1918 Statement to the Trustees notes that the Bureau's experiments are grouped under four headings: experiments not under Bureau control, i.e., contributions made to existing experiments (e.g., the Porter Rural School at Kirksville, Missouri); experiments not controlled by the Bureau, but in which it had advisory powers (e.g., Mrs. Marietta Johnson's urban version of her "organic" Fairhope, Alabama curriculum); experiments entirely initiated by the Bureau (e.g., physical and social growth collection and educational record keeping); and publications, surveys, and exhibits (e.g., bulletins on operational experimental schools, survey on experimental school methods, exhibit supporting the Gary Schools).

The eclectic nature of these projects must surely have stretched the time and talents of the Bureau's small staff. There is almost an audible sigh of relief in Lucy Mitchell's 1919 Chairman's Report when she notes, "I believe it is now safe for the Bureau to start the school classes which it plans." She articulates this as a culminating goal that the Bureau had been working toward, From 1916 until 1919 the Bureau had tried to build up a staff of specialists, serve as a clearinghouse of information about experimental education, and supported isolated or spot progressive experiments. After reviewing this work, Mrs. Mitchell notes, "The Bureau is about to start its first school classes." The development of the Bureau Nursery School and the liaison with Caroline Pratt's Play School was going to be solidified into a laboratory school that would focus the Bureau's research interests. There would be a consolidation of the diverse nature of the Bureau's activities.

And although the report notes that "we think of all our work ultimately in its relation to public education," it is this plan for its own private laboratory school which finally gives an internal solidarity to the Bureau's work.

Our 'spot' experiences do not have a real chance to show their educational possibilities in an alien atmosphere as, for instance, in a public school, where ours is the only experimental approach to children. Our specialists are necessarily hampered if they work in a school in which they are not really a part. Our beliefs do not carry conviction--perhaps not even to ourselves--unless they are tried out under the actual working conditions of a school.

Chairman's Report May, 1919

The laboratory school served to integrate the diverse nature of the Bureau's initial research projects.

Initial Governing Structure

This evolving experimental research bureau was in many ways shaped by the structure of the organization. It was a governance structure that was carefully built and even more carefully articulated by the principal Bureau founder, Lucy Sprague Mitchell. The structure was neither a bureaucratic model of business organizations nor the collegial-political model of higher education. Rather, there was a deliberate design intent to foster a consensual structure.

The original by-laws of the Bureau provided four categories of corporation members: Incorporators, Active Members, Non-resident Members, and Honorary Members. The Incorporators were the signers of the charter; Active Members were twelve people elected by a majority vote of the Incorporators; Non-resident Members and Honorary Members were elected by a majority vote of the Active Members. Thus the organization provided a simple majority vote entrance rule. Since it was the initial five founding Incorporators who voted in the twelve Active Members, the initial group was an inbred progressive group. Names of these original Active Members included Evelyn Dewey, Frederick Ellis, Harriet Forbes, Laura Garrett, Arthur Hulbert, Jean Hunt, Elisabeth Irwin, Eleanor Johnson, Harriet Johnson, Lucy and Wesley Mitchell, and Caroline Pratt.

The actual work and management of the organization was vested in the Working Council, into which all Active Members were

automatically elected. It was up to this group to decide upon policies of the Bureau and construct programs for carrying through these policies (Proposed Plan of Organization of the BEE 1917). The plan was for this Working Council to operate as a cooperative group.

Our administrative structure, which was itself an experiment in cooperation, made for joint thinking and joint planning for many years. The Working Council functioned as a group of peers to whom a Chairman, subcommittees and a General Secretary, when we had one, reported.

Mitchell 1953, 458

The interesting twist was that the Bureau Chairman (Lucy Mitchell) reported to the Working Council, not the usual reversed procedure. Cooperation was the guiding principal of the Bureau's internal structure. Guidelines for the working program of the Council (1917) required that the experiments selected by the Working Council should insure cooperative ventures. ". . . experiments should have preference that allow of the greatest amount of co-operation among the experimenters." (Proposed Plan of Organization 1917).

The working plan of the Council goes on to articulate the guidelines for setting up an experimental school program. Again, the guiding principle of cooperation is invoked: "The work of the school shall be organized in a manner that will enable the permanent organization of the Bureau to bring about the largest amount of co-operation between the departments of the school." (Proposed Plan of Organization 1917).

However, the ideal of peer cooperation was difficult to maintain. There is evidence that locus-of-control issues created strain on the cooperative system. "The give-and-take between the City and Country School and the Bureau staff was never satisfactory either to the Bureau or to the school. Caroline Pratt, as I have said, wished to be let alone to work out her ideas. She was not interested in our records or findings of research" (Mitchell 1953, 467).

Harriet Johnson, who headed the Bureau's Nursery School, allowed the "active give-and-take relations" between the Nursery School and the Bureau's research staff that epitomized the cooperative venture Mrs. Mitchell sought to foster (Mitchell, 467). However, Mrs. Mitchell easily admitted that group thinking is hard to implement. She noted the different languages that researchers and practitioners used. Since the Bureau was composed of an interdisciplinary staff, this language barrier was a hurdle to be overcome. It was Bureau staff like Harriet Johnson who spoke both research and practice languages who helped keep the Bureau on its co-operative venture track (Mitchell 1953, 458).

The evolution and refinement of the Bureau's working structure can be charted by tracking the departmental organization during the early years of the Bureau. The 1917 Proposed Plan of Organization of the Bureau of Educational Experiments set up four departments: teaching experiments; social, physical, and mental experiments; information; and records and statistics. Under committee and consultant direction, these departments served to functionally organize the direction of the Bureau's work.

The small size of the Bureau staff and the specific nature of each department would seem to indicate an organization capable of cooperative team planning. But subsequent annual reports are given not in terms of department; rather, projects are reported according to the amount of control the Bureau exercised over the particular experiment. An organization in search of a focus seems indicated.

Chapter Summary

As the germ of the Bank Street College of Education, the Bureau of Educational Experiments in 1916 hadn't even started to sprout. At that point in time, it seems to have only gathered its nutrients in a kernel of philosophical belief.

Certainly the philosophical belief was etched clearly in the founding documents of the Bureau. It would be an agency for and about progressive education. It would be an agency of interdisciplinary research, pooling a variety of experts in a cooperative venture to link quantitative data with qualitative information that would enable the development of learning environments targeted to the individual needs of children.

The clarity of that belief became somewhat more hazy in its operational implementation. The wide diversity of projects supported by the Bureau indicate an agency in search of the best means to express itself. Should it be by grants-in-aid to existing experiments? or perhaps by studying the nature of children in an operational experimental school? Should it act as advisor to projects or implementer of them? The answer seemed to be "yes." And in trying to address its mission in such a variety of ways, it

spread itself thin. Its progressive focus seemed to shift according to each particular project.

Indications are that by 1919, with the coalescence of a Bureau Laboratory School, it finally had a way to focus its energy. Finally it would be able to integrate its research interests (studying children) with its operational program (providing a responsive learning environment based on the research data).

The leadership to carry out this progressive venture seems to be a strong factor in the Bureau's development. The original active members knew each other well. Their individual backgrounds provided a broad means to collectively operationalize a core progressive belief system. But it was Lucy Sprague Mitchell who was able to identify this core group. She seemed to have a natural ability to see particular strengths and talents in people and be able to capitalize on these talents. Her recognition of the talents of Harriet Johnson (the Bureau's co-founder) is a prime example of Mrs. Mitchell's ability to marshal effective advocates for her cause:

It was luck that brought me into contact with her in my first year in New York, but it is to my credit that I immediately recognized her as a great and wise person and that I clung to her tenaciously for the twenty-two years longer that she lived.

Mitchell 1953, 250

And what was it in Lucy Mitchell which would cause people to gravitate to her organization? Certainly an existing fund of money to spend towards a particular cause is a gravitational force for people fundamentally interested in the cause at hand--in this case, progressive education. However, there is a great deal of evidence

that people were attracted to Mrs. Mitchell by more than money. She provided spirit and enthusiasm and a willingness to participate in people's projects. As Caroline Pratt notes,

Mrs. Mitchell brought with her (to Pratt's Play School) a fresh tide of plans for expansion powered by her characteristic enthusiasm . . . She offered us financial support. She offered us a new home, a converted garage in MacDougal Alley, behind her own Washington Square home. Best of all, she offered her own services as a teacher, and this was the beginning of a long and rich association.

Pratt 1948, 55

To realize that Lucy Mitchell did an incredible amount of volunteer work, attended a multitude of meetings throughout the city of New York, took courses at Columbia, entertained a parade of intellectuals at dinner parties, had four children (two natural and two adopted), and founded a Bureau of Educational Experiments all between 1914 and 1918 is to understand what an incredible amount of energy Lucy Mitchell must have had. That energy, fired with enthusiasm and channeled toward a cause, would be hard to resist.

The group of believers who clustered around Mrs. Mitchell seemed to evince a group identity.

The Bureau's plan of work appealed to people of certain temperaments rather than to people of certain training and backgrounds. The original group started the Bureau off with a distinct personality--characteristic ways of approaching all work . . . Temperamentally we seek pioneer fronts--which often seems a bit crazy to those uncomfortable on untrodden paths.

Mitchell 1953, 457

These pioneer experimentalists used their external relations to provide a means for their experiments; i.e., the liaisons among the network of experimenters provided both existing and formulated tasks to perform that would demonstrate the value of progressive education.

But however experimental the group temperament of the Bureau was, it still sought validation by mainstream educators. Its goal was to affect change in public education. Although it needed its own private experimental laboratory school to test its methods, the Bureau ultimately wished to use those methods with the population at large.

The Bureau's publications surveyed and disseminated the information about private experimental projects. But the hope was that this information would impact public practice.

Within the last two months (from May, 1919) we have received several orders from normal schools for bulletins in sufficient numbers to indicate their use as supplementary texts. This is quite the most encouraging result that our publicity has brought us to date and seems to promise broader possibilities in the near future.

Annual Statement to the Trustees
May, 1919

The evidence points to an organization that has hope for the future of its ideals--ideals of progressive education. The Bureau of Educational Experiments, though small, had a coherent philosophy and was financially solvent--at least for the short-term. There was a committed group of believers clustered around a magnetic force capable of generating unique experiments to explore the ramifications of their progressive ideals.

The Bureau managed to maintain its distinctive quantitative/qualitative twist to experimental education amidst a world that largely segregated those two perspectives on children. Child-study institutes such as Gesell's Yale clinic were primarily interested in testing children. Mainline progressive experiments linked with the university (e.g., Lincoln School, founded at Teachers College in 1917) looked directly to a curriculum to inform its response to children's learning needs. The Bureau's tack was to test children, but analyze those tests in the natural learning context. The information was then to be used to provide the knowledge-base of which experiences (not formal curriculum) would help children naturally express (an outcome of the experiential input curriculum) themselves.

For sure, the Bureau faced a mixed audience. The New York City public schools had rejected the Gary system. The progressive movement itself was divided into various camps--Freudian, Montessorian, Deweyan, et al. The Bureau had to struggle to make its distinctive voice heard.

The germination of the Bureau would depend on the seedbed it was now embedded in. It had burrowed itself into its own laboratory school. For the time being, there was funding available to support itself. The future of the Bureau of Educational Experiments may have been hopeful, but it was not assured. Could this private, experimental laboratory school prove its worth to public education? That seems to be the question left hanging at the close of the founding years of the Bureau.

CHAPTER 3

1930: Teacher Education at Bank Street

By 1930 both intra- and extra-institutional conditions had changed. The Bureau of Education Experiments was facing a different set of constraints than it had when it was founded in 1916.

Social and Political Context

In 1930, Franklin Roosevelt was facing his second term as Governor of New York. As a progressive Democrat, Roosevelt prided himself on being able to cope with changing times. His progressivism was at first restricted to supporting woman suffrage.

But New York, like the rest of the nation, was facing the economic nightmare of the Great Depression. As Roosevelt matured politically, he pushed for enactment of social welfare legislation to relieve some of the stress caused by the economic crisis. In 1925 the national unemployment rate was three percent. By 1930 it had risen to nine percent and by 1933 the rate was twenty-five percent. Roosevelt supported labor, health, and education legislation. He was willing to let government "assume increased responsibilities to its citizenry." (Bellush 1955, 164).

Herbert Hoover, President of the United States at the time of the Great Depression, held to the idea that government should let

business alone to correct the economic slump. He also upheld the notion of leaving economic relief packages to state and local governments. There was general uneasiness with Hoover's handling of the economic crisis. In 1932 Franklin Roosevelt was elected President and brought into play his plan for letting the federal government take responsibility of fighting the Great Depression. His New Deal programs funneled federal money into relief and jobs. Agencies were created to manage relief programs and create conservation and construction jobs.

For the New York City public schools, the Great Depression's first impact was crippling. However, the New Deal federal programs infused new life into the city's schools. The decade of the 1930s brought more variety to school programs, more cultural and recreational programs, more adult education courses, free dental clinics, remedial education programs, and nursery schools (Ravitch 1988, 236). It seems ironic that the decade of economic stagnation brought new life to the city schools.

New York City public school enrollment had grown from the 800,000 figure of 1916 to 1,113,000 in 1930 (Cremin 1977, 115). There was an increasing range and diversity of educational opportunities throughout the city of New York. There were more than a dozen art, historical, and science museums throughout the city as well as a broad range of social and cultural clubs. New York was a city dominated by ethnic neighborhoods. As Cremin notes, the complex cultural milieu of New York City circa 1930 created a complicated environment in which the public schools tried to perform their mission of education.

In 1930 Dr. William O'Shea was the New York City School Superintendent. Under his tenure the number of junior high schools was increased, schools expanded vocational education, and there was an increasing use of standardized achievement and intelligence tests. O'Shea's 1934 successor was Harold Campbell.

Superintendent Campbell initiated an experimental "activity program" in seventy schools. This program was based on progressive child-centered notions of education (Ravitch 1988, 237). By 1941 the State Education Department recommended that the program be expanded. The decade of the thirties witnessed an increased willingness on the part of New York's public school system to experiment with progressive ideas.

The Progressive Education Association had been founded in 1919 to foster the advance of progressive education. Charles Eliot was its first Honorary President. In 1924 the *Progressive Education* journal was begun. Cremin (1961, 247) cites the most significant issues of the journal as "those devoted to 'creative expression' . . . appearing in 1926, 1928, and 1931." Following Eliot's death, John Dewey was invited to become the Honorary President of the PEA. He accepted in 1927 and held that office until he died in 1952 (Cremin 1962, 249). Cremin notes the increasing prominence of this organization during the decade of the thirties. "The PEA rapidly became the pedagogical bandwagon of the thirties (p. 257)." Perhaps this was due to the PEA's "growing conviction circa 1929-30 that the time had come to concentrate more heavily on extending and diffusing progressive education." (p. 251).

Teacher Training

It was in 1930 that Congress authorized the National Survey of the Education of Teachers. In 1920 there had been a shortage of teachers, but by 1930 there was a surplus of certified teachers. Teaching salaries had actually increased by 1930. This created increased competition among publicly supported institutions educating teachers and privately endowed schools which trained teachers. Competition fused with controversy surrounding the length of necessary preservice education for elementary teachers. There were questions as to the place of methods and techniques in teacher training, the amount and type of non-professional content that teachers should have, and the amount of emphasis to place on practice teaching.

A National Survey was organized to get a picture of the conditions and practices of teacher education circa 1930. The survey attempted to do a thorough analysis of the problems and controversies of teacher education; look at historical trends in teacher education; make recommendations for change; and disseminate information about teacher education (United States Department of the Interior 1933).

The survey indicated that between 1915 and 1930 there was a strong teachers-college movement as normal schools obtained degree-granting status. In 1919-20 there were 138 normal schools listed by the survey. By 1929-30 there were only 66 normal schools. Teachers-colleges listed for 1919-20 numbered 39. A decade later the number was 125.

By 1930 there was a centralization of certification authority in state departments of education. There was strong growth in local and national associations of teachers. There was also the rapid development of educational materials. All of these developments led to increased educational standards for teachers which translated into years of schooling or semester hours of credit.

The dichotomous training of teachers fell into two institutional categories: normal schools/teachers-colleges and liberal arts colleges and universities. Normal schools/teachers-colleges were shown to have a more homogenous student body, concentrate more heavily on the professional component of the curriculum, have all of their students practice teach, and see their mission as preparing teachers. The liberal arts colleges and universities had a more heterogeneous student population, focused less on the professional component of the curriculum, had many education students who did not practice teach, and saw their mission as giving students the acquisition of knowledge (United States Department of the Interior 1933, 78).

Although the professional-liberal dichotomy was demonstrated by the National Survey data, it was still clear that the State normal schools which once operated apart from the general scheme of higher education were now an integral part of the system of higher education.

Where within this system was there to be a training ground for progressive teachers? Teachers College claimed that territory. But within the New York City progressive clique, Teachers College represented a codification of progressive education that many

progressives rejected. The antennae of the Bureau of Educational Experiments picked up on a need to train teachers in the specific techniques of child-centered teaching. Certainly the New York City of 1930 provided a medium for growth of such a training ground.

Mission

Caroline Pratt's City and Country School had been the vital link between the Bureau of Educational Experiments and the real-world of children through the 1920's. On an informal basis, it was Carolina Pratt who demonstrated progressive teaching techniques to the observers who trooped in and out of her classroom. As her school expanded, Pratt's frustration was in trying to find other teachers who could implement her program.

I was for my part very deeply involved in the search for teachers for the age groups as we added them. There was then no source for such teachers as I envisioned, no training school which could supply me with this most precious kind of material.

Pratt 1949, 62

It wasn't only Pratt who cried for progressive teacher training programs. By the end of the decade of the twenties, groups of experimental educators used the Bureau of Educational Experiment's library as a meeting area. Although these teachers were from Pennsylvania to Connecticut and implemented experimental programs in diverse ways, Lucy Mitchell noted that "There is one point on which they are in practical agreement: they are all clamoring for more and better-trained teachers." (Mitchell 1931, 251).

On March 8, 1930 a committee of the Bureau invited a group of these experimental educators to a meeting to discuss the matter of teacher education in general and, in particular, to hear a proposal for a teacher training project by the Bureau of Educational Experiments. The discussion indicated a common belief, "That we need more and better teachers if 'our kind' of education is to be furthered, if indeed it is not to be hopelessly swamped by the kind that is not 'ours.'" (Tentative Plan for Teacher Training 1930, 1).

The proposal that the committee laid on the table was for the Bureau to set up a center in New York City where student teachers could come for studio work and to use various participating experimental schools for student field work. Their proposal was modest in that it had a very specific target audience, students of progressive teaching methods, and it aimed at a narrow focus of teacher training.

We are not trying to start a comprehensive teachers college. We shall never attempt academic courses in history, in physics, or any other cultural or scientific body of organized facts, in and for themselves and unrelated to school problems. We aim to supply a need in the teacher-training field which we believe is not now being met.

Tentative Plan for Teacher Training 1930, 2

The proposal envisioned providing opportunities for student teachers to understand their own powers as teachers, to understand children, and to plan a school environment and classroom techniques which capitalized on these teacher and child traits. In order to provide these opportunities, the plan called for treating the student teachers as children, only on a higher age level. In other words, the

student teachers would be trained in the same manner that eventually they would use to train children (Mitchell 1931, 252).

Lucy Mitchell saw the development of a Cooperative School for Teachers as, "A logical next step in the development of our thinking about schools for children." (Mitchell 1953, 469). It was a formalization of the informal teacher training that had been evolving at the Bureau's Nursery School, Pratt's City and Country School, and Elisabeth Irwin's experimental program in the Little Red School House.

The teacher training program that the Bureau envisioned had a very definite point of view which merged science and art. This was expressed in the first catalog of the Cooperative School for Student Teachers: "Our aim is to help students develop a scientific attitude toward their work and towards life . . . Our aim is equally to help students develop and express the attitude of the artist towards their work and towards life." (Antler 1982, 583).

The discussion of the development of a program for teacher training predominates in Bureau documents circa 1930. Curiously, the 1931 application for a new charter does not reference this new Bureau focus. Rather it is the programs for children that were developed a decade earlier that are listed as the organizational purpose of the Bureau: "To maintain and operate a progressive, experimental nursery and primary school and to engage in experiments and research work relevant and pertinent thereto." (Application for Charter 1931). There is no mention at all of teacher training, although by 1931 the Cooperative School for Student Teachers was an encompassing project of the Bureau.

The original Bureau Charter had been granted in Washington, D.C. in 1917. Mrs. Mitchell notes in her autobiography that, "we were refused a New York charter because the Regents of the University of New York at Albany did 'not approve of untried experiments.'" (Mitchell 1953, 474). But it is interesting that the New School for Social Research (which was chartered in the same time period as the Bureau of Educational Experiments) also secured its initial charter in Washington, D.C. because, "The New York Board of Regents required a \$500,000 endowment before it would accredit any private institution of higher learning. Lacking such an endowment, the founders (of the New School for Social Research) secured a charter from the District of Columbia, which at the time granted educational charters almost on request." (Rutkoff and Scott 1986, 21). Perhaps, the endowment issue had been added incentive for the Bureau to obtain its original charter in Washington.

By 1931, the Bureau of Educational Experiments was again applying to the Regents of The University of the State of New York. This time it was granted a New York Provisional Charter to maintain and operate a "progressive experimental nursery and primary school and to engage in experiments and research work relevant and pertinent thereto under the corporate name of Bureau of Educational Experiments." Its progressive mission was reiterated from its initial charter. However, the diffused generic purposes of the initial charter were now focused on the operation of a school for children. Although the New York charter served to consolidate the Bureau's purposes, it didn't seem to reflect the operational mission under development--the training of teachers.

The New York Education Department noted that the Provisional Charter would be replaced by an Absolute Charter if within five years the Bureau acquired resources and equipment "sufficient and suitable for its chartered purposes in the judgment of the Regents of the University and by maintaining an institution of educational usefulness and character satisfactory to them." (Provisional Charter 1931). Having secured the tentative blessing of the state of New York, the Bureau now had to prove itself, both through the physical acquisition of resources and the more arbitrary demonstration of use and character.

Leadership

Financial resources were a critical need of the Bureau. The original financial plan of the Bureau ended in 1926. Lucy Mitchell recounts in her autobiography (1953, 455) a "second dramatic experience in finance" that happened at that time. The General Secretary at the Bureau was a Mrs. McCandless who had met a sculptress names Mrs. Hunt in Europe during the war years. They kept in limited touch thereafter. One night, Mrs. Hunt called Mrs. McCandless and asked if she could see her immediately. Apparently she had been concerned about what to do with some money that she had. She had just had a dream in which she saw a "Big red building, full of windows. And at every window was a child's smiling face She heard a voice saying, 'Go to Mrs. McCandless--she will tell you what this means.'" (Mitchell 1953, 455). Mrs. McCandless' interpretation of the dream was that, "It means you are to give that money you are worrying about to the Bureau of Educational

Experiments." Both the Bureau's Nursery School and the City and Country School were housed in red brick buildings.

Thus the Bureau came into \$32,000 worth of stock and bonds. This was split between the Bureau and Caroline Pratt's City and Country School which was being used as the Bureau's laboratory school. Mitchell notes (with perhaps a touch of rancor), "The school spent its half at once. We kept our half as a lifesaver, to be used for underwriting deficits and to be drawn upon only in financial emergencies." (p. 456). It seems that one of Lucy Mitchell's leadership traits was her sense of thrift and the importance of careful monetary expenditures.

She was also able to garner a network of financial supporters that included both relatives and Bureau personnel. In the 1930-1931 Annual Report it is noted that, "This year, thanks to the contributions of Mr. A. Sprague Coolidge, Mrs. Sam Lewisjohn, Mrs. Adolph C. Miller, Miss Jessie Stanton, Mr. Paul Warburg and a Foundation, we have covered expenses and have even a small surplus to carry over." (p. 6). However, in the same report it is noted that, "We still have to raise approximately \$8,000 if we are to carry out the plan as outlined in our catalogue (for a school for student teachers)."

A year later when her husband had an appointment to teach at Balliol College in Oxford, England, Lucy's letters to him indicated her fears for what was happening to the economy. "All experimental schools were threatened; many closed." (Mitchell 1953, 388). But Mrs. Mitchell goes on to note that, "Bank Street just managed to survive through the voluntary, drastic cutting of salaries by the

staff." The staff also "assumed multiple responsibilities to stretch the Bureau's limited financial resources." (Gordon 1988, 230). This sacrificial assumption of multiple duties led to Gordon's observation that "Dedication to 'Bank Street' resulted in a 'mystique of overwork' among its key people." (p. 241).

In addition to financial resources, a new physical plant was needed if a school for student teachers was to be implemented. The Bureau had been located at 144 West 13th Street. In late May of 1930 a building which had been Fleischman's yeast laboratory and warehouse at 69-71 Bank Street in Greenwich Village was purchased. During the next six months it was remodelled, decorated, and furnished. It was noted in the 1930-1931 Annual Report of The Cooperative School for Student Teachers that the remodelling contractor "not only gave us generously of his time and attention but presented us with the furnishings of our library, the Philippine mahogany woodwork, the tables, couches and chairs, made in his shop, the rugs, curtain and lighting fixtures." (p. 2). The Bureau seemed to be able to secure support from diverse sources.

By November of 1930 the Bureau (including the Nursery School, the research staff, and the nascent Cooperative School for Student Teachers) moved into the Bank Street quarters (Annual Report of The Cooperative School for Student Teachers 1930-1931, 1). After the move, the Bureau unofficially came to be called 'Bank Street'.

The records seem to indicate that the Fleischman building was purchased directly by the Bureau; however, a letter dated July 30, 1931 from Lucy Sprague Mitchell to the Bureau's Board of Trustees is an offer to sell to the Bureau "the premises known as 69-71 Bank

Street . . . which are free of all encumbrances, except a purchase money mortgage . . . " It appears to have been Lucy Mitchell who had procured the building for the Bureau. The leadership of an organization not only affects the resources it can generate, but also what the organization can accomplish. Certain key figures at Bank Street circa 1930 helped bring into focus the new teacher education mission that Bank Street was developing.

By 1929 Lucy Mitchell had broken ties with Caroline Pratt. "Caroline's way of thinking and working and my way of thinking and working were too different to make it profitable for us to work together any longer." (Mitchell 1953, 413). Her new liaison was with Elisabeth Irwin's public school experiment in the Little Red School House. This was a project financed by the Public Education Association wherein the curriculum planning and the teaching of kindergarten, first and second grades in a public school was put in the hands of experimental educators. Mrs. Mitchell became the kindergarten teacher after taking some written examinations and an oral examination (Mitchell 1953, 414).

Whereas Caroline Pratt resisted codification of her teaching methods, Elisabeth Irwin worked to facilitate dissemination of experimental methodology. Lucy Mitchell noted, "Yes, I learned much about teaching children in those three years in this school. And I learned much about teaching teachers, too." (p. 420).

There was yet another shift in leadership circa 1930. In 1928 Harriet Johnson published *Children in the Nursery School*. This book records Johnson's experiences leading the Bureau's Nursery School between 1919 and 1927. The book symbolized the importance of

child study to the Bureau; in particular, the study of very young children. The nursery school kept children within the narrow age range of the beginning of walking through three years of age (Johnson 1928, Introduction).

That same year, Barbara Biber joined the Bureau staff. She had a background in psychology from Barnard College and the University of Chicago. Her studies of children's drawings delineated the sequential development of drawing in young children. When Harriet Johnson died in 1934, Barbara Biber took over as chair of the Studies and Publications Division of the Bureau. There was a shift from the quantitative focus of the early Bureau child study experiments to a more qualitative approach that Barbara Biber personally used in her own research.

There was an acknowledged relationship between the strengths of Bank Street's leadership and the ways the Bureau operationalized its mission. As Lucy Mitchell noted (1953, 468), "Many changes have come to Bank Street since Harriet Johnson's death . . . The close relationship between research and Nursery School curriculum inevitably weakened without Harriet Johnson, who thought in terms of this relationship. The programs of work in both the School for Teachers and in research began to center less on nursery children and more on elementary-school-age children."

As the plan emerged for a teacher training program, the Bureau's leadership deliberately chose a variety of experimental schools in which to place their student teachers. They felt that there should not be an orthodox way to implement progressive education. "And we also felt that the flexibility would keep us from getting snooty,

which was one of our horrors. I mean getting hardened into an attitude of 'We know the way.'" (Lucy Sprague Mitchell Interview 1962, 99). The directors of the cooperating schools in the teacher education venture made for an eclectic group of educators.

The students being sought for the Cooperative School for Student Teachers were "College or normal school graduates with a general cultural background or 'equivalent experience.' Moreover . . . a student body mix of economic, racial, religious, and political backgrounds." (Gordon 1988, 211). Gordon goes on to describe the traits that the Cooperating School sought through an application, an autobiography, and an interview, "Evidence of intellectual curiosity, emotional insight, profound interest in children, sustained physical and mental vitality, awareness of social problems, self-awareness, well-developed personal standards and a willingness to learn for oneself." Students were ruled out if they weren't interested in "becoming a modern teacher." (p. 212).

An interview with Claudia Lewis, Cooperating School for Student Teachers class of 1933 (September 3, 1990) confirmed Edith Gordon's summation of the prototypical early Bank Street student teacher. She herself was a graduate of Reed College and frustrated with her first teaching experience in Oregon when she applied to the Cooperating School for Student Teachers after having heard about its special approach to teaching from a college classmate in New York. Lewis credited Lucy Mitchell with being the spirit of the Cooperating School. "She was the head, the sparkling one!" Words that Lewis used to describe Mitchell included "inspiring" and great!"

As in 1916, the leadership of the Bureau seemed to emanate from Lucy Mitchell. In a paper entitled Lucy Sprague Mitchell dated October, 1958, it is noted that "No one fortunate enough to have been in one of the many classes she taught in the thirties and forties will forget the dynamic quality of her teaching, the zest for learning, the respect for the scientific method, the sensitivity to children's intellectual and emotional needs, the lively humor and the erudition that she brought to her work." (p. 5). Since her work was the Bureau and its Cooperating School for Student Teachers, there was a built-in store of energy upon which the organization could draw.

External Relations

But having internal energy isn't enough to keep an organization going. The developing external relations of the Bureau circa 1930 were a critical variable in the evolving focus of the organization. Certainly the dialogue among representatives of eight experimental schools and the Bureau concerning the need for a new breed of teachers trained in experimental teaching methods was instrumental in the refocusing of the Bureau's mission.

What started as informal discussion in the Bureau's library, led to a formal proposal by the Bureau on March 8, 1930. The plan was that the Bureau would provide the central teacher training and use the experimental schools as field sites for student teaching. They proposed adapting a plan used at Antioch wherein students would be divided into two groups and alternate periods of field-work time with Bureau training time. The Bureau deliberately presented its

proposal to a diverse group of experimental programs. First the Bureau didn't want to stand for any particular orthodox form of progressive education. "We believe the very diversity of personalities of these schools will help us to avoid the worst of all pitfalls for an organization that proposes to train teachers for classroom life with children--the pitfall of smug contentment and infallibility." (Mitchell 1931, 251). Second, they wanted a group of schools which represented a cross-section of geographical location from urban to rural.

The cooperating schools in the initial teacher training venture included the Bureau's own Nursery School, Rosemary Junior School in Greenwich, Connecticut; Spring Hill School in Litchfield, Connecticut; Manumit School in Pawling, New York; Carson College for Orphan Girls in Flourtown, Pennsylvania; Livingston School in Staten Island, New York; Mount Kemble School in Morristown, New Jersey; and the experimental classes (Elisabeth Irwin's program) in Public School 41, New York City (Mitchell 1931, 251). "We chose to ask those people whose schools or educational ideas we like and approve." (Tentative Plan for Teacher Training 1930, 1).

The year 1930 to 1931 was spent planning and preparing for the initial class of student teachers. The Bureau worked directly with teachers of the eight cooperating schools by holding two seminars at the Bureau's new Bank Street quarters. There was one seminar listed as "Environment" and one listed as "Language." The Environment course included field work in the schools' local communities, map-making, and discussions and observations of the ways children use their environment. The language course helped

teachers to write stories and verse for children and studied children's use of language. Both seminars were directly related to planning experimental curricula for children. There were fifty-nine people registered for the two seminars including thirty-four teachers, six students, and three parents from the eight cooperating schools and sixteen people from other schools (Annual Report of The Cooperative School for Student Teachers 1930-1931, 2-3).

In addition to the training seminars, the Bureau provided direct service to the Cooperating Schools by sending Central Bureau Staff members out to the various schools to work directly with special groups of children or with individual teachers. "Through this service to the Cooperating Schools different members of the staff have come into working relations, more or less close, with 49 teachers in addition to those attending the courses in New York." (3-4). The Bureau also held a series of weekend curriculum conferences for the Cooperating Schools. And as an additional service to the cooperating schools, the Bureau developed source books for teachers, bibliographies, and stories and verse for small children.

All of these initiatives were designed to strengthen the cooperative bond among the cooperative schools and the Bureau. "We feel that this work with the teachers who are to have our students next year has been invaluable as a basis for understanding one another." (Annual Report of The Cooperative School for Student Teachers 1931, 3).

In order to recruit the first class of student teachers for the Bureau, an article was published in the March 1931 journal of *Progressive Education* entitled "A Cooperative School for Student

Teachers." Lucy Mitchell described the planned training program and it was hoped that this would generate interest among progressive educators. Additionally, an article about the Cooperative School appeared in the May issue of the *Bryn Mawr Alumnae Bulletin*. Paid advertisements appeared in *Progressive Education*, the *Smith Alumnae Quarterly*, and *The Survey*. The Bureau also wrote to personnel officers and deans in 131 colleges and universities, and sent information to all of the teachers colleges on the approved list of the American Council on Education, as well as to 37 nursery schools throughout the country (p. 5). Recruiting talks were held with groups of students at Swarthmore and Sarah Lawrence College. There was a conscious effort to recruit from progressive colleges.

In addition to the proactive steps the Bureau took to solidify its relations with the cooperating schools, the Bureau also sought to use external relations to extend the nature of its service. Dr. Alvin Johnson who was the director of the New School for Social Research agreed to help develop courses for the Cooperative School for Student Teachers. Dr. Johnson was a close friend of the Mitchells. Wesley Mitchell had been a key founding member of the New School for Social Research and was actively involved in its development. The agreement by the New School to work with Bank Street was perhaps as much related to personal debt as it was to the similar philosophical bent of the two developing organizations. The New School not only had geographical Greenwich Village proximity to the Bureau's Bank Street quarters, but provided a liberal intellectual support-base for the Mitchells and their cadre of friends.

This network of support was present on April 24, 1931 when a housewarming was held for the new Bank Street quarters. Two hundred and forty people attended and Dr. Alvin Johnson (Director of the New School for Social Research) and Dr. William Kilpatrick (of Teachers College) gave speeches to welcome the Bank Street venture into educational circles (Annual Report of The Cooperative School for Student Teachers 1930-1931, 2).

New York City Linkages

Although external support was important, it was the more intricate external relations of the Bureau with the N.Y.C. public schools that seemed to be of central concern to Lucy Mitchell. "When I think back to where I actually worked with groups other than at Bank Street, the New York City Board of Education stands out as the most important one." (Prescott 1962, 122). Her alliance with Elisabeth Irwin's experimental program in Public School 41 enabled Mrs. Mitchell to get her foot in the door of the N.Y.C. public schools: "It was through her (Elisabeth Irwin) that I got my first chance to work in a public school--the goal that I never lost sight of. I entered the public-school system--but by a side door." (Mitchell 1953, 414). In 1930, the side door of experimental programs within a public school context wasn't exactly acceptance on the part of the New York City Board of Education. But it was at least a linkage.

Edith Gordon (1988, 171) notes that during the decade of the thirties, President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal initiatives to provide jobs included the establishment of federally supported nursery schools. Bank Street staff member Jessie Stanton (who was

co-director of Bank Street's Harriet Johnson Nursery School) helped set up these nursery school project in N.Y.C. The Bank Street building itself was used for New Deal programs. Ruth Andrus, who was a New York State coordinator of children's programs, was actively involved in these N.Y.C. child care programs. She was cooperatively involved with Bank Street projects and provided an important linkage for Bank Street to the New York State agency level of child care policy development.

Broader Liaisons

There were also linkages being forged between Bank Street and the federal policy level. Joyce Antler (1987, 317) notes that Lucy Mitchell's sister Mary had become a good friend of Eleanor Roosevelt during World War I. Mary's husband Adolph Miller was a Commissioner of the Federal Reserve Bank. In 1934 Lucy Mitchell was invited to dine at the White House along with the Millers. She later met Mrs. Roosevelt again during the opening of a children's art exhibit. Indeed, Mrs. Roosevelt even toured the Bank Street quarters. According to Antler (317), Mrs. Roosevelt appointed Lucy Mitchell to the National Advisory Committee of an experimental school project in West Virginia in 1935.

The external relations of the Bureau were knit together under the blanket of experimental education. In 1934 the Cooperative School for Teachers became part of the Associated Experimental Schools (AES) which was an organization of seven schools in the New York City area. The association sought to generate funding, pool resources, and publicize their work jointly. They participated in

Progressive Education Conferences and arranged an exhibit for the Childhood Education Convention (Gordon 1988, 231-232). Eleanor Roosevelt was an AES sponsor (Antler 1987, 315). This group disbanded after four years.

As important as the blanket of experimental education was, there are several indications that the Bureau was well aware of the need for acceptance by the mainstream educational community. The accrediting of teacher education institutions began in 1927. As the Bureau focused its work on teacher training, it sought sanctions for its Cooperative School for Teachers. A document entitled "National Association for Intern Teacher Education By-Laws" which was found in Lucy Mitchell's administrative records circa 1930-1955 indicates that Bank Street was involved in developing an accreditation mechanism for experimental teacher education programs. The purpose of NAITE was "to accredit institutions which are carrying forward sound programs of intern teaching and study for graduate students" and to assist in student recruiting and placement (National Association for Intern Teacher Education By-Laws 1930-1955, 1).

The standards for accrediting members of the NAITE indicate that "all member institutions take an experimental attitude toward their programs and are concerned not with formal requirements but with selecting and guiding the development of students who give promise of being unusually competent teachers" (Standards for Accrediting Members circa 1930-1955, 1). The guidelines listed for accreditation are listed categorically so that evaluation can be made of an institution's record, selection of students, intern-teaching,

curriculum, library, faculty, and degrees. The criteria under each category are flexibly worded (e.g., every member institution has ready access to ample library facilities) and carry the implicit understanding that accrediting members will be training teachers for experimental education.

Concern for acceptance by the broader educational community was expressed at a special meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Bureau of Educational Experiments held on November 23, 1934:

In order to increase the availability of the Cooperative School for Student Teachers to prospective and presently enrolled students who may desire to obtain credit with other institutions for work done in the School, it is desirable to petition the Board of Regents for an amendment to the charter to give official recognition to the teacher training activity of the Co-operative School.

Board of Trustees Minutes
November 23, 1934

By 1936 Randolph Smith joined the Bank Street staff. He had been working for the New York State Department of Education and had worked under Dr. Ruth Andrus at the Bureau of Child Development and Parent Education. He was "responsible for the massive documentation which resulted in state accreditation for the Cooperative School for Teachers." (Gordon 1988, 233-235).

The awareness of how important external liaisons were for the Bureau is reflected in an undated letter (circa 1932) to Lucy Mitchell from a member of the Bureau's new trustee search committee:

I think the idea of distant regional trustees excellent. I have just heard that the General Education Board has decided to concentrate its next few years of new spending on child development projects, and teacher training. That is really important to us, and I feel we must not miss the boat on this opportunity. It seems to me the endorsement of such a recognized and prominent educator as Mr. Johnson, given at the last Board meeting, should influence the decision of Foundations in spending money. Particularly if they are interested in this field . . .

Letter to Lucy Sprague Mitchell
Greenwich, Connecticut
Circa 1932

External relationships of the Bureau had branched from being mostly extensions of personal relationships to a broader network of intricate connections that could help sustain the Bureau's work financially as well as spiritually.

Research Efforts

Quantitative data collection of children's growth patterns had become a hallmark of the Bureau's research during the 1920s. An article by Lucy Mitchell in 1926 describes the Bureau's research work and lists a major Bureau aim "to conduct researches which will lead to further and fuller data concerning children's growth." (Mitchell 1926, 6). They did this through a yearly physical examination of each child in the Bureau's nursery school and in Caroline Pratt's City and County School; annual stool and urine examinations; x-rays of wrists and electro-cardiograms; proportional measurements; and an annual psychological examination of each child using the Stanford revision and a group of performance

tests. Observational behavior records were kept on the nursery school children and the three-year-old group of the City and Country School children. The intent of all this data collection was "to find the relationship between these physical and psychological records and the activities of the children in a set-up which gives scope to their own constructive impulses." (Mitchell 1926, 6).

There are indications that as the records piled up, the Bureau wasn't quite sure what to do with the information. The data collection was being done by a team of experts--a physician, two psychologists, a recorder, a statistician, and a social investigator. This meant that their individual findings had to be somehow integrated. "The teachers, naturally, saw the child whole, and the research workers, though concerned with different parts of the child's development, were kept together to quite an extent by frequent staff meetings with the teachers, as well as with each other." (Research Trends of the Bureau 1931, 5). But there was concern that the integrated aspect of children's growth might not be captured enough in the Bureau's data reporting mechanisms. "The individual child in his entirety has not been lost for the Bureau staff; but whether we shall be able to convey to those unacquainted with our children any unified picture of their mental and physical growth is certainly a very different question." (Research Trends of the Bureau 1931, 5).

The description of the research trends of the Bureau in 1931 indicates that the Bureau was not conducting experimental research in educational methods or child development. Rather, "The 'experiment' which was chiefly in mind was that of affording a

school environment in which the child's development would be as normal and unhampered as possible." (Research Trends of Bureau 1931, 1). Children were to be allowed freedom; teachers were expected to be less didactic and more supervisory and encouraging; material equipment of the school was to be adapted to play activity in order to foster children's physical and mental growth (which was being monitored by the growth records). This environmental creation aspect of the Bureau's research was considered a success; there did not seem to be the seed of doubt as was expressed concerning the collection of growth data. "Without going into detail, we may here set down our strong conviction that this educational experiment was a success, that children did show gratifying development in the environment provided, and that the general plan and many of the specific materials deserve continued use." (Research Trends of the Bureau 1931, 3).

This scrutiny of the Bureau's research trends up through 1931 was perhaps precipitated by the evolving shift in focus from studying children toward teacher training. At the December 8, 1931 meeting of the Bureau's Working Council, a discussion was held about how the development of the Bureau's library would be affected in the newly conceived Cooperative School for Student Teachers. It was agreed that books and references should be available as source materials for both the cooperating teachers and the student teachers. But the discussion further evolved into the place that research should hold in the new Cooperative School.

The question of subscribing to magazines relative to research is actually dependent upon a broader one: What do we want to do with research in the Bureau? Is it to function within the Nursery School and the Cooperative School, or one or the other, or do we wish it to function as a separate aspect of Bureau interests? It was suggested that the question might be whether or not we wish to maintain a pure research program or an affiliation with the two schools within the Bureau?

Working Council Minutes
December 8, 1931

These questions about where the structural location of the Bureau's research interests should be were supplemented with questions as to what the nature of Bureau research ought to be. "One member hoped that our research program would not be too limited, because of the value to the students of developing a research attitude." (Working Council Minutes December 8, 1931, 3). In a 1931 *Progressive Education* article about the Bureau's planned Cooperative School, Lucy Mitchell notes, "We hope that each student, sometime during her work with us, will do a definite piece of research in terms of some aspect of the curriculum in its relation to children's growth." (Mitchell 1931, 255).

As the Bureau debated how best to fit research into its new teacher education venture, on-going projects continued to evolve the Bureau's research focus from quantitative data collection toward a more holistic, qualitative mold that better seemed to suit Lucy Mitchell's "whole child" perspective on education. As a young staff member in 1930, Barbara Biber was actively involved in a study of the sequences of children's drawing stages. It was hoped that a

sequence in drawing stages could be correlated to children's physiological changes.

When Harriet Johnson died in 1934, it was Barbara Biber who became the head of the Bureau's research division known as Studies and Publications. Barbara Biber is credited with shifting the Bureau's research interests toward more qualitative measures and strengthening the academic substance of the Bureau's research projects (*Guide to the Records of Bank Street College of Education* 1989, 9).

During the decade of the thirties, a major research focus was the study of one particular age: the seven-to-eight-year-old. This study took place in the Little Red School House and used extensive observations of seven-year-olds to try to integrate the cognitive thinking, language, and creative expression of this age group. The results of the study were written up in *Child Life in School* which was published in 1942. "*Child Life in School* stands today as a pioneering effort to portray the characteristics of a group of seven-year-old children in the cultural context of a relatively non-authoritarian school setting in the inter-war period of the 1930's." (Gordon 1988, 162). It "placed Bank Street squarely in support of a humanistic standard of education" (166).

In 1930, the Bureau was still struggling to find its research niche. Bureau staff acknowledged in 1931 that research was taking a back seat to teaching. "At this stage of growth, teaching, rather than Bureau research interests, has predeominated." (Working Council Minutes December 8, 1931, 3). The structure of the shifting

organization would determine the place that research would hold in the new teacher training venture of the Bureau.

Governing Structure

As the Bureau wrestled with defining the place of research, it also struggled with forming a new governance structure to support the new teacher education unit of the Bureau. When the new Bureau charter and by-laws were accepted by the Bureau trustees on September 28, 1931, the Bureau staff determined that the former constitution needed revision and simplification. Thus the governance structure was overhauled at the same juncture of shift in Bureau purpose.

During the 1930-1931 Cooperative School for Student Teachers preparatory year, the Central Bureau Staff acted as both an executive body and as a teaching staff. There were six staff members who served in this capacity. The 1930-1931 Annual Report of The Cooperative School for Student Teachers clearly indicates the multiple duties the Central Staff members bore. ". . . Every member of the Central Staff had engrossing and time-consuming school activities apart from the work of the Cooperative School." The hiring of Elizabeth Healy in February of 1931 enabled the executive duties to be specifically delegated. In 1930, the assumption of multiple roles and duties by Bureau staff was the norm.

In 1931 the Bureau had a teaching staff and a research staff. Although the staffs served dichotomous purposes, they functioned in harmony as the Working Council was in the process of being reorganized. The joint teaching and research staffs served as an

interim Working Council committee until a new Working Council could be properly organized (Working Council Minutes 1931).

As the Bureau worked out a new administrative structure, the single Bureau became divided into three departments: The Nursery School, the Cooperative School for Teachers, and the Division of Studies and Publications (Mitchell 1953, 469). By 1943 each department of the Bureau had full and final responsibility for its own educational plans and financial obligations. Each of these departments elected two members of its staff to the Working Council of the Bureau which handled all-Bureau business.

As this triparted system evolved, the Bureau held on tenaciously to the notion of joint-thinking and joint-planning. As the eight cooperating experimental schools were brought into the Bureau's fold, mechanisms were developed specifically to promote a cooperative venture. "To ensure joint thinking and planning among those involved in this new venture (The Cooperative School for Student Teachers), we developed two different kinds of techniques: first, joint educational responsibilities; second, a two-way flow of services between Bank Street and the directors and teachers of the eight Cooperating Schools." (Mitchell 1953, 471).

The structure of the Cooperative School for Student Teachers was designed so that the student teachers would be placed among eight cooperating experimental schools Monday through Thursday and come to Bank Street from Thursday through Saturday for group classes and discussions. The placement of student teachers in a variety of experimental settings was thought to promote a good cross-fertilization of experimental ideas. "This difficult plan of

organization was another example of our belief that, in the long run, joint thinking of a group of schools could accomplish more than a single school could." (Mitchell 1953, 470).

Cooperative Thinking

Joint cooperation was a Bureau tradition that Lucy Mitchell articulated forcefully, even as separate divisions of Bureau labor emerged. Certainly the very title of teacher training division--The Cooperative School for Students Teachers--was indicative of the emphasis that the Bureau placed on cooperation. During an interview in 1962, Lucy Mitchell recounted why the word cooperative was eventually dropped. "Do you know why we had to give up that name? Because two federal departments complained. 'Cooperative' means that you share the profit. And they told us we were breaking the law. So we just dropped the word. We didn't call ourselves 'uncooperative,' but we just called ourselves the Bank Street School for Teachers." (Prescott 1962, 100).

The problem in 1930 seemed to be how best to structure the organization to handle the three prongs of its mission: direct work with children, research and publication, and the newly formulated task of teacher education. The critical point that the reformulated governance structure would have to deal with was how to keep those three prongs fused in a coherent, communicative, and cooperative manner while giving them each enough independence to operate as flexibly as possible. Thus, the governance restructuring process was no easy task. It evolved over several years and precariously balanced the three divisions' independence and cooperation. "Some

staff members welcomed the freedom of separate planning and responsibility, some felt that we had lost the real point of being in one organization. It required an adjustment which meant many difficult years for all." (Mitchell 1953, 469).

The Bureau's structural reconfiguration emphasized the point that governance is a process, not a product. And given the multiple roles played by Bureau staff, the human element was a critical variable in this process. The divisions were trying to harmonize personalities as well as roles; no easy task for a Bureau initiating the brand new venture of teacher education.

Chapter Summary

1930 marked a significant shift in the focus of the Bureau of Educational Experiments. The Bureau's sponsorship of disparate spot experiments circa 1916 which demonstrated experimental educational practices had by 1930 coalesced into a three-pronged internal focus of child study (operationalized through the Bureau's own Nursery School and liaison with Elisabeth Irwin's experimental Little Red School House project); research and publication; and plans for a Cooperative School for Student Teachers. The prong that symbolized the greatest shift in Bureau purpose was the development of the teacher training school.

The evidence points to an external need for a new breed of teachers to support and extend the experimental education movement. This need created the Bureau's new mission. In other words, the environment actually spawned, not just nurtured, the Bureau's new focus. It was the experimental education community

which bred the Bureau's teacher training venture; a specialized need was expressed and the Bureau had the distinctive expertise to be able to respond to that need. The Bureau held on to its progressive ideals and furthered its founding purpose of promoting the cause of progressive education. Teacher training was simply a natural extension which furthered these progressive education ideals.

The founding purposes weren't so much modified, but rather clarified as the Bureau's work focused in very specific progressive ways towards children and their teachers. Clearly, the founding ideals of promoting experimental education were reinforced through the new teacher training mission of the Bureau. But it was the outside environment which enabled this new mission to evolve.

As in 1916, the 1930 Bureau leadership seemed to revolve around Lucy Sprague Mitchell. She personally generated much needed financial resources for the Bureau and spearheaded the new Bank Street quarters to house the Bureau's new teacher training program along with the Bureau's Nursery School. She was the dynamic driving force which kept the Bureau's momentum as it shifted gears into teacher training. Lucy Mitchell not only kept up her pace teaching at the Little Red School House and administrating Bureau affairs, but was actively engaged working on curriculum development with the new cooperating schools and teaching courses to the new breed of student teachers. Bank Street administrator Randolph Smith noted, "When it came to Lucy Mitchell . . . Lucy was clearly the dominant force in the institution and the person who was, in a sense, the power behind the throne." (Gordon 1988, 234).

Lucy Mitchell took strong proactive steps to ensure that the Bureau held on to certain founding ideals (e.g., cooperation). When the relationship between Caroline Pratt's school and the Bureau became strained, Lucy Mitchell saw to it that the relationship was broken off, even though that meant the end to a long and involved linkage. It was Lucy Mitchell who orchestrated the shift to work with Elisabeth Irwin's experimental public school program. Thus the break with Caroline Pratt in no way ended the Bureau's ability to study and observe children.

The external relationships of the Bureau circa 1930 were more diffuse and complex than they had been in 1916. However, the relationships were concentrated within a network of experimental education associations. As the issue of accreditation faced the newly formed teacher training school, the Bureau turned to an association that accredited experimental teacher training programs. Although the external network that the Bureau was enmeshed in was of an experimental ilk, they needed the blessing of the mainstream community in order to appeal to a broad enough market of potential student teachers.

There were certain steps the Bureau needed to take to secure mainstream support. Although there were no plans at this point in time to offer any form of degree, it became clear that the charter of the Bureau would need to reflect the teacher training purpose of the Bureau; the provisional charter granted in 1931 did not yet acknowledge this aspect of the Bureau's mission. "The provisional charter was amended in 1935 to include authorization of the Bureau to engage in the education of teachers, and in 1938, the Bureau

received official certification from the State Education Department, authorizing its graduates to serve as teachers in the state's public elementary schools." (Antler 1982, 583).

This form of state blessing enabled the Bureau to appeal to a broader audience of prospective teachers. But from the Bureau's perspective, it did not mean they would gear their program toward mainstream educators. Rather, they would aim to train a broader cross-section of student teachers in the ways of experimental education which would hopefully infiltrate public school settings. In this case, the outside environment was being used to foster the Bureau's intents. Fortunately for the Bureau, the mainstream educational environment during the 1930s was more sympathetic toward progressive ideas than it had been a decade earlier. This enabled the Bureau to make significant inroads into the public sector.

Perhaps the major inroad was advanced through the nature of the Bureau's research projects during the 1930s. The Bureau's research projects were specifically designed to advance the rationale for a humanistic, holistic, child-centered environment which would serve as a self-generating educational curriculum. Finally, in 1943, the outside world took notice.

The Committee on Research, Reference and Statistics of the New York City Board of Education was gathering materials on maturity levels of children of elementary-school ages to be used in writing new curriculum to take the place of the courses of study. They sought the help of Dr. Barbara Biber, our Bank Street psychologist. This was a new situation--to be sought by

officials in the system! Could Bank Street at last begin to function in some direct relation with public education?

Mitchell 1953, 443-444

Indeed it could through Bank Street Workshops of in-service education to New York City teachers. That was the break that Lucy Mitchell had long been awaiting.

Structural governance adaptations were made to accommodate the shifting purposes of the Bureau. Even as adaptations were developed, the structure continued to foster ideals of group thinking and joint planning. A certain coherent philosophical core, kept in check by a Working Council with representatives of all three major divisions of the Bureau, united the three disparate operations of the Bureau.

The Bureau of 1930 was a distinctive organization. It served a specialized experimental educational community and operationalized its mission in a consistent pattern of progressive ideals. As an organization, it took pride in its pioneering attitude.

Teacher education was almost as much a pioneer front in 1930 as the study of children and experimental schools for them had been in 1916. We at Bank Street made the same approach to teacher education that we had made in our earlier work. That is, we approached it as an experiment to be conducted as far as possible through scientific methods and worked out through joint thinking.

Mitchell 1953, 469

The new teacher education venture appears to have helped steady the course of the Bureau's experimental program. There was a ready experimental environment to absorb the products of such a

venture. The Bureau had also managed to position itself with enough mainstream credibility to be able to appeal to a broader base of potential students than just the base of experimental educators. There were signs that the Bureau was headed in the solid direction of being able to influence a broader segment of the education community.

But one question was looming on the horizon. If the Bureau was to commit itself to teacher education, how would this be affected by being a non-degree granting program? As the 1933 National Survey of the Education of Teachers indicated, teacher training was becoming more codified and enmeshed within higher education. The Bureau was definitely outside that arena. If the tentative inroads that were being forged with the public education sector were to be solidified, wouldn't the Bureau's model of teacher education need to have some symbolic indication of conformity to certain educational standards (e.g., degree-granting status)? That does not seem to have been an issue in 1930. But if the environment that was nurturing Bank Street's *raison d'etre* needed a symbolic standard, surely degree-granting status would become an issue of the future.

CHAPTER 4

1950: The Significance of Name

The Bureau of Educational Experiments (BEE) had been unofficially called Bank Street for many years. During negotiations during the late forties with the New York State Board of Regents for degree-granting status, the Bureau of Educational Experiments requested a name change to the Bank Street Schools. However, State officials suggested adding "College" to the name. With some discussion among the Board members, it was decided to go along with the State's suggestion and in 1950 the Bureau of Educational Experiments became the Bank Street College of Education.

There were many factors besides the name change which stimulated the metamorphosis of the BEE into a "college." An examination of these factors needs to be in light of what was happening in the larger social-political world of 1950.

Social and Political Context

By 1950, World War II was long over; but there was a pervasive pre-occupation with the cold war. The Soviet Union had exploded its first atomic bomb and was equipping North Korean communist forces. On June 25, 1950 the communist forces invaded South Korea. It wasn't until three years later that a truce was declared. Even the

truce didn't resolve the basic ideological conflict that the Korean War represented.

With the importance of a new global perspective thrust upon the American populace, the success or failure of the United Nations became a national concern. Concurrently, pressures for ideological conformity were most rigidly represented by McCarthyism--the widespread accusations and investigations of suspected communist activities in America.

David Riesman's provocative 1950 book *The Lonely Crowd* embodied an American re-definition of community. His analysis of the middle class attempted to address the political, economic and social problems that confronted the individual within society. This analysis was synchronized with the development of American suburbia. The middle class began heading away from the urban centers. The post-war babies were hitting the schools by 1950 and new school districts were burgeoning around metropolitan areas.

The urban immigration swells of the early twentieth century had been stemmed by the 1940's and New York City enjoyed relative complacency during World War II. "This comparatively halcyonic period ended after World War II, when two concurrent migrations, one of Southern Negroes, the other of Puerto Ricans, made New York City again a major port of entry for poor members of a different culture in search of a better life." (Ravitch 1974, 240). New York City schools were faced with spiraling enrollments, crowded and deteriorating buildings and what Ravitch calls "cultural conflict" between teachers and pupils.

The increasing numbers of Negroes and Puerto Ricans [between 1930 and 1950 the N.Y.C. black population jumped from 328,000 to 750,000; between 1940 and 1950 the Puerto Rican population more than tripled to 250,000 (Ravitch 1974, 242)] created a major social problem for New York City. The new population was largely poor and illiterate and there was widespread color discrimination. With the new population concentrated in Negro and Puerto Rican ghettos, the New York City schools (which were based on a neighborhood school model) became *de facto* segregated. After the 1954 Supreme Court ruling striking down school segregation laws in the South, there was a massive drive to integrate the New York public schools.

As the American rivalry with the Soviet Union heated up and exploded with the launching of the 1957 Soviet Sputnik, the debate concerning the American system of education and the proper curriculum for that system became intense. David Tyack (1974, 270) expressed the education question of the 1950s: "Was American schooling too soft, too inefficient, too unselective to sustain the nation . . . ?" A spate of education critiques (Bell 1949, Smith 1949, Hulburd, 1951, Lynd 1953, Hutchins 1953, Woodring 1953 and Bestor 1953 as cited in Cremin 1962, 339-343) answered that question to the affirmative. Arthur Bestor's *Educational Wastelands* (1953) was particularly critical of progressive education. His belief that intellectual training based on the systematic rigor of the academic disciplines ought to be the fundamental concern of the public schools was diametrically opposed to the progressive education movement. "The great subversion of American education, Bestor

contended, had been the divorce of the schools from scholarship and of teacher training from the arts and sciences." (Cremin 1962, 345).

After 1947 there was a downhill influence of the Progressive Education Association. Cremin (1962, 348-350) cites the 1950s as the demise of the progressive education movement. He offers several reasons for the movement's collapse: the development of progressive factions; the progressive group's reliance on educational cliches; the progressive prescription's demands on a teacher's time and ability; the swing to conservatism in postwar political and social thought; and the movement's becoming a victim of its own success--many of the changes that progressives had fought for had become incorporated within the schools.

Reflective of the teaching field, the 1949 *Newsletter of the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education* (American Council on Education) reported on the programs, problems, and plans relating to teacher education and lists issues of special attention: accreditation procedures, improvement of state certification, and increase in reciprocity, and the shortage of elementary school teachers among others. A 1949 study of "Teacher Supply and Demand in the United States" directed by Ray C. Maul and cited in the newsletter found there was a critical shortage of teachers, particularly at the elementary level. The great need for teachers did not help teacher training institutions; people were able to get teaching jobs even without formal teacher training.

Maul's report (1949) concluded that the central challenges to teacher education were the development of programs leading to the increase in number and the improvement of both quantitative and

qualitative standards of certification; improvement in selection techniques and guidance services at the college level; and the establishment of standards by which colleges participating in the preparation of elementary teachers can be recognized (p. 3). The first American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education had its first annual meeting in 1949. Standardization of teacher training had become a watchword.

At the fourth annual meeting of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, the delegates heard support of a proposed National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education. The methods of accrediting teacher education were considered inadequate and NCATE was being formulated to address that inadequacy. Accreditation of teacher education institutions was becoming more rigorous and formalized.

As the national teacher education organization struggled to create standards of recognition and accreditation, it seems fitting that the Bureau of Educational Experiments (now known as the Bank Street Schools) would be applying for degree-granting status and grappling with the issues of how to get itself accredited and recognized by the educational establishment at large.

Mission

As early as 1941 Bank Street was considering a plan to enable Bank Street student teachers to earn a Master's degree. In a 1943 letter to Bank Street Trustee Ruth Andrus of the Bureau of Child Development and Parent Education of the New York State Education

Department, the Chairman of Bank Street's Executive Committee wrote:

You will remember that about two years ago we discussed with the Trustees the possibility of a joint arrangement between the School of Education of New York University and ourselves for a two year course which would lead to a Master's degree. This plan never materialized, principally because upon further study and discussion it seemed unlikely that there would be a sufficient number of students able and willing to add two more years of training to four years of college, especially in these times.

Letter to Ruth Andrus
December 22, 1943

The letter goes on to explain that Bank Street recently had a large number of applicants who had only two years of college. Without a college degree, these students would be handicapped in obtaining a teaching position; perhaps not during the war crisis, but certainly thereafter. Thus Bank Street was proposing an arrangement with New York University wherein students would take one year of Bank Street training and one year of the N.Y.U. program which would lead to a degree. "The principal advantage to Bank Street, as we see it, is that it would connect us with the degree granting facilities of a university." (Letter to Ruth Andrus 1943).

Within a week, Ruth Andrus had responded " . . . it would seem to be advisable for Bank Street to cooperate with New York University in setting up a degree course . . . You are quite right that a degree is necessary; in fact, it is now required in this State if one is to teach in the elementary school." (Letter to Eleanor Hogan 1943). There is a notation in the November 1, 1944 Faculty Minutes that a joint program between New York University and the Cooperative School

for Teachers was approved by the New York State Education Department. Bank Street was solidifying its mission as a training school for teachers.

Officially, Bank Street was still the Bureau of Educational Experiments; but since its move in 1930 to 69 Bank Street, it had become known as the Bank Street Schools. This name encompassed its nursery school (which was officially the Harriet Johnson Nursery School--named after its first director), its research division (Studies and Publications), and the Cooperative School for Teachers (including the cooperating placement schools). Each of the three divisions signified a piece of the total Bank Street mission: to work with children by designing a responsive environment for them, to disseminate the results of this work with children, and to train others to design responsive environments for children.

By the 1940s, the name of the organization became an issue of internal debate. In the Working Council minutes of November 4, 1943, Lucy Mitchell notes the need for Bank Street Schools stationery. There was a debate about the use of the word "Bureau" as a title and the question arose as to whether the legal name could be changed to Bank Street Schools. Lucy Mitchell responded, "Organizations do change names, but it involves more than is seen." The decision was to put Bureau of Educational Experiments on the stationery, but under the larger typed title of Bank Street Schools.

In June of 1948 Bank Street's legal representative, Basil Bass, traveled to Albany to negotiate the feasibility of Bank Street's obtaining official degree-granting status. Not only was there the hurdle of needed assets worth \$500,000, but additionally, the state

representative (Dr. Cooper) warned that Bank Street needed more students, better library facilities, a more degree-laden faculty, and a new name. "Dr. Cooper is concerned about our not having more students and also our name annoys him very much. As a name, The Bank Street Schools is known all over including Albany but Dr. Cooper would like a more dignified name." (Trustees Meeting Minutes March 21, 1949).

The organization's name was not only creating problems externally, but internally as well. In 1950 the nursery school parents were working on a new catalogue for the nursery school. Although the official title of the school was the Harriet Johnson Nursery School, it had been increasingly called the Bank Street Nursery School. There was a heated debate about changing the name of the nursery school during the Working Council meeting of April 3, 1950. At issue was the fact that the nursery school was named as a memorial to its first director, Harriet Johnson.

At the June 15, 1950 Board of Trustees meeting, Lucy Mitchell brought up the matter of changing the official name of the corporation. The initial change requested by Bank Street to Albany was "The Bank Street Schools." This was consistent with what had come to be common usage. "However, Dr. Carroll V. Newsom, with whom the graduate degree matter had been discussed in Albany, thought that the work 'Schools' in the name would no longer be appropriate and favored using the word 'College'" (Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes June 15, 1950). Although there was further discussion about the name change, at Mrs. Mitchell's suggestion the trustees passed a motion to amend the charter of the Bureau of

Educational Experiments by changing the name of the organization to "The Bank Street College of Education."

On November 17, 1950 the charter was officially amended by the State of New York, changing the corporate name to The Bank Street College of Education and authorizing the operation and maintenance of a graduate college of education with courses leading to the degree of master of science in education (M.S. in Ed.). Although Bank Street had actively sought degree-granting status from Albany and was willing to conform to the Board of Regents' guidelines, it was not interested in changing its philosophical ideals.

An immediate result of the new charter was an internal organization self-evaluation that lasted several years. As the new college evolved its master's degree program, it also came to grips with what it was really about. Fundamental to Bank Street was the idea that the educational process whereby the new teachers were trained was consistent with basic progressive philosophy. The February 1, 1949 Report of Meeting of Faculty addresses the question of "whether the school has consciously and planfully made an effective effort to make its students aware of the very important fact that the educational process at Bank Street--the program--how it is developed and how it is carried out--is similar to the process for effectively carrying on programs in the classroom for children."

There was a commitment, adhered to even after degree-granting status was gained, to practice what was preached. In 1950, Bank Street had three semi-autonomous divisions: the Harriet Johnson Nursery School, the Division of Studies and Publications, and the

Bank Street School for Teachers. Each division invoked its heritage as a way to operationalize the promotion of progressive ideals. However, by 1950 the work "progressive" wasn't being used. Rather, "experimental curriculum" was the phrase of choice. Nonetheless, there was a reliance on the traditions of the organization.

A long-term goal of the initial Bureau of Experiments had been to be an influence on public education. In 1943, the Bureau realized that goal when it was invited to present an inservice workshop program to various N.Y.C. public schools. The workshop developed into a long-term relationship between Bank Street and N.Y.C.'s inservice training program. The importance of this to Bank Street's mission is captured in Lucy Mitchell's 1950 book, *Our Children and Our Schools*. The book serves to document Bank Street's approach to teacher training and articulates its humanistic, child-centered approach to teaching. In effect, it codified the "Bank Street Approach." It is this codified "Bank Street Approach" that symbolizes the 1950 mission of the new Bank Street College of Education.

Leadership

In the summer of 1945, Lucy Mitchell was sixty-seven years old. Her autobiography reveals that it was a time of facing the realization that she was growing old. Part of that realization included the need to "tidy up" her professional life. She started to back off from her responsibilities to the Bureau. "I decided I was no longer equipped to be 'a leader' in the Bureau, though I should

continue as a 'member of the co-operative Bureau group' more as a consultant." (Mitchell, 1953, 496).

Her rationale for winding down her leadership was written in a paper she titled "My Second Adolescence: Summer, 1945." Her self-analysis of growing old included the observation that "A leader must be in a ferment of thinking and planning. He must live in his work. Yet my mind no longer seethes with plans for the Bureau. I am no longer a leader. So be it." (Mitchell 1953, 496).

It was not easy for Lucy Mitchell to step down as leader of the Bureau of Educational Experiments. For thirty years, the Bureau had been the central focus of her life. She couldn't, and didn't, just walk away from all that she had built. In 1946 Lucy suffered a detached retina and had eye surgery. The surgery forced Lucy to spend almost three months recuperating which physically lessened the tug of Bureau responsibilities. In a letter to Bank Streeters after her surgery, Lucy Mitchell wrote:

I shall soon be coming back to the precious world of work, and Bank Street will be a part of it. Not ever again, a large part. Most of you know that I have been gradually relinquishing Bank Street work, and this experience has probably set the clock ahead a half year or perhaps a year. Remember this, when I am again in your midst: If I seem remote, the remoteness will not be from you, my friends and colleagues.

Letter to Bank Streeters
March 5, 1946

The death of Lucy's husband, Wesley Clair Mitchell, in 1948 was another blow to the Bank Street leadership. Lucy's bulwark of emotional support was pulled out from under her and a staunch

personal supporter of the Bureau was lost. The magnitude of that support is evidenced by Wesley Mitchell's will which cancelled \$65,000 of the mortgage which he held on the Bank Street property.

Lucy tendered her resignation of the Bureau's Working Council, but it was tabled in the spring of 1948. It seemed as if the Bureau couldn't let her go. In a letter to the Working Council dated May 25, 1949, Lucy asks that her resignation finally be accepted, although she states she is still available for particular work or problems. And given the number of problems faced by the struggling organization, Lucy Mitchell still had years of work ahead of her. In a legal advisement letter dated May 15, 1953 she was reminded by her lawyer, "incidentally, as Chairman of the Board of Trustees and as Vice-President of the corporation, you are the chief executive officer of the corporation." She continued serving Bank Street as a trustee and as a consultant until her death in 1967.

Problems at Bank Street

Both Lucy Mitchell and her husband had given strong financial support to the Bureau throughout its history. As her leadership years drew to a close, Lucy Mitchell remained concerned about the financial condition of the organization. In a letter to the Trustees on May 27, 1949, Lucy Mitchell transferred securities in the amount of \$100,000 to the Bureau of Educational Experiments. She expressed regret that the income from the securities would be less than half the annual gift which the Mitchells usually gave to the Bureau. She also expressed hope that she could continue making an annual financial gift to the Bureau "so that the transition from a

larger to a smaller assured income will be gradual instead of abrupt."

As the Mitchell's financial support ebbed, money problems for the Bureau became more severe. The Harriet Johnson Nursery School reported the most gloomy picture in a number of years on May 22, 1950 due to difficulties in fund raising. Meeting minutes throughout the late forties and early fifties are filled with references to budget deficits and financial difficulties. The 1950-51 financial statement projected a June 30, 1951 deficit for all three divisions of the Bureau--\$14,000 for the School for Teachers, \$11,000 for the Studies and Publications division, and \$12,000 for the Harriet Johnson Nursery School.

Problems within and among the three divisions also seemed to escalate as the leadership of the organization wavered. By June 5, 1951 the School for Teachers enrolled fewer students than they budgeted for and could not be self-supporting from tuitions. The Studies and Publications division realized \$4,000 less in royalties than anticipated. The Nursery School was unable to collect more than \$5,000 in outstanding tuitions.

In particular, the Harriet Johnson Nursery School became estranged from the other divisions. Its director, Eleanor Reich Brussel, valued autonomy and sought to hire her teachers independently and cultivated fund raisers for only the nursery school division. She also took a more Freudian psychological view of education than the other divisions did. This created dissonance with the historical cooperative relationship among divisions (for an analysis of this rift, see Gordon 1988, 342-348). The dissonance

among divisions was compounded by unrest among the non-teaching staff who by 1952 were arguing for more vacation time and a higher pay scale.

Entrenched Leadership

The financial problems and escalating tensions among the Bureau divisions appear to reflect the tension among the entrenched Bureau leadership which was becoming more aware of the need for change, and yet clung to old Bureau ways. It appears that the organization particularly found it difficult to face the loss of Lucy Mitchell's leadership. The importance of her influence on Bank Street is reflected in the Working Council minutes of April 3, 1950 which indicates a discussion of the letterhead on Bank Street stationery.

It had been suggested that more names be added and some names be removed or their titles changes. Dr. Snyder expressed the opinion that it would be too bad to remove Mrs. Mitchell's name from the letterhead since she was listed as the single head of the whole organization. Having a single head is important for an organization and Mrs. Mitchell's name carries great prestige. E. Reich felt that if Mrs. Mitchell's name is left on the letterhead, she should function as a member of the organization and questioned most how she would function.

Working Council Minutes
April 3, 1950

The ensuing discussion reveals the organization's need for Mrs. Mitchell. Ultimately, a motion was passed wherein

Mrs. Mitchell should be asked to continue as Chairman of the Bank Street Schools but not as chairman of the Working Council. This means that she would be involved in thinking through all questions and activities having to do with interrelationships. She should feel free to attend meetings and initiate whatever plans she thinks are necessary, keeping informed through minutes of different meetings.

Working Council Minutes
April 3, 1950

The loose constraints on Mrs. Mitchell were certainly a result of her high esteem within the organization. But also, the Bank Street way of conducting business was very informal. Bank Street personnel were known as "staff," not "faculty." And many of the staff on board in 1950 had been at the Bureau for many years. Indeed, inbreeding of Bureau staff was already documented. The Faculty Salary Schedule of 1947-51 indicates, "It was felt that experience outside of Bank Street was not as valuable as experience inside of Bank Street."

The close-knit cadre of staff fostered sacrificial allegiance to the organization. Working Council Minutes of 1949 indicate key personnel who turned back their staff earnings to the organization. "Claudia Lewis turned back to Studies Department money earned on Junior Writers Laboratory and Barbara Biber turned back monies earned from lectures and Ladies Home Journal."

In a memo to the Executive Committee in February of 1952, the non-teaching staff noted, "We should like to point out also that we are all carrying heavy work loads and that the informal organization of the College creates for the office staff an atmosphere of tension and pressure which makes the jobs very difficult and exhausting."

And what prompted allegiance to the organization under these sacrificial circumstances?

. . . there is something about the Credo of Bank Street that means a great deal to us. We feel that our jobs as secretaries and other office staff help you in carrying out the mechanics of the work you are doing, and through this we identify ourselves with the school and its ideals and goals. We have foregone wages we might receive in commercial concerns and have chosen to work at Bank Street because we want to be involved in work which is interesting and meaningful, and because we want to be with people who are congenial. Your work is a kind of dedication to principles building toward a better life for all people. We feel that this very dedication holds with it a responsibility to us as individuals.

Memo to The Executive Committee
From Non-teaching Staff
February 19, 1952

Dedication of old staff is not enough to hold an organization together. It was critical to get new leadership in place to steady the rocking boat.

New Leadership

Certainly money was a crux issue in 1950. As the organization struggled for degree-granting status, New York State required assets in the amount of \$500,000. Initially, the Bank Street building was appraised at \$125,000 and their equipment at \$22,000. Finagling with appraisal figures and library holdings enabled the trustees to raise the Bureau's assets to \$300,000 (Board of Trustees Minutes, March 21, 1949). But there was an obvious gap between needed assets and holdings-on-hand.

Money-raising ability became the all-important criteria for leadership. The June 5, 1951 Board of Trustees meeting minutes indicate, "As of April 11, 1951 the suggestion was made to add people to the Board of Trustees who could assist the College financially. Dr. Bristow felt this to be the most important job of all."

Lucy Mitchell's typewritten copy of the Bank Street College of Education Long-Range Plan of 1953-54 shows her handwritten insertion of the word "Development" after the words Long-Range. She was well aware of the resource needs being faced by the new degree-granting college. There was great need for an endowment fund. "But if the College is to continue its pioneer work in the education of children and their teachers and in allied research, it needs a larger assured income to support our Long-Term Development Plan. It needs an endowment fund (Bank Street College of Education, 1916-1953). Although Lucy Sprague Mitchell scratched out the word endowment and replaced it with "development" fund on her copy.

Although Lucy Mitchell was fading from the Bank Street helm, during the first half of the nineteen fifties she was still the titular head of the organization. She had always rebelled against having a president of the Bureau. The emphasis for Lucy had been on a cooperative governance structure. But there were increasing pressures from the Board of Trustees to codify her role as president.

In the middle of this spring mess (the rift with the Harriet Johnson Nursery School), the Trustees made me accept the title "Acting President." Mr. Bass claims that if an organization has no appointed head, the President of the Corporation (that means me!) is the legal officer in charge. Being Acting President has been hard on me and on Bank Street these last months . . . keep your mind on candidates for President and send any suggestions you may have on to me.

Letter to Elizabeth Coolidge
From Lucy Sprague Mitchell
July 16, 1953

By 1955, Bank Street had its candidate for the leader to replace Lucy Mitchell. John H. Niemeyer, was the principal of the Temple University Laboratory school--the Oak Lane Country Day School in Pennsylvania. According to Edith Gordon (1988, 351-352), he had a long-standing interest in progressive education. He was an active member in the Progressive Education Association and was the first president of the New York State Federation of Teachers Union.

When Bank Street formed an Associates group to generate outside funds, the sympathetic Niemeyers agreed to head the Pennsylvania branch. Mrs. Niemeyer had discovered Bank Street on a trip to New York and the Niemeyers became interested supporters of Bank Street's work. Mr. Niemeyer brought his teachers from Oak Lane Country Day School to the Harriet Johnson Nursery School for professional visits. It was Jack Niemeyer's interest and support of Bank Street that led the search committee to his door (Gordon 1988, 350-355).

The crucial concern of the search committee was perhaps best expressed by Board Treasurer Leonard Kandell: "Could Niemeyer raise money?" (Gordon 1988, p. 353). Interestingly enough,

Niemeyer responded that he had never raised any money. Yet, he became the candidate of choice. His sympathies towards Bank Street, his vision for modern education, and his pragmatic administrative experience all converged at the critical juncture of necessary changes for Bank Street.

Lucy Mitchell continued to serve Bank Street as acting president until 1956 when Niemeyer took office. She then moved to California, partly to prevent being in Niemeyer's way. However, he still called on Lucy for advice. They were in constant touch. Lucy Mitchell's lengthy hand-written letter to Niemeyer on August 27, 1956 responding to Niemeyer's plans for Bank Street concludes with the following admonition:

And finally, it worries me to have you spent time and energy to write me so much. Major decisions I'd like to be informed about--but nothing more. You know I appreciate your letters: I also appreciate the big job you are attacking with vigor and wisdom. So don't have me on your mind!"

Letter to John Niemeyer
From Lucy Mitchell
August 27, 1956

Lucy Mitchell was perhaps more willing than her organization was to let go of her leadership.

External Relations

With the leadership of Bank Street in transition and financial difficulties mounting, the external relations of the Bureau took on new importance.

Money and Influence

The courting of external support for Bank Street first required some internal organizational adjustments. By 1950, fund raising was taking up more and more of Bureau staff time. At the June 15, 1950 Board of Trustees meeting it was noted that, "we need someone who will spearhead money-raising activities. Not a professional fund raising firm, but a person, skilled and with contacts who might give part-time to fund-raising and public relations."

Additionally, plans were underway for beginning a Bank Street Associates group to garner community support for the organization. The purpose of the Associates was both educational--"to spread the interest in constructive work for children," and financial--"to help the Bank Street College carry on such work." (Memo to the Trustees and Staff of the BSC, December 7, 1951). It was also noted that "An organization of Associates would, in and of itself, also help to establish good public relations for Bank Street." The plans called for establishing a group of charter Associates who would then solicit some 10,000 people in a membership drive.

There had been lengthy internal debate reflected in the Working Council minutes of 1950 concerning how the organizational tri-partite structure of the Bureau would affect external fund-raising. The idea of joint fund-raising created a problem for the semi-autonomous divisions which each had its own priorities. It was resolved that the fund-raising would be a joint undertaking, but that special funds could be solicited for particular projects.

As another tact to raise the level of Bank Street support, the Board of Trustees increased in both number and sphere of influence. Between 1950 and 1952 the Board increased from eight to fifteen members. A vacancy on the small Board of Trustees in 1949 caused the Bureau's lawyer, Basil Bass, to muse that the Board ought to increase in size and the new trustees should have connections to the field of education and to foundations or money raising (Board of Trustee Minutes, June 6, 1949). The New York State Education Law allowed the College to have twenty-five trustees (Gordon 1988, 333).

Trustee members of long standing were Alvin Johnson, the former Director of the New School for Social Research; Randolph Smith, Director of the Little Red School House; Alice Keliher, Department of Education, N.Y.C.; Jessie Stanton and Lucy Mitchell of Bank Street. At the Working Council meeting of May 1, 1950 several possible additional members for the Board of Trustees were suggested. The list included Agnes Inglis O'Neil who was a member of the Board of the Field Foundation and formerly Director of the Winwood School; Richard Simon of Simon & Schuster who had children in the Bureau's school; Mack Kaplan who was head of Welch Grape Juice and Dr. Harold Taylor, President of Sarah Lawrence College. The nominees seemed to fit the criteria of being people who were well connected to education and funding sources.

A month later five new trustee names were put before the Board including Mrs. Mary Abbot who was a literary agent who had "wonderful ideas about publicity and gave us many ideas about money raising"; Dr. Milton J.E. Senn, Director, Child Study Center,

Yale University; and Dr. William Bristow, Director of the Division on Curriculum Revision of the New York City Board of Education.

Trustee connections were increasingly diverse and influential.

As the new Bank Street Board of Trustees gained in influential strength, it suffered the loss of Lucy Mitchell's long-standing friend Alvin Johnson, former director of the New School for Social Research. In a letter dated January 2, 1952, Alvin Johnson wrote,

For a long time I have been doubting my right to membership on the Board of the Bank Street College. I am of no use whatever in the crucial business of fund raising, because what little capacity I have in that direction is mortgaged to the New School

...

My only title to membership lies in my personal devotion to you . . . But you can't dilute your Board with devoted friends. To be fair to them you'd have a Board running into the hundreds, valuable only for the record.

And so I feel I must forego my official connection with you and your interesting and enterprising staff. I am resigning.

Letter from Alvin Johnson
To Lucy Mitchell
January 2, 1952

Dr. Johnson's resignation seemed symbolic of the larger changes happening at Bank Street. The highly personal connections were being loosened with the broadening of influence.

Foundation Support

Although Bank Street had a history of foundation support (e.g., the Bank Street Workshops, begun in 1943, providing inservice training to New York City school teachers had been supported by the

Field Foundation, New York Fund for Children, Independent Aid, Inc., the New Land Foundation, and several individuals), there was a new emphasis on wooing foundations.

In 1951 plans were underway to appeal to the Ford Foundation and Trustees Dr. Senn (of Yale University) and Richard Simon (of Simon & Schuster) offered to speak for Bank Street at the Ford Foundation. In April of 1952 Dr. Barbara Biber and Mrs. Charlotte Winsor of Bank Street held interviews with the Ford Foundation. The Ford Foundation expressed interest in Bank Street's philosophy and practices but said they were not interested in individual projects and would only support large scope programs such as those at Harvard (Board of Trustees Minutes, April 21, 1952). Bank Street was still struggling to be taken seriously.

In 1952 it was decided to print an annual report in order to assist in making appeals to Foundations and other fund raising activities (Board of Trustees Minutes, April 21, 1952). One of the Trustees, Lawrence Frank, notes that an annual report "would give the College an opportunity to put in print what Bank Street 'stands for'." It seems like Bank Street took every opportunity to proclaim its beliefs.

Professional Liaisons

Before the Bureau of Educational Experiments was given degree-granting permission by the New York State Board of Regents, it had extended various feelers to other institutions of higher education in order to forge degree-granting liaisons.

It seemed logical that the Bureau would turn to its old friend, the New School for Social Research, to ask it to admit Bank Street to affiliation for the purpose of granting the Master of Arts degree. However, on November 17, 1948 The New School President Bryn J. Hovde wrote,

I regret very much to have to say that we have come to the conclusion that at the present stage of the development of the New School we must decline this flattering invitation. The Graduate Faculty alone within our institution has the authority to grant advanced degrees and they are definitely not ready as yet to expand into the field of professional teacher training, and particularly not teachers training for elementary school education.

Furthermore, since it appears that the Bank Street Schools as well as the New School appeal very largely to the same group for financial support, we are inclined to believe that neither of us would benefit from the affiliation suggested.

Letter from Bryn J. Hovde
To Mrs. Eleanor Hogan
November 17, 1948

Much as the trustee relationships were becoming more formal, so too were Bank Street's external liaisons. It was no longer enough to simply be friends with another organization. Affiliations required formal commitments, and the stakes were raised with degree-granting status.

Other possibilities were explored, including Adelphi and Sarah Lawrence. Dr. Eddy of Adelphi offered Bank Street the option of establishing a graduate school of education at Adelphi. However, there was much skepticism on the part of the Bank Street Trustees

about Adelphi and its campus school gifted by the Anthroposophical Society. It was said to be built around a mystical philosophy.

Bank Street was more comfortable with the orientation of Sarah Lawrence. "Dr. Johnson said that Dr. Taylor is the best educator in New York and has an excellent standing with the Board of Regents and that Sarah Lawrence is coming up in prestige which is not true of Adelphi. He felt it would be good to make such an affiliation with Sarah Lawrence and should be pushed for all it is worth." (Board of Trustees Minutes, March 21, 1949).

There seems to be a growing desire on the part of the Bureau, at least the Bureau Trustees, to be a part of the codified world of higher education. However, Lucy Mitchell seemed to resist an outside alliance. "Mrs. Mitchell wondered whether it would be better to try to raise the money ourselves and thereby give a degree ourself." (Board of Trustee Minutes, March 21, 1949).

At the same meeting, long time Bureau staffer Eleanor Hogan noted it would be easier to develop an independent program. She also felt that although an affiliated program might attract more students, ultimately the Bureau would still be left to its own devices to raise money for itself.

There was a definite split between the view of the Board and the view of the internal Bureau leadership. And although the Board won out with the arrangement of a Sarah Lawrence affiliation, ultimately the Bureau also gained independent degree-granting status.

New York City Public School Relations

For Lucy Mitchell, the success of Bank Street was contingent upon the success of its relationship with the public schools. Happily for Lucy Mitchell, she lived to see Bank Street enjoy a strong working relationship with the New York City Public Schools.

In 1943 Bank Street had begun giving inservice training workshops to New York City school teachers. A report given to the Trustees on June 6, 1949 noted, "We hear comments all the time from teachers who have been in our schools and have been transferred to the jobs they are doing in their new schools. The influence of the Workshops is very wide."

By 1950 the workshops had a Bank Street staff that included five public school teachers (who were paid by the Board of Education and trained by Bank Street). The Workshop staff worked in the classrooms of three Manhattan public schools. Additionally, the Workshop staff spoke with many groups: parents' associations in public and private schools and college classes at New York University and Bank Street. These opportunities provided additional public exposure of the "Bank Street Approach" to education.

The link with the New York City schools was further strengthened through the participation of the Workshop staff members on the district curriculum committee. They devoted a regularly assigned proportion of their time to the city-wide curriculum organization. (Dr. William Bristow, Director of the New York City Board of Education's Division on Curriculum Revision, served on the Bank Street Board of Trustees thus providing a strong

conduit for communication between Bank Street and the public school system.)

It is ironic that Mrs. Mitchell's book describing the success of the Bank Street Workshops within the New York Public School System was published in 1950, as the nation was taking a sharp turn away from progressive ideology. *Our Children and Our Schools* enjoyed popular success. By April 1951, 4,500 copies had been sold and it was selected for the Book Find Club which guaranteed 7,500 additional copies.

Degree-Granting Status

Although the relationship with the public schools was emotionally critical to Bank Street's success, it was degree-granting status which gave it the most credibility. The tightrope that Bank Street walked between doing what it wanted to do (serve the public schools) and meeting the formal regulations of the state and city can be witnessed in the September 30, 1949 Joint Executive Committee Meeting minutes of Bank Street's School for Teachers.

A letter was read from a Dr. Mooney of the State Education Department wherein Dr. Mooney chastised Bank Street for not registering the Public School Workshop courses with the State Education Department before they are approved by the City. He also expressed concern about Bank Street's policy of admitting students without Bachelor's degrees (which at the time was often done in Bank Street's Evening Program). There was discussion about the fact that Bank Street's charter did not specifically state that they

couldn't admit anyone without a Bachelor's degree. It only said that the Bank Street program met certification requirements if a student already had a Bachelor's degree or planned to get one later. There was question about whether the Evening Program would come under the charter since the charter defines the Bank Street program as a concentrated year of study.

The decision was to submit the exact charter statement plus a separate sheet outlining each of the different Bank Street divisions (Day, Evening, and the Public School Workshop) to the State Education Department. It was also decided at that meeting to frame the Bank Street charters and hang them in a prominent place in the building. The Executive Committee noted that, "we have been negligent in not consulting Mooney more often in the development of all these programs, thus not giving him an opportunity to give advice." (Joint Executive Committee Minutes, September 30, 1949; 2).

Complicating the issue of State approval was the issue of necessary City approval. New York City could not grant inservice credit on courses which weren't registered and approved by the State Education Department. The question arose as to whether it was the job of the Board of Education of the City of New York or Bank Street to request course approval from the State. It was decided that since the City's Board of Education officially supervised the Public School Workshop, they should clear the courses with the State. (It was also noted that Bank Street was the only institution, other than the Board of Education itself, approved by them to give workshop courses.)

What Bank Street was really concerned about was not disturbing its tenuous negotiations that were underway with the Board of Regents. "We ought not to send anything confusing to the Regents at this point as it might imperil the negotiations for the Master's degree." (Joint Executive Committee Minutes, September 30, 1949; 2). If the City Board of Education was to apply to the State for the inservice course approval, then the Public School Workshops were simply extension services of Bank Street. But Bank Street had already told Albany that the Public School Workshops were a Bank Street activity. At issue was who "owned" the Bank Street Public School Workshops. It was decided to communicate directly with both the City and the State contact people to clarify the exact status of the Public School Workshops in relation to the City Board of Education and the State Department of Education.

The Bank Street School for Teachers had been gradually expanding its work. In 1943 it had started the Bank Street Workshops and in 1946 it started an Evening Program. Although the School of Teachers only had twenty-nine day students during the 1948-49 academic year, there were six hundred and thirty-one registrants for the Evening Program. Just one year later it was noted that the enrollment peak for the evening courses had past. "Competition is increasingly keen; there is emphasis on the Master's degree." It was becoming clear that Bank Street would need to offer a degree. It was also "necessary to put our minds on a study of genuine areas of need in the educational field in the Metropolitan area and concentrate on meeting these." (The School for Teachers Faculty Meeting Minutes 2, September 15, 1949; 2).

After months of negotiating with Albany and reappraising the assets of Bank Street to get the figure close to the \$500,000 required by the State, Bank Street was finally authorized to grant the Master of Science Degree on November 17, 1950. In 1950 it had also made arrangements with Sarah Lawrence for three students from Bank Street to be among ten candidates for the Master of Arts degree offered by Sarah Lawrence.

The immediate result of Bank Street's new status was a need for admissions criteria. The admissions requirements provided an evaluation of a student's liberal arts background. Although credits were stipulated for specific disciplines, the policy stated, "We do not wish to require specific courses in these areas because we believe that the basic approach to the content, study skills, and concepts are as important as the content itself." The criteria for intellectual ability was also loose. "We do not want to adhere to a rigid B or better average." Experience working with children was an important component of the admissions requirements.

Publicizing the new degree was given high priority. In March of 1951 the 2000 person mailing list which included the American Ortho-psychiatric Association, various psychoanalytic associations, college faculty members in selected colleges, officials of state and federal public education agencies, the N.Y.C. Board of Education, and various other individuals and organizations was doubled to 4000 to include the National Vocational Advisory Service, State Teachers Colleges, nursery school association (NANE and ACE) and the San Francisco Council of Cooperative Schools. A formal announcement of the new degree was mailed to the expanded mailing list.

And as Bank Street entered the formalized world of higher education, it became more enmeshed by the thorns of accreditation. At the Executive Committee meeting on December 18, 1951,

Eleanor Hogan reported on problems related to Bank Street College becoming an 'accredited college'. Would involve an inspection to establish our qualifications. One question would be our health program with student teachers . . . Another doubt might be the adequacy of our library. Could call it a special library for special work given at Bank Street and try to get letters from other schools saying that their libraries are available to our students. City and Country School and Little Red School House suggested for juvenile libraries; Elisabeth Irwin High School for adult library; perhaps might also ask New York University and Teachers College if we could arrange to make use of their libraries.

Executive Committee Minutes
December 18, 1951

Bank Street College of Education was plunging full-speed-ahead to gain credibility within higher education.

National Contacts

Increasingly varied Bank Street presentations and relationships were established. When research director Barbara Biber was invited to be a consultant at an institute for teachers of the Great Neck public schools, it was felt to be "most important for Bank Street, for several reasons: first, because it was a public school contact, and also because it increased our sources for recruitment and placement." (Executive Committee Minutes, September 14, 1949). So although the fee was small, \$100 for four sessions, and it put a strain on the already overworked Bank Street staff, it was a contact

that was vigorously pursued. Inservice workshops were also given in Delaware.

A Bank Street Workshop staff member was listed as having "important responsibility" in connection with the National Association for Nursery Education Conference which was held in New York City in 1950. Another staff member led a demonstration in social studies teaching for the New Jersey Social Studies Teachers' Conference (Bank Street Workshops Annual Report, 1950-1951, 2). An exhibit was planned for the annual conference of the Association for Childhood Education.

The distribution of Lucy Mitchell's 1950 book, *Our Children and Our Schools* resulted in increased notoriety for Bank Street. A letter dated May 23, 1951 from Los Angeles reveals,

It is with great pleasure that I write to you at this time to tell you how we at the Westland School feel about your new book, *Our Children and Our Schools*. For us in a new progressive school, it has served as a real textbook. That we have better creative writing, that we have better and broader concepts of social studies, and that we have greater understanding and articulation of our philosophy can be attributed in a large measure to your very excellent book.

Letter to Lucy Sprague Mitchell
From Lory Titelman
May 23, 1951

Five months later, Mrs. Titelman (in her position as Director of the Westland School in Los Angeles) invited Lucy Mitchell to lecture to parents and the public on progressive education. Lucy's leadership years may have been ending, but she still stood--on a national level--for progressive education.

Another indication of the nationally-felt influence of Mrs. Mitchell's book is given in a letter to Lucy Mitchell from Stuart G. Noble (Chairman of the Department of Education at Tulane University of Louisiana) during the same time period. Mr. Noble requested permission to quote several pages of *Our Children and Our Schools*. He was revising *A History of American Education* (Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1938) and needed selections describing the educational process under the most favorable present conditions. He chose Lucy Mitchell's descriptions of progressive philosophy in action as contained in her book.

Even at the national level of exposure, Lucy Mitchell stood firm by her progressive ideals. In 1945, Heath & Co. published a social study series written by the Bank Street Writers' Laboratory called *Our Growing World*. But Lucy Mitchell cancelled the writing of the series on principle.

We were supposed to do six grades. We published the first three grades, but I got so angry that we never finished the last three . . . the publishers asked me if I couldn't modify the part dealing with the age of the earth. They said, "you make the earth seem to very old. We never could sell this in Tennessee."

. . . We were not allowed to mention Negroes in the United States, as most of their sales were in the South. This is what I mean by political influence. They would say, "Now, we want you to get something good in each book about Texas. We make more out of our textbooks there because that is one of the places, like California, where the state adopts the text."

Prescott 1962, 132

But Lucy Mitchell was unwilling to compromise her values. In another instance, Lucy Mitchell attended the White House Conference

on Youth. Mrs. Mitchell's reaction was not one of awe. Rather,

i felt that there was a political element that had no business to be in an educational conference. That was evident in various groups. And also in the, well . . . I don't know . . . it was a kind of feeling, almost like smell. You can sense when something is done for a political reason, or from an earnest desire to help children.

Prescott 1962, 126

After the conference, Lucy Mitchell wrote a passionate plea to the Bank Street Community entitled "What Do We Believe In?", based on John Dewey's maxim "All education is social education." What she was struggling to define was "What is the end towards which our work in social education is directed in our schools?"

It seems particularly poignant that as Lucy Mitchell was approaching the end of her years of influence within the world of progressive education, she stepped on a figurative soap box and sought to find the end point for her organization; the point at which it needed to head. It was as if her final task as leader ought to be clarification of the future vision of progressive education. It was beyond national in scope; rather, it entailed the scope of all humanity.

She left it to her successor, Jack Niemeyer, to put Bank Street in the national light. But her vision went beyond even her successor. A clear part of that vision was a research relationship with the public schools.

Research Efforts

Ties between the Bureau of Educational Experiments and the New York City Public Schools had been significantly strengthened through inservice workshops that the Bureau had been providing to New York City school teachers since 1943. The Bureau's work within the school system had enabled the research division to set up a project on the teacher-child relationship in the first grade classes of Public School 186 and Public School 68. The Little Red School House was used as a control group. The project attempted to find out what expectations children had of school and of teachers through a series of pictures of teachers and children in a variety of situations. The children were asked questions such as, "What do you think the teacher will do?" "What do you think has happened to make either the teacher or the child behave that way?"

According to Barbara Biber, the director of the Studies and Publications Department, there was a far greater trend toward compliance with teacher expectations in the public school setting and there was a greater expectation of punishment there than for the children of the Little Red School House. The implications of the study were that a relaxed and friendly classroom atmosphere can foster children with less fears of school. (And of course on a more general level, the implication is that a humanistic approach--the Bureau's own approach--to education is more humane than the behavioristic approach often used in New York City public school classrooms.) This study and its results were reported to members of the New York City Board of Education on April 12, 1948. By 1950 the results were published in the form of a monograph, "An

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Experimental Study of What Young School Children Expect From Their Teachers."

Another study that emanated from the public school workshops was of children's reactions to color in their teachers. The study was reported to the *Journal of Experimental Education* under the title, "Reactions of Negro Children Toward Negro and White Teachers." This study was timely both on a local level with the influx of the Negro population into New York from the South and on a national level with the influence of Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka decision by the Supreme Court.

The actual N.Y.C. inservice workshops were considered by Bank Street to be a research project to answer the question, "How can modern methods in education be made to apply effectively in large city public schools?" Lucy Mitchell's book, *Our Children and Our Schools* was the culminating product of that research project. Her book documented Bank Street's approach to inservice training and the results of the cooperative training venture between Bank Street and the New York public schools. It also served as a curriculum guide for teachers. The book provided an ideal vehicle to promulgate the cause of progressive education and tout the inroads being made into the mainstream educational world.

The actual inservice training workshops' methods and practices were also under investigation by Bank Street's Department of Studies and Publications under the auspices of the United States Public Health Service. One result of this study as reported in the 1950-51 Annual Report (p. 3) was that the pattern of the Workshop was "essentially one of personal relationships (and) is slow-moving

and necessarily self-limiting." The intense self-scrutiny of one aspect of Bank Street, the Bank Street Workshop, seemed to reflect the larger personal, slow-moving larger organization.

In keeping with the human aspect of teaching, a Bank Street project was designed to develop a projective technique to select candidates for training in terms of the psychological qualifications most important for the teaching profession. This project was initiated in 1949-50 and received a two-year funding grant from the United States Public Health Service in 1951. Bank Street claimed it had particular experience and qualifications for carrying out this research project as Bank Street was an organization that kept extensive performance observations of its students providing a validation mechanism for the project.

In a similar vein, the Bank Street research staff was involved with the New York City public school system (cooperating with the Teachers Selection Committee of the Citizens' Committee on Children) in a preliminary study of personality factors in selecting teachers for the New York City schools. In 1947 the cooperative project was formulated and the next several years were spent developing the criteria and actual predictive tests. According to Edith Gordon (1988, 283-326), after the experimental tests were secretly administered to 1,593 substitute teacher candidates there was an undercurrent of allegations that the test carried sectarian bias. This was compounded by reports in the weekly newspaper of the Brooklyn Catholic Diocese, *The Tablet*, charging the New York City Board of Examiners with impropriety for delegating testing authority to the Citizens Committee for Children. There were

inuendos that the test team had communist leanings and was trying to philosophically influence the process of teacher selection in New York City. By 1953 the controversy resulted in the project being disbanded. There is a strange silence on this matter in Bank Street's meeting minutes of 1947-1953.

The humanistic nature of Bank Street's research matched the organization's progressive orientation. The projects seemed to embody, and promote, the philosophy of Bank Street (more commonly known as "The Bank Street Approach"). Perhaps that is one reason why Lucy Mitchell specified that her gift of \$100,000 worth of securities on May 27, 1949 be earmarked for the Division of Studies and Publications. In making her bequest to Bank Street, Mrs. Mitchell said, "It is my intention in making this gift to protect the experimental attitude and scientific approach in schools and to afford the opportunity to the Bureau's research staff to work with schools for children or for teachers that have the experimental attitude and scientific approach." (Letter to the Board of Trustees, May 27, 1949).

Additionally, the practical bent to the projects enabled outside funding to be generated for their support. Unlike individual research projects generated by professors of traditional higher education institutions, Bank Street projects were group oriented and carried out by a staff largely assigned specifically to the task of research development. Although the staff wore multiple hats with teaching overlapping research, the structural arrangement of the organization fostered a separation of the research and teaching arms of the organization.

Governing Structure

In 1950, Bank Street had a three-pronged organization encompassing its School for Teachers, the Department of Studies and Publications, and the Harriet Johnson Nursery School. Since 1943 the three divisions had operated in a very autonomous fashion, each being responsible for its own priorities and budget. The communication and coordination aspect of the organization was left to the Working Council which was comprised of two members from each of the three divisions. The Working Council had been chaired by Lucy Mitchell.

The tension created by the small organization being tugged in three disparate directions seemed to escalate throughout the forties. At the April 3, 1950 Working Council meeting, Barbara Biber (chair of the Studies and Publications Department) reported that she had reviewed previous Working Council minutes dating back to 1947 and summarized repeated areas of discussion that represented problems that had not yet been resolved. The number one problem she listed was the structure and function of the total Bank Street organization.

The structural problem seemed to spring from the fact that Bank Street's leadership had always touted "cooperation" as the guideword for the organization. But the reality of having three autonomous divisions was that coordination became a difficult maneuver. The Working Council enabled communication of issues among the three groups but it did not provide the mechanism for joint policy-making, joint publicity, or, more critical by 1950, joint fund-raising capability.

The structural cracks in the organization came to light when Lucy Mitchell was trying to write a description of the organization in 1948 and was unable to do so. This surely must have bothered a leader who so ardently valued group thinking. At the April 3, 1950 Working Council meeting two of the divisions, The School for Teachers and the Studies Department reported their dissatisfaction with the organizational structure. The Nursery School liked its autonomy and was not dissatisfied. But Barbara Biber pointed out that there had not been any joint fund raising, joint publicity, nor any all-Bank Street meetings during the 1949-50 academic year.

The difficult nature of the repair job necessary to the organizational structure is indicated both by the extra meetings scheduled by the Working Council during May of 1950 and by the length of the June 15, 1950 Board of Trustees Meeting which was convened at 8:00 p.m. and finally adjourned at 11:40 p.m. after the Trustees agreed to reconvene on June 20 to complete the lengthy discussion of how to reorganize the Bank Street governance structure.

The Board of Trustees hammered out a plan for an Executive Committee to be composed of the head of each of the three departments. The Executive Committee would have the power to conduct the work and management of the total Bank Street organization and would be responsible to the Board of Trustees.

As the structural cracks were being repaired, it became more obvious that administrative matters needed constant monitoring. This was at the same time that Lucy Mitchell was bowing out of her leadership position. At the April 21, 1952 Board of Trustees

meeting, Lucy Mitchell asked the Board to provide fresh ideas and guidance on an administrative structure which would provide more organization and yet allow staff the initiative in educational matters. The Board responded that it might be advisable to bring in outside help. "Dr. Bristow re-emphasized that eventually someone experienced in college organizational structures must be brought in from the outside, so why postpone?" (Board of Trustees Minutes, April 21, 1952; 8).

The plan to obtain a president for Bank Street College coalesced in the long-range plan presented in 1953.

In the past, administration and fund-raising have been carried on by the educational staff. Our work has become too extended to make this either an effective or economical administrative structure. We now need someone to carry administrative responsibilities and to act as coordinator of educational programs without taking away staff initiative which has been and is an outstanding characteristic at Bank Street. We are, therefore, looking for a President of Bank Street College.

Bank Street College of Education
1916 to 1953

As the college embarked on its search for a new president, it struggled to define a role for the new officer. Traditionally, Bank Street had operated without a formal president. Rather, Lucy Mitchell had been the understood leader and operated as a chairman. Mrs. Mitchell explained her title during an interview held in 1962 after her retirement when the interviewer, Irene Prescott, asked, "You have now a status of president emeritus of Bank Street College?" and Mrs. Mitchell responded,

Oh yes, and that is rather ridiculous. You see, at first none of us wanted a president. We all felt that a "chairman" more accurately described what such a person did in our organization. So when we got into our one and only big mess with one member of the staff, the board of trustees asked me if I would be president. The staff approved. I refused. But I said I would be acting president. That title sounded tentative enough not to scare me. I agreed because I thought I was the best person to be the goat. I was acting president for three years. Then I resigned and prepared to "fade away." John Niemeyer had been appointed president and have been working with us for a year before he assumed the office. He was still the head of a school near Philadelphia. At almost our last board meeting, the board of trustees asked me if I would become president until the end of the term, which was about two months away, I think. In this way I might be emeritus.

Prescott 1962, 101

The need for a formalized leadership was made clear when the crack in the governance of Bank Street splintered and shattered the long-standing Harriet Johnson Nursery School (HJNS). The Nursery School had relished the independence that the autonomous governance structure had granted. That was the one division that did not feel a need for integration with the School for Teachers and the Department of Studies and Publications. The Nursery School also took a more staunchly Freudian philosophical bent than the rest of the organization. Also at issue was the Nursery School's refusal to expand to include other age groups of children. In June of 1953, after months of disharmony, the Board of Trustees (chaired by Lucy Mitchell) fired the HJNS Director, Eleanor Brussel.

There was immediate outrage expressed by staunch Nursery School supporters.

In my opinion she (Eleanor Brussel) has been treated shamefully and her professional reputation has been damaged by the cruel way in which she has been dismissed. Perhaps her ideas did not always agree with those of the Board or of other members of the faculty but I had thought that only Senator McCarthy tried to ruin people with whom he disagreed. I do not believe that any college which can so deal with a member of the faculty, the head of a department who has given excellent and loyal service for twelve years, can have any integrity and I am bitterly disappointed in Bank Street College.

Letter to Lucy Sprague Mitchell
From Marion R. Ascoli
June 17, 1953

In a letter to the Board of Trustees dated the same day, the Staff of the Nursery School expressed its outrage at the firing of Eleanor Brussel,

We have worked under Eleanor Brussel's leadership, some of us for as long as 12 years. We respect her as an educator and as an administrator and admire her as a human being. The manner in which her discharge was handled reminded us of a Nazi putsch. Mimeographed announcements that her services had been terminated were distributed with meticulous care to every single employee of the College. From Clem, the handyman, to Dr. Epstein, our pediatrician, up and down the line, everyone received the terse announcement. Many of these people have worked in the institution for years and received the notice with bewilderment and consternation.

Letter to the Board of Trustees
From the Nursery School Staff
June 17, 1953

By 1954 the Nursery School was relocated, thus totally rending it from Bank Street College. There was an impasse on who was the owner of the name "Harriett Johnson Nursery School" and the legal decision was that neither group could use the name again. Quickly,

Bank Street appointed Elizabeth Gilkeson as Director of Programs for Children and opened the Children's School in September of 1954. The Children's School eventually provided for nursery children up through thirteen year olds (Gordon 1988, 344-349).

The furor over the Nursery School incident took its toll on Lucy Mitchell. But it also solidified the need for a firm governance structure; one that had a president at its helm. When John Niemeyer came on board in 1956, the organization was ripe for a "real president."

Chapter Summary

Although the Bureau of Educational Experiments had been known as "Bank Street" for some time, in 1950 it officially became the Bank Street College of Education. With its new official name and degree-granting status, there were new pressures for a congruent official working structure. How this new official status would impact Bank Street's long-standing mission to spread the cause of progressive education seemed to create particular organizational tensions. Complicating these organizational pressures was the waning leadership of Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Bank Street's literal and figurative driving force.

The dichotomous external environment provided both opportunities and constraints for the organization. The fact that progressive education had been mainstreamed into educational thought enabled Bank Street to solidify strong ties with the New York City public schools as operationalized through its Bank Street Workshops. Additionally, the swell of the Negro and Puerto Rican

population into New York City along with the national move toward desegregation created a need for educators concerned about community integration; concern such as that expressed by Bank Street at its June 6, 1949 Board of Trustees meeting,

P.S. 133, has now asked for our help. The Principal, Mrs. Douglas, was one of our teachers in public school. She is a new principal, in a new school and a Negro--so all eyes will be on her. The staff will be mixed in color. We feel it very important to help her. Mrs. Mitchell remarked that Mrs. Douglas would like us to help on planning the policy of the school.

Board of Trustees Minutes
June 6, 1949; 6

These opportunities were held in check by the strain of larger forces at work in the nation. As the 1951-52 Annual Report noted,

Today, Bank Street College of Education reflects the strain of community, national, and world problems. A recent survey has shown that, today, all colleges in our country are threatened by present economic and social conditions, and that the threat to private colleges is acute . . . From a different angle, all education is threatened. Teacher shortage in our public schools is a national social phenomenon . . . registration in teacher education centers is falling . . . But a reactionary psychology is still felt in the return to the pre-war concept of education and the role of education in our fire. If financial support is a measure of values, the public considers the education of children and their teachers of less importance today than they did yesterday.

Annual Report 1951-52; pp. 2-3

Mission

Throughout this tug-of-war between opportunity and constraint, Bank Street held fast to its belief in the ideals of progressive education. In this confused and critical period, Bank Street College is maintaining its belief that education is society's best tool for improving itself, and that children and their teachers are strategic members of society to education." (Annual Report 1951-52, 3).

Since notions of progressive education had been infiltrating the schools from a variety of sources, Bank Street needed a way to distinguish itself. It did this by codifying its "Bank Street Approach" as symbolized through the publication of Lucy Mitchell's book, *Our Children and Our Schools*. Bank Street touted its long history (and experience) as a progressive organization. It also sought to use the methods it espoused for children within the context of Bank Street's School for Teachers.

The mission of Bank Street was operationalized through its three divisions: Studies and Publications, the School for Teachers, and the Harriet Johnson Nursery School. The critical organizational problem for Bank Street was how to integrate these three divisions; how to keep its mission from splintering into different directions.

Leadership

In 1950, the three units of the organization seemed to be held together by the cohesive glue of Lucy Sprague Mitchell. Her leadership style fostered communication and cooperative governance. Unfortunately, the glue was being diluted with the problems of approaching old age. Eye surgery and the death of her

husband led Lucy Mitchell to realize her days with Bank Street were numbered. There were increasing signs that the cohesiveness of the three units was disintegrating. Perhaps the most visible sign of this was Lucy Mitchell's firing of the director of the Harriet Johnson Nursery School which led to the total withdrawal of the Nursery School from Bank Street.

Lucy Mitchell had distinguished herself as a charismatic woman who was able to bring together, and keep together, a group of women championing the cause of progressive education. She led her cohorts through rough times through her own personal financial resources and her personal dedication to their cause. As she found it was time to bow out of her leadership role, she took proactive steps to see that the organization would survive without her--she made a sizeable endowment to the organization, increased the number of Trustees, formalized an Executive Council, and agreed to serve as president. But as those steps were being taken, the organization suffered with broken lines of communication and financial hardship.

External Relations

As the internal organization faltered, it shored up its external support system. The number of trustees and range of their influence was increased, an Associates group was formed, more attention was paid to alumni, and official connections to other colleges were forged. The organization was careful to foster relations with organizations (such as Sarah Lawrence) which meshed with "our kind of thinking."

The most important liaison toward the fulfillment of Bank Street's mission was its relationship with the New York City Public Schools. Bank Street's ability to clearly articulate beliefs that the Board of Education had decided were important was fundamental to Bank Street's success within the public schools. It also made its expertise available on a volunteer basis at a time when the schools were desperate for inservice training opportunities. By 1950 the N.Y.C. Board of Education was paying five of its own teachers to lead Bank Street Workshops indicating a level of cooperation and success that Bank Street had long hoped for.

Research and Structure

Bank Street's research endeavors were linked both theoretically and structurally to the need to propagate the gospel of progressive education. The research projects clustered around ways to prove the "modern" approach to education was better than the "traditional" approach. The linkage of "Studies and Publications" says much on a symbolic level. The publications espousing Bank Street methods were considered "research." But was the research fostering the mission or was the mission fostering the research? It seems like an unbroken circle.

The mission of Bank Street remained clear; but operationalizing the mission had become much more complex. Although the new degree-granting status stood to gain Bank Street some new students and give it credibility in the larger world of higher education, it more immediately complicated the traditional informal structure of Bank Street. Meetings had been long and informal; authority had

been diffused. The reality of accreditation and broader external contacts presented a need for formal administrative authority. The need for centralized decision-making became critical. But more ominous to the organization was the notion of losing its informality-its sense of self. Bank Street had a long and strong organizational memory. Things had always been done collectively. Could the organization stand to change that?

Maintaining Distinctiveness

As they grappled with formalizing an administration and initialized the steps toward accreditation, Bank Street came to grips with what made it unique. It defined itself in terms of its beliefs ("Credo") and its history of living those beliefs. It codified its distinctive mission, form of leadership, and organizational structure. It used that distinctiveness to forge external liaisons, recruit its students and generate research projects.

The new Bank Street College of Education was still gangly. It had just been a Bureau of Educational Experiments; a Bureau comprised of mostly women and an organization that went largely unrecognized outside its progressive sphere of influence.

If Bank Street was going to outgrow its image as a small, women's Bureau of negligible consequence it would need to be able to compete in the cut-throat competitive world of higher education; it would need to present a more formidable presence to the educational community-at-large. Bank Street was beginning to do this by shoring up its financial picture through its increasingly influential Board of Trustees and increasingly aggressive fund

-raising strategies. But there were other festering problems such as Bank Street's inadequate facility. As the 1953 Long Range Development Plan indicates (Bank Street College of Education 1916-1953, 7), "Our present building at 69 Bank Street can no longer take care of even our current work without over-crowding . . . Moving the College to new quarters is a dream that, however, we include in our long-range plan."

Whether that dream would be fulfilled would depend upon someone other than Lucy Sprague Mitchell. Her small Bureau had become an official "college." It was time for her to step aside. Could the organization survive without her? More important, what would happen to her mission (for indeed the mission of the organization was one and the same as her own personal mission) when she left the organization?

It seemed important for the organization to create a myth of Lucy Sprague Mitchell; perhaps the myth would protect them from the ominous future they faced without her. In his first year as her successor, President John Niemeyer wrote to Lucy Mitchell,

You have often protested our making you "a myth." True educator that you are, your deepest hope is that you have helped your students learn to walk alone and in strength. We all want your hope to come true, and we believe that the love and admiration we feel for you is not an indication of weakness. Yet--and we should not try to hide it--we do feel just a tiny bit scared. For that small portion of our motivation for "myth making" please forgive us!

Letter to Lucy Sprague Mitchell
From John Niemeyer
February 24, 1957

It would remain to be seen whether the organization could survive without her.

CHAPTER 5

1970: Uptown Move

Bank Street's location in the heart of the *avant garde* Greenwich Village section of New York had been perfect for a Bureau needing the protection of a community of like-minded people. However, limited building space was becoming a constraint upon an organization increasing in people and projects. Bank Street was also far downtown from the hub of New York City higher education. A move uptown would provide geographical access to Harlem and its population of culturally deprived children. It would also put it in the company of the respected class of higher education circles; namely, Columbia University.

The social and political world of 1970 seemed particularly propitious for Bank Street as it prepared to move from its long-time home in the heart of Greenwich Village to the Morningside Heights neighborhood of upper west Manhattan.

Social and Political Context

The National War on Poverty and the passage of the civil rights bill in 1964 came to symbolize Lyndon Johnson's commitment to building a Great Society. The belief that education would need to be a foreman of that building project was perhaps best articulated by

the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the first major federal aid to elementary and secondary schools. When the conduit for federal money was opened, experimental school projects sprang up throughout the nation to contribute their solutions to the problems of poverty and cultural deprivation.

As the nation burrowed-in to solve its domestic problems, more and more troops were being committed to Vietnam. The escalating war abroad was matched by escalating domestic racial tensions and the rending of the Great Society could be witnessed in the massive student protests on campuses across American as well as in bloody urban racial riots. By 1970, Nixon was half-way through his first term of trying to reconcile the national divisiveness. In the midst of troop withdrawal from Vietnam, the invasion of Cambodia exploded the ire of protesters at home.

Concurrently, the Black Power movement was gaining strength. The urban race riots of the sixties had been investigated by a commission led by Illinois Governor Otto Kerner. The 1968 Kerner Commission report called for changes in racial attitudes and recommended sweeping programs to improve ghetto conditions. These peace-making solutions didn't ameliorate the escalating militancy of the Black Power Movement, but they did offer opportunities for funded programmatic projects.

As federal money was being channeled into experimental solutions, the Carnegie Corporation commissioned and financed the Study of the Education of Educators to explore the state of American education. The result was not pretty. Charles Silberman wrote the findings in the 1970 book *Crisis in the Classroom*. After refuting

the curriculum reforms of the previous decade which had been heavily supported by the National Science Foundation, Silberman called for the reform of the schools through a re-statement of progressive ideology in the manner of the British infant schools. In the field of teacher training, only a few glimmers of hope were cited.

A handful of teacher training institutions are trying, therefore, to give their students knowledge of themselves, as well as of their students, their subject matter, and their teaching techniques. The most elaborate effort of this sort, in all probability, and certainly the one of the longest duration, is that carried on by New York's Bank Street College of Education, a small independent graduate institution whose roots lie deep in the progressive education movement.

Silberman 1970, 495

Bank Street's program was thrust into the national spotlight with the status of a Carnegie Commission report. It was also sitting in a city filled with protesting students, racial strife, and urban poverty. As New York City braced itself for decentralization and community control of the schools, the president of the New York City Board of Education noted, "The unresolved educational failures of the New York City school system are the challenge of the 1970's, except that merely resolving what should have been solved in the sixties will not be enough. The 1970's must deliver a radically altered and rejuvenated system of public education." (Monserrat 1970). With its avowed mission to instill progressive ideology into the public schools, Bank Street was ready for the challenge.

Mission

In the November 15, 1963 announcement of Bank Street's planned move uptown, the *New York Times* quoted Bank Street's president as saying, "Bank Street exists primarily to help the public schools bring about integration." This explicit mission statement was embedded within the article titled, "Bank St. College to Move Uptown." The implicit statement was that they were moving uptown, on the edge of Harlem, to do the job. The general mission of propagating the cause of progressive education had been given specific direction in the cause of school integration; coincidentally the very need of the New York City public schools. The adapted mission statement fit perfectly to the needs of a city . . . and a nation . . . struggling with the civil rights issue.

The same article indicated that Columbia University had encouraged Bank Street to move into its neighborhood and had expressed particular interest in Bank Street's laboratory school. The laboratory school "would probably attract to Morningside Heights many of Columbia's young faculty members who now refuse to live in the city because of concern over the academic level of the public schools." One week later, an irate letter to the New York Times editor written by the pastors of First Presbyterian Church noted,

In a day when public education in New York City, and particularly the Borough of Manhattan, is plagued with almost insoluble problems it seems most unfortunate, if not irresponsible, for two such institutions of prestige as Bank Street and Columbia to plan an academic ghetto for faculty children . . . They have repeatedly proclaimed their advocacy of

public education. Yet this proposed action implied more about real conviction than any number of pronouncements.

New York Times
November 23, 1963

Since it opened as a nursery school in 1919, Bank Street's school for children had served a well-to-do, forward thinking clientele. It had long offered scholarships for needy children, but the majority of the children came from families who could pay the full tuition. As Bank Street prepared for its move to the racial hotseat of uptown New York and adapted its mission toward children of poverty, its own example came under closer scrutiny. In 1970-71 the tuition rate for the School for Children was a steep \$1430 to \$2220. However, sixteen percent of the school's income was used for scholarships. A concerted effort to recruit minority students had resulted in a 40% minority population which was up from 25% for 1969-70 (Board of Trustees Minutes, June 10, 1970).

Goals and Objectives

The evidence of Bank Street's mission circa 1970 does not support public school integration as being the main reason for Bank Street's existence. Certainly integration was one of a series of issues that Bank Street was concerned about. But dealing with issues was a way to meet the larger Bank Street goal as stated in the 1971 Institutional Self-Evaluation, "The goal of The Bank Street College of Education is to act as an instrument of change for the improvement of education for children." The words "progressive education" had been dropped from the formal statement, but there was an implicit understanding in the phrase, "instrument of change

for the improvement of education" that the only way to improve the schools was through child-centered methods of instruction based on the teachings of Dewey and Freud.

Bank Street made no bones about its philosophy. In the 1971 Self-Evaluation Report, there is a clear two page statement of college goals and objectives. On the surface, the objectives might apply to any teacher education school: to prepare and develop at the graduate level educational personnel; to devise and conduct systematic research studies; to create children's literature; to write books and articles, etc. However, the full objectives statements are infused with phrases such as "teachers who can bring to the profession a broad cultural perspective, social responsibility, and a committed yet flexible attitude toward their work." Additionally, the college's goal and objective statements are followed by a two page explanation of its "Underlying Principles of Education."

Bank Street's mission was clearly and articulately linked to a value system, and the value system was linked directly to Lucy Sprague Mitchell and the past heritage of the college.

Bank Street College has from the beginning been guided by a set of principles which gave coherence to its programs for children and adults. Lucy Sprague Mitchell and her colleagues, the interdisciplinary founding staff, were committed to the idea that school life should be dedicated to children's interests and capabilities.

Institutional Self-Evaluation 1971, 3

Lucy Sprague Mitchell's mission had become the mission of Bank Street College of Education.

Implementation of Mission

In order to operationalize the mission, it was coalesced into a series of issues such as day care, early childhood education, and integration; all issues of critical concern to New York City and the nation. They also happened to be issues that Bank Street could invoke its heritage to provide a built-in expertise rationale as it garnered grant money to apply the Bank Street Approach to solving the issues. The day care issue generated monetary support from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare along with a 25 percent contribution from the State of New Jersey which instituted a day care training program entitled "Day Care 100." Bank Street was hired to do the training "because of the school's specialty in early childhood education (Johnson 1970)."

Another example of mission-in-action was Bank Street's Early Childhood Research Center, one of five centers supported by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity. It received additional funding from the New York City Council Against Poverty. The Center provided educational, social, health, and recreational services to 150 children (Bank Street Annual Report, 1969-70). Five years earlier, Head Start funds had been used to start the Center. However, Bank Street worked hard to expand the concept of Head Start to not only provide a preschool experience for children, but to assist and strengthen their total family life as well. In April of 1970 Bank Street ran into problems when it was notified by the New York City Head Start program that it would lose funding if it did not operate the Center strictly by Head Start guidelines. This would have precluded the expanded family concept of the Early Childhood Center.

After the April warnings from Head Start, Bank Street's administration spent three months attempting to find outside funding to operate a comprehensive, expanded notion of Head Start. When funding didn't materialize, the Trustees passed a resolution to turn the Center over to the parents and enter into an "educational consultant relationship" with the Center rather than a "sponsor relationship." Although the explicit reason given was the financial impossibility, the implicit reason apparent throughout several pages of discussion (Board of Trustees Minutes July 28 and September 16, 1970) was that Bank Street didn't want to give up its own conceptions of an Early Childhood Center--its Bank Street Approach.

By capitalizing on its urban setting and its historical mission to serve children, Bank Street expanded its 1950 three-pronged approach (school for teachers, nursery school, and studies & publications) through externally funded projects. Bank Street now had clear national visibility with its federally funded Early Childhood Research Center, Harlem Institute for Teachers, and the National Prospective Teachers Assistants program.

National Mission and Project Follow Through

The largest of its national projects was project Follow Through which was designed to continue the concept of Head Start through the early elementary grades. More than forty cities nationwide received funding by the U.S. Office of Education to set up programs designed by one of twenty model sponsors. The Bank Street Model was chosen by thirteen of the programs. This enabled Bank Street to spread to gospel of its "Developmental-Interaction Approach" to

5,000 children and 225 teachers in forty-six schools throughout thirteen cities. Thirty-eight staff members provided an intensive program of staff development in the thirteen communities. Bank Street had a golden opportunity to perform its mission.

The Follow Through report given to the Board of Trustees at the September 16, 1970 trustees meeting was strongly suggestive that Bank Street was making a significant impact by evincing "considerable change" in the target population. Dr. Klopf, Bank Street's Provost and Dean of Faculties, was moved to remark, "Follow Through has concretized Bank Street's relevance." (p. 4). To further set the approach in stone, Edna Shapiro and Barbara Biber published "The Education of Young Children: A Developmental-Interaction Approach" in *Teachers College Record* (1972). The twenty-five page article by Bank Street's research associates set down both the theoretical and practical underpinnings of the Bank Street Approach.

As the model was being cast in stone, the Follow Through project's quantitative evaluation system did not demonstrate significant impact of the model on the target population. Bank Street went on the defensive when its Follow Through director published *Follow Through: Illusion and Paradox in Educational Experimentation* (Smithberg 1981). The lengthy rebuttal to the evaluation system which had been used for the project sermonized the inherent difficulty in evaluating Bank Street's unique approach. It also espoused the value of belief systems and reaffirmed Bank Street's own beliefs. The gospel would be spread, even if the statistics wouldn't support it.

Bank Street did tout the 1970 statistic that "one out of every four children in the country's large urban centers were learning to read from the Bank Street Readers." (Annual Report, 1969-70, 3). This series was the first urban-oriented basal in the country when it was first published in 1965. Using both pictures and text that reflected urban culture, the Macmillan-published Bank Street Readers made a landmark step in the homogeneous world of textbook publishing. The series was revised in 1969-70 and an additional series of intermediate readers was developed which was published by Houghton Mifflin in 1972. Bank Street used its mission to capitalize on a market hungry for fixes.

Mission at Home

With the blossoming of federally funded projects and national limelight, the core internal way (its school for children and graduate teacher education programs) that Bank Street kept on its mission path seemed to get overshadowed.

On the homefront, the school of children was no longer only a nursery school. In 1970 it had classes for children through the age of 13. Whereas traditional schools were arranged by grade, the Bank Street School grouped children by age; a developmental statement. The school updated its progressive terminology in its self-description, "Bank Street's experimental classroom is actually more a counterpart to the British Infant School System." (Annual Report 1969-70). The belief system of the mission wasn't being changed, but it was being recast for changing times. The new uptown building would provide more space for the school, allowing

increased enrollment. It was also being designed to allow for flexible use of spaces (Trustees Minutes February 4, 1970) which would support the free nature of the Bank Street learning environment.

The graduate programs were designed to produce teachers ready to be effective change agents within the schools. The course offerings stressed humanistic process courses, "Children's Learning in Relation to Home, School, and Community;" "Family, Child, and Teacher Interaction;" or "The Group Process." And reflecting the times, "Colloquium on Urban Education;" or "Cultural Foundations of Urban Peoples." The courses were supported by a library whose collecting policy emphasized "childhood education, developmental psychology, counseling and psychotherapy, urban studies, and Black and Puerto Rican culture." (Bank Street *College Catalog* 1970).

But the piece of the program which distinguished Bank Street from other teacher education schools was its advisement program wherein students were matched with a Bank Street instructor who was to act as a counselor, mentor, field work supervisor, and mother confessor throughout the student's semesters at Bank Street. "The advisor helps the student to create an amalgam of the formal course learnings with field experiences and research with a growing sense of his professional self." (Institutional Self-Evaluation 1971, 22). In a cultural sense, the advisor was in a position to literally translate Bank Street's value system into tenets that would be usable in the classroom; to infuse Bank Street's mission into the deep psyche of the student teachers and then send them out to the world to fulfill that mission.

The mission may have been re-worded to suit the times, but the evidence is strong that it was maintaining Lucy Mitchell's vision. However, the organization was larger and far more complex than it had been in 1950. And although each of Bank Street's many projects supported its mission, it took a great deal of energy--and staff--to operate so many disparate projects. The leadership had its work cut out for itself.

Leadership Issues

As the mission of Bank Street cast a wider net, the problems inherent in dependence on external funding seemed to be percolating throughout the organization. Almost sixty percent of the college's revenue was from government agencies, foundations, corporations, or individuals. Tuition and fees covered less than thirty percent of the revenue (Annual Report 1969-70, 29). In 1970-71, Bank Street faced loss of Ford Foundation grant money that had supported integral programs of the college at the same time it needed increased equipment and maintenance services for its new building. This generated an additional \$373,000 burden on the already strained College budget. The College had an operating deficit of \$119,670 for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1970 (Institutional Self-Evaluation 1971, 105). Trustee Abraham Tannenbaum noted at the April 15, 1970 Board Meeting that, ". . . these needs underline the importance of raising a \$7-10 million endowment."

Moral Issues

In addition to financial difficulties, the distinctive mission of

Bank Street generated moral issues. At a June 22, 1970 Board Meeting, President Niemeyer "reported that he and the Policy Committee have been concerned about the moral problem emerging from the College's operating any program upon which a large number of poor families depend and yet which has only precarious funding." When the funding for Bank Street's Early Childhood Center was threatened by Project Headstart guidelines issues, it was decided to turn Center control over to the parents. However, that decision was fraught with debate. ". . . there was a discussion about the moral obligation of the College to the Center and expressions of concern that the College's action might be perceived as an abandonment of the Center." (Board of Trustees Minutes September 16, 1970, 7).

Blame was then shifted to the funding agencies, "Mr. Tannenbaum pointed out that the College's experimental program was eliminated not by the College but by the City, State, and Federal governments which did not make funds available to support such a project. He urged that communications be sent to the Mayor, the Governor, and the President concerning the problems resulting from lack of funding for the Center." Bank Street would ride a moral high horse.

However, there were problems in taking that course; the move in New York City was toward "community control." If Bank Street chose to fight for funding for itself, it might be seen as blockage of community control of the Center. "It was ultimately decided that such action might be misinterpreted by the community since a strong thrust exists toward strengthening community groups and Bank Street really favors the kind of community control which it will not help to create at the Center." (Board of Trustee Minutes

September 16, 1970, 7)."

Bank Street justified its decision to turn the Center over to the parents in the 1969-70 Annual report (p. 7), "It will be a natural and desirable step, offering many advantaged to the parents and community. A community agency, for example, can receive and spend government funds and can own its own building." But had Head Start funding continued (without the requirement of guideline adherence), Bank Street might not have been so magnanimous with the parent group.

Bank Street also faced internal dilemmas. The core of the graduate programs was considered to be the advisement program. This time-intensive, one-to-one relationship between faculty and student was expensive. The cost per semester hour for advisement was \$170; evening students did not need advisement services and the unit cost for those students was closer to tuition. Discussion by the Board of Trustees on April 15 of 1970 indicated that the advisement program was considered a key factor in the perceived quality of the graduate program. Along with a decision to raise tuition, was the decision to consult with students about the feasibility of distinguishing charges between those students under advisement and those students not under advisement; evidence that the leadership was trying to hold on to a key program while struggling against fiscal constraints.

Tradition Versus Adaptation

The Board and the administration struggled with these issues and tried to balance the maintenance of their principles and heritage against their need for funding. Solutions were dependent on

blending tradition with adaptation.

The traditional Bank Street notion of staff sacrifice was still in evidence, "Mr. Niemeyer stated that the summer had been a busy one at the College. He thanked those of his colleagues who had reduced or taken almost no vacation in order to be able to attend to immediate program, staff concerns and the many problems surrounding the impending move." (Board of Trustees Minutes September 16, 1970; 2). In an announcement of the hours of the uptown Bank Street storefront office that had been opened before the Bank Street move it was noted, "The storefront is open 10:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. on weekdays and 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. on Saturdays. It is hoped that staff members will volunteer for Saturday 'duty' and that they will visit often." (*Bank Street at Morningside* 1968).

Staff allegiance in the form of foregone vacations and volunteer Saturdays may have harkened back to the days of Lucy Mitchell, but those forms of sacrifice don't pay bills. The current administration took a more assertive tact and hired an outside consulting agency, Oram Associates, to help structure a building campaign, formulate a long range plan, and make recommendations for the structure of the Office of Public Relations and Development (Board of Trustees Minutes, June 10, 1970; 3). The very operation of the organization was being shored-up from the outside.

As Great Society funding slowly dried up, the need to set priorities became critical. The rationale for setting those priorities was stated in the *Middle States Commission I Report* (1971): "The key criterion for determining priorities is the

potential for bringing about significant change consonant with our goals." However there are indications in the Board of Trustees minutes that there may have been other motivations involved in the setting of priorities. In the discussion of a possible project with Consolidated Edison, "Mr. Wise reviewed the origin of Bank Street's consultation work in this area and stated that the original arrangement made with Con Ed provided for payment of overhead and other indirect costs in addition to direct costs. It is perceived as a financially beneficial project." (Board of Trustees Minutes, February 4, 1970; 8). "What do we get out of this?" certainly seemed to be a motivating force in the decision to pursue the program.

After the gush of federal funding in the sixties, Bank Street was stretched from one end of Manhattan to the other. Before its 1970 move, the main "campus" (although that term was not used by Bank Street) was located at 69 Bank Street with the Research and Publications Division on 14th Street, the Office of Development in midtown, the Early Childhood Center on West 43rd Street, the Educational Resource Center on 125th Street and the Polly Miller Day Care Center in the Bronx. The need to consolidate had become acute.

The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 encouraged the expansion of educational facilities. Bank Street was able to take advantage of a \$3.5 million grant and a \$2.5 million three percent loan by the Graduate Facilities Branch of the Bureau of Higher Education (Gordon 1988, 425). The uptown move, which was announced in 1963 but didn't culminate until 1970 provided a nine-

story building that could bring all of Bank Street's programs together, except for two community projects; this was ". . . an important improvement both from a management point of view and from an educational and philosophic point of view." (*Institutional Self-Evaluation*, 1971, 104).

Maintaining Coherence

The geographical sprawl of Bank Street had been concurrent with a tremendous increase in personnel. The professional staff jumped from 119 in 1968-69 to 169 in 1970-71. In-breeding within the Graduate Programs Division was evident; out of the 87 faculty members listed in the 1970 catalog, 27 had graduated from Bank Street, 13 from Teachers College, and 25 either from Columbia University, College of the City of New York, or New York University. However, the number of other staff members for the externally funded projects added a diversity that diluted the core sense of organizational memory. A 1969-70 staff survey indicated that only eight staff members had been at Bank Street for more than fifteen years. Although forty-eight staff members had been there between five and fifteen years, the vast majority (144) were there less than five years.

Keeping the collaborative/cooperative spirit that Lucy Mitchell worked so hard to foster was becoming more difficult. Communication among divisions was more intricate and more formality had to be instituted. But even as that formality developed, there was an acknowledgement of the group-thinking process of past years. As the newly developed 1970 *Student*

Handbook noted, "With the issue of this Student Manual, then, Bank Street is preserving in print, a long standing, much revered tradition; as far as this is still possible, everyone here should be able to know what everyone else is doing." The organization was trying hard to maintain the principles of Lucy Mitchell; a difficult job among 169 staff members.

Linkage to the Past

How was the heritage of the past transmitted to this growing organization? Memory became ritual in "An Hour of Remembrance" on December 1, 1967 when the Bank Street community gathered in the auditorium of the New School for Social Research to pay honor to the strongest founding influence on Bank Street. Lucy Sprague Mitchell had died on October 15, 1967 at the age of 89 in Palo Alto California. Although her body was donated to the Anatomy Bank at Stanford (*San Francisco Chronicle* October 17, 1967), her spirit was kept alive as her colleagues recalled her influence ". . . to be her student was like being born again and to be conscious of one's own new birth!"; charged tasks for the present, "Our gift to her lies in offering our children, our students, our co-workers, some small measure of the greatness and beauty of her mind and person."; and gave hope for the future, "Lucy is not just a matter of memories; Lucy is for all of us who have worked with her and known her, a continuing influence in our lives, a continuing experience." ("An Hour of Remembrance" December 1, 1967).

The ritual was liturgized at the building dedication ceremony on February 5, 1971. Again the Bank Street community gathered; again

old colleagues paid tribute to Lucy Mitchell. It was more than the dedication of a building; ". . . we stand here today, teachers and students, to dedicate the work we are doing and mean to do in the future, to Lucy Sprague Mitchell." (Building Dedication Ceremony February 5, 1971, 70). The building itself was dedicated to Mrs. Mitchell; the plaque unveiled. But the spirit of Lucy Mitchell was meant to be infused into the work of Bank Street, not just the brick and mortar of the building.

Changes in Leadership

President Niemeyer had been the direct descendent of Lucy Mitchell. He knew her and learned from her. Although he was instrumental in formalizing the structure and routine of Bank Street, he was also well aware of the way things used to be. Lucy Mitchell had been involved in the daily details of Bank Street's life; she trudged into public school classrooms, took students on field trips, led writing seminars and performed virtually every other staff task of the organization at one time or another. Administration had been a matter of keeping things going so she could "do" the work of spreading her notion of progressive education.

Jack Niemeyer was more of a professional administrator. He provided the resources so that the staff could "do" the work of spreading Bank Street's gospel. For a lengthy seventeen years he guided Bank Street into the national spotlight as he became a special consultant to the U.S. Commission of Education, negotiated textbook contracts with Macmillan, and served on the steering committee for Project Head Start of the U.S. Office of Economic

Opportunity (Gordon 1988, 409).

By 1970, Bank Street had positioned itself on a national stage. The third president planned to keep it there:

Bank Street has had a significant role in most of the great child-centered efforts through the years. In many ways, our role has been a quiet one. But we are making louder noises, and you will begin hearing more the work of this potent little place with its roots in the inner-city.

University Lecture by
Francis J. Roberts delivered at
Ball State University
March 25, 1974

In order to stay on that national stage, external relations had become vitally important.

External Relations

Being an organization as heavily dependent on external funding as Bank Street had become, public relations became an important component of the college. One reason Gerald Augburn (Ph.D., Columbia) was hired in 1970 as Public Information Associate was because he had publicity experience in a "prestigious public relations concern." (Board of Trustees Minutes, June 10, 1970; 2). Additionally, a new Vice President for Planning and Development was hired who had key responsibility for "continual development of relationships with City, State and Federal agencies." (Board of Trustees Minutes April 15, 1970; 3). People were being put in position to make proactive moves to make Bank Street known and to generate funds.

The external consulting firm that had been called in (Oram Associates) pointed out that a major stumbling block for Bank Street fundraising was that it did not have enough solicitors, particularly solicitors with important contacts (Board of Trustees Minutes June 10, 1970; 4). Bank Street was working on that.

At the February 4 Board of Trustees meeting, it was noted that with twenty-two members on the Board, there were three trustee openings. There was discussion about asking the New York State Board of Regents if an exception to the Education Law could be made to allow for a larger number of Trustees on the Board. One of the Board members commented that since Bank Street had concerns throughout the nation, it might be wise to have five or six regional candidates from areas where Bank Street is working outside New York. The education Law limited the number of trustees to twenty-five.

Another recommendation of The Oram Report for increasing outside funding had been the development of corporate support by starting a "Corporate Council" composed of top executives meeting two or three times a year. The purpose would be to solicit New York's business community. Bank Street was already pounding the business community pavement. In January of 1970 Bank Street held a luncheon meeting with fifty top New York-based business executives. President Niemeyer spoke to the issue of day care and what businesses could contribute to the betterment of day care. Bank Street was making its expertise known to the business community (Cray 1970). Several queries were made as a result of that meeting.

Con Edison asked Bank Street to help develop a high school equivalency diploma program. Bank Street's role would be to design curriculum, select materials, and train teachers. Since Bank Street's emphasis was early childhood education, there was discussion at the Board of Trustees meeting as to "whether the College could consider itself sufficiently experienced and knowledgeable in the high school years to offer these kinds of consultations." It was noted that, "Industry perceives the College as experts in this field." Given the financial benefits of a consultant relationship with Con Edison, Bank Street seemed willing to re-orient its priorities and acknowledge its work with adult learners (Board of Trustees Minutes February 4, 1970; 8).

As plans for the new building on 112th Street solidified, much energy went into soliciting funds, both for the \$1,000,000 building campaign and the \$200,000 annual fund drive. "With only one-third of the goals achieved at mid-point, a sense of urgency and commitment is needed." The Trustees were urged "to give their best efforts to the campaign." And although the emphasis was on the capital campaign, it was suggested "that those prospects who do not respond to the capital campaign may be persuaded for annual giving. Approaches such as these eventually stretch prospects." (Board of Trustees Minutes February 4, 1970; 8).

Even naming the new building's auditorium became a vehicle for fundraising. Shortly after the new auditorium was named 'The Frederica Barach Auditorium', the President of the Board of Trustees "was already able to report on the effectiveness of Mrs. Barach's name in gathering support. An immediate response to a few

telephone solicitations has brought in \$56,000." (Board of Trustees Minutes June 22, 1970; 10).

Critical though fundraising was, there were other important relations for Bank Street to consider for its impending move; it was about to become a new neighbor in a complex neighborhood.

Morningside Heights may have only been a fifteen minute subway ride away from 69 Bank Street, but it was worlds apart from Greenwich Village in terms of community. Unlike the village's protected enclave ambiance, Morningside Heights was in the thick of urban renewal, Columbia's campus radicalism, and the inflamed race and poverty issues of Harlem.

In September of 1968, Bank Street College opened a storefront office in Morningside Heights ("Bank Street at Morningside") in order to establish a community presence before its move in 1970. The activities of the storefront program indicate that Bank Street was interested in becoming a good neighbor. A Program Advisory Council was set up to decide what services and programs the storefront would offer. Representatives of the college as well as the community and the local public schools served on the Council.

On the advice of the Council, Bank Street initiated steps to extend the library of curriculum materials at "Bank Street at Harlem" which was a center that the College had started in 1964 to offer Harlem schools and community residents teaching materials and after-school tutors. The storefront also explored community-oriented graduate student placements, provided workshops for parents of preschoolers, and offered College resources for the development of day care services in the area (*Bank Street at*

Morningside 1968). On a grassroots level, Bank Street was making itself known in the neighborhood.

The neighborhood itself was fraught with controversy over urban renewal and expansion plans by Columbia University. Bank Street was caught in the thick of the fray as its location came under urban renewal purview. A paper presenting the opponent view to the urban renewal plans stated,

Renewal in the neighborhood must be genuine. It must provide decent housing for the people of the community at low rents. This can be accomplished by:

1) Confiscate the following institutionally owned buildings: Morningside House Home for the Aged site on Amsterdam Avenue, Bank Street School of Education site on 112 Street, the Columbia School of Social Work site on 114 Street . . . We demand that the city renovate the 534 units in these buildings . . . and open them as low rent housing, giving preference to persons who have previously been forced out of the neighborhood.

Morningside Heights-Manhattan Valley community is in grave danger. Only a militant struggle against Columbia and the City by all layers of the community assure it of survival.

Paper by Michael Golash
Bank Street at Morningside
October, 1968

Bank Street faced a community broiling with animosity toward Columbia. There is evidence that Bank Street was well aware of the community climate into which it was planning to move. Peter Sauer, Director of the Bank Street at Morningside storefront program, noted in his Report to the President the Cox Commission report on the Columbia Campus crisis of 1968, "The record before us

is filled with the strongest criticism of Columbia's conduct in relation to its non-institutional neighbors, both in Harlem and on Morningside Heights. Columbia cannot flourish in Upper Manhattan until it establishes a new and sounder relation with its present neighbors." (*Bank Street at Morningside* 1968).

The implications for Bank Street were clear; local relations would have to be an important consideration. The College took several steps to initiate those relations. Prior to even the opening of the storefront program, Bank Street formulated a task force to study the Morningside Heights neighborhood. Community agencies were visited by Bank Street staff to discuss the College's move and the area's needs. "None of these agencies expressed opposition to Bank Street's move. Some stated that they would be interested in seeing what Bank Street could contribute to the area; others saw the college as a much needed resource and ally (*Bank Street at Morningside* 1968, 3)." Bank Street would use its expertise (i.e., day care consultation services, learning resources) to gain entree into the world of uptown Manhattan.

However, even well-intentioned programs can be fraught with controversy. The Bank Street Day Care Consultation Service that developed out of the Bank Street at Morningside Program Advisory Council's recommendation became a controversial program both within Bank Street and within the scope of New York City day care issues. Edith Gordon (1988, 415-416) noted that the day care service "provided technical assistance to some 200 day care centers and helped them obtain available City funding, ignoring or circumventing what seemed to them 'obstructive administrative

practices of the day care establishment." Gordon concludes that, "To some within Bank Street College and more conservative professional circles Sauer and his staff were radical activists unprecedented in Bank Street History who were hastening the establishment of centers for day care of poor children at the expense of standards and quality." (Gordon 1988, 417).

Controversy aside, community relations had taken on critical significance. A student and staff handbook about the community was planned and a Trustee "strongly recommended the retention of services from among minority groups for the basic move, for security guards, etc. He stated that as a Trustee he is concerned about this and other community matters." (Board of Trustees Minutes April 15, 1991; 9).

Bank Street also had a community that it was leaving--Greenwich Village. The College had been an established presence in the neighborhood for over fifty years. The loss of the School for Children would be particularly felt by the community. A long time Bank Street administrator, Sheila Sadler (who had been chairman of the primary department), decided that Greenwich Village would need a school to replace the loss of Bank Street's School for Children. On June 7, 1970 the New York Times proclaimed, "Children Offer Their Contributions as a New Community School Opens in Greenwich Village." (Gussow 1970).

Mrs. Sadler had gathered private funding, hired teachers, and enrolled 145 students in kindergarten through sixth grade. And "Although Village Community gained its impetus from Bank Street's departure--and will probably use Bank Street's progressive

educational program as a guideline--it hopes to gain its own identity as a community school." (Gussow 1970). As Bank Street headed uptown, it left seeds of itself behind.

And as Bank Street moved into its new uptown quarters, it was invited by the Parents Association of P.S. 179 to join a coalition of neighborhood groups sponsoring new housing and a new school uptown under the Education Construction Fund. Bank Street was needed to provide direction and community input to the developer. It was noted by Bank Street's Vice President of Planning and Development that, "An opportunity exists here to apply the College's area of competency to a housing situation by organizing an educational program. This affiliation could provide a laboratory school for the College in P.S. 179 (Board of Trustees Minutes February 4, 1970; 6). External relations were two way streets. Bank Street had its feelers out for more than what the College could do for the new school.

The complex community relationships that Bank Street was developing in New York City were supplemented by the intricate web among local, state and federal contacts that President Niemeyer was building. When funding for the Early Childhood Center was threatened, President Niemeyer headed to Washington to discuss funding with the Office of Economic Opportunity, HEW, and the Human Resources Administration. External relations had become vital to the existence of Bank Street so that it could continue the work it was about. A large part of that work was its research endeavors.

Research Efforts

The fundamental research ethos of Bank Street was that process was more important than product and more energy should be used to create a learning dynamic (environment) than worrying about outcome measures of that dynamic. The theory seemed to be that outcomes would automatically follow if the learning environment was conducive (and the curriculum responsive) to individual learning needs.

The nature of the Bank Street research projects demonstrated its commitment to this learning process: "Studies of Non-Verbal Representation in Young Children," "Differences in the Spontaneous Classroom Interpersonal Language of Preschoolers Differing in Intrapersonal Linguistic Effectiveness," and "Studies of the Social Organization of Head Start Centers." (Annual Report 1969-70, 12). The actual studies do seem to correlate with the stated interests of the Research Division which included the nature of the psychological development of children and the relation of this development to children's educational needs; teacher personality in relation to teaching style; and problems of social organization in the work of the school (*Institutional Self-Evaluation* 1971, 72). Additionally, the studies embodied the philosophical beliefs of Bank Street.

What the studies do not do is provide a balance of quantitative and qualitative studies or a broad range of topics of investigation. The research projects provide a heavily qualitative bank of studies on the social aspects of the learning process. This is consonant with Bank Street's self-proclaimed "adherence to humanistic and democratic values." (*Institutional Self-Evaluation* 1971, 71).

Perhaps as a way to stem criticism for its narrow approach to research, the Division explains the rationale for its methodology very carefully:

Because of its interest in the learning experiences generated by the interaction of child, teacher, school, and community, the Division's studies are typically concerned with clarifying complexity rather than with reducing complexity to simpler levels of analysis. The Division defines problems by identifying significant variables more often than establishing the exact relationship between observable and measurable dimensions. Methodologically its studies tend to be intensive rather than extensive.

Institutional Self-Evaluation
1971, 73

The Bank Street School for Children had as its explicit purpose to "act as an experimental setting under College control where curriculum and organizational concepts flowing from a Bank Street philosophy of learning and development can be tested programmatically." (*Institutional Self-Evaluation*, 1971, 56). How "experimental" it was in reality is questionable since the "Bank Street Approach" was the single implemented strategy on a relatively homogenous student population.

A recommendation by the student concerns committee was that Bank Street needed a public lab school (Student Concerns Committee 1971, 2). The fact that the Bank Street School was private and expensive meant that the student population was self-selected and most likely sympathetic to Bank Street's philosophy. The school did serve as a demonstration site for Bank Street principles in action.

The school was quick to point out its similarities to the English

Infant Schools with emphasis on self-initiated activities, respect for children's play, and interage groupings. Invoking its heritage (and distinctiveness), Bank Street made it clear that these similar components "have existed for many years at Bank Street" and that there were distinguishable features such as more emphasis upon a common group theme of study, planned activities related to Man in his environment, and the teacher being an enabler of children's learning by matching the individual curriculum to the child's motivation, developmental level, and skills (*Institutional Self-Evaluation* 1971, 57). The Research Division was actively engaged in trying to codify the curriculum and translate Bank Street's self-understood process into a transportable program.

The interests and studies of the Research Division and its work with the Bank Street School for Children boil down to defining a replicable model of the teaching-learning dynamic. Most important for this transaction, was an environment wherein cloning might actually transpire. To that end, Bank Street searched for places to colonize.

With the availability of government and foundation money during the sixties, Bank Street was able to find funding for a variety of projects, including an Early Childhood Center located on 42nd Street and an Educational Resources Center on East 125th Street in Harlem. The two Centers functioned very differently with the Early Childhood Center being a direct-service program for children and families and the Harlem Center being a consulting service program. Both Centers served to provide the Research Division with

populations and programs to study and both served as demonstration sites for Bank Street.

The plight of Bank Street's association with the Early Childhood Center serves to highlight the quicksand that externally funded projects stood upon. After five years of having a centerpiece for early childhood research and family intervention services, Bank Street gave up control of the Center in 1970 when external funding dried up. The Center had been rife with problems the whole time it was in operation.

The major problem confronting the Center during the five years of its operation by the College was the uncertainty of its funding. As a government-funded project it had to submit a new proposal and application every year. Complicating the problem was the political atmosphere at any given time which resulted in delays in passage of appropriations by Congress and grants approval by the New York City Council Against Poverty. Changes in both the municipal and federal administrations, accompanied by shifts in financial and philosophical support of programs and program components, exacted the inevitable toll of frustrations, staff shifts and retrenchment, and administrative duplication.

Institutional Self-Evaluation
1971, 62

As the College moved to disassociate itself from the Center, it left program goals unmet including program analysis and the dissemination of research findings. After five years of vested interest, the College was unable to culminate the project as a replicable model.

Why would Bank Street continue to depend on tenuous external funding which could be so fickle? Perhaps it was because of the opportunity to gain national exposure as well as the possibility that

a replicable model could actually be developed and disseminated. Project Follow Through provided just those opportunities.

Bank Street elected to participate in the Follow Through program in order to affect the national educational scene by an in-depth implementation of the College's theory of psycho-educational environment. This effort has led to the establishment of classrooms in communities throughout the country reflecting Bank Street's approach to education. Many programs serve as demonstration and training centers for their own regions and further disseminate the philosophy of education developed at the College.

Institutional Self-Evaluation
1971, 63

However, the broad scope of this project created a host of problems for Bank Street. The project team faced resistance to innovation, constantly changing staff, and the need for trainers with Bank Street experience to implement the Bank Street model. Additionally, the national longitudinal evaluation relied on standardized achievement tests which Bank Street opposed as being inappropriate measures of program efficacy (Smithberg 1981). Bank Street was able to implement programs in fourteen cities and gained national recognition through its work in the community programs and the literature generated about Project Follow Through. However, "Even a \$97 million evaluation could not 'prove what works.'" (Smithberg 1981, 35).

Given the espoused experimental nature of Bank Street College, all of its divisions were expected to exude a spirit of research, not just the Research Division which had the responsibility for defining and disseminating a Bank Street model. Unfortunately, the

cumbersome structure of the College made a coherent intra-organizational research approach difficult to maintain; some would argue that the structure made all aspects of intra-organizational cooperation difficult.

Governing Structure

In 1950 the College had been divided into three divisions, all with responsibilities internal to the organization. By 1970 there were five divisions and each division had some responsibility external to the organization. The Graduate Programs Division had its regular programs of teacher education, special teaching, and guidance. Additionally, it oversaw a funded Harlem Institute for Teachers and the Cary Fellows Leadership Training Program. Bank Street was looking to a level above the teacher to effect school change.

. . . the whole idea of the Cary Leadership Fellow Program . . . is to develop leaders who can effect change in the bureaucratic school system in many of our nation's cities. To do this, the Cary Fellows must be more than just teachers and must be trained for their new roles as peaceful revolutionaries.

Annual Report
1969-1970, 14

Another way of effecting change in the schools was through publications. The Publications Division was not separate from the Research Division. In addition to its elementary urban basal reading series, it was developing middle grade readers and adult readers. During 1970, Bank Street had been involved in long negotiations with Houghton Mifflin for the publication of the middle grade

individualized reading program titled *Discoveries*. The contract awarded Bank Street an outright grant of \$250,000 which was half of the cost of writing the books. In addition, Bank Street received an advance of \$250,000 which needed to be repaid to Houghton Mifflin through earned royalties. After the grant was repaid, all royalties would go to Bank Street (Board of Trustees Minutes June 10, 1970; 6).

The commercial market was also being tapped through an Early Childhood Discovery Materials program of books, blocks, puzzles, and games that Macmillan Company published in 1970. Additionally, Bank Street produced a series of twenty short films to show children that reading is fun. Famous personalities such as Harry Belafonte, James Garner, and Diahann Carroll are shown reading children's books aloud. The film series was distributed by McGraw-Hill and won several awards. "The Thinking Book" with Sidney Poitier was awarded the American Film Festival's Blue Ribbon Award as one of the best films for children and the Venice Film Festival selected it for showing in the 1970 festival. Bank Street's enterprising ventures were beginning to give it international exposure; "publications" was also being transformed into a multi-media complex.

The Research Division was now segregated from Publications and was kept busy with external projects in the Early Childhood Research Center and Project Follow Through. There was a great deal of pressure on the Division to generate more grant money, but the time spent writing grants was not funded. When funding for the Early Childhood Center dried up, the Division faced loss of personnel

and projects left hanging; a reminder that grant money was critical to the Division's existence.

In 1968 the Children's Programs Division suffered the loss of its long-term chairman, Elizabeth Gilkeson. There was a subsequent administrative void as the division floundered to re-organize itself. Although there was an interim position of Coordinating Administrator created, there was no chairman. Part of the problem stemmed from "difficulties inherent in finding a successor to a position held by a professional of such unique and creative qualities as Mrs. Gilkeson." (Board of Trustees Minutes February 4, 1970; 3). Mrs. Gilkeson had then had almost a twenty year relationship with Bank Street; it was hard to find an outsider to replace an insider.

Of the five College Divisions, perhaps the most controversial was the Field Services Division which was responsible for the Bank Street at Harlem program, the Day Care Consultation Service, the Con Edison Manpower Training Program, the New Jersey Day Care Program, and the AT & T Tutor Training Project. Field Services represented a variety of new ways that Bank Street was performing its mission of outreach to the community; ways that were external to the College. "Within the College there are problems with the assimilation of this new Division, its staff, extension of programs beyond the educational community, and the generation of cross-college support and understanding of the Division programs." (*Institutional Self-Evaluation*, 1971, 51).

Certain special projects of the College were outside the purview of any of the Divisions. A variety of special projects (e.g., Arts in Education or Institute for Leadership Development) received either

interdivisional leadership or was assigned to an administrative office. The self-evaluation (p. 53) noted the tensions of this arrangement balanced:

The concept of special projects existing outside Divisions has both problems and merits. This procedure may tend to foster creativity and innovation by not being involved in the traditional process. On the other hand a project's impact may not be felt by regular College programs. There also may be concerns about consistency of goal, design with accepted objectives and programs, and quality control.

The wide range of projects and needed personnel for them created much governance dissonance. Questions arose about where decision-making ought to be vested and how communication could be mediated across an increasingly broad-based organization.

Between 1967 and 1969 the Bank Street staff was actively engaged developing a new governance structure. An *Ad Hoc* Committee Plan of Organization made elaborate provisions for professional staff participation in College-wide decision-making in order to establish a set of controls on programs and give divisions a fuller sense of interchange and programmatic support (*Institutional Self-Evaluation* 1971, 6). The January 1970 vote on the plan was clearly in favor of the new structure with seventy-seven votes in favor and twenty-three opposed. However, with 182 eligible voting staff members, 121 needed to vote in favor of the plan (Board of Trustees Minutes February 4, 1970; 9). Thus, the plan was put back on the drawing board.

It was difficult to get staff consensus on a mechanism for decision making. But it was agreed that more communication was

needed among programs and divisions. As a step toward this end, the Board of Trustees instituted a class of "Associate Trustees" who would represent the students, the professional staff and the School for Children Parents' Association at Trustee meetings. These associates would have debate privileges, but not voting rights. They would "provide an avenue of influence, persuasion, and counsel by all constituencies." (Board of Trustees Minutes June 10, 1970; 10). Subsequently, the Provost-Dean, the Vice President for Business Affairs, and the Vice President of Planning and Development were also elected as Associate Trustees. This expanded Trustee council would bring back (in theory) the Bank Street tradition of group interaction.

During the struggle to reorganize the College structure, it was discovered that "nowhere in the Organizational Plan are there mentioned Graduate Students or Students from the School for Children!!" (Student Concerns Committee, 1971). The students lobbied for representation on the College Policy Committee. They did get a representative on the Professional Staff Council. Discussion emanating from the Student Concerns Committee indicates the difficulty involving students when many are only at Bank Street for a one-year program and half of whom were non-matriculated.

Given the national collegiate student move to gain more power in campus decision-making, it is not surprising that Bank Street students also wanted to make their presence more felt. Students noted that during the visiting of the Middle States Accreditation Team, "the visiting professors told us that at most of their colleges

students have full voting capacities on committees. Our students would like this. Do we have time to devote to committee work and/or the initiative?" (Student Concerns Committee 1971, 2). The students were anxious on a theoretical level to be just like their counterparts on other campuses. Practically however, the Bank Street student body had a limited voice.

Chapter Summary

In June of 1970 the largest number of students in the history of Bank Street College were graduated with one hundred and twenty-six students receiving a Master of Science in Education or Guidance degree (Board of Trustees Minutes June 10, 1970; 6). The small organization once known as the Bureau of Educational Experiments now saw itself long-range as a "relatively small and experimental institution." (Self-Evaluation June 1971, 5). The modifier "relatively" left the options open for growth. And the indications are that in 1970 Bank Street was positioning itself for enough growth to make an impact on the national education scene.

It had procured a nine-story building on the upper west side of Manhattan, designed to consolidate a myriad of projects in a flexibly spaced physical plant. The new building was to facilitate Bank Street's commitment to being an instrument of social change through education; particularly the education of children. The 1950 emphasis on public elementary school education had been broadened significantly to include a spectrum of social intervention measures. From day care to adult manpower training, Bank Street was widening its horizons.

Federal, state, and city funding availability played a pivotal role in shaping the way Bank Street was operationalizing its mission. With children of poverty being on the government agenda, Bank Street capitalized on its urban location and opened a resource center in Harlem; with day care funding availability, Bank Street capitalized on its historic nursery school program and opened a Day Care Consulting Service. As the compensatory education movement swept the country, Bank Street stepped in to offer its model program to cities across the United States through Projects Headstart and Follow Through.

Concurrently, Bank Street was pursuing its mission through commercial ventures. The successful urban-themed *Bank Street Readers* was now being extended into the middle grades and the Early Childhood Discovery Materials extended the market in the other direction. Multi-media options were explored as Bank Street noted, "In view of today's media explosion one must regard 'valid writing' as including also television, film, and other electronic instructional materials. All these media are utilized to reach not only children but their parents, not only parents but the entire community." (*Institutional Self-Evaluation* 1971, 76). Given the million dollars in royalties that were generated by the *Bank Street Readers*, the pursuit of other multi-media was financially lucrative.

While new constituencies were being courted with funded projects and newly-hired staff, the Graduate School was maintaining its focus on training elementary school teachers who could implement a process-based curriculum of individualized instruction. An in-bred Bank Street (or New York City) trained staff

imbued the graduate students with the Bank Street ethos via the mentor-type relationship the advisement process offered and social-action field placement opportunities.

With the death of Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Bank Street ritualized her story through her memorial service and in the new building dedication. President Niemeyer may have been generating the funding to keep the College operating, but the work of the organization was dedicated to Lucy Mitchell. It was her cause to which the generated funds were to be used.

Although the College had pervasive funding problems, Niemeyer was able to match Bank Street's talents with various spigots of funding. Much of that match was through a careful invocation of heritage--Bank Street's heritage of progressive idealism.

Bank Street also had a heritage of group decision-making. The spirit of group thinking and consensual decision-making was becoming more problematic for the growing organization. To that end, structural reorganization was a major issue of 1970. Associate trustees and student representation were mechanisms added to facilitate inter-Divisional communication. The cumbersome nature of the five-division organization precluded full-staff policy-making but it offered a framework for incorporating the blooming network of programs in which Bank Street was involved.

With Bank Street's move into a new neighborhood and the opportunity to collect government funding, "community" took on increasing importance in the form of social-action programs. Day Care services were offered, manpower training programs were

implemented, and family intervention measures were instituted for the local populace. It seems paradoxical that as Bank Street strengthened its liaisons with the New York City local community, it was being given wider national opportunities.

The research arm of Bank Street helped promote the organizational mission through the humanistic social nature of the projects that served to validate Bank Street's particular educational approach. Articles such as Shapiro and Biber's "The Education of Young Children: A Developmental-Interaction Approach" (1972), or Gilkeson and Bowman's "Bank Street Approach to Follow Through" (1972) shaped the distinctive nuances of evolved progressivism into what could be called a Bank Street model.

In 1970 it was becoming harder to be unique. Edward B. Nyquist, the New York State Commissioner of Education, had publicly endorsed open education. The State Education Department sponsored workshops and conferences to promote the implementation of open classrooms. Bank Street moved to distinguish itself through its historical roots and through careful delineation of its educational model. It also publicly proclaimed its distinctiveness:

As the only small independent, graduate, multi-disciplinary institute in the field of education, Bank Street is in a singular position to invent better educational practices, to try fresh ideas, to criticize the way things are, to encourage more growth in all lives, to study ways of teaching and learning, to demonstrate that schools can be better for people, to care about the people more than the institutions, and to serve always as an

advocate for those in our society not well represented by conventional institutions.

University Lecture by
Francis J. Roberts
at Ball State University
March 25, 1974

President Roberts had high hopes for what his distinctive organization could accomplish. The question is whether the tether to foundation money would strangle the organizational distinctiveness Bank Street had worked so hard to define.

CHAPTER 6

1990: The Urban Initiative

Tucked around the corner from Broadway on 112th Street a marquis simply proclaims, Bank Street College. There is no quadrangle, no "Old Main." Unlike Columbia, a few blocks to the north, whose big gates segregate the campus from the community, Bank Street's nine story building stretched above the marquis is clearly a part of New York City; a city beset by massive urban problems, not the least of which is education.

Social and Political Context

When David N. Dinkins was sworn in as the first black mayor of New York City on January 1, 1990, he knew he was going to have a deal with many problems of the more than seven million people he would be serving. Forty-five percent of the population was minority and one-third of the population was estimated to be foreign born as New York was adjusting to the third great wave of immigration since the middle of the nineteenth century. With a high percentage of poor and homeless people living in the city, as well as a rampant drug problem pervading the population, Dinkins faced a tenure of problem-solving that relied heavily on human services and education. He entered the office of mayor optimistic, but touched

with the realism brought on by his prior term as Borough President of Manhattan.

In his inaugural speech, Dinkins envisioned the creation of a "grand mosaic" out of the multi-cultured population and highlighted the many problems he would face as mayor. Rather than the traditional emphasis on a particular problem, he chose to pledge his commitment to a broader issue--an issue largely affecting the future, "I hereby dedicate the Dinkins administration to the children of New York (*New York Times*, January 2, 1990). For Bank Street College, that must have been good news.

If Dinkins were to be serious about that dedication, the concurrent installation of Joseph A. Fernandez as the new Chancellor of the New York City Schools was an important event. He would oversee the largest public school system of any city in the world with an enrollment of more than 1,100,000 students. Fernandez became known as an educational innovator during his tenure as Superintendent of the Dade County Public Schools in Florida where he pioneered a number of reforms including school-based management. As the school reform agenda of the eighties was getting transformed into the school restructuring agenda of the nineties, Fernandez offered hope to New York City schools that they wouldn't be left behind the national bandwagon.

The New York school system that Fernandez was to head was plagued by a variety of problems. There was alleged corruption throughout the city schools tied to the system of local control which was instituted a generation earlier. Former Mayor Edward Koch created an inquiry commission to investigate the confused,

decentralized, bureaucratic school system. The commission's report which was released in June of 1990 called the Board of Education a "sleepy-eyed lumbering brontosaurus primarily interested in grazing." (*New York Times* June 1, 1990). It singled out School Board President Robert F. Wagner (who happened to be a Bank Street Trustee) for blame in New York's school problems.

Two weeks later, the *New York Times* (June 13, 1990 B1) announced that Wagner was ending his four year presidency of the Board of Education having not been reappointed by Mayor Dinkins. The reviews of his tenure ranged from raves to complaints, demonstrating the fickleness of large city administration.

City schools also faced a discrepant minority representation issue. Minority students represented about seventy percent of enrollment in city schools, yet only twenty-six percent of New York City teachers were minority. This issue does not go ignored in New York. As demographic projections indicated steady increases in the minority population, the gap was expected to widen between student and teacher minority representation.

And for all of the urban problems faced by both Mayor Dinkins and Chancellor Fernandez, money was not forthcoming for solutions. At all three levels of government (city, state, and federal), budget deficits were constraining social solutions. New York State's governor Mario Cuomo faced a 1990 shortfall of greater than \$1 billion (Lacayo 1990), directly impacting state aid to New York City. Likewise, both city and state were affected by the budget cutbacks from Washington.

At all levels of government, 1990 was a time of prioritization. President George Bush was kept busy attending to the crumbling of an old world order with the unification of Germany and the breaking down of the Berlin Wall. He was also dealing with a brewing war with Iraq after their takeover of Kuwait. His reputation as "Education President" rested on the list of national priorities that had been carved out by the nation's governors. School readiness, dropout prevention, subject matter competency, math and science achievement, adult literacy, and drug prevention were the proclaimed national education priorities. They were priorities which had particular significance for urban education. For Bank Street, the national (translated downward from state to city) priorities offered opportunities to work for solutions.

The one issue that was able to garner significant support at all levels of government was the first national priority: "By the year 2000, all children in America will start school ready to learn." As Project Head Start celebrated its 25th anniversary, its report, "Head Start: The Nation's Price, A Nation's Challenge" took on special importance. It called for full funding to serve all eligible children and urged full-day services to serve more children at earlier ages. It also spoke out for proactive inter-agency involvement. Amid budget deficits, Congress has been boosting Head Start support. This support was particularly significant for Bank Street as it represented a symbolic national stamp of approval on Bank Street's mission . . . service to children.

Mission

Symbolic Mission

On a symbolic level, Bank Street's mission couldn't be clearer. It is reflected in the preponderance of children's books in the bookstore, children's artwork hanging on the walls around the atrium, children's murals on the stairwell, children in the elevator, children working in the library, and children's voices singing to a guitar before summer graduation--a graduation ceremoniously decorated with balloons. The 1990 glossy public relations brochure describing Bank Street (*Teaching Reaching Searching Solving*) opens with the obligatory picture of the College's president, but this president is surrounded by children. Bank Street boldly proclaims its allegiance to children.

It also tenaciously clings to its history. The lobby bulletin board posts pictures of earlier Bank Street days, with the historical organizational timeline set out as a reminder that the Bank Street of today is linked directly to the Bank Street of yesterday. A sculpture of Lucy Mitchell presides in the atrium area. And on the facing page to the president's picture in the glossy brochure, Lucy Mitchell's picture appears next to the words tracing Bank Street's roots.

Stated Mission

The 1984-86 *College Catalog* states the College's mission as "improving the quality of life for children and families." Even before the mission was stated, the historical premise of that mission was cited, ". . . the Bureau set out to study children, to find

out what kind of environment was best suited to their growth and development, to create that environment, and to train adults in ways to create and maintain it." History and mission are inseparably linked.

That linkage is consistent, from catalogs to annual reports to publicity brochures. The linkage is even carried through an oral statement of mission. When asked about the College's mission during a telephone interview (April 12, 1991), the Vice President for Academic Affairs noted, "Our mission is what it has always been: to improve education for children. We also believe that education has an important role to play in the betterment of society and that the learner should be at the center of the learning experience." The word "progressive" may no longer be used, but the rhetoric is the same in 1990 as it was in 1916.

Belief and Loyalty

A decade ago, Bank Street's President Richard Ruopp issued a white paper entitled "The Mission of Bank Street College in the 1980's and Organizational Strategies for Its Achievement." In an almost clinical fashion, the mission was outlined in terms of education, research, and outreach. The paper was perfect for use in the institutional self-evaluation of 1982. However, it didn't reflect the passion that was generated by Bank Street staff members during the hearing held in response to the president's white paper (Written Hearing Statement, 1980).

One by one, staff members zealously confirmed Bank Street's mission, while carving personalized niches into the mission:

The Mission statement mentioned the categories of the people we will train and the settings they work in, but it does not delineate the client population . . . the population whom we are preparing many of our students to work with is made up of low income minority people.

Susan Ginsberg
Written Hearing Statements 1980

We believe that a mission statement for Bank Street College of Education for the 80's should include a very specific community groups of New York City which are engaged in supporting families in the day to day struggles of urban living.

Jones, Julty et al.
Written Hearing Statements 1980

Building a strengthened institutional role in public policy is a potential next step. Bank Street has generated knowledge to enlighten social policies for the benefit of children; . . . It can do more. There is no doubt that the College has the potential for a continuing, and even more vigorous, contribution to public policy.

Dorothy Bloomfield
Written Hearing Statements 1980

The written hearing statements fleshed out the sanitized mission statement of the self-evaluation and created a mandate for broad strategies of social intervention on behalf of children; all based on the progressive ideological legacy of the past. Amid the variegated suggestions for mission supplementation was a coherence of belief--a consistent reaffirmation of the ideas of Lucy Sprague Mitchell.

Why did so many individual staff members presenting so many individual mission reactions respond in such unisoned voice? The

Bank Street acculturation mechanisms must be highly powerful. They are at least powerful enough for students to notice.

One student told me if I wanted to learn about Bank Street, I should ride the elevator. "You'll hear the way 'they' speak . . . they use a special vocabulary . . . it's very cultish and very strong. This place is very touchy-feely."

The small size of Bank Street helps to keep the culture pure. One particular student would only agree to be interviewed if not named. "It's too small here; they'll know who I am because I'm so outspoken and I don't always agree with things around here."

As the staff grows, acculturation is becoming a more conscious process. After criticism by the Middle States Accreditation Report of a faculty that is too inbred, Bank Street has made an effort to diversify its staff. New faculty members in the graduate school get staff development and are given a "buddy advisor" to help them learn how to properly advise the students. In turn, this system helps new faculty members assimilate into the Bank Street family.

Implemented Mission

When I asked President Joseph Shenker (March 26, 1989) what his vision was for Bank Street, he responded without missing a beat, "To reach out to the public schools." There was no hesitation on his part; just a clear goal statement. He then handed me a packet entitled, "The Urban Initiative 1989" which was a plan for a series of programs to help the New York City schools with everything from early childhood education to school leadership. Having seen too many promise-everything grant proposals, I wrote the packet off as

public-relations. In the intervening year, I have come to view the packet more seriously as Bank Street's mission-in-action.

The Urban Initiative is no longer simply a plan. It is now implemented reality (or rather implemented realities: i.e., urban initiatives). Bank Street is providing intensive staff development to teacher-leaders (with an emphasis on minorities and women) who are being groomed for principal positions. It is also running a Professional Development Center to act as a clearinghouse connecting services for schools who have elected school-based management and shared decision-making. Project Healthy Choices is a drug education program for early primary grades and the Middle Schools Project provides a consultation service to middle schools.

The various projects under the Urban Initiative umbrella take Bank Street's mission throughout New York City, but as Joan Cenedella (Vice President for Academic Affairs) reminded me during an April 12, 1991 telephone interview, "Our Graduate School remains central to our purpose." It is easy to lose sight of that in the waves of publicity surrounding the packaged, portable programs.

And even internal to the organization, it is easy to lose sight of the centrality of the Graduate School. The Center for Children and Technology has extended Bank Street's mission into the realm of the twenty-first century. When President Ruopp set up the Center a decade ago, there was internal debate about whether it fit with the College's mission, ". . . newer initiatives like the Center for Children and Technology are seen by many as 'on the margin' of the College's work." (*Institutional Self-Evaluation* 1982, 10). A decade later, the Center embodies a modern Bank Street.

The two oldest functions of Bank Street's mission are the School for Children and the Graduate School. A recurring problematic theme for Bank Street seems to be how to integrate the children's school with the graduate school. The School for Children is a completely independent school; it is not under the purview of the Graduate School. This may work structurally, but it does not reflect in practice that stated notion of blending theory and practice.

Leadership

On May 1, 1989, Dr. Joseph Shenker was inaugurated as fifth president of Bank Street College. With more than one thousand people in attendance, including Mayor Edward Koch, New York City Schools Chancellor Richard Green, Board of Education President Robert F. Wagner, Jr., and the New York State Commissioner of Education Thomas Sobol, Dr. Shenker proclaimed, "Today, on the occasion of my inauguration as fifth president of this model institution, I pledge my personal commitment to the Bank Street philosophy." (Inauguration Address 1989). There was no generic commitment to education; rather, Dr. Shenker chose to cut right to the core of Bank Street: its philosophy. He certainly led off on the right foot.

What type of a leader had Bank Street been looking for?

"Candidates should present strong academic credentials, suitable administrative experience, an outstanding record of success in fundraising, and a commitment to maintaining the College's leadership in the field of education." (*The Chronicle of Higher Education* November 4, 1987). They weren't asking philosophy. They were asking for

credibility--enough credibility to significantly impact the organization's fund-raising ability.

Of course the search committee most definitely was also looking at philosophy. It is no wonder that they found Dr. Shenker a likely candidate. He openly expressed a commitment to public education, he was perceived as being very well-connected throughout the city of New York, and there was strong evidence of his support of innovative programs (Interview with Susan Ginsberg, March 27, 1989).

With a doctorate in higher education administration from Teachers College and seventeen years experience as president of LaGuardia Community College, Dr. Shenker was a professional, seasoned higher education administrator. And the experience he would bring with him from LaGuardia would serve him well. He had forged liaisons with both the business community and the New York City Board of Education to create several innovative programs at the community college--a college/school partnership for high-risk students, a job training program for homeless men and women, and a program for deaf adults. If that same type of social action commitment could be applied to children's issues, Bank Street might have a powerful means to propel itself into the next decade.

Dr. Shenker's advisory positions with a number of local and national organizations was also a factor in his favor. He served as Senior Advisor to the New York City Board of Education and as Vice President of the Board of the National Commission for Cooperative Education (*Bank Street News* Summer, 1988). Of course, "The corporate contacts he's made and nurtured at LaGuardia will likely

be useful at Bank Street." (Bayless 1988, 29). Furthermore, he was known for his "low key, team building style." What more could Bank Street want?

But there was the inevitable shifting of sand as the new administration settled into place. Quickly, three out of five of the top people resigned. Shenker had the opportunity to put some of his own mechanisms into place. Along with his executive assistant, he brought with him an external relations/development expert from LaGuardia who had experience and contacts with the Board of Education. And immediately, the machinery for a strong public relations campaign was geared up.

The publications were spiffed up ["Bank Street's publications program won a Gold Medal for newsletter publishing improvement for *Street Scenes* in the national competition sponsored by The Council for Advancement and Support of Education (CASE) and a Silver Medal for its content and design," (*Street Scenes*, Spring 1990)], and the fund-raising pump was primed ("Planning Ahead Makes Philanthropy Easy" headlined the full page article on endowment in the second issue of the new Bank Street newsletter called *Street Scenes*).

But lest anyone forget his personal commitment to Bank Street's mission, Shenker instituted a "President's Medal" to be awarded periodically "to recognize an individual whose contributions to the well-being of children reflect the essence of Bank Street's guiding philosophy and mission (*Street Scenes*, Winter 1989)." The first Bank Street College President's Medal was awarded to the president of the United Federation of Teachers, Sandra Feldman. She was

honored by Shenker for being "an untiring advocate for teachers, a ferocious fan of children, and one of this city's most effective educational leaders." (*Street Scenes*, Winter 1989).

With the conferring of that initial medal, President Shenker made a strong symbolic statement which tied his leadership to the mission of Bank Street--to serve teachers, children, and the city of New York.

External Relations

Public Image

Whenever I spoke with people at Bank Street during my summer of 1989 visits, I always asked if the new president had made any impact on Bank Street. A consistent answer was, "Yes, in public relations." From a champagne and shrimp reception to a glossy promotional brochure, Bank Street was out to be noticed. Even the new double-sized Bank Street news brochure *Street Scenes* was an eye-catcher.

The creation of Bank Street's image was no accident; it was planned and deliberate. Notes from the October, 1988 cabinet agenda indicate,

As part of the effort to improve Bank Street's public face, internal guidelines will be established concerning the design and dissemination of printed materials. Renee Creange, Director of the Office of Public Affairs, will be preparing these guidelines for Cabinet review. In the interim, it was suggested that all publications, especially those intended for audiences outside

Bank Street, be reviewed by Renee while they are still in the development phase.

Report from the Cabinet
October 1988

Bank Street was also out to make the news. Press clippings were systematically compiled and reproduced for distribution in booklet format. News made by Bank Street staff or events was posted on the bulletin board in the lobby and the news itself became news. The media blitzes seemed to say, "We are a problem-solving organization . . . we have history, expertise, and value-structure which provides educational innovation and model solutions to urban problems . . . we know the way . . . the Bank Street way."

There was an increased emphasis on public appearance. A sample of contacts between October 21, and November 27, 1988 indicates a range of external publicity contacts: lunch between President Shenker and Joe Berger of *The New York Times*; a meeting with *The New York Times* editorial and education staff; a conversation for an article for *Woman's Day*; an NPR feature on *Sesame Street's* 20th Anniversary featuring interviews with key Bank Street staff; a conversation with the new higher education reporter at *The New York Newsday*; President Shenker appearing on a live, two-hour television special on public schools; and a Bank Street staff member discussing children's toys on a segment of the "USA Today" show broadcast ("Bank Street in the News," 10/1/88 - 11/30/88). The publicity seemed continuous and the "news about the news" promoted organizational awareness of the proactive nature of those appearances.

In addition to simply making the name 'Bank Street' known, the publicity served to create an aura of expertise about a wide range of issues--early childhood education, child care, drop-out prevention, technology in education, and even elderly care. External relations were intimately tied to the many funded projects of Bank Street. Each project provided public relations materials, and generated a support base for further projects: "BC tutoring programs expand outreach to community students," "Drug Education to Reach the Smallest Tot with New Bank Street College Curriculum" or "But Computers Can Restructure Urban Teaching (Headlines from "Bank Street in the News," 10/1/88-11/30/90).

Political Connections

With more than a generation of experience with social action projects, both Bank Street's reputation and connections throughout the city and state of New York were well established. And bringing a new president in from LaGuardia Community College who is well connected in the public sector was considered a way to tighten the loops between Bank Street, city, and state. Certainly Shenker's appointment by Governor Cuomo to chair the Liberty Scholarship Committee evidences this point. The committee served to develop a "Liberty Scholarship Program" which was created by the State of New York to help high school students attend college. Members on the committee included Eugene Lang, president of REFAC Technology Corporation and chairman of the "Have A Dream" Foundation; Donald Stewart, president of the College Board; et al. (*Street Scenes*, Summer 1989, 3). Given that the program was considered the

"political baby of Governor Cuomo." (Berke, 1990), Shenker's appointment was an important connection for Bank Street.

New York State's Liberty Partnerships Program provided a \$482,526 grant from the New York State Department of Education for Bank Street College to collaborate with a consortium of institutions (e.g., Barnard College, N.Y.C.'s Community School District 3, the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University et al.) for the establishment of a Liberty Center for Educational Excellence to provide at-risk students with a broad range of educational and social services to prevent them from dropping out of school. This is only one of many such "socially responsible" externally funded projects.

Funding Needs

Publicity and projects have lives of their own, but they serve a bottom-line function for the College: to raise money. For Bank Street, this is particularly pertinent because half of its \$20 million budget must be raised through external sources. With such a high percentage of external funding needed, both grants and individual gifts are critical.

The moral dilemma generated by this is whether Bank Street should go after any and all funding, or stick to projects which have direct application to the Bank Street mission. Talks with both the Vice President of Academic Affairs and Dean of External Affairs (Telephone Interviews April 12, 1991) corroborate the balance that must be kept as Bank Street walks the funding tightrope. The balance appears to be struck by merging Bank Street's expertise and

mission with funding availability. For example, for the past few years funding for drug education programs has been available. A natural adaptation for Bank Street was to develop an early childhood curriculum for drug awareness. "Drug Prevention" may not be Bank Street's mission, but social action-based childhood education is.

Project Healthy Choices was born as a result of this marriage between funding availability and adapted mission. And in typical Bank Street style, it is codified into a "model" which is hoping to "go national." As the Vice President of Academic Affairs noted (April 12, 1991), "We are always thinking, if we can do this in New York City, it is usable elsewhere?"

Policy Making

The notion of taking Bank Street programs to the national level seems directly related to Bank Street's desire to effect changes in public policy. The word "policy" appears in Bank Street literature more than it has in the past. From courses in the graduate program such as "Policy Internship" or "Policy Issues in the Design of Child Care Services" to lobbying efforts with such organizations as "Parent Action," (Ogintz 1988), Bank Street is trying to make inroads to effect change of national consequence.

The individual grant projects are a mechanism to demonstrate the value of a particular "socially responsible" model and why public policy ought to be changed. The projects are valuable for generating both publicity and funding and, presumably, positively affecting public policy. A headline in the Winter 1989 *Street Scenes* (p. 2) reads, "College Report on Homeless Children Sparks New Policy."

The Bank Street report "Home is Where the Heart Is: The Crisis of Homeless Children and Families in New York City" addressing the issues facing the 1,000 homeless children in New York is credited with prompting the Human Resources Administration (HRA) to form a multi-agency cabinet that will coordinate the cadre of services offered to New York homeless families.

However, all of the intendent energy (and press) which gets put into and pulled out of the umbrella of externally funded projects overshadows the day-to-day internal way that Bank Street meets its mission--its graduate school and its children's programs. The external pulls on the organization of Bank Street are extremely strong. But the internal programs are considered (as per the Vice President of Academic Affairs in a telephone interview April 12, 1991) to be the core of Bank Street.

Funding Generation

In order to keep Bank Street's internal mechanism operational, more than grant funding is needed to supplement tuition income. Individual giving is a vitally important source of income. As college president, Dr. Shenker is well aware of his role as fund-raiser. However, when he was at LaGuardia Community College, fund-raising was considered getting a line item added to a government budget; at Bank Street, fund-raising involves direct individual solicitation.

Given Bank Street's small two and a half million dollar endowment, it is no wonder fund-awareness education was an early emphasis in *Street Scenes*. "Endowment: Just What Is It and Why Do

"We Need It?" and "Where There's a Will" are typical individual donor development blurbs.

When asked if there were any tangible results to the public relations and development efforts of the new administration, the Dean of External Affairs (Telephone Interview, April 12, 1991) answered with a resounding, "Absolutely!" and quickly rattled off significant increases over a three year period in all fund-raising categories: annual giving up from \$275,000 to \$1.2 million; corporate and foundation gifts up from \$3-4 million to \$6 million; government funding up from \$1.5 million to \$3 million. And Bank Street has just embarked on a heady two-year thirteen million dollar endowment/capital campaign, neatly coinciding with its seventy-fifth anniversary.

Community Ties

External relations and money may be intimate partners, but external relations also serve to promote community interests. President Shenker's keynote address to one thousand staff members of Community School District III (the district in which Bank Street is located) on September 8, 1988 acknowledged Bank Street's commitment to the New York community:

As your newest neighbor, I want you to know that I do not take the responsibility of being a good neighbor lightly. I hope that we will get to know each other better this year. To be sure of that, I invite all of you to come to Bank Street. Our doors will always be open to the people of District III . . . The initiatives I've announced today are only the beginning of what I hope will be a beautiful friendship between Bank Street and

District III . . . And always remember that you have friends who care and can help at Bank Street.

Community School District III
Keynote Address by
President Shenker
Street Scenes Winter 1989

On a level broader than the immediate local community, President Shenker served as chair of the Steering Committee for the University/Schools Collaborative which was a project begun by the New York City Board of Education to improve and expand existing relationships between the public school system and the higher education community. President Shenker was taking proactive steps to implement his vision of a strong outreach to the public schools.

The Bank Street external network is expanded through the alumni circle. A Bank Street alumni served as president of the New York State Association for the Education of Young Children and was subsequently appointed to Governor Cuomo's Advisory Committee on Childcare. Another alumna was appointed director of the Early Childhood Education Unit of the Board of Education, which means she is responsible for all the public early childhood programs operated in the City (*Street Scenes*, Spring 1990, 5). Bank Street's influence appears to be a force to be reckoned with, at least in New York City.

Research Efforts

Bank Street's research projects are interlocked with their funded programs. Thus, funding availability has a great deal to do with Bank Street's research production. And unlike standard higher education practice, instructors at Bank Street will not perish for

not publishing. The research that is generated is left to a Research Division. The question that Bank Street must grapple with is how to fund the research that Bank Street is best able (or wants) to do; how to set Bank Street's research agenda and not a granting agency's agenda.

The research agenda for Bank Street is intimately linked with school reform. If it can be demonstrated that the Bank Street approach is successful in a particular setting, presumably effective change will be made to that setting. "Reform," i.e., change to Bank Street's methods, will evolve from "Experiment," i.e., the trial or use of the Bank Street Approach.

An example of this use of research for school reform can be seen in the 1989-90 Bank Street study of five New York public schools. Five exemplary early childhood programs were chosen with the criteria for program selection being that the entire school was child-centered and tried to meet the needs of the students, families, and community. Bank Street research staff then observed the programs, conducted interviews, and analyzed the five programs. The results were to be translated into a practical guide for school administrators.

One outcome of the study was an article "Schools that Work for Young Children (Mitchell 1990, 25)" in *The American School Board Journal*. The article highlighted the results of the Bank Street study: that effective early childhood programs have a sense of purpose; commit themselves to teamwork and shared-decision making; and put a premium on staff development; and within those parameters, they also follow early childhood education guidelines of

the National Association for the Education of Young Children (children learn best by doing; early education is developmentally appropriate; early education is multicultural and community-based; early childhood education is a teacher-dependent enterprise; and early childhood programs integrate the curriculum with the physical and social realms of the child).

The effect was to "prove" that child-centered (a` la Dewey, Piaget et al.) learning works. Related to the study is the book *Early Childhood Programs and the Public Schools: Between Promise and Practice*. Written by a Bank Street Research Policy Analyst Anne Mitchell along with Michelle Seligson, and Fern Marx (1989), the book provides a case study analysis of public school preschool programs and argues for developmentally appropriate curriculum. What Bank Street's effective schools study and Mitchell's book both do is hammer an argument for policy changes. The study report in *The American School Board Journal* concludes with a direct admonition to school board leaders:

Your board can create the conditions under which that process can unfold. One of the first--and most important--steps is to develop a clearly stated policy officially affirming the district's commitment to the best practice of early childhood education in every school.

Mitchell 1990, 25

Bank Street is very up-front about its research aims: ". . . the Division of Research, Demonstration and Policy seeks to improve developmental opportunities for children and adolescents and to enhance family functioning in the face of real-world stresses." (*College Catalog* 1989-91, 56). The research projects cluster in the

three areas of early childhood, school improvement, and youth at risk. Studies include an examination of the impact of 'schools within schools,' and a study of the relationship between preschool development, family functioning, and housing status in New York City. Study results are largely disseminated in terms of "reports" and are intended for use by policy-makers rather than the scholarly academic community.

Also under the aegis of the Research Division is the Center for Children and Technology. When the Center opened in 1980, there were questions within Bank Street as to whether computer technology met with the mission of Bank Street (*Institutional Self-Evaluation* 1982, 10). What Bank Street managed to effectively accomplish by moving into the realm of technology was an ability to tap into a new source of funding as the social funding of the previous decades dried up. By blending the technology center with the concept of "children," there was a perfect mission rationale-base.

Governing Structure

Structural Components

Bank Street's structure appears deceptively simple. There are four central programs of the College: research, continuing education, children's programs, and a graduate school of education. Each of those programs is headed by a dean. The four program deans, along with the College president, vice president for academic affairs, vice president for finance and administration, and the dean

of external affairs comprise the College Cabinet which is the decision-making body of the organization.

Embedded within that simple structure is the intricate network of externally funded projects. Additionally, staff turnover is a complicating issue. When the dean of children's programs moved to the position of vice president for academic affairs, the children's slot was filled with an interim dean during the search. At the same time, the dean of research's slot was vacant leaving those responsibilities to the vice president for academic affairs. Additionally, the graduate school was headed by a new-dean. All of which adds to Cabinet instability and a dilution of shared organizational memory.

Changes in Structure

The bureaucratic nature of the organization had increased significantly by 1990. In the 1989-91 *College Catalog*, there are sixteen members alone in Finance and Administration compared with eight listed in 1969-70. External Affairs has a staff of nine listed, which is up from the six in 1969-70. And within programs, there is greater subdivision of responsibilities. The Graduate School of Education has a director of student services, a financial aid officer, and associate director of admissions, and an associate registrar.

Along with increased numbers of job descriptions, there is a pointed change in the language of the titles. In 1970, there was a Dean of the Faculties. However, other administrative titles were listed as either vice president or director; division heads were either chairmen or directors. In 1990, divisions had become

"programs" and there was a dean for each program. Additionally, the administrative titles had become more academic, with a dean of external affairs and a vice president for academic affairs. However, the faculty still has no academic rank system nor tenure procedure. All faculty are "instructors" and "advisors;" however, the terms are strictly descriptive and are not meant to be used as they are in most other colleges. That tradition is directly linked to the notion of cooperation and the days of Lucy Mitchell.

Tradition may be well and good, but as new faculty are hired from the "outside," there is pressure for conformity to other norms of higher education. How can Bank Street compete bringing in faculty if there is no academic ranking? And with research relegated to a research program, what happens to faculty who want to pursue scholarly endeavors? These are issues facing the new dean of the graduate school (Telephone interview with the Vice President of Academic Affairs April 18, 1991).

Structural Tradition

Although the organization has a technical bureaucratic structure, there is still a strong ethos at Bank Street of shared decision-making. As the vice president of academic affairs pointed out to me, "There's just something about it here . . . the process is important. There is strong collegial decision-making; although the values are alive more in the graduate school than anywhere else." (Telephone interview with Joan Cenedella, April 12, 1991).

That is not surprising given the continued in-bred nature of the graduate school faculty. Twenty-nine out of the fifty graduate

school faculty listed in the 1989-91 catalog are graduates of Bank Street. Nineteen of the other twenty-one faculty are from other New York City colleges. Project staff members are a more diverse group. Of the twenty-five research staff listed in the catalog, only three had degrees from Bank Street, nine were from other colleges in New York City, and a full thirteen were from a more national selection of colleges (with a good representation from the Ivy League).

Structural Complications

Although the Cabinet is structured to provide an intra-organizational forum, each program is run in an autonomous fashion having decision-making power and an independent budget. That creates a consistent tension between the organizational notion of group thinking and the reality of "separate groups" within the organization.

The research program is a soft money program and thus contends with "a million budgets; every project has its own budget (Telephone Interview with the Acting Dean of the Research Program, April 18, 1991)." The program suffers an organization management problem of trying to run a soft money division through lean times. The research staff vacillates in numbers, depending on the number and strength of projects.

There is also a variety of types of research that is done-- applied, basic, and product/prototype development, further splitting the program. There is great energy that must by necessity, get channeled into that program. And of course, new grants must still

be written. Without a research program dean, the division is reassessing its structure and struggling to define what it should be about.

The present structure divides the program into two camps--the Center for Children and Technology and the Center for Families and Children. Projects for the Families and Children camp have dwindled and the reassessment process is attempting to build it up again. The Center for Children and Technology (CCT) has also had its share of structural difficulties. When the Department of Education awarded the Center for Technology in Education to Bank Street in 1988, there were heavy Cabinet discussions about the organizational designs for fitting the new Center into the already operational CCT. The pros and cons of a Center within a Center approach were discussed (Report from the Cabinet, October 1988). Thus, even intra-programmatic structure faces complex issues.

The Continuing Education Program not only provides outreach in the form of special projects such as "Project Health Choices" (an early primary drug education program), but additionally offers alternative format (e.g., weekend and summer) courses for professionals working in education or human services through the New Perspectives program. Again, although the Continuing Education mission remains consonant with the College's mission, there is a separate budget and a different target audience than other College programs. And the New Perspectives director pointed out to me during an interview held March 27, 1989, "There is an undercurrent from the graduate school that says, 'You are stealing

bodies from us." That tension of being "one organization" is pulled taut with programs that have similar objectives.

School for Children

"The School for Children, the largest of Bank Street's Children's Programs, is a demonstration school for Bank Street College of Education and a working model of the College's philosophy and approach to teaching and learning (*College Catalog* 1989-91)." It may be all that, but it is also an independent, expensive private school in New York City. The tuition schedule listed for the 1988-89 school year was \$5,550 for the half-day three-year-old program up to \$7,150 for the thirteen-year-old program. With such a tuition schedule, the population of the school is skewed to an upper-middle-class clientele. There is scholarship aid available (20% of the budget is set aside for scholarships) and there is a stated commitment to having a diverse student population. However, it appears to be a "structured" diversity rather than diversity of natural selection.

Indeed it is a school prepared for observers. The day I observed, I was with a group of people from New Jersey, as well as a monitor from the New York State Bureau of Child Development and Parent Education. There was a formal system of observational appointment, guided tour, and assigned room for observing. A child-centered, free-choice environment was certainly evidenced, as was the core social studies curriculum of an interdisciplinary nature. Children were sprawled in the corridor and artwork and projects were scattered everywhere. The teacher I observed noted to her

class, "Those of you who want to sing a song, we'll sing a song. Those of you who want to get a book, get a book." And indeed some children sang, some went off and read a book.

One of the graduate students I interviewed was an intern in the School for Children. She said it was very stressful working at Bank Street because you were in a fishbowl always on display. She felt a lack of privacy as there was always an audience, which felt intrusive. The student also felt the expectations were very high, a "This is your life" attitude. She was most impressed with the head teacher she worked under who was Bank Street trained. The student felt that teacher "personified Bank Street" in being able to deliver an interactive child-centered program.

Her experience was far different from another student who complained that there was little opportunity to observe in the lab school (and it really wasn't a "lab school" at all) and that the field experience in a classroom outside of Bank Street was poorly supervised and did not integrate well with the graduate school classes. As in most other teacher education programs across the country, there was a range of opinion about what field experiences should be like.

Graduate School of Education

For Bank Street's Graduate School of Education, field placement is considered an important program component. As witnessed by two students above, there are differing perceptions of the success of Bank Street's placement/supervisory capacity. It almost seems as if you have to buy-in to the Bank Street Approach in order to be

happy with the experiences you will have. Indeed, the graduate school seems to represent the "old school" more than any other division. There are more Bank Street trained staff there, and the curriculum, child-centered talk, and advisement process all work toward a Lucy Mitchell model.

The admissions process is designed to be self-selective; Bank Street attempts to attract students who want to be there. The application consists of an autobiography, reference letters, transcripts, individual program essay questions and a personal interview. There is no test requirement.

Application questions are asked such as, "In what ways do you consider yourself a learning person?" "Why do you want to teach?" The reference form indicates,

Programs at Bank Street involve an ongoing counseling process (advisement) which places as much emphasis on the development of the student's individual, personal, and professional potential as it does on the acquisition of specific techniques.

Of particular interest to us are such factors as: general ability, emotional stability, outstanding strengths, relationships with both children and adults, and areas for further development.

Application for Admission Form
Graduate School of Education
1989

An interview with a representative of the Admissions Office revealed that a key admissions criteria was the student's ability to secure funding. For the 1989-90 academic year, tuition was listed as \$9,450 (not including books, fees, and living expenses). Like the

Children's School, the tuition is prohibitive for many segments of the population. Bank Street does have a scholarship program, but as one student said, "Bank Street doesn't attract minority teachers, it appeals to white, upper middle-class teachers."

Bank Street has taken some proactive steps to change that. In January of 1990 Bank Street issued a press release announcing it had obtained more than half a million dollars from private and public funding sources to establish a minority scholarship plan specifically designed to increase the number of incoming minority graduate students by ten percent during the next two years. In 1988, Bank Street had a twenty percent minority enrollment rate (according to the press release, one of the highest in the country for graduate school of education); the initiative would raise the rate to thirty percent. This of course dovetailed with the need for minority teachers in New York City where minorities represent about seventy percent of the student population against twenty-six percent of the teaching population. Bank Street was proud of its ability to support the needs of the New York City public school system.

Student Population

The admissions office personnel said that essays and references are taken very seriously. However, I was told by several people on various occasions, "If you're alive and breathing you can get in here." It was told by other people, "Yes, we're selective . . . self-selective."

What Bank Street is looking for is the type of student I interviewed who said to me, "I looked at Teachers College and at Bank Street. I couldn't get a feel for TC, it felt distant; too

imposing. Bank Street was kids!, singing, and artwork. I filled out a long application with many essays and had an interview. I don't know how much meaning it has, but I took it so seriously because Bank Street is so important. I wanted to come. It was a wonderful experience (Student Interview, July 25, 1989)." This student was committed before she ever got to Bank Street.

Another student was not nearly so committed. He had similarly looked at Teachers College and found it "midwest snooty" so opted for Bank Street's "small, accessible, and egalitarian" environment. His complaint was that Bank Street students were all believers and didn't seem to question anything. He found his courses overcrowded and felt people spent alot of time "sharing their own experiences" and then standing around after class saying "Isn't the class wonderful?"

Program Offerings

Since 1970, the number of programs in the graduate school has increased and the scope of the programs has broadened. The 1982 *Institutional Self-Evaluation* noted that the new programs in special education, bilingual education, museum education, counseling, infant and parent development and educational leadership came about because of lack of jobs in teaching and the emergence of new roles for those who wish to work with children. "The College has attempted to respond creatively and innovatively to needs and constraints that have arisen over the past ten years as the result of forces both internal and external to the institution." (p. 20).

One such force is that of state certification requirements. The course listings for each program are indicative of a college needing to provide very specific courses to meet very specific requirements. But along with "standard ed-school-type courses" such as "Diagnosis and Teaching Methodology for Children and Youth with Learning and Reading Difficulties" are "Bank-Street-type" courses such as "Social Studies as the Core of the Integrated Curriculum for Children with Special Needs."

As the College adapts and responds to its environment, it appears to work to keep its mission at the heart of its work.

Chapter Summary

Mission

The Bank Street of 1990 is an organization deeply committed to its mission of serving children in the broad social sense and using that mission to respond to the needs of its environment, i.e., New York City. But the response mechanisms of Bank Street do not simply operate in one direction. Bank Street also thrown the switch in the other direction and uses the needs of its environment (e.g., drug education, or drop-out prevention) to enhance its mission, and, more important, generate the funds necessary to keep the organization running at a high level of production.

Fortunately for Bank Street, its mission is consonant with its environment. It seems particularly so for 1990. The first national priority was early childhood education; New York State's Governor Cuomo had called for the, "Decade of the Child;" and New York City's

Mayor Dinkins had dedicated his administration to the children of New York. What more could Bank Street want?

Bank Street's urban setting was perfect for providing social-betterment mission implementation opportunities. The plethora of city problems provided needs to which Bank Street was both attuned and ready to respond. City and state funding, though tenuous, was available for target programs; target programs which Bank Street happened to have the historical expertise and commitment to develop.

The mission to serve children was shaped to the needs of the urban child and refined so that it was applicable at the policy level of implementation. Actual organizational implementation of mission was both internal, through the School for Children and the Graduate School of Education; and external through the myriad of funded projects--most specifically under the umbrella of urban initiatives. But the local application of mission seems always to have been with an eye toward public policies and how they can be changed.

Leadership

The new president was culled from the public sector. He came to Bank Street complete with a commitment to public education as well as a history of putting innovative programs into practice at LaGuardia Community College. His degree and experience in higher education administration provided a pragmatic organizational backdrop for needed funding generation. His connections throughout

New York have helped to garner project support; particularly with the New York public schools.

President Shenker's public reaffirmation of Bank Street's philosophy and mission helped to provide an internal consistency to the organization. And his personal vision for a strong outreach program to the New York City school system is in synch with that reaffirmed mission.

But more than simple rhetoric, the Bank Street leadership of 1990 has taken strong, proactive steps to position Bank Street to perform its mission. Most specifically, those steps have been in the form of major funding applications and negotiations.

External Relations

With fifty percent of its budget dependent upon external income, Bank Street is particularly conscious of developing new funding sources and cultivating the ones already in existence. To help accomplish that job in 1990, the public image of Bank Street seems to have been professionally polished. Through professional public relations/development personnel and the strategic placement of that department at the Cabinet level of organizational operations, a symbolic statement was made as to the importance of Bank Street's public face.

The image presented to the public was formalized and systematized, much as the Bank Street Approach had been formalized back in 1950. New brochures were created, the level of publicity was raised, and the ways Bank Street implements its mission were demonstrated publicly. Even the bookstore was moved

to the corner of 112th Street and Broadway, significantly increasing Bank Street's street visibility.

Street visibility is only representative of the visibility it has garnered throughout the city. The network of connections that Bank Street now has among the political and educational community have enabled it to be successful in tapping into a myriad of funding sources.

Research

Research is linked to the reform of the public schools. Whether it's by demonstrating effective programs that use a Bank Street Approach or by developing prototypical materials that demonstrate modalities of Bank Street thinking, the rationale behind the research is to show that Bank Street knows the "right" way.

Even the research in the area of technology is related to teacher training and how technology should be used in the schools. In-service is a major thrust of the Center for Children and Technology. Model development is just as key for research at Bank Street as it is for mission implementation. The bottom line for research (as for mission implementation) appears to again be policy: can the research be used to change public policy?

Structure

The structure of Bank Street in 1990 is in a state of change reflective of not only the normal evolutionary changes brought on by time, but the more dramatic changes brought on by a new administration. Teaching and research is structurally, by tradition,

kept separate. That is an interesting structural aberration given the consistent rhetoric about blending research and teaching and how teachers need to respond ("research") to the individual learner.

The structure of Bank Street promotes a functionality mentality. The research function is here, the teaching function is there, and the outreach function is out there. The Bank Street culture helps to nurture a philosophically coherent organization, but the structure appears shaky for allowing the philosophy to get translated in an integrated fashion.

Concluding Remarks

Bank Street seems to know what it is about and seems proactively able to do the things it is about: the education of children and the improving the social milieu around them. However, Bank Street's funding is consistently perilous. The energy evidenced in 1990 that must go into funding generation appears to significantly impact organizational life at Bank Street.

The catch-22 of Bank Street's life seems to be that it needs external funding to survive and be able to perform its mission, but the treadmill of garnering those funds and the tenuous nature of them makes the mission difficult to perform coherently. Even an organization as united in belief and purpose as Bank Street has to struggle daily to keep that belief consistently operational.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Study Rationale

The past decade has witnessed an almost unprecedented bombardment of criticism against the American system of education. The barrage of complaints against teacher education programs has been particularly strong. Interestingly, although the calls for the reform of teacher education are strong, they are variations on the theme presently in existence: teacher education embedded within or connected directly to the university.

One consistency throughout the reform agenda is that schools of education need to have a clear focus and mission to support teacher education. The idea that schools of education get their focus blurred by various campus constituencies and constraints is well cited. The reform agenda gets particularly muddled as it attempts to reconcile the need for a clear teacher education mission in an environment that does not support mission clarity.

I was intrigued by the juxtaposition of Clifford and Guthrie's (1988) contention that university affiliation is necessary to the very survival of teacher education and B.O. Smith's (1980) argument that in order to professionalize teaching, teacher training needs to be independent of the university. Independence would offer a school

of education the opportunity for clear vision toward specific teacher education mission implementation.

I entered this study to test Smith's contention that freedom from the constraining culture of the university would allow for mission specificity, particularly the mission of teacher education. A case study of a free-standing model of teacher education would offer a complementary view of schools of education that hasn't been addressed in organizational arrangement studies; e.g., *Places Where Teachers Are Taught* (Goodlad, Soder, Sirotnik 1990).

Problem Statement

I chose to investigate Bank Street College of Education because of its self-avowed education mission specificity. I was anxious to look closer at the organizational nature of an independent school of education and whether its implemented mission was as coherent as its stated mission.

In order to structure the case study, I chose to investigate five facets of Bank Street's organization: purpose, leadership, external relationships, research productivity, and governance structure. I looked at each of these features at five points in time in order to chart the institutional story or collective understanding of Bank Street's unique accomplishments (Clark, 1970). I wanted to see what type of a saga there is at Bank Street, whether it has remained consistent over time, and whether Bank Street is as mission-specific as it claims to be.

My hypothesis was that Bank Street has managed to maintain its unique nature (i.e., mission specificity) and has not succumbed to

the muddied mission waters of most institutions of higher education (as would be predicted based on Hodgkinson's (1970, 2) notion that distinctive institutions converge toward other institutional models). I believed that Bank Street's ability to adapt to outside influences (e.g., regional accrediting regulations, funding needs, grant competition), would be strengthened by this mission specificity (i.e., the organization would use its mission specificity to garner necessary resources).

To answer this hypothesis, I looked at the organizational features through Bank Street's personnel, programs, social base, student subculture, and ideology. By superimposing these lenses on the organizational features, I was able to gain insight into the nature of a free-standing school of education.

Organizational Purpose

Bank Street's 1990 mission "to improve education for children" infused with the notion that "education has an important role to play in the betterment of society" and that "the learner should be at the center of the learning experience" is a direct descendent from the 1916 founding mission of promoting the cause of progressive education: that schools should be experimental child-centered learning environments and used as a lever of social reform.

The Deweyan/Freudian philosophy of experiential education cast with a commitment to social action has been a consistent component of Bank Street since its founding as the Bureau of Educational Experiments. At each of the five time periods investigated, progressive rhetoric is reaffirmed. "Our mission is

what it has always been . . . ", which is a series of buzzwords such as experimental education; child-centered learning; experiential education; or responsive environments.

The consistency of philosophy is kept pure through in-breeding of Bank Street staff, the advisement process, and the admission of mostly self-selected, pre-committed students and staff. As one student said to me, "They can't teach education here; they teach philosophy."

The ways that Bank Street has implemented its mission of spreading progressive ideology have been much more varied than the ideology itself. Charted over the years, the evolutionary course of mission implementation is directly linked to environmental opportunities, confirming my expectation (based on Kaufman's (1985) theory of natural selection) that Bank Street uses its mission specificity to generate needed resources.

For example, in 1930 the Bureau of Educational Experiments instituted a new Cooperative School for Student Teachers in order to train teachers for a group of experimental schools. Teacher training (as the result of a need by the experimental schools environment) was added to the 1916 mission-in-action of information dissemination, external spot experiment support, and quantitative/qualitative studies of children. All of these activities interfaced directly with the progressive education movement's sphere of influence.

By 1950 Bank Street had shifted to training teachers for the public schools, moving into a wider arena than progressive education. But it held onto its progressive tenets through the

codification of The Bank Street Approach in Lucy Mitchell's book, *Our Children and Our Schools*. It was this mission-specific code coupled with a need for inservice education by the public schools which gained Bank Street entree into public education.

The real interplay between mission and environment is evidenced in 1970 when the results of federal funding opportunities can be witnessed. Bank Street used its social commitment to education to respond to social needs of society (e.g., day care, manpower training, urban-based readers) and was able to reap funding (and royalty) awards for its broad range of projects.

By 1990, this use of mission to gather funds had become a science. The organization's adaptation mechanisms were strong enough to even support an entry into a field outside the social sciences--technology. But it was only through use of its mission to promote child-centered use of the technology and provide direct inservice training to teachers that the infusion of science and technology mission activities could be accomplished.

The evidence is strong that Bank Street has indeed maintained a coherent mission throughout its history: it is the mission of progressive education. Bank Street has adapted the way it implements that philosophic ideal through astute responses to environmental needs. These responses in turn net life-giving resources for Bank Street. In the process of this give-and-take between mission and environment, Bank Street's mission has been both re-affirmed and modified.

Leadership

Without a doubt, Lucy Sprague Mitchell was the single-most formulating influence on the mission of Bank Street. It was her vision of pulling an interdisciplinary team together to study and create learning environments for children that began the organization. Given her commitment to joint thinking and group decision-making, it is ironic that it is she alone who is credited with shaping the nature of Bank Street.

For thirty years, the Bureau of Educational Experiments was filled with sure-footed purpose, finally codified by Lucy Mitchell as an inservice training curriculum model for the public schools. As a crowning gift to the organization, Lucy had created the "Bank Street Approach." Just at the time Bank Street became a College, Lucy Mitchell was starting to pull away. Indeed, the eruption of governance issues which culminated in the severance of the Nursery School is indicative of the wavering leadership strain on Bank Street.

By 1970, President Niemeyer had put his own personal stamp on Bank Street by having aggressively and productively pursued federal funding to put Bank Street's mission to action for the larger world to see. He may not have been the charismatic energizer that Lucy Mitchell was; but he was pragmatically able to find new and interesting twists to mission implementation.

The professional higher education administration of 1990 has streamlined Bank Street's mission through President Shenker's vision of outreach to the New York City public schools. Certainly,

this would make Lucy Mitchell happy as it was always her goal to infuse progressive (Bank Street!) methodology into public education.

The followership is still in-bred; particularly in the graduate school of education. But there are signs of diffusion. Transient project staff weaken the collective organizational memory; newcomers must be formally acculturated. When I asked one student about Lucy Mitchell he said, "Is that who the sculpture is in the lobby?" Even President Shenker said to me during an interview (March 26, 1989), "You probably know more about Bank Street's history than I do." But he has done his homework as he effectively positions Bank Street to respond to the needs of the New York City schools and, on a national level, effect public policy. The evidence points to an organization being led with strength by the conviction of the past.

External Relations

Bank Street's ability to use its mission to capture resources is directly related to its congruence with its urban environment. In its early Bureau years, location in progressive Greenwich Village presented opportune connections for the organization. There was an urbane clientele for the nursery school and proximity to the movers and shakers of the experimental education movement (e.g., Caroline Pratt). The Bureau of Educational Experiments was able to promote the cause of progressive education through an intricate network of personal connections via the closed-circuit world of experimental educators.

After its move to uptown Morningside Heights, Bank Street was positioned to respond to more eclectic community needs. Fortunately, its mission dovetailed perfectly with community needs--day care (a natural outgrowth of Bank Street's nursery school); Project Follow Through (a natural outgrowth of the Bank Street Approach); and more recently, drug prevention (an outgrowth, though not so natural, of early childhood curriculum development); and drop-out prevention (a mutation of commitment to social intervention measures).

Environment and external relations are not synonymous. However, a congruent environment helps to foster organizational relationships. For Bank Street, the most significant relationship it courts is with the New York City Public Schools. From Lucy Mitchell's initial hope that someday the Bureau could work with the public schools, to the major urban initiatives of 1990, Bank Street has gaged its own success on its ability to influence public education.

An elaborate system for the negotiation of city funding is mechanistically operational through administrative assignment. However, there are unobtrusive connections with the public schools that may have more significance than credited: that of the Bank Street-trained teachers. One example of this is a program at Public School 261 in Brooklyn where a group of several "Bank Streeters" is involved in a school-within-a-school alternative program. This is not a "negotiated, sponsored" program. Rather, it is Bank Street philosophy in practice at the request of a parent group; a "natural" infusion of the Bank Street Approach into a public school.

Juxtaposed against that backdrop is the comment of a student who said to me, "I believe in the model and believe it can work in the public sector. I just wish we were better prepared to take the cushioned model into the real world. They don't prepare us for a non-Bank Street environment. It is hard to translate Bank Street to outsiders." This can make external relations with the public schools difficult.

The insularity of Bank Street creates an interesting paradox. Although its mission is incredibly congruent with its urban environment, Bank Street has been viewed as an intrusive "do-good" organization that is "in, but not of" New York. One student commented to me, "I'm a New Yorker. New York is tough and direct; Bank Street is polite and roundabout." The tension is how Bank Street can maintain its island-like culture while also assimilating into the city it purposefully uses for mission implementation.

Bank Street's connection with the public schools may be the "visionary" aspect of its external relationships, but pragmatically the external alliances are driven by funding needs. The personal and intimate liaisons of the past are now formal connections to politicians, business leaders, and foundations. These connections have become the lifeblood for Bank Street which is heavily dependent on external funding. Bank Street's mission provides the weld for the forged links between Bank Street and its external relationships.

Research Efforts

Although the Bureau of Educational Experiments started out in the realm of quantitative data collection, it added a twist of qualitative observation measures that distinguished Bureau research from child institute research. The evolution into primarily qualitative research methods was quick as descriptive case studies became a hallmark of Bank Street's work. The implicit conclusion of many Bank Street studies is that "this proves that the Bank Street Approach works."

Developing a model approach to education has been a prime factor in Bank Street research. With the use of the Bank Street Approach as one of the national models for Project Follow Through in 1970 (actually over a span of more than a decade), Bank Street had an interesting opportunity to integrate the notion of funding and mission; i.e., the use of funded research to propagate Bank Street's cause.

The dilemma of the 1990 Bank Street research program is how to fund the research it wants to do. And what is the research it wants to do? That which will "prove" that Bank Street has a model of education worth emulating. Even the new technology research that Bank Street is engaged in is to foster prototypical computer usage (i.e., "This is the way we use technology, now you try it!").

Bank Street research is one and the same time mission-related and funding-related. Sometimes, Bank Street goes after mission-related projects; sometimes, any funded project. The ideal is when funding availability matches Bank Street's mission (environmental congruence). For 1990, available funds and mission are in

consonance. Bank Street is in better shape than many other externally funded organizations, mainly due to the level of funding available for special projects in the area of Bank Street's expertise (e.g., early childhood education). However, the tenuous nature of those funds keeps Bank Street scrambling for more.

Yes, Bank Street most definitely uses its environment to generate research to support its mission.

Structure

From a small, loose, informal and personal structure, Bank Street has evolved into a larger, tighter, more formal and impersonal structure. However, this is simplistically linear when the changes are really more holistic in nature. Certainly the structure has evolved in response to both increased size and variegated function of the organization. But it has always balanced a tension between the historical commitment to group-thinking and structured divisional autonomy. Somehow the social action temperament of Bank Street doesn't fit well with an ever-increasing bureaucracy.

The organization has been functionally divided at one time or another into divisions or programs, e.g., the graduate school of education, programs for children, research, et al. Unfortunately, both externally funded projects (upon which the organization is absolutely dependent) and field services (outreach programs) have historically not fit easily into the organizational schemata. Perhaps because the function of each is so diffuse and changeable, there is an uneasy fit into the governance structure of the College.

As a result, special projects and outreach programs can seem like appendages haphazardly stuck within the programs. Does an elementary school drug awareness curriculum program get put with programs for children? Research? Field Services? The structure can be complex and cumbersome.

The two oldest functions of Bank Street's mission are the School for Children and the Graduate School of Education. A recurring theme for Bank Street seems to be how to integrate the children's school with the graduate school. The School for Children is a completely independent school; it is not under the purview of the graduate school. This may work structurally, but it does not reflect symbolically the stated notion of blending theory and practice.

And with all the publicity focused on funded projects, it is easy to lose sight of the centrality of the graduate school. The Graduate School of Education becomes but one more appendage on Bank Street's organizational scaffold. Thus the structure only shakily supports Bank Street's mission.

Concluding Notes

Bank Street has worked hard to define its distinctive niche in higher education. It has kept a strong progressive philosophic coherence. As Susan Ginsberg said (Interview March 26, 1989), "Lots of people have believed what we believe. The thing that's unique about Bank Street is that we've held on to the belief." There is strong organizational allegiance to Bank Street and a shared sense of identity. However, there are signs, minute though they are, that the organizational saga may be waning. In 1970, the founding

ideals were transmitted via ceremony from direct links (human connections) from Lucy Mitchell. In 1990, the founding ideals are transmitted via public relations brochures and public appearance speeches. It will remain to be seen whether Bank Street can hold on to Lucy Mitchell's ideals in the future.

Bank Street is still an in-bred organization, with a culture that fosters like-thinking. It is faced with the realization that its strength is its weakness; the very mechanisms which foster coherent group thought also foster dogmatic interpretation. The organizational dilemma is, how can Bank street diversify, yet keep its coherent philosophy?

It is Bank Street's coherent philosophy and independent organizational arrangement which makes it distinctive in the world of higher education. In an increasingly diverse and pluralistic society, it would be a loss to higher education if that distinctiveness dissipated into the homogeneous standard organizational arrangement of schools of education.

There are signs that the stresses of environmental vulnerability are diluting Bank Street's coherence. The dependence on external funding appears to be working against organizational cohesion.

Proactive steps to both lessen dependency on external funding and to recruit a like-minded staff and student body would do much to help Bank Street maintain its distinctiveness.

For now, I have found an organization indeed focused. However, the focus is on philosophy, not teacher education. Bank Street implements its philosophy (i.e., its mission) in broad social ways, including teacher education among others. But to my surprise, it is

not B.O. Smith's school of pedagogy with a primary mission of teacher education. Bank Street's organizational mission specificity does not equate to an integration of form and function. The Graduate School of Education must contend within Bank Street many of the same tensions that schools of education deal with in standard college contexts.

Bank Street is not an aberration within higher education. It is an organization that responds as the theoretical framework of organizational adaptation would predict: in symbiotic synchrony with its environment. Is that so unique? Perhaps not. But it has offered a glimpse into another organizational arrangement of a school of education.

Implications for Further Study

The Bank Street College of Education may not be Smith's (1980) school of pedagogy, nor Goodlad et al.'s (1990) refocused view of schools of education. However, Bank Street has been demonstrated to be a philosophically coherent school. It offers an intriguing opportunity to study a closed organizational system. Bank Street might also contain important clues as to how philosophical consonance gets transformed into organizational coherence.

Given the importance of keeping organizational coherence, it would be helpful to know more about environmental effects on organizational purposes. What is the environmental vulnerability of institutional mission? How much external funding is too much? At what point do external influences damage internal organizational

consistency? This question is perhaps most critical for Bank Street in particular.

And not the least of implications for further study ought to be a search for other organizational arrangements of teacher education. If the same energy that is channeled into Bank Street's philosophic specificity were to be funneled into functional specificity (i.e., teacher education), there might be a powerful organizational arrangement for teacher education.

Coda

More than thirty years ago, Bank Street's President John Niemeyer wrote to President Emeritus Lucy Mitchell about the status of accreditation procedures:

We have now read the final report which the chairman will present to the Commission on Institutions of Higher Learning.

. . . we discovered that we were dealing, for the most part, with small minds which approved only those things which were exactly like the things which are done in the typical teachers colleges.

Letter to Lucy Mitchell
From John Niemeyer
March 21, 1958

Bank Street did not fit the standard mold, for which Lucy Mitchell was probably happy.

But thirty years later, we are still looking to standard models. Perhaps we ought to be looking at the a-typical arrangements a little more often.

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Miscellaneous papers and publications.

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