THE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL:
THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY'S ROLE
IN THE LABORATORY SCHOOL MOVEMENT
OF THE 20TH CENTURY

DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

THE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL: THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY'S ROLE IN THE LABORATORY SCHOOL MOVEMENT OF THE 20TH CENTURY

This study expands the scope of institution-level research on college and university-run laboratory schools to include the University of Kentucky's on-campus laboratory school that operated from 1918 to 1965. Specifically, it preserves the institutional history of UK's laboratory school, which has largely disappeared from local memory; provides a specific case study of a laboratory school in a largely unstudied state and region, namely Kentucky and the South; and contextualizes the role and trajectory UK's laboratory school played in the larger Laboratory School Movement of the 20th century. Because of UK's status as a southern land grant university, this research examines claims that education in the South lagged behind the rest of the nation and considers what implications the University School's history may have on modern educational policy.

Historical context limits this research in three important ways: (1) references to the word "progressive" are specific to the pedagogical philosophies and methods affecting schools during the Progressive Education Movement from 1893 to 1957, not the larger political activism and reforms affecting all Americans during the Progressive Era from the 1890s to the 1920s; (2) statistical data pulled from multiple government sources is limited by variations in yearly reporting methods; and (3) insights about the public-school education of African American students are limited by UK's conformity to the legal and cultural framework of racial segregation during the years the University School operated.

KEYWORDS: University of Kentucky, Laboratory Schools, Laboratory School Movement, Model High School, University School

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Memores acti prudentes futuri. Gratias maximas.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Statement of the Problem

College and university-run laboratory schools have played an important role in the history of American education since the Common School Movement, but most people know nothing about them unless they learn about John Dewey's experimental laboratory school at the University of Chicago in the late 1890s. In fact, many education students know just enough about laboratory schools to associate them with John Dewey specifically and Progressive Education in general, which is understandable considering the notoriety of Dewey's work and the prevalence of laboratory schools during the first half of the 20th century.

However, the role laboratory schools played in the development of America's public education system is more expansive than conventional knowledge reveals. With few laboratory schools operating in the United States today, evidence of their immense popularity throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can be surprising to modern educators who have been, at best, only vaguely aware they existed. The current scarcity of laboratory schools in America makes it easy to downplay and compartmentalize their importance in the history of education, and our tendency to view the world through the lens of our own experiences makes it all the more important for academic research to explore and preserve such elements of history that have been fundamentally overlooked.

Unfortunately, only a handful of educational historians have researched the role laboratory schools have played in our nation's past, and the direction of that research was largely inspired by two of the earliest studies, namely Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards' 1936 *The Dewey School: The Laboratory School of the University of Chicago 1896-1903* and Edward I.F. Williams' 1942 *The Actual and Potential Use of Laboratory Schools in State Normal Schools and Teachers Colleges*. While those works laid the foundation for academic research

about American laboratory schools, they also influenced the directions that research would take. One direction focused specifically on Dewey and his University of Chicago Laboratory School, while the other direction focused on the functions and gradual demise of laboratory schools on a national level.

While both topics are significant to educational history, they have created at least three conspicuous gaps in existing research about laboratory schools: (1) Institution-level research on college and university laboratory schools other than John Dewey's laboratory school at the University of Chicago; (2) Cross-system research comparing college and university-run laboratory schools to public schools in the same region, state, and local community; and (3) State and regional-level research contextualizing the trajectories of college and university-run laboratory schools within the larger national trend.

The first gap is problematic because it dismisses the significance of local and institutional laboratory school histories, the second gap disregards the similarities and differences between two publicly-funded systems of education, and the third gap ignores the unique role state and regional laboratory schools played in the larger national movement.

The origin and prevalence of laboratory schools in the northern regions of the United States makes the third gap especially troublesome for states like Kentucky. With the bulk of scholarship focusing on laboratory schools in the North, there is limited context for understanding the unique roles laboratory schools played in disparate geographic regions, particularly the South where Graham (2005) claimed the "story of schooling differed significantly from that of the rest of the country" (p. 19). The notion that southern education followed a unique historical trajectory is well established. According to Woodward (1951),

> The public schools of the South at the opening of the century were for the most part miserably supported, poorly attended, wretchedly taught, and wholly inadequate for the education of the people. Far behind the rest of the country in

> nearly all respects, Southern education suffered from a greater lag than any other public institution in the region. (p. 398)

Graham explained that the South's divergence from the national trend occurred during the first two decades of the 20th century when southern states remained "poor and rural" while the rest of the nation's states experiencing population growth and urbanization (p. 20). This led to "diminished educational opportunities" in the South that manifest themselves in the region's higher illiteracy rates, shorter school years, lower school enrollments, lower attendance rates, lower state spending, higher cultural emphasis on "virtue" over "knowledge," and enormous disparities in the educational opportunities available to blacks and whites (pp. 20-21).

With the exception of Pierson's 2014 study entitled *Laboratories of Learning: HBCU Laboratory Schools and Alabama State College Lab High in the Era of Jim Crow*, there is no research examining the unique role of southern university laboratory schools within the larger Laboratory School Movement of the 20th century that flourished in American from approximately 1893 to 1965. Furthermore, there is no context for understanding the role specific laboratory schools played in their own states, nor is there research considering how the history of college and university-run laboratory schools compared to that of public schools in the same region, state, and local community.

Purpose and Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study is to expand the scope of institution-level research on college and university-run laboratory schools to include the University of Kentucky's on-campus laboratory school that operated from 1918 to 1965.

The significance of this research is multifaceted:

First, it helps preserve the institutional history of UK's laboratory school, which has largely disappeared from local memory.

Second, it provides a case study to examine how one university-run laboratory school compared to public schools in the South, Kentucky, Fayette County, and Lexington communities.

Third, it provides a case study of a laboratory school in a largely unstudied state and region, namely Kentucky and the South, that can be used to contextualize the role and trajectory of UK's laboratory school within the larger Laboratory School Movement of the 20th century. Because of UK's status as a southern land grant university, it serves as a starting place to examine claims that education in the South lagged behind the rest of the nation.

Scope and Limitations of this Research

The scope of this study is limited to the institutional and organizational history of the University School and not the social and emotional story of its students and teachers. As such, it primarily focuses on the structure and functions of the school and its history of institutional decision making. Although cultural anecdotes provide context for understanding this narrative, the oral histories and personal reflections of individuals are, for the most part, left for future study.

Historical context also limits the scope of this research in three important ways:

First, references to the word "progressive" in this research are, unless otherwise noted, specific to the philosophical and practical school reforms affecting students and educators during the Progressive Education Movement from 1893 to 1957, not the broad social and political reforms affecting all Americans during the Progressive Era from 1890 to 1919. Although the two movements are related, Progressive Education explicitly refers to the relationship between education and democracy and the defining role schools play in preparing children to be active and engaged citizens.

Second, analysis of educational data for this research has been complicated by profound variations in data collection and reporting by government agencies. The statistics compiled in this

study come from a variety of sources that grouped information differently. Every attempt has been made to reconcile these inconsistencies to provide metaphorical "apple-to-apple" comparisons for the reader. However, the government's inconsistent categorization and presentation of data means the variety of apples being compared may differ from one year to the next. As such, the data provided is best viewed as a reliable but inexact foundation for contextual analyses.

Third, insights about the public-school education of African American students are limited by UK's conformity to racial segregation during the years it operated its on-campus laboratory school. Although the University School's existence from 1954 to 1965 ran parallel to early school desegregation efforts, the legal and cultural framework of segregation that existed when UK created its laboratory school in 1918 remained unchallenged at the University School until is closure in 1965. As such, this history provides limited insights about the experiences of black students and the use of laboratory schools to achieve racial equity in public education.

Research Question(s) and Hypothesis

The central research question for this study is "What was the historic role and trajectory of the University of Kentucky's laboratory school, which operated from 1918 to 1965, in the larger Laboratory School Movement of the 20th century?"

Sub-questions relevant to this research include "What are laboratory schools?," "What role did laboratory schools play in the history of American education?," "What was the Laboratory School Movement of the 20th Century?," "What is the history of UK's laboratory school?," "How does the University School's history compare to that of public schools in Kentucky, Fayette County, and Lexington?," "How does UK's role in the Laboratory School Movement compare to that of other colleges and universities across the nation, in the South, and in Kentucky?," "What

does the University School reveal about claims that education in the South lagged behind the rest of the nation?," and "What implications might this history have on modern educational policy?"

The working hypothesis is that the University of Kentucky's University School was behind the national trend in progressive laboratory schools, but when taking into consideration claims that education in the South historically lagged behind that of the rest of the nation, it tried to serve as a model laboratory school for both the South and Kentucky. In doing so, it set itself apart from other public schools in the South, Kentucky, Fayette County, and Lexington, which inadvertently limited its influence over educational practices in those areas.

Research Methodology

This is a single institutional/organizational case study utilizing qualitative research to explore the history of the University of Kentucky's laboratory school and its role and trajectory in the Laboratory School Movement of the 20th century. A variety of primary sources (institutional records, photographs, media reports, etc.) and secondary sources (studies of educational history, pedagogy, curriculum, etc.), will be used to contextualize the Laboratory School Movement and characterize, assess, and compare the history of UK's laboratory school to local, state, regional, and national trends.

Organization

This research is organized into six chapters.

"Chapter 1: Introduction" provides the statement of the problem, purpose and significance of the study, scope, research question(s) and hypothesis, research methodology, organization, and explanation of research terms, abbreviations, and references.

"Chapter 2: What is a laboratory school?" defines what laboratory schools are, explores their various forms and purposes, and identifies the characteristics for which they are typically praised and criticized.

"Chapter 3: Laboratory Schools in Historical Context" provides a basic history of laboratory schools on an international level, but it primarily focuses on contextualizing the history of laboratory schools in America beginning with the Common School Movement. It examines the Laboratory School Movement of the 20th Century (c. 1893-1965) by analyzing the popularity and characteristics of laboratory schools during the Progressive Education Movement, which lasted from approximately 1893 to 1957. It also examines the decline in laboratory schools beginning in the mid-1960s and the reasons behind their subsequent closings.

"Chapter 4: The Birth and Early Life of UK's Laboratory Schools" examines public education in Kentucky at the turn of the century and considers the early development of teacher education at the University of Kentucky. It then explains how and why UK's laboratory school was created, what its intended and actual purposes were, what it was like, what it contributed to local, state, and regional education reforms, and how it compared to Lexington and Fayette County public schools.

"Chapter 5: The Evolution and Closing of the University School" examines how historic events and changing conditions impacted the University School in its later years. It specifically focuses on shifts in the university's plans to grow and modernize and the conditions that led to the University School's closure in 1965. It also compares the later years of the University School to Lexington and Fayette County schools and provides a glimpse of the projects UK's College of Education undertook in the aftermath of the laboratory school's closure.

"Chapter 6: Connections, Implications, and Conclusions" examines what the history of UK's laboratory school suggests about its role in the Laboratory School Movement of the 20th century on a national, regional, and state level and whether it serves as evidence that education in the South lagged behind the rest of the nation. Finally, it considers the implications laboratory school's history may have on modern educational policy.

Explanation of Research Terms, Abbreviations, and References

Laboratory School

- Any college or university-run primary or secondary school used for the purposes of educational experimentation, research, teacher training (observation and practice teaching), professional development, and/or curriculum development
- Also known as *model school, demonstration school, practice school, teacher training school, college or university school, and child development school*

Observation and Practice Teaching, a/k/a Student Teaching

- Opportunities provided by a teacher education program for student teachers to observe and engage with children and/or adolescents in primary and secondary laboratory schools

Progressive Movement, a/k/a Progressive Era

- The period between 1890 and 1919 when population growth, industrialization, urbanization, etc., motivated widespread social, economic, and political reforms that ushered in the age of modernity

Progressive Education Movement, a/k/a Progressive Era of Education

- The period between 1893 and 1957 when progressive education thrived in the United States
- The pedagogical movement that viewed schools as little democracies where students experience real life and prepare themselves for civic participation in a larger social democracy

Laboratory School Movement of the 20th Century (c. 1893-1965)

- The era of noticeable growth in the establishment and operation of laboratory schools that coincided with and outlived the Progressive Education Movement, which lasted from 1893 to 1965

Progressive (Education), a/k/a Progressivism

- Theories and methods emphasizing the relationship between education and democracy, specifically the role schools play in preparing children to become engaged citizens
- Educational practices focused on the needs of students, child-centered pedagogy, experiential learning, cooperative learning, problem solving, critical thinking, civic involvement, and social responsibility
- Belief in the power of education to influence society by nurturing the individual and emphasizing social cooperation

University of Kentucky, a/k/a UK and the university

- The public land-grant institution located in Lexington, Fayette County, Kentucky

University of Kentucky laboratory school, a/k/a University School

- The University of Kentucky's on-campus Model High School operated in Frazee Hall from 1918 to 1930; and the expanded on-campus University School, which enrolled students from preschool through high school, operated from 1930 to 1965 in UK's Teacher Training School, which was later renamed the Taylor Education Building.
- Also known as the *Practice School, Model School, Model High*, *Teacher Training School, University School, and University High*

South or Southern Region (*Figure 1.1*)

- The group of states in the South-Atlantic and South-Central areas of the United States, which include Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia

North Atlantic Region (*Figure 1.1*)

- The geographic region of the United States containing the following states: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania
- Williams (1942) refers to subsets of this region as follows:
    - New England- Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut
    - Mid Atlantic- New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania

South Atlantic Region (*Figure 1.1*)

- The geographic region of the United States containing the following states: Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida

North Central Region (*Figure 1.1*)

- The geographic region of the United States containing the following states: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas
- Williams (1942) refers to subsets of this region as follows:
    - East North Central- Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin
    - West North Central- Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas

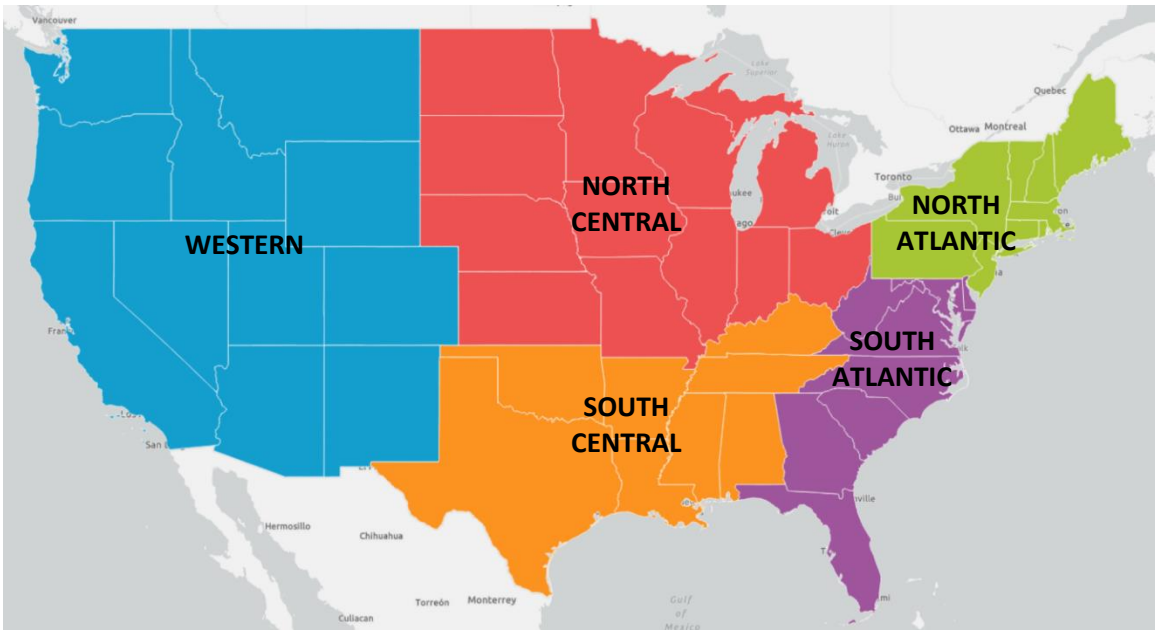
South Central Region (*Figure 1.1*)

- The geographic region of the United States containing the following states: Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma
- Williams (1942) refers to a subset of this region as follows:
    - East South Central- Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Texas AL, KY, MS, TX

Western Region (*Figure 1.1*)

- The geographic region of the United States containing the following states: Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, California, and Hawaii
- Williams (1942) refers to a subset of this region as follows:
    - Pacific- Washington, Oregon, and California

Figure 1.1: Regional School Divisions Established by the U.S. Commissioner of Education



PEA (Progressive Education Association)

- The Progressive Education Association, f/k/a the Association for the Advancement of Progressive Education, that existed from 1919 to 1955 to promote the spread of progressive education to public schools across the United States

IALS (International Association of Laboratory Schools)

- The International Association of Laboratory Schools, f/k/a National Association of Laboratory Schools (NALS) and the International Association of Laboratory and University

Affiliated Schools (IALUAS), providing global membership to college and university affiliated laboratory schools, including on-campus schools, charter schools, and professional development schools

Chapter 2: What is a Laboratory school?

Definition

In the field of education, the term "laboratory school" refers to any school "engaged in practices of teacher training, curriculum development, research, professional development, and educational experimentation" (IALS, 2019). It is often described more specifically as "a school largely or entirely under the control of the college, located on or near the college campus, and organized for the purpose of preparing teachers" (Perrodin, 1955, p. xi, as cited in Saracho, 2019, p. 34). These primary and secondary schools are facilities for educational learning and practice that are typically, but not always, operated by colleges and universities. Depending on the specific motivations of their founders and the historical era in which they existed, these schools have been known by many names, including model school, demonstration school, practice school, teacher training school, laboratory school, college or university school, and even child development school. Nonetheless, laboratory school has become the standard terminology used to describe college and university-run schools that offer practice experiences to preservice teachers (Saracho, 2019, p. 34). It is a historically appropriate term that acknowledges the research focus many laboratory schools embraced during the Progressive Education Movement, and despite the varying forms and functions of these schools throughout history, "laboratory school" remains a fitting term to illustrate their multifaceted uses as centers of experimentation, research, and teacher training.

For the purposes of this study, the term laboratory school does not include preparatory schools run by colleges and universities to groom students for post-secondary education. Some researchers have included them in the laboratory school category, but because they focus on the generalized education of secondary students and not the specialized education of post-secondary student teachers, they are not categorized as laboratory schools in this research.

Basic Forms and Specific Types

Like all schools, laboratory schools have existed in a variety of forms and types, and their unique characteristics at different times in history have been influenced by the needs of their controlling institutions and the status of evolving educational theories (McNabb, 1973, p. 6). Nonetheless, it is possible to understand the structure and organization of individual laboratory schools by categorizing them by their basic form and specific type.

Basic Forms

The first category identifies laboratory schools as one of two basic forms: *(1) On-Campus Schools*, and *(2) Off-Campus Schools*.

On-campus schools, which are frequently referred to as just campus schools, include any laboratory school located on the grounds of a teachers college (Williams, 1942, p. 104) whose major financial support and/or major administrative control is retained by the parent college or university (Kelley, 1967, pp. 9-10).

Off-campus schools include any laboratory school not located on the grounds of a teachers college (Williams, 1942, p. 104) that is not necessarily controlled by the parent college or university but is affiliated with it for the purpose of providing laboratory experience for student teachers (Kelley, 1967, p. 10).

As a matter of convenience for both supervising and preservice teachers, the majority of laboratory schools have operated on the grounds of normal schools, colleges, or universities because they provide students with easy access to facilities for observation, participation, class demonstration, and student teaching (Williams, 1942, p. 217). National organizations like the American Association of Teachers Colleges (AATC) strongly advocated for college-controlled laboratory schools as a matter of best practice in teacher education (Kelley, 1967, pp. 19-23; Williams, 1942, pp. 221-228). For example, in 1926 the AATC adopted a resolution for each

teachers college to “maintain a training school under its own control, as a part of its organization, as a laboratory school for purposes of observation, demonstration, and supervised teaching on the part of students,” and this same support for laboratory schools was echoed decades later by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education’s (AACTE) 1948 adoption of Standard VI, which stated that teacher training institutions should operate one or more college-controlled laboratory schools.

Nonetheless, the growth and popularization of the public high school and increased demands for student teaching opportunities forced colleges and universities to branch out from their own campuses. By the time Williams published his 1942 study of American laboratory schools, 68% of institutions were using both on-campus and off-campus laboratory schools in their teacher preparation programs, while only 22.1% exclusively used on-campus schools and 9.9% exclusively used off-campus schools (p. 217). Off-campus laboratory schools were typically used as “complements” or “supplements” to on-campus schools, and this arrangement was advantageous to parent colleges and universities for both practical and philosophical reasons. From a practical perspective, the use of off-campus laboratory schools helped teacher training institutions defray operational costs and educate larger numbers of student teachers. From a philosophical perspective, this arrangement also allowed the on-campus schools to focus on demonstrating the “ideal” application of educational theory using a more homogenous groups of students, while the off-campus schools could demonstrate the “real” application of educational theory using more heterogenous groups of students.

Specific Types

After determining whether a laboratory school is an on-campus or off-campus school, it can be more narrowly categorized as one of five specific types: *(1) Practice Schools, (2) Model Schools, (3) Training Schools, (4) Demonstration Schools,* and *(5) Experimental Schools*.

Some researchers, like Kelley (1967), have associated each of these types with specific time periods in American history, but this linear categorization is misleading considering the types are not mutually exclusive and can exist at any given time. Granted, there is a definite connection between the evolution of laboratory schools and historic shifts in educational ideology, but it would be irresponsible to confine each type to one specific time period. Laboratory schools have gone by many names over the years, and although those names sometimes reflect their underlying motivations and goals, sometimes they do not. As McNabb (1973) explained,

> These five types of schools did not always clearly categorize their differences in either type or function. Laboratory schools that were identified as a name-type did not always truly implement the prototype. The names of different kinds of laboratory schools also changed through the years, but the curricular organization, the administration, and the function did not necessarily change accordingly. (p. 3)

Based on these considerations, McNabb's approach to describing the types of laboratory schools by educational philosophy is more appropriate than Kelley's because it primarily focuses on how each type defines and characterizes the role of the teacher in society and in schools (pp. 3-4). This research does not deny that historic educational trends and social ideologies are reflected in these types, but it does defend the possibility that each type can exist outside a set historic timeline. Nonetheless, Kelley's more specific characterizations help round out and explain McNabb's broad generalizations, so the work of both researchers has been synthesized in the descriptions below.

A *practice school* is a laboratory school that provides prospective teachers opportunities to practice and perfect methods of instruction in an *ordinary* school setting (p. 4). The training provided by the practice school resembles the apprenticeship model for mechanical skills, because the teacher implements mechanical methods of teaching each subject using textbooks, recitation, and memorization (Kelley, 1967, p. 25). The classroom is an adult-centered environment where the teacher maintains discipline and distributes fundamental knowledge students can use to answer predetermined questions. Pre-service teachers focus on learning how

to establish routines, maintain discipline, and mechanically deliver lessons, which Cubberly (1934) likened more to "school keeping" than teaching (pp. 388-390).

A *model school* is similar to a practice school in terms of order, routine, and mechanical lessons, but it has two significant differences: (1) a model school tries to exemplify *ideal* school conditions in terms of the physical plant, equipment, instructional materials, methods, and discipline (McNabb, 1973, pp. 4-5; Blair, Curtis, & Moon, 1958, pp 3-4), and (2) the conceived role of the teacher is widened in terms of direct experience and knowledge of theory and methods (Kelley, 1967, p. 26). The teacher is still conceived of as a manager, but procedures are more intentionally illustrated through demonstration and observation, and classes in pedagogy train pre-services teachers how to perform specific activities to illustrate educational theories. Model schools represent the best in educational practice, and they endeavor to groom teachers as experts who can disseminate these ideals to the schools where they are hired to teach.

A *training school* is focused not only on modeling best practices, but specifically regulating rules of instruction and patterns of teaching (McNabb, 1973, p. 5). Unlike the practice and model schools, its highly systematized method recognizes special rules for teaching different subjects and utilizes Pestalozzian methods of object teaching versus textbooks, memorization, and recitation (Cubberly, 1934, p. 383, cited by Kelley, 1967, p. 26). A training school conceives of teachers as more than managers and disseminators of information; instead, they are well-versed in the psychological aspects of education and engage in more hands-on interaction with children (Kelley, 1967, p. 26). They pre-plan oral and object lessons concentrated on the sense perceptions of the learner, and the goal of their lessons is to guide students from the simple to the complex and the concrete to the abstract (pp. 26-28).

A *demonstration school* is intended to be the focal point of teacher education institutions concerned with academic disciplines and the theory of methods (McNabb, 1973, p. 5). They

provide concrete illustrations of teaching in specific disciplines, and they focus on demonstrating the theories and methods associated with various subjects, like drill, content, activity, expression, history, and literature (Kelley, 1964, pp. 28-30). The influence of Herbartian philosophy is evidenced by the schools' focus on quality of instruction over knowledge and mental discipline, as well as the use of systematic teaching to achieve specific educational aims. Concern is shown for the interests and motivations of learners, and emphasis is placed on pre-service teachers learning how to plan lessons linked to defined goals.

An *experimental school* (or *child study school*) is an atypical laboratory school whose basic function is experimentation. Working on the edge of educational theory, these schools challenge existing standards, procedures, and practices using scientific investigation and research activities (McNabb, 1973, p. 6). Experimental schools are especially concerned with the interests and motivations of learners and the part the child plays in education (Kelley, 1967, pp. 31-38). Teachers are expected to (1) be widely prepared and competent specialists in learning behavior; (2) possess a high degree of social competence and good judgment; and (3) be capable of working with specialists and theoreticians in the scientific study of children. Many times, they are also expected to prepare graduate students for becoming master teachers or specialists in a field of education.

Functions

Educators tend to agree that the traditional function of laboratory schools is teacher training, but considering the various forms and types these schools can take, it is clearly not their sole function. Discrete laboratory schools are motivated by disparate philosophies and institutional needs, which complicates understanding the function of laboratory schools in general. For this reason, it is helpful to consider the underlying goals motivating their operation.

Contemporary research suggests that laboratory schools share at least three primary missions: (1) Facilitate research endeavors designed to learn more about how children grow and develop and how they should best be educated; (2) Provide exemplary educational facilities for children while training college students for the education profession; and (3) Serve the professional community in the form of training, educational presentations, membership in professional organizations, etc. (Clawson, 2003; Horm-Wingerd & Cohen, 1991; McBride & Hicks, 1998; McBride & Lee, 1995; Stremmel, Hill, & Fu, 2003; Townley & Zeece, 1991, cited by Wilcox-Herzog & McLaren, 2012, p. 1).

The basic functions inherent to these missions vary. Kelley's 1967 survey of 127 laboratory schools ranked seven predetermined functions in order from most to least important as student teaching, observation, demonstration, participation, experimentation, research, and in-service training (p. 112). However, other researchers have identified and described the functions of laboratory schools differently. For example, Godlad (1980) identified five functions, which included the education of the children enrolled, the development of new and innovative practices, research and inquiry, pre-service education, and in-service education (cited by Cassidy, 2002, p. 6). The existence of so many different and often conflicting functions has made laboratory schools a target of criticism (Van Til, 1969, p. 5), but in reality there are just three essential categories under which all laboratory school functions fall: (1) educating children; (2) training educators; and (3) and conducting research and experimentation. Viewed from this perspective, it is much easier to characterize the functions of individual laboratory schools by understanding the category to which they belong.

Educating Children

Institutions whose primary concern is providing a quality education to school-age students demonstrate a high level of social and communal commitment. Instead of justifying the

existence of laboratory schools on teacher preparation or even research and experimentation, these colleges and universities impose on themselves a social responsibility to improve public education and meet the needs of disadvantaged student populations.

Some of the earliest laboratory schools in American history were established for these purposes, and starting around 1990, there has been a revival in the creation of college and university-controlled laboratory schools with these same objectives (Cucchiara, 2010, p. 101). Although it is not their responsibility to provide a primary or secondary education to local children, schools of higher education voluntarily operate laboratory schools as either charter, public, or private schools to provide "a good educational option in the neighborhood adjacent to the a university" and/or "to bring the resources of the university to bear on the challenges of educating low-income urban students." Modern examples of laboratory schools devoted to the needs of their communities include the School at Columbia University and the University of Pennsylvania's Sadie Alexander School, which is also known at the Penn-Assisted School or the Penn-Alexander School. Those focused on educating low-income urban students include the University of California at San Diego, Stanford University, University of South Florida, Wayne State University (Detroit, Michigan), and University of Chicago. With a focus on serving communities through the operation of their laboratory schools, these colleges and universities represent a special category of institutions whose dedication to public service and social welfare outweighs their self-interests.

This largely philanthropic justification for laboratory schools is morally and ethically commendable, but practical considerations could diminish their long-term viability if no other functions are emphasized. Many factors could contribute to an institution becoming more insular, whether it be changes in administrative philosophy, shifts in institutional priorities, reorganizations of institutional structures, modifications to legislative funding, or even economic recessions. In those situations, programs that cost money but do not contribute income to

institutional operations are especially vulnerable because colleges and universities will ultimately safeguard their survival by prioritizing the tangible needs of the institution over the intangible needs of society.

Training Educators

Training educators is arguably the most important historic function attributed to laboratory schools in America. The phrase "training educators" is a broad category that describes the application of educational theories and practices to facilitate student/pre-service teaching, observation, demonstration, participation, and in-service training. Practice teaching/teacher training has been a dominant function of American laboratory schools since their inception in the 1800s (Cucchiara, 2010, p. 96-97). In the beginning, the focus on practice experiences was so fundamental that the laboratory schools referred to themselves as Practice Schools, but even after that terminology fell out of style teacher training remaining the primary function of American laboratory schools for at least 150 years. Two important studies about the status of U.S. laboratory schools in the 1930s found that laboratory schools were primarily used as sites for the demonstration of high-quality instruction, observation, and practice teaching, while other functions like research and experimentation remained secondary (Eubank, 1931 and Jarmack, 1932, cited by Cucchiara, 2010, p. 99). This trend was confirmed almost forty years later by Kelley's (1967) study, which found that laboratory schools still ranked practice teaching and teacher training as the most important aspects of their operation.

Educational science provides some explanation for why this function has maintained dominance for so long. Research has shown that pre-service teachers who observe and interact with children in a classroom setting have an easier time linking conceptual information, like educational theories, to its application in the real world (Wilcox-Herzog & McLaren, 2012, p. 1). They also display increased knowledge of pedagogy and curriculum, better interactions with

children and adults, and increased interest in the professional field of education (Bowers, 2000; Clawson, 1999; Clawson, 2003, Horm-Wingerd, Warford & Penhallow, 1999; Knudsen & Berghout, 1999, cited by Wilcox-Herzog & McLaren, 2012, p. 2). From a practical standpoint, the use of laboratory schools for practice teaching/teacher training allows colleges and universities to provide high-quality, hands-on experiences to pre-service teachers, which produces better trained teachers than would be achieved without that hands-on experience.

Nonetheless, justifying the existence of a modern laboratory schools on this function alone is largely impractical considering the rising number of student enrollments at all levels. The rules of supply and demand dictate the large number of student teachers being trained at any given time, and with the possible exception of small colleges and universities, an institutionally-controlled laboratory school cannot accommodate the observation, demonstration, and practice teaching needs of an entire school's pre-service teachers. As such, although training educators can remain a function of modern laboratory schools, it should not be the primary function when the needs of the institution exceed the capabilities of the school.

Conducting Research and Experimentation

One function of laboratory schools in addition to teacher training is research and experimentation. In the late 1800s, the rise in educational science and the evolution of pedagogy and curriculum spawned the creation of several truly experimental laboratory schools like the Cook County Normal School (1883), Horace Mann School (1887), and John Dewey Laboratory School (1896) (Cucchiara, 2010, p. 97). These schools viewed educational research as their primary function, and they devoted their time to challenging existing standards, procedures, and practices using scientific investigation and research (McNabb, 1973, p. 6). Using these schools as a model, some schools have added research and experimentation as an important function of their laboratory schools, although for most schools it still takes a secondary role to practice

teaching/teacher training. The ability to devote time and manpower to research and experimentation fluctuates based on the needs and resources of parent institutions, so even at schools that highly value this function it often takes a backseat to more practical considerations in the day-to-day running of a school. It has been suggested that when funds became scarce in the 1950s and 1960s, the decline of laboratory schools was caused by colleges and universities' inability to articulate research agendas to justify their existence (Cucchiara, 2010, p. 99). However, the premise that educational research is a necessary function to ensure the viability of modern laboratory schools is not supported by the recent establishment of laboratory schools whose primary function is meeting the needs of the local community and/or low-income urban students.

Nonetheless, educational research and experimentation is the foundation upon which pedagogy and curriculum are built, so the importance of testing the validity of theories and philosophies using classroom applications cannot be ignored. The label "laboratory school" has become the standard terminology because these schools have served as laboratories for scientific research and experimentation since as early as 1870. Thomas Hunter, the founder of the Hunter College Campus Elementary School used a rather morbid metaphor to communicate their importance to this endeavor: "It may be observed, that the living class of young children is used by the normal teacher in a manner similar to the use of the dead body by a teacher of anatomy" (in Stone, 1992, p. 13, cited by Cucchiara, 2010, p. 97). The comparison between children and corpses is troublesome, but his point about classrooms being laboratories is valid. He was not the only person to compare laboratory schools to other research environments. For example, Dewey (1896) praised the role of laboratory schools in educational research, saying

> It bears the same relation to the work of pedagogy that a laboratory bears to biology, physics, or dentistry. Like any such laboratory, it has two main purposes: (1) to exhibit, test, verify and criticize theoretical statements and principles; (2) to add to the sum of facts and principles in its special line. (in Van Til, 1969, cited by Cucchiara, 2010, p. 97)

Laboratory schools like Dewey's have contributed a wealth of knowledge about child development and learning that has improved educational pedagogy and curriculum, and laboratory schools that embrace research and experimentation as one of their functions play an important role in continued advancements in educational science.

Praise of Laboratory Schools

The long history of laboratory schools in the United States and the rest of the world is a testament to the many advantages they provide to the field of education. The most common praises for laboratory schools involve the ease and effectiveness of self-administration and the benefits of access to institutional resources.

Administrative Control

Institutional control over the operation of on-campus and off-campus laboratory schools provides many advantages that improve their efficiency and potential impact on children, adults, and communities. By keeping everything "in house," the potential for administrative roadblocks and professional power struggles is significantly decreased, and the designation of responsibilities is more clearly defined. The decision-making process is simplified by the decreased number of stakeholders involved, and the parent institution and its employees have more autonomy to make decisions and pursue innovations than do collaborative partners like local school districts and their teachers. Complete control over the planning, organization, and operation of the laboratory school makes it easier to manage and positively influence every aspect of the school environment, including building and classroom design, instructional resources, student population, faculty, pedagogy, curriculum, etc. Many schools use this advantage to develop continuous policies of instruction that communicate the institution's educational philosophies. The laboratory schools are organized to show the best of educational theory and practice, thus improving the quality of

teacher preparation provided by the controlling college or university (Wilcox-Herzog & McLaren, 2012, pp. 1-2).

Institutional Resources

Access to institutional resources is also a significant benefit enjoyed by laboratory schools. For supervising and pre-service teachers, the convenient location of on-campus laboratory schools facilitates movement between the teachers college and the school, which not only economizes time and eliminates transportation costs for student teachers, but also increases easy access to classrooms for the purposes of observation, demonstration, and practice teaching (Mead and Evenden, cited by Williams, 1942, p. 105). The proximity of the laboratory school to the college of education increases its integration into the work of the entire education department (Williams, 1942, p. 104). It also provides professors with a place to research, demonstrate, and transmit educational techniques to a new generation of educators (Olwell, 2006, p. 5-6). Off-campus schools can then be used to "supplement" teacher training experiences and "complement" the ideal environment of the on-campus laboratory school with the real and differentiated environments of the off-campus schools (Williams, 1942, p. 106).

The institutional setting of laboratory schools also make them ideal places for interdisciplinary research by other departments at the college or university (AED, 1969, p. 8, cited by Olwell, 2006, p. 2)/ For example, before the 1969 closing of the University School at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, the laboratory school was being used for research and training by not only the college of education, but also the medical school, nursing school, psychology department, and math department (Fox to SOE Faculty, 1962, p. 1, cited by Olwell, 2006, p. 4). In fact, "over $1.6 million in grants were received by projects associated with the school, mostly from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NHICD), National Institute of health (NIH), National Science Foundation (NSF)" (Parents' Committee Research, 1969, p. 1,

cited by Olwell, 2006, p. 4). Echoing the sentiments of Hunter and Dewey on the value of laboratory schools for research and experimentation, Psychology professor William McKeachie said

> A school is as important to us for training in development and child psychology as a hospital is in the training of medical doctors. I know that there are headaches in running both hospitals and schools, but the costs of doing without them are even greater. (1969, p. 5, cited by Olwell, 2006, p. 4)

In terms of research and experimentation, laboratory schools make possible this kind of interdisciplinary collaboration, and departments that are willing to think creatively have an opportunity to participate in studies that would be much more difficult without frequent one-on-one contact with school age children.

In some cases, laboratory schools benefit from the sizable budgets and deep pockets of their parent institutions, and administrators who value the work of the school provide the essential funding for it to succeed. The schools operate in well-maintained facilities and are provided the financial backing to thrive as model educational environments. The prestige of the college or university also transfers over to the laboratory school, and its positive reputation becomes a source of communal pride and results in a high level of local support. The most qualified teachers seek jobs at these schools, and those teachers' skills and expertise creates a higher quality learning environment for the school age students.

Criticism of Laboratory Schools

Ironically enough, the characteristics for which laboratory schools are praised are often the same characteristics for which they are criticized. The advantages of administrative control and institutional resources can produce disadvantages like atypical student and teacher populations, excessive goals, overwhelmed faculty, and financial difficulties.

Atypical Populations

In many laboratory schools, the unintended byproduct of community support, adequate resources, and good teachers is an artificial learning environment composed of an atypical student population. According to Cucchiara, these laboratory schools are prone "to serve more elite populations and to have more abundant resources than traditional public schools" (2010, p. 96). Students in laboratory schools are often the children of university faculty (p. 100) or other upper and middle-class families (Van Til, 1969, p. 4). The cultural capital of the parents, who understand the link between education and success in life, motivates them to seek the best for their children, so laboratory schools generally end up with two types of children: gifted, prosperous children with an intellectual head start and children with extra emotional, social, and physical, and intellectual needs whose families believe that laboratory schools can provide the special support their child needs (p. 2). What is not common to many laboratory school populations are children of "average" or "normal" intellectual ability (pp. 2-3) or "the lower class income Black child, the ethnic minorities or other culturally disadvantaged children" (Cohen, 1969, p. 5, cited by Olwell, 2006, p. 3).

This problem is compounded by institutions that rely on tuition to finance the operation of laboratory schools because "economic selection" limits the student population to children of affluent families. Unfortunately, this was a trend that increased during the first half of the 20th century and may have been a reason for the demise of laboratory schools approximately fifty years later. According to Williams, between 1933 and 1938 only 23.7% of American laboratory schools charged tuition, but by 1964 Kelley found that number had almost doubled to approximately 45% (Van Til, 1969, p. 2). This is problematic because student populations that are not typical of the general population result in inauthentic field experiences for preservice teachers (Cassidy & Sanders, 2001, p.6; MacNaughton & Johns, 1993; Hayo, 1993; cited by Cassidy &

Sanders, 2001, p. 6). By embracing ideal versus real school conditions, a laboratory school undermines its usefulness as a real "laboratory" and renders itself "increasingly irrelevant to the teacher-training department it supposedly existed to serve" (Stone, 1992, pp. 15-16, cited by Cucchiara, 2010, p. 97). This is the primary reason why scholars argue that although Dewey's school at the University of Chicago achieved "a great deal of notoriety, its impact on educational practices in general has been surprisingly limited" (Cucchiara, 2010, p. 98, citing Jackson, 1990). The ideal conditions of his school, which included an atypical student population, made it easy for educators to dismiss Dewey's research as "impractical or as not transferable to other, more ordinary settings" (Jackson, 1990, p xxxiii-xxxiv, cited by Cucchiara, 2010, p. 98).

The exclusiveness of elite student populations also impacts the students' sense of identity and the parents' expectations of the school. Van Til found that laboratory school students perceive themselves as having "special" status that distinguishes them from students in state-controlled public schools, "But they do not want to be so special as to be regarded as "different" (sometimes as snobbish, sometimes as eggheads, sometimes as weird) by their social class contemporaries attending public or private schools in the community" (1969, p. 3). Students consider themselves as special because of the school's limited enrollment and the atypical environment created by access to university resources and highly qualified teachers. In many laboratory schools, the faculty is so distinguished and talented that they produce their own texts, curriculum guides, and workbooks (Cremin, 1962, p. 282, cited by Cucchiara, 2010, p. 98). The uniqueness and exclusivity of the laboratory school encourages both students and parents to embrace an identity of privilege, which also results in a high level of loyalty to the laboratory school that is not seen in most off-campus school environments. Educated parents leverage their own financial success and cultural capital to actively participate in their children's educations and assert influence over the school itself. Parents are vocal about not wanting their children to be

"guinea pig[s]" for professors and young teachers, and as a result the research and experimentation efforts of laboratory schools are curtailed by parental influence (Van Til, 1969, p. 4).

Excessive Goals

In addition to atypical student and teacher populations, laboratory schools are also criticized for trying to be "all things to all men" (Van Til, 1969, p. 8). The various goals and expectations placed on the schools by administrators, teachers, students, and parents results in "conflicting priorities" (Cucchiara, 2010, p. 96), and too many agendas make laboratory schools vulnerable to an unclear sense of purpose. For example,

> The student teacher wants to get employed, the laboratory school teacher wants to demonstrate pedagogical expertise; the experienced teacher visiting in the school hopes to see something he or she can use next week; the professor in a campus department wants to access to a research facility with a minimum of hassle; the director of the school probably wants good teaching, experimentation and innovations, and a vigorous research program- all simultaneously. Something has to give. Too often, everything gives and the school ends up doing little or nothing well. (Goodlad, 1980, cited in Hunkins, et. al, 1995, p. 102, cited by Cucchiara, 2010, p. 100)

In addition to being stretched too thin, the primary functions of laboratory schools can also conflict with one another, thus complicating the school's sense of identity. For example, the environment most conducive to student teaching can be very different from the environments most conducive to observation or to theory development and research (Van Til, 1969, p. 5). Historically, the burden of multiple purposes and variant perceptions has been a heavy one for laboratory schools to overcome, and it has been cited as one of the reasons for the decline in laboratory schools during the last fifty years.

Overwhelmed Faculty

Excessive goals are part of the reason why laboratory school faculty members experience overwhelming stress. In 1955, A.R. Mead lamented the plight of laboratory school teachers saying

> By and large, what has been done to these workers and about them has been a shame and disgrace to the profession. They have been paid smaller salaries, asked to achieve the same standards of preparation as the other college staff members, not allowed to have faculty rank in many cases, not allowed to share in faculty deliberations in most cases, sometimes sneered at by persons who should know better, and often 'encouraged' by their 'superior' administrators to 'get out of the laboratory school and teach courses in education!' (Mead, 1955, p. 139, cited by Van Til, 1969, p. 7).

Dealing with conflicting priorities, unmanageable workloads, and a lack of respect and recognition can deplete the energy and emotional wellbeing of classroom teachers, which can then have a negative impact on the quality of education experienced by the students.

Some of the stress on teachers at laboratory schools stems from requirements to offer all the specialized services available in larger schools, such as special education, speech therapy, music programs, physical education, gifted and talented programs, and nutrition services, even though laboratory schools are typically smaller in terms of physical space, student population, and financial resources (McConnaha, 1996, cited by Cassidy & Sanders, 2001, p. 7). Conscientious teachers feel compelled to fill the gaps by giving more of their personal time and money to compensate for the school's inadequate resources. This creates an unhealthy and unfair work environment for all teaching professionals and produces guilt and fear in teachers whose family lives and/or financial circumstances prohibit them from giving more than 100 percent to their jobs.

Unfortunately, professional advancement does not seem to provide an escape for overwhelmed faculty in the laboratory school setting. Oftentimes, supervising teachers find themselves playing the role of middle-man between children, student teachers, college instructors, parents, observers, and graduate class professors, while still needing time to complete their own research, keep records, communicate, attend meetings, etc. (Van Til, 1969, p. 6). Administrators face a similar struggle as they constantly shuffle the demands of students, parents, professors, college and university officials, laboratory school teachers, and funding

sources (p. 9). Much like their colleagues in public schools, the faculty of laboratory schools are stretched in so many different directions that they find it difficult to hold things together, much less excel in their professional responsibilities. As a result, they are then criticized for having insular mindsets because they have neither the time, nor the resources "to disseminate information about the research and program development being conducted on site" (Goodlad, 1980 and Hepburn 1995, cited by Cassidy & Sanders, 2001, p. 6).

Financial Difficulties

Most, if not all, of the struggles experienced by laboratory schools link back to one common culprit: money. It's well known that America's system of education has been plagued by financial difficulties from its inception, but laboratory schools find themselves at unique disadvantages because it is costly to establish and maintain "ideal" educational environments that simultaneously cater to the specialized needs of faculty, students, and communities (Williams, 1942, p. 106) and compete with resources provided at public schools. While state public schools are financed using local taxes and financial distributions from the state, laboratory schools are financed by an individual college or university's operating budget, sometimes student tuition, and no financial distributions from the state.

The costs of running any school are immense, but because laboratory schools are required to justify their existence within the larger business plan of colleges and universities, "The reality has been that the laboratory school has had to fight for its life financially. Sometimes funds were not cut off, yet little more than maintenance was provided. As a result, in some schools financial malnutrition developed, resulting in virtual death without proper burial." (Van Til, 1969, p. 8). Many laboratory schools have had to fight for funding by trying to prove their mission is not a passing "a fad and a frill" that can be disposed of when money gets tight. This becomes especially difficult when decision makers start to believe that "The cost of maintaining operations of

laboratory school is becoming prohibitive due to lack of return on the investment, the ability to conduct the mission in the public sector, and a lack of results that are generalizable to other school settings." (Florida Department of Education, 1976, p. 10, cited by Olwell, 2006, p. 2).

However, assessing the need for and success of a laboratory school using an economic business model will ultimately fail because colleges and universities cannot quantify the return on their investment. Laboratory schools are often seen as a financial burden on institutions that would prefer to focus on future development (AED, 1969, p. 51, cited by Olwell, 2006, p. 3) and improve their bottom line. Although many institutions philosophically agree with the idea that "A school is as important to us for training in development and child psychology as a hospital is in the training of medical doctors" (McKeachie, 1969, p. 5, cited by Olwell, 2006, p. 4), the tangible support they provide to different fields of research and experimentation is extremely disproportionate. Some disciplines, such as medicine, are favored above others in terms of social respect and financial sustainability. For example, many universities operate teaching hospitals to train medical students because (1) the medical profession is highly esteemed by society, (2) the average citizen does not believe they can do the job of a medical professional, and (3) teaching hospitals not only pay for themselves, but they also generate significant income to bolster an institution's operating budget. However, the same universities will refuse to operate teacher training schools because (1) the education profession garners limited respect and sometimes distrust by society, (2) the average citizen believes they can do the job of an educator because of the time they spent in school as a student, and (3) laboratory schools typically do not pay for themselves or contribute additional income to the institution's operating budget. As a result, laboratory schools try to sustain themselves on spartan operating budgets or are compelled to close as faculty members pursue the respect of academic peers on campus through the "boosting of research and downplaying of service functions" in the field of education (Olwell, 2006, p. 2).

Chapter 3: Laboratory Schools in Historical Context

The specific role UK's laboratory school played in the Laboratory School Movement of the 20th century cannot be analyzed without first examining the history of laboratory schools in the United States and the role they played in the development of American education. This chapter begins by exploring the international origins of laboratory schools and how they found their way to North America. Starting with the Common School Movement, it then reveals the ways laboratory schools were used to expand public education and improve the quality of education across the nation. It contemplates how laboratory schools both influenced and were influenced by various stages of American history, and it considers how differences in geography and social conditions shaped the organization and mission of college and university-run laboratory schools. The increased prevalence of laboratory schools during the Progressive Education Movement demonstrates the rise of the Laboratory School Movement of the 20th century, and subsequent shifts in the nation's history provide context for understanding the movement's demise and the limited role laboratory schools now play in American education.

International Origins of Laboratory Schools

Surprisingly enough, the earliest known laboratory schools in the world originated in the 1600s in Native American settlements located in modern day New Mexico (Williams, 1942, p. 2). Under a charter from the Spanish monarchy, Franciscan friars were sent to establish religious missions to convert the indigenous people (Simmons, 1992, pp. 96, 111). According to Williams (1942), one function of those schools was to prepare the best students to become teachers by engaging them in practice teaching (p. 2). They aimed to use well-trained natives indoctrinated by these schools to spread cultural imperialism across the Indian pueblos. Despite the cultural hegemony for which the schools were used, the Franciscan missions demonstrated the kind of hands-on teacher training that is a distinguishing feature of laboratory schools today.

This idea of preparing educators through practice teaching was first documented in Europe in 1654, when Duke Ernest of Gotha wrote in his will that "It is desirable that the teachers at their expense or with assistance remain in one central place and…through practice learn that…for which they will in the future be employed" (Kandel, 1910, pp. 5-7, as cited in Williams, 1942, p. 1). However, it is unclear what became of the money Duke willed for that purpose, so ultimately it is Jean-Baptist de La Salle who is credited with opening the first official Normal school, or teaching training school, in Reims, France in 1685 (Cubberly, 1920, p. 744). His pioneering efforts to establish teacher training colleges, as well as his work to begin charity and reform schools throughout France, resulted in Pope Pius XII designating him the patron saint of teachers in 1950 (LaSalle.org, 2019). Duke Ernest of Gotha's dream to establish teacher training schools in Germany was not realized until 1696 when theologian August Hermann Franke established a *Seminarium praeceptorum* in Halle where students practiced teaching in front of their peers (Williams, 1942, p. 1). Two years later, Duke Ernest's grandson, Frederick II of Gotha, created ten teaching seminaries to train educators in the same manner, and in doing so he rendered Germany a leader in the development of laboratory schools throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

During the 1700s, Catholic Jesuits and Lutheran Pietists managed schools across Europe that made practice teaching an essential component of professional teacher training (Williams, 1942, p.1, 2). These included Johann Bernhard Basedow's 1774 teacher training school at Dessau, which specifically emphasized both "experimentation and demonstration." The first state-supported teacher training school was founded in Berlin in 1788 and, much like its privately funded predecessors, required student teaching experience

> through visitation and observation of the regular school work, by assisting in the class work of the regular teachers, by oversight and care of indifferent or backward pupils, and by actual teaching according to instructions and under the supervision of the director. (Luckey, 1903, p. 37, as cited by Williams, 1942, p. 2)

In 1800, the Swiss pedagogue Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (*Figure 3.1*) established a school in Burgdorf, Switzerland where student teachers could both observe and practice teaching (Williams, 1942, p. 1). That school was superseded in 1805 by his renowned Institute at Yverdon, also in Switzerland, where Pestalozzi's whole-child approach to education garnered him international notoriety as an educational reformer (Pinloche, 1912, p. 96).

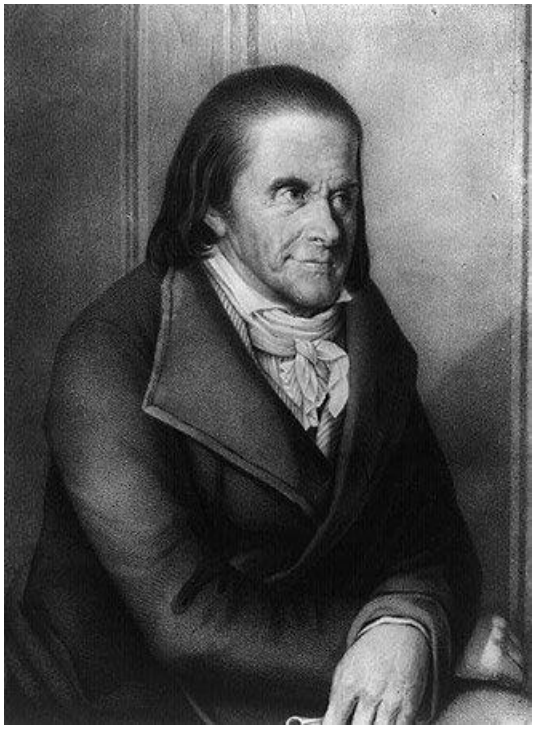


Figure 3.1: Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi

Figure 3.2: Johann Friedrich Herbart

Johann Friedrich Herbart (*Figure 3.2*) founded his own practice school at the University of Konigsberg in 1809, and in addition to the theories of Freidrich Froebel, who espoused learning by kindergarten-age students through activity and play (Blakely, 2009, p. 21), Pestalozzian and Herbartian methods became the dominant educational theories implemented by European laboratory schools (Hall, 1899, pp. 882-884, as cited by Lamb, 1962, p. 107). Herbart favored instruction that merged content and methodology to develop the morality, and thus the personality, of each child as an individual (Somr and Hruskova, 2014, pp. 425-426). His pupil, Karl Volkmar Stoy, used Herbartian principles to create a seminary and practice school in Jena,

Germany in 1843, and Stoy's successor, Professor Wilhelm Rein, maintained those principles in the practice school during the years that followed (Hall, 1899, pp. 882-884, as cited by Lamb, 1962, p. 107). Another Herbartian, Professor Tuiskon Ziller, established a similar teacher training school in Leipzig, Germany in 1857, and Pestalozzi and Herbart's shared focus on philosophy and psychology as tools for education became permanent features of teacher education in both Europe and the United States (Lamb, 1962, p. 107).

Laboratory Schools in the History of American Education

When the concept of laboratory schools finally returned to North America in the early 1800s, it was heavily influenced by the European expectation that these schools serve as "stages" for the demonstration of teaching methods and places for prospective teachers to practice teaching under the supervision of experienced educators (Lamb, 1962, p. 107). Initially referred to as "model schools" and later as "practice schools" and "training schools," their primary roles in teacher education were to facilitate classroom observation and student teaching experiences.

Early Normal Schools and the Common School Movement (1820-1860)

The earliest laboratory schools in the United States were associated with privately owned teacher training schools in New England, but there is some disagreement about which one was the first. Perrodin (1955) referred to Mother Seaton's Teacher Training School founded in Emmitsburg, Maryland in 1808 as "an example of" the first model or practice schools in the country (p. 2, as cited in Lamb, 1962, p. 108), but Stone (1923) and Judd (1925) specifically identified Rev. Samuel Hall's school founded in Concord, Vermont in 1823 as the first private normal school in America (p. 263, as cited by Williams, 1942, p. 2; p. 291). Regardless, each of these schools' emphasis on student teaching as an essential component of teacher preparation influenced the use of laboratory schools in years to come.

Support for student teaching came from multiple sources as the Common School Movement, or the push to establish publicly supported schools for all children, gained momentum. Some of the most influential publications supporting practice teaching at normal schools included Connecticut Reverend Thomas H. Gallaudet's 1825 *Plan of a Seminary for the Education of the Instructors of Youth*, James G. Carter's 1824-25 series of articles in the *Boston Patriot*, and Henry Barnard's 1839 "First Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools in Connecticut" (Williams, 1942, pp. 2-3). By the time Massachusetts passed legislation in 1838 to establish the first three state normal schools in the United States on an experimental basis (p. 3), the value of student teaching was so evident that the state Board of Education, under the direction of its first secretary Horace Mann (*Figure 3.3*), partnered with Boston philanthropist Edmund Dwight (*Figure 3.4*) to provide funding for training school departments at each of those schools (FSU, 2019; Williams, 1942, p. 3). Observation and practice teacher were valued so highly that laboratory schools became standard features of America's state normal school system.

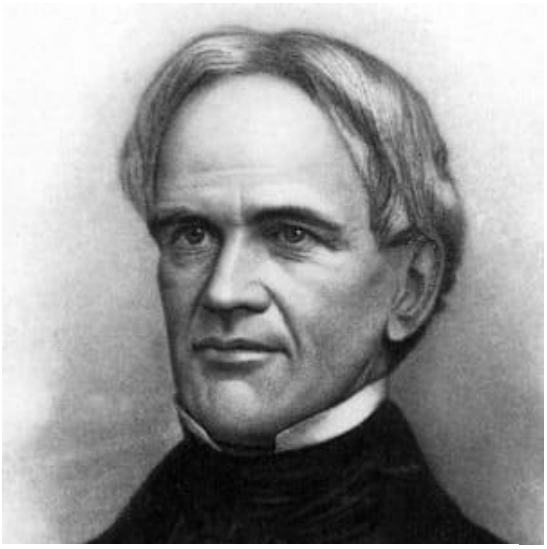


Figure 3.3: Horace Mann

Figure 3.4: Boston philanthropist Edmund Dwight

The first state normal school in the country was a women-only teaching school opened in Lexington, Massachusetts on July 3, 1839 (FSU, 2019), and by October 21, 1839 its laboratory school began working with children ages six to ten from each of the town's six districts (Williams, 1942, p. 3). Although the location of this school was moved to West Newton in 1844, the laboratory school continued to operate using that town's public grammar school and the later addition of a primary school (p. 4). The Normal School, as it was known, was moved once again to Framingham in 1853, and according to Williams the formal agreement between the Normal School and the town's school committee chair stipulated that "each student-teacher should have charge of a class or classes for discipline and instruction for not less than one hour each day, for a minimum of six consecutive weeks" (p. 5).

The second state normal school in the United States was opened in Barre in 1839, and it was the first co-ed public school of its kind (FSU, 2019). Unfortunately, its early years were marred by financial problems and public criticisms, and the school suspended its operations for a short time between 1841 to 1844 (Williams, 1942, p. 5). When it resumed operation, a new building was constructed using $1,500 raised by Barre's School District No. 1, and the first floor was devoted to children attending the model school. This was the first, but not the last, time a laboratory school was criticized for having a select student population that did not produce typical school conditions to help student teachers learn (p. 6). The Massachusetts Board of Education quickly addressed these criticisms by providing a typical school district as one of the model schools used for practice teaching, but this arrangement was discontinued in 1856 and students were forced to practice teaching on their peers. A "school of observation" did operate from 1867 to 1879, but it was abandoned along with the training school for the next thirteen years.

The third state normal school created under Massachusetts' 1838 legislation opened in Bridgewater in 1840 (FSU, 2019; Boyden, 1933, p. 7). Unlike the first two, the Bridgewater Normal

School experienced more stability in terms of location and sustained operation, and as Horace Mann reported "Its only removal has been a constant moving onward and upward, to higher degrees of prosperity and usefulness" (Barnard, 1868, p. 694, as cited by Boyden, 1933, p. 7). The co-ed school also boasted the first new building in America constructed for specific use as a normal school (*Figure 3.5*) (Boyden, 1933, p. 11). The plain, wooden structure measuring sixty-four feet by forty-two feet was designed to house a large schoolroom and two recitation rooms on the second floor and two anterooms, a chemical room, and a model school room for children on the first floor (p. 12). Although it had a modest design, the Bridgewater Normal School helped secure the future of laboratory schools in American because it became the template from which normal schools were built in succeeding years.

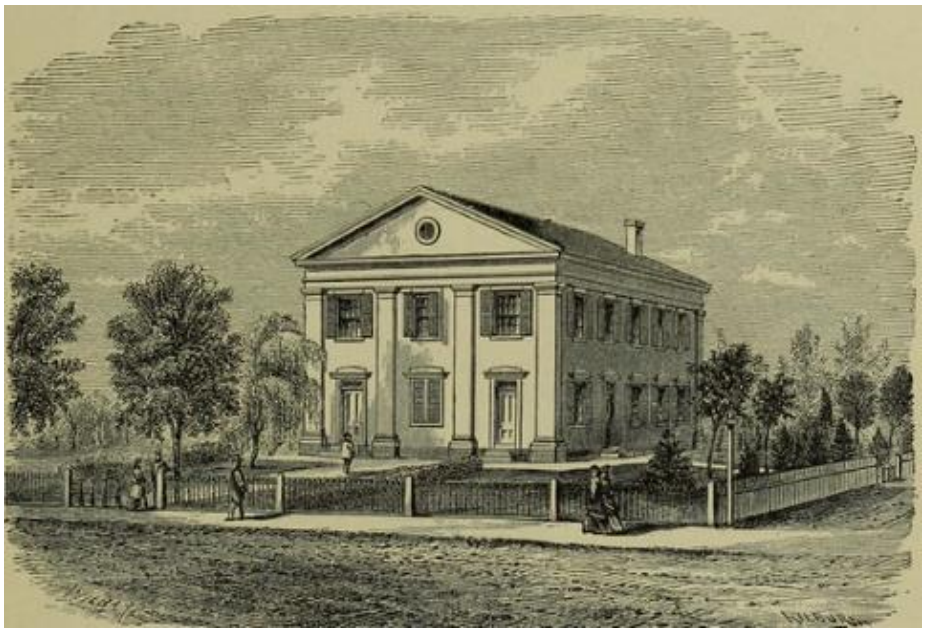


Figure 3:5: The Bridgewater State Normal School in Massachusetts

There was some threat to the survival of laboratory schools in America when the first state-supported normal schools enjoyed the support of education reformers but struggled to prove themselves to the general public (Boyden, 1933, p. 8). There was widespread criticism that students entering these normal schools lacked talent, the course of instruction was too brief, the

institutions were not friendly, and other schools offered better opportunities for scholarship. Working teachers often resented arguments for improved teacher training because they called into question their own skills and abilities, and many were resistant to reformers' efforts to implement European strategies in American schools. To complicate matters worse, attending a normal school did not guarantee success as a teacher, and "the general prospect for Normal Schools was not promising" (p. 9).

The ultimate survival of teacher training schools, and the laboratory schools attached to them, became dependent on the success of the Common School Movement. According to Cremin (1961), the "architects of universal schooling," like Horace Mann in Massachusetts, Henry Barnard in Connecticut, John Pierce in Michigan, and Samuel Lewis in Ohio, used public-school propaganda to link common schools to national progress, and in doing so convinced Americans that education and social advancement were indivisible (p. 8). The optimistic portrayal of common schools as the "great equalizer" of men appealed to the public's desires for freedom, opportunity, and a shared sense of community (pp. 8-9), and Americans came to embrace public education as the instrument to "create a more far-seeing intelligence and a purer morality than has ever existed among communities of men" (Mann, 1849, p. 84, quoted by Cremin, 1961, p. 8). By 1860, twenty-five years of fighting for free public schools resulted in its clear acceptance by the American public, and international educators praised the United States as the only country to "possess intelligent, educated masses" (DeGurowski, 1857, pp. 292, 308, quoted by Cremin, 1961, p. 14).

Influential reformers like Horace Mann used the success of the Common School Movement to emphasize the vital importance of teacher training (Boyden, 1933, p. 8), which in turn reinforced the importance of laboratory schools in the development of America's public system of education. The spread of common schools compelled state support of teacher training programs, and it became standard in most public normal schools for students to engage in

practice teaching. This resulted in the continued development of laboratory-based teacher training programs in various states. In 1845, David Page founded the first state normal school in Albany, New York with one room devoted to model, demonstration, and experimental work and another devoted to practice teaching (Perrodin, 1955, p. 4, as cited by Lamb, 1962, p. 108; Williams, 1942, p. 6). A state-supported normal school with a model primary school opened in New Britain, Connecticut in 1850 (Williams, 1942, p. 7), and the Michigan State Normal School, which opened in Ypsilanti in 1852, was the first of its kind west of the Alleghany Mountains, and it included a model school for village children that was funded by the town (Putnam, 1899, p. 14; Williams, 1942, p. 7). The state normal school founded at Providence, Rhode Island in 1854 required each student teacher to spend six months to a year giving "teaching exercises" to their classmates (Williams, 1942, p. 8), and the curriculum of the female-only Salem Normal School founded in Massachusetts in 1854 was supplemented by a practice school with children from one of the town schools (SSU, n.d.; Williams, 1942, p. 8). The normal school opened in Trenton, New Jersey in October 1855 added a thriving model school just six months later, and its immense success forced the normal school to buy land for the construction of a new model school building in 1857 (Williams, 1942, p. 9).

The prevalence of model laboratory schools continued to grow throughout the North Atlantic and North Central regions of the United States. Pennsylvania passed legislation in 1857 requiring its normal schools operate model schools accommodating at least 100 children at a time. The Lancaster County Normal Institute founded in Millersburg in 1855 had an enrollment of almost 200 children in its model schools, and in 1859 it was renamed the Pennsylvania State Normal School.

The Winona Normal School established in Minnesota in 1860 became the first state normal school west of the Mississippi River (WSU, n.d.; Williams, 1942, p. 9). Like many schools at

the time, Winona Normal School closed for three years during the Civil War, but it reopened in 1864 with two rooms to accommodate its model school (WSU, n.d.), which was totally separate from the local school system and entirely under the control of the normal school (Williams, 1942, p. 10).

The emphasis on practice teaching evident in these American normal schools established between 1820 and 1860 demonstrated a professional consensus that laboratory experience was a vital component of teacher education. The 1859 resolution adopted at the First Annual Convention of the American Normal School Association reflected this sentiment:

> Resolved, That this education of teachers should not only be theorical, but also practical; and that, to this end, there should either be a school of observation and practice in immediate connection with the normal school and under the same Board of Control, or there should be in other ways equivalent opportunities for observation and practice. (ANSA, 1860, p. 107, cited by Williams, 1942, p. 10 and Kelley, 1967, p. 17)

Although the structure and length of those practice experiences varied from one institution to another, their continued emphasis and support affirmed the importance of laboratory schools in the growth and standardization of professional teacher training in America.

National Progress and Educating the Masses (1861-1893)

Prior to the start of the Civil War in 1861, there were 19 normal schools operating across the country and each of them maintained a model or practice laboratory school to facilitate teacher training (Cubberly, 1920, 383, cited by Kelley, 1967, p. 17). Although the "Civil War markedly delayed the development of the American educational system as a whole" (Kelley, 1967, p. 18), there was limited impact on normal school system. The three normal schools that closed during the war were quickly replaced by the opening of three new normal schools immediately after the war ended (p. 19). The growth in laboratory schools corresponded with the continued growth in normal schools across the nation. In 1874, 47 of 67 (70%) state normal schools operated

laboratory schools for teacher training purposes, and by 1915, G.E. Walk's study of 60 representative normal schools found that number had increased to 78%.

Between 1861 and 1890, increased modernization and compulsory education transformed America's public education system by shifting the focus from establishing schools to improving schools using pedagogy and curriculum. The Common School Movement had primarily focused on establishing free, universal education to primary children through centralized control and localized taxation (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 88). Education reform was predominantly a political and organizational matter, and school governance was at the forefront of educators' minds. Common schools provided an efficient way to educate large numbers of students in publicly supported schools, but for the most part, teachers were forced to use recitation and rote memorization to manage big classes that did not organize students by age or ability. Instruction was largely teacher centered and the curriculum was dictated by the local community. Although the methods were not ideal, the laboratory schools utilized by teacher training schools during the Common School Movement reflected the same organizational, pedagogical, and curricular priorities and conditions that teachers would encounter when they became certified to teach in other local schools.

Although leading reformers like Mann had opposed the "hard-line" recitation method used by most teachers during the Common School Movement (Katz, 1968, cited by Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 97), it was not until the 1860s that his support of a more "soft-line" pedagogy gained traction and changed the personality of American laboratory schools. Mann had been inspired by the theories of Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi while studying centralized school systems in Europe, and he became an advocate of Pestalozzi's child-centered moral education through object teaching. Pestalozzi's theory was based on the belief that educators "must start with children as they are" and use concrete objects to appeal to their interests to

"lead them to where one wants them to be." This would become one of the hallmarks of modern American laboratory schools leading up to the 20th century.

The Oswego Movement and the Pestalozzian Approach: Head, Heart, and Hand

It was the popularity of the Oswego Movement, which began in a New York state laboratory school in 1861, that first demonstrated a pedagogical shift in this direction. In fact, Oswego was significant to the evolution of teacher education and the use of laboratory schools in America for two main reasons: (1) it placed greater emphasis on observation and practice work than had previously been required (Williams, 1942, p. 10), and (2) it revealed a growing attraction toward Pestalozzian theories of child-centered education in the United States (Ramalho, 2019).

Figure 3:6: Edward Austin Sheldon

According to Williams (1942), the amount of practice teaching conducted at the early normal schools was minor in comparison to modern standards, but that began to change when Edward Austin Sheldon (*Figure 3.6*) founded New York's Oswego Primary Teachers Training School (p. 10; OSU, n.d.). In terms of observation and practice work, Sheldon required his student teachers spend an entire year observing and practicing teaching, which was much more than normal schools had mandated prior to this time (Lamb, 1962, p. 108). The Oswego school was able to facilitate this requirement by enrolling almost two hundred children in three separate laboratory schools: a model school for observation, a practice school for facilitated teaching, and another school that was "taught exclusively by members of the training class" (Williams, 1942, p. 10, quoting Dearborn, 1925, p. 15). Sheldon's ability to facilitate this level of practice using laboratory schools was astounding, and his one-year standard for observation and teaching still exists in many teacher education programs over 150 years after the start of the Oswego Movement.

The second important change to come from Oswego was the introduction of Pestalozzian-inspired teaching techniques to mainstream American schools. Sheldon, Oswego's founder, had been inspired by a collection of educational materials he encountered when touring Canadian schools in Toronto (Ramalho, 2019). The pictures, charts, and other objects he saw had been developed at London's Home and Colonial Training Institution in England, so Sheldon invited one of its leading educators, Margaret E.M. Jones, to Oswego to train his teachers in what was called "the object method." Sheldon's teachers, as well as others who came to train at Oswego, became highly sought after for their expertise, and it was those teachers who "spread the influential Pestalozzi-inspired Oswego instructional method and school-reform movement" to other parts of the United States.

Pestalozzi's ideas about the "whole child" and his emphasis on child-centered instruction had a profound impact on American pedagogy and the future of the nation's laboratory schools. It was the first time a preponderance of schools from different locations voluntarily shifted away from traditional techniques of memorization and recitation in favor of the more progressive techniques of object and experience-based instruction, which were used to develop what Pestalozzi identified as the "head," the "heart," and the "hand" of a child. For the first time, teachers were encouraged to embrace individual differences in children and consider the developmental aspects of learning. The popularity of this method resulted in a high demand for teachers trained in Oswego, so much so that Sheldon struggled to keep his own school staffed as other institutions lured his teachers away by offering them higher salaries (Boyle, 1972, p. 67). In many ways, the popularity of the Oswego Movement foreshadowed the direction American pedagogy and curriculum would travel during the Progressive Movement from 1893 to 1957, and it promoted the ideologies that led up to the Laboratory School Movement of the 20th century.

Unfortunately, many leading educators and working teachers trained during the Common School Movement were not ready for such progressive reform to public education. Most were concerned with issues specific to their local communities, and they did not yet share Horace Mann's apprehensions about emerging social problems at the state and national level (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, pp. 97-98). They rejected his belief that schools should be the locus of moral education to cure social problems, and they viewed Pestalozzi's theories as impractical to the real classroom. Teachers responsible for large groups of children believed discipline through corporal punishment was necessary to maintain order, and they insisted that teacher-centered instruction was the only way to manage an orderly and efficient learning environment. Many laboratory schools during this period continued to reflect these ideas, which resulted in some of the new generation of teachers being trained under the old model of common schooling.

Education in the Antebellum South and the Impact of Reconstruction

Although the Common School Movement gained noticeable traction in the North Atlantic and North Central regions of the United States prior to the Civil War, there was resistance in the South that delayed the region's acceptance of a publicly funded common schools (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 111). Even though "pleas for common schools were loudly and frequently voiced throughout the southern states," opponents to common schools leveraged their political, social, and economic power to resist the same school reforms that were gaining success in the North (pp. 111, 109). According to Urban and Wagoner,

> The tendency of southerners to rely primarily on voluntary parental, community, and church initiatives in educating their children persisted throughout most of the region down to the Civil War and with some, long after that. A spirit of individualism and independent localism, the dispersed population pattern, and traditional class and caste divisions worked against the establishment of statewide common school systems. Some children learned the four R's of reading, 'riting, 'rithmatic, and religion from parents, ministers, or others, either in home settings or in neighborhood schools of varying descriptions and quality. Other children, especially those born into slavery or poverty, learned little or nothing from books and much from the hard lessons of life. Throughout most of

> the region during the antebellum period, there was no uniformity of textbooks, fees, teacher qualifications, length of school terms, "accreditation," or any of the other aspects of bureaucratization and systemization that were beginning to appear in northern and western states. There were some exceptions, but in general an attitude of laissez faire prevailed. (p. 109)

The problem was not that the "Old South" did not value education, *per se*, but that it only valued education for the social and political elite (p. 110). Educating the masses was viewed as both unnecessary and undesirable to the established order because, as one pro-slavery lawyer from South Carolina claimed,

> The Creator did not intend that every individual human being should be highly cultivated…It is better that a part should be fully and highly cultivated and the rest utterly ignorant. To constitute a society, a variety of offices must be discharged, from those requiring but the lowest degree of intellectual power to those requiring the very highest, and it should seem that endowments ought to be apportioned according to the exigencies of the situation. (pp. 110-111, citing Harper, 1853, p. 279)

Powerful southerners embraced the aristocratic assumption that status should be passed from one generation to the next, and education was the weapon wealthy families wielded to "maintain their position as members of the white, privileged class of our society" (p. 111, citing Kaestle, 1983, pp. 206-207).

With few educational opportunities available to the poor and rural population of the Antebellum South, even fewer existed for free and enslaved African Americans. Legal and social obstacles forced blacks to pursue education using a variety of "overt and covert approaches," and despite help from abolitionist societies and religious groups, efforts to establish and maintain African American schools achieved limited success (pp. 115-117). Southern whites feared black schools would motivate insurrection, especially after the slave uprising led by Nat Turner in 1831, and state legislatures attacked educational activities for blacks by adopting "black codes," which made it a criminal offense to teach a slave how to read or write. Although free blacks were technically exempt from that mandate, public opinion did not support the formal education of

any African American, and free and enslaved blacks were compelled to find private and secret means to achieve an education.

The South's resistance to education reform and publicly supported systems of education meant the region also had little need for state supported normal schools or the laboratory schools attached to them. As a result, the increasingly important role laboratory schools played in teacher education in the North did not exist in the Antebellum South. It was not until after the North defeated the South in the Civil War hat widespread education reform began to occur in in southern states.

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Reconstruction efforts implemented by the "Radical Republicans" dramatically increased the educational opportunities available to both blacks and whites across the South. As part of their readmission to the Union, southern states were forced to adopt new constitutions providing for publicly funded schools for all people (p. 126). The constitutions of Louisiana and South Carolina mandated schools open to all children, regardless of race or color. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and North Carolina adopted provisions for equality in education but no guarantees of school integration, while Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas agreed to provide schools for all citizens but included no language addressing equality or integration (p. 128). During the Reconstruction era, racial segregation of schools would become a hotly contested issue in all regions of the United States, and there were people and policies working both for and against school integration throughout the North and the South. However, the establishment of publicly funded schools in the southern states was in itself a monumental change for both blacks and whites, and it opened the door for laboratory schools to become part of the educational landscape in the South.

The number of educational opportunities available to African Americans increased dramatically in the aftermath of the Civil War. The Thirteenth (1865), Fourteenth (1966), and

Fifteenth (1870) Amendments to the US Constitution secured freedom, citizenship, due process, and voting rights to over 4 million African Americans, 3.5 million of whom had lived in slavery in the southern states (p. 126). Blacks of all ages and genders used their newfound freedom to pursue the education that had long been withheld from them. They immersed themselves in "self-teaching," attended church-sponsored Sabbath Schools on evenings and weekends, and before the end of 1865 created over 500 "native schools," which were founded and maintained by exclusively by ex-slaves (p. 125, citing Alvord, 1866; Robson, Schiess, and Trinidad, 2019, p. 71, citing Anderson, 1988). Congress established the Freedman's Bureau in 1865 to provide federal assistance to the war-torn South, especially the black population, and that organization helped establish an authorized network of reading, writing, and industrial schools that by 1870 had grown to 4,329 schools with over 247,000 students (Urban & Wagoner, 2011, p. 125, citing Franklin, 2010, p. 308). The Freedman's Bureau also worked with a variety of philanthropic and religious organizations to establish some of the South's most prominent historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) (*Table 3.1*) (p. 125).

Table 3.1: Some Southern HBCUs Established During Reconstruction Using Assistance from Philanthropic and Religious Organizations

Assisting Organization(s)	HBCUs Established
The Freedman's Bureau and the American Missionary Association	Fisk University, Talladega College, Hampton Institute, Straight University (n/k/a Dillard)
Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church	Bennett College, Clark University, Meharry Medical College, Morgan College, Philander Smith College
American Baptist Home Missionary Society	Benedict College, Bishop College, Morehouse College, Shaw University, Spelman Seminary, Virginia Union University
Congregationalists from Washington, D.C.	Howard University (open to blacks and whites)
African American Methodist Episcopal Church	Allen University, Morris Brown College, Wilberforce College
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church	Livingstone College

The establishment of these HBCUs schools brought with it the creation of teacher training programs that, modeling the established practices of the North, utilized laboratory schools to educate local children while training aspiring teachers. Some of the first laboratory schools in the

South were established at three Alabama HBCUs: Alabama A & M College, Tuskegee Institute, and Oakwood College (*Table 3.2, Figure 3.7*). Existing data about laboratory schools in the South reveals that Alabama led the region in establishing laboratory schools at both black and white colleges and universities. In fact, eight of the ten documented laboratory schools established in the South between 1860 and 1900 were located in Alabama (*Table 3.2*).

Table 3.2: Laboratory Schools Established in the South Between 1860 and 1900

Year Laboratory School Established	Laboratory School Location
1866	Towson State College in Baltimore, Maryland Lida Lee Tall School
1872	Florence State University in Florence, Alabama The Kilby School
1875	Alabama A & M College HBCU in Normal, Alabama (f/k/a Huntsville Normal School & State Normal and Industrial School at Huntsville)
1882	Tuskegee Institute HBCU in Tuskegee, Alabama Chambless Children's House
c. 1885	Alabama State University in Montgomery, Alabama Alabama State College Laboratory School
1890	Troy State University in Troy, Alabama College Laboratory School
1891	Saint Bernard College in Cullman, Alabama St. Bernard Preparatory School
1893	University of North Carolina in Greensboro, North Carolina Curry Laboratory School
1896	Alabama College (n/k/a University of Montevallo) in Montevallo, Alabama Alabama College Laboratory School, n/k/a Montevallo High School
1896	Oakwood College HBCU in Huntsville, Alabama Anna Knight Laboratory School, n/k/a Oakwood Adventist Academy

Figure 3:7: The first graduating class of Huntsville Normal School (now Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical University) in the late 1870s. Back row, from left: R. A. Thompson, J. E. Walker, R. B. Stamps, R. L. Houston, J. C. Barne. Front row, from left: L. V. Brownlow, A. L. Gray, Sarah F. Adams, Miss Duncan, A. H. Halfarce, D. W. McCall, and H. K. Patrick.

As education in the South evolved and state governments developed their public systems of education, public sentiment increasingly favored segregated schools (p. 129). Northern philanthropists who viewed public education as the means to obtain racial harmony and progress in the South established education funds that ironically steered southern educational policy in that direction (pp. 129-130). For example, George Peabody established the Peabody Fund (1867) to promote the "intellectual, moral or industrial education" of young southerners "without other distinction than their needs and the opportunities of usefulness to them" (p. 128). However, the first general agent of the fund, Dr. Barnas Sears, opposed integrated schools and made it a policy to only provide funds to communities offering separate facilities for blacks and whites (p. 129). Even the Slater Fund (1882), which had been established by John Slater to "assist in the education of the Negro people of the South," ended up hiring in 1890 a former general agent of the Peabody Fund, which impacted the underlying agenda of the fund (p. 130). By the end of the century, the combined influence of other philanthropic efforts, state legislation, and the 1896 Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* firmly established a policy of school segregation in the South that lasted well into the 20th century.

Reconstruction had forced southern states to establish public systems of education, and although their slow and grudging compliance increased the educational opportunities available to poor and rural blacks and whites across the South, education in the region remained far behind the rest of the nation. Laboratory schools had found a place at certain schools in a few states, but they were by no means thriving or evolving like they were in the rest of the country.

Modernization and School Structure

Outside the South, the rest of the nation began to experience overwhelming social change that forced educators to rethink their approach to education and adapt schools to the demands of a modernizing society. This had a direct influence on the way laboratory schools were used to

train future educators. In the last four decades of the 19th century, modernization in America brought a "nationalizing trend" and a "'majoritarian' consciousness" that impacted all aspects of society, including education (p. 145). The rise in compulsory attendance laws and new waves of immigration increased the number of children enrolling in public schools (pp. 155, 145), and increased urbanization, industrialization, and federalization (p. 146) created a chaotic social environment that educators were forced to address. Many conservative leaders became convinced that "the primary mission of schools should be the maintenance of order in a rapidly changing society" (p. 160).

To achieve this goal, schools were transformed into centers of socialization that taught order through conformity and assimilation (p. 159). Laboratory schools were used to educate new teachers to implement this model in local schools. With less emphasis on the individual self and more emphasis on social relationships, the system's devotion to mental discipline, organization, punctuality, and routine mimicked the authoritarian order students would experience in the workforce. What evolved from these efforts was a highly structured and specialized system of public education that spanned from primary school to the university.

The most influential educator in this era was arguably William Torey Harris, the long-time superintendent of St. Louis public schools and eventual U.S. Commissioner of Education (Cremin, 1961, p. 14). Harris is remembered as a transitional figure in the history of education whose Hegelian rationalism enabled him to "accept a new America without repudiating the old" (p. 16). He understood education in simple, pragmatic terms by affirming the ideals of Common School Movement while also emphasizing the importance of social order over self-

Figure 3:7: William Torey Harris

instinct. Like Mann and Barnard, Harris believed schools increased opportunity, taught morality and citizenship, encouraged leadership, and maintained social mobility, but he also believed their purpose was to prepare individuals for a civilized life of order, self-discipline, and civic loyalty. As he so aptly described it, "Education is the process of adoption of this social order in place of one's mere animal caprice… a renunciation of the freedom of the moment for the freedom that has the form of eternity" (Harris, 1898, p. 43, quoted by Cremin, 1961, p. 17). Cremin distinguished Harris as the man who "professionalized the art of school administration" (p. 15) because he instituted the age-graded school system, endorsed five fundamental areas of study (mathematics, geography, literature and art, grammar, and history), promoted students based on testing, and increased school efficiency using standardized terminology and record keeping (p. 19). He upheld the importance of existing public-school curriculum but used it to prepare students for a new social order (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 169). In doing so, Harris provided a bridge between the common schools of the past and the progressive schools of the future, and he set the standard of instruction in laboratory schools across America.

Other changes during this time that influenced the structure and specialization of public education, and thus the organization and curriculum of laboratory schools, included the addition of school administrators and superintendents, kindergartens, high schools, manual training schools, and universities to the modernized system of schooling. The trend of employing women as classroom teachers had begun during the Common School Movement because women were less costly and generally perceived as more nurturing than men in their interactions with young children (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 98). By delegating classroom responsibilities to women, this created an opportunity for male educators to monopolize the traditional male-female hierarchy by creating and assuming administrative positions (p. 99). The restructuring of the student population according to age and ability went hand-in-hand with the restructuring of school

management according to gender. Men assumed positions of authority as principals, superintendents, and board members, even though many had backgrounds as lawyers and ministers with no experience in education (p. 158), and the use of this structure in laboratory school management helped to cement these practices as the norm for the next generation of teachers.

The implementation of age grading also resulted in more students starting school at the same time, which was usually around six years old (p. 160). This morphed into a uniform starting age that inspired the absorption of kindergarten into the public school system. Based on the early education ideas of German philosopher Freidrich Froebel, the kindergarten was intended transition children from their "'self' orientation toward valuing social relationships with other children." For children from affluent families, the kindergarten classroom served as an extension of their home environments, but for children from lower class families, the classroom served as tool of social reform that was often at odds with their home environments. Even so, the kindergarten's emphasis on games and play activities "to instill desirable skills and proper social sentiments in the children" coincided with the prevailing goal of education to socialize all children to an established communal structure.

Industrial and Manual Training

Depending on the socioeconomic status of individual communities, school systems also opened increasing numbers of high schools and manual training schools between 1860 and 1890. The earliest high schools had been established in the early 1800s as alternatives to grammar schools for boys aspiring to become merchants and craftsmen (p. 163). The three-year curriculum, which included math, English composition, science, and social studies, was intended to prepare students for employment but not college. Prior to the Civil War, most of these high schools existed in industrial towns that had already experienced rapid social change, but after the

Civil War, new laws mandating the establishment and support of high schools through local taxes increased their number across different states. As high schools became more prevalent, public perception of their roles expanded to include preparation for college, and this perception was publicly affirmed by the Michigan State Supreme Court decision of 1874, which upheld tax support of high schools as "a necessary stage in completing the path from elementary schools to the university" (p. 164).

Industrial and manual training programs did not become part of the public school system until after Philadelphia's 1876 centennial exposition, which included a Russian exhibit of tools used to train students at the Moscow Technical Institute. This exhibit inspired prominent Americans like John D. Runkle and Calvin Woodward to create industrial shops and manual training schools to prepare public school students for life in an industrial world (pp. 166-167). Although technical training schools already existed to teach "the actual knowledge and skills for industrial work," manual training schools "were introduced to teach the manual principles and practices underlying that work," but the differences between the two programs were generally unclear. Nonetheless, manual training schools aspired to teach industrial subjects like carpentry, woodworking, metalworking, sewing, and home economics to all students in addition to traditional subjects like math, science, history, language, and literature. They sought to prepare students from all backgrounds for life in the industrial world, regardless of their future job aspirations, and they ultimately set the stage for the vocational education movement that would develop during the Progressive Education Era.

In addition to kindergartens, high schools, and manual training schools, the creation of state-supported universities became prevalent between 1860 and 1890, and these institutions ended up becoming more influential to higher education than the colleges that had existed in America for hundreds of years (p. 162). The growth of these universities can be attributed to two

main sources: (1) federal land grants, and (2) private endowments. The federal government first asserted its role in developing the nation's system of higher education with the Morrill Act of 1862, which granted federal land to states to sell and raise money for public universities (p. 147). Some states raised more money than others, but the endowments enabled them to create institutions that began to absorb independent professional schools of medicine, law, and teaching and to establish new programs for things like business, industrial, and mechanical education. Private endowments augmented by state funding were also used to establish public universities like Cornell (1868) and John Hopkins (1876) and to transition private colleges like Harvard (1636) and Yale (1701) to public institutions (p. 162). The growth of these universities had a profound impact on education because it increased opportunities for Americans to pursue advanced degrees, emphasized greater specialization of knowledge, and embraced scientific research as an important component of higher education.

The expansion and systemization of the public schools was possible because of its symbiotic relationship with teacher training schools, so it is not surprising that the number of publicly supported teacher education programs grew substantially between 1860 and 1890. In his 1851 report on normal schools in the United States, Henry Barnard identified seven institutions located in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Michigan (p. 8). By the time he issued his first report as U.S. Commissioner of Education in 1868, the number had risen to 38 state schools and 7 city schools (pp. 649-813), and by 1891 it had skyrocketed to 131 state schools (p. 879). Because practice teaching was considered essential to effective teacher education, most of these state schools provided model laboratory schools for observation and practice purposes. The Civil War did cause temporary setbacks in the use of laboratory schools for teacher training (Ryan, 1929, p. 4, cited by Williams, 1942, p. 11), but prevailing attitudes about the value of laboratory schools did not change (Williams, 1942, p. 11). The 1868 report of the U.S.

Commissioner of Education revealed that 83.3% of state normal schools responding to their request reported continued operation of their practice schools (p. 11-12). This demonstrates the resilient role laboratory schools played in teacher education programs immediately after the war and throughout the 1870s post-war depression. According to Williams, 71.4% of publicly supported normal schools still had laboratory schools in 1873 (p. 12), and these numbers remained remarkably steady at 70% in 1875 (Perrodin, 1955, p. 6, cited by Lamb, 1962, p. 108), 71% in 1884, 67.7% in 1887 (Dawson, 1887, p. 400), and 68.5% in 1894 (Williams, 1942, p. 12).

The transformation of the American education system from 1860 to 1890 was significant to the organization and practices of laboratory schools across the nation. Increased student enrollment resulting from compulsory attendance laws, immigration, and urbanization forced schools to adapt to the modern world. The result was a hierarchical system of education that spanned from kindergarten to the university, and within each level of the hierarchy, bureaucratic changes were made to the pedagogy, curriculum, and administration of schools to create and maintain order in a rapidly changing society. Educators had been exposed to, but had not widely embraced, the child-centered instruction conceived by Pestalozzi, and although most schools had adopted modern features like age grading and ability testing, the hard-line recitation method of the Common School Movement remained prevalent in teacher training and professional practice (Kliebard, 2004, pp. 4-5). However, continually changing social conditions and the rise of scientific research set the stage for the progressive reforms that would lead American schools into the 20th century and increase the role of laboratory schools in educational science.

Educational Science and Laying the Foundation for Progressivism

In the final decades of the 19th century, American modernization resulted in significant economic, political, and social problems that impacted every aspect of society (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 175). The three primary forces at play, namely industrialization, urbanization, and

immigration, generated serious social challenges that demanded immediate attention. Industrialization created issues with economic trusts, deceitful business practices, worker rights, and an increasing gap between the rich and the poor; urbanization created issues with housing, sanitation, transportation, and public utilities; and immigration created issues with racism, language, citizenship, and culture. Society was eager to ameliorate these problems using any means available, and in the end, it turned to science.

Science had experienced an international boom in the late 19th century that established systematic inquiry, or scientific inquiry, as the standard mode of decision making in most fields of study, including education. The problems educators faced echoed the larger issues affecting American society, and the widespread cultural embrace of the scientific method left the field of education primed to find solutions. Scientific advancements in other professional fields like medicine, law, engineering, and agriculture, as well as the mounting difficulties of managing increasingly complex school systems with rising student numbers, inspired educators to develop new types of educational inquiry through the application of scientific principles (Judd, 1925, pp. 298, 300, 295). According to Judd, this scientific movement in education was characterized by educators shifting their attention to the research and evaluation of traditional methodologies used in America's common schools (p. 296), and laboratory schools became the epicenter of this research. The science acquired through laboratory experimentation was then translated into specific course material to train new teachers in the optimal conditions for student learning. Specialized courses like developmental psychology and theories for math instruction replaced the broad professional curriculum of the past, and laboratory schools gained prominence as both the sources and conduits of education science.

Experimental Laboratory Schools

According to Lamb (1962), "Although the so-called 'scientific movement' in education met with initial resistance in normal schools," the work of Judd and Dewey inspired the growth and development of experimental laboratory schools as leaders in educational research (108). One of the earliest schools to embrace this scientific approach to teacher education was Francis W. Parker's Cook County Normal School (*Figure 3.8*) founded in Chicago in 1883 (Rugg, 1926, p. 88, cited by Lamb, 1962, p. 108). Parker's laboratory school embraced experimentation and "investigation on the work of teaching." It was the same approach subsequently adopted by the Horace Mann School founded at Teachers College in New York just four years later (Lamb, 1962, p. 108). The influence of these laboratory schools, as well as John Dewey's historic school established at the University of Chicago in 1896, shifted the perspectives of education scholars and practitioners toward experimentation and investigation (Perrodin, 1955, p. 6, cited by Lamb, 1962, p. 108). Other schools with similar experimental motivations were founded across the United States, including a second laboratory school at Columbia University's Teachers College in 1899 (the Speyer Laboratory School), an experimental school run by J.L. Meriam at the University of Missouri, a third laboratory school at Teachers College in 1917 (the Lincoln School), and the University School at Ohio State in 1932, which was run by a former staff member of the Lincoln School (*Figure 3.9*).

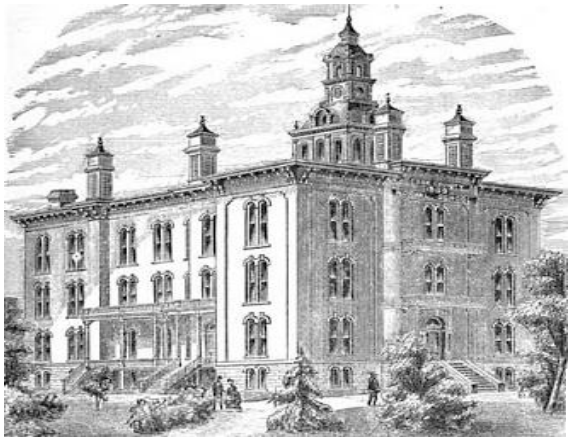
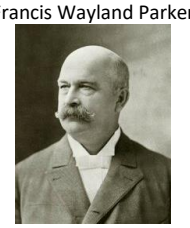
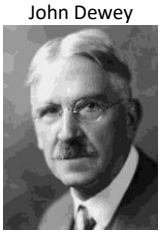
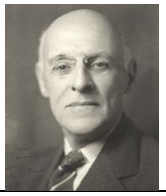


Figure 3:8: Cook County Normal School in Chicago, Illinois

Figure 3.9

Prominent Experimental Laboratory Schools in the United States

Dates of Operation	Name and Location	Characteristics	Notable Educators
1867-1965	**Cook County Normal School**, l/k/a Chicago Teachers College, Chicago, Illinois *(1883-1901: Experimental tenure of Colonel Francis Parker)*	- Pestalozzian-Ritter methods of teaching - Herbartian plans for organizing instruction around a central core - Froebelian principles of self-expression as the best way to develop a child's thinking processes - Spencerian idea that science was important to education of the child - Advocated for more freedom for both the child and the teacher in educational process	Francis Wayland Parker 
1887-1940	**Horace Mann School**, Teachers College at Columbia University, New York, New York *(1941-1949: merged with Lincoln School and operated as the Horace Mann-Lincoln School)*	- Curriculum-focused experimentation through the improvement of "existing subjects of study" - Started as an experimental school but morphed into a demonstration school	Nicholas Murray Butler 
1896-1903	**The Laboratory School**, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois	- Scientific investigations and research into problems connected to the psychology and sociology of education, namely re-psychologizing and socializing education, adding practical content, and interpreting modern society to the child by relating the activities of the school closely to those of real life - Privileged student population - Abundant resources	John Dewey 
1899-1945	**Speyer Laboratory School**, Teachers College at Columbia University, New York, New York	- Social efficiency experimentation to meet the needs of the local community - Studied student performance by separating children by ability level - Disadvantaged/low-income, urban student population	Leta Stetter Hollingsworth 
1904-1978	**University of Missouri Laboratory School**, Columbia, Missouri	- Four 90-minute periods for play, observation, stories, and handiwork or motor skills	J.L. Meriam
1917-1940	**Lincoln School**, Teachers College at Columbia University, New York, New York *(1941-1949: merged with Lincoln School and operated as the Horace Mann-Lincoln School)*	- Curriculum-focused experimentation through the reorganization of subjects and methods of study already established in elementary and secondary schools - No practice teaching permitted - Privileged student population - Abundant resources	Abraham Flexner 
1930-1968	**Ohio State University School**, Columbus, Ohio	- Experimentation of teaching methods using student choice and no grading/ranking system - run by former staff member at Lincoln	William Van Til 

Despite the pivotal work accomplished at these experimental laboratory schools, colleges and universities struggled to replicate and reproduce the same kind of educational environments, and although schools like John Dewey's Laboratory School at the University of Chicago gained significant notoriety, their "impact on education practices in general has been surprisingly limited" (Jackson, 1990, p. xxxiii-xxxiv, cited by Cucchiara, 2010, p. 98). Dewey anticipated trouble when he wrote, "We do not expect to have other schools literally imitate what we do. A working model is not something to be copied; it is to afford a demonstration of the feasibility of the principle, and of the methods which make it feasible" (Dewey, 1900, p. 94, cited by Cucchiara, 2010, p. 98). Nonetheless, schools that wanted to imitate the model of these experimental laboratory schools found it difficult to achieve the "ideal conditions" to make it work, and it "became relatively easy and ultimately commonplace to dismiss what went on there are impractical or as not transferable to other, more ordinary settings."

Over thirty years later, scholars continued to encourage universities to embrace the science of education that became so popular in the final decades of the 19th century by treating teacher training schools as "research centers" dedicated to "creative scientific work" (Judd, 1925, pp. 297, 298). There was criticism of "the extravagant program of instruction" required of most student teachers and warnings that "excessive" practice teaching took time away from more important ventures in scientific inquiry. Proponents of education science wanted normal schools to develop into institutions of higher education whose scientific work would place them on par with advanced research at medical, engineering, law, and agricultural schools.

However, the intense promotion of educational science was tempered by most laboratory schools' concern for children and the realities of teacher education. Rightly so, most schools recognized that practice experience was essential to teacher training and that studies on the effects of rote memorization versus experiential learning lost value if research findings did not

address real social concerns or provide true benefits to children (Meriam, 1917, pp. 604-605). Concern about the actual teaching and learning experiences taking place in schools, as well as progressive ideas about schools' responsibilities in educating students for the real world, served as counterweights to maintain balance between theory and practice. Even so, the development of education science at the end of the 19th century provided a vehicle to carry American schools into the Progressive Education Era, and scientific inquiry became both the stimulus for and the tool used to implement progressive reforms across the country.

The Herbartian Approach: Systemized Pedagogy Through Demonstration

The Herbartian approach to pedagogy was one aspect of educational science that gained popularity at the end of the 19th century and furthered the importance of laboratory schools in teacher education. Between 1885 and 1890, American graduate students studying in Germany at the University of Jena were influenced by the work of Johann Friedrich Herbart. Upon their return to the United States, they made fashionable Herbart's ideas about educating teachers through systematic demonstration. According to Kelley (1967), the Herbartian movement became to the 1890s what the Pestalozzian Movement had been to education in 1860s, and laboratory schools were used to train more and more educators in Herbart's method of preparation, presentation, association, generalization, and application. Cubberly (1919) provided one of the most comprehensive descriptions of the Herbart's approach:

> Herbart rejected alike the conventional-social education of Locke, the natural and unsocial education of Rousseau, and the faculty-psychology concept of education of Pestalozzi. Instead he conceived the mind as a unity, rather than divided into faculties, and the aim of education as broadly social rather than personal. The purpose of education, he said, was to prepare men to live properly in organized society, and hence the child aim in education was not conventional fitness, natural development, mere knowledge, or personal mental power, but personal character and social morality. This being the case, the educator should analyze the interests and occupations and social responsibilities of men as they are grouped in organized society, and from such analyses, deduce the means and the methods of instruction. Man's interests, he said, came from two main sources- his contact with the things in his environment (real things- sense impressions),

> and from his relations with human beings (social intercourse). His social responsibilities and duties are determined by the nature of the social organization of which he forms a part. (Cubberly, 1919, p 475, cited by Kelley, 1967, p. 29)

By advocating systematic teaching emphasizing the interests and motivations of learners, the Herbartian approach motivated colleges and universities to use laboratory schools to demonstrate theory and method to prospective teachers (Kelley, 1967, p. 30). However, those demonstration lessons impacted the goals and functions of the laboratory schools themselves because they encouraged the separation of curriculum into drill subjects, content subjects, activity subjects, and expression subjects.

In the end, the Herbartian approach influenced the development of educational science, but its popularity was short lived. Social change and new pedagogical theories compelled educators in a different direction.

The Need for Order in a Rapidly Changing Society

By the 1890s, the public possessed heightened awareness of the social changes generated by industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, and they responded through a growth of nationalist sentiments and the creation of a "majoritarian" consciousness in the American mindset (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, pp. 145-146). People sought to make sense of the modern world, and they looked to schools as the "institution[s] through which the norms and ways of surviving in the new industrial society would be conveyed" (Kliebard, 2004, p. 1). Not for the first time in our nation's history, public schools were burdened with finding workable solutions to society's problems. This expectation was, in large part, a consequence of a "half-century of public school propaganda" that trained society to view education and national progress as inseparable (Cremin, 1961, p. 8). Schools had been promoted as the "great equalizer" of men and the "balance wheel of the social machinery" (p. 9), so it was no surprise when people embraced the idea that "the primary mission of schools should be the maintenance of order in a rapidly changing society"

(Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 160). It was in this environment that Joseph Mayer Rice started a national debate about education in 1893, and it was because of the widespread belief that schools should fix social problems that progressive reforms quickly and irreversibly swept the country.

A Call to Action: Joseph Mayer Rice and *The Forum*

Figure 3:10: Joseph Mayer Rice

Joseph Mayer Rice (*Figure 3.10*) was a young New York physician who was first drawn to schools to investigate disease prevention, but his interest in education led him to study pedagogy in Germany from 1888 to 1890 (Cremin, 1961, p. 4). It was during that time that he formulated some "definite ideas about the 'science of education'," which he wrote about in a few periodicals after returning to the United States. Walter Hines Page, editor of *The Forum* magazine, saw some of those articles and asked Rice to prepare a study of the American education system that he would then publish in a series of articles from October 1892 to June 1893. Rice accepted Page's offer and spent six months touring the country to observe schools in 36 cities and talk to 1,200 teachers. He intentionally ignored reports by school officials to ensure his assessments were based on objective observations. What he discovered left him appalled, and his final evaluation described rampant "public apathy, political inference, corruption, and incompetence" that he believed were collectively ruining American schools. There were a handful of schools that he complemented for their progressive ideals, but they were certainly the exceptions to the rule (p. 5). His last article in *The Forum* published in June 1893 served as a call to action for local communities to take back their schools by implementing reforms that would separate schools entirely from politics, introduce direct and

thorough scientific supervision, and compel all teachers to improve their professional and intellectual skills (p. 6).

Cremin (1961) aptly described the response to Rice's work as "electric." National newspapers generally agreed with Rice's negative assessment of American schools and supported his recommendations to improve the system. However, educational publications strongly opposed Rice's claims and attempted to discredit him as an intellectual snob who was inexperienced in the field of education and driven by a desire for sensationalism. His assessments roused passionate responses from both sides of the debate, and in a time when social and economic instability compelled society to look to its schools even more for a sense of order, it was a frightening proposition to consider the nation's entire public school system was a failure. The collective anxiety this created was not short lived, and it began a pivotal new era of in the history of American school reform that would catapult laboratory schools into the 20th century.

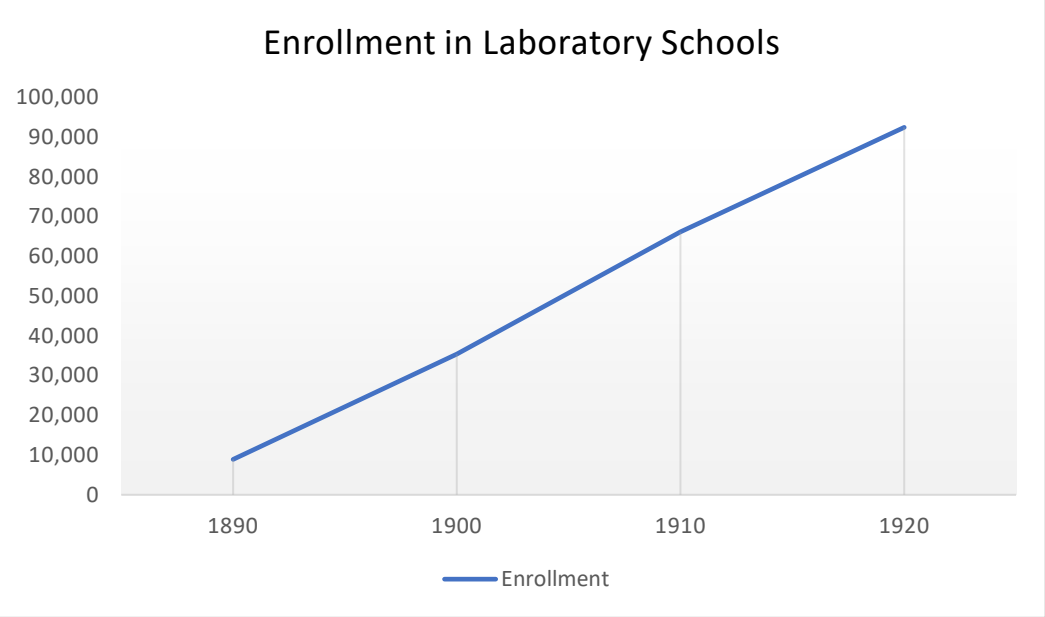
The Laboratory School Movement of the 20th Century (c. 1893-1965)

The growing popularity and use of laboratory schools from approximately 1893 to 1965 is best characterized as a "Laboratory School Movement" that influenced education in the United States throughout the first half of the 20th century. The number of school-age children being educated in model or laboratory schools skyrocketed from 8,905 in 1890 and 35,397 in 1900 to 66,180 in 1910 and 92,446 in 1920 (*Table 3.3*, *Figure 3.11*). Two factors coalesced to give rise to this movement: (1) population growth, which subsequently increased school enrollment, and (2) the clarification and spread of progressive education.

Table 3.3: Enrollment of School-Age Children in Public and Private Laboratory Schools in Teachers Colleges and Normal Schools

Year Ending	USA	North Atlantic	South Atlantic	South Central	North Central	Western
1890	8,905[1]	3,883	210	1,187	3,078	558
1900	35,397[2]	18,837	2,626	2,856	8,873	2,205
1910	66,180[3]	29,984	6,737	5,009	19,049	5,401
1920	92,446[4]	--	--	--	--	--
1930	90,601[5]	--	--	--	--	--

Figure 3.11: Enrollment in Laboratory Schools 1890-1920



Population Growth and Increased School Enrollments

Between 1890 and 1940, the US population more than doubled from 62,947,714 to 131,669,275 people (US Bureau of the Census, 1975, p. 8). That increase stimulated an overall growth in student enrollment at all levels (*Table 3.4*), and the compounding effect of historic increases high school and college enrollments (*Tables 3.5, 3.6*) created an unprecedented demand for teachers across America (*Table 3.7*).

[1] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1889/90, Vol. 2, pp. 1030, 1032
[2] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 614; U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1923, p. 429
[3] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 614; U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1923, p. 429
[4] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 614; U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1923, p. 429
[5] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 614

Table 3.4: Overall Growth of Student Enrollment[6]

Year Ending	Colleges, Universities, and Professional Schools	Normal Schools and Teachers Colleges	Kindergartens and Elementary Schools	Secondary Schools
1890	121,942	34,814	14,181,415	357,813
1900	167,999	69,593	16,224,784	695,903
1910	266,654	88,561	18,457,228	1,111,393
1920	462,445	135,435	20,864,488	2,495,676
1930	924,275	176,462	23,588,479	4,799,867
1940	1,316,158	177,045	21,044,924	7,113,282

Table 3.5: Growth in High School Enrollment[7]

Year Ending	Enrollment	% Increase Over 1890	Enrollment of Population Age 14-17	% Increase Over 1890	Enrollment Per 100 Population, Age 14-17	High School Graduates[8]
1890	357,813	--	5,354,653	--	7	--
1900	695,903	94.5	6,152,231	14.9	11	94,883
1910	1,111,393	210.6	7,220,298	34.8	15	156,429
1920	2,495,676	597.5	7,735,841	44.5	32	311,266
1930	4,799,867	1,241.4	9,341,221	74.5	51	669,904
1940	7,113,282	1,888.0	9,720,419	81.5	73	1,228,246

Table 3.6: College Graduates Per 100 Persons 21 Years of Age[9]

Year Ending	College Graduates*	People 21 Years of Age**	Graduates Per 100 People 21 Years of Age
1870	9,371	725,000	1.3
1880	10,353	998,964	1.0
1890	14,306	1,246,876	1.2
1900	25,324	1,426,849	1.8
1910	34,178	1,789,404	1.9
1920	48,622	1,821,712	2.7
1930	122,484	2,211,031	5.5
1940	186,500	2,250,000***	8.3

* Bachelor and Professional Degrees only
** U.S. Bureau of the Census data for even years
*** Estimated

Table 3.7: Teachers in Schools and Colleges[10]

Year Ending	Total	Men	Women
1910	630,207	158574	471633
1920	815,173	151215	663958
1930	1,037,605	217138	820467
1940	1,101,983	300905	801078

[6] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1947, Vol. 2, p. 7
[7] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1947, Vol. 2, p. 12
[8] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1947, Vol. 2, p. 19
[9] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1947, Vol. 2, p. 32
[10] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1947, Vol. 2, p. 35

There is no doubt that "model" and "practice" schools first became popular in the North Atlantic region of the United States during the Common School Movement, and throughout the years they spread west and then south as state governments developed public systems of education. Until about 1890, reports of the US Commissioner of Education documented how many of these schools were used by teacher training programs in each state, but as educational data became more complicated, the reports stopped referring to specific teacher training schools. For that reason, an exact count of laboratory schools operating in the first part of the 20th century is difficult to ascertain. The individual schools were no longer listed in the national reports and most attempts to calculate the number of laboratory schools were unreliable. For example, the Carrington study conducted in the mid-1930s was considered one of the best investigations of American laboratory schools at that time, and although it identified 213 laboratory schools operating in the United States, that number was an estimate based on random sampling and voluntary reporting (see Williams, 1942 and Carrington, 1968). It was not until 1964 when E.H. Kelley, on behalf of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, created a directory of college-controlled laboratory schools that a more accurate baseline was established.

Viewed together, the precise numbers from the 19th century and the less precise numbers from the early 20th century clearly demonstrate a rise in the operation of laboratory schools in the US, especially between 1890 and 1940 (*Table 3.8*).

Table 3.8: Laboratory Schools in the United States

Year Ending	Schools	Source
1851	11	(Barnard, 1851, p. 8)
1873	68	(U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1872/73, p. xxvii-xxix)
1874	47	(Kelley, 1967, p. 19)
1886	88	(U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1885/86, p. xxvii-xxix)
1894	137	(Blakely, 2009, pp. 23-24, citing Bonar, 1992)
1938	213	(Bonar, 1992, cited by Blakely, 2009, pp. 23-24)
1964	212	(Kelley, 1964, p. 1)

Clarification and Spread of Progressive Education (1893-1957)

Progressive Education played a significant role in Laboratory School Movement of the 20th century by increasing the prevalence of laboratory schools across the United States. In 1894, a report indicated that 137 of 160 (85%) public normal schools operated laboratory schools, as did 175 of 238 (74%) private normal schools (Bonar, 1992, cited by Blakely, 2009, pp. 23-24). Holistically, this suggests that 78% of all normal schools, both public and private, operated laboratory schools in 1894, and based on a decade-long study of 60 representative normal schools from 1904 to 1914, that percentage remained the same in the first two decades of the 20th century (Walk, 1917, p. 85, cited by Kelley, 1967, p. 20). However, the organization of the American Association of Teachers Colleges (AATC) in 1917 and its emphasis on increased teacher standards expanded the use of laboratory schools for teacher training (Kelley, 1967, p. 19). By the 1920s, laboratory schools existed at almost every major teacher training institution in American (Cassidy & Sanders, 2002, p. 3), and they would continue to grow with the spread of progressive ideologies and the expansion of professional teacher training programs.

Early Progressive Education (1893-1918): "A Stream With Many Currents"

To understand the progressive reforms that influenced the Laboratory School Movement of the 20th century, it is important to understand the two different phases of Progressive Education: (1) the early period of Progressive Education (c. 1893-1918), which was characterized by multiple and sometimes contradictory uses of the word "progressive;" and (2) the later period of Progressive Education (c.1918-1957), which had achieved a more standardized definition of what "progressive" meant.

During the time between Rice's criticism of America's schools in 1892-1893 and the founding of the Progressive Education Association in 1919, the term "progressive" was applied liberally to educational practices perceived as "modern" or "new" in comparison to traditional

pedagogy (Kliebard, 2004, pp. 189-190). It was an optimistic stamp of approval from educators who were generally disillusioned by, and sometimes aggressively hostile to, traditional forms of education, and anything that deviated from the teacher-centered classroom and regimented mental discipline of the past was accepted within the "hazy rubric of progressive education" (p. 191).

Taking its cue from social and political progressivism, early progressive education was both diverse and elastic (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, pp. 177-178). Society characterized both Theodore Roosevelt's campaign to break trusts using regulation and Woodrow Wilson's approach using decentralization as "progressive" because they shared the same end goal and demonstrated a mutual desire to improve economic conditions. In much the same way, the complex and often contradictory practices of early progressive education shared the same end goal of eliminating ineffective methods and a mutual desire to improve the American system of education. Granted, the simultaneous existence of those contradictory practices makes it difficult to characterize early progressive education, so scholars typically revert to metaphor to illustrate their ideas. Some have compared curricular trends to a shifting pendulum, but Kliebard created the best metaphor when he compared early progressive education to

> …a stream with several currents, one stronger than the others. None ever completely dries up. When the weather and other conditions are right, a weak or insignificant current assumes more force and prominence, only to decline when conditions particularly conducive to its newfound strength no longer prevail. (2004, p. 174)

The many currents flowed together under the flag of progressivism because they shared a desire to reform the American system of education, but their ideologies and social goals were vastly unique.

Education scholars like Lawrence Cremin, who came of age in the progressive education era, and Michael Katz, who was born toward the end of the era, attempted to look back on the

movement to create lists isolating the characteristics of progressivism. However, their lists (*Figure 3.12*) are only helpful in contextualizing the prevailing trends of progressive education that arose after the Progressive Education Association gained prominence in the 1930s and people demanded a more specific description of progressive education (Kliebard, 2004, pp. 189-190). Cremin and Katz's historic hindsight enabled them to make sense of the movement in more simplistic terms than what actually existed, especially during the early days of progressive education when the complicated and often contradictory ideas of different interest groups existed simultaneously. To make matters worse, the broad generalizations in the lists render them applicable to almost any educational movement, not just progressivism.

Figure 3.12

Cremin and Katz's Lists of Progressive Characteristics

 **Lawrence A. Cremin (1964, pp. 306-308)**	 **Michael B. Katz (1975, p. 114)**
- The extension of educational opportunity - A shift from an "eight-four" elementary high school organization to a "six-three-three" system that included a junior high school - Expansion and reorganization of curriculum - Addition of the extra curriculum; reorganization of classes according to student testing and school consolidations - Pedagogical innovations - Incorporating principles of developmental psychology into textbooks and other instructional materials - Improving the design and quality of school buildings - Improving the education of teachers - Changes in school administration	- Change in the political control of education - Change in educational thought - Innovations in school curriculum and other school practices - Justifications of schooling in terms of professionalism - The importing of scientific management into school administration

To truly understand this movement "marked from the beginning by a pluralistic, frequently contradictory character," many education scholars have instead tried to sort progressive reformers into distinct groups (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 179). The two broad categories often used include *liberal progressives*, who "sought social justice by casting off restrictions of one kind or another," and *conservative progressives*, who "sought social order

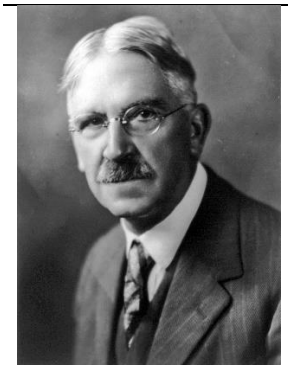
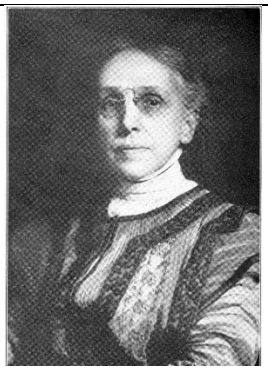
through rational management by trained experts" (p. 178). According to Urban & Wagoner, both groups had an impact on school reform, but the conservatives were arguably "larger and more influential" than the liberal progressives because of the power of their regulatory programs.

Another way to broadly classify progressive reformers is to sort them using Tyack's two categories: *pedagogical progressives* and *administrative progressives* (*Figure 3.13*) (1974, cited by Urban & Wagoner, p. 179). The distinction between those groups was that pedagogical progressives sought social justice through real-life, child-centered curriculum and inquiry-based pedagogy, whereas administrative progressives sought social order through school centralization and curricular differentiation (Mirel, 1990 & 1993, cited by Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 179). Much like the dynamic between liberal and conservative progressives, administrative progressives won out over pedagogical progressives because of larger organizational reforms, even though pedagogical progressives were supported by experimental laboratory schools and many teacher training programs (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, pp. 204-205).

Figure 3.13

Tyack's Progressive Subgroups

(1974, cited by Urban & Wagoner, 2014, pp. 179-205)

Pedagogical Progressives		Administrative Progressives	
			
John Dewey	**Ella Flagg Young**	**Charles W. Eliot**	**Ellwood Cubberly**

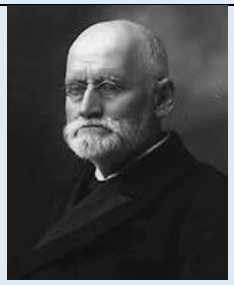
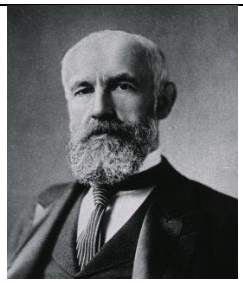
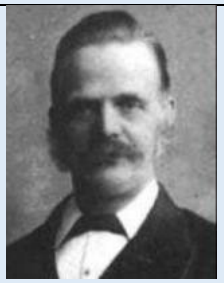
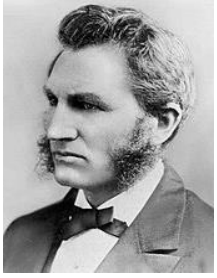
Although these categories help articulate the polarized ideas at each end of the progressive education spectrum, they tend to oversimplify the complex and dynamic character of early progressive education much like the descriptive lists created by Cremin and Katz. Kliebard

(2004) tried to address this problem by identifying four discrete interest groups that were influential at the turn of the century: *humanists*, *developmentalists*, *social efficiency advocates*, and *social meliorists* (*Figure 3.14*) (pp. 8-25). By focusing on their main actors, ideologies, and agendas, he provided a more nuanced picture of the currents within progressive education. He determined that humanists like Charles W. Eliot and William Torrey Harris wanted to preserve educational traditions and values by reinterpreting Western cultural heritage and the theory of mental discipline to fit within the changing society. However, the other three interest groups believed more substantial reforms were necessary. Developmentalists like G. Stanley Hall endorsed the scientific data coming out of the child study movement and argued that curriculum responsive to the natural order of child development should drive school reform. Proponents of social efficiency, which included Rice, placed faith in the power of science to create an efficient society. They believed it was in society's best interests to apply industrial business practices and an "orgy of efficiency" to control and prepare people for their roles as citizens (p. 24). Recognizing advancements in technology, they also recognized the need for specialized skills by supporting differentiated curriculum. The last group was social meliorists like Lester Frank Ward. This group believed schools were the best places to ameliorate the social inequalities of race and gender, as well as societal abuses of power and privilege, and it was the school's responsibility to create an entirely new social vision, not just respond to social conditions by focusing on child psychology or by eliminating inefficiencies in the social order. Of these interest groups, the humanists and developmentalists had the most influence over education reform at the turn of the century, and they created an ideological battle over what was more important-- the curriculum or the child (p. 26).

Figure 3.14

Kliebard's Progressive Ideologies and Main Actors

(2004, pp. 9-25)

Humanists	Developmentalists	Social Efficiency Advocates	Social Meliorists
			
William Torrey Harris	**G. Stanley Hall**	**Joseph Mayer Rice**	**Lester Frank Ward**

Kliebard admits the problem with his more nuanced characterization of early progressive education is that it does not provide a good context for understanding the work of John Dewey, who is one of the most famous educators associated with the progressive education and the growth of laboratory schools in the 20th century (p. xviv). Kliebard ultimately determined that Dewey did not fit within any of the interest groups but was instead "hovering over the struggle rather than… belonging to any particular side." Furthermore, in terms of broad characterizations, Dewey most closely exemplified the beliefs of the liberal progressives and pedagogical progressives, both groups that ultimately lost out to their more powerful opponents, the conservative progressives and the administrative progressives (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 178, 204). As someone who did not fit into any specific interest group and supported the less influential progressive factions, Dewey was a moderator who accepted and rejected ideologies from each group to develop his own theory and doctrine.

The competing aims of these progressive interest groups impacted the role of American laboratory schools by inspiring a wide variety of educational reforms between 1890 and 1919. There was a broadening of nonacademic school programs like food services, medical services, after-school care, and extracurricular activities (Graham, 2005, p. 28), in addition to academic developments like age grading, school consolidation, expanded programs from kindergarten to

university, and extended curriculum that included manual and vocational training (pp. 33, 35, 38-41). Manual training was rooted in the idea that children learn best through active engagement, and educators like Dewey, Parker, Scott Nearing, and Felix Adler supported this kind of sensory learning for all children as a supplement to traditional school curriculum (pp. 38-39). However, during the first two decades of the 20th century, the initial spirit of manual training as curriculum for all students was absorbed by the vocational education movement, which had quite a different goal of preparing non-college-bound students for active employment through skills-based learning. Early proponents of manual training, like Calvin Woodward, acquiesced to this shift saying, "by multiplying manual training schools we solve the problem of training all mechanics our country needs" (Woodward, 1903, p. 1039, cited by Cremin, 1961, p. 34). Students were regularly sorted by ability, and manual training high schools were established to teach things like machinery, carpentry, manufacturing, agriculture, domestic science, and secretarial skills to students planning to enter the work force (Graham, 2005, pp. 39-41).

There was no longer a debate about whether schools *should* offer vocational training, but instead *how* they would do it (Cremin, 1961, p. 41). According to Graham, "Preparation for work, not preparation for citizenship, emerged as a principal goal of schooling" (p. 43), and by 1918 the ideology of social efficiency had become mainstream despite undercurrents of opposition by educators like Dewey who believed that children, not future employers, should be the benefactors of public education (Kliebard, 2004, p. 98).

This had a tangible impact on how laboratory schools were used to train future educators. In addition to demonstrating teaching methods for subjects like English, math, and history, teacher training programs had to differentiate their curriculum to include vocational subjects like agriculture and home economics.

The federal government's passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, which allocated public funds for the support of vocational education in "agriculture, trades and industry, and homemaking" (Alexander, et al., 2015, p. 228), cemented the role of vocational education in America's schools, and there emerged at the high school level an intentional segmentation of students and curriculum into three main tracks: (1) an academic, college preparatory track that appealed to upper and middle-class students, (2) a vocational track in both industry and agriculture that was targeted to lower-class boys, and (3) a commercial track targeted to middle-class girls (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 187). Tracking became a "fundamental mode of school organization" (Graham, 2005, p. 45), with students sorted according to their performance on standardized tests and their elementary teachers' opinions about their "evident or probable destinies" (pp. 37, 45). By the 1920s and 30s, it was standard practice to sort school children into curricular tracks using the Binet/Simon scale for mental age and the Army Alpha test, which had been developed in World War I to sort soldiers by "Intelligences Quotient" (pp. 47-49).

These practices had a significant impact on how laboratory schools functioned at different institutions. Normal schools and teacher colleges were more likely to demonstrate vocational and commercial training for children entering the blue-collar workforce, while state college and university laboratory schools demonstrated academic instruction for children on a college preparatory track. Sometimes, industrial and vocational training at colleges and universities were even assigned to programs outside the department or college of education.

Education in the South at the Turn of the Century

At the turn of the century, education in the South not only continued along the slower path of development it had experienced in the 19th century, but it fell even farther behind the rest of the nation in the first two decades of the 20th century. According to Graham (2005), "the southern story of schooling differed significantly from that of the rest of the country" because the

South was not experiencing the same immigration and urbanization that drove school reform in other states (p. 19). While the rest of the nation evolved in response to population growth, the South remained "poor and rural," suffering from illiteracy and huge disparities in educational opportunities for blacks and whites (pp. 21-22).

After the Reformation, Southern Democrats seized control back from the "Radical" Republics who had forced southern states to establish public systems of education. New political agendas and an economic recession starved public schools of the funds they needed to survive, and despite a 150% increase in school enrollment, public school conditions significantly declined. Rural schoolhouses were poorly built and maintained, and teachers worked with almost no supervision (Knight, 1922, pp. 422-450). More than 60% of teachers in the South had no professional training, and less than 5% had any college training. Although national teacher salaries averaged $300 per year, southern teacher salaries dropped from $175 to $159 between 1870 and 1900, and teachers were routinely given vouchers instead of money on their paydays. Education was not a priority, and consequently only one in ten children completed the fifth grade and one in seventy reached the eighth grade. Although the South experienced some economic growth and renewed interest in education reform in the 1890s, it entered the 20th century with public school systems that were vastly inferior to the rest of the country.

The dismal educational prospects for all children in the South prompted northern philanthropic organizations to intervene once again. Programs like the Peabody Fund (1867) and the Slater Fund (1882), which had been established during Reconstruction, continued their work to improve education in the southern states, and they were joined by organizations like the General Education Board (1902), Carnegie Foundation (1905), Jeanes Foundation (1907), Rosenwald Fund (1917), Ford Foundation (1936), and Southern Education Foundation (1937).

With the help of white Southern education reformers, the goal of these organizations was to help the South "catch up" to the rest of the nation and improve public schools using teacher training, curriculum reform, upgraded school facilities, and increased access to resources and educational programs. They utilized progressive reforms to help improve education in the South, but change came slowly and reforms disproportionately favored white schools. In fact, the disparity was so pronounced that historian C. Vann Woodward (1951) entitled his chapter about southern school reform in the early 1900s as "Progressivism- For Whites Only."

Part of the problem was that, for whatever reasons, Progressive Education reformers in the North remained silent on the issue of race (Urban & Wagoner, 2011, p. 223). Despite their beliefs about schools modeling the ideal democratic society, leading progressives focused so much on pedagogical innovations that they ignored the social justice issues inherent to segregation. Furthermore, progressive reformers in the South were even less liberal than their northern counterparts (p. 224). They were "not interested in rectifying the plight of southern black citizens," and they actually embraced a stronger anti-black agenda than southern conservatives to coerce public support for their reforms.

Black children, who had already been disproportionately neglected by the systemic racism and pervasive poverty in the South, were forced to attend segregated schools that were grossly underfunded and operated in substandard conditions. This was especially problematic considering the size of the black population. In 1890, ninety percent of America's black population resided in the South, compared to the 53% that reside there today (Robson, Schiess, and Trinidad, 2019, p. 69, citing U.S. Census Bureau, 1935). By 1930, fifteen years into the Great Migration of African Americans to the North, that number had only decreased by 10%. The South was home to the nation's largest concentration of black citizens, but they were the most neglected people group in state systems of education. The "separate but equal" doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson*

(1896) was used to sanction racial segregation, but no efforts were made to ensure conditions were equal. To the contrary, school boards were known to divert money belonging to black schools to white schools, and access to secondary education was either denied or strictly limited to industrial curriculum (p. 225). Private black colleges tried to compensate by offering preparatory programs with secondary school curriculum, but they were constantly battling for academic classes when northern philanthropists preferred to fund industrial training.

The Height of Progressive Education (1918-1941)

According to Cremin (1961), World War I marked "a great divide in the history of progressive education" (p. 179) wherein the country experienced what Dewey called an "educational readjustment" (Dewey, 1918, cited by Cremin, p. 180). Ironically enough, Graham (2005) used similar terminology when she characterized the period as a shift away from national "Assimilation" toward individual "Adjustment" (pp. 51-54). Although administrative and conservative progressives maintained a strong influence over pedagogy through scientific curriculum and standardized testing (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 223), the child-centered ideology of developmentalists, which was last in-vogue when Dewey ran his experimental laboratory school at the University of Chicago between 1896 and 1903, experienced a significant resurgence. A booming post-war economy, population growth, advancements in technology, and changing social mores altered the public's opinions about society and the purpose of America's schools (Graham, 2005, pp. 51-52).

Laboratory schools were not "modern" innovations, but the rise in educational science had allowed mainstream American educators to see the experimental possibilities of laboratory schools for studying child development, pedagogy, curriculum, etc. Furthermore, the laboratory research modeled by schools like the Mann School at Teachers College and the Dewey School at the University of Chicago demonstrated to mainstream educators the profound usefulness of

laboratory schools in improving educational practices. Institutions responsive to the demands of a modernizing society perceived laboratory schools as cutting-edge mediums for the application of education science, and in the time when education was growing as a legitimate field study, on-campus model or laboratory schools became symbols of institutional advancement for departments and colleges of education.

The establishment of the Progressive Education Association (PEA) in 1919 was an important step in spreading progressive ideology across the United States because it finally clarified, after almost twenty years of complex and often contradictory descriptions, the tenants of progressive education. According to the seven Principles of Progressive Education issued by the PEA in 1920 (Kridel, 1999, pp. 303-304), those tenants included

(1) Freedom for children to develop naturally;
(2) Interest as the motive of all work;
(3) Teacher as guide, not taskmaster;
(4) Change school recordkeeping to promote the scientific study of student development;
(5) More attention to all that affects student physical development;
(6) School and home cooperation to meet the child's natural interests and activities; and
(7) Progressive school as leader in educational movements. (Friedman, 2004, pp. 20-21)

By promoting "the freest and fullest development of the individual, based on scientific study of his physical, mental, spiritual, and social characteristics and needs" (Graham, 2005, p. 53), the PEA popularized the kind of child-centered, activity-based, and experience-oriented curriculum that reflected Dewey's concern for the "child's side" of the curriculum and Pestalozzi's focus on the "whole child." With a better understanding of progressive ideologies, educators across the nation gained a better appreciation for the role laboratory schools could play in training teachers in the type of curriculum and pedagogy progressive education entailed.

Figure 3:15: William Heard Kilpatrick

One example that gained Teachers College professor William Heard Kilpatrick (*Figure 3.14*) a great deal of notoriety between 1917 and 1925 was the "Project Method" of teaching and learning, which arranged curriculum not around subject matter, but around activities that were "meaningful for children and relevant to the society in which they lived" (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 222). Kilpatrick believed project teaching should be used to organize curriculum around "children's purposes" and create an environment in which "education be considered as life itself and not as a mere preparation for later living" (Kilpatrick, 1918, p. 323, quoted by Kliebard, 2004, p. 138). His emphasis on a child-oriented, "psychological" organization of curriculum as opposed to an adult-oriented, "logical" organization of curriculum brought into mainstream education the developmentalist argument Dewey had been making for two decades (Kliebard, 2004, p. 137). Although Kilpatrick's approach differed from Dewey's by not linking school activities to larger social improvement or recognizing the importance of traditional subject matter (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 222), reformers who believed traditional curriculum was largely irrelevant to modern society embraced the project method as a viable alternative to traditional curriculum (Kliebard, 2004, p. 139). As such, project teaching became especially popular in university-run laboratory schools across America (p. 142), and Kilpatrick trained over 35,000 students in the project method during his tenure at Teachers College (Cremin, 1968 , p. 220).

The tide of progressive education continued to rise in the 1930s, despite threats to curtail its growth through politics, the Great Depression, and social meliorism. In the field of education, academics like Teachers College's William Chandler Bagley claimed that the "hazy rubric of progressive education" had led to a deterioration in the rigor and scholarship of America's schools

(Kliebard, 2004, pp. 190-191). However, despite the concerns expressed by Bagley (1938), Michael John Demiashkevich (1935), and Boyd H. Bode (1938), education was not a source of anxiety for the general public (Kliebard, 2004, pp. 191-195). The hesitance of local schools to change their practices based on the "fiery rhetoric" of such "distant experts" revealed a wide gap between educational theory and practice (Graham, 2005, pp. 83-84).

Utilizing the resources of philanthropic organizations like the General Education Board (1902) and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1905), progressive educators defended their practices by conducting studies like the Thirty School Study (a/k/a the Eight Year Study), which found that "graduates of the 'progressive schools' did as well academically in selective colleges as the graduates of 'traditional' schools" (Graham, 2005, p. 87). The Progressive Education Association grew in both size and status (Kliebard, 2004, p. 190). There was great optimism in the field of education, and despite the larger social impact of the Great Depression, job security for teachers and school funding remained steady in the first few years of the 1930s (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 231). A lapse in financial support did occur during the last few years of the decade, but for the most part education maintained the growth that began in the 1920s in terms of enrollment, expanded curriculum, differentiated curriculum, and extracurricular activities (Graham, 2005, pp. 65-80).

The growth and popularity of the public high school (Kelley, 1967, p. 21) increased demands for student teaching opportunities (Blakely, 2009, p. 25) and reinforced the need for laboratory schools as places of observation, demonstration, and supervised teaching (Kelley, 1967, pp. 19-20; Chucchiara, 2010, p. 99). Bolstered by the AATC's 1926 resolution that "Each teachers college shall maintain a training school under its own control, as a part of its organization as a laboratory school" (Williams, 1942, cited by Kelley, 1967, p. 20), the number of laboratory schools operated by colleges and universities continued to increase.

In *The Actual and Potential Use of Laboratory Schools in State Normal Schools and Teachers Colleges*, E.I.F. Williams stated that between 1933 and 1935, 111 of 131 (85%) reporting institutions with membership in the AATC operated an on-campus or off-campus laboratory school, which was a notable increase from the 78% reported in 1894 (Bonar, 1992, cited by Blakely, 2009, pp. 23-24). Of the 111, 65 (59%) taught kindergarten, 106 (95%) taught primary grades 1-3, 106 (95%) taught intermediate grades 4-6, 88 (79%) taught junior high students, and 54 (49%) taught senior high students (Williams, 1942, p. 120).

In terms of regional differences, 20 (18%) of those schools, which were located primarily in the West North Central and West South Central Divisions, had all grades ranging from kindergarten through high school (p. 121), but 43 (39%) had grades 1 through high school.[11] 95.4% of those institutions used their laboratory schools primarily for student teaching, 94.5% for observation, and more than half for combined purposes of observation, participation, class demonstration, and student teaching (Williams, 1942, p. 217). Williams found relatively few kindergartens (6, or 5%) in the South Atlantic (DE, FL, GA, MD, NC, SC, VA, WV), East South Central (AL, KY, MS, TX), and West South Central (AR, LA, OK, TX) divisions of the United States, and the most schools teaching all grade levels were located in the East North Central (IL, IN, MI, OH, WI) and West North Central (IA, KS, MN, MT, NE, ND, SD) divisions. Two geographic regions, New England (CT, ME, MA, NH, RI, and VT) and the Pacific (CA, OR, WA), had no laboratory schools at the high school level (p. 122). Off-campus laboratory schools were predominantly used in New England (CT, ME, MA, NH, RI, and VT) and the South Atlantic (DE, FL, GA, MD, NC, SC, VA, WV), while on-campus laboratory schools were most prevalent in the East South Central (AL, KY, MS,

[11] On page 120 of his report, Williams indicated 111 schools reported information, but on page 121 he based his regional numbers on 115 schools reporting. There is no explanation for the discrepancy, therefore this research has based all percentages on original number of 111 schools reported.

TX) division (p. 217). The Middle Atlantic (NJ, NY, PA), East North Central (IL, IN, MI, OH, WI), and Pacific divisions (CA, OR, WA) utilized both types.

By 1938, the Carrington study reported a total of 213 lab schools being operated in the United States (Kelley, 1967, p. 22, citing Carrington, 1968, p. 67). A 1939 Gallup poll revealed that less than 0.5% of Americans were concerned with "training the youth," and in 1941 only 1% of Americans rated education as a subject "most talked about" by their social groups (Graham, 2005, p. 90). It was not until the commencement of World War II that education began to experience a paradigm shift that would both positively and negatively affect the use of laboratory schools in the United States.

Shifting Priorities: The Dissolution of Progressive Education (1941-1957)

1940s: The Influences of World War II

Once America became involved in World War II, the priorities of the nation, and consequently its schools, began to shift away from the needs of individuals and back to the needs of society. A significant emphasis was placed on how schools and young people could support the war effort through work with the Red Cross, first aid training, and scrap metal and paper collection drives (Graham, 2005, p. 91: Kliebard, 2004, p. 200). Disputes over curriculum were largely put to the side as supporters of social efficiency capitalized on public sentiment and used schools to help "create and maintain a democratic moral" (Smith, 1942, p. 113, quoted by Kliebard). There was an overall strengthening of consumer and vocational training, and subject matter was reoriented to focus on nursing and first aid, aviation and navigation, industrial arts, consumer economics, and home management (Kliebard, 2004, pp. 200-201). Schools concentrated on supporting the war effort and helping citizens adjust to wartime conditions (Kliebard, 1999, pp. 200-209). Progressive education, which had dominated American education for almost two decades, began to lose its influence. In his book *Progressive Education at the Crossroads*, Boyd H.

Bode (1938) contended that the absence of social direction that had plagued the Progressive Education Association since 1919 was leading to its downfall.

As the war ended, educational institutions at all levels began to prepare for the challenges of a postwar society. According to Kliebard (2004), social efficiency remained at center stage because it "promised the most concrete adjustment to a drastic change in the economy and a measure of stability in what might become a society beset by uncertainty and discontent" (p 202). The role of schools had shifted from individual development back to the preparation of students for life as working adults (p. 204). Criticisms of conventional subject matter mounted with the publication of two reports: the Educational Policies Commission's (EPC) 1944 *Education for ALL American Youth* and the Committee of General Education in a Free Society's (CGEFS) 1945 *General Education in a Free Society*. Both publications endorsed differentiated curriculum based on student ability (pp. 205-206), but the CGEFS took a more moderate approach by including general education about "the world, man's social life, the realm of imagination and ideal" (Conant, 1945, p. 95, quoted by Kliebard, p. 206). Organizing curriculum around subjects was criticized, and problem-based, project-based, and needs-based formats were offered as alternatives (Kliebard, 2004, pp. 210-218). Ultimately, educators embraced the idea of a "core curriculum," but it was implemented in so many ways that its influence as a substitute to subject organization was difficult to assess (p. 213). In the end, the educational curriculum and policies of schools at the end of WWII "showed more continuity than change when compared to schools of the 1920s and 1930s" (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 254).

As soldiers returned from war, many feared the nation would experience high levels of unemployment reminiscent of the Great Depression, and attention was again placed on what Charles Prosser called "life adjustment" (Graham, 2005, p. 92). The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, which is commonly known as the GI Bill, attempted to funnel young veterans into

college or vocational/technical schools to provide the economy a few years to "absorb" them. People looked to high schools to prepare teenagers for adulthood, and the Commission on Life Adjustment (1947) set forth this training by focusing on the nonacademic needs of students, such as the "physical, mental and emotional health…the present problems of youth as well as their preparation for future living…the importance of personal satisfactions and achievements from each individual within the limits of his abilities." The goal was to help adolescents adjust to their roles in an established American society, which was a significant shift away from earlier progressive efforts to establish a new socially democratic society by adjusting schools to the needs of children.

However, public criticism of the life adjustment approach to education began to build as people realized it was creating an "anything goes" high school curriculum of reduced academic rigor (Graham, 2005, pp. 92-95). The post-war baby boom increased student enrollments, and anxieties about the Cold War fueled doubts about America's abilities to compete against enemy nations global events. Much as they had always done, citizens looked to schools for answers, but they only saw problems. Professors, and the teachers they trained, continued to advocate for life adjustment, but in doing so they lost the respect of communities who no longer wanted the status quo, but instead wanted a better education and a better life for their children (p. 97).

Nonetheless, the growth and popularity of laboratory schools across the United States remained high. In 1948, a report submitted to the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE, f/k/a AATC) led to the adoption of a new Standard VI, which among other things recommended institutions operate one or more college-controlled laboratory schools for teacher training purposes (Kelley, 1967, p. 23). Much like its resolution 22 years earlier, this standard solidified the importance of laboratory schools in the educational landscape. In her 1954 study of 76 institutions, Margaret Lindsey reported that Standard VI had successfully inspired

several trends in the use of laboratory schools, which included (1) increased laboratory school experiences through all 4 years of teacher training, (2) increased observation and participation in school and community experiences, (3) provision for direct experience in educational psychology, (4) more time student teaching, (5) increased use of off-campus cooperating schools, (6) greater use of community agencies for laboratory experiences, and (7) continued laboratory guidance of student teachers from laboratory staff and not college subject matter teachers (Kelley, 1967, p. 24, citing Lindsey, 1954, p. 124).

The postwar return of G.I.s had contributed to a baby boom, which increased the need for educators across the United States. Enrollment in teacher training programs subsequently doubled and continued to climb throughout the 1950s and 1960s (Andrews, 1980, p. 10). Institutions of higher education were forced to rethink how teachers were educated because of the immense strain on their physical resources and personnel. "Predictably, campus schools as student teaching laboratories could not accommodate such vast numbers. A mass movement to public schools as laboratories took place; and soon thereafter, campus schools were phased out for a variety of reasons." (Andrews, 1980, p. 10)

The Phasing Out of Laboratory Schools (1957-present)

Although Graham (2005) identified the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* as the beginning of a new "equal access" era in education (p. 98), Cremin argued that it was not until 1957 when Russia launched the first space satellite, Sputnik I, that "a shocked and humbled nation embarked on a bitter orgy of pedagogical soul-searching" (1964, p. 347). Admiral Hyman G. Rickover's response to Sputnik in his 1959 *Education and Freedom* tends to support Cremin's claim. He wrote

> None of us is without guilt…But now that the people have awakened to the need for reform, I doubt whether reams of propaganda pamphlets, endless reiteration that all is well with our schools, or even pressure tactics will again fool the American people into believing that education can safely be left to the

> 'professional' educators… The mood of America has changed. Our technological supremacy has been called in question and we know we have to deal with a formidable competitor. Parents are no longer satisfied with life-adjustment schools. Parental objectives no longer coincide with those professed by the progressive educationists. I doubt we can again be silenced. (pp. 189-90, quoted by Cremin, 1964, p 347)

Anxieties about falling behind in the Cold War fostered antagonism toward professional educators, and society became committed to taking back control of America's schools from out-of-touch academics.

Historian Eric Goldman characterized the years between 1945 and 1955, which he later extended to 1960, as a "crucial decade" for America (Urban & Wagoner, 2014, p. 257) because professional educators had lost some of society's confidence in their professional abilities, the push for subject based curriculum reform had gained significant support, and there was a notable increase in federal involvement in education (p. 279).

At this time, laboratory schools were essentially trapped in operational and philosophical dilemmas (Nielson, 1986, cited by Blakely, 2009, p. 25). Progressive education had suffered a drawn-out demise, and "the enthusiasm, the vitality, and the drive were gone: all that remained were the slogans" (Cremin, 1964, p. 181). Professional educators became interested in training teachers in "real world" settings, and without a research agenda to back them up, laboratory schools had hard time justifying their existence (Cucchiara, 2010, p. 99).

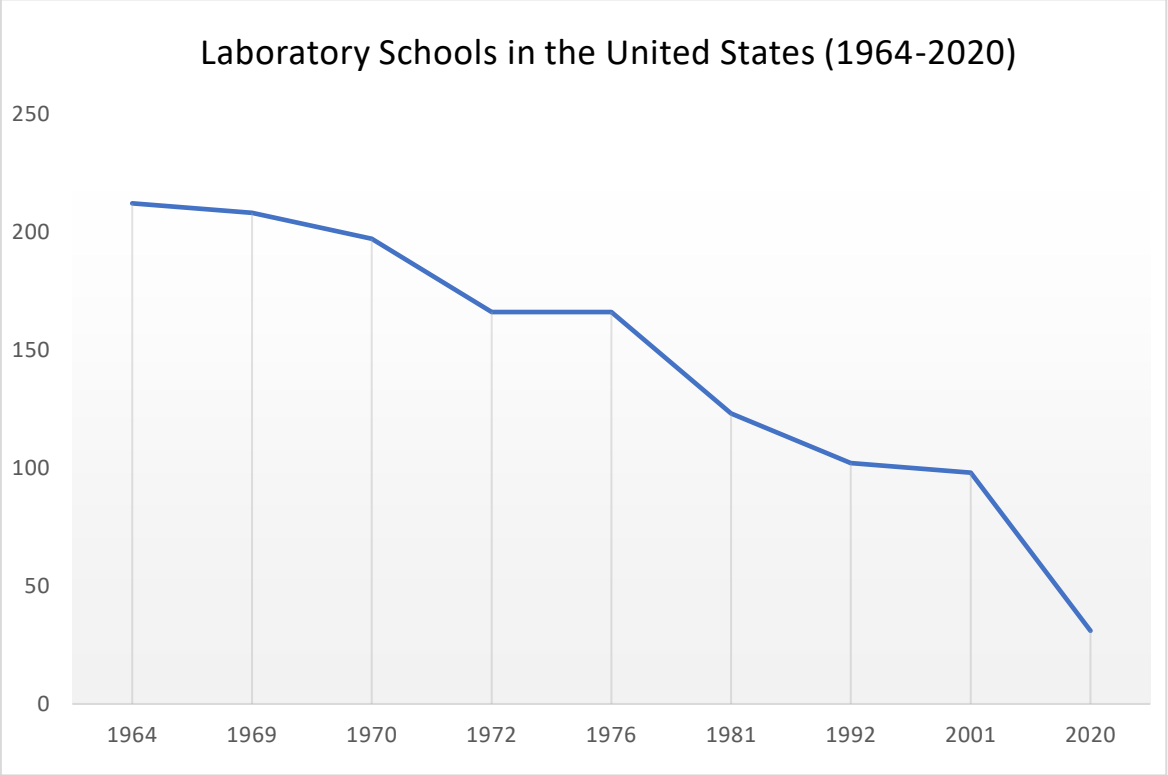
The number of laboratory schools operating in the United States began to decline precipitously (*Table 3.1, Figure 3.6*), and once those schools closed, few new schools were opened to replace them (Cassidy & Sanders, 2001, p. 6). McNabb (1973) characterized the 60s as "the decade of the decline of the laboratory school, or possibly the period marking the extinction of the campus laboratory school in the nation." (p. 92). Between 1960 and 1980, half of nation's laboratory schools were closed or reduced in scope (Blakely, 2009, p. 26) Those numbers

continued to decline over the next 40 years, and as of 2020 there were only 31 schools listed as members of the International Association of Laboratory Schools (IALS).

Table 3.9: Laboratory Schools in the United States

Year Ending	Schools	Source
1851	11	(Barnard, 1851, p. 8)
1873	68	(U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1872/73, p. xxvii-xxix)
1874	47	(Kelley, 1967, p. 19)
1886	88	(U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1885/86, p. xxvii-xxix)
1894	137	(Blakely, 2009, pp. 23-24, citing Bonar, 1992)
1938	213	(Bonar, 1992, cited by Blakely, 2009, pp. 23-24)
1964	212	(Kelley, 1964, p. 1)
1969	208	(Howd & Browne, 1970, pp. 1-2)
1970	197	(NALBS, cited by Olwell, 2006, p. 2)
1972	166	(Cassidy & Sanders, 2001, p. 6)
1976	166	(NALBS, cited by Olwell, 2006, p. 2)
1981	123	(Olwell, 2006, p. 2, citing NALS)
1992	"little more than 100"	(Blakely, 2009, p. 26, citing Bonar, 1992)
2001	"about only 100"	(Cassidy & Sanders, 2001, p. 6, citing Johnson)
2020	31	(IALS, 2020)

Figure 3.16: Laboratory Schools in the United States (1964-2020)



Reasons for Closures

The virtual extinction of college and university laboratory schools occurred because of many factors, the most important of which were overtaxed facilities, increased innovation outside of laboratory schools, inadequate financial support, and a general failure to change and adapt.

Overtaxed Facilities

The most important priority of campus laboratory schools was providing a convenient, on-site environment for student teaching, observation, demonstration, participation, experimentation, research, and in-service training (Kelley, 1967, pp. 112-113; Van Til, 1969, p. 10). However, the growth of both the human population and the doubling of student enrollments in teacher training programs after WWII put an immense strain on institutions of higher education. Simply put, the demands placed on schools exceeded their facilities and teaching capabilities (Gaskill & Carlson, cited by Van Til, 1969, p. 11). Continually rising student populations overtaxed campus resources, and colleges of education scrambled to meet the needs of so many students. As a matter of necessity, increased enrollments forced laboratory schools to decrease their student teaching function by sending teacher trainees to off-campus public schools for clinical experiences (Kelley, 1967, p. 113).

Increased Innovation Outside of Laboratory Schools

Shifting priorities and trends in educational practice also stripped laboratory schools of their monopoly on educational innovations. For example, growing numbers of educators had become cognizant of the need for "real" versus "ideal" student teaching environments to develop high quality teachers. Critics argued that "the methods, materials, and philosophies that were so successful in laboratory schools could not thrive outside the elitist atmosphere," and that laboratory schools were inherently incapable of providing preservice teachers with "clinical experiences that mirrored experiences they would later encounter as teachers" (Blakely, 2009,

pp. 26-27) This shift in ideology did not bode well for many campus laboratory schools, which were criticized for having "atypical" environments with abundant resources and exceptional student populations. The growing practice of using public schools for observation and student teaching was therefore not only necessary due to overtaxed facilities, but also preferred practice to ensure student teachers had "authentic field experiences" (Cassidy & Sanders, 2001, p. 6).

Furthermore, the shift away from progressive education in the 1950s took place in the public schools. Cold War fears about America's inability to compete with foreign enemies inspired mid-century curriculum reform favoring subject disciplines (Van Til, 1969, p. 12). These reforms did not originate in laboratory schools for two reasons: (1) laboratory schools were handicapped by old facilities, lack of funds, conflicting expectations, and a stubborn refusal to move away from progressive education; and (2) the national government and corporations like Ford directed funding for subject driven curriculum, as well as the technology it required (televisions, multi-media, specialized equipment, etc.), to public schools. This occurred at the same time Americans prioritized the equal education of culturally disadvantaged students. The growing focus on educating African Americans, the urban poor, and other deprived minorities played out in the public school system and not in laboratory schools, which typically catered to advantaged student populations (Van Til, 1969, p. 13).

Inadequate Financial Support

Compounding these issues was the rising costs of operating campus laboratory schools and the decline in financial support provided at both the institutional and state level (McNabb, 1973, p. 91; Blakely, 2009, P. 28-29). College and university administrators were increasingly concerned about institutional growth and modernization, and they favored programs that generated money and/or academic notoriety. Laboratory schools had never been self-sustaining entities, nor were they reasonably effective instruments of institutional advancement. As such,

they provided little return on investment (Olwell, 2006, p. 2, citing Florida Department of Education, 1976, p. 10), and were viewed by decisionmakers as dispensable programs.

Failure to Change and Adapt

The unwillingness to change and adapt to the times was final nail in the coffin of university laboratory schools. Ironically enough, it was new education professors and school administrators who decided that laboratory schools were obsolete and needed to be phased out (Van Til, 1969, p. 14). As Van Til predicted in 1969, "Possibly historians of the year 2000 may record that the laboratory school was not killed but that its friends yielded to the death wish and committed suicide without putting up a fight for life" (p. 15). How right he was. It was the people responsible for the laboratory schools who ultimately decided they had outlived their usefulness and that public schools were better environments for teacher training (McNabb, 1973, p. 38). Schools of education had begun to campaign for the respect of their academic peers by downplaying the "service functions" of their laboratory schools (Olwell, 2006, pp. 1-2). Of course, there were hold-out supporters of the laboratory schools, namely laboratory school alumni, parents who wanted an alternative to public school, professors of education who were focused on research, some statesmen and legislators, broad-visioned teachers, and leadership-oriented administrators (Van Til, 1969, p. 14), but their desires were largely ignored by the professors and administrators making business decisions favoring the college or university.

The inability of laboratory schools to alter their functions by embracing research and engaging with the community also contributed to their closure (McNabb, 1973, p. 94). Some did a poor job of communicating to academic colleagues and others the importance of the research and program development taking place in their laboratory schools (Cassidy & Sanders, 2001, p. 7). Others had abandoned the original goal of using laboratory schools to research the link between theory and practice. Unfortunately, Judd had warned schools in 1925 about the danger

of abandoning laboratory research when he linked the survival of laboratory schools to their ability to "contribute through scientific methods to the improvement of education methods and education organization" (Judd, 1925, p. 300). He warned against "extravagant program[s] of instruction" that focused more on practice teaching than scientific study (Judd, 1925, pp. 298-299). However, many laboratory schools did abandon scientific research and failed to contribute anything new to advanced work in education, and as such laboratory schools at colleges of education failed to thrive like their counterparts using laboratory experiences to teach medicine, law, engineering, etc.

Between 1990 and 2010, the success of laboratory schools serving local communities by researching the "challenges of educating low-income urban students" (Cucchiara, 2010, p. 101) suggests that more laboratory schools could have survived if they had adapted to the evolving needs of society, but the world will never know.

Chapter 4: The Birth and Early Life of UK's Laboratory Schools

Chapter 4 begins by examining public education in Kentucky at the turn of the century and considering the early development of teacher education at the University of Kentucky. These state and institutional histories provide the necessary context for understanding UK's decision to establish an on-campus laboratory school in 1918. The research then documents the early history of the Kentucky State Model High School, which ultimately became the University School, to evaluate its contributions to local, state, and regional education reforms and consider how the school compared to Lexington and Fayette County public schools.

Education in Kentucky at the Turn of the Century

By the *fin de siècle*, educational conditions in Kentucky reflected those of other poor and rural southern states. The Kentucky legislature had established the state's public system of schools in 1837, but it was not until the 1850s that they made it a system of "free schools" funded by local property taxes (Hamlett, 1914, p. 2). According to William Ellis (2011), a statistical comparison of the income and number of public schools in Kentucky in 1860 was comparable to states like Massachusetts, and a lack of funding did not stunt the growth of the state's system until after Kentucky had "cast its lot with that [southern] region after the Civil War, economically, racially, and even spiritually" (pp. 65-66, 146).

In *A History of Kentucky*, Thomas Clark (1937) described Kentucky's public school system between 1865 and 1910 as having a "shabby, backwoods, log cabin-era quality" that developed at a "snail's pace" (Clark, 1937, p. 746). However, Lowell Harrison and James Klotter tempered Clark's description in *A New History of Kentucky* (1997) by pointing out the state's 36% rise in daily school attendance by 1900 (Ellis, 2011, p. 145, citing Harrison and Klotter, 1996). This rise was the byproduct of Kentucky passing the first compulsory attendance law of any southern state (Klotter, 1996), and although teachers were still paid less than the national average, the state

supported the teaching profession through its early adoption of merit-based salary schedules that rewarded teachers for their academic qualifications and years of experience (Hamlett, 1914, p. 2).

Unfortunately, these glimmers of hope for Kentucky's public system of education were not enough to prevent rural school children from falling about two and a half years behind on nationally scaled achievement tests, and rural communities in Kentucky, much like their counterparts in other southern states, were reluctant or unable to tax themselves to properly fund public education (Ellis, 2011, pp. 145-146). Furthermore, Kentucky remained one of only two states at the turn of the century that did not have a publicly funded normal school system, which made it difficult for the state's teacher training programs to keep pace with programs offered in other states (pp. 109, 145).

After the first Conference for Education in the South in 1899 and the establishment of the Southern Education Board in 1901, rich philanthropists focused national attention on the deficiencies of education in the South, and while rallying support to improve conditions for the region's black and white rural school children, they motivated southern state governments to assess and improve their own systems of public education. In 1906, Kentucky finally responded when it established a state system of normal schools and opened two new teacher training programs in Richmond and Bowling Green. The Eastern Normal School and Western Normal School were given the responsibility of training 8th grade graduates in elementary and junior high school certificate programs, and the University of Kentucky, which at that time was still called State College, was responsible for training 12th grade graduates for high school teaching certificates, conferring Bachelor degrees in Education, and specializing in the training of principals and superintendents (Dorris, 1936, pp. 45-46; Gooden, 1995, p. 328).

In 1908, the governor of Kentucky signed into law House Bill 141, also known as the Sullivan Bill, which called for "a complete reorganization of the school system and for the establishment within two years of a High School within every county in Kentucky" (KDE, 1909, p. 11). Government leaders seemed to recognize the value of quality public education and acknowledged the state had neglected its duty to improve schools and combat illiteracy (KDE, 1909, p. 12). The 1908 County School Law was the first component of the state's plan to remedy that neglect by mandating all counties adopt a county board system of governance, consolidate districts and schools, and establish a high school system within two years. The reorganization of school governance dictated that all county schools belonged to one school district supervised by a county board in charge of collecting taxes, consolidating schools, paying salaries, and distributing funds. The districts were divided into four, six, or eight school divisions based their size, and division boards supervised individual schools/sub-districts by selecting teachers and supplying their needs. One trustee for each school was a member of the division board, and the chair of each division board served as a member of the county board, which was chaired by the superintendent as an ex-officio member. County boards were granted power to levy taxes on the condition they did not exceed 20 cents on every $100. They were also required to consolidate schools into units of no fewer than 50 white pupils and provide transportation to and from those schools to qualify for state funding.

That same year, State Superintendent of Instruction J.G. Crabbe designed what he called the Whirlwind Campaign of 1908 to create a "continuous cyclone bombardment against illiteracy and ignorance" in Kentucky (KDE, 1909, p. 77). The nine-day propaganda initiative began on November 28, 1908 with twenty-nine speakers chosen by the State Superintendent travelling to every county in Kentucky to preach the "new gospel of education, of inspiration, of helpfulness, of common sense among the plain people" (KDE, 1909, p. 82). Much like the goal of the School

Improvement Leagues, the purpose of the Whirlwind Campaign was to increase the public's awareness of inadequate school conditions and to convince local communities to embrace the County School Law and participate in local school improvement initiatives. The campaign rallies attracted over 60,000 citizens and were so successful that the effort was described as a "revelation that amounted to a revolution." Kentucky would repeat the campaign in 1909, and 12 other states would implement similar campaigns in their own communities.

It seemed the "good old boy" network of Kentucky educators finally acknowledged how far the state's system of public education had fallen behind the rest of the nation. Indeed, it was difficult to ignore when people like Fayette County Superintendent Nannie Faulconer called attention to the problem by comparing the state's schools to Kentucky's beloved horse industry (Ambrose, 2012, p. 34). In a news release about a meeting of the Eastern Kentucky Normal Division of County Superintendents, she wrote

> Alas! there is a vast difference between marble stalls and costly stables of the thoroughbred horse with the attention he receives, and the crowded and 'do the best you can' life which the splendid boys and girls of old Kentucky are compelled to live in their schools furnished by the present state authorities. When will the men of Kentucky demand that their children shall be as well treated as their horses? The splendid equipment of a splendid school must be furnished. Kentucky needs it, she demands it, she shalt have it or we will know the reason why." (Richmond Climax Staff, 1910, May 18, p. 2)

Rural citizens were swayed by the campaign for education and began to see the practical value of public schools, which by this time had incorporated agricultural, manual training, and domestic science curriculum. They supported the extension of the school calendar, as well as school consolidation efforts. However, despite the state's efforts to reform its public system of education, the failure of Kentucky county school districts to keep pace with their city school counterparts and, in some cases, the deterioration of rural schools in many counties, convinced the State Legislature that a better system of governance and leadership to was necessary to improve rural school conditions (KDE, 1921, pp. 6-7). This prompted the legislature to pass the

1920 County School Administration Law, which created a nonpartisan board of education composed of five publicly elected representatives who had the power to both fix the county's school tax rate and appoint the county superintendent (KDE, 1921, p. 6).

The Evolution of Teacher Training at UK (1880-1923)

Those events were taking place between 1880 and 1923, when UK transitioned its teacher education program from a Normal School to a College of Education.

Figure 4.1: Maurice Kirby (1885), Principal of the Normal School from 1880-1886

Figure 4.2: J.R. Potter (1885), Principal of the Normal School from 1886-1888

Pursuant to an Act of the Kentucky Legislature dated April 23, 1880, the then-named Agricultural and Mechanical College of Kentucky (AMCK), which was commonly referred to as State College, established a Normal School for the preparation of educators for public and private schools across the state (Annual Report, 1881; Taylor, 1930). Professor Maurice Kirby (*Figure 4.1)* was appointed the school's first Principal and Professor of Theory and Practice of Teaching, and he was assisted by Associate Professor T.C.H. Vance (Annual Report, 1881). Between 1880 and 1882, the Normal School was housed in the Masonic Building located approximately three-quarters of a mile from the Woodland Estate, but in 1882 it was moved to the Main Building, l/k/a/ the Administration Building, where it stayed until 1907 (Annual Register, 1883; Catalogue, 1908). Kirby was succeeded as Principal by J.R. Potter (*Figure 4.2*) in 1886, Alex L. Peterman in 1888, and Ruric Nevel Roark (*Figure 4.3*) in 1890.

Figure 4.3: Ruric Nevel Roark (c. 1900), Principal of the Normal School from 1890 to 1905

For the first ten years of its existence, the Normal School could issue teaching diplomas, or certificates, but it could not confer collegiate degrees. It was not until 1890 that, under the leadership of Dr. Roark, AMCK created a full college curriculum for the degree of Bachelor of Pedagogy (Catalogue, 1891).

In 1906, two years of work by the KEA's Educational Improvement Commission paid off when Governor John Beckham signed into law a bill that created a state system of normal schools by establishing the Eastern Kentucky State Normal School in Richmond and the Western Kentucky State Normal School in Bowling Green (Dorris, 1936, pp. 23-24, p. 35). Although this was a positive step for education in Kentucky, there were concerns that the schools would "work at cross purposes with State College," where Milford White (*Figure 4.4*) had succeeded Dr. Roark as principal. The decision was made to allow AMCK to add two full collegiate courses leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts in Education and Bachelor of Science in Education, but permission to confer those degrees was withheld until AMCK was elevated to full university status two years later (p. 46; Catalogue, 1907).

Figure 4.4: Milford White (c. 1908), Principal of the Normal School from 1905-1908

In 1907, the Normal School moved to a newly

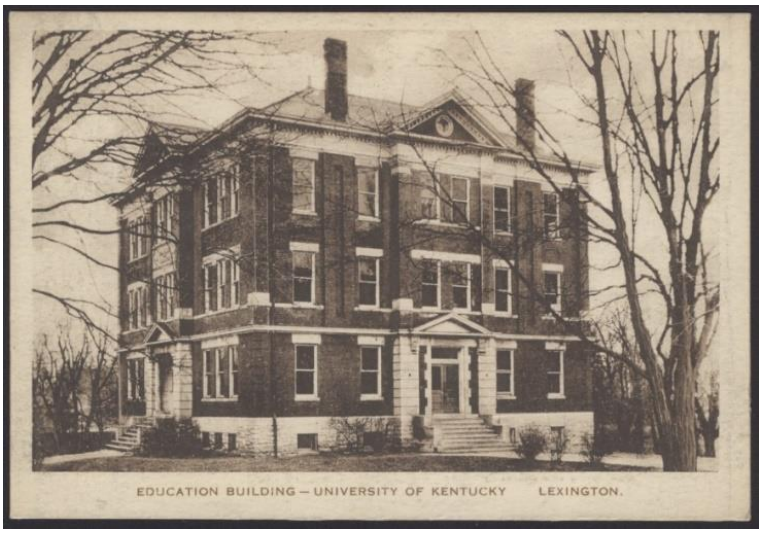


Figure 4.5: The Education Building (1920), later known as Frazee Hall

Figure 4.6: James Thomas Cotton Noe (1934), Acting Dean of the Department of Education 1908-1909, Dean of the Department of Education 1911-1923

constructed Education Building (*Figure 4.5*), which later became known as Frazee Hall[12] (Catalogue, 1908). Sweeping changes by the Kentucky General Assembly in 1908 not only renamed the AMCK as State University, but also eliminated the original Normal School and created in its place a Department of Education (University of Kentucky, 2009). For the first time, the Department had collegiate rank and was allowed to issue teacher's certificates signed by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction that "entitled the holder to teach in any of the common schools or high schools of the Commonwealth without further examination during life or good behavior" (Taylor, 1930, p. 4; United States Office of Education, 1915). That same year, the now Dean of the Department of Education, Professor White, died unexpectedly, and Dr. James Thomas Cotton Noe (*Figure 4.6*) was appointed as Interim Dean (Taylor, 1930). In 1909 the Department was once again been renamed, this time as Teachers College, and placed under the leadership of Dr. Lewis F. Snow (*Figure 4.7*) (Catalogue, 1910). Dr. Noe would subsequently resume his leadership as full Dean in 1911, at which time he eliminated the Teachers College to establish a Department of Education within the College of

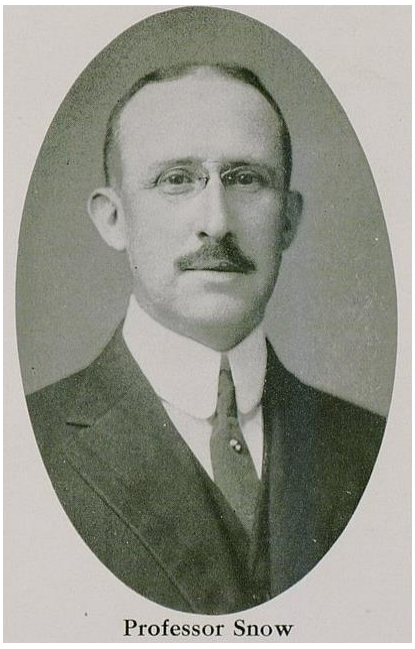


Figure 4.7: Lewis F. Snow (c. 1911), Dean of the Teachers College 1909-1911

[12] The Education Building was renamed Frazee Hall in 1931 in honor of former Board of Trustees Member D.F. Frazee. See University of Kentucky (2009, April 1). "Campus Guide- Frazee Hall." *University of Kentucky*. Retrieved from http://ukcc.uky.edu/cgi-bin/dynamo?maps.391+campus+0031

Arts and Sciences. By this time, UK had acquired a decent institutional reputation for producing highly qualified teachers, particularly at the high school level. In 1911, a letter from the Secretary of the Teacher's College at Columbia University guaranteed all graduates of the Teacher's College of State University eligibility "to enter the graduate department of the institution in New York and enroll as candidates for the A.M. degree without conditions" (*Kentuckian* Staff, 1911, Image 33). Columbia was arguably the leading educational institution in the nation at that time, and its unconditional acceptance of SU students suggests a two things—either Columbia respected the quality of education provided by the University and wanted to recognize the achievements of its students, or Columbia saw the University as the most logical entry point to access the state and influence its educational practices. Regardless of the reason, Columbia's promise serves as evidence that educators on the national level were reaching out to educators at the state level. Whether Kentucky educators were reaching out in return is less clear.

Figure 4.8: Frank L. McVey, President of the University of Kentucky 1917-1940

It was not until the 1917 appointment of Frank LeRond McVey (*Figure 4.8*) as President of the newly renamed University of Kentucky that the dominos began to fall for UK to pursue a national reputation as a leader in education. Prior to this point, decisions about education in Kentucky had been controlled by a local network of white men who were born, raised, and educated in Kentucky, were active members of the Kentucky Education Association (KEA), and served as either university leaders, city and county superintendents, or employees of the Department of Education (Gooden, 1995, p. 309). Like similar networks in other southern states, this group had little connection to the powerful national

network of "administrative progressives," who held influential positions in public education as graduates of either Columbia University or the University of Chicago (pp. 308, 310). McVey was part of that national network, and when he arrived at UK his goal was to "bring some of that national vision and professionalism that he probably felt was lacking among the local leaders" (p. 312). Unfortunately, Kentucky's "good old boy" network tied McVey's hands by excluding him from decisions made by KEA and state government. As a result, McVey would bide his time by focusing on UK and encouraging the Department of Education to create its first laboratory school, the Kentucky State Model High School, which opened in September 1918 (*Mohian*, 1921, p. 41).

UK's Kentucky State Model High School (1918-1930)

The intended purpose of the Kentucky State Model High School was to "maintain observation and practice for persons who are preparing to teach" (UK Board of Trustees, 1919, June 17, p. 12). Internally, the school was referred to as the "Practice School in the Department of Education," and the UK Board of Trustees appointed Fred C. Walters as its first Superintendent (UK Board of Trustees, 1918, July 17, p. 9). It was established to satisfy the thirty-third of sixty-nine Probe Committee recommendations to improve the university, which specifically provided "That as soon as practicable, a practice high school for the school of education, wholly under the control of the University, be provided" (UK Board of Trustees, 1918, Dec. 10, p 164). President McVey reported that the school was part of a cooperative arrangement with the City of Lexington that allowed City School Superintendent M.A. Cassidy to designate the pupils in exchange for paying for five of the school's teachers (Uhian Staff, 1930). At that time, Lexington and Fayette County schools operated under the same legal and social framework of racial segregation that existed at UK's and throughout the state of Kentucky, so there was an inherent understanding that the children selected by Cassidy would be white, but did not necessarily have to come from affluent families. In the first year, the school operated on the second and third floors of the

Education Building with approximately 135 students in the 9th and 10th grades. President McVey's son, Frank Jr., was a student in the first sophomore class (*Mohian*, 1920).

UK evaluated the school at the end of its first year and found that it had been "materially affected by [the] influenza epidemic and other conditions, so that it has not accomplished the work hoped for and expected" (UK Board of Trustees, 1919, June 17, p. 12 [Image 35]). As a result, Superintendent Walters resigned from his position (p. 13 [Image 17]) and the decision was made to sever ties with the City of Lexington when City School Superintendent Cassidy and UK Education Professor Noe agreed that the "purpose of the City and University are so distinctly different" (p. 13 [Image 36]). The new goal was to make the school a "real model high school," therefore it was placed entirely under the control of the University with a new school board consisting of President McVey, Professor Noe, Professor C.D. Cornell, and Dean Boyd (p. 12-13 [Images 35-36]). A sum of $4,500 was set aside for the school's maintenance, but it was stipulated that at least $2,500 per year must be raised by charging tuition, which was originally set at $25 per year and then raised to $40 per year in 1921 (UK Board of Trustees, 1921, May 4, p. 10 [Image 10]), and the school would be expanded to include grades 11 and 12, which was fortuitous considering President McVey's son was entering the 11th grade in the Fall of 1919.

In July 1919, Ernest R. Wood was appointed as the new Principal of Model High School, where he served for the next two years (UK Board of Trustees, 1919, July 23, p. 7 [Image 7]; *Mohian*, 1921). He was succeeded in that position in 1922 by Harold P. Fling, who also served in that position for two years. In 1923, the Department of Education and the Department of Vocational Education, both part of the College of Arts and Sciences, merged to create what is now known as the College of Education, and Dr. William S. Taylor (*Figure 8*) was appointed Dean. At the same time, Model High School started going by a new name--University High School (*Mohian*,

1924)—and from that point until UK built a new Teacher Training School in 1930, the laboratory school was severally referred as both Model High and University High.

The University's appraisal of the laboratory school after its second year was more succinct and favorable than the first: "The Model School has had a successful year and an able teaching corps" (UK Board of Trustees, 1920, June 1, p. 315 [Image 20]). In one way this showed the University being more deferential to its own management of the school, and in another way the new conditions at Model High were stacked in its favor: (1) it had highly qualified educators recruited from multiple states by the University, (2) it served only students whose families could afford to pay the tuition and transport them to school, and (3) it had a lower student to teacher ratio than the city and county schools. When Model High collaborated with the City of Lexington Schools in 1918, the target population was 135 public school children, but by the 1921-1922 school year that number had dropped to 87 tuition paying students (UK Board of Trustees, 1922, Apr. 4, p. 5 [Image 5]). Despite this smaller enrollment, the laboratory school was still viewed as a success both operationally and financially. The University did support the school with funds from the general fund, but the income generated through student fees and tuition exceeded the University's original $2,500 target by $1,320 that year alone (UK Board of Trustees, 1922, Jun. 1, [Image 1]). The University perceived the school as a worthwhile investment that provided convenience for the Department of Education and a special learning environment for the children of privileged families.[13]

From an objective standpoint, Model High was not particularly progressive, and it had no experimental function that would distinguish it from laboratory schools operating in the northeast

[13] A number of students enrolled at Model High were children of UK faculty members, like Frank McVey (UK President), Paul Boyd (Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences), and J.T. Cotton Noe (Head of the Department of Education). This was a persistent characteristic of UK's laboratory school throughout its lifespan. Alumni included the children of Lyman Ginger, Frank Dickey, Adolph Rupp, Erwin Sasman, and others.

some seventy-five years earlier. The curriculum did incorporate some hands-on, experiential learning through art, music, home economics, and agricultural classes, but at the same time those were balanced out by traditional subject-oriented curriculum, like history, civics, English, foreign language, and math. The University had created an idealized environment conforming to its definition of a "real model school," which considering its small student population offered at various times a plethora of extracurricular opportunities, including baseball, boys and girls basketball, football, track, Girl Scouts, orchestra, drama, yearbook (the *Mohian*), newspaper (the *Index* and *U-Hi Lights*), radio roll, student council, Hi-Y, Girl Reserves, home economics club, and National Honor Society.

Nonetheless, based on the anecdotes included in their yearbooks, the high school students' perceptions of the college faculty and student teachers were deferential at best and condescending at worst. Take, for example, this interesting remark published by the 1920-1921 yearbook staff:

> A peculiar thing occurred in one of first hour classes early in the semester, when there were five students and six practice teachers in the class. Since that time, however, some got discouraged, while the others have been taking their turns teaching. One innovation was the reciting of assignments of the teachers as well as by the students. The faculty has had a very easy time while these University students were in charge of their classes. (Mohian '21, p. 78)

Hiding behind a respectful tone exists pointed criticism about student teachers outnumbering the students and the insinuation that some student teachers "got discouraged" and presumably quit. The thinly veiled sarcasm about the "innovation" of recitation and the "easy time" the professors had when the college students "were in charge of their classes," reveals something significant about not only the pedagogical strategies being implemented in the school, which in this case appeared decidedly antiquated, but also the sense of authority and enmity the high school students felt in this environment. A student essay in the same yearbook compares the school to a miniature republic, but intentionally describes the faculty as "deriving their just power from the

consent of the governed, or in this case from the parents or guardians, the natural protectors of the governed" and reminds the reader that "no matter how wise or how strong the government may be, it must fail unless it has the whole-hearted support of its citizens," a/k/a "students" (p. 43).

The most scathing rant about student teachers was found in the 1923 *Mohian* yearbook, and although it is long, I include it in its entirety for the reader's enjoyment (the punctuation and spelling of the original have been maintained):

> Officially they are known as "students majoring in education who are acquiring practical teaching experience." Actually they are pests who infest and run over the class rooms and hallways of Model High School, annoying faculty, student body and janitor.
>
> We are gathered together here for their benefit that they may "practice" teaching upon us. Each one of them is in his or her own mind able and willing to show just what is wrong with the universe in general and the student body of Model High School in particular. I suppose a medical student feels much the same way as he lops off a couple of limbs from a guinea pig. That is, he acquires a certain familiarity and contempt for guinea pigs. In many ways we resemble guinea pigs. We are placed here by the department of education for the sole purpose of providing amusement and instruction for the education students.
>
> We differ from guinea pigs in that once a year this book is published and once a year we have an opportunity to speak our piece. Heretofore we have been silent. I cannot speak for the future annuals but this one speaks for itself. I think it is a violation of God's law and of man's to entice unsuspecting youth here to be experimented upon by these so-called teachers. These practice teachers are in their own estimation about the most intelligent beings God has created.
>
> Judge for yourself from the following as to their correctness. One practice teacher told a student that Massachusetts was the capital of Rhode Island, and that sophisticated was spelled with two f's. Another said that many people were forced to leave England during the reign of Charles II, because of his very strict and moral court. Another said that Louis XIV died at an early age because of the strain which his austre life and fasting placed on him. Still another declared that Physche was pronounced as "fisik" and was a term used in medicine.
>
> Yet after M.H.S. pupils undergo this sort of thing for half of their time in school people wonder why they don't make a better showing in college. Figures show that of the members of the class of '21 who matriculated at the Universities in this country 50 per cent of them have left school. They further show that of the members of the class of '22 who entered the college 35 percent dropped out the

> first two months. What more could be expected of people who are taught that Charles II was a Puritan and Physche is a medical term? (np)

While the writer of this blistering tirade could bone up on his or her punctuation and spelling, especially of the word "psyche," the point the student was trying to make could not be clearer.

How Model High School Compared to Lexington and Fayette County High Schools

At this point in the laboratory school's history, there is little to suggest the quality of education provided at Model High School was any better or worse than that provided at other Lexington and Fayette County High Schools. Model High did not experience the same overcrowding that plagued other local schools, and it utilized a more academically based college preparatory curriculum. However, the local schools also benefitted from bevy of modern school reforms that vastly improved the overall quality of the public system. Between 1903 and 1928, the Lexington City School System experienced significant growth under the leadership of Superintendent M.A. Cassidy. His tenure modernized the city system by constructing twelve modern school buildings, two of which were for African American students; requiring all teachers have a college degree; extending the school year; reorganizing schools under the 6-3-3 system, which included elementary grades 1-6, junior high grades 7-9, and senior high grades 10-12; expanding curriculum for white and black students to include kindergarten, junior high schools, seniors high schools, manual training, physical education, music, and home economics; establishing a nighttime adult education program; implementing compulsory attendance and truancy ordinances; introducing penny lunches; and opening community laundries in school basements (Ambrose, 2012; LexHistory, 2020).

Between 1905 and 1921, the leadership of County Superintendent Nannie G. Faulconer also made Fayette County a leader in Kentucky school reform by raising teacher standards; adopting a county board system of governance; establishing School Improvement Leagues; improving rural school conditions; investing in white and black school construction, consolidation,

and physical improvements; extending the school year; establishing school meal programs; introducing the Montessori system to all elementary schools; expanding the curriculum to include industrial and domestic science courses; creating and implementing the county's first two-year and then four-year high school curriculum; establishing the county's first system of free school transportation; hiring E. Birdie Taylor, an African American woman, to serve as the first Supervisor of Colored Schools; and extending school improvement efforts to black schools by establishing homemakers and mothers clubs, school gardens, pig and poultry clubs, penny savings clubs, School Improvement Leagues, and night schools (Patton, 2017; Ambrose, 2012).

The main differences between Model High and the city and county high schools[14] were (1) Model High had an above average student population coming from predominantly educated and affluent white families, (2) there was less emphasis on home economic, industrial, and agricultural training at Model High than there was in the public schools; and (3) Model High did not provide educational opportunities to black children—not even segregated programs like those in the city (Dunbar High) and county (Douglass High) schools.

Collaborative Partnerships and the Birth of UK's Teacher Training School (1923-1930)

In the meantime, the results of an unfavorable survey about Kentucky schools were released by the General Education Board (GEB) in September 1921, and that survey provided the opportunity McVey needed to break through the resistant network of local educators that had curtailed his influence on education beyond the borders of UK's campus (Gooden, 1995, p. 325). Specifically, the GEB's commission recommended UK turn its Department of Education into a full College of Education to better train teachers and administrators to improve Kentucky schools.

[14] The Lexington City high schools operating in the 1920s included Harrison (1906); Lincoln (1908); Maxwell; Lexington (1918), which replaced Morton (1909); Dunbar (colored) (1923), and Henry Clay (1928). The Fayette County high schools included Athens (1912 and 1929); Picadome (1913); Russell Cave (1916); Faulconer (1916); Linlee (1921), which replaced Greendale (1911); Russell Cave (1926), and Douglass (colored) (1929).

This was the opportunity McVey needed to restructure the College of Education like a business and place qualified educators from the national network in positions of power. McVey immediately reached out to William S. Taylor (*Figure 4.9*) to recruit him for the dean position. Taylor was an astute choice because he was "a man who was from Kentucky and had been educated in Kentucky, who understood the operations of state department of education but who was not tainted by the politics of Kentucky" (p. 324). He was born and raised in Ohio County, Kentucky, but he had earned his doctorate from Columbia's Teachers College and was well connected in the national network. In fact, prominent educators Paul Monroe and William Kilpatrick had both served on Taylor's dissertation committee, and Kilpatrick was listed as a reference on Taylor's resume (p. 324). Taylor was the ideal candidate to bridge the gap between the national network and the Kentucky network because he was readily accepted in both. Despite Taylor's desire to return to Kentucky, he did express reservations about the salary and organization of the new college, and that prompted McVey to offer him the second highest dean's salary at UK, as well as transfer control of the Department of Educational Psychology to the College of Education (p. 325). McVey's incentives must have worked because Taylor accepted the job and "immediately began the reorganization of the College of Education in accordance with the national perspective of educational leadership."

Figure 4.9: William S. Taylor (c. 1929), Dean of the College of Education 1923-1949

Under Dean Taylor's control, the College of Education took seriously its perceived leadership role on the state and national level. One of Taylor's most effective strategies was pursuing collaborative partnerships at the city, county, state, and national level that would enable

UK to positively influence education in Kentucky. That included increasing opportunities for aspiring teachers to engage in practice teaching. The superintendents of schools in Louisville and Lexington had long granted UK seniors and graduate students access to its high schools for classroom observation, but practice teaching opportunities were otherwise rare for students of education in the early 1900s. As evidenced by the opening of Model High in 1918, UK was committed to the innovation of practice teaching, and it was open to partnerships with local school systems, like the Department of Vocational Education's 1918 alliance with the Fayette County Schools to use Picadome High School as a practice center for agricultural teachers and the College of Education's 1925 alliance with the Boards of Education at Versailles and Georgetown to provide practice experiences for home economics teachers (Taylor, 1930).

Nonetheless, Taylor identified significant gaps in the school's academic curriculum when the College of Education evaluated its programs in 1923. Specifically, there was little attention paid to preparing students to teach at the primary level, and the College of Education faculty also felt that UK's facilities were inadequate to prepare students for educational administration (Taylor, 1930). Thoughts of developing a more comprehensive teacher training program thus became the central focus of the College of Education and served as the impetus for the 1930 opening of the Teacher Training School, which was subsequently referred to as the University Training School, the University School, and the Laboratory School through the mid 1960's.

With an eye for opportunity, Dean Taylor recognized the city schools of Lexington's growing need for space as an occasion to create a mutually beneficial alliance between the local community and UK. Initially, the city schools had allocated $200,000 to build a new junior and senior high school, but they agreed to give that money to the UK College of Education to build a new school for the education of the city school children (Taylor, April 2, 1926). Unfortunately, the 1925 Kentucky State Legislature refused to grant UK additional funds for this endeavor, so Dean

Taylor appealed to the General Education Board of New York (GEB) for financial assistance. Claiming the city's need for a new junior and senior high school was immediate, Taylor requested the GEB match the city's pledge of $200,000 for the construction of a new Training School.

On May 3, 1926, Dr. Frank P. Bachman responded on behalf of the GEB writing "It is impossible for me to say whether the General Education Board would co-operate in the construction of a university junior and senior high school for practice and demonstration purposes. We are, however, very much interested in teacher training, and I have in mind bringing before the Board early next fall two projects in this particular field. Some time when I am in Kentucky I shall be very glad to talk over with you your plans, but, of course, can give you no assurance as to what the Board would do" (Bachman, May 3, 1926).

There is no official evidence that Bachman and Taylor discussed the matter that fall, but two renewed requests to the GEB in the Spring of 1927, this time from UK President Frank L. McVey to Dr. Abraham Flexner, suggests some conversation had taken place. The first letter from Dr. McVey to Dr. Flexner, which was dated February 25, 1927, mimicked Taylor's original request of $200,000 (McVey, 1927, February 25), but an otherwise exact copy of that correspondence sent April 15, 1927, along with a formal proposal memorandum, requested a larger sum of $300,000, which would cover the total amount of the construction estimate (McVey, 1927, April 15).

President McVey included with his second funding request additional documents justifying the needs for a new Teacher Training School at UK. Key points in the university's "Statement Relating to the Need of a Training School" included the poor economic conditions of the state, the state's low ranking on lists of educational progress, the inadequate state of teacher training facilities at UK, the state's growing student population, and the increasing demand to provide practice teaching experiences (pp. 3-8). UK wanted to establish Kentucky's first state-of-

the-art teacher training school to model proper modern school design and provide comprehensive training for teachers at all grade levels, including work from the kindergarten through the senior high school, by demonstrating a "well organized, properly conducted school" (p. 8). As state's flagship university, they felt compelled to "set the pace for all professional schools in the State," "lead in experimentation in education in Kentucky," and "assume the position of leadership that rightfully belongs to it." However, the College of Education also believed it was the least well equipped professional school in the state and worried that "If this difficulty is not remedied, the present progress made by the College of Education will be slowed… [and] the effect upon the State in the failure of the University to provide adequate educational leadership is a serious matter" (p. 5).

Fortunately for UK, GEB Secretary W.W. Brierley sent a formal response on June 9, 1927 to inform Dr. McVey that the GEB agreed to appropriate the University of Kentucky "a sum not to exceed $150,000 toward the sum required for this purpose, now estimated at $300,000" (Brierley, June 9, 1927). After meeting with the UK Board of Trustees, Dr. McVey responded to Mr. Brierley on September 22, 1927 writing "The Board took final action in the matter and authorized me to say that they accepted the offer of the General Education Board and would endeavor to secure from the Legislature at the next session an additional sum of $150,000. The call upon the grant made by your Board would not be made until the session of the Legislature has authorized an appropriation. We shall be glad to keep you informed of the progress in this matter" (McVey, September 22, 1927). It is unclear exactly when or why the plans changed from utilizing the $200,000 offer from the Lexington city schools to requesting a $150,000 appropriation from the Kentucky Legislature, but from this point on the only references made to matching funds were related to UK's request for funds from the state government.

Ultimately, the College of Education received a total pledge of $375,000 for the construction of the Teacher's Training School-- $150,000 from the GEB in May 1927, $150,000 from the Kentucky General Assembly in March 1928, and an additional $75,000 for furniture and equipment from the Kentucky General Assembly in March 1930 (Taylor, 1930). The GEB even pitched in an additional $1,652.40 to cover half fee charged by Warner, McCornack & Mitchell Architects out of Cleveland, Ohio (GEB, 1928, Oct. 5) The College of Education's partnership with the local community continued to exist, although in a different form than originally anticipated. On June 9, 1928, the city of Lexington donated 12.64 acres of Scovell Park (*Figures 4.10, 4.11*), the former city dump located across from the University Main Building on South Upper Street, to UK as a site for the Teacher's Training School ("Memorandum," 1928). The Lexington City School Board also committed to paying the salaries of the kindergarten through 8th grade teachers in exchange for UK accepting 25 city children into each of those grade levels ("Teachers Training," 1930; *Kentucky Kernel*, 1930, July 11, p. 1).

Figure 4.10: A view of the UK Main Building from the flooded quarry, which became the city landfill. (late 1800s)

Figure 4.11: A view of the UK Main Building from Scovell Park, former location of the city dump (c. 1904). This land was donated to the UK by the city in 1928 as a site for the Teacher's Training School.

Although construction on the new school was estimated to begin in June 1928 (*Kentucky Kernel* Staff, May 18, 1928) and then again in September 1928 (*Kentucky Kernel* Staff, June 29, 1928), UK's trustees did not authorize advertisement for construction bids until early November 1928 (*Kentucky Kernel* Staff, November 2, 1928). A bid was subsequently accepted from J.F. Hardyman Construction Company of Maysville, Kentucky[15], and construction on the Teacher Training School lasted until the fall of 1930 ("Teachers Training," 1930). Covering an area of nearly two acres, the completed Teacher Training School (*Figure 10*) housed the College of Education and all its departments, as well as practice nursery, kindergarten, elementary, junior high, and senior high schools. ("Building Program," 1930). With approximately 862,000 cubic feet of space, the large building came to a final cost of about $324,000, less furnishings and equipment, and it was deemed to be one of the best teacher training facilities to be found anywhere in the United States.

The University School—The Early Years (1930-1940[16])

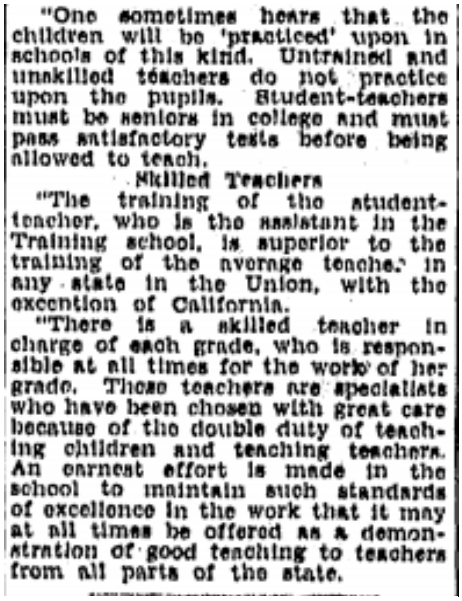
The opening of the Teacher Training School in 1930 represented a rebirth of UK's campus laboratory school. The University High School, f/k/a Model High, was moved from the old Education Building to the new Teacher Training School across the street, but the new facilities, the addition of the nursery, kindergarten, elementary, and junior high schools, and the publicity surrounding the opening of the building marked a significant new era for UK's College of Education. Dean Taylor had asserted UK's role as a state and national leader in education, and as such the new outreach function of the laboratory school distinguished it from the insular "observation and practice" function of its past.

[15] J.F. Hardyman company was also responsible for the construction of the new UK library at this same time. See Long, R.J. (1930). University of Kentucky Library Building. *Lafayette Studios Photographic Collection*. Retrieved from https://exploreuk.uky.edu/catalog/xt702v2c8t1s_80_1

[16] The history of the University School from 1941 until its closing in 1965 is the subject of Chapter 5.

The College of Education gained occupancy of the Teacher Training School in September 1930 and quickly settled in for the first day of school on Thursday, September 11th (Board of Trustees, 1930, Dec. 10, p. 11; *Lexington Herald*, 1930, Aug. 30, p. 8). The supervision and leadership of the school fell to College of Education Dean William S. Taylor, Director of the Training School Sherman G. Crayton, University High School Principal M.E. Ligon, and Elementary School Principal May K. Duncan (*Kentucky Alumnus*, 1930, Sep., p. 16).

The school was designed to accommodate 25 city school children and up to five additional tuition-paying children chosen by the University in each grade from kindergarten to eighth grade (Board of Trustees, 1931, June 3, p. 19)[17]. The bulk of the student population came from the city schools to help alleviate their overcrowding problem and "make possible for the University representative types of children in all grades of the elementary school" (p. 17). As UK and the local community continued to operate within a paradigm of racial segregation, these "representative types" did not include black children, and the school was not designed to include a segregated program for black students like those that existed in the city and county school systems.



"One sometimes hears that the children will be 'practiced' upon in schools of this kind. Untrained and unskilled teachers do not practice upon the pupils. Student-teachers must be seniors in college and must pass satisfactory tests before being allowed to teach.

Skilled Teachers

"The training of the student-teacher, who is the assistant in the Training school, is superior to the training of the average teacher in any state in the Union, with the exception of California.

"There is a skilled teacher in charge of each grade, who is responsible at all times for the work of her grade. These teachers are specialists who have been chosen with great care because of the double duty of teaching children and teaching teachers. An earnest effort is made in the school to maintain such standards of excellence in the work that it may at all times be offered as a demonstration of good teaching to teachers from all parts of the state.

Figure 4.12: The UK College of Education's defense of student teachers (27 July 1930).

The exclusively white University School's Preschool enrolled children ages 3 to 4 ½, and the Kindergarten enrolled children ages 4 ½ to 6 years old (*Kentucky Alumnus*, 1930, Sep., p. 16).

[17] The initial tuition cost was $60.00 per year ($30.00 per semester), plus a $5.00 student fee for entrance to all activities of the high school (Announcement, 1930-1931, p. 7). An oral interview provided by 1944 graduate Raymond Wilkie confirmed that the tuition was also $30.00 per semester for elementary age children.

Approximately 225 elementary students were expected in the first eight grades, (*Lexington Leader*, 1930, July 13, p. 21), but 56 spots were still available as of August 30th (*Lexington Herald*, 1930, Aug. 30, p. 2:8). The last number reported for the elementary division was 204 students (*Lexington Leader*, 1930, Nov. 16, p. 10); however, action by the UK Board of Trustees granted the Teacher Training School permission to fill the unclaimed student vacancies with tuition paying students (Board of Trustees, 1930, Nov. 9, p. 7 [Image 7]). There are two possible reasons for why the available spots in the elementary division had not been claimed: (1) a statement from the College of Education published in the July 27, 1930 Lexington Leader suggests that people were at first reluctant to enroll their children for fear they would be "'practiced' upon" (*Figure 4.12*) (p. 2); and (2) anecdotes from University High yearbooks reveal the school was referred to in the community as "the dump" because it was built on the former city landfill site (*Figure 4.13*) (*Uhian*, 1931, p. 6; *Uhian*, 1939, p. 11).

Figure 4.13: A view of Scovell Park during its time as the city landfill.

In the junior high and high school division, the enrollment totaled 171 students, with 24 seventh graders, 34 eighth graders, 26 freshmen, 29 sophomores, 30 juniors, and 28 seniors (*Uhian*, 1930-1931). Although Fall enrollment numbers for the College of Education could not be located, it is safe to assume they exceeded the 407 students enrolled in the Spring of 1930 (*Kentucky Alumnus*, 1930, March, p. 16). The College of Education faculty also increased from 11 to 15 in the fall of 1930 to fulfill the increased supervision duties at the enlarged school complex (*Kentucky Kernel*, 1930, Aug. 8, p. 1).

As a matter of human interest, an article published in *The Courier-Journal* on February 8, 1931 featured the youngest and oldest students enrolled in UK's Teacher Training School during its inaugural year (*Figure 4.14*) (Sec. 1, p. 4). Frances Thomas Horlacher (Saindon) was just three years old when her parents enrolled her in the preschool class of the University School, and Richard M. Millard, who first began his college career at the old Agricultural and Mechanical College of Kentucky in 1889, was a 63-year-old graduating senior in the College of Education. Although Mr. Millard passed away in 1937, Mrs. Saindon, née Horlacher, still resides in Lexington at the age of 93, as does her sister, Mrs. Helen Horlacher Evans, a 1937 graduate of University High School who celebrated her 100th birthday in June.


Girl, 3, Man, 63, Youngest Students Registered At U.K.

Left to Right—Frances Thomas Horlacher and R. M. Millard.

Figure 4.14: The oldest and youngest students enrolled at UK's Teacher Training School during the 1930-1931 school year.

From the beginning, UK's Teacher Training School (*Figure 4.15, 4.16*) was promoted as "the most complete advance step in matters of education that Kentucky has witnessed thus far" because it provided students with "conditions comparable to the best to be found any place in the US" (*Kentucky Alumnus*, 1930, Feb., p. 11). In a bid to create a national reputation for UK as a leader in education, Dean Taylor characterized the school as "one of the few institutions in the entire country and only one within an area of several hundred miles to offer such complete education" and a place where the "operation of the improved education training school is expected to result in the raising of standards of neighboring states" and "create a demand for University of Kentucky College of Education graduates throughout the middle west and south" (*Kentucky Alumnus*, 1930, Mar., p. 13).

Figure 4.15: The front of UK Teacher's Training School on October 13, 1930.

Figure 4.16: The back of UK Teacher's Training School on October 13, 1930.

Taylor's publicity campaign brought big names to UK's campus within a month of the school's opening. The dedication ceremony for the Teacher Training School was pushed back to October 24, 1930, which coincided with the opening day of the KEA seventh annual conference

being hosted by UK's College of Education (*Kentucky Kernel*, 1930, Oct. 24, p. 1). Approximately 1,000 people had accepted invitations and registered for the KEA Conference, and with the additional presence of UK students and faculty, the dedication ceremony for the Teacher Training School was a major event. On behalf of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, Governor Flem D. Sampson was slated to present the building to UK[18], and two nationally known educators were on hand to address the audience—Dr. Thomas H. Briggs from Teachers College at Columbia University and Dr. Frank P. Bachman, who represented both the George Peabody College for Teachers at Vanderbilt University and the General Education Board of New York (*Kentucky Kernel*, 1930, Oct. 10, p. 1). Also in attendance were Lexington Mayor James J. O'Brien, Lexington School Superintendent Henry Hill, and Fayette County School Superintendent D.Y. Dunn (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1930, Oct. 31, p. 1). It seemed President McVey's efforts to put UK's College of Education on the national radar were starting to pay off, and for the next few years the unique character of UK's University School was shaped by its goals of modeling modern school design and demonstrating a "well organized, properly conducted school" that provided comprehensive training for teachers at all grade levels (McVey, 1930, April 15, p. 8). An examination of both of those topics will help to provide a well-rounded picture of the early years at UK's University School.

Modeling Proper Modern School Design

The Significance of School Architecture

To the everyday person, the terms education and schooling are synonymous references to a formalized system of teaching and learning that takes place in a specialized environment called the school. Although education scholars distinguish between the physical environment of

[18] An article about the building dedication published in the University High School U-Hi-Lights newspaper on October 31, 1930 says that Gov. Sampson was "unavoidably absent' (U-Hi-Lights Staff, 1930, Oct. 31, p. 1)

the school itself and the concept of education in general, the average person's mental construct of "school" involves both the tangible building and the intangible process in which children learn.

This multifaceted construct of school is largely the product of the common school movement and the growth of public education in the nineteenth century, which marketed the spread of formal education through both professionalization (Cutler, 1989, p. 2) and the building of "grand public buildings which would be permanent and prominent" (Kaestle, 1973, p. 177). During that time, the material culture of public schools, i.e. the art and architecture of the building itself, was used to symbolize the social ideals and educational aims of local communities, and as such the school buildings became icons of American cultural values (Cutler, 1989, pp. 3-4). For these reasons, the design of a school is extremely significant: it is a "product of social behavior" whose materiality projects a system of values, and like a cultural time capsule it serves as an "active agent" in cultural creation and memory (Burke & Grosveneor, 2008, pp. 8 & 10).

According to Cutler (1989), "Americans have always been impressed by the capacity of their surroundings to influence human lives" (p. 39), and school design has focused on the relationship between environment and behavior to improve the education of the young. The cultural significance of school architecture is its influence over the success of the educational process. As symbols of the values, ideals, and pride of society, schools are testimonies to the social ideals and educational aims of their communities (pp. 3-4). In many ways, the success or failure of education depends on the design and physical condition of the schoolhouse, because environmental aesthetics have the power to strengthen character, elevate the tastes and refinement of students, shape dispositions, and provide evidence of a community's enlightenment (p. 20). As such, school architecture possesses both practical and ideological functions in their pursuit of educational achievement and the cultivation of community values.

School buildings are both practical and ideological "reflections of contemporary thought about learning and teaching. They are not just technical solutions, related to cost and supply, but also to views about how teachers and learners in designed spaces should be supported to act, and to what end" (Burke and Grosvenor, 2008, p.11). The physical context of the school has a direct impact on behavior and development, and ideas about control, discipline, health, and safety have been the continuous concerns driving the evolution of school design. The materiality of the schoolhouse itself both creates and reflects the ideology of its environment, and the evolution of school design mimics the shifting needs and values of communities on both a local and national level.

National and State Trends in School Architecture

School design in the United States has evolved in response to shifting cultural and historical paradigms. The earliest periods of school design focused on the establishment and expansion of educational institutions in local communities and, depending on the financial resources available in each area, school architecture varied from place to place (Burke and Grosvenor, 2008, p. 15). Affluent urban areas were better equipped to build "grand public buildings which would be permanent and prominent" (Kaestle, 1973, p. 177), while impoverished rural areas built the traditional "little red schoolhouse" that has become a nostalgic symbol of family, community, individualism, and American patriotism in our cultural memory (Zimmerman, 2009). However, regardless of its size or location, each school functions as a material reflection of both local and national values, and one can actually "read" American culture through the physical design and aesthetics of those schools.

As previously mentioned, school design became especially important during the professionalization of public education because communities were motivated by a competitive spirit to build schoolhouses that would serve as symbols of their values, ideals, and social pride

(Cutler, 1989, pp. 2-3). The art and architecture of school buildings became testimonies to the social ideals of the communities (p. 4), and competition between townships and neighborhoods resulted high aesthetic standards and a wave of architectural eclecticism (Cohen, 2009, pp. 4, 26).

The personal preferences of local school leaders resulted in remarkable diversity in schoolhouse design until compulsory school laws and the push for standardization led to the duplication of certain design features (Cutler, 1989, p. 9). By 1900, art became an extension of schoolhouse architecture in large-scale building projects across the country, and it remained a priority until World War II (Cohen, 2009, p. 32). School designers were intentional about merging aesthetics and functionality by embellishing open, flexible, and informal spaces with beautiful and didactic art. The push for schools to function as community centers responsible for social assimilation resulted in complex structures with differentiated rooms for vocational training and large auditoriums for community gatherings (Cutler, 1989, pp. 34-41).

Special consideration was given to the health and safety of students by designing schools from the inside out using the needs of children and teachers as the starting point (Burke and Grosvenor, 2008, p. 133). Schools became "substantial in size," and these two to three story tall buildings used compact massing to create a feeling of monumentality (Kennedy & Johnson, 2002, pp. 38-39). The most popular configurations included the H, U, T, V, I, L, and E types, and typical design characteristics included ornamental cupolas, columns, stonework, and parapets; large vestibules and hallways; and elaborate staircases that created a grand appearance (Kennedy & Johnson, 2002, pp. 40-41). Large windows were designed to flood classrooms with light (pp. 68, 78), and a full range of educational experiences was made possible by differentiated spaces like workshops, gymnasiums, and playgrounds (Cutler, 1989, p. 11).

The competing interests of beauty and utility were always at the forefront of this national trend in school design. On one hand, educators maintained the belief that environments shape

character and that beauty uplifts the spirit, inspires the soul, and transforms character (Flischel, 2001, p. 9). As such, the art and architecture of schools were important humanizing and cultivating influences on the character of children, and they could even serve as sources of beauty and inspiration in neighborhoods needing "spiritual elevation" (Cutler, 1989, pp. 23-25). On the other hand, an increased focus on community involvement and child-centered pedagogy led many to believe that the aesthetics should be informal enough to invite community use (p. 33), and "The building must not be too beautiful, lest it be a place for children to keep and not one for them to use" (Burke and Grosvenor, 2008, p. 102).

As was typical in most southern states, school design in Kentucky progressed more slowly than at the national level, and at various times buildings across the state ranged from one-room schoolhouses to sprawling high school complexes (Kennedy & Johnson, 2002, p. 34). Most communities did not have enough funds to construct modern school buildings, and in many cases the location of schools was less than ideal. In fact, it was common for land that was deemed unsuitable for agricultural or domestic purposes, or was considered substandard for any reason, to be donated to local school districts for school sites (p. 36).

Nonetheless, two specific events helped to stimulate change in Kentucky school design: (1) in 1908, the state implemented a new county system of school management and mandated each county to establish at least one or more high schools before 1910, and (2) following World War I, several education studies chronicled the dilapidated condition of Kentucky's schools and warned that "the cumulative effect of the poor condition of Kentucky's school buildings would have detrimental consequences for learning" (Hartford, 1977, pp. 18-19; Kennedy & Johnson, 2002, p. 20). Both of these events stimulated efforts to consolidate schools and pool community resources, which for the first time provided Kentucky school systems with the resources to engage in large-scale building projects (Kennedy & Johnson, 2002, p. 20, 36). There was a deliberate push

to equalize schools across the Commonwealth, and school buildings acquired new architectural meaning as community centers and symbols of a community's commitment to education (pp. 27, 34).

The Architecture of UK's Teacher Training School

UK's plans for a state-of-the-art Teacher Training School recognized the importance the school's architecture would play in both its effectiveness as a school and its influence over school design in Kentucky and the South. The primary concern was that "Much money has been wasted in Kentucky on buildings that are not of the proper type, that are badly planned and poorly constructed," and the College of Education believed "[i]t would be helpful to the school administrators of Kentucky and to Kentucky school boards if a unit building containing all the grades from kindergarten through the senior high school could be planned and maintained at the University of Kentucky" (McVey, 1927, April 15).

With this goal in mind, Warner, McCornack & Mitchell Architects out of Cleveland, Ohio created a design for the Teacher Training School that incorporated national trends in school architecture and would serve as a model for Kentucky county school systems to emulate ("Building Program," 1930). Utilizing Neoclassical design, the structure had two-stories that sat atop a utility basement. It boasted approximately 862,000 cubic feet of space, and its footprint took up nearly two acres of its 12.64 acre site (*Kentucky Alumnus*, 1930, Sep., p. 16; Deed, 1928, June 9). It was organized into sections to accommodate the entire College of Education, as well as the nursery, kindergarten, elementary, junior high, and senior high school divisions of the laboratory school (*Figures 4.17-4.21*). It included three outdoor courtyards with open spaces that in many ways mirrored the open curriculum of progressive education.

The exterior of the building featured detailed aesthetics with Neoclassical ornamentation, including a grand central cupola with a specially designed schoolhouse weather vane (*Figure*

4.22); carved wood finials and laurel swag; symmetrically curved brick porticos laid with a herringbone pattern; one and two-story tall Doric columns (*Figure 4.23)*; traditional roof dormers (*Figure 4.24*); a large assortment of oculus, sash, arch, and double-hung windows; decorative window grills; stone keystones and sills; brick lintels; staggered marble cornerstones; wood cornices; a slate roof; copper flashing, gutters and accents; wrought iron rails; and a white marble inscription stone over the central entry door.

The interior of the building was less ornamental and more functional than the exterior of the building, but it also featured plaster walls with marble wainscoting; quarry tile floors and base coves; classroom wardrobes in the elementary division; built-in wood cabinets, display cases and bookshelves (*Figures 4.25, 4.26*); and scatterings of decorative hardware (*Figure 4.27*). Special features of the design included an exhibition gallery accentuated with an overhead skylight (*Figure 4.28*); a shop equipped with a forge, lathe, drill, grinder, and press; fully equipped sewing and cooking rooms; state-of-the-art science labs; a wood floor gymnasium with brick walls and ceiling height windows; two full service cafeterias; six staircases with quarry tile treads, risers and landings; and a 299 person auditorium[19] with classical ornamentation, six large arched windows, a 32' by 20' stage equipped with a $790 curtain, symmetrically curved stage stairs, a Hamilton piano, three motion picture screens, a second floor balcony, and a projection booth with a motion picture machine and two lantern machines (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1930, Nov. 14, p. 1). Each of the elementary grade possessed both a large classroom and an adjoining small group room to facilitate individual and group instruction (Kentucky Alumnus, 1930, Aug., p. 16)

[19] The architectural plans list the occupancy on the first floor as 299 people. A Kentucky Alumnus article from September 1930 lists the occupancy as 400 (Kentucky Alumnus, 1930, p. 16).

Figure 4.17: Teacher Training School Elevations

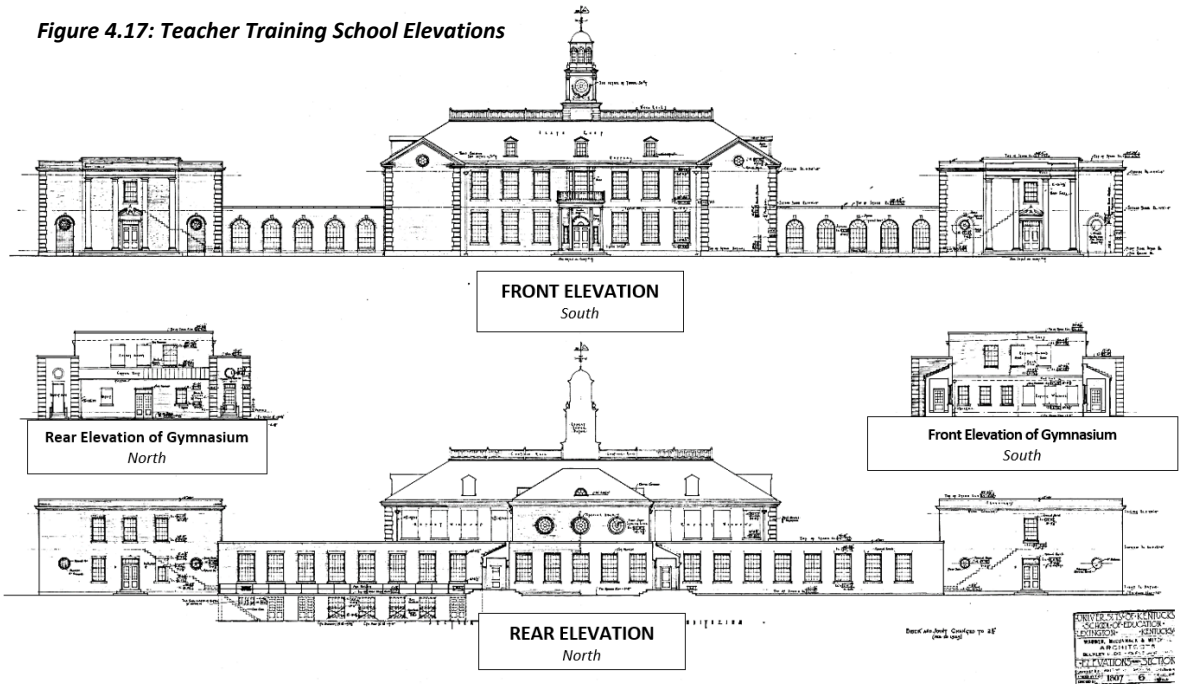


Figure 4.18: Teacher Training School Footprint

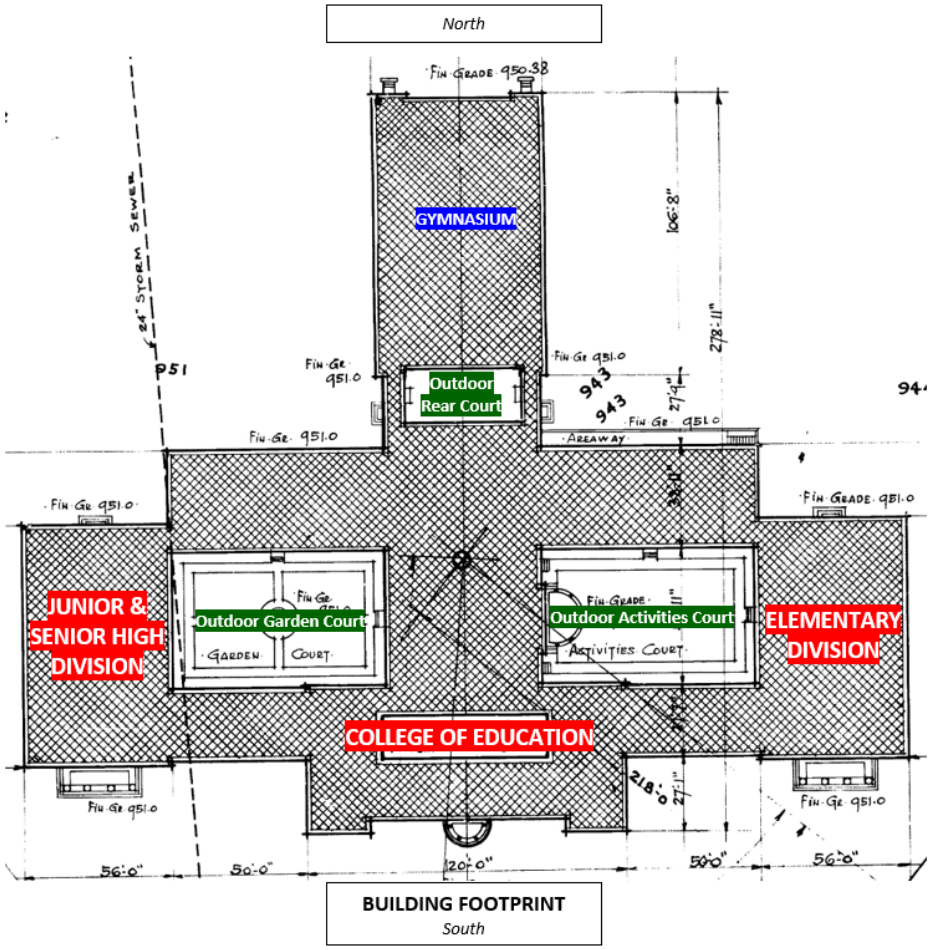


Figure 4.19: First Floor Layout

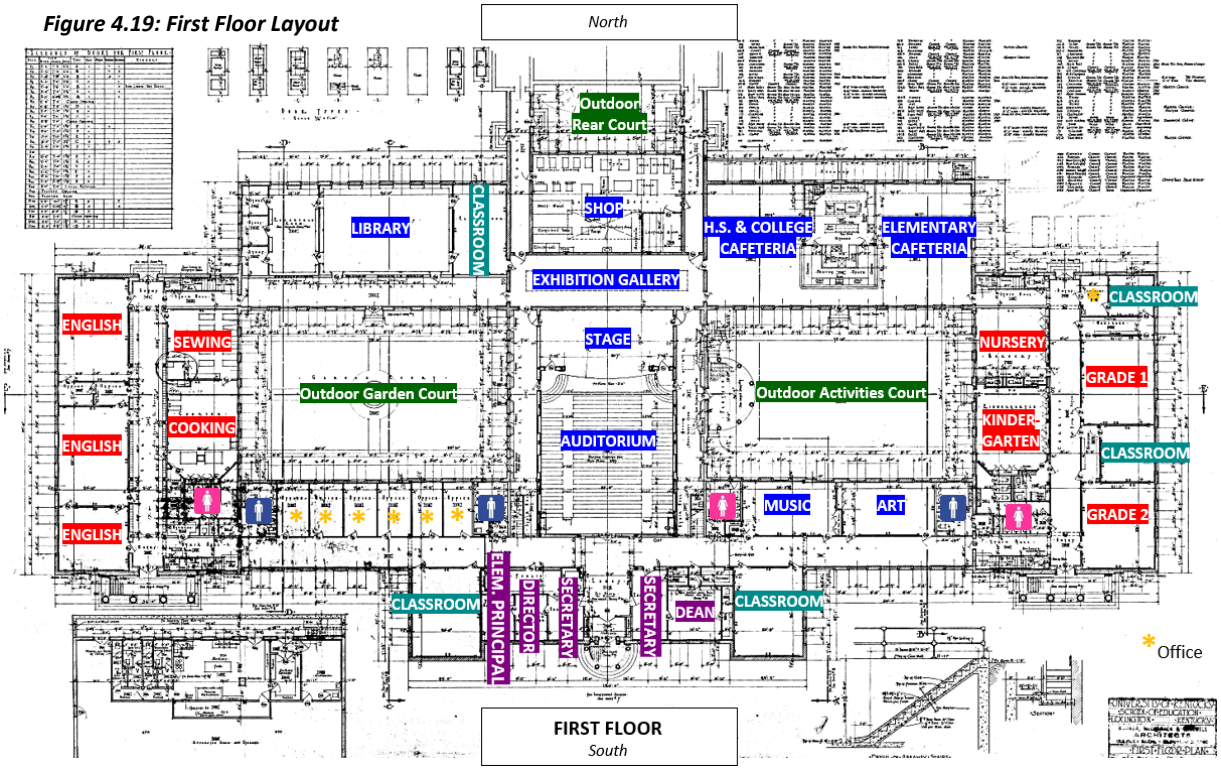
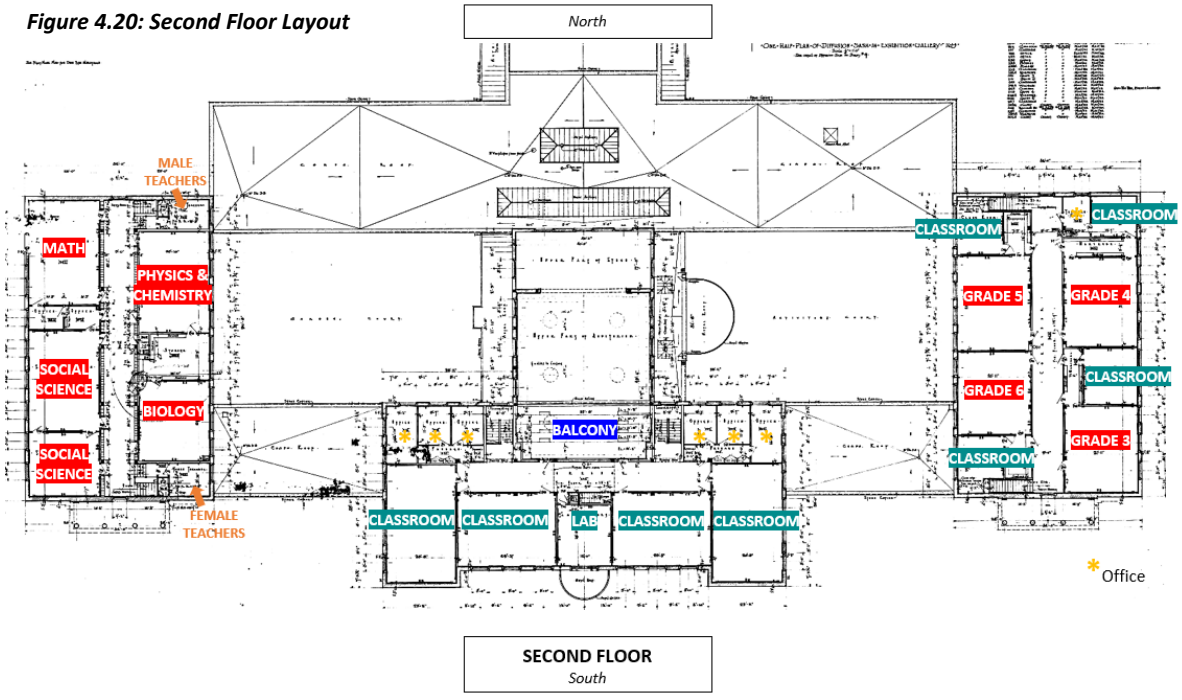


Figure 4.20: Second Floor Layout



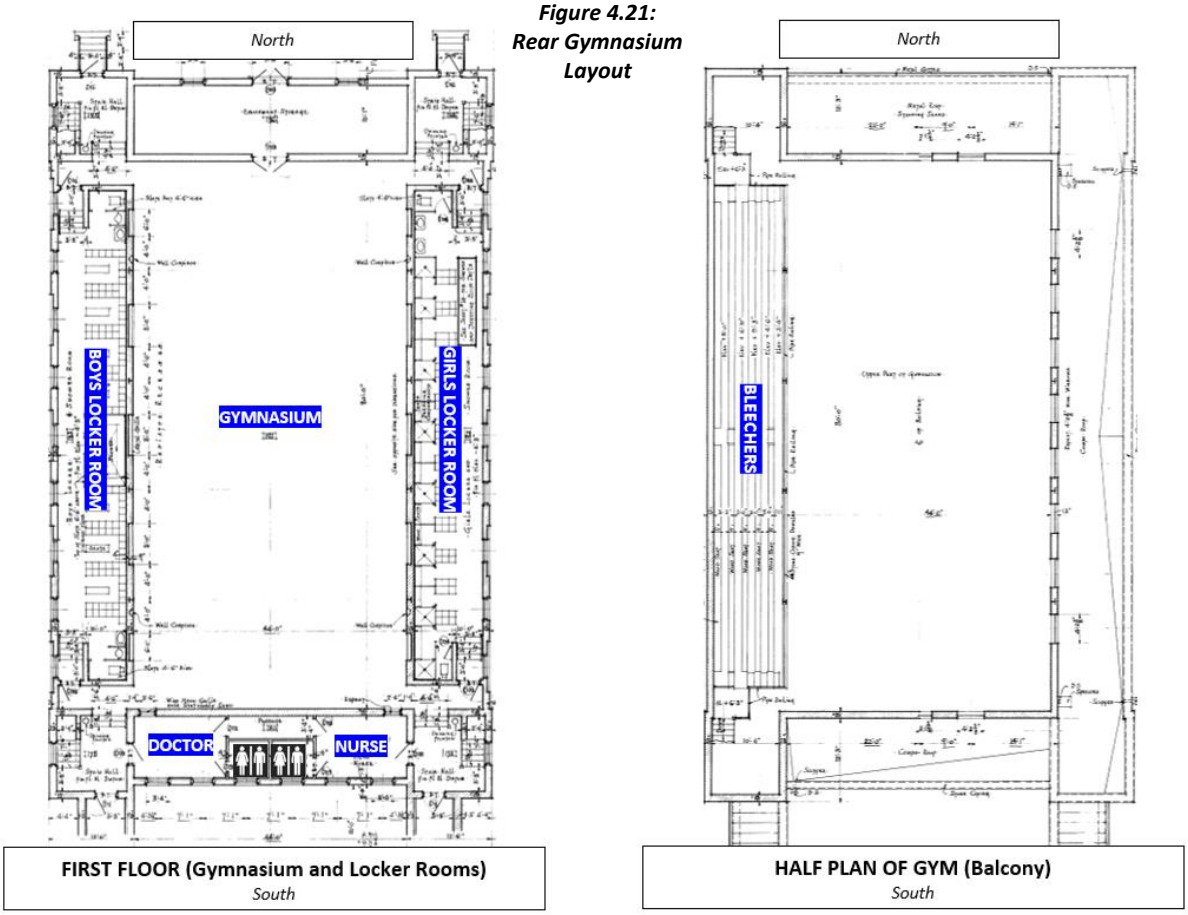


Figure 4.21: Rear Gymnasium Layout

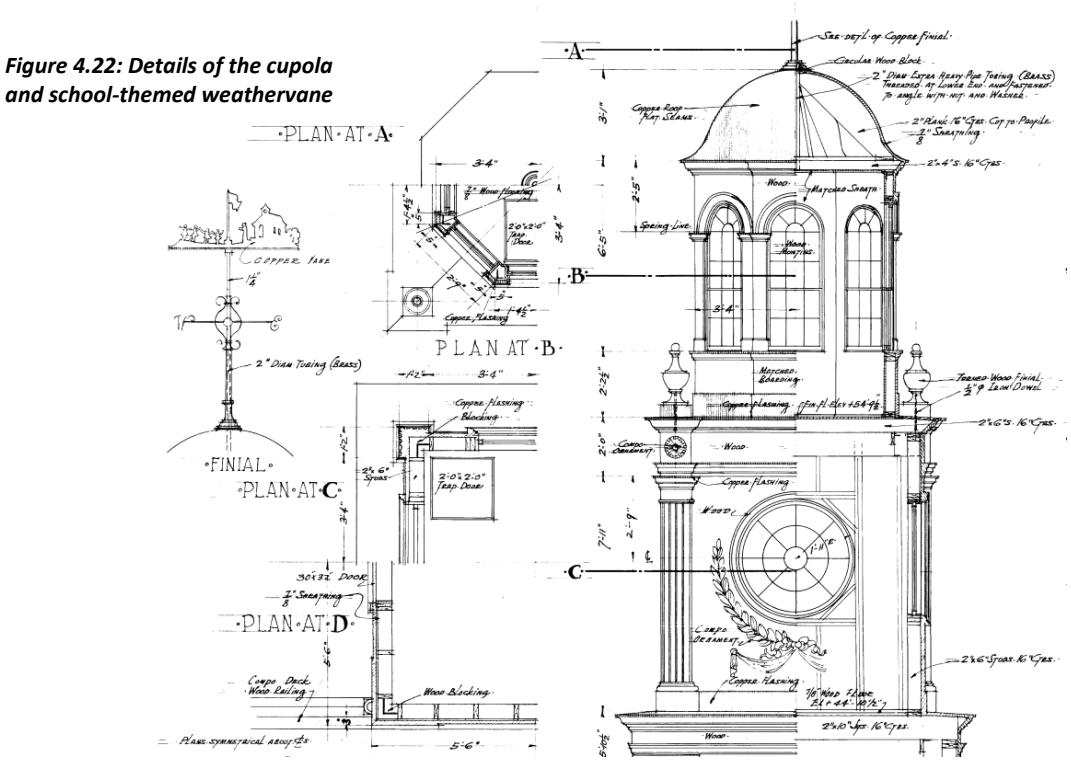


Figure 4.22: Details of the cupola and school-themed weathervane

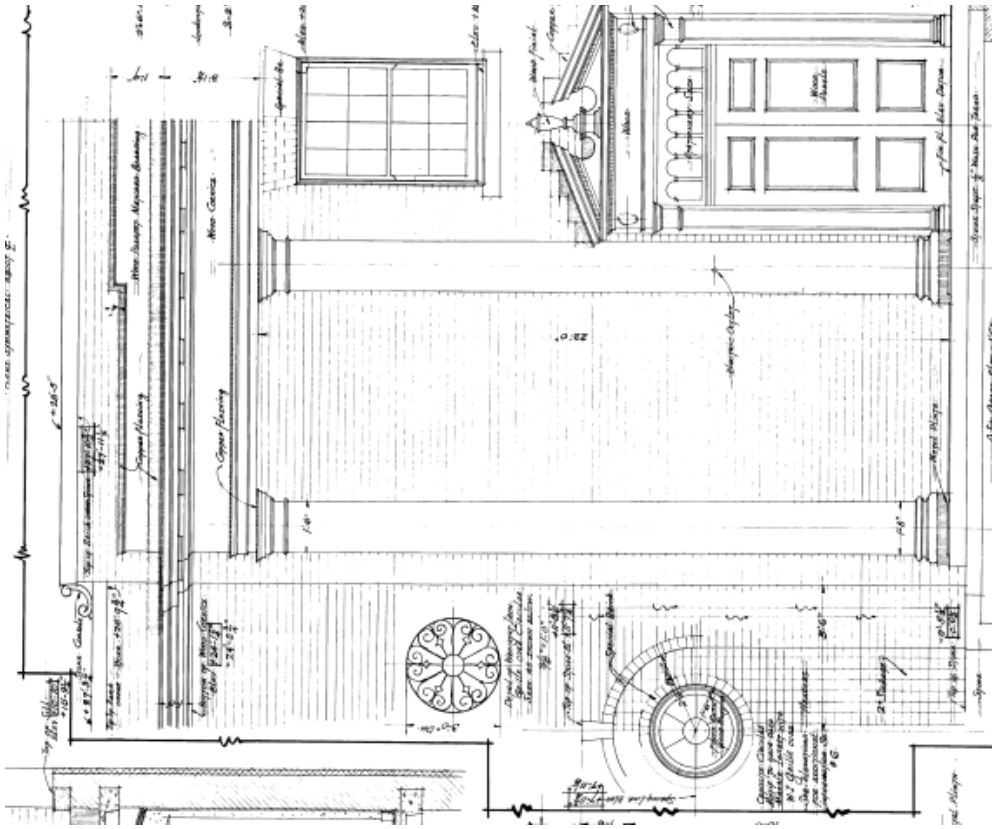


Figure 4.23: West portico design with wrought iron ocular window, and East portico design with traditional ocular window

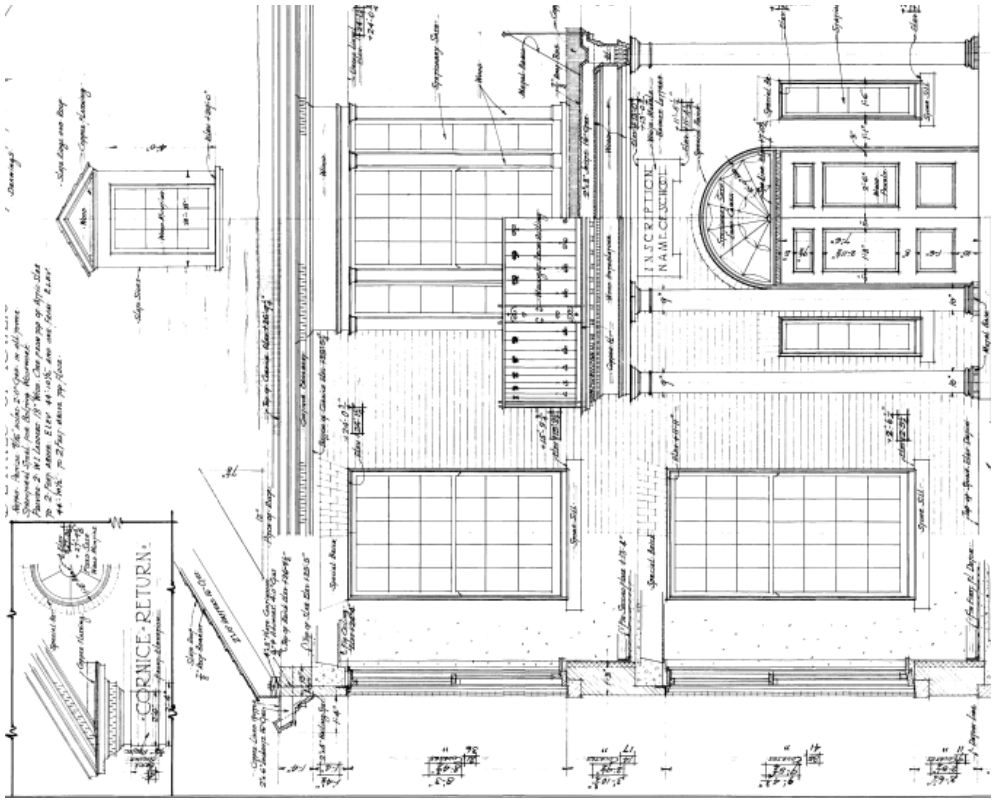


Figure 4.24: Central portico design with marble building inscription

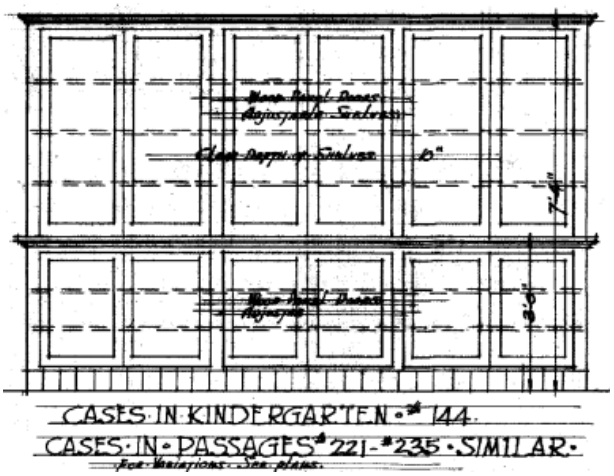


Figure 4.25: Built-in wood cases in the Kindergarten classroom

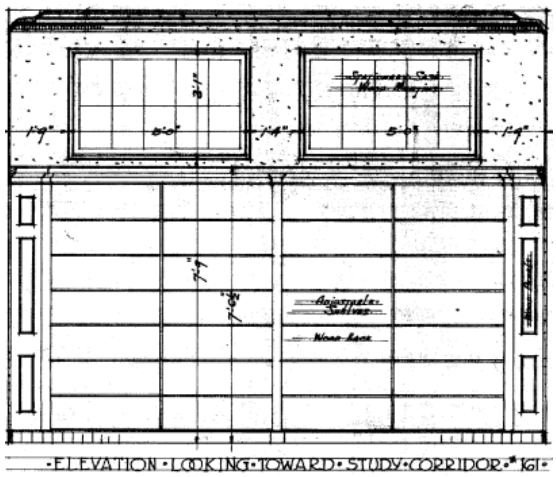


Figure 4.26: Library bookshelves and overhead windows

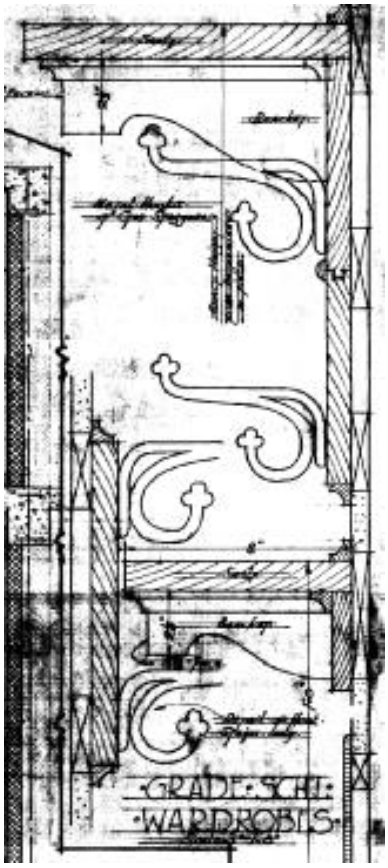


Figure 4.27: Decorative hooks in the elementary wardrobe rooms

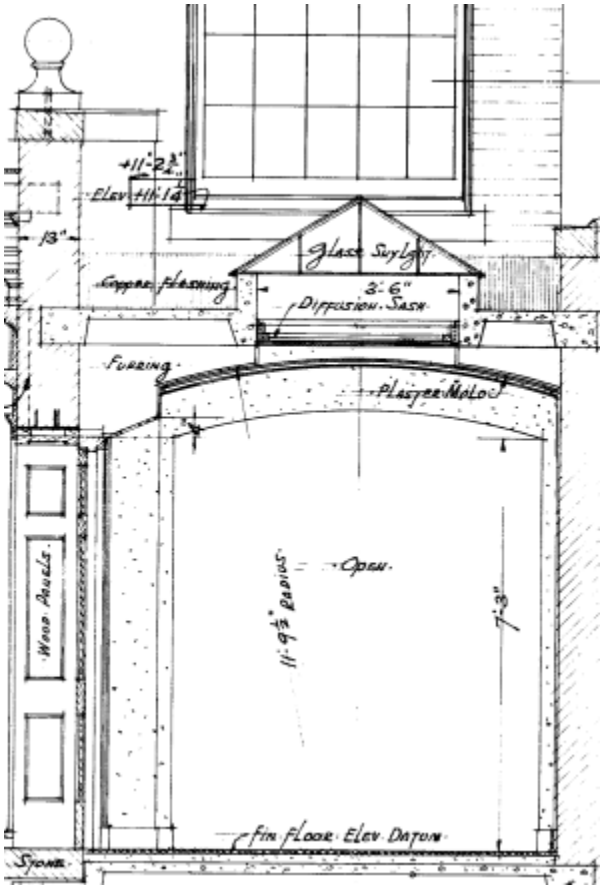


Figure 4.28: Exhibition gallery with skylight

The Significance of the Design

The art and architecture of UK's Teacher Training school provided a strong balance between the beauty of Neoclassical design and the function of modern school layouts as it served as a model for schools across Kentucky and the south. The impressive height of the central section, which was flanked on both sides by equally tall classroom wings, created a grand appearance that was further emphasized by the building's large footprint and Classical ornamentation. The striking façade communicated the College of Education's pride in having a state-of-the-art building designed to become "the heart of the University" (Kentucky Alumnus, 1930, Feb., p. 11). Its Neoclassical architecture mimicked the aesthetics favored by America's founding fathers, and as such embodied the democratic ideals that influenced educational philosophy during the Progressive Movement. The school building itself became a "third teacher" whose design and organizational layout spoke to democratic and egalitarian ideals (Burke and Grosvenor, 2008, p. 120). It communicated the importance the University and local community placed on education as the means to train children to become well-adjusted citizens and contributing members of society.

The design of the Teacher's Training School also had a direct impact on the feelings, behavior, and development of its students. From an aesthetic standpoint, it showed students that their lives were important and the education they were pursuing was worth the large investment put into the facility by the designers, construction workers, and administration at UK. As such, students took pride in their environment and moderated their behavior according to respect for place. The influence of the school environment was so pronounced that the high school yearbook staff wrote "We are in a new building now. Many new faces fill the halls and crowd the class rooms. New traffic flows past the windows. The whole school seems new and

different. Not only modern equipment surrounds us, but modern ideas have permeated our broadening minds" (*Uhian*, 1931, p. 21).

The building evoked this kind of response because it displayed a form of architectural humanism that was interested in the behaviors, feelings, and aspirations of the students (p. 129). As far back as 1913, the GEB had published recommendations for school design that would support progressive curriculum by focusing on health and safety, "what children want to know," the school as a "cooperative democracy," recreation "for young and old, for all pursuits, for all seasons, for both sexes, indoors and out of doors," and beauty through music, dancing, and art (Gates, 1913, pp. 7-13). The key was encouraging the elevation of cultural character and personal development through socialization and collaboration (Cutler, 1989, pp. 25, 27).

In terms of health and safety, the new Teacher Training School was constructed with large rooms equipped with the most up-to-date equipment available. Tall ceilings and large windows in every part of the complex flooded the rooms with natural light and fresh air, and Dean Taylor once bragged that "In the construction of the building throughout, the modern types of heating and ventilating have been installed" and "No child in any room in the entire Training School will ever be called upon to climb more than one flight of stairs" (Taylor, 1930, Sep., p. 17). The comfort and wellbeing of students was a priority, and the design was tailored to meet the needs of the students, whether they be physical, emotional, or intellectual (*Figure 4.29*).

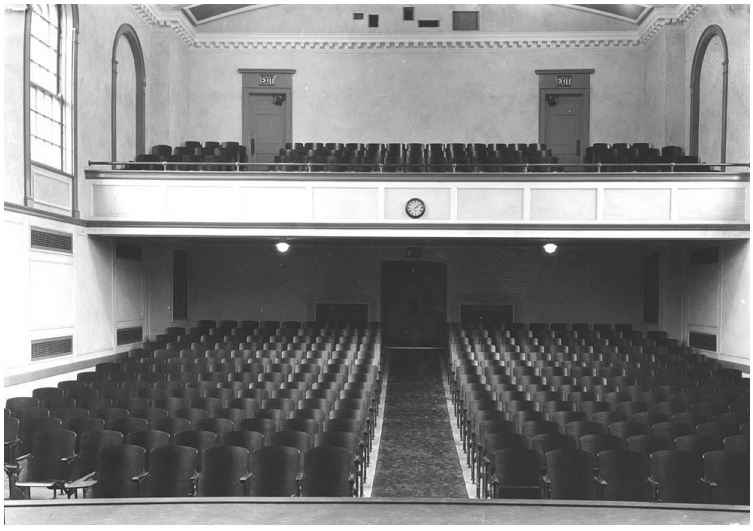


Figure 4.29: A picture looking toward the Training School auditorium and balcony

Taylor also knew that the central idea of "work," or "learning through doing… construction, experience, exploration and play," had a direct impact on a child's development (Ward, 2015, pp. 9-10). It helped the student create a strong sense of identity because his or her relationship with the teacher was not that of master and pupil, but instead a "learning journey" that the child and teacher shared. As such, the Teacher Training School was intentionally designed to

> [O]rganize our children into a little community and teach them to do in a perfect way the things their fathers and mothers are doing in an imperfect way, in the home, in the shop, on the farm. We shall train the child for the life before him by methods which reach the perfection of their adaptation only when the child shall not be able to distinguish between the pleasures of his school work and the pleasures of his play. (Gates, 1913, p. 10)

The fusion of information with life experiences allowed the children to connect to the curriculum on a personal level, and that connection was reinforced by the collaborative setup of the physical environment. Using progressive ideologies and modern design recommendations, the adults had created in the school a miniature version of the ideal society, where socialization would teach children how to develop as contributing members of society and as individuals with unique talents (Gates, 1913, p. 12; Spring, 1986, p. 167, cited by Kennedy & Johnson, 202, p. 37).

The courtyard layout of the Teacher Training School was pivotal in making this possible. The design generated an unimpeded flow of movement from one area to the other, meaning the laboratory classrooms were easily accessible to students and staff alike. The college students benefited from opportunities to interact with the school-age children in communal spaces like the library and the cafeteria. At the same time, the separate wings and courtyards assigned to the elementary and high school divisions kept the children contained in age-appropriate learning environments and gave them a sense of place within the larger school complex. The flexibility of the spaces enabled the children and college students to learn and grow within a shared campus setting. During any given school day, college students could observe a practice lesson or listen to

a class lecture in the large auditorium, and then surrender the space to the school-age students who could use it for presentations or dramatic performances. Students of all ages learned together in one facility, which encouraged interaction, engagement, and a sense of belonging and camaraderie that was unique to the University School. As one alumnus wrote, "I'll always remember being on the kindergarten playground and watching older children through the hall windows, going through the lunch line and wanting to get to do that too" (U Hi Reunion, 2006, p. 41).

Architectural Influence on Lexington and Fayette County Schools

The University School's architectural influence on Lexington and Fayette County public schools is unclear. Although many of the local schools constructed during this period reflected a similar size and Neoclassical aesthetic as the University School, UK's laboratory school was not the first of its kind in the local community. In fact, Henry Clay High School (*Figure 4.30*), which the city opened in 1928, had strikingly similar features to UK's Teacher Training School, which opened two years later. Both had a large central section flanked on each side by symmetrical wings, a grand central cupola, two-story tall Grecian columns; traditional roof dormers; an assortment of oculus, sash, arch, and double-hung windows; stone keystones and sills; brick lintels; and wood cornices.

Figure 4.30: The city opened Henry Clay High School in 1928

At least two county schools demonstrated the same features, although they were built after the University Training School (*Figures 4.31, 4.32*).

Figure 4.31: The county opened Kenwick School in 1934

Figure 4.32: The county opened Lafayette High School in 1939

Training Teachers at All Grade Levels by Demonstrating a "well organized, properly conducted school"

In addition to serving as a model of modern school architecture, the opening of the Teacher Training School in 1930 was also intended to train teachers at all grade levels by demonstrating what UK described as a "well organized, properly conducted school" (McVey, 1930, April 15, p. 8). To make sense of this broadly worded goal, it is helpful to examine its parts.

Training Teachers at All Grade Levels

Prior to 1930, the teacher training program at UK had only offered practice teaching at the high school level, and although some of its graduates had gone on to work in elementary and

junior high schools, the College of Education admitted that "the persons who went into these fields went without adequate preparation" (Kentucky Alumnus, 1930, March, p. 5). The original structure of Kentucky's teacher training programs was partly to blame for this grade level gap. When Kentucky created its state system of normal schools in 1906, it divided teacher training responsibilities between the normal schools and State College (Dorris, 1936, pp. 45-46; Gooden, 1995, p. 328). The two normal schools in Richmond and Bowling Green were responsible for training 8th grade graduates in elementary and junior high school certificate programs, while the State College was responsible for training 12th grade graduates for high school teaching certificates, Bachelor degrees in Education, and work as principals and superintendents.

The opening of UK's Teacher Training School in 1930 was pivotal in changing this structure because it created Kentucky's first four-year university program with curriculum to train educators in the fields of preschool, elementary, junior high, and high school education (McVey, 1927, April 15, p. 7; Taylor, 1930, Mar., p. 5). Regardless of the grade level they aspired to teach, Kentucky college students finally had access to bachelor's degree programs that offered practice teaching in every field of expertise, which raised the rigor and academic prestige of elementary and junior high teaching programs. Furthermore, that same year Kentucky's normal schools were discontinued as teacher training departments and were only allowed to continue operating as standard secondary schools (Dorris, 1936, p. 74). This forced other teacher training programs to revise their curriculum, and by 1935 the Council on Higher Education had mandated that all prospective teachers must major and obtain a college degree in Education before they were eligible for any level teaching certificate (p. 76). Graduates who majored in Education alone were eligible for an elementary teaching certificate, while graduates who double majored in education and a subject matter, like English, history, science, math, etc., were eligible for a high school teaching certificate. In 1936, the Council on Higher Education further mandated that "all graduate

work should be carried on at the University of Kentucky and that the State Teachers Colleges were not to continue such work" (Board of Trustees, 1936, Jun 7, p. 4).

By expanding its program to include all grade levels, UK's Teacher Training School enlarged the scope of UK's curriculum to become more competitive with Colleges of Education across the nation; it improved the practice teaching opportunities available to Kentucky teachers in the fields of elementary and junior high school education; and it changed the structure of teacher education across the state by inspiring a higher state standard for teacher preparation and certification.

Unfortunately, the Teacher Training School began to see problems with its ability to accommodate student teachers as early as the 1936. In response to a list of student teachers provided by Director J.D. Williams, Dean Taylor wrote

> I think we ought to work out some kind of a program that would prevent such a tremendous burden in the English department. Miss Anderson, Miss Peck, Mr. Kemper, and Miss Shipman all have more students in their classes than should be allowed at one time. I hope in the future that we may be able to work out some plan that will enable us to lighten these burdens. (Taylor, 1936, Jul. 2).

In the 1937-38 school year alone, UK provided practice experiences for a total of 274 student teachers, 53 in elementary education and 221 in secondary education (Taylor, 1939, Feb. 7). Increasing numbers of student teachers would ultimately become a problem that would affect the University School's role in practice teaching (see chapter 5).

Demonstrating a "well organized, properly conducted school"

Unpacking what UK meant when it told the GEB it wanted the new Teacher Training School to demonstrate a "well organized, properly conducted school" requires consideration of not only what was done, but also why it was done.

It is important to remember that since 1923, President McVey and Dean Taylor had been on a mission to develop UK's reputation as a leader in education at the state and national levels.

Each year, UK coordinated with the KEA to host Kentucky's Annual Education Conference, and it sent College of Education faculty to National Educational Association conventions across the nation (Gooden, 1995, p. 326). Dean Taylor spoke extensively at state, national, and international venues as a specialist in vocational education, education in Kentucky, and European systems of education (p. 326; U-Hi Lights Staff, 1938, Sept. 29, p. 1). He fielded questions from and provided recommendations to deans and professors from places like the University of Florida and Pennsylvania State about structuring college-controlled laboratory schools (Taylor, 1930 Feb. 8; Taylor, 1930, Feb. 10). In 1927, he even accepted "under protest" the editorship of the Kentucky School Journal, the official newsletter of the Kentucky Education Association, in order to "take responsibility here rather than have it done at some other institution" (Taylor, 1927, Oct.). Under McVey's guidance, Taylor had implemented a campaign to make UK the headquarters of educational leadership in Kentucky (Gooden, 1995, p. 332), and the University School was one of the tools he used to promote the College of Education.

According to Taylor, the purpose of the University School was to "provide as nearly as possible an ideal learning situation for children" that would serve as a model of "the highest type of instruction possible for pupils in attendance." To accomplish this, the College of Education was intentional in planning, equipping, and staffing the building using modern ideas about school organization and pedagogy (Taylor, 1930, Jul. 24).

The University School was structured using the American model of 6-6 graded schools, which divided schools into two divisions: (1) elementary (grades one through six) and (2) high school (grades seven through twelve). The elementary school was often referred to as the University Training School, while the junior and senior high grades were collectively known as University High School. Management of the Teacher Training School gave Dean Taylor control over the entire College of Education, while Sherman G. Crayton was appointed Director of the

Training School and May K. Duncan was appointed Principal of the Elementary Division. The school was properly accredited by the Kentucky State Department of Education as a class "A" school, and it was a member of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (SACSS), which gave graduates admission to all Southern Colleges (Announcement of The University Training School, 1930-1931, p. 6). The SACSS had a reciprocity agreement with the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (NCACSS), which provided University School graduates admission to schools in that region as well.

Curriculum and Pedagogy of the University School

By 1930, the Progressive Education Movement had gained a foothold in America's schools even though philosophical battles about the nature of curriculum were being waged by education scholars at the college and university level. Local schools had significant freedom in establishing their role in society and reconciling their curriculum with the needs of their students and communities alike. Notions about school evolved as society changed and school districts experienced consolidation. By that time, educators had largely embraced the progressive ideas of vocational education and "learning by doing," even though they struggled to ensure rigorous content knowledge was being delivered through those hands-on experiences.

This was an area where UK's College of Education aspired to be a leader. The curriculum and pedagogy at the University School was designed to demonstrate "[t]he most improved and refined methods of classroom instruction and supervision in all subjects" (p. 4), which would provide a model that Kentucky schools could emulate as they implemented experiential learning practices that were grounded in content knowledge. Although some people question the extent to which the University School earned its progressive reputation (Wilkie, 2011, Aug. 8), historic evidence shows that the curriculum and pedagogy implemented in the school's early years exhibited distinct progressive characteristics. Although the College of Education avoided using

the word “progressive” until well after the school became established, perhaps in response to community concerns about children being “practiced upon,” its descriptions of the school and its approach to education revealed a clear progressive influence. The extent to which the University School was a “progressive school” is debatable, but there is no denying that progressive ideology was visible in both its elementary and high school divisions, even if it was implemented in different ways.

Elementary Division Curriculum and Pedagogy

As one student teacher demonstrated to a friend during a tour of the University School, the progressive elements of the elementary division’s curriculum were obvious for anyone to see (Rourke, 1946, May 24, p. 7). The observer remarked that “The Progressive education as practiced at the University Training School” does not clog “the child’s path with academic red tape” but “it allows him to develop as his abilities and capacities permit. It creates a situation, tempts the child’s curiosity, then leads him gently and pleasantly into the halls of learning.” Clearly, there was something so unique about the elementary school’s approach to learning that the outsider found it noteworthy, and that “something” can be boiled down to two progressive ideas: (1) concern for the development of the whole child; and (2) emphasis on “the child’s side” of the curriculum.

Development of the Whole Child

According to Director Williams, the school measured its success “by the degree to which it contributes to the development and training of the individual for effective living in his social environment” (Williams, 1936, Sep. 2, p. 14). It was this specific concern for students’ social and developmental growth that demonstrated the first progressive element of the elementary division’s approach to education.

What the faculty and staff at the University School believed a good school looked like significantly influenced their curriculum and pedagogy. Key among those beliefs was the idea that "how one uses what he knows is more important than merely what he knows." There was a collective understanding that a good school "recognizes that its responsibility is not limited to intellectual training" and "Intellectual functions cannot be separated from motives, emotions, and social adjustments." The goal was to guide children through all phases of development, and the University School endorsed this child-centered approach to education to students, parents, and community members alike. People were receptive to these ideas, as evidenced by a report entitled "The Education of Your Child" that was prepared for parents by the University School Parent Teacher Association (USPTA). Although it was not written by professional educators, it employed the same rhetoric used by educators, especially when it explained that "Development and growth within the social organization should be a process of evolution from a condition of physical, mental, and economic dependences to one of physical maturity, mental adjustment, and economic independence" (USPTA, 1937, March). The University School had espoused this progressive philosophy and obtained buy-in from influential stakeholders.

In an effort to foster the development of the whole child, the University School demonstrated a second progressive element in the curriculum and pedagogy of its elementary division: it favored project-based learning that emphasized "the child's side" of the curriculum, much like John Dewey did in his Laboratory School at the University of Chicago from 1896-1904.

"The Child's Side" of Dewey's Two-Dimensional Curriculum

By the end of the 19th century, communities sought to utilize schools as mediators between families and a changing social order, and education shifted its attention away from its traditional focus on teachers to a more modern focus on curriculum (Kliebard, 2004, p. 1). As a result, philosophical battles over the nature of curriculum dominated educational discourse at the

beginning of the 20th century. Humanists like Charles W. Eliot and the Committee of Ten advocated for curriculum that focused on mental discipline and exercising the mind through repetition of acknowledged Western scholasticism. Developmentalists like G. Stanley Hall believed curriculum should be designed around how children naturally learn and consider their cognitive development. Supporters of social efficiency like David Snedden and Ross Finney believed the application of standardized techniques of industry to the business of education would result in a curriculum that would create a coolly efficient, smoothly run society. Meanwhile, social meliorists like Lester Frank Ward viewed curriculum as the means to emphasize democratic hope and develop equality in American society.

Left to make sense of those competing perspectives were educators like John Dewey, whose knowledge of philosophy and psychology coalesced in his concern for the social outcomes of education (Kalantzis & Cope, 2012). Particularly concerned with the notion of democracy, Dewey struck a compromise between the Humanists and Developmentalists by embracing a progressive curriculum that focused on occupations as the way to resolve human problems (Kliebard, 2004). Dewey's embrace of occupations was not necessarily a commitment to vocational education in and of itself, but instead a commitment to occupations as the intellectual activity in which humans engage when they interact with society and assert control over their environments (Kliebard, 2004, p. 60). As Dewey described, "The occupations determine the chief modes of satisfaction, the standards of success and failure. Hence they furnish the working classifications and definitions of value…So fundamental and pervasive is the group of occupational activities that it affords the scheme or pattern of the structural organization of mental traits" (Dewey, 1902a, pp. 219-220).

Envisioning schools as miniature communities, Dewey believed that subject matter and children's interests could be combined through experience-based learning activities. However,

> To do this means to make each one of our schools an embryonic community life, active with types of occupations that reflect the life of the larger society, and permeated throughout with the spirit of art, history, and science. When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community, saturating him with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guarantee of a larger society which is worthy, lovely, and harmonious… (Dewey, 1902b, p. 44)

In this kind of setting, it is the educator's responsibility to have knowledge of both people and subject matter to facilitate group interactions and activities, which are the source of life for the group as a community (Dewey, 1938, pp. 56-58).

The particular challenge of this kind of experience-based education was creating a continuity of experience, or a seamless fusion of subject matter with quality experiences that the child can carry forward and apply to future experiences (Dewey, 1938, p. 28). Dewey attempted to rise to this challenge by focusing on the organization of subject matter into the curriculum used in his Laboratory School at the University of Chicago from 1896-1904. Dewey took the position that curriculum must always be a question of the child's experiences and the ability of the child to connect the experiences and the subject matter (Dewey, 1902).

According to Tanner (2007), Dewey's solution to this challenge was a two-dimensional curriculum that included "the child's side" (activities) and "the teacher's side" (logically organized bodies of subject matter: chemistry, physics, biology, mathematics, history, language, literature, music and physical culture) (p. 102). As Dewey outlined in his 1895 plan for the Laboratory School, the activities provided experiences that would lead into the study of systemized knowledge, serve as the means of achieving curriculum synthesis, and appeal to children's natural psychological impulses to investigate, share, construct, and create (Tanner, 2007, pp. 104-105; Dewey, 1895). In addition to those intellectual purposes, they also served the social purpose of fostering communication and collaboration within the learning community (Tanner, 2007, p. 105).

The *University* [of Chicago] *Record*, which published the Laboratory School's teachers' plans each Friday, revealed that the success of Dewey's two-dimensional curriculum depended on teachers keeping the two components in mind (Tanner, 2007, p. 107; School Record, Notes, and Plan, 1896, p. 419). The "teacher's standpoint," which they described as "the opportunities afforded for enrichment and extension of the child's experience in connection with these activities," was always listed first and was followed by the "child's standpoint," which they described as "the series of activities through which the child passes in becoming conscious of the basis of social life" (Tanner, 2007, p. 107; School Record, Notes, and Plan, 1896, p. 419). Much like modern-day standards-based curriculum, teachers began with subject matter, like linear, surface, volumetric and gravimetric measurements of mathematics, and planned children's activities that involved progressively more complex applications of that subject matter, like cooking and sewing projects. The key to creating quality learning experiences was that teachers never began with activities and then extrapolated ideas from the discipline; they always began with disciplines and then created quality activities that provided an experiential continuum.

By focusing on occupations and promoting experiential learning, Dewey sought to provide for both the needs of the child and the needs of society. The communal aspect of the learning environment had social underpinnings that could not be separated from the child's interests, and the curriculum maintained a commitment to formal academic subject matter. Unlike the "romantic, child-centered progressives" criticized by Weiss, DeFalco, & Weiss (2005), Dewey's child-centered approach focused on intellectual learning activities benefiting the child and society, not just emotional learning activities benefiting the child.

Experiential Learning at the UK Teacher Training School

Archival evidence preserved in the University's archives suggests that in its early years the elementary division of UK's University School utilized Dewey's approach to curriculum by

beginning with the subject matter and then devising activities involving progressively more complex applications of that subject matter. Although no curriculum documents exist to directly verify this claim, the educational background of supervisors at the school, as well as descriptions and pictures of student learning activities from the university archives, provides substantial evidence that teachers at least tried to mimic Dewey's experiential learning techniques in the University School.

When UK's Teacher Training School opened in 1930, the elementary division of the Laboratory School was placed under the supervision of Mrs. May K. Duncan, who was a graduate of the Teachers College at Columbia University (Taylor, 1930, p. 17). At that time, Teachers College was arguably the most prestigious school of education in the United States. Dr. John Dewey had been on staff at Columbia from 1904 to 1930 (Bio, 2015), and his ideas about progressive education and "learning by doing" were central to the pedagogical training teachers received at Teachers College from professors like William H. Kilpatrick, Dewey's former student and the architect of the Project Method of teaching and learning (JDPPE, 2002). There can be little doubt that Mrs. Duncan was exposed to Dewey's philosophies during her time at Teachers College, and logic dictates she would apply the strategies she was taught to guide the instruction at UK's laboratory school. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that (1) Dewey's innovative approach to "the child's side" of the curriculum was reflected in the pedagogical practices initially utilized by the Teacher Training School and (2) those practices were subsequently propagated to local school districts as teachers who learned this pedagogy at UK entered the workforce.

Evidence to support this conclusion predominantly exists in photographs of the UK Laboratory School that are preserved in the university archives. A comparison of these images to the archival photographs of Dewey's Laboratory School at the University of Chicago reveal undeniable similarities in the schools' classroom environments and experiential curriculum.

These artefacts provide visual evidence that the elementary pedagogy at UK's University School reflected "the child's side" of the curriculum in much the same way it was used at Dewey's Laboratory School.

The following pairings of archival photographs demonstrate the extent to which Dewey's philosophies manifested themselves in Mrs. May K. Duncan's supervision of elementary pedagogy at UK's Teacher Training School. As the photographs reveal, the physical characteristics of the classrooms at both schools included bright, open spaces in which children participated in hands-on learning experiences. The content displayed on the walls and blackboards shows that children were engaged in occupations that were linked to the study of systematized knowledge, and the activities were designed to appeal to their natural psychological impulses to investigate, share, construct, and create. Because of the variety of social, cultural, and academic learning activities provided at both schools, children were unconsciously forced to communicate and collaborate with other members of their social groups. It should also be noted that in both sets of photographs not more than three depict the presence of a teacher, and even in those three the adults demonstrated their role as an observer/manager of child-centered activities versus the focus of teacher-centered instruction. This is not to say teachers were missing from the classroom environment, but instead that they were devoted to facilitating experiential learning that was student-driven and student-led.

Figure 4.33: Dewey's Laboratory School: Art class drawing from a live model (c. 1904)
(University of Chicago Photographic Archive)

Figure 4.34: UK Teacher Training School: Children working with clay in the art room
(University of Kentucky Archive)

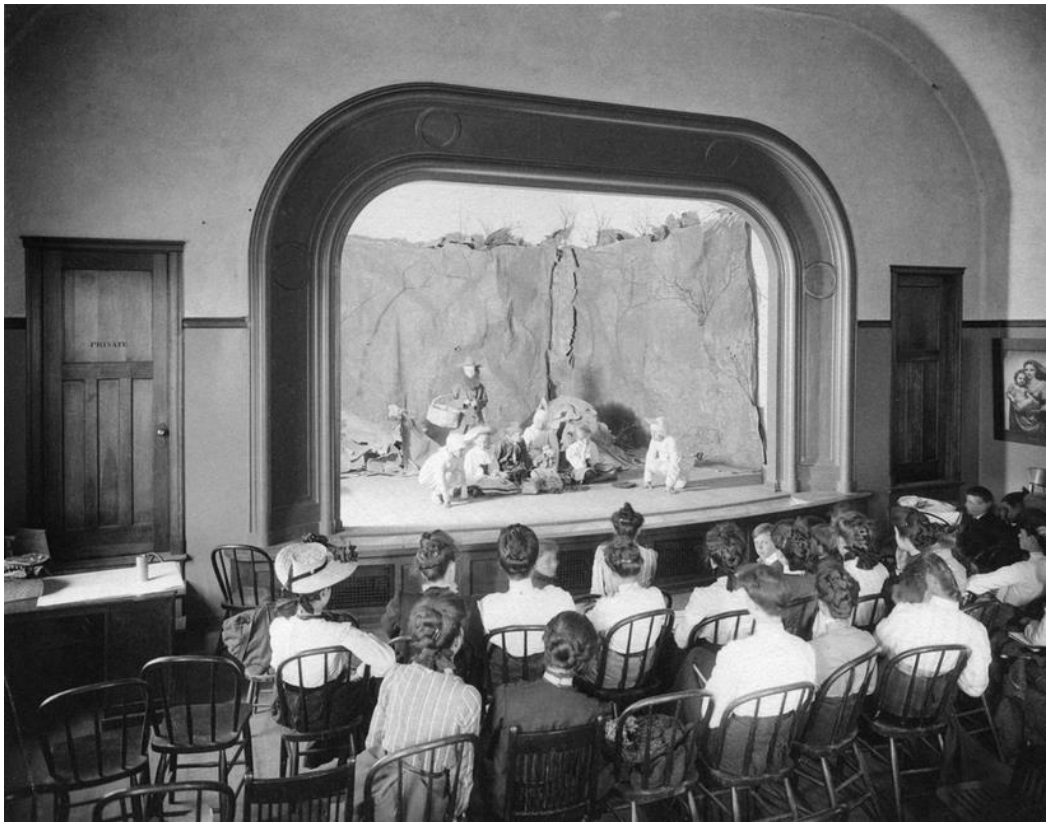


Figure 4.35: Dewey's Laboratory School: Children putting on a play
(University of Chicago Photographic Archive)

Figure 4.36: UK Teacher Training School: Children putting on a play
(University of Kentucky Archive)

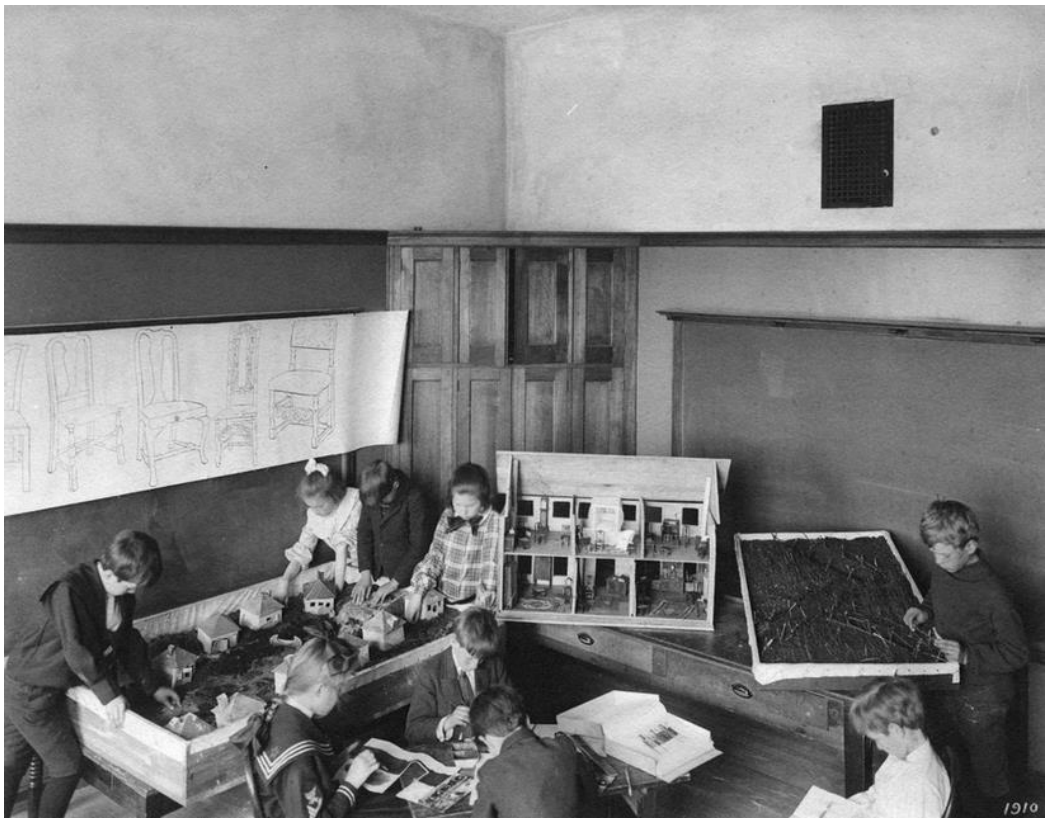


Figure 4.37: Dewey's Laboratory School: Children study the nature of community life with the help of model houses (University of Chicago Photographic Archive)

Figure 4.38: UK Teacher Training School: Children study community life by constructing a classroom post office (University of Kentucky Archive)

Figure 4.39: Dewey's Laboratory School: Students study French culture by preparing and eating a French meal (University of Chicago Photographic Archive)

Figure 4.40: UK Teacher Training School:
Students study Dutch culture by creating costumes and a homemade windmill and performing a dance (University of Kentucky Archive)

Figure 4.41: Dewey's Laboratory School: Students study mathematics by taking measurements (University of Chicago Photographic Archive)

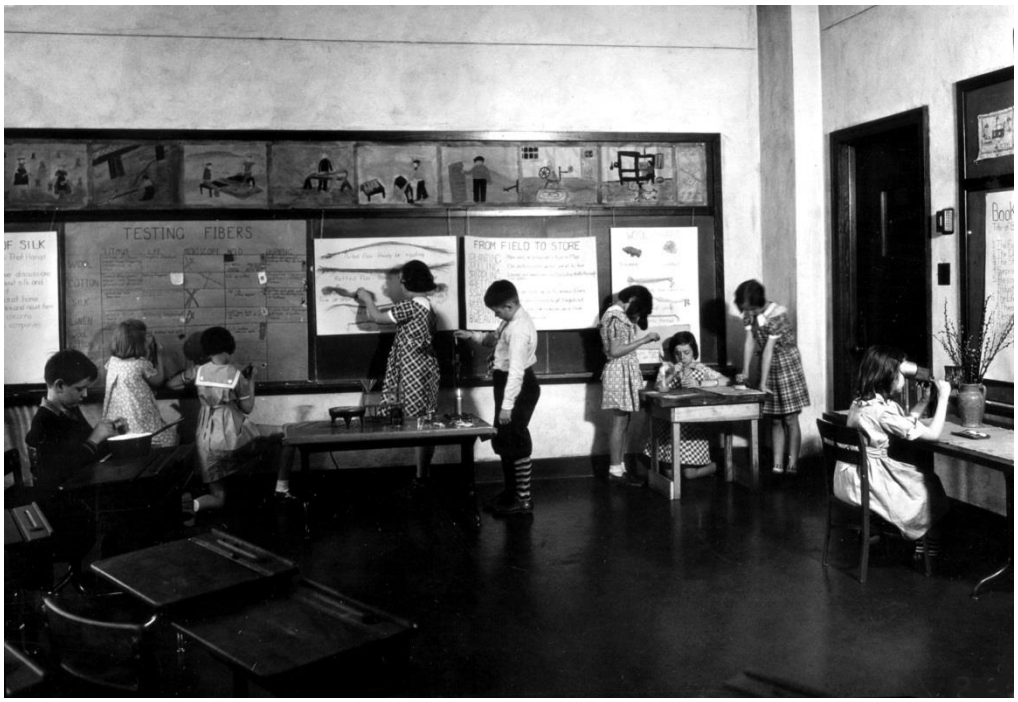


Figure 4.42: UK Teacher Training School:
Students study science by conducting litmus, lye, microscopic, acid, and burning tests (University of Kentucky Archive)

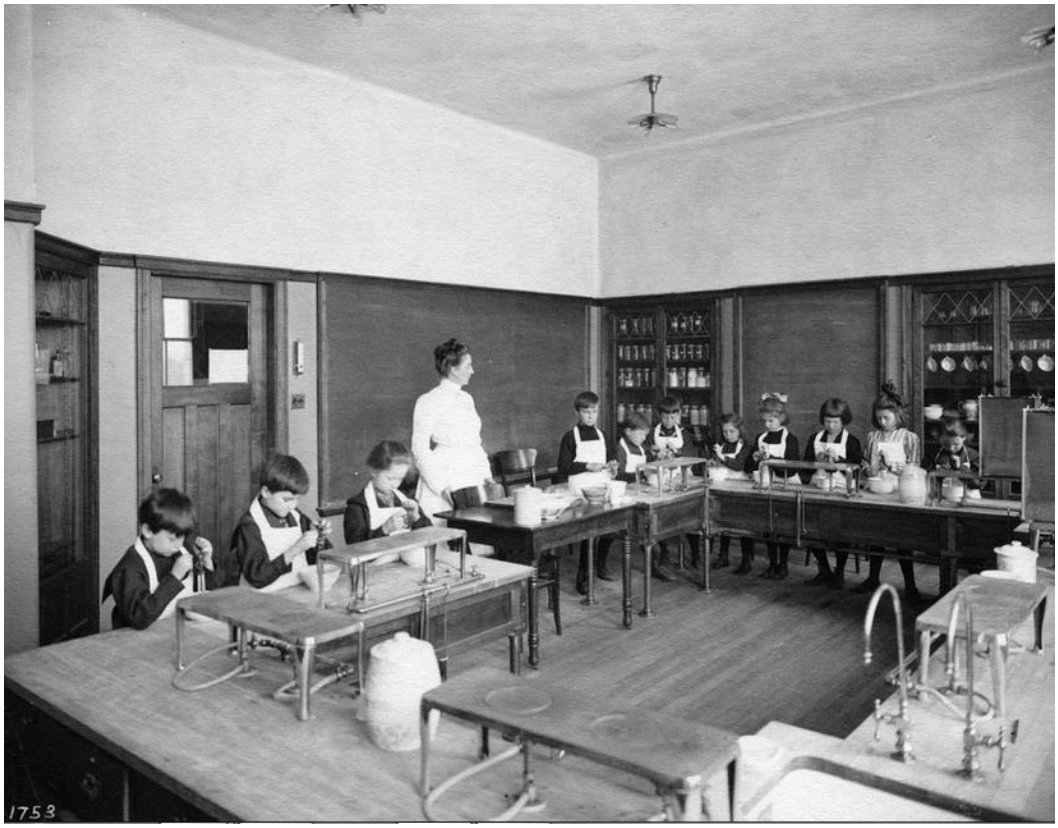


Figure 4.43: Dewey's Laboratory School: Students cooking
(University of Chicago Photographic Archive)

Figure 4.44: UK Teacher Training School: Students cooking
(University of Kentucky Archive)

Figure 4.45: Dewey's Laboratory School: Students learn about the development of civilization by mimicking the way primitive cultures turned grain into food (University of Chicago Photographic Archive)

Figure 4.46: UK Teacher Training School: Students learn about the development of civilization by depicting Egyptian slaves at work (University of Kentucky Archive)

Figure 4.47: Dewey's Laboratory School: Students build a wooden boat
(University of Chicago Photographic Archive)

Figure 4.48: UK Teacher Training School: Students build a wooden airplane
(University of Kentucky Archive)

Figure 4.49: Dewey's Laboratory School:
Students create "pet rabbits" in the garden of the University Elementary School
(University of Chicago Photographic Archive)

Figure 4.50: UK Teacher Training School: Children create aquariums
(University of Kentucky Archive)

Figure 4.51: Dewey's Laboratory School: Students build a playhouse (c. 1901)
(University of Chicago Photographic Archive)

Figure 4.52: UK Teacher Training School: Students build a log cabin
(University of Kentucky Archive)

Figure 4.53: Dewey's Laboratory School: Students work with wool
(University of Milwaukee John Dewey Page)

Figure 4.54: UK Teacher Training School: Students work with wool
(University of Kentucky Archive)

The striking similarities between the photographs of Dewey's Laboratory School and UK's University School demonstrate the ways both schools were focused on "the child's side" of the curriculum and were concerned with providing experiential learning opportunities in student-driven environments. The Teacher Training School's use of hands-on learning activities illustrates how its pedagogical practices mirrored Dewey's progressive educational philosophies and focused on delivering academic content through experiences that were psychologically and developmentally appropriate for its students. The individual needs of the children and the collective needs of society were reinforced by the communicative and collaborative culture in the University School, as well as its emphasis on a variety of academic subject matters.

High School Division Curriculum and Pedagogy

The progressive elements of the high school division's curriculum and pedagogy were much less obvious than those displayed in the elementary division. On its surface, the high school curriculum listed in the 1930-1931 Announcement of the University School appears to be traditionally structured by subject, with course requirements for each grade level combining work in English, Math, Social Studies, etc. However, it would be wrong to classify it as entirely subject driven when in the University School's early years there were intentional efforts to implement the high school curriculum using a progressive mindset.

In the November 14, 1930 issue of the U-Hi-Lights student newspaper, Dean Taylor wrote an article entitled "The High School of 1930," in which he explained to students how the new high school would be different from the old one. Within the first paragraph he says, "Formerly we placed much emphasis on the acquisition of certain types of subject matter largely foreign to life. The high school of today is an institution closely related to life. The content of the curricula is made up in so far as possible of life situations. Boys and girls are learning those things that will

enable them to meet life's problems in a successful way" (p. 3). He goes on to say that the new high school will help a student succeed by showing him how to "adjust himself in a successful way so that he will emerge from each day's work better and stronger intellectually and emotionally." Attention was given to the emotions and real-life experiences of the students, and the curriculum reflected the same concern for psychological, social, physical, moral, civic, aesthetic, and intellectual development that characterized the "adjustment" era of education (Graham, 2005, pp. 51-97). Much like the progressive concern for the whole child that was evident in the elementary division's curriculum, this concern for nurturing responsible men and women of character who exhibit resilience and drive is a demonstration of the progressive ideas influencing the high school division's curriculum.

Clearly, Taylor's intent was to operate the high school in a new way, and archival evidence shows that he was not just paying lip service to progressive ideology. Although it was more limited and subtle than in the elementary division, the curriculum implemented in the early years of University High School did contain progressive undertones.

Students were assigned classes by grade level and subject matter, but there was a fusion of progressive ideology that set the curriculum apart from traditional subject-driven programs. Although the course descriptions provided in the 1930-1931 Announcement booklet are listed by subject matter, the curriculum is organized according to themes. For example, students in English II-A focused on the mechanics of writing, vocabulary, and proper English through units on Communication and Traveling, Saving and Conserving, and Finding and Doing One's Work, and students in English II-B focused on the same skills through units on Friendship and Neighbors, Team Work and Cooperation, and Helping the Handicapped (pp. 9-10). The intentional effort to link the subject matter to experiences and ideas that interested students was an element of progressive education, as were the school's efforts to provide hands-on vocational training in the

school's shop class and home economics courses (*Figure 4.55*). Business training classes were added to the curriculum in 1932, and speech and drama became an aspect of the English curriculum in 1937 (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1943, Jan. 21, p. 3). Whenever possible, teachers utilized project-based instruction to help students learn by doing. For example, English the students prepared a booklet on Kentucky literature that included interviews of well-known authors, and Biology students studied pathological diseases by working in the UK Public Health Laboratory and at the Lexington water plant (Miller, S.E. & Conroy, K., 1940, Jan. 7, p. 93).

Figure 4.55: A home economics class at the University School

Figure 4.56: University High School students conduct a chemistry experiment in the science lab (1936)

Figure 4.57: Students in the University School's business training department (1936)

In addition to focusing on the students' intellectual growth (*Figures 4.56, 4.57*), the high school also demonstrated progressive ideas by developing the students' physical, social, and emotional development through an array of extracurricular activities. In the first two years alone, students could participate in National Honor Society, student council, the *Uhian* yearbook, the *U-Hi-Lights* newspaper, Girl Reserves, home economics club, Hi-Y (a Christian club for male student athletes), U Club (a club for male lettermen), orchestra, football, and basketball. Over the years, those opportunities grew to include bowling, softball, cheerleading, golf, swimming, volleyball, intramural sports, 4-H, art club, Beta Club, French club, Spanish club, German band, glee club, pep

club, mixed choir, dance, photography club, radio club, stamp club, sportsman club, safety patrol, and a variety of other student committees.

While such a wide variety of extracurricular activities seems commonplace in contemporary schools, they were not common at the turn of the century. It was only after the research of developmentalist G. Stanley Hall and anthropologist Margaret Mead, among others, that the theory of "adolescence" was created (Baxter, 2008, p. 44). The development of the modern high school and the concept of "the teenager" were byproducts of the psychological and sociological research that influenced the Progressive Movement in education. A school providing extracurricular activities to its student reveals a concern for the development of the whole child—intellectually, physically, socially, emotionally—that is a hallmark of progressive ideology.

In the end, the degree to which the University School was a "progressive school" is debatable, but the fact that progressive ideas influenced the curriculum and pedagogy of the elementary and high school divisions, at least in their early years, is undeniable.

How the University School's Early Life Compared to Lexington and Fayette County Schools

The influence of Progressive Education on school reform in Kentucky and the South meant that public schools in Lexington and Fayette County had adopted certain aspects of progressive ideology between the years 1918 and 1940. The academic and social structure of the schools mimicked little democracies where students experienced life and prepared for participation in a larger civic community. Curriculum reform and the rise of the high school introduced specialized courses that allowed students of all ages to pursue their personal interests. Courses like agriculture, home economics, industrial arts, music, languages, art, and drama combined with traditional subject matter to maximize the opportunities available to students. Curriculum expansion gave students more freedom to develop naturally with their teachers serving more like guides than taskmasters. Team sports and other extracurricular opportunities engaged students

in social activities that allowed them to pursue their interests and prepare for the social aspects of adult life. To varying extents, all public schools embraced the idea that schools were places for "the freest and fullest development of the individual, based on scientific study of his physical, mental, spiritual, and social characteristics and needs" (Graham, 2005, p. 53). That ideology revealed itself in different ways at different schools, but the University School and the city and county schools shared a genuine concern for the well-being of students and tried to provide for their social, emotional, intellectual, and physical needs through curriculum and programs.

Despite these important similarities, there were also significant differences between that distinguished the University School from the city and county schools:

(1) The University School continued to have an above average student population coming from predominantly educated and affluent white families, while the public schools catered to a broader range of socioeconomic status, ethnicity, race, religion, and ability level. Subsequent to those differences, the University School was able to charge students yearly tuition, while the city and county schools were entirely supported by local tax revenues and assistance from the state government. The University School did share its elitist reputation with Henry Clay High School, which was described as even more snobbish than the University School (Wilkie, 2011), and a handful of junior high girls actually transferred to Henry Clay to participate in its sororities, which were not allowed at the University School. Nonetheless, the University School's relationship to UK provided enough of a boost to its reputation that students felt secure in their high status amid Lexington and Fayette County schools.

(2) As a school of choice, the University School controlled who it accepted and how many students it allowed into each grade level. Unlike the local schools, the University School was not affected by overcrowding or limited resources, and students formed a much closer connections to their peers because they traveled together to every class, every day, every year of their

elementary, junior high, and high school careers. The larger student populations in the Lexington and Fayette County schools provided more opportunities for students to spread out and engage with different people. The University School's ability to choose students also carried over to its ability to hire talented teachers from a selective pool of applicants, while the public schools had more positions to fill and could not necessarily be as selective with their hires.

(3) By necessity, the city and county schools were cognizant of and responsive to the needs of disadvantaged populations, as evidenced by the community services they provided through open laundry facilities, penny lunches, etc. Although all of the schools continued to operate within the legal and social framework of racial segregation, the Lexington and Fayette County schools provided educational opportunities to black students while UK and the University School remained silent on race.

(4) Students at the University School were always aware that the laboratory school existed to provide observation and practice teaching experiences to college education majors. As such, they had daily interactions with undergraduates from the time they entered preschool to the time they graduated high school. This created a unique dynamic that did not exist in the city and county schools, especially before the 1940s when all of UK's student teachers fulfilled their practice teaching experiences at the University School. One can only speculate if and how this dynamic affected the students' social and emotional development and the way they viewed and interacted with authority figures.

Chapter 5: The Evolution and Closing of the University School

Chapter 5 examines how historic events and changing conditions impacted the University School in its later years. It specifically focuses on shifts in the university's plans to grow and modernize and the conditions that led to the University School's closure in 1965. The research then compares the later years of the University School to Lexington and Fayette County schools and reveals what projects UK's College of Education undertook in the aftermath of the laboratory school's closure.

The University School—The Later Years (1940-1965[20])

Shifting Priorities

While the driving force behind the University School in the 1930s was to establish UK as a leader in education by demonstrating proper modern school architecture and serving as a model of a "well organized, properly conducted" teacher training school, the 1940s brought change that would have a lasting impact on the school.

Prior to World War II, American schools were prospering. New Deal programs implemented after the Great Depression had stabilized the national economy. Philanthropic organizations like the Rockefeller Foundation, Rosenwald Fund, General Education Board, and Ford Foundation were funding systematic improvements in all fields of education, but especially in educational opportunities for African Americans and rural southern students. Most state normal schools had expanded into four-year teacher colleges, and there was a greater emphasis on teacher education and professional standards than ever before (Ducharme & Ducharme, 1996, pp. 163-164). School enrollments steadily increased, public high schools grew in popularity,

[20] The elementary division closed in 1962, and the high school division closed in May 1964. However, an exception was made for a handful of students to complete their senior year and graduate from University High in 1965.

curriculum expanded, and extracurricular activities became more common (Graham, 2005, pp. 65-80).

By 1940, the University of Kentucky fit within this national model of growth and prosperity. Enrollments had increased from 1,629 students in 1919-1920 to 5,936 in 1939-1940, and the graduate program had grown from 23 to 1,541 students during those same years (Chamberlain, 1940, May 27, p. 20). In 1940-1941, UK enrollment reached its highest pre-war peak at 6,242 students. The College of Education experienced its own share of this growth, and since its establishment in 1923, it had provided student teaching to 2,642 students from the Colleges of Agriculture, Arts and Sciences, Commerce, Education, and the Graduate School combined (Taylor, 1940, May 27, p. 20). The graduate program in Education had developed with a focus on school administration, and its numbers had increased from 2 students in 1923 to 201 students during the regular term in 1940. However, summer sessions were the most popular for education graduates, and there were 767 students enrolled in the two summer sessions of 1940. Regular enrollment in the College of Education reached its pre-war peak in 1940-1941 with 696 students-- 188 men and 508 women (University of Kentucky, 1950, p. 21). Since opening in 1930, the Teacher Training School had facilitated practice teaching for 2,152 education students, of whom 451 specialized in elementary education and 1,691 specialized in secondary education (Mitchell, 1940, May 27, p. 20). The facilities housing the College of Education were large enough to manage the student enrollment, which was 234 less than it had been in 1930-1931, but the college expanded its requirements to include observation, participation, and directed teaching both in the University School and in “schools of nearby communities” (University of Kentucky, 1943-1944, p. 97). Prior to 1943, students fulfilled those requirements exclusively in the on-campus laboratory school.

The University School itself seemed to fall under UK and the College of Education's blanket of prosperity. The high school division had graduated 270 seniors since its opening, and the community generally believed the "University School has become one of most alert and well-equipped in the south." With laborers from the Works Progress Administration, UK Buildings and Grounds had just completed a large $4,000 playground installation, which included a new elementary school play area with a combined football and hockey field behind it, two softball diamonds, horseshoe courts, a badminton court, and four paddle tennis courts. On the property west of the school across Scott Street, they added yet another football and hockey field, two softball diamonds, and six tennis courts (*Figure 5.1*) (Brown, 1938, Apr. 28, p. 4).

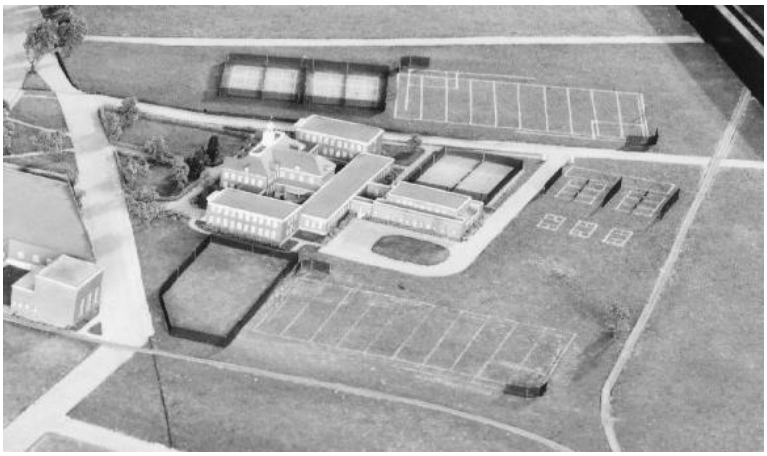


Figure 5.1: A model of UK's campus circa 1940 shows an overhead view of the Teacher Training School following the large playground installation.

From the outside, things seemed promising for the University School, but there were internal circumstances changing its fundamental character. First, the school's "newness" was starting to wear off, and the Teacher Training School did not garner the amount of state and national attention it had in previous years. Other Kentucky colleges were building successful teacher training programs, and UK's College of Education became more focused on expanding its graduate program in administration (Taylor, 1940, May 27, p. 20).

Several factors contributed to this shift in focus, including the 1936 Council of Higher Education mandate that UK specialize in graduate education while the State Teachers Colleges in Richmond, Bowling Green, Morehead, and Murray focus on undergraduate teacher training.

President McVey's retirement in 1940, which essentially put an end to the McVey-Taylor promotional team established in 1923, established the conditions needed for this shift to succeed. Although Dr. Taylor remained Dean until 1949, his goals for the College of Education were evolving, as were new President Herman Lee Donovan's goals for the university. A 1940 report on graduate education and research at UK complained that "although the University of Kentucky meets the requirements of a university in organization, it has not attained that spirit characteristic of a great university" (Smith, 1981, p. 222, cited by Myers, 2005, p. 37). The report recommended that UK increase its efforts to attract faculty with research interests, provide better research facilities, and improve and enlarge the library to support active research (Myers, 2005, p. 45). To remain competitive in higher education, the Donovan administration pursued these recommendations and further encouraged Dean Taylor and the College of Education to focus on academic research versus teacher training.

The other part of this shift in focus was caused by four turnovers in the University School Director position between 1935 and 1944.[21] Discontinuity in leadership affected the school's ability to self-advocate because new administrators did realize the school was becoming a smaller and smaller part of the College of Education's vision. New administrators focused on the school's day-to-day operation and neglected the promotional work necessary for the school's survival.

The second fundamental change affecting the University School was the evolution of its student body. The Lexington School System was no longer placing 25 public school children in each of the kindergarten through eighth grade classes, and prospective students were required to submit applications for admission. UK faculty members and families with children already

[21] Director Sherman G. Crayton was replaced by J.D. Williams in 1935. Ellis F. Hartford succeeded Williams in 1942 but then left for the armed services in 1943. Jesse D. Adams served as Director for only the fall semester of 1943, and in January 1944, he was replaced by Lyman V. Ginger, who remained Director of the University School until 1954.

enrolled at the University School were given priority in the admissions process, and other applicants were accepted on a first-come, first-serve basis (University School, 1954, p. 2). Students unable to secure a spot were placed on waiting lists that became extremely long and stretched back for many years (Powell, 1961, May 1; Powell, 1961, Oct. 28). Although the goal was to maintain a "heterogenous student population with a normal range of ability and achievement," the school gained a reputation for being elitist (Powell, 1961, Aug. 10; Wilkie, 2011). Students in other Lexington schools regarded the University School students as "snobs," and some University School students embraced the perception of elitism, especially when the children of graduates also began receiving priority admission (Wilkie, 2011). 1944 U-High graduate Raymond "Bunkie" Wilkie, an emeritus UK faculty member with a doctorate in anthropology from Yale and a doctorate in psychology and counseling from UK, reflected back on the University School student body and estimated that 1/3 were children of UK professors, 1/3 were very wealthy kids who could afford to go to a private school, and 1/3 were children of middle-class parents who prioritized education.

The Impact of World War II

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 had a significant impact on the University School. U.S. neutrality in the first two years of the war had generally preserved the status quo for educational institutions across America, but the United States' entrance into the war created a domino effect that impacted all aspects of American society for years to come. The University School reacted the same as most schools by shifting its attention to national concerns and democratic ideals (Smith, 1942, p. 113, quoted by Kliebard, 2004, p. 200). Students were genuinely concerned about the war and wanted to participate in programs to aid the war effort. One article in the University High newspaper in October 1942 provided insight about the students' thoughts and actions:

> A member of the faculty expressed surprise the other day on being told that we students discuss the war seriously in our private conversations. That is not to be wondered at, because we certainly give the impressed of being flighty and frivolous, but there are some things that we must be serious about.
>
> We realize that the United Nations can lose this war and most of us are trying to help prevent that in any way that is in our power. Several of us have given members of our family to the armed forces (including the WAAC), but most of us must be satisfied with little things such as buying and selling War Stamps and Bonds, knitting and sewing for the Red Cross, and conserving everything possible…
>
> Here is an example of serious thinking on the part of our youth. Having heard all the "Buy a share of freedom" phrases, the seventh grade recently purchased a $25 War Bond. They decided that the money they had made on the Skywriter, the sixth grade newspaper, and on the Fiesta they gave last year could help the government as well as themselves. They were the first class in Fayette County to invest is a bond. Now they are completing plans to sell stamps. They have fixed a tentative monthly quota for the entire school. This quota will be reached if each student buys one ten-cent stamp a week and each member of the faculty buys $2 worth a month. Let's all, students and faculty alike, cooperate with the seventh grade in the fine task they've undertaken. (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1942, Oct. 1, p. 2)

Creating a name for UK and the University School was no longer the College of Education's focus. In reality, most Americans were paying little attention to education, and educators concentrated on managing schools with frugality, promoting notions of democracy, and determining what students could do "to support the war effort" (Graham, 2005, p. 95, pp. 84-85, p. 91). Both the students and faculty at the University School contributed to the war effort in unique ways (*Table 5.1*, *Table 5.2, Figure 5.2*). From organizing supply drives to enlisting in the armed services, the University School community banded together and extended their influence beyond the walls of the Teacher Training School and the University of Kentucky campus. The publicity and notoriety function of the University School had been replaced by more utilitarian and selfless concerns, which ironically set the stage for the first attempt to close the laboratory school and eliminate on-campus practice teaching at UK.

Table 5.1: University School Student Contributions to World War II

- Students created a service flag displaying the names of all University High graduates serving in the military (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1942, Dec. 2, p. 1)
- U-Hi Lights newspaper staff published the names of all University High graduates serving in the military (U-Hi Staff, 1944, Feb. 18, p. 1)
- U-Hi yearbook staff stopped producing hardcover yearbooks, and until the war was over, they only published stapled booklets featuring graduating seniors[22] (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1942-1945).
- Fifth grade students sponsored a door-to-door waste fat and grease collection drive (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1942, Dec. 2, p. 1).
- Eighth grade students sold tuberculosis seals (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1942, Dec. 17, p. 1).
- On the first anniversary of Pearl Harbor, seventh grade students sold $1,975.80 in war bonds and stamps to students of U-High in only three hours (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1942, Dec. 17, p. 1).
- Members of the Girls' Division of the Victory Corps filed applications to become Victory Corps members to work as junior nurses' aides (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1943, Jan. 21, p. 1)
- Members of the Boys' Division of the Victory Corps filled farm labor vacancies created by the war (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1943, Mar. 25, p. 1)
- General science classes began growing Penicillin, which was being used on wounded soldiers sent home from the war (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1944, Feb. 18, p. 1).
- Seniors boys enrolled in the military before graduation. These included Jimmy Steiner (Naval Air Corps Reserves), Tommy Underwood (Army Air Corp Reserves), David Morton (Army Air Corp Reserves), and Harry Scott (Army Air Corp Reserves) (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1944, Feb. 18, p. 1)

Table 5:2- University School Faculty Contributions to World War II

- Sometime between 1942 and 1944, University School administrators lowered yearly tuition from $60 to $40 in the elementary division and $70 to $60 in the high school division[23] (University High School, 1938-1939, p. 7; U-Hi Lights Staff, 1942, Oct. 1, p. 2; Board of Trustees, 1944, Jun. 2, p. 17).
- Cafeteria staff cut down the variety of food it offered because of risings costs brought on by the food shortage (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1944, Feb. 18, p. 1, 14(7), Visitors Invited Out of U-High Cafeteria).
- University High speech and drama teacher Wallace Briggs and PE teacher Peter Kurachek took leaves of absences to serve in the military (Board of Trustees, 1942, Sep. 15, p. 57).
- Fourteen-year U-High science teacher D.C. "Pete" Kemper accepted a lieutenant's position to serve in the Army's Department of Chemical Warfare (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1943, Jan. 21, p. 1). He served two years in the Technical Command Building at Edgewood Arsenal in Maryland before returning to his position at University High (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1943, Sep. 23, p. 1; U-Hi Lights Staff, 1944, Feb. 18, p. 1).
- Former University School Director Ellis Hartford served as a lieutenant in charge of the Navy Training Program at Drew University in New Jersey (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1943, Sep. 23, p. 1).
- University High business teacher Lieutenant Leslie Betz was stationed in England and took pictures from the nose of a P-38 to surveil German forces (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1943, Sep. 23, p. 1).
- On April 10, 1946, the University School dedicated a plaque paying tribute to the 200 former University High and Teacher Training School students who served in World War II (*Figure 5.2*) (Lexington Herald-Leader, 1946).

[22] Students changed the name of the yearbook to *Purple and White* when they resumed publication in the 1945-1946 school year.

[23] On June 2, 1944, the Board of Trustees increased yearly tuition rates to $50 in the elementary division and $70 in the high school division (Board of Trustees, 1944, Jun. 2, p. 17).

Figure 5.2: (l-r) University School student James Glenn, Professor of Education Ellis F. Hartford, and University School Director Lyman V. Ginger dedicating a plaque with the names of 200 former University High and Teacher Training School students who served in WWII (April 10, 1946, University High School, Lexington, Kentucky).

First Talks of Closing the University School, 1944

For several years, Dean Taylor had been shifting his attention to the College of Education's graduate program in school administration, and in the spring of 1944, Taylor and his faculty assessed the work of the College of Education and outlined "a program for its future usefulness to the State of Kentucky" (Board of Trustees, 1944, June 2, p. 14). A report entitled "A Plan for Reorganizing and Extending the Services of the College of Education" was submitted to the UK Board of Trustees with a recommendation to close the University School and use the savings to "extend the services of the College of Education to the State" (p. 15). President Donovan supported Taylor's plan, but he had a more pressing matter to contend with, namely the unanticipated backlash Taylor and Donovan received from people who found out about the recommendation to close the University School.

The counterattack from the community was so swift and powerful that at the UK Board of Trustees meeting on June 2, 1944, Donovan was compelled to issue a statement requesting the recommendation be removed from the report. He summarized the situation saying,

> When the patrons of the School learned that this matter was under consideration, they immediately expressed their very keen disappointment and Dean Taylor and I both received many requests that we not make this recommendation to the Board of Trustees. The Parent-Teacher Association called a meeting, at which time more than two hundred parents were present, including practically all the

> parents of the children attending the University School. The parents expressed great admiration for the School and the results it had obtained for the children and deplored the thought of having it closed. It was stated by many who were present that the School is a great asset to the community and should not be closed. The affection which the parents and students have for the University School is far deeper and more abiding that any of us who are connected with the University had realized. It is very gratifying to find such unanimous support on the part of the public of the program the School has been carrying on.
>
> This School has been patronized over its entire history by many of the leading families in Lexington and Fayette County. Most of these children have grown up in the School and graduated from it. Also, many of these young men and women have entered the University following their graduation from the University High School. The closing of the school would probably result in our losing a considerable number of those children as students in the University.
>
> The tuition rate in this School has always been very low. Many of the parents realized this and a number of them have suggested that they would be willing to help share a larger proportion of the cost of keeping the School open. In view of this constructive attitude on the part of the parents of the children in this School, I am withdrawing that part of the report that calls for the elimination of the University School with the understanding that we shall fix the tuition fee at $50.00 per year in the elementary school and $70.00 per year in the high school. This does not include activity fees.

The University School PTA also presented a statement to the Board expressing their appreciation for what the school had contributed to the state and the education of their children but also criticizing the University saying, "The College of Education has for years had an inadequate budget for the services it has desired to render; it has been cramped for space ever since the building was opened." The PTA made three recommendations to the Board of Trustees: (1) the University should provide funds for the College of Education to extend its services as recommended by the dean and faculty; (2) additional space should be provided as soon as possible to accommodate an enlarged education program; and (3) the University School should stay open with a tuition increase to cover a larger part of its cost (pp. 16-17).

In the end, the Board removed the recommendation from the report, but Donovan maintained on record that "From time to time, as funds become available, I shall recommend for your approval other parts of the report" because "Sooner or later…the College of Education

should undertake these activities" (pp. 15-16). Two things had become clear. One, the University School was no longer the College of Education's pet project, and two, the College of Education already thinking the school was a financial burden that diverted funds from new programs.

Evidence suggests this perception of the school was not a new one. In October 1942, an article appeared in the student newspaper defending the high school's $70 tuition rate (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1942, Oct. 1, p. 2). It revealed that the yearly cost of educating one student at the University School was $189 per high school student and $108 per elementary student, exclusive of the costs of the building and its upkeep. It further emphasized that the school was not profiting from student tuition and students should "appreciate the wonderful opportunity" of paying only 35% of the yearly cost while the state paid the remaining 65%. The presence of this article in a student newspaper is unusual, and odds are low that an average teenager would seek out or gain access to such specific data without help from an adult closely connected to the College of Education. Clearly, the college was cognizant of the large amount of state funding being poured into the University School, and it had probably considered how that money could be used to fund new programs.

Although the University School survived its first threat of closure just fourteen years after it was built, it did not come out unscathed. The College of Education's esteem for the school had diminished since 1930, and its sights were set on establishing new programs that better fit within the university's vision to increase academic research. When money and space became more pressing issues, would the University School have the power to withstand additional threats of closure?

Conditions after WWII

The end of World War II brought significant change to the University of Kentucky. The US government was relying on the nation's colleges and universities to ease soldiers' transitions back

into society. With such large numbers of men and women returning from the War, there was fear that the American job market would become saturated and unemployment would rise to levels reminiscent of the Great Depression (Graham, 2005, p. 91). These concerns prompted Congress to pass the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, more commonly known as the GI Bill, to "help veterans buy homes, get jobs and pursue an education, and in general help them to adjust to civilian life again" (US Department of Defense, 2019). The GI Bill stimulated unprecedented growth at American colleges and universities because approximately 8 million soldiers took advantage of the government's promise to pay for tuition, books, supplies, counseling service, and a living allowance if they enrolled in post-secondary education. The impact was profound, and federal statistics show that the number of Americans with college degrees "more than doubled between 1940 and 1950."

Like other schools, UK scrambled to manage the overwhelming spike in student enrollment (*Table 5.3*). At that time, UK's campus was a "plant designed for an enrollment of not more than 4,000 students" (Board of Trustees, 1947, Dec. 16, p. 35), but student numbers had jumped from 3,156 in 1944-1945 to 6,105 in 1945-1946 to 8,946 in 1946-1947. The university was not equipped to manage so many students, much less house the spouses and children many veterans brought with them (Cone, 1989, p. 117). UK's temporary solution was to purchase government surplus prefabs to create two housing villages for married veterans and new faculty (*Figures 5.3-5.6)*. The villages, which were called Cooperstown and Shawneetown, were constructed on opposite corners of the Experiment Station Farm. On the main campus, temporary classroom buildings were also constructed using refashioned Army surplus barracks, and some of them remained in use long after UK completed massive building projects to permanently expand instructional space and student housing (*Figures 5.7, 5.8)*.

Table 5.3: Student enrollment at the University of Kentucky (UK) and the College of Education (COE) (University of Kentucky, 1950, pp. 7, 21)

Year Ending	UK Enrollment	COE Enrollment
1929	3782	742
1930	4251	822
1931	4845	930
1932	4992	928
1933	4058	726
1934	3822	647
1935	4238	759
1936	5195	833
1937	5218	581
1938	5741	485
1939	5900	815
1940	5936	508
1941	6242	696
1942	5145	573
1943	4168	486
1944	3212	900
1945	3156	572
1946	6105	628
1947	8946	573
1948	9991	664
1949	10110	739
1950	10169	883

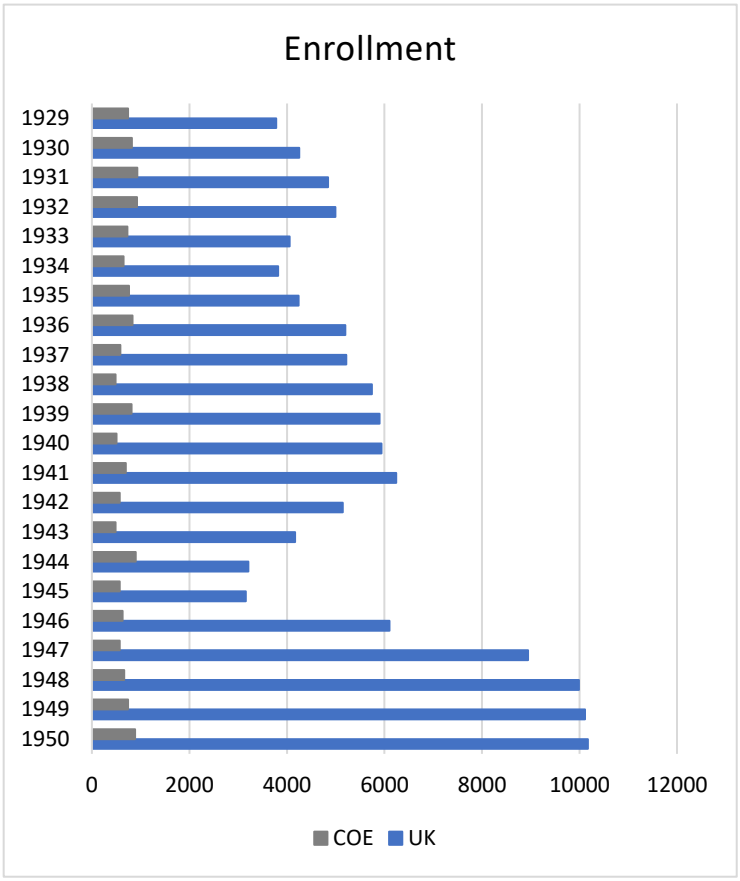


Figure 5.3: Construction of Shawneetown (1946)

Figure 5.4: Student veterans construct housing in Shawneetown (1946)

Figure 5.5: Two men haul temporary housing buildings for Cooperstown (1946)

Figure 5.6: Veteran housing in Cooperstown (n.d.)

Figure 5.7: "Little Commons" was a temporary cafeteria built after WWII (1947)

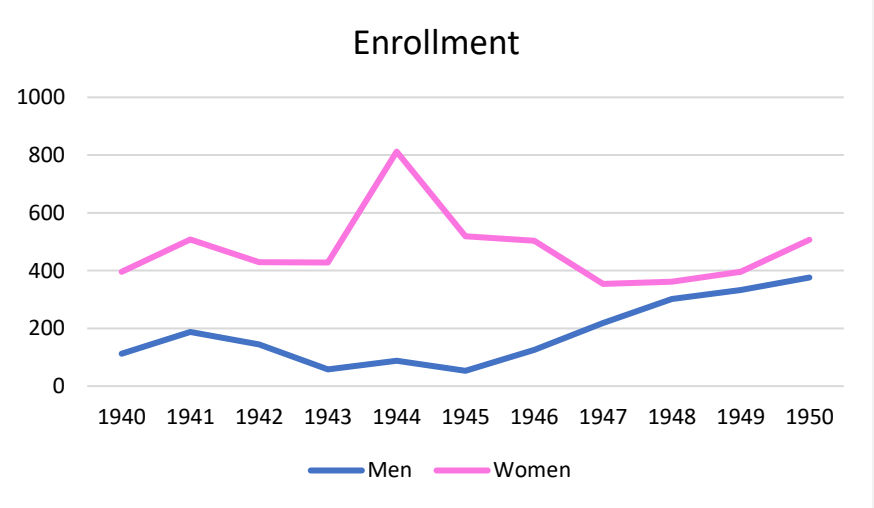
Figure 5.8: After WWII, a repurposed Army surplus barracks in front of King Library was used as the Social Sciences Building (1949). Students and faculty referred to it as "Splinter Hall" until it burned down in 1968.

Strangely enough, while UK dealt with a large spike in student enrollment after WWII, the College of Education's numbers did not follow the same trend. It experienced a small overall growth in enrollment between 1945 and 1950, but from year to year the numbers were unstable and never reached the record enrollment seen in 1930-1931 (*Table 5.3*). However, when the enrollment numbers for those years are broken down by gender, an interesting pattern emerges. Between 1946 and 1949, there is an increase in the number of men and a decrease in the number of women enrolled in the College of Education (*Table 5.4, Figure 5.9*). Since the turn of the century, nearly 75% of all teachers in America had been women (Levin, 2001), and UK College of Education's enrollment reflected that pattern until the 1946-1947 school year. As *Table 5.4*

indicates, male enrollment in the college jumped from 19.9% to 38.2% in one year, and female enrollment decreased from 80.1% to 61.8%. The numbers came closest to evening out in 1947-1948, when men accounted for 45.4% and women accounted for 54.6% of students enrolled in the College of Education.

Table 5.4 and Figure 5.9: College of Education Enrollment by Gender, 1940-1950

Year Ending	Total Enrollment	# Men	% Men	# Women	% Women
1940	508	112	22.0	396	78.0
1941	696	188	27.0	508	73.0
1942	573	144	25.1	429	74.9
1943	486	58	11.9	428	88.1
1944	900	88	9.7	812	90.3
1945	572	53	9.2	519	90.8
1946	628	125	19.9	503	80.1
1947	573	219	38.2	354	61.8
1948	664	302	45.4	362	54.6
1949	739	333	45.0	396	55.0
1950	883	376	42.6	507	57.4



There could be several reasons for this trend. First, it is reasonable to assume that immediately following the return of soldiers in 1945 and 1946, a larger than usual number of women decided to get married and start families, thus diminishing female college enrollment numbers during those years. Second, the male enrollment in the College of Education dropped to its lowest in UK history between 1943 and 1945 because most men either joined the military

or the American workforce. When the war ended, it was no longer necessary for men to defer their educations, which could account for the spike in male enrollments after 1945. They could have been, for lack of a better phrase, "catching up" for the time they lost during the war. It is also possible that experiences in WWII motivated a larger number of men to pursue "helping" professions like teaching once they returned to civilian life, but it would be mere speculation without research into the psychology and sociology behind post-war behaviors. However, records do show that of the 295 education students enrolled in the 1947 fall semester, there were 105 male veterans (35.5%), 6 female veterans (2.0%), 17 male non-veterans (5.8%), and 167 female non-veterans (56.6%) (Board of Trustees, 1947, Dec. 16, p. 34).

With no spike in overall student enrollment in the College of Education, life at the University School basically returned to normal. Student numbers remained steady and faculty retention was consistent with pre-war patterns. There was an evident spirit of renewal when students could once again focus on things they enjoyed, like socializing and participating in clubs and sports, but in those first few years after the war there was no evidence to suggest that the University School had been fundamentally changed by WWII. However, monumental changes were on the horizon for the larger University of Kentucky campus.

Monumental Changes

In addition to the large influx of students who enrolled at UK after the war, the end of the 1940s brought with it an even more "significant and long lasting change" to the University of Kentucky: desegregation (Thompson & Birdwhistell, 1998). A 1949 court ruling in favor of Lyman T. Johnson made it illegal for any Kentucky college or university to deny admission to African American students based on race. As a result, approximately thirty African American students, including Johnson, were admitted to UK's graduate school in the fall of 1949, five years before the

US Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* and fifteen years before the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (p. 66).[24]

Dean Taylor, who had served 26 years as UK College of Education's first Dean of Education, also died in 1949, and the Teacher Training School he built was officially renamed the William S. Taylor Education Building. Frank G. Dickey was appointed the new Dean of Education, a position he held until he became UK President in 1956. His successor was Lyman V. Ginger, who served as Dean of Education until 1967. It was during Ginger's tenure that all divisions of the University School would ultimately close. In the meantime, leadership over the University School itself changed three times within the span of six years. Lyman V. Ginger began as Director of the Training School in 1944, but in 1954 he was replaced by Morris Berdyne Cierley, who in 1959 was replaced by Erwin H. Sasman. Sasman only served as Director for one year, and in 1960 James H. Powell became the last Director in charge of the University School. Just three years later (1963), Dickey was replaced as UK President by John W. Oswald, the man who would oversee the final closing of the University School in 1964 and 1965.

The Teacher Shortage, Rising Enrollment, and Off-Campus Student Teaching

Although the College of Education's overall enrollment had not spiked immediately after WWII, it was becoming evident that the war did have a lasting impact on UK's Teacher Training School and its laboratory school. In comparison to the 47 million children born to the Silent Generation between 1928 and 1945, the nearly 76 million children born in the post-war baby

[24] It is important to note that the early start to desegregation at the University of Kentucky did not lessen the overall time it took to fully integrate the campus. Black students were not admitted to UK's undergraduate programs until 1954, and they did not secure entrance to campus dormitories until 1957 (Russell, 2014, p. 83). Of the 7,200 students enrolled at UK in 1956, only 83 were black (p. 70, citing Wright, 1992, Nov., p. 193.) UK did not sign its first black football recruit until 1965, and it was 1967 before UK student Nat Northington "became the first African-American ever to compete in a varsity football game in the Southeastern Conference" (pp. 112, 115). Despite several years of pressure from President John W. Oswald's on UK basketball coach Adolph Rupp, the school's basketball program did not see its first black recruit until 1969 (p. 116).

boom between 1946 and 1964 (Fry, 2020) put an immense strain on America's system of public education. Schools across the nation became overcrowded when the first wave of Boomers reached school age, and learning materials, buildings, and teachers were stretched thin. In the first half of the 1950s, there was a national teacher shortage that began as an "emergency" needing urgent attention, but by 1955 it had evolved into a "chronic condition" that was growing "progressively worse" (Fine, 1955, Mar. 18, p. 10). Public school enrollment exceeded 30 million children in the fall of 1954, and there was an estimated growth of 1 million students each year. However, only 2% to 5% of high school students surveyed were interested in becoming teachers, and such low numbers made it "impossible to secure an adequate supply of teachers."

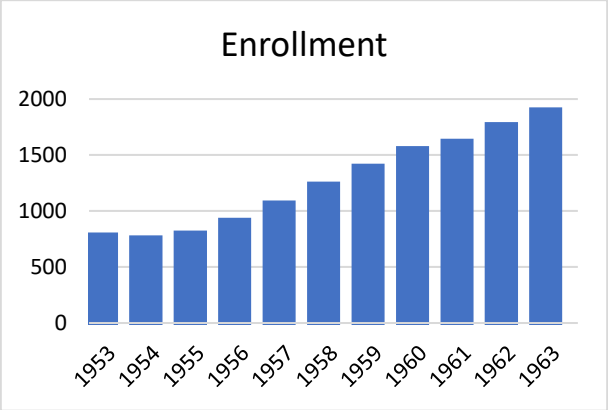
The situation in Kentucky was even worse. According to a report issued by State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Kentucky's teacher shortage went as far back as 1940 because consistently low salaries discouraged people from entering and staying in the teaching profession (Kentucky Kernel Staff, 1954, Aug. 6, p. 1). Although the state's colleges and universities were training enough teachers to staff the public schools, 50% of them quit the profession within the first five years. For the 1953-1954 school year, this amounted to 12,035 Kentucky teachers quitting when only 900 newly qualified teachers requested certificates. The state estimated that as many as 25% of college freshmen would have to enroll in education programs to alleviate Kentucky's teacher shortage, but only 4.5% planned to do so. The inability to attract and keep new teachers meant that approximately 9% of high school and 13.5% of elementary school teachers working in Kentucky lacked proper training and were operating on emergency certificates. Several UK professors of education, who remained anonymous, lamented the state of the teaching profession when interviewed in 1957 (Egerton, 1957, Aug. 1, p. 4). According to them, teacher salaries in Kentucky were so low that "Only the armed forces pay less than teaching and it doesn't take a degree to be a soldier." They knew that many qualified

educators, especially teachers with graduate degrees, took out-of-state teaching positions because they could make 30 to 60 per cent more money than they could in Kentucky. One education professor quipped, "If I weren't settled here, I'd leave myself."

Although enrollment in UK's College of Education remained relatively steady in the first half of the 1950s, it began to show dramatic growth around 1957 (*Table 5.5, Figure 5.10*).

Table 5.5 and Figure 5.10: UK College of Education Enrollment, 1952-1963
(College of Education, 1963, p. 3)

Year Ending	Enrollment	% Growth/Yr.
1953	696	NA
1954	670	(3.73%)
1955	713	6.4%
1956	827	15.9%
1957	981	18.6%
1958	1149	17.1%
1959	1309	13.9%
1960	1466	11.9%
1961	1534	4.6%
1962	1680	9.5%
1963	1813	7.9%



Within the span of ten years, enrollment in the College of Education more than doubled and instructional space became a scarce commodity. The College of Education still shared the Taylor Education Building with the elementary and high school divisions of the University School. Plans were in place to erect a new building on the College of Education campus, but construction on the three-story Frank G. Dickey Education Annex, which was located immediately behind the Taylor Education Building facing Scott Street, did not begin until 1963. According to UK historian and emeritus faculty Terry L. Birdwhistell, the $200,000 structure contained "two graduate classrooms, 12 regular classrooms, an observation room for education classes, 49 offices, and several reception areas," as well as the Education Library and the Bureau of School Services (2018, Jul. 23). However, the building did not open until 1964, so it provided no relief for crowded conditions in the College of Education from 1958 to 1964.

Record enrollment ultimately forced the college to expand its off-campus student teaching program. UK students aspiring to become agriculture and home economics teachers had always completed their practice teaching in off-campus public schools. However, local and national concerns about providing "real" versus "ideal" practice experiences surfaced in the early 1940s, and in 1943 UK began allowing student teachers to fulfill their observation and practice teaching requirements in the public schools of Fayette and surrounding counties. Nonetheless, the on-campus convenience of the University School preserved its status as the primary location for practice teaching assignments well into the 1950s (*Figures 5.11, 5.12, 5.13*).

Figure 5.11: Student teacher teaching fractions in the elementary division of the University School

Figure 5.12: Student teacher in the elementary division of the University School (1952).

Figure 5.13: Student teacher in a high school history class at the University School (1952).

The students at the University School were accustomed to the "ever-present practice teacher" (*Senior Class,* 1939*,* p. 11). Most semesters, the high school's *U-Hi Lights* student newspaper published the names of the undergraduates joining them in their classrooms (see, for example, *U-High Lights, 13*(6), 1943, Jan. 21, p. 1), and as this anecdote in the 1947-1948 yearbook demonstrates, the students loved to antagonize them:

> An interesting occurrence took place in history class late in the year. A student teacher, Miss Bias by name, was in charge. She proved to be quite inadequate, so for the recreation her questions failed to provide we resolved to stare at her left arm. At first she seemed only slightly ill at east, but soon she began leading against the wall with her left side against the blackboard. The next day she tried keeping her arm in constant motion. This only proved the more horrible as she could then watch the phenomenon of the eyes and heads of the entire class following as if there were one. Two days later, she attempted to sit on as much of the arm as possible, keeping the rest behind her. She struggled through, but in doing so provided some of the most pleasant hours ever given our class. (1948, p. 15)

It is not clear whether the constant presence of student teachers in their classrooms made them more comfortable to act out or if their elitist status as University School students gave them a sense of superiority over the undergraduates, but the high school students showed no mercy when they encountered practice teachers they did not respect. In fact, memories like this suggest the students had a tacit agreement to run off as many unqualified undergraduates as they could:

> It was at this time that we completed the most thorough demolition ever wrought on a student teacher. Sad to relate, she was unable we thought to read her history lesson as understandingly as we. The most terrible of tortures were instituted. Miss Davis broke down one day during class and dropped out of the College of Education. (*Purple and White* Staff, 1948, p. 17)

University School students in the 1940s and 1950s were as brutally honest about their low opinion of student teachers as their predecessors at Model High had been in the 1920s.

Regardless, the post-war baby boom and the spike in enrollment in UK's College of Education ultimately caused the number of undergraduates completing their student teaching in off-campus schools to surpass those of the students completing it in the University School. It was

largely, but not entirely, motivated by the college's need to train more students, but it was also evidence of a shifting trend in teacher education that began in the early 1940s. As previously mentioned, UK began allowing students to complete their observation and practice teaching in both local schools and the University School in 1943, and there was a steady debate about the benefits of "real" off-campus versus "ideal" on-campus student teaching experiences. The debate seemed to reach its critical point when, in his article entitled "Teacher Training Ideas," G.D. McGrath reported that the majority of teachers in his study felt they would have benefitted the most from student teaching in a typical school environment located within twenty-five miles of the university campus (Dalluge, 1952, p. 4, citing McGrath, 1947, Nov.). The 1952 doctoral dissertation explicitly comparing the two methods at UK reveals that the College of Education was find evidence of best practices in teacher training. At that time, there were three components to the philosophy of teacher education at UK:

> (1) The curriculum for teachers should make possible the further development of the necessary abilities in the fields of professional work in education;
> (2) Instructional activities should be designed to contribute effectively to the realization of the potentialities of each student; and
> (3) The faculty is concerned with the student as a maturing individual and should accept the responsibility for the development of his total potentialities in terms of the needs of the profession and society. (Dalluge, 1952, citing Dickey, 1952)

The study found that responses from teachers trained at UK varied, and although the majority felt they received satisfactory teacher preparation at UK, they also thought their off-campus experiences provided better practice in pupil-teacher relationships than did their on-campus experiences (p. 207).

New Priorities

Just as the institutional and national preference for off-campus student teaching grew, other historical events permanently altered the direction of American education. According to Graham (2005), the primary focus of schools between 1920 and 1954 was helping children adjust

to their place in the modern world, but that focus changed with the 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. The goal of adjustment was replaced by the goal to achieve equity and access to educational programs for children of all races, genders, religions, and intellectual abilities. Desegregating American schools and improving their competitiveness in the Cold War era, especially after Russia launched Sputnik in 1957, became essential priorities.

UK's College of Education found itself at a crossroad between the old and the new. America's need for more qualified teachers was essential, and the college's need for additional professors and classroom space was critical. Students and administrators knew things needed to change. As one high school student insightfully wrote,

> It is being brought home to us today, perhaps more clearly than ever before, the existing importance of education and an important factor in determining the success of a nation. In these times when success and secure such desired and rare possessions, it is natural that we, and other nations, should pause for a period of evaluation. We have stopped, and looked at ourselves, and have not been satisfied with what we have seen. This has caused some deep probing into why and how we have failed to meet the standards and fit the picture we were looking for… It is up to us, and us alone, to fill the gap that is evident in our treatment of education today. (Craig, 1958, p. 4)

Under the leadership of Dean Lyman V. Ginger, the College of Education considered several options for moving forward, all of which affected the future of the University School. In a report to the Board of Trustees in March 1957, Ginger said the college lacked sufficient classrooms, conference rooms, office space, and library space to meet the needs of its faculty and staff, and he made the following five suggestions:

1. Build a wing on the high school side of the building.

2. Build two rooms in the court by the side of the high school library:
    a. Classroom
    b. Library

   Build five offices in the end of the Kindergarten court:
    a. Four for instructors
    b. One for a secretary

   Build three offices in Room 104 (High School Room)
    a. Two for instructors

b. One for a secretary

Move high school classes from Room 104 to the Recreation Room.

3. Build five offices in the Kindergarten court:

a. Four for instructors

b. One for a secretary

Build three offices in Room 104 (High School Room)

a. Two for instructors

b. One for a secretary

Move high school classes from Room 104 to the Recreation Room.

Use Room 105 for college classes and high school music classes and move high school classes from Room 105 to the Recreation Room.

Close the Kindergarten and move the College of Education library to those two rooms or move the College of Education library back to the large library.

4. Move the present high school classes from Rooms 104 and 105 to the Recreation Room.

Use Room 105 for college classes and high school music classes.

Build three offices in Room 104

Build two offices in the Conference Room of 231.

Use one-half of the large room of the Bureau of School Service for graduate assistants.

Either close the kindergarten and move the College of Education library to those rooms or move the College of Education library back to the large library.

5. Close the upper three grades of the University high school, double the size of the present junior high school, grades 7, 8 and 9.

Move the College of Education library to Rooms 104 and 105.

Build four offices in the Latin Room (208) and four offices in the Business Education Room (108)

Use the remainder of the high school wing for junior high classes. (pp. 45-46)

Ultimately, the Board determined further study was needed, but it was open to closing the kindergarten "since similar schools throughout the country do not generally maintain kindergarten work," as well as re-evaluating the senior high school and considering alterations to the existing building.

Over the next two years, references to the College of Education were limited to staffing assignments, degree candidates, and operations connected to the larger university plant. It was not until President Dickey presented his university-wide building plan in 1959 that the decision to build an addition to the College of Education was added to the official record (Board of Trustees,

1959, Jun. 16, p. 20). A second reference to the plan did not appear until December 13, 1960, when Dickey's annual report briefly confirmed that "much planning was taking place" in anticipation of construction at the College of Education (Board of Trustees, 1960, Dec. 13, p. 110).

In the meantime, Dickey's March 1960 report to the Executive Committee described the increasingly overcrowded conditions of the University School, and the Board was compelled to reconsider the 1957 suggestion to close the kindergarten (Board of Trustees, 1960, Mar. 16, p. 57). The minutes say, "The question was discussed at length and, upon motion duly made, seconded and carried, the kindergarten school at the Training School was authorized discontinued, effective September 1, 1960." The death of the 30-year-old program was accomplished with great efficiency and finality as the Board meeting broke for lunch.

Just two years later, a similar report from President Dickey recommended the closing of the University School's elementary division, which housed grades 1 through 6 (Board of Trustees, 1962, Apr. 3, pp. 22-24). Dickey noted that in recent years the College of Education had grown more than any other college at UK, and the lack of classroom and office space had forced parts of the college to operate out of the Reynolds Building on South Broadway. The college's off-campus teaching program had grown so much over the last twelve years that less than six per cent of UK's student teachers were utilizing the University School, and it was decided that "With the pressing space demands for the College of Education and all other portions of the University, we can no longer afford to provide space for the University School to serve such a limited number of student teachers" (p. 23)

The Board agreed to close the elementary division at the end of the school year in June 1962, with the understanding that UK pursue an agreement for the city and county schools to absorb its displaced students. Dickey noted that the only thing preventing UK from closing all

twelve grades of the University School at that time was the "exceedingly crowded" condition of the Lexington and Fayette County high schools.

1963 brought significant change as the College of Education embarked on a two-year building construction project, and Dickey was succeeded by John Wieland Oswald as President of the University of Kentucky. According to Oswald, shortly after he arrived at UK in September, the Board of Trustees asked him to examine the function and finances of the University High School to make a recommendation about its future (Board of Trustees, 1964, Apr. 30, p. 1). The investigative committee Oswald appointed to study the issue had five members: Lyman V. Ginger, Dean of the College of Education; James H. Powell, Director of the University High School; Morris B. Cierley, former Director of the University School; Ellis F. Hartford, former Director of the University School; and James Kincheloe, former Superintendent of Fayette County Schools. Kincheloe served as the committee's chair.

At a Special Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees held at 5 PM on Thursday, April 30, 1964, the investigative committee submitted a report detailing the history of the University School, changes that occurred at the state, university, and college level, and the current circumstances faced by the College of Education and its 34-year-old on-campus laboratory school.

The report revealed that after the elementary division of the University School closed in 1962, the college appointed a faculty committee to study the laboratory school's relationship to the university and explore possible courses of action for its future. Although the committee members agreed that proper teacher preparation required a laboratory school, the "scope and quality necessary is tremendously expensive for a University to operate" and limited school programs and facilities would not allow the college to provide the type of training that was necessary. Without access to an expanded, high quality on-campus laboratory school or funding

to reinvent the school around a research agenda, it was in the College of Education's best interests to explore a cooperative operation with a local public school and entirely close or repurpose the limited facilities at the University School to "serve as a special school—for example, a special school for the handicapped." Operating the University School on an interim basis was not favored, and the recommendation was to close the school completely at the end of the year.

To support these conclusions, Oswald emphasized the College of Education's increased enrollment, its dire need for classroom and office space, and the high cost of operating the University School each year (pp. 4-5). According to Oswald, the University School cost the college $192,000 per year-- $159,000 in teacher salaries, $5,500 in social security taxes, and $38,000 to maintain the building.[25] Only $15,390 in income came from student tuition, therefore the remaining $177,000[26] was paid using state appropriations. Based on the school's enrollment, the yearly cost to educate one student at the University School was $1,040, which was two and a half times the $400 it cost to educate one student in Kentucky's public high schools. Furthermore, only 6% of the College of Education's student teachers, which was 25 people per year, were being trained at the University School each year, while the other 94% were completing their observation and practice teaching in local public schools. That meant it cost the college $7,000 to accommodate each of the 25 student teachers placed at the University School each year.

Mr. Harry Miller, one of five parents of University School students at the meeting, "expressed the feeling that it was difficult to dispute the arguments presented by Dr. Oswald but that it was his feeling that the University School had been an outstanding school through the years and had trained many of the leaders of the community" and it would be "a shame to close a 'quality' school at a time when secondary education was so important" (p. 6). Oswald responded

[25] These numbers add up to $202,500, over $10,000 more than the $192,000 given in the report.
[26] Based on the income and expenditures listed, the amount adds up to $187,110.

saying the University School was no longer a "quality" school with its limited enrollment and course offerings. It was not the same University School that had existed just ten years ago.

When questioned why the college had not tried harder to keep the University School a "quality" school, Oswald pointed to the evolution of educational practice and the national movement away from college and university run laboratory schools that did not specifically support demonstration, experimentation, and research. The school consolidation movement had resulted in larger public schools, and small laboratory schools could did not properly prepare student teachers for the real-world conditions they would experience upon entering the teaching profession. Furthermore, recent studies showed that large schools produced a higher percentage of college-ready students than smaller ones did, so a small-scale campus laboratory school would be less beneficial to children than larger public schools.

President Oswald and Dean Ginger agreed to meet with University School parents at 7:30 PM on Tuesday, May 5th in the Taylor Education Building auditorium, to explain the rationale for closing the school and listen to parents' arguments against the closure. However, Oswald put the Board on notice that at its regular meeting on May 12th he was going to recommend the closure of the University School. With that, the special meeting of the Executive Committee adjourned just an hour and ten minutes after it began.

Oswald did meet with University School parents on May 5, 1964, and the final recommendation to the Board of Trustees on May 12, 1964 read as follows:

> Recommendation: (1) that the University School be closed effective at the end of this school year; (2) that, if approximately 2/3 of the parents of the next year's seniors agree by payment of advanced tuition for the year, that they desire a senior year for the students, this one class will be conducted with the understanding that extra-curricular activities will be curtailed; (3) that the President be authorized to assign the space to be released by the University School and by the College of Education when it moves to the new building in September 1964 to academic units on campus most seriously needing space; and (4) that the President take immediate steps to reconstruct the budget in keeping

> with these changes, including the assessment of the needs of the individual (teachers) and the obligations of the University in regard to each person. (p. 34)

The 1962-1963 faculty committee that studied the University School had opposed operating the school on an interim basis, but this was the compromise reached between Oswald and the University School parents. These conditions were unanimously approved by the Board and plans to accommodate one more senior class were handled by the College of Education after 2/3 of the students prepaid their tuition by the May 15th deadline.

Thirty-three students (*Figure 5.14*) returned to finish their senior year at University High, and they credited the leadership of Eugene M. Huff for maintaining the school's programs throughout that final year (Purple and White Staff, 1965, p. 55). With seven teachers[27], many of whom had taught at the University School for many years, the graduating class of 1965 fulfilled their pre-college coursework while participating in a spectrum of extracurricular activities, which included student council, yearbook, Beta Club, Masque and Gavel, National Honor Society, Pep Club, Key Club, Little Choir and Boys' Group, basketball, and cheerleading.

Figure 5.14: The 1965 graduating class of University High School pose at their Baccalaureate service at the First Presbyterian Church. Their final Commencement took place June 4, 1965 in the University High School auditorium.

[27] Eugene "Gene" M. Huff (Principal/Assistant Director); Full-Time Faculty: Jess L. Gardner, (Sociology, Contemporary Government, Driver Education), Durbin C. Kemper (Science), Fannie H. Miller (English and Speech), Leon Porter (Mathematics), Margaret Roser (Librarian), Ayleene H. Whitehead (French); Part-Time Faculty: Edgar Minor (Vocal Music)

Throughout the University School's thirty-five-year existence, the priorities of the University of Kentucky, College of Education, and laboratory school had shifted in response to modernization, war, population growth, institutional growth, and social changes stimulated by desegregation. However, the progressive ideologies around which the University School was originally designed seemed to survive, at least to some extent, until the very end. In the 1965 school yearbook, senior Donna Faulconer Barr said,

> At U-High we found a secure, caring and stimulating atmosphere in which to grow and mature, intellectually, physically, and socially. We were given opportunities to discover ourselves and the world about us. Equally important to self discovery was the ability to study things that were meaningful and relevant to one's life and interests. And finally, we developed a deep love and respect for others and ourselves. This is a legacy of lasting value. This is your gift to us! With gratitude and love we thank all parents and teachers who nurtured us as unique individuals. (Purple and White Staff, 1965, p. 778)

The University School's perceived efforts to care for and educate the whole child, focus on children's interests and activities, and link education to real life reflected the same progressive characteristics espoused by Dewey and the PEA at the beginning of the 20th century and served as a testament to the enduring value of Progressive Education at UK's laboratory school.

How the University School's Later Life Compared to Lexington and Fayette County Schools

Between 1940 and 1965, the differences between UK's University School and Lexington and Fayette County Schools became pronounced. The University School maintained its yearly enrollment of fewer than 400 students in kindergarten through grade 12, and those students continued to come from predominantly educated and affluent white families with the ability to pay tuition. In contrast, the 1960 yearly enrollment was 8,300 in Lexington schools and 13,000 in Fayette County (LexHistory, 2020a). The student populations in those schools continuously grew and contained widespread diversity in the students' socioeconomic status, ethnicity, race, religion, and ability levels. In 1964, the University School's yearly operating costs totaled $192,000. That same year, Lexington city schools operated on a budget of $4,500,000, and in

1961, Fayette county schools operated on a budget of $5,054,954.35 (LexHistory, 2020a, citing Lexington Herald Staff, 1961, Jul. 1, p. 1).

These differences were profound, but perhaps the most significant difference was the role each school played in local school desegregation. The University School was established when the University of Kentucky's whites-only admissions policy extended to include the College of Education and its laboratory school. Relying on the U.S. Supreme Court's 1896 ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, Kentucky's Day Law of 1904,[28] and a long list of Jim Crow laws passed by the state legislature, UK's Board of Trustees maintained a racially restrictive admissions policy that was not publicly challenged until the 1930s (Russell, 2014, p. 7). The first successful challenge to the policy did not come until 1949 when a federal court order forced UK to open its graduate school to blacks. However, that was the beginning of a relatively peaceful process of desegregation at UK, which at the time was made possible by "a governor who was not opposed to the admission of a small number of blacks to the UK Graduate School, Kentucky's low black population, a cautious university president who guided the process from behind the scenes, and a board of trustees who chose not to appeal the court-ordered desegregation ruling."

Unfortunately, the timeline of desegregation at UK moved slowly after 1949. The school did not desegregate its undergraduate programs until 1954, its campus housing until 1957, its football team until 1965, or its basketball team until 1969 (pp. 83, 112, 116). Despite the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, there is no evidence that the University School's exclusively white student enrollment was ever challenged or reconsidered before the school permanently closed its doors in 1965. The

[28] The Day Law, which was named for Representative Carl Day of Breathitt County, Kentucky, was a direct attack on the desegregation policy of Berea College. The 1904 law, which was upheld by the Supreme Court, forbade Kentucky schools from teaching black and white students on the same campus (Russell, 2014, p. 7).

University School had lived its entire life in a segregated bubble, and even when desegregation was actively occurring in Lexington and Fayette County schools, University School administrators never publicly addressed the issue of race or worked to facilitate local school desegregation. The school's reticence represented, at best, the kind of institutional ambivalence or, at worst, systemic racism being used to obstruct integration efforts throughout the South. The University School's official silence on the issue of race did little to conceal its unofficial tolerance of racially insensitive behaviors by students. For example, the school did not discourage students from running a full-page picture of boys holding Confederate flags as the cover for the "Senior Activities" section of the 1960 yearbook (*Figure 5.15*), and it allowed the students to host an "Old South" themed prom that crowned its queen on the steps of a "southern mansion" (*Figure 5.16*) (Purple and White Staff, 1965, pp. 70-71).

Figure 5.15: The cover page for the Senior Activities section of the 1960 Purple and White yearbook features three students smiling as they hold up Confederate flags.

Figure 5.16: The theme for the University School's 1962 prom was the "Old South," and the prom queen was crowned on the steps of a "southern mansion."

To the contrary, the city and county schools were on the front lines of the desegregation movement. Although the Kentucky Attorney General issued an opinion after *Brown v. Board of Education* that until state segregation laws were ruled unconstitutional, segregation was still valid (LexHistory(a), 2020), school desegregation in Lexington and Fayette County occurred more quickly than it did in many southern states. In June 1955, 16-year-old Helen Cary Caise enrolled in summer school at Lafayette High School and became the first black student to attend a white school in Fayette County. In 1956, the formerly all-black Dunbar High School and the all-white Henry Clay High School became "schools of choice" where students of any skin color from any district could attend (Render, 2015, p. 46). In November 1964, Carl I. Lynem became the first black person elected to the Lexington Board of Education (LexHistory(a), 2020). That same year, the federal government passed the Civil Rights Act, which mandated the desegregation of all schools, and the Lexington and Fayette County school systems began working on their plans. The county was the first to act by closing the Douglas School and distributing its black students to other county schools. Meanwhile, the city worked to establish a redistricting plan that would meet federal approval, but the Lexington and Fayette County school systems ended up merging during the 1966-1967 school year, and Dunbar High School was closed in 1968 (Render, 2015, p.

47). Busing, redistricting, and black representation on decision making councils continued to be issues well into (and beyond) the 1980s.

UK College of Education Projects in the Immediate Aftermath of the Laboratory School Closure

Following the closure of the University School in 1964 and 1965, UK's College of Education immediately pursued new projects, many of which related to the "equal access" initiatives sweeping American education. In August 1964, the college received a $97,116 federal research grant to conduct a study "aimed at developing improved procedures for providing in-service education for Eastern Kentucky school administrators" (Board of Trustees, 1964, Aug. 21, p. 4). That fall, the college also moved into the newly constructed Frank G. Dickey Hall, which had been named after Dr. Frank G. Dickey, the fifth president of UK (Board of Trustees, 1964, Sep. 15, p. 34), but the building was not officially dedicated until March 11, 1965 (Birdwhistell, 2018; Board of Trustees, 1965, Mar. 19, p. 9).

In January 1965, the college received a $16,363 grant from WHAS-TV Crusade for Children to host the seventh consecutive summer training program for teachers of handicapped children (Board of Trustees, 1965, Jan. 15, p. 6), and on March 30, 1965, the special education section of the College of Education co-hosted an institute with the State Department of Education regarding rehabilitation houses for the mentally ill (Board of Trustees, 1965, Apr. 6, p. 1).

During the 1965-1966 school year, the college increased the budget for supervising teachers in the Division of Instruction (Board of Trustees, 1965, Jul. 16, p. 2), it co-sponsored with National Commission on Safety Education of the NEA (in cooperation with Chrysler Corporation) a three-week driver's safety program for college teachers and safety education supervisors, and it received a $81,131 federal grant from the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration to train rehabilitation counselors (Board of Trustees, 1965, Sep. 21, p. 11).

As far as the University School building was concerned, in 1967 the College of Education remodeled the old gymnasium to create a temporary E.T.V. production center (Clark Associates, 1967), in 1980 it added a second floor to the center section of the Taylor Education Building to create more offices for education faculty members (Bennett & Tune Architects, 1980), and in 2004 it renovated the central tower cupola using the buildings original architectural drawings. In 2020, the Taylor Education Building continues to be used by the College of Education as office and classroom space.

Chapter 6: Connections, Implications, and Conclusions

The University School's Role in the Laboratory School Movement of the 20th Century

The University School's role in the Laboratory School Movement of the 20th century is revealed by contextualizing the school and its history within national, regional, and state trends in teacher education. Placing UK's laboratory school within the developmental timelines for each of those levels reveals that, based on its geographic location, the University School played a relatively conventional role in the larger national timeline, but for various reasons it played an atypical role in both the Southern region and the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

Although laboratory schools have been prominent features of American teacher training programs since the Common School Movement, the popularity and prevalence of laboratory schools across the nation surged at the end of the 19th century as a result of growing concerns about the state of America's public education system and the modernizing impact of immigration, urbanization, population growth, and increased school enrollments. Coinciding with the rise of the Progressive Era, the Laboratory School Movement of the 20th century brought noticeable growth in the establishment and operation of laboratory schools in America between 1893 and 1965, and it served as the vehicle through which education reform and the professionalization of education were achieved on a national scale.

The University of Kentucky's Model High School, which was later expanded to into University School, was the progeny of that movement. By the end of WWI, a booming economy, advancements in technology, and changing social mores had altered people's notions about society and the role America's schools should play in the modern world (Graham, 2005, pp. 51-52). National attention was focused on improving systems of education in every state, and Kentucky was not immune. The rise of educational science and the growing popularity of progressive ideologies shaped the development of teacher education at institutions like the

University of Kentucky. Although the existence of laboratory schools themselves was not new, their growing reputation as essential tools for providing high quality teacher training was at an all-time high.

National and state governments looked to institutions like the University of Kentucky to meet the growing demand for qualified teachers in an increasingly modernized society. States were simultaneously working to improve public systems of education, and part of those improvements included more exacting standards for teacher training and professional qualifications. In 1926, the American Association of Teachers Colleges (AATC) resolved that all teacher training schools should "maintain a training school under its own control, as a part of its organization as a laboratory school" (Williams, 1942, cited by Kelley, 1967, p. 20).

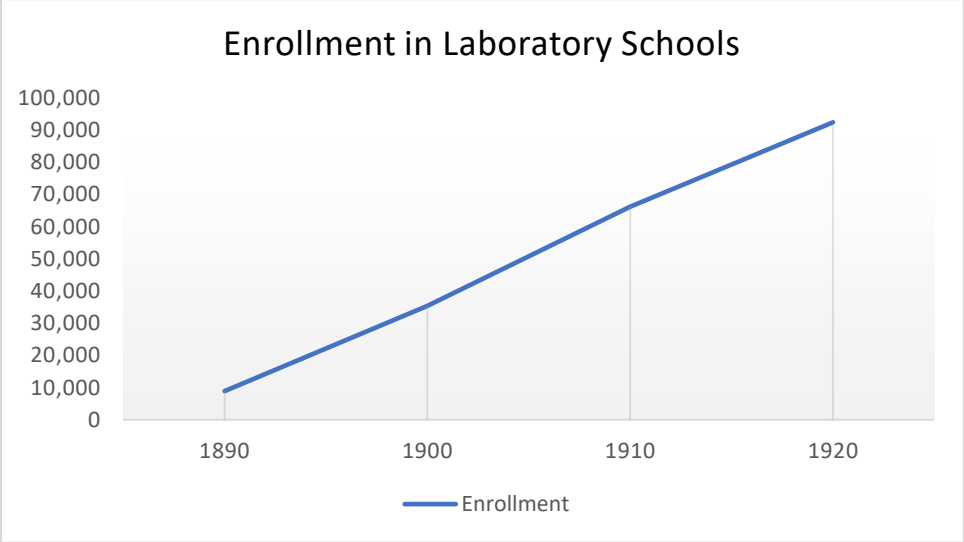
The surging popularity of Progressive Education and rising standards in the teaching profession made laboratory schools essential to training high quality teachers. Not only did the schools demonstrate the child-centered pedagogy that was transforming American education, but they also facilitated increased observation and practice teaching requirements that improved the skill of newly trained teachers. This had a compounding influence on the number of children educated in laboratory school settings over the first half of the 20th century. As more colleges and universities used laboratory schools for teacher training, even more school-age children benefited from the innovative learning environments cultivated in those schools.

When the enrollment of school-age children in public and private laboratory schools operated by teacher colleges and normal schools grew from 8,905 in 1890 to 90,601 in 1930 (*Table 6.1, Figure 6.1*), a monumental shift occurred in the quality of American education.

Table 6.1: Enrollment of School-Age Children in Public and Private Laboratory Schools in Teachers Colleges and Normal Schools

Year Ending	USA	North Atlantic	South Atlantic	South Central	North Central	Western
1890	8,905[29]	3,883	210	1,187	3,078	558
1900	35,397[30]	18,837	2,626	2,856	8,873	2,205
1910	66,180[31]	29,984	6,737	5,009	19,049	5,401
1920	92,446[32]	--	--	--	--	--
1930	90,601[33]	--	--	--	--	--
% Change	917.4%	--	--	--	--	--

Figure 6.1: Enrollment in Laboratory Schools



It was through laboratory schools that teacher training programs like UK's helped to reinvent American education. Innovative partnerships between governments, private businesses, and schools provided the financial and philosophical foundation to modernize school organization, facilities, methods, and practices. Innovative curriculum based on progressive ideologies became mainstream, and hands-on, child-centered pedagogy spread across the nation.

[29] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1889/90, Vol. 2, pp. 1030, 1032
[30] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 614; U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1923, p. 429
[31] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 614; U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1923, p. 429
[32] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 614; U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1923, p. 429
[33] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1932, Vol. 2, p. 614

UK's Laboratory School: Simultaneously Conventional and Atypical

National Role

The role UK's laboratory schools played in the national laboratory school movement is best characterized as conventional. The gradual spread of laboratory schools from the North Atlantic region to other areas of the United States followed a geographic progression west and south, and when laboratory school enrollment surged in the first three decades of the 20th century (*Table 6.1*), UK fit snuggly within the larger national timeline. Conditions in Kentucky mirrored the national growth of the U.S. population and laboratory school enrollments, and the establishment of UK's laboratory schools coincided with the rise of progressive reforms and the shift toward child-centered pedagogy. The 1918 opening of Model High School occurred close to the midpoint of the laboratory school enrollment surge, which means UK was neither an early nor a late adopter to the national movement. It also followed immediately on the heels of the American Association of Teachers Colleges' 1917 endorsement of laboratory schools as essential tools of high-quality teacher training programs. If anything, UK jumped on the national laboratory school bandwagon in the middle of the ride, and there was nothing unusual or unique about UK's role to distinguish it from other schools in the national movement.

Regional Role

However, the role UK played in the regional laboratory school movement was atypical. Although Kentucky benefitted from targeted educational reform efforts like those used in other southern states, the development of UK's laboratory schools was gradual and steady, whereas the laboratory school movement's influence on other states in the southern region was sporadic and unpredictable (*Figure 6.2, Table 6.2, Table 6.3*).

Figure 6.2: Regional School Divisions Established by the U.S. Commissioner of Education

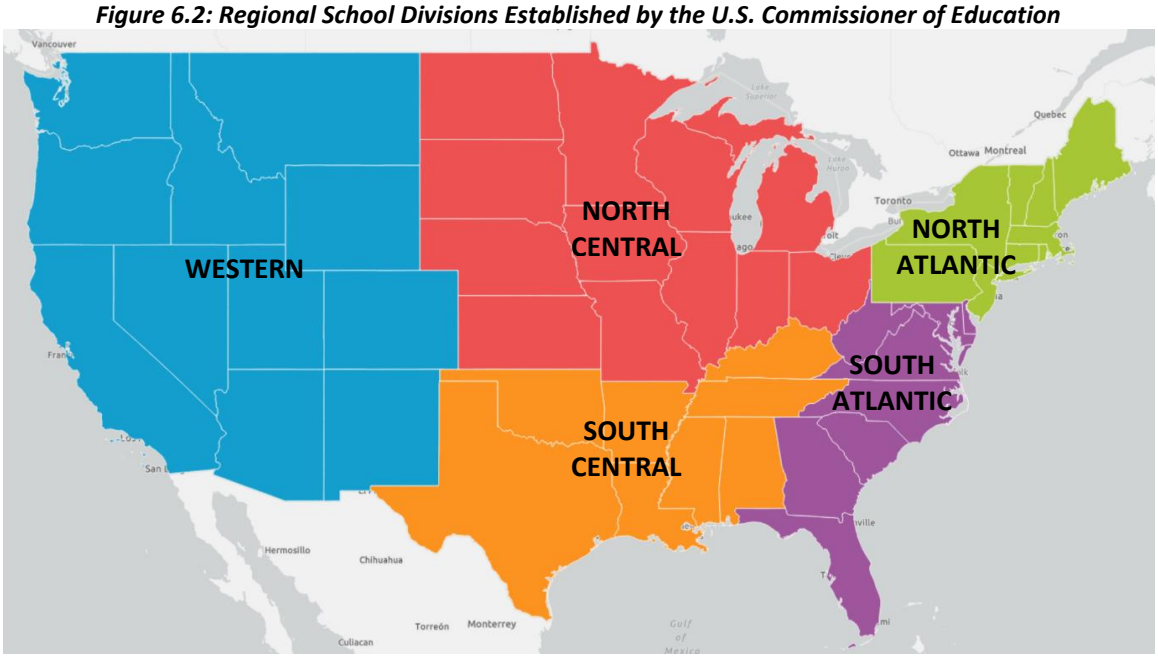


Table 6.2: South Central Enrollment of School-Age Children in Public and Private Laboratory Schools in Teachers Colleges and Normal Schools

Year Ending	Kentucky	Tennessee	Alabama	Mississippi	Louisiana	Texas	Arkansas	Oklahoma
1890	200	496	355	--	116	--	--	--
1900	369	1,016	664	277	258	--	150	122
1910[34]	1,157	719	755	227	574	330	--	1,227
1920[35]	557	737	1,033	30	594	1,123	60	674
1930[36]	1,237	1,739	2,136	660	1,161	2,676	488	2,089
% Change	518.5%	250.6%	501.6%	138.2%	900.8%	710.9%	225.3%	1,612.3%

Table 6.3: South Atlantic Enrollment of School-Age Children in Public and Private Laboratory Schools in Teachers Colleges and Normal Schools

Year Ending	Delaware	Maryland	District of Columbia	Virginia	West Virginia	North Carolina	South Carolina	Georgia	Florida
1890	--	12	--	147	45	--	--	15	--
1900	225	32	821	554	20	439	217	210	108
1910	--	861	1,865	1,938	501	719	615	238	--
1920	--	292	--	2,183	921	1,295	497	569	--
1930	--	730	--	3,897	2,154	1,564	133	821	--
% Change	--	5,983.3%	127.2%	2,551.0%	5,021.4%	256.3%	-38.7%	5,373.3%	--

[34] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1911, Vol. 2, pp. 1082, 1088, 1090
[35] U.S. Commissioner of Education, 1947, Vol. 2, pp. 443-460
[36] U.S Commissioner of Education, 1932, Vol. 2, pp. 643-669

There was a wide disparity in the growth of laboratory school enrollments amongst the southern states in the early 1900s. Kentucky's 518.5% enrollment growth was comparable to that of Alabama (501.6%), but well below states like Virginia (2,551.0%), West Virginia (5,021.4%), Georgia (5,373.3%), and Maryland (5,983.3%), and substantially higher than states like Tennessee (250.6%), Mississippi (138.2%), and South Carolina (-38.7%) (*Table 6.7 & Table 6.8*). A visual of the laboratory school movement spreading out in ripples from the North Atlantic region into the southern states does not describe the random hit-and-miss emergence of laboratory schools that occurred in the South. The laboratory school movement arrived in southern states in fits and starts with no discernable geographic pattern.

Kentucky experienced a steady upward trend in laboratory school enrollment that, although slower than the national growth, fit more conventionally within the national trend. In contrast, the inconsistent growth and, in the case of South Carolina, decline in laboratory school enrollments that took place in other southern states makes Kentucky's trend atypical for the region.

In terms of school-age enrollment numbers, Williams (1942) found that only 5% of laboratory schools in the South had kindergarten programs (p. 217), but UK's enrollment of children as young as 3 ½ years old proves that Kentucky was part of that rare 5%. It is also noteworthy that, according to Kelley's 1967 study, most laboratory schools in the South did not charge tuition, but UK's laboratory schools always had.

UK's Model High School, which became the University School, was not the first, nor was it the last, laboratory schools established by southern colleges and universities. Many of the laboratory schools operating in the South Central and South Atlantic regions, including the Model Laboratory School in Richmond, Kentucky, had been in existence long before UK opened Model High School in 1918 (*Table 6.4, Table 6.5*). At least 12 of those laboratory schools, many of them

controlled by historically black colleges and universities, had opened in the late 1800s with the help of philanthropists from the North. The national movement did not experience a surge in laboratory school enrollment until the first three decades of the 20th century, which corresponds with the establishment of UK's laboratory schools. However, there was no discernable pattern in the establishment of on-campus laboratory schools in the South, which by default makes UK's role in the regional movement atypical.

Table 6.4: South Central Laboratory Schools by State

State	School	Date (Grades) Opened	Construction or Additions	Date (Grades) Closed	Tuition (1967)
Alabama	Alabama A & M College HBCU- Normal (f/k/a Huntsville Normal School & State Normal and Industrial School at Huntsville)	1875 (?)		1947 (?)	
Alabama	Alabama College (n/k/a University of Montevallo)- Montevallo Alabama College Laboratory School, n/k/a Montevallo High School	1896 (7-12)	1930 1940	1963 (7-12) Became county school	
Alabama	Alabama State University- Montgomery Alabama State College Laboratory School	c. 1885 (?) at Marion 1888 (?) at Montgomery	1895 1907 1933	1969 (K-12) Became county school	T
Alabama	Florence State University - Florence The Kilby School	1872 (1-6) ? (7-12) 1970 (K) 1975 (PS)	1922 1964 1975	1919 (9-12) 1950 (7-8) Still Open (PS-6)	
Alabama	Jacksonville State University- Jacksonville College Laboratory Schools Jacksonville Elementary School (n/k/a Kitty Stone Elementary School)	1921/2 (1-12)	1942 1969	? (1-12) Became city school	
Alabama	Livingston State College (n/k/a University of Western Alabama)- Livingston Livingston Training School/Laboratory School	1922 (1-6)	1922	? (?)	
Alabama	Oakwood College HBCU- Huntsville Anna Knight Laboratory School, n/k/a Oakwood Adventist Academy	1896 (?) 1961 (?)	1961 1974 1993 2013	Still open (1-12)	T
Alabama	Saint Bernard College- Cullman St. Bernard Preparatory School	1891 (?)		1962 (?)	
Alabama	Stillman College HBCU- Tuscaloosa	? (?)		1930 (?) 1941 (9-12)	
Alabama	Talladega College HBCU- Talladega Sessions Practice School (l/k/a Drewry Practice High School)	1925 (K-9)	1925 1932 1948	1948 (7-12) ? (K-6)	T
Alabama	Troy State University- Troy College Laboratory School	1890 (1-6)	1925 1926?	? (?)	
Alabama	Tuskegee Institute HBCU- Tuskegee Chambless Children's House	1882 (K-9)	1930 1947/48	? (?)	T
Arkansas	Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College HBCU- Pine Bluff Joseph C. Corbin Laboratory School	1929 (?)		1963 (?)	
Arkansas	Arkansas State Teachers College- Conway Nolan M. Irby School	1949 (?)		1962 (?)	
Arkansas	Harding College- Searcy Harding Academy and Training School	1946 (PS-12)	1946	? (?)	T

Arkansas	University of Arkansas- Fayetteville	? (K-6) ? (9-12)		? (?) 1962 (9-12)	
Kentucky	Berea College- Berea Berea Foundation High School	1911 (9-12) ? (1-8)		1968 (1-12)	
Kentucky	Eastern Kentucky University- Richmond Model Laboratory School	1906 (K-12)	1961	Still Open (K-12)	T
Kentucky	Kentucky State College HBCU- Frankfort Kentucky State College Training School Rosenwald Training School Rosenwald Center for 4-H Youth Development	1886 1893 (9-12) 1954 (1-8) 2013 (K-8)	1954 2013	Still Open as 4-H Development Center (K-8)	T
Kentucky	Morehead State College- Morehead Breckinridge Training School	1924 (K-12)	1930 1966	1982	T
Kentucky	Murray State University- College Station Murray College Elementary and High School Laboratory School University (Laboratory) School Early Childhood Education Center (1976)	1928 (1-12) ? (K)	1928	1976 (1-12) ? (K)	T
Kentucky	University of Kentucky- Lexington Model High School (1918-1923) The University School (1923-1965)	1918 (9-10) 1919 (11-12) 1930 (PS-8)	1930	1960 (PS-K) 1962 (1-6) 1964 (7-11) 1965 (12)	T
Kentucky	Ursuline College- Louisville Sacred Heart Preschool Sacred Heart Model School Sacred Heart Academy	1925 (K-8) ? (PS) ? (9-12)	1955 1960	Still Open (PS-12)	T
Kentucky	Western Kentucky University- Bowling Green Training School	1924 (1 room) 1925 (K-12)	1925	1970 (K-12)	T
Mississippi	Alcorn A & M College HCBU- Alcorn	? (?)		1954	
Mississippi	Delta State College- Cleveland	? (?)		1957	
Mississippi	Jackson State College HBCU- Jackson State College Lab School	? (1-8)	1927 1965		T
Mississippi	Mississippi State College for Women- Columbus Demonstration School	1901 (1) 1907 (PS) 1926 (2-6) 1930 (9-12)	1925 1932 1950	2005	
Mississippi	Mississippi Valley State College HBCU- Mississippi Valley State	1950 or 1955	1955	?	
Mississippi	Mississippi Vocational College HBCU- Itta Bena L.S. Rogers Lab School	1955 (1-6)	1955		
Mississippi	University of Mississippi- Oxford Laboratory School Willie Price Lab School	? (?) c. 1977 (PS-K)		1963 (?)	
Mississippi	University of Southern Mississippi- Hattiesburg	? (?)		1960	
Louisiana	Grambling College HBCU- Grambling College Laboratory School	1954 (PS-12)	1954	2016 (PS-12) Became Charter School	
Louisiana	Louisiana Polytechnic Institute- Ruston A.E. Phillips Elementary School	1916 (PS-8)	1916 1930 1969	? (1-8) Still Open (PS-K)	
Louisiana	Louisiana State University- Baton Rouge Demonstration High School, n/k/a University Laboratory School	1915 (8-11) 1936 (1-6) 1945 (12)	1953 1964 1981 2004 2006	Still Open (1-12)	T
Louisiana	Northwestern State College- Natchitoches Northwestern Elementary School Northwestern Junior High School Northwestern High School	1921 (PS-6)	1934		
Louisiana	Southeastern Louisiana College- Hammond Southeastern Laboratory School	? (K-8)	1940	Still Open (K-8)	
Louisiana	Southern University HBCU- Baton Rouge Southern University School	1929 (K-12)	1957	? (?)	T

Louisiana	University of Southwestern Louisiana- Lafayette F.M. Hamilton Laboratory School	1939 (PS-8) Plans to reopen (1-6) as of 2018	1939 1945/46	1977 (PK-8)	
Oklahoma	Central State College- Edmond	? (?)		1962 (?)	
Oklahoma	East Central State College- Ada	? (?)		1960 (?)	
Oklahoma	Langston University- Langston	1937 (1-8)	1937	? (?)	
Oklahoma	Northeastern State College- Tahlequah	? (?)		1952 (?)	
Oklahoma	University of Oklahoma- Norman University School	1928 (K-12)	1942	? (?)	T
Tennessee	East Tennessee State University- Johnson City University School	1911 (1-12)	1929	?	
Tennessee	George Peabody College- Nashville Peabody Demonstration	1916 (PS-12)	1925 1929 1969	?	T
Tennessee	Memphis State University- Memphis Campus School	1923 (PS-6)	1963	1960 (7-9)	
Tennessee	Middle Tennessee State University- Murfreesboro College Laboratory School, n/k/a MTS Child Development School and Homer Pittard Campus School	1929 (1-8)	1929	Still Open (1-8) (Owned by MTSU and run by Rutherford County Schools)	
Tennessee	Southern Missionary College- Collegedale Arthur W. Spalding Elementary (1958) Collegedale Adventist Middle School (2010) Collegedale Academy (1916)	1916 (9-12) 1958 (1-6) 2010 (7-8)	1958 1969	Still Open (1-12)	
Tennessee	Tennessee Technical University- Cookeville Technical Training School	1939 (1-8)	1939 1969	?	
Texas	Abilene Christian College- Abilene Campus School	1906 (1-12)	1929 1954		T
Texas	Incarnate Word College- San Antonio Incarnate Word Academy (All girls)	1930 (K-6) 1932 (7-9)	1949 1956 1969 2003 2015 2016	? (K-6) Still Open (7-9)	
Texas	North Texas State University- Denton North Texas Laboratory School	1914 (K-9)	1940 1950	1970 (K-8) 1969 (9)	T
Texas	Our Lady of the Lake College- San Antonio Saint Martin Hall	1930 (K-9)	1930 1954	1938 (K-9)	
Texas	Prairie View A & M HBCU- Prairie View Campus Laboratory School	? (?)	1952		
Texas	Sam Houston State College- Huntsville	? (PS)	1968		
Texas	Southwestern Texas State University- San Marcos Campus Elementary School	1933 (K-6) ? (7-12)		1965 (K-12)	
Texas	Stephen F. Austin State College- Nacogdoches	? (PS) ? (6-8)		1950	
Texas	Texas A & M University- College Station	?		1939	
Texas	Texas Women's University- Denton Demonstration School	1941 (K-6)	1958	? (?)	

Table 6.5: South Atlantic Laboratory Schools by State

State	School	Date (Grades) Opened	Construction or Additions	Date (Grades) Closed	Tuition (1967)
Delaware	NA				
District of Columbia	District of Columbia Teachers College- Washington Truesdell Laboratory School LaSalle Laboratory School	1909 (K-6) 1954		1969 (1-6) ? (K)	
District of Columbia	Gallaudet College- Washington The Kendall School for the Deaf (ages 5-college entrance)	? (?)	1961	? (?)	T

Florida	Florida A & M University- Tallahassee University School	1919 (1-12)	1931/2 Elem. 1955 HS 1968	? (?)	T
Florida	Florida Atlantic University	1968 (K-9)	1968	? (?)	
Florida	Florida State University- Tallahassee The University School	1905 (K-12)	1953 1958	? (?)	T
Florida	University of Florida- Gainesville P.K. Yonge Laboratory School	1934 (K-12)	1958	? (?)	T
Florida	University of Miami- Coral Gables West Laboratory School	1955 (?)	1955 1956	? (?)	
Georgia	Albany State College- Albany Hazard Practice School	? (PS-7)	1957 1959	? (?)	
Georgia	Georgia Southern University- Statesboro Marvin Pittman School	1928 (K-12)	1938 1952	? (?)	
Georgia	University of Georgia- Athens	? (?)		1952 (?)	
Georgia	Women's College of Georgia- Milledgeville Peabody Laboratory School	1920 (PS-7)	1939	? (?)	
Maryland	Bowie State College- Bowie Charlotte Bronte Robinson Lab School	? (K-6)	1960	? (?)	
Maryland	Columbia Union- Tacoma Park Sligo Elementary School Takoma Academy	? (K-12)	 1937 1964	? (?) T	
Maryland	Coppin State- Baltimore Frances L. Murphy Lab School	? (?)	1961	? (?)	
Maryland	Frostburg State College- Frostburg Thomas G. Pullen School	1900 (1-8) 1960 (PS-K)	1958	1968 (PK-8)	
Maryland	Hood College- Frederick Hood College Nursery School	1921 (PS)	1921	? (?)	T
Maryland	Salisbury State College- Salisbury Campus Elementary School	1925 (K-6)	1955	1969 (K-6)	
Maryland	Towson State College- Baltimore Lida Lee Tall School	1866 (K-6)	1960	? (K-6)	
Maryland	University of Maryland- College Park University Nursery School and Kindergarten	1945 (PS-K) 1965 (1-2)	1965	? (?)	
North Carolina	Appalachian State Teachers College- Boone Appalachian Elementary and High School	? (1-12)	1931 1965	? (?)	
North Carolina	East Carolina University- Greeneville Wahl-Coates School	1936 (K-6)	1936 1970	? (?)	
North Carolina	Fayetteville State Teachers College- Fayetteville Newbold Training School	? (?)		? (?)	
North Carolina	University of North Carolina- Greensboro Curry Laboratory School	1893 (K-12)	1926 1961	? (?)	
North Carolina	Western Carolina University- Cullowhee McKee Laboratory School	1930 (1-12)	1961 1965	? (?)	
South Carolina	South Carolina State College- Orangeburg Felton Training School	1925 (K-8)	1920 1924 1964	? (?)	T
South Carolina	University of South Carolina- Columbia Campus Laboratory School	1932 (PS)	1969	? (?)	
South Carolina	Winthrop College- Rock Hill Winthrop Training School	? (PS) ? (K-12)	1890 1912 1939 1950	? (?)	T
Virginia	Hampton Institute- Hampton Hampton Institute Nongraded Laboratory School (Primary and Intermediate Units)	? (?)	1930 1969	? (?)	T
Virginia	Longwood College	1970 (K-7)	1970	? (?)	
Virginia	Madison College- Harrisonburg Anthony Seeger Campus School	1958 (K-6)	1958 1966	? (?)	T
Virginia	Radford College- Radford	? (?)		1961 (?)	
Virginia	Virginia State College- Petersburg Matoaca Laboratory (Elementary) School	? (K-6)	1940	? (?)	

West Virginia	Concord College	? (PS)	1968	? (?)	
West Virginia	Marshall University- Huntington University School	? (K-12)		? (?)	T
West Virginia	West Virginia University- Morgantown University High School	1925 (10-12)	1933	1971 (10-12)	T
West Virginia	West Virginia Wesleyan College- Buckhannon Kindergarten School	? (K)		? (?)	T

State Role

The role UK played in the Kentucky laboratory school movement was also atypical. For one thing, the establishment of both of UK's laboratory schools was voluntary, meaning the state government did not ask for it to be done, and it involved collaboration with outside entities, like the Lexington City Schools and the GEB. The establishment of the state's other public laboratory schools, which included the Kentucky State Laboratory School in Frankfort (1886 and 1893), Richmond Model Laboratory School at Eastern (1906), Breckinridge Training School at Morehead (1924), Bowling Green Training School at Western (1924), and Murray College Elementary and High School at Murray (1928), were mandated by the state government.

Table 6.6: Kentucky Laboratory Schools, Public and Private

Kentucky	Berea College- Berea Berea Foundation High School	1911 (9-12) ? (1-8)		1968 (1-12)	
Kentucky	Eastern Kentucky University- Richmond Model Laboratory School	1906 (K-12)	1961	Still Open	T
Kentucky	Kentucky State College HBCU- Frankfort Rosenwald Training School	1954 (1-8)		?	T
Kentucky	Morehead State College- Morehead Breckinridge Training School	1924 (K-12)	1930 1966	1982	T
Kentucky	Murray State University- College Station Murray College Elementary and High School	1928 (1-12)	1928	?	T
Kentucky	University of Kentucky- Lexington Model High School (1918-1923) The University School (1923-1965)	1918 (9-10) 1919 (11-12) 1930 (PS-8)	1930	1960 (PS-K) 1962 (1-6) 1964 (7-11) 1965 (12)	T
Kentucky	Ursuline College- Louisville Sacred Heart Preschool Sacred Heart Model School Sacred Heart Academy	1925 (K-8) ? (PS) ? (9-12)	1955 1960	Still Open	T
Kentucky	Western Kentucky University- Bowling Green Training School	1925 (K-12)	1925	?	T

Furthermore, although all but one public and private laboratory schools in Kentucky charged student tuition (*Table 6.6*), UK's University School supported the first four-year university program in Kentucky with curriculum to train educators in the fields of preschool, elementary,

junior high, and high school education (McVey, 1927, April 15, p. 7; Taylor, 1930, Mar., p. 5). From the time Kentucky established its public normal school system in 1906, the prominence of the University of Kentucky as the flagship state college had been protected by the state government. At first, it was given the special responsibility of training secondary teachers and school administrators for higher certificates and degrees, while the other normal schools were given the responsibility of training elementary school teachers pursuing lower-level certificates.

This intentional division of labor distinguished UK's laboratory schools from others in the state because it catered to more advanced teacher trainees. When the University School opened in 1930, UK also had the special responsibility of providing teacher training for all school levels, including advanced training to teach elementary (including preschool and kindergarten) and junior high school students. No other training school in Kentucky was equipped to provide advanced courses from every discipline from preschool to 12th grade.

When the institutional agenda for Kentucky began to shift and practice teaching was no longer the central focus, UK was the first Kentucky school to phase out its laboratory school to accommodate increased student enrollment in its College of Education. UK embraced a new role as the state's leader in new programs, educational research, and advanced degrees, while other state teacher training programs continued to operate their laboratory schools for several years.

The one thing UK's laboratory school shared with the other laboratory schools in the state was its closure and the reasons that compelled its closure. UK's University School permanently closed in 1965, and eventually all but three of Kentucky's other laboratory schools also closed. The private Berea Foundation High School controlled by Berea College closed in 1968 after operating for 113 years. The Bowling Green Training School at Western closed in 1970, the University School at Murray closed in 1976, and the Breckinridge Training School at Morehead closed in 1982. The Model Laboratory School at Richmond and what is now called the Rosenwald

Center for 4-H Youth Development at Kentucky State continue to operate, as does the private Sacred Heart Academy, which was established at Ursaline College in 1925.

Like UK, the state universities cited the cost of maintaining an on-campus laboratory school and the desire to pursue research and other programs as the primary reasons for closing their schools. All of the laboratory school students were absorbed into county systems of public schools. It is not clear how the other Kentucky schools dealt with laboratory school employees who were displaced by the closures, but a study by McNabb (1973) found that state universities were more likely to absorb the staff elsewhere in the institution, while 83% of state colleges dismissed their staff or the staff joined the faculty at a local public school (p. 49). UK fit this pattern because when the laboratory school was closed, the university felt it had a "moral obligation" to absorb the laboratory school's experienced staff elsewhere in the university, and it also assisted "relative newcomers" to the school faculty find employment in other schools (Board of Trustees, 1964, Apr. 30, p. 5).

The University School and Education in the South

It is Kentucky's educational history, not the role of UK's laboratory school in the regional laboratory school movement, that provides evidence of education in the South lagging behind the rest of the nation. The timeline of educational development and reform in Kentucky shows that it was one of the southern states whose poverty prevented its public school system from developing with the rest of the nation. Furthermore, Kentucky was one of the beneficiaries of targeted efforts by southern state government and northern philanthropists to improve educational opportunities in poor rural areas. The GEB's recommendation that UK turn its Department of Education into a full College of Education was based on the idea that, if the university could train better teachers and administrators, those educators could transform the system from the inside out. The GEB's report also provided UK President McVey the opportunity

to hire men like William Taylor, who had strong connections to the national network of administrative progressives and could bring to Kentucky the "national vision and professionalism" McVey knew would transform UK into the modern southern university he envisioned (see Moyen, 2011).

Implications to Modern Educational Policy

The history of UK's laboratory school provides two important insights to help guide future educational policy decisions:

(1) Unlike laboratory training programs provided in in fields like law, medicine, and engineering, teacher training programs will remain less valued by institutions of higher education because, outside of student tuition, they provide no viable opportunities for colleges and universities to gain a return on their investment. A cost-benefit analysis will always result in resources being directed to profitable ventures, and the altruistic motives behind public education are not enough for it to compete with other professional programs.

(2) In the field of education, programs and initiatives with an insular focus, like maintaining a laboratory school for the sake of convenience and institutional status, will fail when space and money become scarce commodities. The only way to assure the survival of educational initiatives is to remain relevant, which demands a constant outward focus on the needs of the community and a willingness to adapt programs to evolving social conditions.

APPENDICES

LEADERSHIP

University of Kentucky

James Kennedy Patterson (President) 1869-1910
Henry Stites Barker (President) 1911-1917
Frank LeRond McVey (President) 1917-1940
Herman Lee Donovan (President) 1941-1956
Frank Graves Dickey (President) 1956-1963
John Wieland Oswald (President) 1963-1968
Albert Dennis Kirwan (President) 1968-1969
Otis Arnold Singletary (President) 1969-1987
David Paul Roselle (President) 1987-1989
Charles T. Wethington Jr. (President) 1990-2001
Lee Trover Todd Jr. (President) 2001-2011
Eli Capilouto (President) 2011-present

UK College of Education

Maurice Kirby (Principal of the Normal School) 1880-1886
J.R. Potter (Principal of the Normal School) 1886-1889
Ruric Nevel Roark (Principal of AMCK Normal School) 1890-1905
Milford White (Principal of AMCK Normal School) 1905-1908
James Thomas Cotton Noe (Interim Dean of SU Department of Education) 1908-1909
Lewis F. Snow (Dean of SU Teachers College) 1909-1911
James Thomas Cotton Noe (Dean of SU Teachers College) 1911-1911
James Thomas Cotton Noe (Head of Dept. of Education in College of Arts and Sciences) 1911-1923
William Septimus Taylor (1st Dean) 1923-1949
Frank Graves Dickey (2nd Dean) 1949-1956
Lyman V. Ginger (3rd Dean) 1956-1967
George Denemark (4th Dean) 1967-1982
Edgar L. Sagan (5th Dean) 1982-1990
J. John Harris III (6th Dean) 1990-1995
Shirley S. Raines (7th Dean) 1995-2001
Dean Sagan (interim dean) 2001-2002
James G. Cibulka (8th Dean) 2002-2008
Rosetta F. Sandidge (interim dean) 2008-2009
Mary John O'Hair (9th Dean) 2009-2018
Rosetta F. Sandidge (interim dean) 2018-2019
Julian Vasquez Heilig (10th Dean) 2019- present

UK's Laboratory Schools (Model High School and University School)

Fred C. Walters (Director of Practice School) 1918-1919
Ernest Richard Wood (Principal) 1919-1921
Harold Pierce Fling (Principal) 1921-1924
Moses Edward Ligon (Principal) 1924-1926; 1927-1930
Albert B. Crawford (Acting Principal while Ligon on leave) 1926-1927
Sherman Gideon Crayton (Director) 1930-1935
J.D. Williams (Director) 1935-1942
Ellis F. Hartford (Director) 1942-1943
Jesse D. Adams (Director) 1943 (Fall semester)
Lyman V. Ginger (Director) 1944-1954
Morris Berdyne Cierley (Director) 1954-1958
Erwin H. Sasman (Director) 1958-1960
James H. Powell (Director) 1960-1964

TIMELINE

Important Events in the Early Years of UK's College of Education and the Lifespan of its Laboratory School	
1880	- Agricultural and Mechanical College of Kentucky (AMCK) establishes Normal School housed in Masonic Building near Woodland Estate - Professor Maurice Kirby appointed Principal of the Normal School
1882	- Normal School moves from Masonic Building to Main Building, l/k/a Administration Building
1886	- J.R. Potter appointed Principal of the Normal School
1888	- Alex L. Peterman appointed Principal of the Normal School
1890	- Ruric Nevel Roark appointed Principal of the Normal School - AMCK Normal School adopts a full college curriculum for the degree of Bachelor of Pedagogy
1900s	- Lexington and Louisville Superintendents of Schools grant AMCK Normal School seniors and graduate students access to high schools for classroom observation; practice teaching opportunities are rare
1905	- Milford White appointed Principal of the Normal School
1906	- AMCK Normal School adopts curriculum for the degrees of Bachelor of Arts in Education and Bachelor of Science in Education
1907	- AMCK Normal School moves to a newly constructed Education Building, l/k/a Frazee Hall
1908	- AMCK renamed State University - Normal School becomes State University (SU) Department of Education and gains collegiate rank to issue teaching certificates signed by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction - AMCK Normal School Principal Milford White dies - James Thomas Cotton Noe appointed Interim Dean of SU Department of Education
1909	- SU Department of Education renamed SU Teachers College - Lewis F. Snow appointed Dean of SU Teachers College
1911	- Henry Stites Barker appointed President of SU - James Thomas Cotton Noe appointed Dean of SU Teachers College - SU Teachers College replaced by the SU Department of Education within the College of Arts and Sciences - James Thomas Cotton Noe appointed Head of SU Department of Education - Teachers College at Columbia University guarantees SU Department of Education graduates admission to its *Artium Magister* (A.M.) degree program
1916	- State University renamed the University of Kentucky (UK)
1917	- Frank LeRond McVey appointed President of UK
1918	- (September) UK Department of Education and Lexington Board of Education partner to establish the Kentucky State Model High School. City Superintendent M.A. Cassidy selects pupils and pays for five teachers; UK selects principal [Fred C. Walters] and provides the building. The school houses approximately 135 students in grades 9 and 10 on the second and third floors of the Education Building, but the school's first year is "materially affected by [the] influenza epidemic and other conditions" (UK Board of Trustees, 1919, June 17, p. 12). - Fred C. Walters appointed "Superintendent/Director" (Principal) of Model High School - UK Department of Education and Fayette County School Board agree to use Picadome High School as a practice center for agricultural teachers
1919	- UK Department of Education gains complete control of Model High School and expands the curriculum to include grades 11 and 12 - Ernest Richard Wood appointed Principal of Model High School - Tuition set at $25 per year
1921	- Tuition raised to $40 per year (UK Board of Trustees, 1921, May 4, p. 10) - (September) General Education Board issues an unfavorable survey about Kentucky schools

	- Student enrollment at Model High School is 87 (UK Board of Trustees, 1922, Apr. 4, p. 5)
1922	- Harold Pierce Fling appointed Principal of Model High School
1923	- UK Department of Education and UK Department of Vocational Education merge into the UK College of Education - William Septimus Taylor appointed first Dean of the UK College of Education - Model High School renamed University High School
1924	- Moses Edward Ligon appointed Principal of University High School
1925	- UK College of Education partners with Boards of Education at Versailles and Georgetown to provide practice experiences for home economics teachers - City Schools of Lexington partner with UK College of Education to plan the construction of a junior and senior high school for city children that would be under the control of the University; City Schools of Lexington offer $200,000
1926	- Albert B. Crawford appointed Acting Principal of the University School while Principal Ligon is on a one-year leave - (9 April) Dean Taylor petitions Dr. Frank P. Bachman for $200,000 from the General Education Board to build a university junior and senior high school
1927	- (25 February) UK President Frank L. McVey sends Dr. Abraham Flexner a memorandum petitioning the General Education Board for $200,000 to build an experimental and practice school for the College of Education - (15 April) UK President Frank L. McVey sends Dr. Abraham Flexner a revised memorandum petitioning the General Education Board for $300,000 (the estimated cost) to build an experimental and practice school for the College of Education - (9 June) General Education Board Secretary W.W. Brierly notifies Dr. Frank L. McVey that the GEB agreed to appropriate "a sum not to exceed $150,000" to the UK College of Education - (22 September) Dr. McVey notifies Secretary Brierly that the UK Board of Trustees accepted the GEB offer of $150,000 and will petition the Kentucky State Legislature for an additional $150,000
1928	- (March) Kentucky General Assembly grants $150,000 to UK College of Education for the construction of a Teacher's Training School - (June 9) City of Lexington donates 12.64 acres of Scovell Park, the former city dump, to UK for the Teacher's Training School - Lexington City School Board agrees to pay salaries for kindergarten through 8th grade teachers in exchange for UK accepting 25 city children into each of those grade levels - (November) UK Board of Trustees seeks bids for the construction of the Teacher Training School and subsequently awards the contract to J.F. Hardyman Construction Company of Maysville, Kentucky
1930	- (March) Kentucky General Assembly grants $75,000 for furniture and equipment for the Teacher's Training School - Sherman Gideon Crayton appointed Directors of the University School - (September) UK College of Education occupies the Teacher Training School, which has approximately 862,000 cubic feet of space, covers almost two acres, and cost a total of $324,000, less furnishings and equipment - (September 11) School starts for preschool through senior high school students enrolled at the University School (204 in the elementary division and 171 in the high school division) - Elementary division operates under the supervision of May K. Duncan, graduate of Teachers College at Columbia University - (October 24) UK Teacher Training School dedicated on the first day of the Kentucky Education Association (KEA) Conference hosted at UK
1935	- J.D. Williams appointed Director of University School
1936	- Kentucky Council of Higher Education designates UK to specialize in graduate education while the State Teachers Colleges in Richmond, Bowling Green, Morehead, and Murray focus on undergraduate teacher training

1938	- UK Buildings and Grounds uses Works Progress Administration laborers to construct a new elementary school play area with a combined football and hockey field behind it, two softball diamonds, horseshoe courts, a badminton court, and four paddle tennis courts. On the property west of the school across Scott Street, they added yet another football and hockey field, two softball diamonds, and six tennis courts (*Figure 5.1*) (Brown, 1938, Apr. 28, p. 4).
1940	- Frank LeRond McVey retires as President of UK
1941	- Herman Lee Donovan appointed President of UK - University-wide goals shift toward research
1942	- Ellis F. Hartford appointed Director of University School - The yearly cost of educating one student at the University School is $189 per high school student and $108 per elementary student, exclusive of the costs of the building and its upkeep. Tuition pays 35% of the cost; state funds pay the remaining 65%. (U-Hi Lights Staff, 1942, Oct. 1, p. 2)
1943	- (Fall) Jesse D. Adams appointed Director of University School - (Spring) Lyman V. Ginger appointed Director of University School - (Fall) UK College of Education expands its requirements to include observation, participation, and directed teaching both in the University School and in "schools of nearby communities" (University of Kentucky, 1943-1944, p. 97)
1944	- (Spring) College of Education Dean Taylor, with the support of UK President Donovan, submits "A Plan for Reorganizing and Extending the Services of the College of Education" to the UK Board of Trustees. The plan includes a recommendation to close the University School. - (June 2) Strong and unexpected community backlash convinces President Donovan to remove the recommendation to close the University School at that time. - Lyman V. Ginger appointed Director of UK's Teacher Training School
1948	- American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE, f/k/a AATC) adopted a new Standard VI, which recommended institutions operate one or more college-controlled laboratory schools for teacher training purposes
1949	- Death of College of Education Dean William Septimus Taylor - Frank Graves Dickey appointed Acting Dean of UK's College of Education - UK's Teacher Training School renamed the William S. Taylor Education Building - Desegregation of UK graduate programs; University School enrollment remains exclusively white
1953	- Death of James Thomas Cotton Noe
1954	- Morris Berdyne Cierley appointed Director of UK's Teacher Training School - Desegregation of UK undergraduate programs; University School enrollment remains exclusively white - Report of Kentucky Superintendent of Public Instruction identifies low teacher salaries as reason for Kentucky teacher shortage since 1940. It also indicated 12,035 teachers quit and only 900 new teachers requested certificates, and 9% of high school teachers and 13.5% of elementary teachers in Kentucky lacked training and were teaching with emergency certificates.
1955	- (June) 16-year-old Helen Cary Caise enrolls in summer school at Lafayette High School and becomes the first black student to attend a white school in Fayette County; University School enrollment remains exclusively white
1956	- Frank Graves Dickey appointed President of UK - Lyman V. Ginger appointed Dean of UK College of Education - (Fall) Lexington's Dunbar High School (formerly black) and Henry Clay High School (formerly white) operate as the city's first integrated "schools of choice"
1957	- Dean Ginger reports overcrowding and suggests closing the University School kindergarten or high school; no action is taken but the UK Board of Trustees remains open to closing the recommendations.

	- Desegregation of UK campus dormitories; University School enrollment remains exclusively white
1959	- Erwin R. Sasman appointed Director of University School - Elementary tuition raised from $40 to $50 per semester to match high school tuition rate
1960	- James H. Powell appointed Director of University School - (March 16) UK Board of Trustees close the University School kindergarten effective 1 Sep 1960
1961	- University School tuition raised to $55/semester
1962	- (Apr. 3) UK Board of Trustees close the University School elementary division (grades 1-6) effective at the end of the school year - Only 6% of UK's student teachers utilize the University School
1963	- John Wieland Oswald appointed President of UK - Construction begins on the three-story Frank G. Dickey Education Annex located immediately behind the Taylor Education Building facing Scott Street
1964	- (April 30) Report reveals University School cost the college $192,000 per year-- $159,000 in teacher salaries, $5,500 in social security taxes, and $38,000 to maintain the building. Only $15,390 is covered by student tuition and $177,000[37] is covered using state appropriations. The yearly cost to educate one student at the University School is $1,040, which is two and a half times the $400 it costs to educate one student in Kentucky's public high schools. - (May 12) UK Board of Trustees close the high school division (grades 7-12) of the University School effective at the end of the school year; an exception is made to allow 33 students to return to finish their senior year in 1964-1965 - (Fall) Frank G. Dickey Education Annex opens with two graduate classrooms, 12 regular classrooms, an observation room for education classes, 49 offices, several reception areas, and facilities for the Education Library and the Bureau of School Services
1965	- (June 4) University School graduates its last class of 33 seniors and closes completely - UK signs its first African American football recruit

[37] Based on the income and expenditures listed, the amount adds up to $187,110.

SPORTS AND ORGANIZATIONS/PROGRAMS

The following Sports and Organizations/Programs were offered at some point in the laboratory school's history

KENTUCKY STATE MODEL HIGH SCHOOL, L/K/A UNIVERSITY HIGH (1918-1930)

Sports

Athletic Association	Girls' Basketball	Football
Baseball	Track	Girls' Basketball
Boys' Basketball	Boys' Basketball	Tennis
Football		

Organizations

Model High Forum	Model High Orchestra	Model High School Trio
Model High Girl Scouts	Model High Players, aka Dramatics Club	Mohian (Model High yearbook)
Model High Index (newspaper)	Model High Radio Roll	

UNIVERSITY SCHOOL (1930-1965)

Sports

Baseball	Football	Jr. High Cheerleader
Bowling	Girls' Basketball	Swimming
Boys' Basketball, a/k/a "Big Purples"	Golf	Tennis
Boys' Softball	Intramurals	Track
Cheerleader	Jr High Boys' Basketball, aka "Little Purples"	Volleyball

Organizations

4-H	Home Economics Club, a/k/a "Les Jeunes Cuisinieres"	Purple and White (high school yearbook)
Art Club	Honor System Council	Radio Play
Band	Inter-Faith Youth Council	Regional Speech Festival/Contest
Beta Club	Jr. High Pep Club	Safety Patrol
Bible Study	Jr. High Student Government	Senior Play
Boys' Glee Club	Junior Prom	Service Flag Committee
Boys' State	Junior Rotarian	Social Committee
Boys' Victory Corps	Little Choir	Spanish Club
Christmas Program Reader	Mardi Gras/Mardi Gras Court	Speech Class Play
Convocation Committee	Masque & Gavel	Speech Club
DAR Good Citizenship Pilgrimage	Masque & Gavel Talent Show	Sportsman Club
French Club	Mixed Chorus	Stamp Club
German Band, a/k/a "Der Choimun Band"	Modern Dance	State Speech Festival/Contest
Girl Reserves Club	National Congress	Student Council
Girls' Glee Club	National Honor Society	Student Government
Girls' State	Orchestra	U Club
Girls' Victory Corps	Outing Club	Uhian (high school yearbook)
Glee Club	Pep Club	U-Hi Lights (newspaper)
Hi-Y Club	Photography Club	Y-Teens (Anna Browning Peck Chapter)
Homecoming Program		

UK LABORATORY SCHOOL GRADUATES (1918-1965)

Class of 1919

* Model High School did not have 11th or 12th grade students its inaugural year.

Class of 1920

Bowmar, Daniel "Dan" Mayes (Secretary & Treasurer)
Shelby, William "Bill" Taggert Jr. (President)
Vaught, Elizabeth Walton

Class of 1921

Anglin, Edward (Treasurer)
Berry, George Thomas "Tom"
Bradley, Emmett (President)
Buckles, Maurice
Curtis, Rollin Lysander
Fennell, Thomas A.
Foster, Louise Franklin (Secretary)
Fuller, Katherine Louise
Graves, George Keene (Vice President)
Greathouse, Elizabeth Gene
Lampert, Jeanette
McVey, Frank LeRond Jr.
Michler, George John
Michler, Herman Trost
Mills, Melbourne
Monroe, Dorothy
Smedley, Emily "Louise"
Smith, Margaret Porter
Webb, John William
Wells, Helen Stone
Wilson, Holman

Class of 1922

Baker, Margaret
Beard, Nancy Byran
Bradley, Joseph J. "Joe"
Bullock, John
Dale, Elizabeth "Betty" (Treasurer)
Endell, Dorothy
Featherstone, Nancy
Ginocchio, Alfonso L. "Al"
Greathouse, Carolyn "Carrie"
Hopkins, Talbert
Kendall, Irene
Lampert, Marcia
Mathews, Martha Mitchell
McVey, Janet
Noe, Rowena
Ott, John
Pates, Jack
Reynolds, Ernest M. "Bernie"
Rice, Hamilton "Ham"
Schuler, Archie D.
Sharpe, Josephine "Jo"
Shouse, Christine
Sindell, Ralph
Smith, Gus (President)
Spencer, Blanche
Steele, Hal
Sutton, John
Thomas, Lawrence
Thompson, Burnley
Triplett, S.B. "Bony"

Class of 1923

Bartram, Clifford "Cliff"
Blackburn, Wilbert (Treasurer)
Blocker, Carl
Boyd, Virginia
Edmonds, Jefferson "Jeff"
Feese, Louis
Flesher, Earl
Furlong, Nellie
Giles, Rowlett
Gorman, Bernard
Hagar, Milton
Hall, Nat
Heizer, Virginia
Luigart, Lawrence
Malick, Chester
McGlone, Ormond
McGuffey, Pat
Moloney, R.P.
Morgan, Ethel
Murphy, James
Myers, Sarah
Ragland, Alice
Sims, Benham
Smith, Arminta
Taylor, Marshall
Treacy, Roger
Watkins, William
Whitehead, Kyle
Willet, Judson

Class of 1924

Brock, William "Willie" Bass (Treasurer, Salutatorian)
Delcher, Ann
Featherstone, Evalee
Furlong, Septa
Hulett, James Allen Jr.
Jeorg, Harry V.
Jones, Nancy Morgan (Vice President)
Luxon, Mary Wilgus
Mauser, Kenneth Edwin
McKinney, Jane
Michler, Charles Sidney
Miles, LeRoy Mitchel (Valedictorian)
Mills, Emmett William
Moise, Matt "Haden"
Neff, Leslie Clayton
O'Rear, Harry
Root, Lewis Van Pelt
Shannon, Blanche "Louise"
Shoemaker, William "Frye" (President)
Skinner, Adrian
Smith, Catherine "Kitty" Wrenn (Secretary)
Stivers, Katie Mae
Stokes, Robert "Bob" Glenn
Thompson, Lucian
Thompson, Wayne

Class of 1925

Bain, Warren Lee
Bureau, Elise Adele
Burk, Joseph "Joe"
Castella, Eva
Dameron, Laura
Evans, Stanford "Stan" Frederick (Class Officer)
Fields, LeRoy William
Giles, John Arvin
Harrison, Mary "Elizabeth"
Heizer, William "Bill" Lucien (Class Officer)
Herren, Mary Elizabeth
Honaker, Ollie Samuel
Hubbard, Estil
Hurst, Dorethea
Kautz, Mary Margaret
Smith, Elizabeth Jennings (Class Officer)
Turner, Rebecca Lewis
Walker, Thelma Adelia
Wells, Anzo "Nettie"
Wiemann, Ferdinand Aloysius (Class Officer)
Wrenn, Robert "Bob"
Zwick, Ernest

Class of 1926

Boling, Richard
Brewer, Richard

Carpenter, Morris
Congleton, Vernon
Delcher, Jesse
Dorman, James
Eyl, Bernard Anthony
Flannery, Hershel
Gallaher, John
Gormley, Pat
Heneger, Charles
Huffman, Ruby
Jones, Thomas
LaGrew, Embry
Laughlin, Jess
Lovern, Dorothy
McFarland, Ruth
McGuire, Mattie
Price, William
Smith, Warren
Weber, Lewis J.
White, Beverly
Whitehouse, Edna,
Willis, Gordon
Wright, Nickie

Class of 1927

Atkins, Helen
Baucom, Hazel
Bradley, Lassere
Dimock, Phoebe
Duncan, Elizabeth
Fields, Wallace,
Forsythe, James
Gay, Douglas
Howard, Mose
Hubbard, Hazel
Huff, Bret
Jewell, Asa
Mills, Mary
Roberts, Raymond
Scarborough, Ruth
Steers, Fred
Thompson, Robert
Williams, Harold
Zink, Fred

Class of 1928

Anderson, Lindson Pryor
Block, Manuel
Calvert, Mildred
Dickerson, Myra
Downing, Dorothy
Duncan, Elan
Gold, Harold
Hardin, Ann
Hayden, Allie
Hoover, Andrew
Howard, Smith
Linuille, Gussie
McKinney, Ruth
Milton, Lester
Pearlman, Burram
Stewart, Charles
Ware, Lucy
Williams, Graddy

Class of 1929

Crouch, Owen
Fitzgerald, Tom
Gentry, Raymond
Hardin, Mary Logan
Johnston, Bob
Lacy, Price
Lyon, Betty
McKenna, Richard
Owsley, Tom
Rogers, Holman
Thompson, M.M.
Tolle, Elizabeth
Ware, Clifton

Class of 1930

Angelucci, Ralph
Baker, William
Calico, Burton
Calvert, Emmett
Collis, Josephine
Hartin, Virginia “Jinny”
Hedges, Leroy
Howard, Turner
Jefferson, Margaret (Treasurer)
Ketron, Paul
Kravitz, Rebecca
Mollere, Lucille
Morris, Margaret
Murphy, O.B. (Historian)
Patrick, Bobby
Polk, Myrtle
Robinson, Lois
Sandefur, Hugh (Secretary)
Schuler, Francis
Sparks, Malcolm
Traynor, Harry (President)
Vanarsdall, Billy
Wieman, Mary (Vice President)
Williams, Kathryn

Class of 1931

Anderson, Lester
Baker, Jack
Bishop, Edgar (President)
Boyd, Bettie
Brend, Mary Agnes
Brown, Marion
Cavanaugh, Melvin
Clifton, Dorothy
Congleton, Sara
Glass, Kemper (Vice President)
Heizer, Mary
Holmes, Mildred
Howard, Jack
Longley, Frank L.
Marrs, E.F.
McKenna, Kathryn
Rhoads, Harold
Roberson, Oldham (Treasurer)
Scott, Leslie
Shipley, Byron
Shipley, Russell
Shropshire, Virginia
Spaulding, Charles
Stewart, Carolyn (Secretary)
Vaughn, Cotter (Historian)
Welch, Howard
Williams, Dorothy
Yankey, William

Class of 1932

Baucom, Billie (Secretary)
Calloway, Katherine Laudeman
Dougherty, Alice
Downing, Hallie
Dunn, Mary Elizabeth “Lib”
Elder, Robert “Bob”
Fisher Jr., William Carroll
Frantz, Helen
Galloway, William
Griffith, David “Dave” (President)
Hendren, J.C.
Henrick, Ruth Adele
Holland, Cora
Irvine, James “Jimmie” Bosworth (Historian)
Kelly, Ruth
Ligon, Champ
Little, Raymond (Vice President)
Monaghan, William “Billy” (Treasurer)
Nicholls, Mary Elizabeth
Nunnelley, Eva May
Olney, Charles
Pearson, Roberta Dunham
Pumphrey, Joe
Randall, Charles
Vaughan, Frank
Wallace, James “Mike”
Wells, Virgil
Wilson, Anne Lewis

Class of 1933

Allen, Martha

Barnes, James
Calhoun, Nanuerle
Denniston, Billy
Dunn, Mary Lackey
Ferguson, Joe
Frantz, Mary Katherine
Fugazzi, Fred
Gorman, Mildred
Houston, Bill
Kilpatrick, Morgan
Leggett, James
Little, Edith
Longley, Selden
Mahan, Kitty
Nichols, Dorothy
Randall, David
Redmon, Billy
Robinson, Virginia
Steers, John
Turner, Jane
White, Gibson

Class of 1934

Belt, Jeanne Patterson "Pat"
Boyers, John
Brack, Frances
Breckinridge, Ethelbert "Eck"
Chambers, John
Cooley, Alyce
Fish, Robert "Bob"
Foley, Mary Lewis
Freeman, Jane (Secretary)
Kelly, Dudley (Treasurer)
Koppius, Mary Elizabeth
Kremer, Kadell
Mahan, Lloyd
McKenna, Mary Louise
Meyer, Marie "Bunny"
Milward, Hendree "Milard"
Olney, Robert "Bob"
Pemberton, Sally
Rose, Billie
Shropshire, Carrick
Snyder, Robert
Stilz, Robert "Bob" C.
Walton, Sam "Sammy"
Welch, Jane
Wiedeman, George S. "Hope" (President)
Wunderlich, Dot "Dottie"

Class of 1935

Bergron, Constance
Brooking, Harold
Byrd, Ethel
Cassell, William
Chambers, Ann
Colbert, Richard
Conner, Carl
Curtis, Thomas
Dimock, Gladys
Ferguson, Mary
Fox, Mary Carol
Gratz, Warfield
Kelley, Charles
Landrum, Charles
Moody, Charles
Nicholls, Louise
Potter, Jane
Preston, Christopher
Rankin, Carroll
Rose, Maurine
Shipp, Barbara Allen
Sparks, Sue D.
Steward, Margaret
Stiltz, Mary Ann
Vaughan, Lucy
Woolcott, Dorothy

Class of 1936

Bermudez, Diomedes R.
Bermudez, Wilfredo
Brown, Leigh Douglas
Candioto, Joe
Cassell, Mary Frances
Coover, Billy
Elam, Norman
Elsey, Anna Louise
Ewan, Evelyn Rice
Gabbard, Edward
Harrison, Helen (Secretary)
Harrison, Ruth
Hellard, Virgil
Hisey, Virginia
Hockaday, Minta Anne
Johnston, Preston
Meierdirks, Catherine
Mitchell, Martha
Mohney, Ralph Wilson
Nichols, Julian
Offutt, Elizabeth
Overstreet, Willard (President)
Peak, Ruth
Pirkey, Fannie Bell
Sageser, David
Still, Frances
Stokes, Jimmy
Triplett, Austin
Valleau, Ed
Weil, Jayne (Treasurer)
Wiedeman, Naomi
Williams, Roy (Vice President)

Class of 1937

Adams, William "Billy" Randolph (Treasurer)
Belt, Hunter Cherrington "Billy"
Brack, Virginia
Bradley, Evelyn
Candioto, Charles
Conant, Mary Wolcott
Courtney, John Upington
Fergus, Janet Ann
French, Jesse K.
Galloway, Louise
Garber, Constance
Garrett, Wilmore (President)
Horlacher, Helen
James, Mary
Johnston, Robert Wickliffe (Vice President)
Lucas, Louise Marie
Luigart, Mary Katherine
McGaughey, Alice
McInteer Jr., B.B.
McIntosh, Eula Vere
Mitchell, Betty
Poole Jr., George L.
Randall, Marcia Page
Stapp, James M.
Swope, William Richards
Thomson, Dawes
Valleau, Marion
White Jr., William "Bill"

Class of 1938

Bennett, Charles Bentley
Brown, Margaret Haynes
Conant, Caroline Patrick
Dupre, Vladimir Anderson
Ewan, Louise Mitchell
Galloway, Donald "Don" Norman
Gorman, Wilma
Graves, Arthur Clore
Hardy, Mary Howardd
Hicks, Elizabeth Hicks
Hupp, Robert Elmer
Marlowe, James Robert
Martin, Robert Duncan
Maugans, Russell Morton
Pepiot, Betty Gene
Pierson, Mildred Lee
Preston, Dorothy
Price Jr., Hugh Bruce
Ramsey, Lloyd Hamilton
Robinson, Hermon Clayton
Sanders, Carola Belle
Stokes, Mary Louise
Wigginton, Elizabeth Belmont
Wyatt, Angeline Hartzell

Class of 1939

Boone, Wheeler
Bourne, Jean
Boyd, Katherine “Kay”
Caddy, Sam
Coons, Roy
Cooper, Catherine (Secretary)
Courtney, Robert “Bobby”
Daniel, Richard (Vice President)
Dew, Betty
Drummy, Jack (Treasurer)
Hall, Sonny
Hanks, Lee
Harrison, John
Hord, Richard “Dick” (President)
Lathrem, Harold
Magruder, Jane
Meyer, Andre “A.J.”
Michler, Charles Harris
Mohney, Glenn
Monarch, Dan
Moody, Tom
Poole, Tom
Price, Glenn
Secrest, Howard
Trapp, Claude
Van Hooser, Jane
Vinson, Emmagene
Webb, Marianne
Williams, Frances
Wilson, Atlee

Class of 1940

Botts, Seth (Treasurer)
Brown, G. Bedford
Cowgill, Ann
Daniel, Jane
Ellison, Margaret
Friedman, Ester
Koppell, Audree
Marshall, Dan
McFarlan, Arthur
McGaughey, Claude
McInteer, Sarah
Meyer, Bob
Miller, Harry
Miller, Mildred (Secretary)
Papania, Sam (Vice President)
Peak, Nixie (President)
Pirkey, Marion
Reed, Buddy
Rodgers, George
Sawin, Lewis
Trapp, David
Tutt, Nancy
Valandingham, J.L.
Woolcott, Nelson
Young, Emily

Class of 1941

Arnspiger, Dick
Bailer, Nancy
Baily, Anna
Brown, Buddy
Carmichael, Doris
Collins, Bob
Conant, Edith
Daley, Mary
Dupre, John
Earnest, Ruth
Field, Frances
Foley, Julia
Gabbert, Billy
Hockaday, Billy
Hollingsworth, Don
Holt, Bill
Knapp, Betsy
Knight, Emily
Liebel, Fritzie
McConnell, Jane
McCracken, Ralph
Meyer, Lucy
Meyers, Marvin
Miller, Mary
Morris, Jimmy
Mulder, John
Mylor, Mary Beale
Nichols, Lelia
P’Bannon, Ellen
Pennebaker, John
Phipps, Jean
Price, Preston
Randall, Susan
Robie, Carroll
Shropshire, Edmund
Smith, Lorraine
Stokes, Margaret
Thomas, Jane
Valleau, Jean
Wachs, Fred
Whitehouse, Mary
Wyatt, Sim

Class of 1942

Adams, Jesse
Allen, Bettye
Banahan, Steve
Brown, Betty (Secretary)
Brown, Ewing (Treasurer)
Brown, Franklin
Bucher, Jack
Buckley, Ben
Buckner, Sally
Bureau, Jeanne
Chambers, Bill
Daniel, Frances
Dillon, Dick
Dimock, Ruth (Vice President)
Embry, Bill
Fenimore, Sue
Gallaher, Mary Jane
Gonochio, Betty Ann
Howard, Dick
Huey, Samuel “Sammy”
Knight, Dorothy
Marr, Maybelle
Marshall, Ellen
McFarland, Mary
Miller, Fred
Moler, Bob
Moore, Mildred
O’Brien, Robert
Patterson, Mary Elizabeth
Poole, Don
Reed, Bill
Rhodes, Billy Mac
Shely, Dick
Shely, Patsy
Stern, Irvine
Taylor, Nancy
Thomas, Caroline
Thompson, Marie
Wagers, Sam (President)
Willmott, Grace

Class of 1943

Adams, Mary
Bigge, Adolph
Carroll, Helen
Coleman, Jean
Congleton, Ann
Cowgill, Billy
Errickson, Jane
Field, Jack
Gifford, Mary Elizabeth
Gorham, Harry
Griffin, Pat (Junior Prom Queen)
Grimes, Mary Jane (Vice President)
Hammet, Lawrence “Larry”
Hollingsworth, Dorcas
Hollingsworth, Hall
Horine, Sherman
Ingels, Lafon
Kirk, Lalla Rookh
Leach, Frank
Linney, Martha
Marlowe, John (President)
Masters, Sara Frances
McCaw, Marion
Miller, Edward
Miller, Roger (Secretary)
Miracle, Mattie

Mulder, Herbert
Murphy, Ray
Rice, Barbara
Savage, Logan
Silas, Carolyn
Simpson, Larry
Van Meter, Baylor
Van Meter, Solly (Treasurer)

Class of 1944

Allen, William Henry
Asbury, Thomas Haley
Beebe Jr., Morris Wilson (Vice President)
Brumfield, Mary Esther
Carter, Elizabeth Ann
Clark, Jane Hunt
Crutchfield, Martha Anderson
Evans, Patricia
Foushee, Henry Gilbert
Fugazzi, Jane Margaret
Graves, Jacob Hughes
Horlacher, Frances Thomas
Jacobson, Juanita
Karsner, Patsy Jean
LeStourgeon, Dianne Elizabeth
Lewis, Eva LaRue
Marlow, Gene Carlton
Marshall, Greenberry Simmons
McMeekin, Carolyn Craig
Morton, David Leonard
Mullineaux, Floye Avis
O'Hare, Nancy Katherine
Park, Elizabeth Ridgely
Powers, Paul Robbins
Rhoads, Betty Ree
Ritchie, Glenna Laura (Secretary)
Sageser, Betty Barrow
Schneider, Arthur Patrick
Scott, Betty Sue
Scott Jr., Harry Burgoyne
Silas, Eugenia Carolyn
Skeen, Nancy Leigh
Steiner, James Wesley
Stokes, Lola Juanita
Strain, Cora Mae
Underwood, Betty Jo
Underwood, Thomas
Valleau, Phyllis
Weil, Alice
Wilkie, Raymond A. "Bunkie" (President)
Willmott, George (Treasurer)
Wise, Vella Karrick

Class of 1945

Agnew, Mary Jane
Ashley, Ethelyn Elaine
Bardwell, Franklin Albert
Berryman, Margaret Brownell
Bicknell, Elizabeth Ann
Brown, Beverly Anne
Buckner Jr., Garrett Davis
Dunn, Neville Meyers
Evans, Don Haynes
Fergus, Charles Shannon
Garrett, Jane
Hall, Sara Marshall
Hansen, Carolyn York
Harris, Betty Joe
Hawkins, Marjorie Susan
Horine, Wallace Rhodes
Huggins Jr., Henry Alexander
Irvin, Henry James
Mathews, Joseph McDowell
McMeekin, Charles Francis (President)
Meyer, Elise Guye
Moseley, Wynn Glass
Muir, Betty Amann
O'Bannon, William Barbee
Potts, Nancy Jean
Rice, Maurice Rowland
Roberts Jr., Francis Arthur
Schwendeman, Gerald Joseph Benedict
Shropshire, Betty Ann
Snowden, Cora Lee
Van Meter, Lois Lynn
Wachtman, Charles Cleveland
Winfree, William Whitlow
Woods, John Elmer
Yeary, Cornelia Jane
Younger, Shirlee

Class of 1946

Baily, Edward "Ed"
Barker, Gladys Joyce
Barker, James "Jimmy" Hunt
Brewer IV, Robert "Bobby" McAfee
Buckner, Mary Martin
Clemmons, Jane "Janie" McAdams
Cooke, Daphne Jacqueline "Jacquie"
Denson, Bellvia Hartwell "Bunny"
Diess, Helen Davenport (Secretary)
Estill, Ann "Annabel" Price
Fisher, Barbara Whitsey
Glenn, James "Jimmy" Francis
Griffin, Gerald Robin (President)
Hall, William Joseph "Billy Joe"
Hammet, Hugh "Hugo" Buford
Hollingsworth, Kent P. (Vice President)
Ingels, Lida Clay
Luigart Jr., Fred "Freddie" William
Moore, Guy Nelson
Mulloy, James "Jimmy" J.
Phelps, Donald H.
Prince, Jack Ervin
Reynolds, Marjorie Price
Sherman, Jean "Jeannie"
Slaughter, Elizabeth Gay "Betty Gay"
Smith, Margaret Cassell
Steele, Philip "Phil" Chinn
Taylor, Margaret "Peggy" Allen
Thompson, Patricia "Pat" Keene (Treasurer)
Trimble, Robert Greene
Tucker, Eleanor Gibson "Onnie"
Van Meter, Louise Brownell
Wallace Jr., Earl Dickens "Buddy"
Wilder, Sarah Caldwell

Class of 1947

Alves, Robert Haywood
Boggs, William Herbert
Bowmar, Dan Mayes
Briggs, LeGrand Scott
Brown, Emie Dick Williams
Burch Jr., Raymond Headley (President)
Capablanca, Alejandro Ramirez
Carey, Kathryn Sybil
Davis Jr., Paul Whitman
Downing, Frank Keiser
Estill, Katherine Rodes
Farmer, Shirley Lewis
Garrett, Margaret Salenda
Hammonds, Lewis Everette
Honaker, Dorothy Lee
House, Taylor Nathan
Huston, Betsy Lee
Judy, Jack Benson
Maupin, Robert Whitney
McVey, Priscilla Ann
O'Bannon, Anna Ebel
Patterson, Joan Claire
Patterson, Marcellus Moss
Ramsey, Marietta Halliene
Ray, Thomas Allison (Vice President)
Reed, Winifred Augusta
Rhoads, Louise Madison
Rowland, Betty Jane (Treasurer)
Rudolph, Joyce Evelyn
Specht, Joan Nancy
Stanfield, Clarence Herman
Stern, Charles
Stewart, James Edward
Tilton, Virginia Murray

Wyatt, Jane Atchison (Secretary)

Class of 1948

Brown, Dorothy "Dottie" Ann
Carpenter, Allan Lee
Deiss, Andrew "Andy"
Dunkman, Hart Lorenz
Eades, Eugene Vester
Flake, June
Garrard, Jack
Gratz, Cary
Graves Jr., Joe Clark (President)
Hall, John Courtney
Ingels, Jane Bruen
James, Nancy
Knight, William "Bill" Douglas (Treasurer)
Moody, Cordie Lee "Trip"
Muir, William "Bill" Quinn (Vice President)
Rice, William "Billy" Kenney
Rogers, William "Bill" Boyd
Rollins, Robert "Bob" Grey
Russell Jr., Carl Reed
Shannon, Mary "Molly"
Simpson, Elizabeth "Betty" Kinnaird
Stanfield, Suzanne (Secretary)
Steiner, Conrad "Connie" Strattner
Turner, Gardner Lewis
Underwood, Walter Joseph Piggott
Wilkie, Milward "Buddy" Elliott
Withrow, John Eastin

Class of 1949

Alves, Stanley
Barron, Emily
Behlen, Betty
Bogges, Alta
Cooke, John
Corum, Peggy
Dugan, Darnall
Haffler, Joan
Hatton, Donald "Don"
Lutes, Lois
Madden, John
McCarthy, Marie
Nichols, John
Price, Dwight
Rannells, Martha
Riggs, June
Sanduskuy, Lola
Sherman, Leila
Sims, Benham
Strother, Sam
Taylor, Nathan
Utter, Charles
Van Deren, Charlotte
Van Meter, Mary McDowell
Wenneker, James "Jimmy"
Wharton, Charles
Whaton, Mary
Williams, Roger
Wombell, George
Wyatt, Barbara
Young, Alice

Class of 1950

Alves, William
Ballard, Mary Elizabeth
Beatty, Tausbee
Brandenberg, Mary Lee
Campbell, Ralph
Crowe, Margaret
Gaidry, Deon
Grant, Glenora Jean
Graves, Nancy
Guthrie, Bertram
Hager, David
Holmes, Charles Barclay
Johnson, Robert "Bob"
Kloecker, John
Lisle, Doris
Little, John Murphy
Looney, Donald "Don"
Nunn, Betsy
Piper, Robert Lewis
Pogue, Margorie
Potts, Jane
Price, Paul Burford
Rogers, Donald
Rouse, William "Willie"
Scofield, Sarah Sue
Stone, Janet
Strauss, James "Jimmy"
Strother, Robert "Bob"
Tinder, Jane Walker
Weisenberger, Ann

Class of 1951

Alexander, Harry W. (Vice President)
Alves, Patricia "Patti" Ann
Carter, Carolyn Lou "Lou"
Clarke, Susan "Suzy" Rowland
Clay, Robert "Bob" Lloyd
Clayton, William Eugene "Gene"
Clift, Margaret "Margy" Ann
Cranfill, Raymond Carey "R.C."
Davis, Sally Sue
Dummit Jr., Eldon Steven "Steve"
Eddy, William Hathorn
Farris, Elizabeth Linnea "Betty Linn" (President)
Flynn, James Wendell
Fouts, Jimmie Rose
Haffler, Merle Castlyn
Hagin II, Hart
Harper Jr., Henry Alexander
Harper, Nancy Ann
Holton, William Osborne
MacLain, Rosemary Ruth
Mauser, Betty Ann (Secretary)
Morris II, Leslie White
Park Jr., James
Price, Aura Jean
Rannells, Molly June
Reed, Margaret "Peggy" Lou
Robinson, George Dale
Rodgers, Elizabeth Lucinda "Betty Lou"
Rose, William Harrison
Scofield, Joline "Joey" Marie
Sellers, Richard "Dick" Monroe
Tilton, Frank McVey
Tinder, Nancy Hamon
Tucker, Rosa Johnston
Walters, James Edward
Wile Jr., Joseph "Joe" Sable
Willis, Emily Jean
Wilson, Frank Frazee (Treasurer)
Wood, Janet Carter

Class of 1952

Adams, Catherine Carey
Ashbrook, Barbara Ann
Congleton, Jack
Cooms, Patricia Carol
Dorroh Jr., Glenn Urey (Secretary)
Dunavent, James K.
Dunlap, Lucie Cross
Gess, Mary Hamilton
Gilb, Helen Vance
Hall, Neale
Hardwick, Barbara Bush
Heinz, Leila Kemper
Keyes, Katherine Elizabeth
Kinkead, Samuel McDowell (President)
Martin, Betty Jo
Martin, Jean Elaine
McFadden, Virginia Grace
McLean, Grandison
McVey III, Frank LeRond
Piper, David Zink
Rannells, Susan Doris
Sedbrook, James C.
Sims, Garland
Tinder, Edith Carol
White, Marshall Kurt
Whitehouse, Charline
Wilder, James Lynwood "Lyn"
Wilder, Nancy Calhoun
Wile, Edith Louise (Vice President)

Williams, Carolyn Day
Wilson, Catherine Tucker

Class of 1953

Anderson, John
Atkins, Ronnie
Blackerby, Coburn
Blackford, Rosemary
Bricoe, Anne
Bryan, Mae
Cole, Jane Boggs
Cornel, Lorena
Crump, Lawrence
Dale, William Stone
Davis, Robert Trabue
Foster, George
Gilson, Clara Patricia
Hamilton, William
Hardwick, John
Havens, David
Holt, Jo
Howard, Martha
Kaufman, James
Lawrence, Robert
Lewis, Reba
Lindguist, Norman
Lowry, Francis
Miller, Jack Lee
Prewitt, Thomas
Queen, Joseph
Rice, Hughes “Chip”
Richardson, Barbara
Richardson, Mary
Robert, Barbara
Schrider, Peter
Simpson, John
Sims, William ”Bill”
Sublett, Barbara Wood
Walker, David
Ward, Edwin
Ward, Frank H.
Ward, Mary E.
Whitlow, John
Willis, Charles Louis
Yates, Clara Es-Stel

Class of 1954

Adams, Nancy
Barkley, Samuel
Boggs, Nancy
Calvert, Barbara
Cawood, James
Clark, Thomas
Cornett, Shirley
Cowgill, Margaret “Peggy”
Cox, Drusilla “Drue”
Fortenberry, James
Hart, Thelma
Harting, Frances
Heinz, Wilbur
Horton, Julia
Johnson, Phil
Johnstone, Shirley
Kanatzer, Sarah
King, Barbara
Lebus, Bertha
Lunde, Sonja
Lyons, Margaret
Pollard, Stephen
Powell, Anne
Procter, Sara
Ray, Jane
Robinson, James
Ross, Clay
Russell, Laura
Schrider, Patrick
Shouse, Samuel
Sprague, John
Watkins, Martha
Williams, Marian

Class of 1955

Adams Jr., Beecher Powell “Rick” (Treasurer)
Adams, Hampton Collier “Skip”
Alexander, Jean “Jeannie” Preston
Alexander, Lucy “Luce” Moulthrop
Arnett, Carolyn Leigh
Barkley, Samuel “Sammy”
Behlen, Charles “Chas” Henry
Brown, Robert Kendall “Ken”
Combs, Dorothy Agnes
Dorroh, Wilma Jean
Farris, James “Jim” Graham (Vice President)
Greenslit, Virginia “Ginny”
Hollingsworth, Dee “Vertrees”
Honaker, Betty Vernon
Johnson, Ernst “Verner”
Kinkead, Thomas Warfield
McLean, Lewis “Pope”
Moore, Lillian “Lil” Wall
Odear, Robert “Bob” Murray
Parker, Anne Farra
Reed, Mary Lane
Scott, Caroline “Louise” (Secretary)
Sharp, Lucy Frances
Steed, James “Jim” McLeod
Vimont, Frances “Ann”
Ward, Jimmie “Jim” Logan
Weinman, Laura Roberta
Wheeler, Linda Lewis
Whittenberg, James “Jimmy” David (President)

Class of 1956

Adams, Hunter “Dobree” (Secretary)
Armstrong, Anne Wilson
Brown, Nancy Adele
Brown, William Robert “W.R.”
Clark, Ruth Elizabeth “Liz”
Fitts, Mary Bailey “Mary B.”
Ginger, Thomas “Tommy” Leslie
Ginger, William “Billy” Leslie
Hagin, Hannah Hargett
Hagin, Joseph “Joe” Whitehouse
Harper, Barbara Gayle
Harper, Lee “Warley”
Hays, Elizabeth “Betty” McClure
Hymson, Barbara “Hympie”
Marr, Nancy Carroll
Mathews Jr., Wilson "Rush"
Meade, Mary Lloyd
Meriwether, Lois
Miller, Robert “Bob” Stephen (President)
Milward, Sarah Anne
Moore, Carolyn Ann
Reeves, Caroline Knight
Rich, Thomas “Tom” Sears (Vice President)
Roberts, Priscilla “Prissy” Beverly
Rose, Maye Marshall
Sprague Jr., William “Bill”
Van Meter, Virginia Paul Chapin
Ward, Sam Clay
Williams Jr., Dudley Otis
Williams, Linda Thomas
Withrow, James “Jimmy” Harrison (Treasurer)
Wright, Betsy Dee

Class of 1957

Alexander, William “Billy” Olin
Biggs, Margaret “Margie” Manning
Bishop, Jayne “Jay” Logan
Brakefield, James “Jim”
Davis, Mary Lynne
Davis, Nancy Carol
Fain, Robert “Bobby” Cook
Griffin, Robert “Bobby” James (Treasurer)
Harding, Nancy Jane
Kaufman, Linda Nichols
Lehman, Elizabeth “Betty Logan” (Secretary)
Marr, Martha Lee
Maxson, Elizabeth “Betty” Bodley (President)
Melzer, John Tecumseh Sherman (Vice President)
Phelps, Mary Marshall “Molly”

Pinson, Robert “Bob” Dunlap
Stroud, Carolyn Kay

Class of 1958

Anderson, Mary Warder
Bryan, Francis William “Bill”
Clarke III, Ernest “Ernie” Swope
Clay, Malinda Bush “Matilda” (Secretary)
Cox, Landon “Lanny” Greaud (President)
Evans, Elizabeth “Betty” Bryant
Greenslit, Lady Trimble
Hamilton, Helen Farnam
Hargett, Sheila May
Lisle, Margaret “Pegsie” King
Manly, Lucy Meriwether
Maxson Jr., Charles “Chuck” Reynolds
Newbury, Willie Ann “Puddin”
Nunn, Josephine Lindsay “Lin”
Odear, John “Johnny” Bishop
Patterson, Ann Perry
Prewitt, Virginia “Jenny” Lee
Reed, Rachel “Rae” Faulkner
Rupp Jr., Adolph “Herky” F.
Spinney, Eva Louise
Stewart, Charles “Charlie” A.
Switzer, William Bradley
Taylor, William “Bill” Crail
Tolman Jr., William Allen
Turnbull, Charley Crowe (Vice President)
Varellas Jr., James “Jim” John
Warren Jr., Ebert Keith
Williams, John Howard
Wyse, Margaret Anne
Yousoy, William Joseph

Class of 1959

Adams, Charlotte Alexander
Adams, Thomas “Tommy” Lynch
Barr, Elsie Jackson
Burnett, Elizabeth “Betty” Caldwell
Byers, Sarah Jane (Treasurer)
Chamberlain, Ann Reed
Combs, William “Bill” Alfred
Craig, Katherine “Kitty” Davis
Curry, Joseph “Joe” Brown (Vice President)
Davis, Dorothy “Dotty” Bruce
Ethington, Clyde Vernon “C.V.”
Flynn, Michall “Mike” Thomas
Gaitskill, Ruth Coleman
Haffler, Whayne Harvey (President)
Hanson, Timothy “Tim” Joel
Howell, William Jackson “Jack”
Kaltenbrun Jr., John Vincent
Lutes, Linda Hudson
Marks, Ed “Eddie”
Maxson, Tay
Miller, Freda
Milward, Dudley
Smith, Bethania
Smith, Breckinridge “Breck”
Sprague, Robert “Bob” Alan
Urban, Roger Hope
Warren, Helen Ritchie
Wylie, Mary Elizabeth

Class of 1960

Bender, Mary Jane Mains “Missy”
Bostick IV, Benjiman Robert “Bobby”
Chamberlain, Richard “Dick” Martin
Cowden, Nancy Jeanne
Davis III, Chandler Decatur
Ethington, Linda Lee
Evans Jr., Robert “Bob” Owen
Gilliam, Frederick “Fred” Elbertice
Griffin, Suzanne “Sue” Craig
Gross, Judith “Judy” Ann
Harkins, William “Bill” Holliday
Harper, William “Bill” “Bucky” Henry
Hartford, Jane Barker “Bunny”
Hayes, Barry Wayne
Honerkamp, Elizabeth Louise “Libby Lou”
Lisle Jr., Rufus
Luby, John Williams
Mansfield, Carolyn Lively (Snow Queen Candidate)
Marr, Mary Dillard “Dill”
Mauser, Winifred “Winnie” Widener
Paris, Donald “Don” Collins
Reeves, Robert “Bobby” Estill (Treasurer)
Rich, Jeanne “Jeanie” Bouchard
Russell Jr., Harry Leslie “Jack”
Sasman, John Erwin “Abner” (Vice President)
Shaver, Jeanne Barbee (Secretary)
Shier, Robert “Bob” William (President)
Stivers, Carolyn Lee
Thomas, Diana Gayle
Varellas, William “Bill” Todd
Warren, William “Bill” Aten
Wheeler, Barbara “Jo”

Class of 1961

Adams, Samuel “Sam” Turnstall
Bachmeyer, Roy Wesley
Barrett, Lynne Susan
Callaway, Coleman “Coley” Durrett
Clark, Ellen Lee
Coolsen, James “Jim” Gorden
Cox, Michael “Mike” Prentice (President)
DeJoe, Judith “Lee”
Dickey Jr., Frank Graves (Vice President)
Eaton, Clifton Parker
Eldridge, Karl Merrill
Evans, Michele Madeleine
Faulconer, Barbara Ann
Gaitskill, Sarah Talbott
Gerhard, Gerard Richard (Treasurer)
Gillis, Betsy Ann (Secretary)
Goodwin, William Joseph “Joe”
Huffman, Violet Mayo
Ireland Jr., John Woodford “Jack”
Irtz, Hilma “Elaine”
Kercheval, Hal Griffin
Milward Jr., Lewis William “Burton”
Nave, Ann Duncan “Andy”
Newbury, Betty Wilder
O’Hara, Elaine Michele
Paris, Jessica Carol
Phelps, Susanne Norman
Rath, Barbara Ann
Shepherd, Glen Cecil
Stivers, Melinda Jane
Stoll, William “Bill” Keene
Turnbull, William “Bill” Lyne
Wood, William Jarmer

Class of 1962

Armstrong, Andy
Barr, Garland
Bishop, Buddy
Cranfill, Bettye
Davis, Bruce
Gambill, Edward
Greathouse, Gurnee “Bill”
Holman, Daniel
Howard, Ben
King, Sally
Litkenhouse, Linn
Manly, Mary (Prom Queen)
Maxon, Cathy
McLean, Anne Price
Miles, Jeanne
Miller, Joe
Pattie, Frances
Price, Charles “Steve”
Pulley, Lee
Queen, Sandy
Reeves, David
Russell, William “Bill”
Schwartz, Max
Stapp, James “Jimmy”
Stokes, Janet

Stoll, Bill
Walker, Robert
Wall, Phyllis
White, Francis
Williams, Sankey
Witt, Pat

Class of 1963

Baynham, Les
Bosworth, Carol
Combs, Anne
Cope, Robert
Cowden, Callie
Dale, Jeannette
Dale, Landy
Dickey, Joe
Fishback, Randy
Francis, Carol
Gaitskill, Miriam
Gajdik, Jan
Greathouse, Nancy
Irtz, Fred
Norsworthy, Sharon
Nuckols, Judy
Pryor, Joan
Ready, Susanna
Renfrew, Terry
Roach, Judy
Roughen, William
Ruschelle, Mile
Shier, Carl
Stewart, Skip
Switzer, David
Thompson, Sara
Wade, Richard
Walker, Lyle
Walker, Robert
Williams, Mary Hazel

Class of 1964

Batsel, David
Blythe, Susan
Brewer, Sherry
Cox, Doug
Dansby, Frances
Ellison, William "Bill"
Freeman, Jon
Gambill, Cleve
Giannasio, Bill
Hall, Noel
Horne, Kathy
Ireland, Nancy
Isaacs, Susan
Kelly, Louise
Luckens, David
Mansfield, Susan
McKelvey, Don
Milward, Brint
New, Patsy
Oswald, Elizabeth
Reynolds, Michael
Roach, Helen
Robinson, George
Rouse, Judy
Snyder, Chris
Stamper, Gary
Tutty, Bob Russel
Wiesel, Jane
Williams, Andy

Class of 1965

Adams Jr., Thomas "Tommy" Tunstall (Treasurer)
Adams, Amanda Jane
Alcorn, James "Jim" Kenton
Baker Jr., Fred Rodgers
Boggs, Sandra "Sandy" Gayle
Bolotin, Susan Weil (Vice President)
Brown, Samuel Kenton
Curtin, Jane Ellwood
Daniel, Miliani "Lani"
Faulconer, Donna Ray
Fears, Julia Brooks
Griffin, Barbara Louise
Gurnee, James Michael "Mike"
Harman, Susan Elizabeth
Ingerton, Phyllis Sheridan
Kennoy, Robert Alan
King, Mary Linda (Secretary)
Maddox, Michael "Mike" Mason
McKinstry, Taft Avent
Miller, Samye Norene
Moorhead, Susan
Musselman, Donald Lee
Newbury, Lee Daniel
Porter, Mary Evelyn
Pyle, James "Jimmy" Floyd
Ready, John William "Bill"
Rhodes, Leslie Baynham
Rice III, Robert Ewing (President)
Scott III, Harry "Hal" Burgoyne [Future reverend]
Wade, Caroline Patrick "Pat/Patty"
Witt, Thomas "Tom/Tommy" Stephens

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Figure 6.2: Regional School Divisions Established by the U.S. Commissioner of Education. Patton, S.M. (2020).

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THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

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