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# Philosophical Bases and Presuppositions in Independent Secondary Education

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**PHILOSOPHICAL BASES AND PRESUPPOSITIONS IN  
INDEPENDENT SECONDARY EDUCATION**

**by**

**F. Courtlandt R. Gilmour**

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

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## LIFE

Francis Courtlandt Raoul Gilmour was born in Paget, Bermuda on October 31, 1933. He was graduated from Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts in 1951, and received his A.B. degree in English from Harvard University in 1955. In 1956, he was appointed to the faculty of Mount Hermon School, Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, as a teacher of Latin.

In September, 1958, he joined the faculty of The Cambridge School of Weston, Massachusetts, as an instructor in Latin and Greek history. By attending summer sessions in the years 1957 to 1959, he earned an Ed.M. from Harvard.

In September, 1960, he was appointed Chairman of the Department of English at The Latin School of Chicago, and in 1962 became Assistant Headmaster and Director of Studies.

Mr. Gilmour is married and lives in Evanston, Illinois.

## PREFACE

At a time when specialist and layman alike are seemingly more involved with the problems and potentialities of public education than ever before, the vigorous health and growth of independent education in the United States may have eluded the notice of all but those directly involved. Further, it is not infrequently apparent that even those persons who have most reason to be knowledgeable about independent education are likely to take certain aspects of its operation for granted. While this neglect may be attributable to nothing more sinister than a sense of tradition inherent in some of the nation's older preparatory schools, it forces an awareness that among the aspects of independent education which have been neglected lies the whole area of educational philosophy.

Much has been written about the function of independent education, largely as an apologia for its place in a democracy, but there has been nothing recent or substantive by way of an examination of the philosophical bases and presuppositions underlying those schools which operate independently of political control.

This study has attempted to identify some of these bases and presuppositions. The scope of the investigation has been limited to the "independent" schools, those non-public

institutions which are not operated or sponsored by either the state or federal government, nor by churches or other identifiable institutions.

Two major emphases need to be identified: first, an effort has been made to determine whether there is a "philosophy of independent secondary education," a unifying principle, as it were, upon which all of the several institutions in their great variety might agree. Second, the practice of selected schools has been examined in an attempt to determine what philosophies of education operate within the independent institutions, and upon what philosophical bases and presuppositions the conduct of their total educational program rests.

By determining something of the scope or range of philosophical positions, it is hoped that an understanding of the educational needs and aspirations of a pluralistic society may be forthcoming and that the functions of independent secondary education may then be interpreted with an improved sense of relevance to what others have termed the mainstream of American education.

Special thanks are due to a number of persons for their contributions to this study: to my colleagues in independent education throughout the country who gave generously of their time and thought in replying to my questionnaire; to Dr. John Wozniak, Chairman of the Department of Education of Loyola

University, for his patient guidance and suggestions; and to Miss Constance Metcalf for her assistance in collecting and organizing the materials sent by the schools.

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## INTRODUCTION

An Associated Press dispatch from London, England in March, 1967, carried the following information:

Abolition of the private educational system that includes such famed training grounds for British statesmen as Eton, Harrow and Winchester was called for Monday by the Trade Union Council (TUC).

The council, representing the nation's organized workers, said this type of secondary education was "socially undesirable as well as damaging in its effect on the public educational system."<sup>1</sup>

That the great independent "public" schools of England, from which our own public Latin grammar schools and our private academies were derived, should face thus severe a threat at a moment in time when England has begun to infuse its secondary education system with more of what may be called the democratic process comes as a rather rude shock to those familiar with the development of independent secondary education in the United States. The historical development and the present state of independent secondary education in this country provide abundant evidence of the democratic process at work in the founding and maintaining of many hundreds of independent secondary schools of varying age, size, and disposition.

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<sup>1</sup>Chicago Daily News, March 27, 1967, p. 2.



To the critics of independent education in the United States, and there have been and are many, especially to those who have assailed private education as working at cross purposes with democracy and the American way of life, one of the standard replies has been that independent schools are democratic not only in that they safeguard the right of parents to choose a school for their children, but also in that they provide competition for the public schools and thereby serve to improve education throughout our democratic society.

It is this theme, the attack on independent education as undemocratic and the replies and countercharges, which fills much of the rather scant literature on the independent school. There is, to be sure, tangential treatment of philosophical issues, but again largely in terms of the right of independent schools to exist in a democracy.

As so much of the literature involves public education in one sort of comparison or another with private schooling, it is perhaps well to point out that, far from considering public education as something antithetical to independent education, this study is not concerned with any suggestions of comparison or contrast between the two. While mention of public education cannot be altogether avoided, it is stressed that remarks concerning independent schools are not intended to imply any qualitative or quantitative attributes which are, or are not, to be found in public schools.

One of the tasks confronting the student of independent education is the resolution of the difficulty stemming from the definition of the word "independent." The earlier terms of "non-public" and "private" have in recent years been used to signify all education which is not supported by the public purse. The term "independent", which came into use officially in 1926, is used to designate non-public education other than parochial.<sup>2</sup> Apart from the fact that the terms "private" and "independent" continue to be used synonymously in some quarters, the latter adjective does no more than classify a type of school, one which receives its financial support from other than public funds and which is not directly sponsored or controlled by a denominational body. The answer to the question of the meaning of "independent" must be found in what such schools do, and how, and why.

A simplistic view of independent education in the United States discloses that independent schools have existed since colonial times; that there have been periods of greater or less demand for such schools; and that such schools, because they must charge fees, have generally existed for the children of the economically privileged. There is a vague notion that some of these schools have provided an excellent education; that, until the relatively recent crush of applicants for places at

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<sup>2</sup>Phyllis E. Byrnes, "Independent Schools?" Harvard Educational Review, 10 (January, 1940), 48.

colleges and universities, the graduates of independent schools won a disproportionately high number of places at prestigious institutions; that a number of such schools are somewhat more concerned with the applicant's lineage than with his score on the Secondary School Admissions Test (SSAT). Above all, at even the most casual glance, there is the awareness that independent schools are a varied lot: boarding schools, day schools, coed schools, mountain schools, ranch schools, military schools, and more.

Behind the various classifications and beneath the pictures and text of the viewbooks and catalogues, there exist, however, the institutions themselves, schools which exist solely because there are parents who elect to send their children to them. There is no longer the alternative of private school or no school. The courses and the extra-curricular activities which these schools offer can be gleaned from the catalogue; so can the school's official statement of its philosophy.

Clearly, the simplistic view is not enough to explain the force of independent education in the United States in the latter half of the twentieth century; neither are the descriptions, the statements on aims and objectives, and the lists of the colleges to which the schools' graduates go enough to explain the variety of educational programs which are carried on in these institutions. It is for this reason that the two basic questions have been raised in this inquiry:

Is there a distinct philosophy of independent education?

What is/are the prevailing philosophy or philosophies of education at work in the independent schools?

Closely associated with these two questions is a third: What implications are to be found in the great variety of types of schools and types of educational programs for the pluralistic society in which we live? A fourth question, How does social change act upon independent education?, runs through the whole of the inquiry.

A review of the literature reveals very little of substance with regard to the philosophy of education in independent schools. Since the topic is rarely treated overtly, it has been necessary to explore the philosophical bases by means of study of the few books by independent school men and by means of the techniques of questionnaire and interview.

The questionnaire, for whose contents see the Appendix, was sent to two hundred independent secondary schools representing as wide a range as possible with respect to location, size, age, and type. All of the types are represented in the one hundred and seven replies used in this study, as are all sections of the country. The size of institutions replying ranges from one with an enrollment of less than twenty pupils to several with more than five hundred and fifty students. In age, the schools vary from one founded in the eighteenth

century to one which is less than five years old. Since it is not the purpose of this study to report statistically on the results of the questionnaire, and since the returns do represent at least one of every type chosen for the study, the return of one hundred and seven questionnaires is considered more than adequate.

Interviews have been conducted for the purpose of exploring in depth some of the items which drew a greater range of response in the questionnaire. Interviews have deliberately been sought with persons representing the two areas in which differences among independent schools are most apparent: between "traditional" and "progressive" schools in the first instance and, in an attempt to probe the implications for educational theory imposed by their radically different situations, between the "boarding" school and the "day" school.

It is not only prudent but necessary to begin with an historical review as a means to understanding the framework within which the answers to the basic questions in this study must be understood. This review, which comprises the first chapter, traces the rise and development of private schools from colonial times, indicating something of the philosophical bases and curricular models upon which they were founded, to the beginning of the present century.

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### The Colonial Period

The 150-year span of the colonial period in America makes generalization about the philosophical bases of education virtually impossible; yet it is within this period that the seeds of modern educational issues were sown, and it is within this period that the intellectual traditions which have led, some directly, some indirectly, to current educational theory had their origin. For, while in some instances these intellectual traditions had been brought from northern Europe, it was not long before the impact of circumstances in the colonies gave a distinctly American flavor to old world theologies and ideologies.

Three issues, which are fundamental to the inquiry into the philosophy of independent education, are singled out by Butts and Cremin as having their roots in this period: the proper role of education in relation to the state, the proper role of religion and education, and the merits of equality of educational opportunity.<sup>1</sup> It remains for the student of the present

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<sup>1</sup>R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, A History of Education in American Culture (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1956), p. 4.

status of these issues to understand the developments in political thought which led to representative government and independence; in religious thought which led to multiple establishment and the separation of church and state; and in social thought, which led to a resolution of economic and class distinctions. All three areas developed a synthesis of social and educational theory which led to the early establishment of a dual educational system.

The first steps in American secondary education, the Latin grammar schools, were taken in the third decade of the seventeenth century. While the curricular model was copied from the Latin grammar school of England, and while the pedagogy was redolent of views handed down from the Renaissance, the political, economic, and social philosophies were already changing or facing imminent and profound change.

The inherited concepts of agrarian feudalism were to be challenged, first by mercantile capitalism and then by laissez-faire capitalism, just as the theories of the divine right of kings and of education as the ornament of a gentleman were challenged by the Puritan alternative of the divine right of elected magistrates and the early yearnings for a more utilitarian education.

At the beginning of the colonial period educational thought was dominated by theological, philosophical, political, and social orthodoxies.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 65.

Almost from the beginning the Latin grammar school pointed the way for the subsequent and inevitable development of a dual educational system. Although public in at least two aspects, namely, that it was "established by the people (and) open to all who could qualify and wished to enroll,"<sup>3</sup> it contained salient characteristics of later, "independent" schools: it was exclusively college-preparatory, there was emphasis on religious training, and education for leadership was stressed.

The New England colonies took an early and firm lead in the establishment of secondary schools, hence the popularity of the Latin grammar school as a curricular model. After the founding of the first such school in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1635, the movement spread rapidly until, by 1700, Latin schools were found throughout New England.

Vandenberg has argued that the Latin grammar school was not an apt model for the fledgling America. He finds the reason for it in that

The early settler was involved deeply in making a living and preserving his life...he had little time for anything else, except perhaps a bit of political and religious discussion. Consequently no one had time to invent new ideas about education.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Eugene M. Vandenberg, The Changing Objectives and Philosophy of the American Secondary School Curriculum (unpublished dissertation, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, 1963), p. 14.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 12.



New ideas were not long in coming, however, and it may equally be true that the New England colonist had rather to wait to assess his situation, to resolve some of his dissenting ideas in terms of his new milieu, and that, by a happy circumstance, the new thinking of such men as Francis Bacon, Bishop George Berkeley, and John Locke came to the colonial farmer and merchant, embattled in survival, in time for them to shape their children's education in a way consistent with their growing disaffection for the authoritarian orthodoxies.

For all that the Latin grammar schools furnished a pattern of curriculum which was to be continued in part by the academies, it must be recognized that they were semi-public schools. They were essentially "town schools, governed by an elected group and supported by local and, often, state grants."<sup>5</sup>

One of the paramount features of early colonial life bred what may be the first indigenous philosophy of education. Despite the classical curriculum of the Latin school, with the strong Puritan backing on the principle of "learnin' and lickin',"<sup>6</sup> the early colonist soon realized the need for practical education. While he waited for the impact of John Milton's Tractate (1644) to be translated into the Academy movement through Benjamin Franklin's Proposals (1749) and the

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<sup>5</sup>Theodore R.Sizer, ed., The Age of the Academies (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), p. 3.

<sup>6</sup>Butts, p. 52.

establishment of the Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts (1778), he could, in the towns at least, find "ephemeral, private-venture schools which sprang up for specialized and, most often, practical purposes."<sup>7</sup>

Sizer notes that "the school was the teacher" in the case of these private schools.<sup>8</sup> To the extent that this characteristic suggests an early commitment to private enterprise in education, it is noteworthy; it is of greater significance still in that the history of independent secondary education is often a history of men (usually headmasters) and their schools, with the schools' reputations so bound up in the charisma of a Stearns or a Peabody that students and their parents were more inclined to think of going into the presence of the "great man" than to Andover or Groton,

That it would have been difficult to usurp the entrenched religious view of the world, even in the new colonies, without the innovation of secular thought is as certain as speculative hindsight can make it, but just as the burgeoning dissatisfaction of middle-class interests led to civil war in England in 1642 and the subsequent establishment of the Puritan Commonwealth (1649), so the restoration of the Stuart monarchy led to an educational confrontation. As teachers were required to take

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<sup>7</sup>Sizer, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

oaths of loyalty to the Church of England, following the restrictive acts of 1662, and as the universities were closed to non-Anglicans, "dissenting groups organized their own institutions, which they called, presumably after Milton, academies."<sup>9</sup>

The academy was the first defined form of educational institution to be operated under private control in America. It was, again, not a purely homegrown product but, like its Latin grammar school predecessor, copied from the academies which sprang up in England in the period of the Restoration.

The new type of school was not copied immediately, not for want of information about its nature, but because the growing schism between the authoritarian Puritan tradition, with its focus on the hereafter, and the more liberal colonial humanist temper, with its increasing concern for this-world needs, had not yet become a matter for action. When this time came, the proximate causes for the establishment of academies in America found a philosophical as well as a practical framework.

In the period between 1635 and 1750, there were profound changes in the philosophical climate of the colonies. The new attraction of science, the rise of Deism, and an extension of idealism into political and social thought altered radically the society in which the Latin grammar school, ill-fitting as it might originally have been, could now no longer be tolerated.

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

The idealism of Bishop Berkeley (1685 - 1753) and the realism of John Locke (1632 - 1704) found fertile ground in seventeenth and eighteenth century America. The peoples who had earlier been called to the Great Awakening of Calvin now were re-awakened by philosophical and religious viewpoints which had greater appeal to those who had already inculcated the habit of political, economic, and religious dissent.

The impact of the new learning on the colonies might better be traced via the history of curricular changes in such higher institutions as Harvard College, with the view to noting the lag between discovery and implementation--the Hollis Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy was created for the Newtonian scholar Isaac Greenwood in 1727.<sup>10</sup> In this period, the ideas in the minds of the colonists were being shaped by the necessity to integrate the old conceptions of supernaturalism with the new thrust of natural law following the publication of the third and last volume of Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica in 1687.

Berkeley made the first step possible with the emphasis on the priority of mind. The place of religion remained relatively unthreatened since our senses provide to our finite minds the archetypes in the mind of God.

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<sup>10</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 79.

Another view provided a second avenue toward the reconciliation of theological tradition and the incursion of science. This was the dualistic treatment of mind and matter provided by Rene Descartes (1596 - 1650). The spiritual substance of mind and the material substance of matter, both being created by God, gave a place from which to argue both the contemplative study of ideas and the practical affairs of science. Further, Descartes' view of God as a "watchmaker" with respect to the "real world of physical nature," in which the world is removed from further interference after its creation, "made it possible for deism to become increasingly popular in the eighteenth century as a haven for intellectuals."<sup>11</sup>

It is the view of Butts and Cremin that American intellectuals in the eighteenth century were content with "the possibilities of dualism and deism" and did not embrace the more extreme materialism of Thomas Hobbes and his followers.<sup>12</sup> Certainly there is in the succession of Bacon (1561 - 1626), Descartes (1596 - 1650), Locke (1632 - 1704), and Newton (1642 - 1727) more than enough to shape the American temper which established the first private system of education. The initial weavings, as it were, of the threads of educational theory which still wind through independent education today began in the

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<sup>11</sup>Butts, p. 51-2.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

seventeenth century with hints of the following:

new methodology: the scientific method

philosophical dualism: distinction of mind and body

utilitarianism: priority of character

new curriculum: development of natural science.

Before turning to an examination of the new social and philosophical forces which ushered in the academy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, one should note the contributions of the Latin school to the system which has followed.

In terms of its curriculum, it afforded continuity with the humanistic traditions which had been handed down from the Renaissance. This classical orientation endured in the Latin school partly from tradition alone and partly because of the support by Puritan leaders. Cotton Mather (1663 - 1728) provides a particularly good example of the combination of the notions of Calvinist "total depravity" and the humanizing influences of the classics. The classics perdured in the age of the academy, largely by weight of tradition. That they did so in no small way accounts for the existence of "classical subjects" in some of the independent schools today. For, while Latin is currently weak, Greek rare, and Hebrew virtually non-existent, there are still schools which require Latin for a minimum of two years and encourage the study of Greek for the more able students.

In terms of its numbers, the Latin grammar school created several influences: the fact that such schools could not everywhere be established gave rise at first to the education of an elite, both in terms of proximity and affluence. Children in rural areas did not have access to such schools, and even in the towns there were those who could not afford to attend. As the demand for universal education began to grow, there was born the need, if not the desire, for boarding arrangements. This was incorporated in several of the academies and endures today in the independent boarding school.

Apart from this influence, there was also the feature of maintaining class lines, a feature which became more and more disagreeable as the Puritan notion of a divinely created social hierarchy waned.

The same forces which led to a philosophical position which was to support the popularization of education also created the delay which gave rise to the privately supported academy. Had the middle class interests been able to leap from their disaffection for the classical Latin school to a universal, publicly supported, school system, the history of independent education might have been much different. Laissez-faire capitalism and the opening of the west had created a kind of realism in whose framework the Latin grammar school no longer fit. As Sizer points out,

The narrow classical curriculum was simply out of step with the ideas of the this-worldly, commercial, optimistic American, who often associated traditional

learning with the social distinctions he wished America to avoid. There was, in a word, disjunction between the expectations of society and the offerings of the Latin schools.<sup>13</sup>

It was outside New England that the Academy movement had its introduction into American education. Benjamin Franklin's Proposals Relating to the Education of the Youth in Pennsylvania appeared in 1749; his academy followed in 1751. But this was rather the introduction of a new curricular model than a first essay into private education. As we have seen, there were in the seventeenth century "private" schools in New England, but these were proprietary schools, free equally from state supervision and state support. The "public" Latin school, which had government financial assistance, although still levying fees, was supervised by government officials.

There had been, in the South, schools which, while they had monies from the government, were delegated to a group of private citizens for their administration. These schools were thus private in terms of operation, but considered "public" in that they were open to all. In this connection, it is stressed that the freedom which independent schools enjoy today in the selection of their students stems more from the proprietary school than from the Southern "public" schools, although with the increase in public monies which find their way into some of today's independent schools, the parallel to Southern schools suggests itself.

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<sup>13</sup>Sizer, p. 9.



The philosophical roots of Franklin's proposals have previously been identified.

His proposals thus provide a clear channel by which the newer philosophies of sense realism and empiricism flowed into American educational thought to give support to the desires for vocational training and practical preparation for a life of usefulness in society, government, occupation, and professional service.<sup>14</sup>

Franklin's proposals not only reveal a change in the wind with regard to curriculum; any similarity between Franklin's proposed environment for the pupil and that of Puritans such as Mather or Jonathan Edwards must be illusory.

It was doubtless easier to inaugurate a plan such as Franklin's in Pennsylvania, with its multiplicity of sects, than it would have been in Puritan or Anglican strongholds. The same argument may hold true for the appearance of exhortations, by William Penn in 1682 and Thomas Budd in 1685, to create a universal, public educational system.<sup>15</sup>

Still, almost seventy-five years later, the forces which had found little or nothing favorable in the Latin grammar school could not permit the government control which public schools would have necessitated. This was particularly true in Pennsylvania, "where mixed religious beliefs soon developed into hostile rivalries."<sup>16</sup> As in this early separatism is to be found

<sup>14</sup>Butts, pp. 77-78.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 87-88.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

the instigating force for private education, so will also be found the present vigor of independent education to be fostered by mixed beliefs, some of them religious if not sectarian.

Perhaps a signal point in the development of private education came about as a result of William Penn's original grant of a charter to a group of private Quaker citizens. Not only was the private charter to become a means for the establishment of non-public schools, but also there was created the equality of opportunity for other Protestant denominations. More importantly, this development must stand in the history of precedents for the right of independent schools to exist.

Early efforts to develop the Academy died aborning. Franklin's three schools survived only by becoming the University of Pennsylvania. As the new curricular model was slowly adopted in New England, a curious mixture of old and new appeared.

The Governor Dummer Academy, which lays claim to being the oldest academy in the nation, was founded in South Byfield, Massachusetts, in 1761. It had indeed been founded by private charter and in this respect fulfilled a characteristic of the academy; on the other hand, it "was the best type of an English (Latin) grammar school that had existed on American soil since the days of Ezekiel Cheever."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Charles Hammond, "New England Academies and Classical Schools," American Journal of Education, XVI (1866), p. 410, quoted in Sizer, p. 11.

This sort of anomaly was to continue: the English Classical School (Boston, 1821) was governed and supported by public officials and monies while its curriculum was that of the academy. Nevertheless, the academy grew in numbers and popularity until, by 1855, it was possible for Henry Barnard to count 6,185 of them.<sup>18</sup> This rapid rise, and the expansion of the movement to every territory, argues for the existence of a common body of beliefs held throughout the country. The private nature of the academy was a safeguard for the maintenance of religious independence; it was thus possible to exploit the new institutional form for what it conveyed to middle class social and economic interests everywhere.

Political philosophy and action, rather than pedagogical or metaphysical thinking, was the prime mover. Republicanism, in the persons of such men as Thomas Jefferson (1743 - 1826), Thomas Paine (1737 - 1809), and Benjamin Rush (1745 - 1813), seems to have added to Deism the ingredient needed to spur new interest in education. As the twin tides of the Copernican revolution and the Protestant Reformation blended in an individualization of religious independence, so the dissents from religious orthodoxy and social and economic privilege were to culminate in an individualization of republican duty and privilege. It is not at all surprising that out of what some have

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<sup>18</sup>Sizer, p. 12.

called the American Enlightenment should come a practical concern with practical education.

This concern was furthered by the need, following the American Revolution, to create the nation whose independence had just been won. It was this common cause which fostered the growth of the academy, bringing together the widely divergent support of the aristocracy, who saw in the academy a means of perpetuating their power, and of the middle class, who, while struggling for egalitarian principles, had to acknowledge the need for formal secondary education. Universal, public, free education following the ideas of Jefferson, Paine, and Rush would have provided the better response to middle class desires, but religious neutrality was more easily legislated into documents than out of people's emotions.

The fervor engendered in the building of a new nation spread easily to the schools. Denominational groups and civic groups found value in establishing academies, some to preserve greater religious identity, some to attract new settlers.

The curriculum underwent extensive experimentation in private hands. A vast array of "subjects" was to be found, with differing combinations in many schools. Classical subjects were still pursued, but as the academies grew in popularity and as the enlightened thinking of the people became more solidly based, the educational philosophy turned increasingly to practical rather than intellectual schooling.

Similarly, ties grew stronger between the academy and the community. Those academies founded by civic groups, differed from the public high school only in terms of support, for taxation for public education was not yet to be considered by early nineteenth century Americans.<sup>19</sup>

Secularization came to the academies before it affected institutions of higher education. Sizer points out that "The majority were 'non-sectarian,' liberal Protestant establishments, in religious observance quite like the common schools of their day."<sup>20</sup> That some of the academies kept more closely to sectarian beginnings may be illustrated by Phillips Academy in Andover. Its Constitution, adopted in 1778, was formed out of Calvinist Congregationalism and was established for a "public free school or academy...to learn them the GREAT END AND REAL BUSINESS OF LIVING."<sup>21</sup> Both Andover and the Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire, were founded by Harvard graduates, members of the same family, but "when Harvard in the early nineteenth century turned toward Unitarianism, Phillips Academy (Andover)...began to send more and more boys to conservative Yale."<sup>22</sup> The two Phillips' Academies marked a departure, too,

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 77-78.

<sup>22</sup>Claude M. Fuess, Independent Schoolmaster (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1952), p. 76.

from the tendency to create numerous "new" subjects. Several of the New England academies were, from the first, preparatory schools for colleges and, as such, limited their curricular offerings to those subjects which would fit their students for college entrance. The Andover Constitution specifies "the English, Latin, and Greek Languages, Writing, Arithmetic, Music, and the Art of Speaking; also practical Geometry, Logic, and any other of the liberal Arts and Sciences, or Languages, as opportunity and ability may hereafter admit, and as the Trustees shall direct."<sup>23</sup>

This college-preparatory function reveals the "fitting" aspect of academy education. Other academies applied themselves more to "finishing," although none offered vocational training other than a teacher-training course.<sup>24</sup> In this respect the early Academy handed down another salient characteristic of modern independent secondary education. Of the one hundred and seven schools replying to the questionnaire in this study, ninety-seven identify themselves as "exclusively college-preparatory." Yet another feature is to be found in the inclusion of the adjective "free" in the Constitution of Andover. This term originally indicated that students of insufficient means might be enrolled if they met the qualification of

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<sup>23</sup>Sizer, p. 85.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

literacy. This development in education has given rise to a tradition of philanthropy which continues today in the scholarship and tuition-aid programs of almost all independent secondary schools.

It could not, perhaps, have been foreseen that religious neutrality, which would prevent the establishment of a state Church while guaranteeing freedom for the establishment of any church within the state, would one day virtually eradicate in the schools all reference to a divine spirit by name or symbol. The development of the privately controlled academy has preserved through modern independent schools a place wherein religious worship and bible study may continue to form a part of the educational program. Just as for Andover, "the first and principal object of this Institution is the promotion of true PIETY and VIRTUE,"<sup>25</sup> so is it still a, if not the first, principal object of many of today's independent schools.

Sizer attributes the decline of the academy to nothing more philosophical than the rise of urban areas. The increase in population in the nineteenth century and the "industrial boom of the Civil War years heralded the decline of agrarian America and the rise of the urban center (which) had either public high schools...or numerous...private-venture...schools, whose course of study complemented the classical curriculum of the town's Latin grammar school."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 41.

Industrialization changed towns into cities, thereby creating a sufficient tax base to support public education. By the end of the Civil War, the academy movement was at an end.<sup>27</sup>

Assaults on the existence of private schools had begun even before the migration and expansion of urban populations. Some were of a positive nature, urging the creation of universal, public education to do what the endowed schools could not do, namely "directly and efficiently educating the whole mass of the people."<sup>28</sup> Others stressed as unique the function of preparing students for college, saying that this might well remain a function for the academy but that public high schools were to be preferred for their virtue of presenting the realities of life.

Therefore, the public school, when it represents the world as it is, represents the facts of life. The private school never has done and never will do this; and as time goes on, it will be less and less a true representative of the world.<sup>29</sup>

Yet it had been the avowed purpose of the Phillips Academy at Andover to "learn them the great end and real business of living." Was the opposition of these two points of view nothing more than a clash over what constituted the real business of life? The values of the classics and the values of learning self-reliance are not necessarily mutually exclusive; there are

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 164.



some who feel that study of the one may lead to the acquisition of the other. Claude Fuess records the following:

Charlie (Charles H. Forbes) made the Aeneid an instrument for a liberal education on many topics, and like every first-rate teacher, he taught more than his subject.

By 1908, Greek was no longer a required subject in the Andover curriculum, and Zeus (Allan R. Benner) frequently told me that he regarded this as the beginning of the downfall of American education.

Andover had a strong classical tradition; and Latin, from Caesar through Cicero to Virgil, was not only a basic but a compulsory subject. When President Eliot, Abram Flexner, and other educational iconoclasts expressed doubt as to the value of Latin for everybody, Forbes led the other members of the Latin Department in defense of their cause. They could not well stress their most effective argument--that the best teaching in those days was being done in the classics. Rather they mentioned that Latin, and to some extent Greek, were indispensable adjuncts of the highest culture.<sup>30</sup>

The assaults quoted earlier (v. footnotes 28, 29) came in 1824 and 1857 respectively. After the Civil War, public education expanded until, "by the 1880's, the public high schools had surpassed the academies in the number of pupils they enrolled, and by the turn of the century, their influence was predominant."<sup>31</sup>

In 1884, the National Council of Education appointed a committee to study the decline of the academy. The Report of the Committee on Secondary Education, published in the following year, opened with this five-point summary:

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<sup>30</sup>Fuess, pp. 86, 87, 95.

<sup>31</sup>Sizer, p. 189.

1. The academy has performed an important work in the past.
2. The high school is now doing much of the work formerly done by the academy.
3. The high school, as a part of the true system of public education, should be encouraged to the fullest extent.
4. When the high school has done all it can do, there will, probably, still be room for a large and valuable work to be done by the academy.
5. This work will be largely, though not exclusively, in preparing youth for the college.<sup>32</sup>

The assignment of the role of preparing youth for college, noted in point 5 above, coincides with the function of the academy in 1890 as perceived by Vandenberg:

In 1890 the academy was still an important type of secondary school which was then chiefly recognized as fulfilling a college preparatory function....The academy of 1890 aimed to bring forward well equipped men and women who would be leaders in the work of the world.<sup>33</sup>

Throughout the period of organization and reorganization of the public secondary school, the academy was to be relegated to the narrow function of fitting youth for college while the high school, being "encouraged to the fullest extent" (cf. point 3, above) was emerging into a period of chaos with little uniformity in content or time devoted to the subject matter in the high schools of the country,

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<sup>32</sup>National Council on Education, "Report of Committee on Secondary Education," in National Educational Association, Addresses and Proceedings (1885), pp. 447-455, included in Sizer, pp. 199-201.

<sup>33</sup>Vandenberg, pp. 38-39.

or for that matter in a single state. In 1890, President Elliott (sic), of Harvard University, asserted, "that it was literally impossible to determine what work was being done in the secondary schools of the United States."<sup>34</sup>

Added to the classes and factions which had existed in colonial times, the vast numbers of persons who had come to America in the waves of immigration created an even greater condition of social, political, and religious pluralism. As the high school movement attempted to harness the utilitarian temper to the creation of schools and curricula, the "effort of the high school to meet the needs of the various classes of children enrolled" loomed, to at least one observer, as a major cause of the upheaval in secondary education.<sup>35</sup>

In the process of becoming the dominant form of secondary school, the public high school was forced to take on both the function of preparing students for college--the intermediate step which was perceived as the raison d'etre for the academy--and the function, arrogated to itself, of preparing students for life, with high school becoming the terminus of common schooling. While caught in this dual function and receiving the criticism which such division of purpose was bound to imply, the high school, far from serving the parochial needs of insular groups within the population, in effect began the process of homogenization.

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

The chaos of dissimilar curricula and standards brought about the establishment of national committees, of which the "Committee of Ten" (a committee of the National Education Association appointed to study secondary education) sought to establish a basis whereby a student with "four years of strong work"<sup>36</sup> might be admitted to college and a basis for the "same teaching for all pupils whatever their probable future."<sup>37</sup>

This would clearly have met with strenuous opposition had the notion of "same teaching" been suggestive of the college-preparatory curriculum prescribed today. The committee's swift affirmation that preparation for college was not the purpose of the high schools tended on the one hand to reduce the prescription of a classics-oriented academic "preparation" while, on the other, it suggested among the proper subjects the inclusion of Latin and Greek.

The effort to achieve a degree of uniformity for college entrance purposes was, therefore, at variance with a number of characteristics of the public high school, which may be summarized as follows:

1. the various classes of pupils in various schools; sometimes in the same school.
2. the avowed purpose of the high school to prepare its students for life, which in some instances

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<sup>36</sup>Briggs, T. H., Secondary Education (New York: The Mac-Millan Co., 1937), p. 95, quoted in Vandenberg, p. 48.

<sup>37</sup>Vandenberg, p. 48.

meant virtually a vocational curriculum suited to the principal occupations of a given community.

3. the dual, and in some instances triple, function of the high school in serving as a finishing school, a normal school, and a preparatory school.

The activity during this period was not conducive to experimentation within the ranks of independent schools. Their function and curriculum were already settled, on the one hand by the parent who wanted his child to go to college and could afford "private" tuition; on the other, by the colleges which could rely on the suitability of the preparation of the academies for college studies. The decline of independent education in this period is, then, more a function of a disproportionate increase in public high school enrollment than of a shift in philosophical orientation.

As enrollment in the high school increased, so the high school curriculum came to rival that of the academy for a dominant position in secondary education. The battle that was to rage over the degree to which the colleges should determine the curriculum has not yet ended. In its early stages, skirmishes were fought in a series of committees whose mandate was to provide for the liberalization of college-entrance requirements.<sup>38</sup>

In establishing a general statement on the function of secondary education, the Commission on the Reorganization of

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

Secondary Education provided a capstone to the work of earlier committees which had developed the unique American, democratic secondary school. At one and the same time, the Commission, whose report was published in 1918, revealed the prominent political, social, and general philosophies of what may be called the first "national" period in the history of the United States. The long colonial period, while culminating in the Declaration of Independence, had not succeeded in bringing about a resolution of sectionalism or parochialism, and the fledgling attempts to forge a nation out of an independent covey of groups and areas had been interrupted by westward expansion, waves of immigration, the initially divisive influence of the Civil War, and a shift in an economic base from agricultural to industrial.

In the period of reconstruction, and nearing completion by the end of the first World War, the nation committed to political democracy, to a form of social contract, and to a burgeoning utilitarian temper had given form to an educational system unlike any other; and, in turn, it was given new shape and substance by the system which it had created.

The form which these expressions of democracy, social and individual responsibility, and practical inclination took was that of seven objectives promulgated by the Commission in 1918 and known as the Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Butts and Cremin, p. 592.

The fact that the Cardinal Principles made no mention of intellectual objectives led, naturally, to criticism, and for those for whom classical training and college remained as a traditional part of their birthright, the independent school remained as an essential institution.

To this time, 1918, there was little suggestion that all students should complete a secondary education. Compulsory attendance legislation had grown since 1852 to become universal with the measure adopted in Mississippi in 1918, but the compulsory age period varied widely.<sup>40</sup> For the most part such legislation was aimed at securing universal elementary education. The intent of reorganizing groups seems to have been to establish a curriculum in the secondary schools which would equip all the students for their adult lives and livelihoods, a curriculum which would satisfy respectively the "fitting" and "finishing" needs of those going on to college and those for whom high school would be terminal.

The overall impact of the period 1865-1918 may be considered to be as cataclysmic as any in the educational history of this country. While more recent events such as Sputnik, civil rights legislation, and teacher militancy may seem more dramatic, owing to their relatively sudden and overt nature, the events beginning with reconstruction and ending with World

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 415.

War I produced not only the extant philosophies of education but also the pluralistic society which has managed to support America's major growth industry (the public school) while clamoring, sometimes with questionable legality, to establish and maintain independent schools.

The social developments of the period, taken together with scientific and technological innovations, formulated a matrix within which the colonial expressions of idealism and realism would have to be re-examined. From this re-examination emerged a synthesis which, upon maturation, was to be recognized as pragmatism become experimentalism in the thought of John Dewey. Not until the effects of this philosophical distillate had penetrated the schools had the American public school system reached an irreparable breach with its European ancestors.

While the Reconstruction, following on the Civil War, settled the question of whether the nation would be dominated by southern, agrarian interests or by northern, industrial ones, it was only a step away from an even greater milestone for the nation's schools.

By 1890, the land which had beckoned many immigrants was virtually fully subscribed. After this date the concentration of immigration was Eastern, urban, and industrial where previously it had been on the rural, agricultural frontier.

By 1890, the sense of nationalism which had grown strong in the late seventeenth century and had now survived the



interruption of the Civil War, was on another surge. The implications for solidarity created a demand for Americanization of the immigrant population with the necessary concomitant effect of threatening the traditions of persons who represented virtually every other country.

Since it had been the avowed conviction of the groups which had studied the public high school that the secondary curriculum contained the essentials of the "fitting" and "finishing" functions, the public school was not only a practical but a sound agency for the Americanization of the nation's new residents. While admitting on the one hand to the usefulness of the nation of such a development, a number of groups was little short of hostile to the "equalizing" effects of public schools. These groups, where they had the means, either supported existing private schools or founded new ones.

The social and economic upheaval and reorganization of the period 1865-1890 was not unaccompanied by attempts to describe in philosophical terms what was happening in individual and national behavior. The behavior which had previously fit the molds of idealism and classical realism was clearly no longer aptly describable in terms of those systems.

While a strong idealist temper remained, it does not appear to have been the same idealism which obtained in the ante-bellum period. One of the catalysts is identified as the Darwinian scheme of human evolution, which unsettled for the intellectuals

the foundation of naturalism in philosophy and supernaturalism and fundamentalism in religion. The war fought over Darwin has not yet sounded a cease-fire, and a further wedge is seen to have been driven between factions which could support public schools and those demanding religious liberty and schools wherein it might be practiced.

Butts and Cremin point out that

One of the most important points about this movement (the new, post-war idealism) is that it helped to replace the sectarian orthodoxies of the early nineteenth century American higher education with a kind of non-sectarian reliance upon spirituality.<sup>41</sup>

While the idealist position did not receive a main challenge from scientific realism until early in the twentieth century, a philosophic disposition which relied on both systems began to be developed much earlier. The rise of industrialism, laissez-faire capitalism, nationalism, urbanization, the need to absorb and provide for the acculturation of millions of immigrants, the emphasis on self-reliance and the principle of mutual responsibility of individual and society had forced a practical, utilitarian, and materialistic view onto the American people. Formalization of a philosophic system incorporating these "facts of life" can be seen as early as 1871 in the work of Charles Sanders Peirce,<sup>42</sup> whose emphasis on applying the

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 329.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 342.

methods of science leads through to Dewey's experimentalism in respect to method, i.e., testing, as well as to bias, i.e., social.

A further link between science and the validity of idealist and realist philosophy was forged in the work of William James, principally in his Principles of Psychology, published in that same landmark year, 1890, and providing a strong challenge at the same time to revelation and current versions of faculty psychology.

Such, then, is the framework within which the creation and survival of private (later "independent") education into this century must be viewed. From a beginning which was frankly occasioned by ties to Europe, and England in particular, the model of a classics-oriented secondary curriculum served a people for whom such a tradition was strong. Rural America presented the need for schools with boarding facilities, yet with the expansion of the frontier, the agrarian society had little sense of compulsion for secondary schools for children who were either not apt pupils or who were critically needed for work on the family farm.

The tradition of which Latin and Greek were essential features waned, and a slightly more "American" academy grew out of the Latin Grammar School. This movement continued and grew up to and during the early nineteenth century America until challenged by the rise of public secondary education.

That private education did not disappear is attributable to the fact that the nation, once pluralistic largely, in the degree to which it was sectarian, was now become pluralistic in terms of ethnic background, occupation, and class as well as religious commitment. New challenges, previously identified, were unresolved by a public educational system which, while it remained relatively stable and suitable for all in smaller population centers, was necessarily forced to try to accommodate itself to all the diverse factions in the larger towns and cities.

Two more demographic facts need mention here. Urbanization, accelerated by immigration (22,656,578 in the period 1861-1910),<sup>43</sup> was to provide an additional thrust toward compulsory secondary education, which, while not immediately felt, was to find schooling a means of keeping the youth out of a labor market into which it had earlier been forced and exploited. The rise of the railroad began the trend toward population mobility which would create a demand for that for which federal legislation would not be permitted, namely a national similarity--if not uniformity--of curriculum and standards.

New cultures, new religions, new philosophies joined with aspiration and conservatism in maintaining the demand for private secondary schools and, of course, colleges and universities.

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 308.

The private institutions founded in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries adhered to their founding principles of teaching the "great end and real business of living," adapting as need dictated to the new demands of the latter half of the nineteenth century. The schools founded after the Civil War --some to preserve the traditions of the South, others to resist the influx of non-Protestant religious groups, still others to emphasize academic studies beyond the point to which these were carried in the public schools--were the product of a decidedly American impetus and reflected in practice the rights guaranteed in a democratic philosophy.

If "separate but equal" was a satisfactory doctrine for civil rights questions (Roberts, 1849; Plessey vs. Ferguson, 1896),<sup>44</sup> it could not be less applicable to the right of persons of means to send their children to non-public schools either as an exercise of religious scruple or for other reasons.

The primary purpose of the majority of private schools which have survived from this period has been to provide an academically-oriented secondary education. Few have been much involved with vocational education, largely owing to that economic class which has been its chief patron. The intellectual milieu was one in which concern with theories of knowledge and theories of learning had immediate appeal for faculties and

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 318.

parents alike. This is not to say that such schools have been quick to embrace new theories, but even where resistance has been most strong, it may be shown to have been also rapid.

It has, however, been an advantage claimed by independent schools that it is easier for them, than for the public schools, to experiment; and it is not, therefore, surprising to discover some of the earlier applications of pragmatic philosophy to the educational model taking place in such schools.

The place of experiment in the independent school is central to much of its philosophy in this country. Its history has been traced to show its evolution from being virtually the only school extant, through a period of decline as public education expanded, to a renewal during the latter half of the last and the first two decades of the present century.

In 1890, there were 1,632 private secondary schools, representing 39 percent of all high schools, enrolling 95,000 students. In 1918, there were 2,058 private schools, only 13 percent of all high schools, enrolling 159,000 students. Less than one-third of the private schools in 1918 were independent of denominational control. Of these, some were academies, some military schools; some were devoted to the education of "exceptional" children, and some catered to the scions of the upper socio-economic class.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 421.

Many of the changes in independent schools from the historical period to present times will be examined in the following chapters. Two features, size and the principal concern with preparation for college, are scarcely altered.

## CHAPTER II

### PHILOSOPHICAL BASES IN INDEPENDENT SECONDARY EDUCATION

In seeking to determine the philosophical bases and pre-suppositions of independent secondary education, the student is faced with the conditioned inclination to isolate objectives and practices, to characterize them according to some set of operational definitions, and to assign them labels from one or other of the schools of educational or general philosophy. There are, however, three considerations arising from the present research which direct that it is neither useful nor wholly accurate to attempt a taxonomy of philosophical positions found in independent secondary education; that, rather than serving to describe the ethos of this branch of secondary education, a design which sought to assign terms such as "realist," "idealist," or "experimentalist" to the underlying concepts in independent schools would run the risk of obscuring these concepts, some of which are at least asystematic.

If one begins with an academic study of an educational philosophy, it is possible to translate its view of the pupil, its statement of the aims of education, its psychology of learning into a practical framework and say how the given



educational philosophy might be implemented in the classroom. It is a different matter to infer theory from practice.

While the latter inference is possible, it raises the question of what is to be the chief source. May the stated practice of the school, stated in its catalogue section on philosophy and aims, be taken for actual practice? The catalogues of independent secondary schools, like those of the colleges, seem often to be the work of a single hand. If the actual practice in the classroom is to be the chief source, the task of classification is greatly increased by virtue of the fact that it is possible to find, at almost any given moment, a range of practices so great that any effort to bring them all together under a label to be attached to the educational philosophy of the school would be nothing more than an exercise in syncretism.

The third consideration arose from the results of the questionnaire used in this study. To the extent that the views and attitudes of the respondents bear on the issue of philosophy of independent education, it would be misleading to approach these philosophical bases with a view to classifying them according to the terminology of general philosophy.

This chapter will, therefore, attempt to set forth something of the range and nature of concepts concerning the pupil, learning, the purpose of education, and the factor of independence which are to be found in independent secondary schools today.

In tracing the rise and development of the independent school, we have considered the historical period to stretch from colonial times to 1918 and have shown that there was little challenge to philosophize about independent education in this period. The Latin Grammar School had responded to an inherited need for training sons of the aristocracy in preparation for higher education. The academy which emerged from the Latin school had begun the development of a more practical America, although its philosophic antecedents were still largely European. Primary function was still assigned to preparation for college, and the only major shift in philosophical orientation lay in the fact that the "great end and real business" of living had been broadened to include more practical ends of man's endeavor. Since there was no system of public education, it happened--by default, as it were--that the independent school was the

first secondary institution to bridge the gap between the classical training provided by the Latin grammar school of colonial days and the practical educational demands of our young nation.<sup>1</sup>

With the rise of public secondary education, the academy, initially an agent of change, was to become to some degree a force for stability, remaining--or being created--to continue the tradition of college preparation, doctrinal instruction, and training in character and responsibility for leadership. Viewed

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur E. Traxler, "Independent School and Education, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," School and Society, 56 (November 28, 1942), 506.

by some as working against the interests of democracy which the public school was trying to impart to the "melting pot" of the second half of the nineteenth century, the private academy was charged with divisiveness. These three elements, change, stability, and divisiveness, appear at the core of writings about independent secondary education in the present century. The greater challenge to philosophize about its pupils and programs came to independent education at the same time that it did to public education.

John S. Brubacher has written that

The study of educational philosophy has flourished in the twentieth century as never before in the whole history of education....What is the reason for this greatly augmented interest in educational philosophy? Perhaps the simplest answer is the rise of "progressive education" as a cause celebre....As theoretical victories led to more and more victories in the field of practice, the defenders of traditional and conventional education finally took pen in hand to defend their own practices....

The issue really lies much deeper. The experimental schools...were but the vanguard of that larger twentieth-century endeavor to assume more and more intentional control of the social process....Progressive schools...deliberately fashioned their practices on scientific findings. As these often were in conflict with cherished traditional convictions there was an urgent demand for a fresh philosophical approach to resolve the conflict.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>John S. Brubacher, "The Challenge to Philosophize about Education," Modern Philosophies and Education, 54th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education Part I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), pp. 4-5.

Once again the independent school is thrust into the position of pioneering. If, as Brubacher states,

Except for the emergence of John Dewey and the persistent challenge of his pragmatism to every phase of contemporary education, it is unlikely that educational philosophy would have had anywhere near the rise to prominence it has had in this century,<sup>3</sup>

then in the cradle of progressive education at Dewey's independent laboratory school at the University of Chicago can be found at once the continuation of the proud tradition in independent education of experimentation and the beginning of the modern dialogue on philosophy of education as it confirms the function of the nation's independent schools.

Since it is independence which most clearly distinguishes the non-public schools, and since it has been their independence which has led them to develop their views of the pupil, of learning, and of the purpose of education, it is this concept which must be examined first.

#### The philosophy of independence in education

Throughout the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth, those schools which were not supported by public monies were known as "private" schools. There had been some criticism of such private schools, dating back to the beginnings of public education in the early nineteenth century, but it was

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

not until after World War I that the need to change the image of non-public schools arose.

Between 1917 and 1921 some thirty-one states passed laws requiring all instruction in the public schools to be given in the English language....In 1919 Nebraska passed a law prohibiting instruction in any language but English in private or religious as well as in public schools. In Meyer v. Nebraska (1923) the United States Supreme Court declared this law unconstitutional on the grounds that the Fourteenth Amendment protected the liberty of teachers to make contracts to engage in the common occupations of life (teaching German) and the liberty of parents to educate their children as they saw fit (the right to send their children to private and religious schools).<sup>4</sup>

In 1925, suit was brought again in the United States Supreme Court to declare unconstitutional a compulsory education act passed in Oregon in 1922 which required, "with certain exceptions,"

that all normal children between the ages of eight and sixteen years must attend a public school and that any who attend a private school or teacher must obtain the permission of and be examined by the county superintendent of schools. Fearful that the law if enforced would destroy the private and parochial schools in Oregon, a Roman Catholic teaching order brought suit to have the law declared unconstitutional. The United States Supreme Court did so in Pierce v. Society of Sisters in 1925, commonly known as the Oregon decision.<sup>5</sup>

This has been considered as a landmark decision, one which assured the right of private schools to exist.<sup>6</sup> It did underscore the independence of such schools, as had the decision in

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<sup>4</sup>Butts and Cremin, p. 525.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 526.

<sup>6</sup>Byrnes, p. 48.

Meyer v. Nebraska, and when the attacks of those who felt that the Oregon decision was badly wrong began to hit upon such topics as separatism, prejudice, class distinction and snobbishness, and the political motives of private school teachers, private education had to contend with the fact that the word 'private' had become a largely pejorative term.

In the following year, 1926, the non-parochial private schools adopted the name "independent" and from 1927 to 1929 there existed a short-lived journal entitled Independent Education.<sup>7</sup> Since that time, those private schools which are not under the direction of a particular diocesan or religious body have been officially known as "independent" schools. Local, regional, and national associations have reflected independence rather than private enterprise, viz., Independent Schools Association of Greater Chicago, Independent Schools Association of the Central States, the National Association of Independent Schools.

This change of label has also served to distinguish the great majority of non-public schools, which are incorporated "not-for-profit," from the relatively few proprietary schools. Because some proprietary schools have had low standards or have engaged in unscrupulous practice, independent schools have found it necessary to form their own accrediting institutions and have thereby developed the means for policing their own branch of the profession.

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 48-49.

The political and social pressures which urged a change away from the notion of private to one of independent were accompanied in time by the development of new theories of psychology and learning. Other independent schools arose to follow Dewey's model at the University of Chicago "Lab" school, and it was the very fact of their independence that enabled such schools to further Dewey's experiments. The fact that progressive education might contain the promise of a better education was enough to elicit funds, facilities, and faculties. Some independent schools followed the progressive movement; some were created expressly for this purpose; others rejected it either from tradition or conviction. One deduction cannot be escaped: the balance that has been struck is in direct proportion to the demand expressed by those who support independent education, for granting that

to ignore the fact that the patrons' choice of a school is heavily influenced by the factors of educational philosophy and methods is, indeed, distortion<sup>8</sup>

it is also true that, to survive, the independent school must prove its claim to offer a superior educational program, and it must offer what its clients want for their children, since it cannot rely on a compulsory education statute to fill its enrollment.

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<sup>8</sup>Cary Potter, "Discussion" on "Molding of Tender Minds," School and Society, 87 (December 19, 1959), 516.

From its historical role of innovator, evidenced by the academy and the earliest "progressive" schools, and the nature of its dependence on a fee-paying clientele with the power to choose comes one of the basic concepts relevant to independence: the freedom and obligation to experiment.

It must be thoroughly understood, as one headmaster has reminded his colleagues, that "one cannot generalize rashly about 'the independent school.'"<sup>9</sup> It must not, for example, be concluded that all independent schools consider that they have an obligation to experiment, or indeed that they are free to do so. Others, however, are not only aware of such freedom and obligation, but consider this to be one of the unique advantages of independent education.<sup>10</sup>

Arthur Traxler, Associate Director of the Educational Records Bureau, has affirmed that

the independent-school group includes at once some of the most conservative and some of the most progressive and experimentally minded schools in the United States.<sup>11</sup>

At its best, the sense of obligation to experiment is characterized by a vigorous commitment to professional and national

<sup>9</sup>Edward T. Hall, "Schools of Independence," Teachers' College Record, 62 (March, 1961), 434.

<sup>10</sup>Of 107 respondents to the study questionnaire, 84 agreed that "freedom to experiment" was a unique advantage of independent education.

<sup>11</sup>Arthur E. Traxler, p. 508.



aims. Various writers have viewed the ability and inclination of independent schools in various contexts. Edward Hall's comment that it is the "right of the independent school...to be as varied within its own genre as standards of quality will permit,"<sup>12</sup> implies experimentation as the source of such variation. Claude M. Fuess, former headmaster of Phillips Academy, Andover, speaks of "an amazing medley of theories and policies, ranging from the conventionally orthodox to the dramatically heretical."<sup>13</sup> Donald W. Rogers pointed out the sometimes embarrassing lag between philosophy and practice in commenting on the results of a poll reported in Fortune magazine in May, 1944, wherein 82 headmasters of the 129 polled affirmed that independent schools should undertake "pioneering" for the benefit of education, but 33 heads had no pioneering worth reporting.<sup>14</sup>

The vigorous commitment finds few testimonials superior to that of Leighton Johnson:

It should be emphasized that the most cogent argument for independent schools is that they are free from the inertia and the restraints which enthrall public education and they are free to employ, and sometimes committed to the employment of unusual, promising approaches which are not yet generally accepted in the public schools. We need a common awareness that

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<sup>12</sup>Edward T. Hall, p. 432.

<sup>13</sup>Claude M. Fuess, "Independent Schools in the Postwar World," Educational Record, 28 (January, 1947), 91.

<sup>14</sup>Donald W. Rogers, "Private Schools in American Life," Journal of Higher Education, 15 (December, 1944), 475.

progress can be made in education, that it can be made in diverse ways, that efforts often criticized in public education as "progressive education" are efforts often praised in the independent school as more enlightened education, and that the independent school can be the breeding place and testing ground of ideas that will strengthen all education in the future.<sup>15</sup>

Evidence of experimentation does not argue that experimentation as an aim of independent education is considered to be a "good" by a given number of schools. On the other hand, comments such as Traxler's that it was "no accident that of the thirty schools in the Eight Year Study of the Progressive Education Association, sixteen were independent schools,"<sup>16</sup> do point up the fact that experiment may be more easily undertaken in independent schools. That sixteen did take part in the Eight Year Study is adduced as evidence that experimentation is a basic element in the philosophy of independence, as is the fact that it was three independent schools which, with Harvard, Princeton, and Yale, produced the so-called "Three School, Three College Study" which led to the Advanced Standing Program.<sup>17</sup>

In its basic approach to experimentation, the independent secondary school suggests that pioneering is merely one of the concomitants of its larger and over-arching aim of fitting boys

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<sup>15</sup>Leighton H. Johnson, "Unemphasized Aspects of the Independent School Question," School and Society, 87 (May 23, 1959), 240.

<sup>16</sup>Traxler, pp. 507-508.

<sup>17</sup>Hall, p. 437.

and girls for life. In 1947, the current bulletin of Phillips Academy, Andover, stated:

Phillips Academy is a liberal modern school with an ancient tradition. Its roots are in the past from which it draws nourishment. But its spirit is that of the present and is always looking toward the future. Without embracing untested theories of education it is on the alert to discover and utilize better methods for training American boys for service and leadership in modern American life.<sup>18</sup>

Certainly "service and leadership" had been understood at the time of Andover's charter in the eighteenth century by the phrase "the great end and real business of living."

The 1967 catalogue of The Choate School contains the following statement of philosophy:

The School was founded...to combine the life of a family and the life of a school, so that while a boy is gaining the benefits that a school must first of all provide--spiritual leadership, effective and inspiring teaching, sound discipline, physical development, and association with purposeful men and boys --he need not lose the warmth of intimate influence that should characterize his home....the School of today is planned...to provide the same training and influences.

Under right influences, a boy wants to learn; Choate has long discarded the outmoded presupposition of a reluctant student driven by an omniscient teacher in favor of stimulating, modern approaches.<sup>19</sup>

The tone of these remarks, characteristic of much of the prose in the catalogues of independent schools, reveals

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<sup>18</sup> Joseph J. Wocasek, "What's Happening in Private Schools," American School Board Journal, 115 (December, 1947), 17.

<sup>19</sup> Catalogue of The Choate School, Wallingford, Connecticut, 1966-1967, pp. 7, 9.

something of the nature of those institutions which is conducive to vigorous and sustained experiment: the unmistakable sense of conviction behind the words themselves; the strong--and largely correct--impression that whatever the individual educational theories of trustees, administration, and faculty there is consensus on the fundamental aims of the school; the sense of permanence bred of the knowledge that no sudden ukase will threaten radical change.

The element of stability is vital to much of the philosophy of independent education. One contributing feature is that of size. Even with the recent "population explosion," the independent secondary schools have been deliberately kept small. Another feature is selectivity; independent schools admit the students they want--and can dismiss those whom they find themselves unequipped to educate. In this way, they have been able to control the size of their operation and direct their efforts to teaching; they have not had to contend with overcrowding or with large numbers of recalcitrant students who might have limited the responsibilities of the faculty to a form of babysitting.

Independent education has found the freedom to select central to its concepts about independence. Freedom to select students was considered a unique advantage by 93 of the schools which replied to the study questionnaire. Five respondents gratuitously added "freedom to select teachers" to the list

of advantages offered, and one expressed the sentiment more strongly: "The single most important advantage is freedom to select faculty."<sup>20</sup> Other comments adverted to the freedom to select curricular objectives or textbooks as a matter of either individual or, at least, local initiative. It is, of course, clear that these freedoms entail corresponding responsibilities, perhaps chief among which is that of providing a curriculum, and persons to teach it, which will accomplish the aim of preparing the student for admission to college.

Freedom of selection of students is, of course, essential to the conduct of a college-preparatory school. In each year's crop of applicants there will be those who, on the basis of their previous work and their scores on entrance tests, will be judged to be simply unable to meet the academic standards of the school. Despite often very severe pressure to accept a student who falls into this category, many independent schools resolutely resist accepting students who they feel would encounter only failure and frustration. It is somewhat easier for the boarding school to make this resistance than it is for the city or country day school because of the geographical remoteness of the boarding school from any given pressure group of parents or alumni.

Given the freedom of selection, it then falls upon the board of trustees to establish policy respecting the aims of the school

<sup>20</sup>Questionnaire #93, comment on Question B2. (Since respondents have been guaranteed anonymity, the only means of identification for questionnaire results used in this paper is that of the number assigned to the return in its order of receipt.)

The independent schools which were founded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were typically begun either by a group which created educational facilities where none had previously existed or better facilities than had existed; or by an individual who wished to express his own philosophy of education. The role of the trustees may originally have been as simple as providing reputation, financial support, and a sense of continuity. With the expansion of population and of independent education, the original functions have been expanded to include responsibility for such policy decisions as:

1. **Aim:** Shall the school be strictly college-preparatory?  
Shall it serve the needs of a specific community?
2. **Admissions:** What shall be the size of the school?  
Shall it be racially integrated?  
Shall there be a quota for given racial, religious, or ethnic groups?  
Who and how many shall receive tuition aid or scholarship?
3. **Faculty:** Are teachers to be required to have professional preparation in education?  
Are inexperienced teachers to be engaged?  
Are salaries to be competitive with those of public school teachers?  
Is tenure to be offered?  
What perquisites (major medical, annuity, sabbatical, etc.,) shall be provided and for whom?

Within the framework of the policies developed from decisions on these and other questions, the independent school administration and faculty will be expected to develop and maintain the highest possible standards. With the independence to do so goes a heightened awareness and expression of individualism,

resourcefulness, and vision, qualities which are not only highly valued by teachers and administrators but are also incorporated into the school's aims for its students.

The trustees engage a headmaster--he is rarely called a principal--or headmistress on the basis of his or her own education, experience in teaching, the degree to which they share in the aims of the school, but very largely on the force of the head's personality, or what may be called "image." By use of the term "headmaster" is implied not only that he is the supervising teacher but also that he is the head of the school. From the head, even though he does not make policy, comes the interpretation and implementation of policy which effectively sets the tone or philosophy of the school during his administration.

It is not uncommon to hear the phrase "my school", but it is seldom more apt than when it is voiced by an independent school head, for the ideal and largely common practice is for the trustees to withdraw after policy is established and confine themselves largely to financial direction and the development of capital or endowment funds.

The element of educational leadership located on the premises, a leadership which not only may but is expected to create an ever-better school in all its dimensions, a leadership which theoretically and often practically reaches personally to every faculty member, every student, and into the deepest recesses of the boiler room and the drainage ditch on the athletic field,

gives a fundamental dimension to independent education, supporting as it does the sense of the independence of the school as a complete entity in itself rather than as part of a system. When a headmaster says "We can do anything we want to do," it is not a boast of power as much as it is a restatement of the responsibility of independent school operation.

The history of independent secondary education is in large part a history of men, headmasters whose personal force was the philosophy of the school. Porter Sargent, whose firm publishes a handbook on private schools, in characterizing the types of men who have become legends in independent schools, underscores this point with a quote taken from the autobiography of Ellery Sedgwick, "Always Groton was trying to be an institution but always it was personality that made it what it was."<sup>21</sup>

The freedom to experiment, the knowledge that one will be working for the most part with students who are reasonably motivated toward college preparation, and the sense of immediate and autonomous leadership are the features mainly responsible for attracting teachers to independent schools. Here again freedom to select is vital to the philosophy of independent schools. The headmaster is free to hire the teacher he wants, and in many states independent school teachers are not required to meet even minimum certification requirements.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup>P. E. Sargent, "Trends in Private Schools," Nation's Schools, 40 (July, 1947), 22.

<sup>22</sup>Twenty-four of 42 state departments of education, replying to a questionnaire sent as part of this study, said that independent school teachers did not need to meet certification requirements.



The independent school teacher, once hired, is very often an independent entity within the school. In-service training in independent schools is often of a very informal nature, and a number of schools frankly state that they do not conduct such training.<sup>23</sup> In an article containing a description of a beginning teacher's first year, this feature of independence is indicted by a former teacher who is now with a publishing firm:

This watch-and-wait attitude, a kind of sink-or-swim madness that benefits no one and hurts everyone, is based on the assumption that any kind of teacher-training infringes on a new teacher's freedom to develop his own style of teaching and on the independent school mystique that the best training method is to throw the new teacher to the students; if he survives, as the mystique goes, he will be a better, stronger, and more cunning teacher because of it. This belief is idiocy....All that he has to guide him when he enters the classroom is what he remembers of successful teachers when he was a student. But fond memories of favorite teachers are not sufficient preparation for teaching.<sup>24</sup>

There is evidence that the view expressed by Mr. Greeley may need to be changed. In 1967, a pamphlet prepared for the Committee on Teacher Training of the National Association of Independent Schools and entitled The Nurture of a First-Class Faculty noted the following:

a number of independent schools have had superb programs to help teachers reach out, grow, and contribute to their own and education's development....schools

<sup>23</sup>Fifty-seven of the 107 respondents to the study questionnaire reported in-service training at their schools.

<sup>24</sup>Samuel J. M. Greeley, "The Ivy-Halled Vocation," The Independent School Bulletin, 27 (December, 1967), 26.

themselves are seeking and finding ways to challenge their own teachers, or perhaps better, to help in the kind of unfolding and exploring a first-class teacher wants and needs in his developing career.<sup>25</sup>

A follow-up study was done in the fall of 1967 by means of a questionnaire sent to NAIS schools; the results are reported by John deQuincy Briggs, Assistant Headmaster of the Middlesex School and Associate Editor of The Independent School Bulletin in the February, 1968 issue. As Briggs sees it, the statistics gathered from the replies of 400 to 460 schools "support the conclusion that many still believe in the classroom as a teacher's private establishment, not to be interfered with."<sup>26</sup> The general comments returned with Mr. Briggs' questionnaire again reflected a wide variety of practice which challenges the validity of simple generalizations about the independent school.

If the view of the classroom as a "teacher's private establishment" is a hindrance to efficacy in teacher-training, it does, nevertheless, support the time-honored value of academic freedom. For the independent school, academic freedom is viewed grossly as the freedom of the school to conduct its own programs, with its own methods, and with faculty and students of its own choosing, to the accomplishments of its own ends; or, as John F. Gummere, headmaster of William Penn Charter School, has expressed it:

<sup>25</sup> quoted in John deQ. Briggs, "In-service Teacher Training," The Independent School Bulletin, 27 (February, 1968), 19.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

Freedom to teach what faculty and administration consider wisest and most appropriate to the educational principles for which...a school stands is something highly cherished by the independent educational institution.<sup>27</sup>

Or, as put somewhat more succinctly by a respondent to the study questionnaire, a unique obligation of the independent school is "to be independent."<sup>28</sup>

Viewed more specifically, academic freedom is personal; it is the freedom of the individual teacher to teach to the aims of the school and within the broad definition of courses as established by his department but by his own method, often on topics of his own choice, and not infrequently with the aid of texts and other materials of his own selection. That this freedom has led to excesses should not be more surprising than in the case of any other freedom, but if there have been witch-hunts after bolshevists, free-love advocates, or other social or political anarchists (real or supposed), there have also been great and inspiring teachers, legends in their own time, who, it is obviously felt by many in independent education, would have been smothered by any abrogation of such freedom.

Eighty-one of the schools replying to the study questionnaire indicated "academic freedom" as a unique advantage of independent schools, and one specifically extended this with the

<sup>27</sup>John F. Gummere, "Independent School in American Culture," Teachers' College Record, 62 (March, 1961), 453.

<sup>28</sup>Questionnaire #16.

comment "individual freedom of teachers."<sup>29</sup> There was, as expected, some dissent, and the comments reflect their concern:

What is it?

What does this mean?

I doubt this is true in schools below college level.

What kind of academic freedom? (name of school) has no tenure--so how free is one to speak on sensitive areas? How free is one to act?<sup>30</sup>

These four ingredients, freedom to experiment, local and largely autonomous leadership, freedom to select, and academic freedom emerge from the literature, the study questionnaire, and interviews with teachers and administrators in independent secondary schools as the most nearly constant values associated with independence.

Whether or not independent schools do experiment, whether or not they succumb to other-directedness, whether or not they are susceptible to pressures which limit or eradicate their freedom to select, and whether or not they exercise academic freedom with courage and vision, they give testimony to their philosophical commitment to these values by existing as independent schools. If to be independent is to have the potential for these freedoms--and of course their concomitant responsibilities --then to be independent (whether for a school or for one who works in such a school) is to affirm that these ingredients are essential to education. If, as many believe, these freedoms are

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<sup>29</sup>Questionnaire #89.

<sup>30</sup>Questionnaires #68, 76, 47, 99.

unique advantages of independent schools, then the inference must be drawn of the assumption that the absence or curtailment of these freedoms which, by definition, exists in non-independent schools also constitutes a curtailment of education as it is defined by independent schoolmen.

Definitions of the independent school, intending to show the quality of independence, abound; the fact of their number argues the difficulty of a definition acceptable to all or even a majority. Some definitions, such as those which appear in school catalogues, are intended as advertising, but those which appear in statements of official bodies or in the studies of those who have attempted to characterize independent education may be taken as summary views of the philosophy of independence.

A "Statement by the National Council of Independent Schools," forerunner of the National Association of Independent Schools, on "The Functions of Independent Secondary Education in the United States," expressed the following statement of faith:

It would be foolhardy to attempt to set down for such a variegated group as the independent schools of the United States a single credo. Nevertheless, the National Council of Independent Schools believes that there is common to all true independent foundations a central core of faith, the emanations of which, permeating all our mutual and separate endeavors, give them meaning, purpose, and dignity.

We believe that the crisis of our time is a spiritual crisis.

We believe in God, and in the universal brotherhood of man. We hold that such belief should be

taught, and that pupils should be made familiar with the history and bases of religion.

We believe that the inalienable rights of the individual derive from God. We believe accordingly that the individual has inescapable duties which flow from these rights, and we hold it an obligation on the school to teach both these rights and these duties.

We believe that education resting on freedom of inquiry and freedom of faith is a basic guarantee of cultural continuity and of liberty itself. We hold it the duty of our schools to teach how to meet and manage difficult intellectual tasks. We believe that all good teaching is rooted and grounded in character carefully cultivated and based on religion and ethics. From such teaching, learning will grow into a life-long strength on which a person may draw in all the private, economic, political, and spiritual stresses, strains, and joys which he will encounter.

Independent education. Independent schools have a noble and proud tradition. We believe that their contribution to the nation and mankind has been substantial. The progress of mankind has been in direct proportion to the freedom of education, the trust in free inquiry, and the virtue of the individual. The first sure warning of tyranny, whether by an individual or by a majority, is the attempt to seize control of education; the certain consequence of established tyranny is the fall of the universities, colleges, and schools, which it invariably recognizes as its most dangerous enemies.<sup>31</sup>

The statement on the place of religion in independent education contained in the credo given above is carefully non-denominational; it unmistakably reflects, however, the concern of a great many independent schools with spiritual values. Many of today's non-public, non-parochial schools have strong church

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<sup>31</sup>National Council of Independent Schools, "The Functions of Independent Secondary Education in the United States," School and Society, 74 (September 8, 1951), 150.

affiliations; others are pronouncedly Christian but, equally pronouncedly, non-denominational. Compulsory chapel service, sometimes a daily event, is a feature of many of the boarding schools. The emphasis on religion in many instances asserts the historical origins of independent schools, founded as they were by clergymen or laity of a particular denomination. Some continue to be strongly Episcopal or Congregational; others have kept the stress on religion by means of a service of worship and either required or optional courses in Bible or comparative religion. While admitting students of other, or no, persuasion, such schools do not excuse any on grounds of conscience; those who cannot accept the program should not accept admission. At the same time that it continues the tradition of its origins, the independent school in focusing on religion also emphasizes its place in a pluralistic society, a society so pluralistic that, on the one hand, it has forced the extrapolation of separation of church and state to the point where prayer in public schools is outlawed by the Supreme Court while, on the other, it has contributed to the growth of non-public institutions.

The resultant dichotomy is crucial to an understanding of independent education in the United States in the present time. Only the fact that there is a significant number of schools which would not subscribe for themselves to the affirmation of faith in the place of religion qua religion in independent education has relegated this aspect to a place outside the four

values identified earlier. That religion is a stronger force than some, or all, of the previously mentioned values in many independent schools is evidenced by the positions taken on the aims of education.

The dichotomy created by the effect of current legislative and judicial action with respect to religion in schools can be rather simply reduced to the following schema:

To insure freedom of religion, a constitutional safeguard of democracy has provided for a separation of church and state

which, as it affects state, i.e., public schools, has led to legislation forbidding religious observances or prayer.

Independent schools are a necessity, made so by the principle of church-state separation which forces those parents who feel that religion is an essential part of education to go outside the public school system.

In this respect, independent schools share with parochial schools the position of being the bastion of religious education.

Because independent schools must charge fees, they are accused of furthering class, i.e., socio-economic, distinctions and, in so doing, being undemocratic.



In contradistinction, the public schools are opposed to the notions of class distinction and privilege on the grounds of philosophical commitment to the principles of democracy,

one of whose freedoms is that of religion.

But "Christian" education is not Democracy-centered. It is Theocentric, Christocentric, Ecclesiocentric."<sup>32</sup>

That secondary education must embody, or be embodied in, religion is, then, central to the position of many independent schools concerning their rights and obligations of independence.

Other summaries of the philosophy of independence have struck a similar note, some affirming the commitment to Christian education, others stressing secular spiritual values.

In the report of a survey of curricular changes in "private" schools (the terms "private" and "independent" are still largely interchangeable), Wocasek, while affirming that

...the educational philosophy of the headmaster or founder should ultimately determine the instruction offered in a private school,

concludes his report with the following:

Perhaps the best summary of the philosophy of education of the secondary private schools can be secured from the bulletin of the Oakwood School, founded in 1796 at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., which says:

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<sup>32</sup>Byrnes, p. 54, quoting Sister Mary Joseph Raby, A Critical Study of the New Education.

"The objectives of the school are: to develop and maintain strong bodies; to encourage and evolve those traits of character that are basic and essential to a Christian personality; to lay a sound basis for further educational advancement; to provide an environment in which children may learn to live together; and to develop appreciation for our social heritage.<sup>33</sup>

In an article arguing the need for curricular change to accomplish some of the independent school's axiological ends, John Ferguson suggests some of the secular spiritual values:

A course on the secondary school level about the nature of man may seem to be highly superfluous. After all, our independent schools are the last bastion of religious and intellectual freedom, it is said, and man's nature is being illuminated in chapel all the time. Everyone knows that our faculties keep talking about man in each of the courses they have taught so long and so lovingly. Even the daily life of the school and the image of the headmaster serve as constant elucidations of human nature in dynamic action. A credit course on man himself hardly seems necessary.

In reality, the portrait of man given in schools today is a patchwork of wisdom, prejudice, truth, and wishful thinking. The quest for truth about man is handicapped by a curriculum weighted down by the vested interests of those who teach it and who guard its sacred subdivisions in the same way that the different construction unions defend their separate territories in labor squabbles. The courses may look different, the textbooks may change color, the Harvard professors may advise us to consent, but the five disciplines grind on; and man himself is never actually studied as the point of focus.<sup>34</sup>

While Ferguson's remarks are basically devoted to a narrower curricular, perspective of the philosophy of independence, they

<sup>33</sup>Wocasek, pp. 17, 19.

<sup>34</sup>John P. Ferguson, "The Nature of Man," The Independent School Bulletin, 27 (February, 1968), 23.

do serve to update the statements and conclusions, given above, of the National Council of Independent Schools (1951) and of Wocasek (1947). A more broadly philosophical summary of the current perspective is provided by McMillin:

To the uninformed public, we are often schools for "exceptional" children (to employ an educationist euphemism), for boys and girls from broken homes, or for the offspring of important people whose careers allow them only minimum contact with their families. In part, of course, we are these schools. We are many other kinds of schools as well. We are in hearty disagreement among ourselves in dozens of respects. And this particularism of ours can goad us into mutual jealousies and rivalries that are not very admirable.

Yet can we not think and act our way more deeply into what we possess in common? In our very individualism, in our very determination to go our own individual way, lies our unity of purpose. We enjoy being different from one another, and we can learn to enjoy much more than we do now the differences of our brother and sister schools, as well as those of our own. Unlike the public school, the independent school need make no pretense of attempting to be many things to all parents. This is the very glory of the independent identity. We enjoy a kind of special freedom, risky as it is. The name of our national organization has helped us to feel both our individuality and our community: Association of Independent Schools. As individual schools, we are, most of us, sharply defined. The variety of our definitions is our strength. It cannot be said, however, in our own rank-and-file consciousness at least, that our association (lower-case a and upper case A) is so well defined. Yet as a gadfly it has great potentialities for using a beneficent sting.<sup>35</sup>

It is McMillin's reservation that in the "rank-and-file consciousness," the community or association of the independent

<sup>35</sup> Laurence McMillin, "Big Education: Can Independent Schools Survive," The Independent School Bulletin, 26 (February, 1967), 10.

schools is not well defined. The reason for this lack of definition has already been offered by McMillin himself: it is the individuality--or independence--of each school which focuses attention away from community and toward "independent identity." No satisfactory credo for all independent schools, even on the question of philosophy of independence, is any more available today than it was in 1951 (cf. p. 62).

The findings of this study do support, however, the conclusion that while there are differences in hierarchical arrangement of assumptions underlying the nature, the rights, and the obligations of independence, there are certain constants or near-constants (experimentation, local autonomy, freedom of selection, and academic freedom; freedom for religious education) which tend toward a distinct philosophy of independent education.

Sixty-eight respondents to the study questionnaire said that they felt that there was a "distinct philosophy of independent education." Twenty-two felt that the same philosophy prevailed in public and independent education. If there is a central, and common, assumption in independent education, it is--as McMillin also points out--the value of individuality over community, at least as this value reflects the relation of independent secondary education to the mainstream of secondary education in the United States.

Viewed more particularly, that is, in terms of practice among and within the independent schools themselves, this

central, common, value expresses itself more precisely in terms of the motives and objectives of a pluralistic society reflecting its pluralism. As will be seen from an examination of views of the pupil and of the aims of education, "individuality over community" becomes "individuality within community."

### Views of the Pupil in Independent Secondary Education

The most striking aspect of stated philosophy and practice regarding the pupil in independent schools is the concern with the individual. Thirty-one of forty-four replies to question B14 in the study questionnaire included either direct or indirect reference to the individual.<sup>36</sup> Characteristic of the questionnaire returns and of the language of school catalogue statements is the use of the singular, "student," "his," "her," "participation by all students so that each..."

The verbalized position is supported in the nature and practice of independent schools.

1. Most independent schools are relatively small; many have refused to increase enrollment despite the demand of greater numbers of applicants.
2. The ideal student-faculty ratio in independent schools is most commonly expressed in the range of 10-1 to 15-1.

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<sup>36</sup>Question B14 asked: What term (or descriptive sentence) best describes the underlying aim or philosophy of the total program of your school (including instruction, athletics, activities)? For individual comments on this and other questions, see the Appendix.

3. Many independent schools limit not only class size (15 is not uncommon; 20 is near average; 25 would be considered large) but also teaching load (4-5 sections). In addition, schools attempt to free teachers from as much paperwork and non-teaching chores as possible; these have in view providing more time for individual attention, "extra help."
4. Independent study has shown a marked increase recently; many schools are experimenting with programs in which a student is freed from some or all of his regular classes and appointments to carry out a project of his own design with the direction of one or more faculty members.
5. Typically, guidance and counselling services are provided by classroom teachers, or by administrators (housemasters, directors of studies, as well as headmasters) who in many instances also teach, coach athletics, and/or advise extracurricular activities.

(Some schools have added specialists, or have specialized such functions as college counselling, but this has not diminished the counselling function of other staff members.)

While other schools would express the underlying assumption in other terms, the following statement is indicative of concern with the individual and suggestive of the practice of using the sum of a school's resources: plant, personnel, and philosophy for the benefit of the individual.

#### I. A Basic Assumption

Mankind is perfectible and each reaches his perfection in the degree to which he finds a relationship between himself and the "over soul."\* Since each child is different and will find his own best potential unlike that of others, there must be educational opportunity with enough variety to accommodate this difference.

## II. Some Basic Human Values

- A. Discipline approaching the level where the individual will (does) accept reality as real, and will govern himself in a manner consistent with his purposes and the known facts.
- B. Realization of self in a framework of philosophical and social truth.
- C. Purpose consistent with and responsive to the individual's psychological needs, individual beliefs, and our social mores.
- D. Knowledge essential to the understanding of these values.

\* Concepts here are derived from the writings of Plato and Emerson.<sup>37</sup>

Two other features of the independent school underscore their concern with the individual.

First, the primary--and in some instances exclusive--aim of the vast majority of independent schools is preparation of the individual for higher education. Some schools do choose to work, sometimes exclusively, with those who will not pursue a college career, but the larger segment of independent schools is devoted to "fitting" rather than "finishing." The changes, sometimes subtle, sometimes dramatic, which have occurred in the process of college admission have emphasized the importance of counselling students in terms of a specific college or colleges as opposed to college per se. Chief among these changes is, of

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<sup>37</sup>Statement of the "Philosephy of the School" of a country day school in the midwest.

course, the greater numbers of high school graduates going on to college and the corresponding increase in selectivity among the colleges themselves.

Where, twenty years ago or even less, independent schools might have achieved their goal of college preparation by feeding students through the "factory" of a traditional, single-track curriculum with little or no concern for directing them toward experiences which would have the effect of individualizing the college applicant, today's independent school must provide the "educational opportunity with enough variety" cited in the Basic Assumption above, together with enough direction for each student so that the applicant becomes, as one interviewee put it, "somebody the college wants."

The second feature is found in the socio-economic level of the students and their families. Because independent schools, with very few exceptions, must charge tuition and other fees, the larger part of their enrollment is made up of the sons and daughters of upper-middle and upper income families. This fact is one of the contributors to the charge of snobbishness against independent schools, and there is no question that some of the schools are, indeed, "social." That this is so is an instance of nothing more sinister than the right of parents to choose an educational institution for their children, and social class is as apt--if not as common--a denominator as religion. There is, however, a more purposive characteristic of the economic level



from which the majority of independent school students come: the identification of their socio-economic privilege with the potential for leadership.

It is felt by many in independent secondary education that their fee-paying students represent either inherited prestige and influence within the community (sometimes the nation) or, by virtue of their background and the contacts which their education is likely to foster, a potential leadership. It becomes, therefore, part of the mission of the independent school to see to the education of the privileged so that privilege is translated into responsibility.

It is largely owing to the self-concept of independent schools as training grounds for leadership that the schools have made a conscientious effort to provide scholarship funds for able and promising students from lower income families.

McMiliin sums the argument:

As "private schools" it is true that we must go out of business. In the equalitarian twentieth century, we suffer greatly from a bad conscience. We hear ourselves described as small bastions of privilege and as obsolescent enemies to equality of opportunity, and we half believe it. However, our experience ought to have taught us to know better than to use superficial economic criteria to evaluate opportunity. An ever more dominant social value in this country is not Who-One-Is but What-One-Achieves....Should we deprive the professor's son of the best teachers in order to "equalize" educational opportunity? Or should we disallow to a rich boy, neglected as well as spoiled, the educational advantages which tuition below the college level can at least begin to buy for him? His potential for service to society itself is probably greater than that

of the average. Should we turn him loose in a society of diffuse values when he needs to learn (1) self-respect and (2) noblesse oblige without the pretensions of noblesse.<sup>38</sup>

The individual is, then, someone for whom it is not sufficient that he shall pass his courses and earn a diploma. He will, it is hoped, prosper academically, for the immediate goal is admission to college, but beyond that--and often viewed much more importantly--independent schools work to:

develop leadership, citizenship, and self-discipline.<sup>39</sup>

prepare...students for a democratic society so that they may make their maximum contribution.<sup>40</sup>

develop...full potential and a sense of responsibility to his fellow man.<sup>41</sup>

(educate) for service, for commitment, for the use of one's facilities for the benefit of the community.<sup>42</sup>

In a similar vein, The Choate School also suggests how these aims are to be accomplished:

The minutiae of college preparation may gradually disappear from the memory of Alumni; but the insights and example of Masters whom Choate boys have come to know will form a growing force toward responsible manhood.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>McMillin, p. 10.

<sup>39</sup>Questionnaire #29.

<sup>40</sup>Questionnaire #34.

<sup>41</sup>Questionnaire #66.

<sup>42</sup>Questionnaire #100.

<sup>43</sup>Catalogue of The Choate School, Wallingford, Connecticut, 1966-1967, p. 7.

Choate is a prestigious New England boys' boarding school, founded in 1896. An older (1853) girls' boarding school shows the purpose behind its program of individual guidance:

Grier is primarily interested in developing all-around girls. To this end, attention is focused on eliminating self-consciousness and self-centeredness without destroying the individuality of the girl. The ability to get along with others and discipline one's self is of paramount importance.

The Dean of Girls works with the personal guidance, and the Guidance Committee is comprised of all four administrators. This Committee sets school policies and is the final word on major decisions.<sup>44</sup>

A boarding and day school for boys, established in 1900, continues the theme with this catalogue statement:

At Colorado Academy, a ratio of 9 to 1 between students and faculty makes possible a unity unique with its independent school character. The young mind draws frequently from the mature one; the forming personality finds models among the cultivated. This dialogue at Colorado Academy is vital to individual growth, to the formation of high standards of thought and conduct.

and in a note appropriate to the aims of independent schools for themselves and their students:

In the words of Francis M. Froelicher, educator and uncle of the present Headmaster, a school ought to maintain "a unity of direction with an individuality of path."<sup>45</sup>

With the exception of a relatively small number of more specialized independent schools which do not encompass among

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<sup>44</sup>Catalogue of The Grier School, Tyrone, Pennsylvania, 1967-1968, p. 10.

<sup>45</sup>Catalogue of Colorado Academy, Denver, Colorado, pp. 3, 4.

their immediate goals the admission of their students to college, the twin aims of academic excellence and personal responsibility for leadership are inseparable from the view of the pupil. That the individual is also central in the specialized schools is evidenced by their programs and practices: schools for children already engaged professionally in the performing arts are specially designed so that the professional engagements do not preclude the student from completing the academic program; tutorial schools operate on virtually a one-to-one basis; schools for dependent children augment the normal functions of a school to provide for the individual the environment of the family.

For the majority of students in the majority of independent secondary schools, the following conditions shape the overall view of the pupil:

1. Parents send their children to independent schools for a variety of reasons. Common to all appears to be the desire for the child to have certain advantages: sound academic preparation, strong moral and spiritual example, a healthful climate, desirable personal and social contacts and relationships.

A virtually universal aim is preparation for college.

2. The students are selected by the school, some on the rigid basis of their performance on entrance examinations, some on non-intellectual factors. (There is a strong missionary or "soul-saving" instinct in many independent school teachers and administrators.)

While there are sometimes incalculable pressures to take certain students, the majority of admissions is based on a decision by the school that it is equipped to contribute to the development of the applicant.

3. The reaction to the demand for "private" education is varied. Independent schools vary in standards and emphases--some will not admit a student whose I.Q. is below 115; others would rapidly go out of business if they adopted this standard.

Some schools offer a sound, if not rigorous, academic program but increase the emphasis on "culture"--with disproportionate stress placed on appreciation of the arts, personal poise, and the social graces.

4. All schools, whether offering rigorously academic, "social," or--as do most--a sound, well-balanced program of academics, athletics, and activities, recognize the greater likelihood of their students' becoming influential forces in the adult community.

To this end, the independent school views the individual pupil not merely as a disembodied intellect to be academically trained<sup>46</sup> but as a whole being to be developed physically, mentally, emotionally, and spiritually with a view to his future service to society.

This summary of conditions which promote the view of the pupil as an individual is consistent with the statement of the National Council of Independent Schools (cf., pp. 62-63) for independent schools as a group; the catalogue of Avon Old Farms, Avon, Connecticut, reveals how the view is particularized:

We in America no longer necessarily assume that gentleness, courtesy, goodness, kindness, uprightness, honesty, and a sense of fair play are inherited characteristics transmitted from father to son. We count on no one privileged class to produce gentlemen.... We have created a new...class--the aristocracy of the well-trained intellect, the elite of the well-ordered mind and the quickened spirit. It is to education that we turn to furnish us with this class--to schools and colleges that we look for our gentlemen....

<sup>46</sup>In this respect the schools reflect, in varying degrees, the influence of twentieth century pragmatism in opposition to the "disembodied intellect" associated with earlier faculty psychology.

The central idea was never better expressed than in the words of the Founder (Theodate Pope Riddle; the school was founded in 1927) herself:

The ways in which people differ are more important than the ways in which they are alike.

This concept of the importance of individual differences may in 1927 have been ahead of its time. Pondering it today, you realize that it is increasingly accepted.

As modern medicine has come down to the single cell, as physics has come down to the atom, so education has come to the individual.

The public schools, which must by their nature deal with mass-education, have difficulty in insuring that individuals shall profit from education in ways that meet their own needs and develop their particular strengths.

But this field is precisely where such a school as Avon--not only because of its larger ratio of instructors to students but by reasons of policies inherent in its whole educational pattern--ought to shine.<sup>47</sup>

Starting with the premise of the pupil as an individual, the adjunct views of the pupil vary with the school along a continuum of philosophical presuppositions which has come to have its polar positions identified by the terms "traditional" and "progressive." Within the several schools, the views vary with the teacher's personal philosophy of education and his notion of the nature of the adolescent. These individual notions are too variegated to be included in this study, albeit many of the differences are of degree rather than of kind. The development of an instrument to determine attitudes of teachers in independent schools could furnish the basis for an important

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<sup>47</sup> Catalogue of Avon Old Farms, Avon, Connecticut, 1965-1966, pp. 2, 3.

dissertation in itself. For present purposes, an examination of the traditional-progressive axis in independent schools and of those schools which claim dissent from this axis will serve to round out the view of the pupil.

As the characteristics of independent schools as "traditional" or "progressive" are most clearly seen in the ways in which the schools implement their philosophy in practice, and as their views of the pupil are implicit in the kinds of experiences which the schools provide, these characteristics and views become interwoven--as they must in any integrated philosophy of education--with concepts about the learning process.

The so-called traditional schools represent the continuation of the "old," subject-matter-centered teaching; the progressive schools are those which have, in varying degrees, accepted the "new," pupil-centered education. Stereotypically, the one is authoritarian; the other, democratic. Again, the former adhere to outmoded, mind-training theories of faculty psychology; the latter are enlightened to concepts of individual differences, the scientific basis of educational measurement, and behavioral or psychoanalytic theories of education.

Examination of the schools themselves reinforce the fact of a continuum of practice--some more traditional, some more progressive--rather than the existence of two discrete camps suggested by the stereotyped classifications of traditional and progressive. This examination of concepts about learning and

the ways in which such concepts impinge on the view of the pupil provides further evidence of the independence of the schools, the "individuality within the community."

### Concepts of the Learning Process in Independent Education

There is considerable evidence that the independent secondary school has a marked lack of interest in--and in some instances considerable disdain for--theories of learning in a formal sense, especially as these are translated into orthodoxies about method. Some of the evidence has been adverted to earlier:

1. The freedom--highly prized where it exists--to select teachers without regard to state certification requirements.

This bespeaks the schools' concern to hire the liberal arts graduate on the basis of his command of subject and strength of intellectual and personal qualities.

2. The "academic freedom" of the individual teacher; the practice, supported by Briggs' study (cf., p. 59) of leaving the teacher alone to teach himself how to teach.

In-service training, often informal, is largely a matter of older, more experienced, teachers (frequently the department heads) comforting the younger teacher on a specific problem that has arisen. (Comments, interviews, and observed practice show this to be extremely non-directive; many independent school teachers are unwilling to offer suggestions for fear of seeming to intrude upon another's province.)

3. The experimentation with method, and the sharing of results, is likewise informal.



Independent schools encourage--often financially--teachers to learn of innovations by means of visits to other schools, attendance at regional or national association meetings, or graduate study. Adoption is most frequently left to the individual teacher.

An administrator may tell a teacher that the latter is "too rigid," or, conversely, "too permissive." The teacher may be advised not to give so many tests--or to give more--or that he must be more available for "extra help." By and large, there is relatively little observation or supervision, even by department heads, and the teacher is left to use "what works" for him.

Other evidence supporting the informal approach to method is gleaned from the following:

1. Forty-two schools replying to the study questionnaire reported that they require professional training in education.

Of these, only twenty-five said that such training was required of their own resolve.

2. Forty-nine respondents felt that "theories" of learning have had influence on instruction in independent schools.

When asked to indicate which theory had influence currently, the forty-nine respondents made multiple answers, viz.,

Stimulus-Response	17
Gestalt	12
Operant Conditioning (Skinner)	8
Behavioral	18
Structural (Bruner)	24
Other	1

(The "other" was identified as "19th century rigor.")

Twenty-nine respondents specifically said "no" to the question of influence. Failure on the part of the other twenty-nine who returned questionnaires to respond to this question is adduced as further evidence of a lack of concern with theories of learning in a formal way.

3. While some respondents felt that theories of learning should have more influence, comments of the nature given below were more common:

In choosing teachers we hope for greater depth in chosen fields rather than in methods.<sup>48</sup>

We know what we are trying to get across and work at it any way we can.<sup>49</sup>

It may be that, in part, independent schools have rejected formal theories of learning or methodological models because they associate them with what they call "Big Education,"<sup>50</sup> professional education as it is interpreted in normal schools and graduate schools of education. There is a decided aversion on the part of some independent schoolmen to what they call the "educationists." If "educator" is a badge which independent schoolmen proudly wear, "educationist" is as pejorative a term as these schoolmen are likely to utter. Formal training in education is considered desirable by some independent schools; more consider "education" courses pernicious, their emphasis

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<sup>48</sup> Questionnaire #67

<sup>49</sup> Questionnaire #51. For the context and further comments on the evidence from the study questionnaire, see the Appendix, Questions B13 and B18.

<sup>50</sup> McMillin, p. 9-10.

misguided, and their teaching inept. Many admittedly have made their judgment based on one or two courses taken, but more point to the jargon in texts and journals, the so-called "pedagogue," in which is reported the findings of those who would attempt to make a science of an undertaking which independent education views as a humane pursuit, if not an art.

It may equally be that independent education is indifferent to learning theorists and educational psychologists on the strength of the schools' tradition of self-sufficiency. As one headmaster has pointed out:

...practically every new movement in secondary education has begun in some private or semi-private institution and only gradually been adopted by the public high school.<sup>51</sup>

It is likewise recorded that when Colonel Francis Parker found that his only opportunity to continue his work with the "new" education would come in a private school, but was reluctant to give up his mission to public education, he was encouraged by Nicholas Murray Butler, who said:

You can do five times as much good as in any public institution, because you are free from irresponsible criticism and can push forward much more rapidly and give the public institution something to imitate.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup>Hall, p. 436, quoting Alexander J. Inglis, Principles of Secondary Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918).

<sup>52</sup>Robert E. Tostberg, "Colonel Parker's Quest for 'A School in Which All Good Things Come Together,'" History of Education Quarterly, VI (Summer, 1966), 24.

G. Stanley Hall added encouragement:

...such an institution would soon become the brightest spot on the educational map of this whole country.<sup>53</sup>

It may be that, as some cautionary critics counsel:

the one luxury among all others that independent schools cannot afford today is tradition,<sup>54</sup>

but the fact remains that, despite signs that the independent schools are becoming increasingly alert to supervision, in-service education, and the theories of such men as Bruner, the candid statement from a small boys' boarding school in California is widely applicable:

We know what we are trying to get across and work at it any way we can.<sup>55</sup>

If independent secondary education does not approach the learning process scientifically, their former and current success suggests that when it comes to knowing "what we are trying to get across," the schools have gotten the learning process down to a fine art.

To the degree that an art can be dissected to reveal its components, the teaching-learning (for the two are as sides of a coin) art has two quintessential components: atmosphere--or environment--and associations. Without these, it is felt, the

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Traxler, p. 510.

<sup>55</sup>Questionnaire #51.

presence of absence of formal theories will conduce only to uninspired training or undisciplined time-serving; with them, the method of individual teachers is largely irrelevant.

A school may follow a traditional or a progressive pattern; that is, the classroom may be a place for an "authoritarian" teacher to lecture or drill, or it may be a place wherein the teacher serves as a "leader of group activities,"<sup>56</sup> but it will ultimately point to its atmosphere or to the associations-- student with student, and student with teacher--as the fundamental catalysts in any learning which takes place.

If the school subscribes to the immanence of religion in education, the atmosphere will carry out this commitment: in chapel services, in courses in Bible, perhaps in the presence of clergy on the faculty, but also in the precept and example of policy and practice established by the staff. The faculty have been chosen partly on their own commitment to the ideal, and the atmosphere will be such that should a teacher not be so committed, he will be more than likely to resign voluntarily.

The sense of atmosphere, or, as some headmasters call it, the "tone of the school," is noted by Traxler:

(Of a visitor to a modern independent school): The main impression that he takes away with him, however, is not so much one of superior instruction or excellence of teaching, although these are usually of high quality.

<sup>56</sup>J. Donald Butler, Four Philosophies (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), p. 498, quoting John Dewey, Experience and Education, p. 65.

The most important lasting impression is rather an intangible something that one may call an atmosphere of culture.<sup>57</sup>

Traxler also sees the atmosphere as being responsible for the success of independent education:

(It seems probable that) the generally superior environment which it affords for its pupils is the greatest single strength of the independent school and that it largely explains the survival of this type of school.<sup>58</sup>

A former headmaster of a city day school refers to the combination of atmosphere and associations as a unique feature of independent schools:

Through small classes, an intensive program free from the interruptions of a legally defined school day, close teacher-student relationships, and a student body that shares college aspirations at a high level, the independent school provides a service that cannot be elsewhere duplicated for youngsters of high ability and some potential for leadership.<sup>59</sup>

Another school head, interviewed on the future of independent education in the face of the grave financial threat posed by federal aid to public schools, stressed the better job which independent schools can do in providing an integrated education with the comment, "Associations are all we have to sell."

A number of commentators on independent schools have noted this mystique in independent education. It is implicit in a

<sup>57</sup>Traxler, pp. 508-509.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 509.

<sup>59</sup>Mark A. Neville, "We Can All Be Right," Teachers' College Record, 62 (March, 1961), 444.

number of the comments cited in this study.<sup>60</sup> One former headmaster warned of the potential perils of independent schools' relying too heavily on their image, or tradition, and there is reason in 1968 to heed his admonitions of twenty years ago. Yet while counselling that:

Individualism is too firmly rooted in our profession,<sup>61</sup>

and reminding us that

In the hills of Vermont and New Hampshire stand many a brick, ivy-clad, abandoned building, the former seat of a forgotten academy which died because it did not satisfy the demands of a younger generation,<sup>62</sup>

Fuess thrusts the schools back into their mystique with suggestions that

The war-weary and disorganized world in which our lot is cast does not need more intelligence. It needs more character.<sup>63</sup>

The schools have long been, and still are, greatly concerned with character education, but beyond the "tools" of atmosphere and associations they have been unable to isolate whatever it is that carries out Fuess' prescriptions that:

<sup>60</sup>Cf., Chapter II, footnotes 31, 34, 47, 49.

<sup>61</sup>Fuess, "Independent Schools in the Postwar World," p. 92.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

The doctrine of noblesse oblige, in all its implications, cannot be too strongly impressed upon students in schools like ours,<sup>64</sup>

and that students should be educated for beauty and duty.<sup>65</sup>

Fuess sums his concerns for his profession in a way which suggests something of the move away from blind traditionalism which has been made in independent education in this century.

Unless the headmaster and his faculty are seriously and unashamedly concerned with "thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls," the institution falls short of being the instrument for good which it was intended to be.<sup>66</sup>

Addressing himself to the tradition-oriented, subject-matter-centered curriculum with which the independent school was identified up to the second decade of this century, and from which it has been slow to turn away, Fuess adds that

It may be that some of us are too closely wedded to traditions and too little acquainted with modern discoveries in psychology,<sup>67</sup>

and affirms that

The gravest perils to American independent schools will come from snobbishness (in all of its manifestations), bigotry, provincialism, reactionarism, smugness, stupidity, and inertia--the seven deadly sins of our type of education.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 100.



There are still teachers in independent schools who lecture, drill, and quiz, and consider that their job is to prepare the student for an achievement test set by the College Entrance Examination Board--that and nothing more. There are still schools which consider the values of Latin and geometry to be good mental exercise and the dispensation of punishments to be education toward ultimate self-discipline.

Toward the other end of the continuum, there are still the "romantic" progressives who feel that only by allowing the students to choose topics which interest them will they be sure that any useful learning takes place, and there are still schools in which the decision on what shall be done with an offender is determined by a democratic caucus, perhaps by the offender himself, or sometimes not determined at all.

Outside this continuum there are some schools such as those of the Waldorf School Movement, with eight institutions in this country. The catalogue of Highland Hall, which currently extends its operation through ninth grade and is planning addition of grades through twelfth, states:

Highland Hall cannot be classified as either "traditional" or "progressive." In the "traditional" schools, the scope of the curriculum is usually restricted, and the emphasis is on developing each subject as quickly as possible....A real insight into the stages of childhood leads far away from theories applied in so-called self-expression schools. In varying degrees, these encourage children to work as they like....Waldorf educators

know...that the true needs of children, as developing human beings, are not consciously experienced by the child--mature insight into childhood, not theory, governs the school program.<sup>69</sup>

Here, then, is a school which, with others like it, claims dissent from traditional or progressive views of the nature of the pupil and his learning. The very title of the booklet setting forth the principles of the Waldorf Movement, which was begun by the Austrian educator and philosopher Rudolf Steiner, is "Education As An Art."

Modern education is based upon scientific thinking, experimental in principle. The behaviour of the human beings who are to be educated is studied, analyzed, compared with that of others, and certain behaviour patterns are discovered. Then certain methods of teaching are applied and certain results are achieved. Since new ideas are always popping up, and since the possibilities are unlimited, there is an unending atmosphere of business and importance. The modern educator goes about his task with the same sincere determination with which the scientist goes about working out a new mechanism.

The education based upon spiritual science (Steiner is credited as the founder of "Anthroposophy"), however, recognizes the human being as a spiritual entity....a child is the creation of divine forces, of the spiritual world....The child, therefore, can be considered as a work of art with the world spirit as its creator....

If it is true, therefore, that the child is a work of art in the process of being created, education can only be an art and never merely a science.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup>Catalogue of Highland Hall, Los Angeles, California, p. 7.

<sup>70</sup>William Harrer, "What Do We Mean by Education as an Art?" Education As An Art (New York: Rudolf Steiner School Association, 24, 1965), p. 2.

For all the disclaimers of science, there is more suggestion of scientific underpinnings in the Steiner method--and more method qua method--than many other independent schools would accept. The Waldorf schools acknowledge the need for suiting educational tasks, which they call "Main Lessons," to the child. This they do in terms of his development, choosing the two milestones of loss of baby teeth and the onset of puberty as the markers for the first and second stages of development.<sup>71</sup>

In developing the argument behind its peculiar brand of pedagogy, the Steiner Method expresses this presupposition:

The heart of the Steiner method is the belief that education is an art....the presentation must live--it must speak to the child's experience. To educate the whole child, his heart and will must be reached, as well as his mind.

First, in the Rudolf Steiner or Waldorf method, comes the encounter; then encounter becomes experience; and out of experience the concept crystallizes. Encounter, experience, concept--perception, feeling, idea: these are the three steps in every genuine learning process.<sup>72</sup>

Some of the phrases in this statement are redolent of the progressive school (from which The Waldorf method claims to differ in its view of the place of authority): the child's experience; to educate the whole child; encounter, experience, concept. Even a number of "traditional" educators might be

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<sup>71</sup>Henry Barnes and Nathan Lyons, Education As An Art, New York, undated publication, pp. 15,25.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

persuaded to accept the three steps of perception, feeling, and idea--although it is possible that they would quibble about the importance of feeling.

Somewhat less definite are "Some General Comments on the Learning Process," provided by a progressive independent day school:

- A. A verbal, graphic and musical expression of childhood experiences is an efficient step towards the understanding of vicarious experience.
- B. To achieve inward discipline, a child's experience must include an alternation between free activity and teacher-controlled activity. A child's acceptance of outside control is essential to growth of inward discipline.
- C. The arts as an avenue to the soul should be the constant companions of childhood.
- D. A generalization is no less real than is the simple fact, providing the former is clearly developed from facts and limited to the known facts.
- E. Meaning for a child will increase in depth to the degree that the child is involved. The less meaningful the experience, the more readily it is forgotten--the less significant the effect of the experience.
- F. To neglect the tools of learning is to torpedo individual strength.
- G. Social experiences designed to develop desirable attitudes are important matters for concern.
- H. A child's purpose in life is developing through many years and within the influence of his environment. Each step should contribute to his sense of purpose and should lead to a next step which will be consistent with his particular bent and with his culture.

- I. A child's attitude toward himself in any given situation, and in general, is a major determinant of the learning which results from experience.<sup>73</sup>

A less specific statement from a traditional school underscores the concepts of atmosphere and association as bearing on the point of "contact" in teaching, from which can be deduced the school's view of the learning process:

In the scheme of education it is the peculiar mission of secondary school to take the basic skills which children acquire in primary school--reading, writing, and reckoning--and to develop them into tools for the mature thought and expression which college or business or citizenship demands....

In his course of study here a boy has the advantage of association with many different men who have in common the vocation of teaching. The faculty of the School is a large group, representing a wide range of age and experience, of background, of opinion, and of method in teaching. Except for several mathematics and all science classes, the boys meet their teachers around large oval conference tables in sections which average twelve boys. Such conditions make for good teaching and learning.<sup>74</sup>

A distillation of the statements found in catalogues of traditional independent schools is in substantial agreement with the functions of the teacher culled by Butler from the writings of idealists:

1. The teacher is the personification of reality for the child.
2. The teacher should be a specialist in the knowledge of pupils.

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<sup>73</sup>From guidelines distributed to faculty members at a mid-western independent secondary school.

<sup>74</sup>Catalogue of Lawrenceville, Lawrenceville, New Jersey, p.5.

3. The teacher should be an excellent technician.
4. The teacher should be the kind of person who commands the respect of the pupil by virtue of what he himself is.
5. The teacher should be a personal friend of the individual student.
6. The teacher should be a person who awakens in the pupil the desire to learn.
7. The teacher should be a master in the art of living.
8. The teacher should be a co-worker with God in perfecting man.
9. The teacher should be one who capably communicates his subject.
10. The teacher must be one who appreciates the subject he teaches.
11. The teacher who really teaches is always learning at the same time that he teaches.
12. The teacher is an apostle of progress.
13. The teacher should also be a maker of democracies.
14. (The teacher) ought to be a study in self-elimination.<sup>75</sup>

It may be pointed out that while sixty-five respondents to the questionnaire expressed the opinion that pragmatism was the dominant philosophical influence in secondary education as a whole, only twenty-eight felt that it was the philosophy reflected by their schools, while thirty-nine identified idealism as the distinguishable philosophy in their institutions. A further nineteen replies similarly identified realism.

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<sup>75</sup>Butler, pp. 240-243.

While it has already been suggested that no definitive general philosophy can be inferred from the wide range of practice in independent education, a strong case can be made for the survival of the historic idealist traditions in independent schools by using the design employed by Vandenberg in matching philosophical positions with stated curricular objectives,<sup>76</sup> although here we should also include practices.

Idealist position

Schools' objective  
or practice

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Personification of reality            | 1. Teacher as precept and example; cultural diversity or pluralism as a reality recognized in the presence of teachers of varied backgrounds and opinions (cf., p. 94, fn. 74). |
| 2. Specialist in the knowledge of pupils | 2. Not in the scientific, teacher-trained, sense; teachers with mature insight into the natures and needs of students are prized in independent schools.                        |
| 3. Excellent technician                  | 3. Here, command of subject is the focus for excellence, supported by "image" and ability to communicate (see 9. below).  |
| 4. Commanding respect                    | 4. Again the notion of the teacher who teaches by precept and example of personal commitment to values.   |

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<sup>76</sup>Vandenberg, pp. 103-109.

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|--|--|
| 5. Personal friend                                   | 5. This is at the very heart of the relationships or "associations" which are the corner-stone of independent school teaching.                                   |
|  | Stressed by size and multiplicity of contact (classroom, playing field, dormitory.)  |
| 6. Awakens desire for learning                       | 6. Teachers engaged on basis of knowledge of, and enthusiasm for, learning and their "subject." View that this mastery and enthusiasm may be catching.           |
| 7. Master in the art of living                       | 7. Faculty chosen for richness of background, versatility, and adaptability.   |
| 8. Co-worker with God                                | 8. Implicit in the philosophy of the church-affiliated and non-denominational Christian schools. Position of freedom to inculcate religious values.              |
| 9. Capably communicating his subject                 | 9. Class-size, "academic freedom" in choice of methods; stress on well-educated and articulate faculty who <u>want</u> to teach.                                 |
| 10. Appreciates his subject                          | 10. Subsumed under 6. above. Stress on value of subject <u>per se</u> , learning as an end in itself, pursuit of truth, interdependence of academic disciplines. |
| 11. Teacher learns at the same time that he teaches. | 11. Encouragement of further study; stress on inquiry as a life-long habit embodied in atmosphere and the example of the faculty.                                |



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|-------------------------------|---|
| 12. Apostle of progress       | 12. Direction of students toward higher education; stress on freedom and obligation to pioneer; the "lighthouse school."                                |
| 13. Maker of democracies      | 13. Emphasis by schools on character, education for leadership; aim of developing sense of service to fellow man. Concern with cultural heritage.       |
| 14. Study in self-elimination | 14. Aim of total program is that of physical, spiritual, mental, and emotional awareness; self-reliance, leadership; responsibility for self-education. |

The preceding statements on method and learning, expressed overtly by the Waldorf Movement and the progressive school and implicitly by the traditional Lawrenceville, represent positions outside the traditional-progressive continuum and something of the range of attitudes and assumptions along the latter axis. It must be concluded that despite certain pedagogical pronouncements, the independent schools rely heavily on the "point of contact" to be provided by the atmosphere and associations which they afford the individual.

Whether a given school chooses to speak of "individualization" or "personalization," these terms become semantic differences in a largely common philosophy of providing experiences wherein the individual by means of confrontation with other individuals--students and teachers--comes at last to that confrontation with himself in all the aspects of his nature, which,

the independent school believes, is the final preparation for college and responsible citizenship.

One respondent to the question of identifying the philosophy of independent education, offered "eclectic." Eclectic it certainly is when it comes to dealing with the component parts of its presuppositions about independence, the pupil, and the nature of learning. But if it remains true that a major part of the philosophy of independent education is shrouded in mystique, tradition, "individuality"--sometimes bordering on the eccentric--in short, the philosophy of "We know what we are trying to get across and work at it any way we can," still there is sufficient consensus on such themes as "individuality over community" for the schools as institutions and "individuality within community" for the pupils in the schools; there is sufficient similarity of stress on atmosphere and associations to suggest that the operant eclecticism may not, in fact, be very far away from a systematic philosophy which, while it might necessitate a new terminology, might be developed as a "philosophy of independent education."

#### The Aims of Education in Independent Secondary Schools

Little can be added to what has already been revealed of the aims of education as envisioned by the independent schools. Aims are necessarily bound up in concepts of independence, the pupil, and how to teach him. Some schools sum up their purpose

in the two words: college preparation. Others affirm an instinct to serve as ends in themselves:

Primarily we believe in the value of what we are doing per se rather than as a step toward anything.<sup>77</sup>

This is a fairly common suggestion in the remarks of independent school administrators and teachers. It is sometimes a declaration of independence from the influence of the college admissions officers and the "tyranny" of the College Board.

Despite the primary identification as college preparatory schools, many openly disavow any policy or practice of "teaching to" such criteria for college admissions as the Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SATs); few are concerned only to meet the basic requirements for college entrance as measured in units of the several disciplines.

Leadership, service to the community, personal and social sufficiency and responsibility, moral and spiritual values; these are the aims of education which accompany and fortify the academic training.

The study questionnaire afforded the schools an opportunity to indicate which elements of a school program were (a) stressed and (b) most stressed in their operation. The hierarchical arrangement differed, as the following diagram shows:

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<sup>77</sup>Questionnaire #40.

StressedMost StressedEmotional and Spiritual  
Well-beingAcademic or Intellectual  
Pursuits

Moral and Ethical Education

Citizenship

Citizenship

Moral and Ethical Education

Family and Social Relations

Emotional and Spiritual Well-  
beingAcademic or Intellectual  
Pursuits

Family and Social Relations

Vocational Choice and  
PreparationVocational Choice and  
Preparation<sup>78</sup>

Asked to comment on goals stressed in the individual school and to say which goals were felt to be most stressed by independent schools and which needed more attention, the tabulation of returns produced these rankings:

Stressed most in the respondent's school

Intellectual	(98)*
Moral-Spiritual	(82)
Civic	(47)
Family	(20)

\* The figures in parentheses indicate the number of mentions contained in the returns.

<sup>78</sup>For tabulation of figures supporting this ranking, see the Appendix, Question A4.

Stressed most by independent schools

Intellectual	(83)*
Moral-Spiritual	(60)
Civic	(37)
Family	(11)

More attention needed from independent schools

Family	(80)
Civic	(63)
Moral-Spiritual	(36)
Intellectual	(18)

\* The figures in parentheses indicate the number of mentions contained in the returns.

A further opportunity to discuss aims of education, this time in terms of direction rather than specific goals, was provided in Question B4. (cf., Appendix)

This question was developed within two frames of reference: the first, that it should provide information on broad educational objectives (i.e., beyond the mention of college preparation, education for leadership) as a complement to more specific concerns developed in other sections of the questionnaire and from catalogue statements and interviews with persons in independent secondary education. To determine the degree to which independent education expresses a singleness of purpose,

the study has made use of Willard Bear's outline for a school philosophy:

What are some convictions about education upon which we must agree in order to develop an instructional program which has singleness of purpose?

An examination of several statements of educational philosophy reveals...most common elements...

1. The nature of society.
2. The role of the school in American society.
3. Who shall be educated?
4. The educational needs of pupils.
5. The plan of curriculum organization best suited to provide suitable learning experiences.
6. The instructional methods most appropriate.
7. Responsibilities of the school in relationship to responsibilities of the home and the community.
8. An overview of the nature of the learning process.
9. The school's responsibility in meeting the needs of special groups--retarded, talented, terminal, college-bound.
10. Role of teachers in the educational process.
11. Broad educational objectives.<sup>79</sup>

It is in connection with item 11 that the information sought in B4 is required, for here schoolmen and catalogues have tended to fall back upon catch-phrases or speak, as from habit, about college and responsible citizenship.

The second reference frame was suggested by the approach taken by Theodore Brameld to educational philosophy in the cultural perspective. A number of independent school teachers and administrators have spoken of the inadequacies, for their

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<sup>79</sup>Willard Bear, "The Role of The Principal in Developing a School Philosophy," The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals, 43 (December, 1959), pp. 68-69.

ends, of general philosophies qua general philosophies, and have stressed the need for an interweaving of principles of sociology and anthropology. The alternatives offered in B4 do not attempt a paraphrase of Brameld's scheme of essentialism, perennialism, progressivism, and reconstructionism beyond a similarity in philosophical orientation; the positions have been exaggerated in the questionnaire to reduce the degree of overlapping involved in Brameld's scheme.<sup>80</sup>

B4. With which of the following statements do you most agree? Least agree? (If you find agreement with more than one, or if you wish to modify one slightly, please write whatever synthesis or modification in the space provided.)

	<u>Most</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Least</u> <u>Agree</u>
1. The primary purpose of education should be to transmit to the younger generation the tools and values of the existing culture.	20	28
2. The primary purpose of education should be to direct the younger generation towards the attitudes and values of the more stable society which existed at an earlier time.	2	73
3. The primary purpose of education should be to equip the younger generation with those tools which will enable them to identify and solve the problems which they will encounter in their personal, social, and professional lives.	91	3

<sup>80</sup> See Theodore Brameld, Toward a Reconstructed Philosophy of Education (New York: Holt, Rinehard, and Winston, 1956), pp. 4-17. See also Brameld, Philosophies of Education in Cultural Perspective (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1955), pp. 74-79.

	<u>Most Agree</u>	<u>Least Agree</u>
4. The primary purpose of education should be to encourage the younger generation to strive for a consensus of cultural goals, thereby reconstructing the present, relatively aimless, society; further, to provide them with the tools needed to work for the achievement of such goals.	17	23

There were, as anticipated, several proffered syntheses and modifications (cf., Appendix). The overwhelming agreement with the purpose of education as encompassing tools and the solving of problems reflects the concern of independent secondary education with developing the abilities of students for effective citizenship. The perspective is happily compatible with both ends of the traditional-progressive continuum and with the subject-matter-centered as well as the activity-centered curriculum. No disjunction is, therefore, seen in the broad objectives of independent secondary education.



## CHAPTER III

### THE INDEPENDENT BOARDING SCHOOL

Within the broad range of philosophy and practice in independent secondary education, there exists for those schools which are either wholly or largely residential a set of circumstances which adds another dimension to the views of the pupil, the learning process, and the aims of education. The circumstances have their foundation in the residential, or "boarding," situation itself where the most obvious feature is that the student is "in school" twenty-four hours a day and seven days a week throughout the school year. The added dimension is that of an intensification of the educational philosophy of the school; in depth, in that the student is under its influence almost continually--the only exceptions being vacations and an occasional weekend--and in breadth, in that the school's philosophy permeates the entire spectrum of the student's experiences.

This chapter will attempt to probe the implications of the boarding school environment for theory and practice in the schools themselves and the relationship of the boarding school movement to independent secondary education as a whole.

The phenomenon of the boarding school in American education is coeval with the rise of the academy movement. The Latin

Grammar schools, predecessors of the Academy, were town schools. The combination of several factors which produced the academy also directed that a number of the latter institutions should have boarding facilities. The evolution of the boarding school may be briefly traced as follows:

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the demand for educational opportunity began to exceed the provision made by public schools in terms of both availability and curricular offering. Public Latin Grammar Schools were founded only where there was adequate population density, which in the case of the Massachusetts School Law of 1647 was established at 100 families.<sup>1</sup> From colonial times until the period of the Revolution, therefore, rural families were virtually without the means of secondary education. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, there was also an increase in demand for more practical subjects than were to be found in the classical education offered by the grammar schools. Initially there were

the small, ephemeral, private-venture schools which sprang up for specialized and, most often, practical purposes in the towns of the East.<sup>2</sup>

Subsequently, the twin aims of college preparation--for which the Latin School had pursued the course dictated by the colonial colleges--and practical subjects found expression in the development of the academy.

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<sup>1</sup>Sizer, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

This new institution had the effect of spurring the already growing demand for secondary education; and, although a number of academies remained local institutions, enrolling only those who lived in the community, more provided a "boarding department," a feature which at first gave opportunity to students in neighboring counties and ultimately made enrollment possible for students from all parts of the nation and from foreign countries as well.

Sizer points out that the dominant period of the academy extended from the Revolution to the Civil War.<sup>3</sup> Although the curricular model of the academy may have been eclipsed by the rise of public high schools after the Civil War, when industrialization and urbanization brought about concentrations of population and wealth sufficient to support secondary day schools, it did not expire. Some of the earliest boarding academies are still in existence, and the principle upon which they were founded has remained the same for the establishment of boarding schools up to the present: to furnish educational opportunities which do not exist in various local communities.

In assessing the circumstances of the boarding school in this century, when free secondary education is accessible to all, it is important to note some of the reasons why parents send their children "away to school."

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

The grounds for a decision on boarding school are many, and sometimes multiple. Among those most frequently cited are superior academic preparation, wholesome atmosphere, and the moral or religious stress in education which is an integral part of many boarding schools. At first glance, the only one of these reasons which might imply a boarding school as opposed to an independent day school is that of a wholesome atmosphere. A more thorough scrutiny reveals certain ancillary expectations on the part of parents.

With respect to the view of a superior academic preparation, there is the not wholly unconfirmed assumption, particularly of the New England boarding schools, that the "prep schools," as they are called, provide a better chance of acceptance by the most selective colleges. This assumption has ancient roots. Phillips Exeter Academy (Exeter, New Hampshire) is included in the list of private schools whose graduates are said by Morison to have "had a privileged position in the freshman classes at Harvard,"<sup>4</sup> a situation which he dates from the days of Ezekiel Cheever.<sup>5</sup> A number of eastern boarding schools have long had an enviable record of placement at Ivy League and other prestigious colleges, and it is their influence which has been responsible

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<sup>4</sup>Morison, p. 421.

<sup>5</sup>Ezekiel Cheever, 1615-1708, was master of Boston Latin School from 1670-1708.

not only for the assumption of superior college preparation on the part of parents but also for the example which others in independent education acknowledge. The term "St. Grottlesex," compounded from the names of St. Mark's, Groton, and Middlesex, is often heard to refer to the traditions of the older New England boarding schools.

While there is evidence that the eastern "prep" schools no longer can offer smooth passage into prestigious colleges, the fact remains that some do manage to place a high percentage of their graduates in the most selective institutions. Andover's class of 1967 provides an example: of a class of 242, 183 applied to Ivy League colleges; 128 (70% of those applying) were admitted.<sup>6</sup>

The implications of a view that a boarding school, particularly an eastern one, is a passport to admission to selective colleges are of vital concern to boarding school faculties. Such a view means more applications, more pressure to enlarge facilities, more evaluation of the process by which applicants are screened for admission, and more pressure to deliver what the schools have never promised to deliver, namely admission to a highly selective college. Such a view is also a challenge to expand the educational horizons within the boarding school itself. Certain basic policy decisions must be taken:

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<sup>6</sup>The Andover Bulletin, 61 (February, 1968).

1. Shall the school confine itself to the education of an intellectual elite?
2. Shall the school admit more students?
3. Shall funds be used to attract outstanding teachers? To enlarge the plant? To purchase additional equipment? To improve public relations? To provide scholarships and tuition aid?
4. Shall off-campus experience (travel and study abroad; work experience in the community or nearby city) be provided?

Running through all of these is the goal of improving the quality of the school's educational program. It is arguable that these concerns would be present without the demand for admission and irrespective of whether the demand was created by the notion of a superior academic preparation or by the purely demographic fact of population explosion. The fact remains, however, that a view of superior education is held by many parents, some of whom will take a child out of an independent, college-preparatory day school and send him to a boarding school because of the putative advantage in the race for college admission.

That the monopoly on prestigious placement has slipped away from even the most highly respected eastern boarding schools is not a fault of the schools. It is rather that the colleges are more recently seeking to broaden the base of their student body and are engaged in "talent searches" throughout the length and breadth of the country. One interviewee, expressing his concern for the future of the independent boarding school, put his reason more bluntly than might most with the statement that

"We're taking money under false pretences." The pretences are, of course, neither intentional nor desired on the part of the schools. The notion of a better chance for a selective college has grown along with the boarding school movement and has been interpreted from their past record. As much as the schools themselves may stress in their catalogues and in interviews with prospective parents that they envision their programs as ends in themselves or as means toward responsible adult citizenship, a large part of the demand for such schools is still directed toward advantage in college placement.

The second reason most often cited, that of a wholesome atmosphere, subsumes many definitions. The desire for a wholesome environment may be directed positively, that is, toward the school community as offering a stimulation or motivation for academic endeavor provided by association with faculty of vigorous mind and character; or it may be directed negatively, that is, away from an unsatisfactory home environment which may result from hazardous conditions in the neighborhood or from the absence of one or both parents through death or divorce.

Some parents feel that the influences of a comprehensive public high school are so diverse that a child may not cling to the singleness of purpose which he needs to prepare himself for college. Some may feel that the distractions available in the city or suburb are likely to deter a child even though he may attend an independent, college-preparatory day school. Parents

who must, or who wish to, travel a great deal may be inclined to seek a solution to the problem of supervision in a boarding school.

A number of parents feel that their children require more clearly defined--if not rigid--discipline than either they or the local schools can provide. These parents are likely to explore the possibility of the military boarding schools, which first appeared in the nineteenth century under the inspiration of the service academies at West Point and Annapolis.

In single-parent families, the decision on boarding school is often made in order that the student may have closer supervision than the one parent can provide and that he may not have daily reminders of his different family status. Since the boarding school is required to act in loco parentis for all its students on a twenty-four hour basis, the sense of difference in his home situation will be minimized for the student without a mother or father.

There is some evidence that status and the desire for appropriate social contacts are motives in the choice of a boarding school education. Sizer says of the pre-Civil War academies that "No one social class was exclusively represented, but the fact that most academies were boarding establishments meant that only the reasonably well off could afford to send their children."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Sizer, p. 36.



He does note, however, that the New England institutions were "something of an exception to this generalization."<sup>8</sup> Recent increases in the talent searches of the boarding schools and the response of independent schools to the challenge to broaden the democratic base of their school have reduced the number of schools where breeding takes precedence over brains or other human potential.

Whatever the definition of wholesome atmosphere and whatever the motive for sending a child into such an environment, the boarding schools encounter every fall a group of new and returning students from city and suburb, factory town and farm, the "gold coast" and the ghetto. Some are away from home for the first time; others are European travel-camp sophisticates. The students come from different economic and social backgrounds. Their speech, their personalities, and their values represent a wide range.

A number of boarding schools have a strong Anglo-Saxon, Protestant orientation; yet the fall of 1967 will have placed on their campuses Catholics and Jews, Negroes and orientals, a lawyer's son from Venezuela and a "promising" boy from Spanish Harlem.

Such is the diversity of a boarding school student body, and it is the task of the school to give each student a feeling

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

of belonging. Some schools attempt to do this by educating all students to a standard, a device whereby a certain type of graduate may be produced. Others express their aim as follows:

Every preparatory school talks about individual attention. Not enough of them stress it sufficiently in actual practice. Avon bases its entire work on the individual.

Too often, emphasis is laid on producing a certain type of boy. In schools which follow this system, perhaps 65 per cent of the students can fit within the pattern; but under such a system individuals are likely, as one teacher puts it, "to be squashed or stymied."

As preparation for college, it may be wonderful.<sup>9</sup>  
As preparation for life, it is at least questionable.

One of the implications of the diversity of backgrounds and of the diversity of reasons for choosing a boarding school is that the students have come from different experiences and that they are coming for different experiences. This circumstance is translated into a need, in boarding school faculties, for an even greater range and diversity of experience and a wiser perception of the range of human needs than would be needed in an independent day school.

The third major reason, that of the stress on the place of religion in education, has been dealt with in part in the previous chapter. Here it is necessary only to point out that there exists, in many instances, no alternative to boarding

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<sup>9</sup>Catalogue of Avon Old Farms, Avon Connecticut, 1965-1966, p. 4.

school if religion or spiritual values are to be part of the fibre of education during the high school years. There may be no independent day school with a commitment to spiritual values, or the parents may desire a continuing atmosphere of concern with God and man. It has also been pointed out that it is a mistake to conclude that uncommitted parents, however agnostic or neutral they themselves may be, are indifferent to spiritual values for their children.<sup>10</sup>

The needs of the students, the demands of their parents, do play their part in shaping the independent boarding school. The school, if it is to accept residents, surrenders part of its independence to the students. In the light of its expressed concern with the individual, meeting the needs of its students is an exercise in versatility unmatched by any other institution.

The independent boarding school, more than the day school, supports the statement of the National Council on Independent Schools:

The generalization is proper, therefore, that the independent schools represent a remarkable variety of responses to many human needs and aspirations. That they are more numerous, vigorous, and diversified today than ever before indicates that they continue to satisfy wants which are acutely real to an increasing number of American families, and which to the schools themselves, offer both the challenge and opportunity of large service to the nation and humanity.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Hall, p. 437.

<sup>11</sup>National Council of Independent Schools, p. 146.

The ways in which the boarding schools respond to the variety of needs are almost as varied as the needs themselves. The early boarding schools, "Episcopal boarding foundations drawing much of their purpose and practice from English public schools such as Eton and Winchester,"<sup>12</sup> give the impression of having the combination of tradition and legend--the "system"--in loco parentis.

The recognition of the period of adolescence, in a system of education, demands a grade of schools in which the interest of the pupil in his own welfare is a consideration paramount to the parental will or dignity; and hence, although the parent may rightly control the course of the pupil so far as to direct the place of his education, yet, while in that place, the teacher stands in all respects in loco parentis, and the parent in all that pertains to the appropriate work of instruction and discipline never stands in loco docentis.<sup>13</sup>

While modern practice provides greater opportunity for cooperation between the home and the school, this statement acknowledges the assumption of responsibility for the student by the school. Modern educational philosophy and psychology have provided that "the interest of the pupil" requires a dialogue between the pupil and his environment--a dialogue which may be mediated by the student's faculty advisor, his teachers, his coaches, and fellow students; or which he may be left to himself

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Charles Hammond, "New England Academies and Classical Schools," (1868), quoted in Sizer, p. 138.

to develop through trial and error. Hammond's statement is a declaration of independence by the schools that they, having assumed the responsibility, must be allowed to carry it out without interference even if their plan is no more well-defined than "We know what we are trying to get across and work at it any way we can."

Independent boarding schools have sought solutions to the special learning problems presented by the fact of residence in many ways. Even before the practice became an economic necessity, some boarding schools required every student to perform some manual work each day. Pronounced by some as designed to teach the dignity of labor, denounced by others as training in mediocrity since the work was badly done owing to the students' immaturity and inexperience, work programs included cleaning dormitories and classroom buildings, waiting on tables, helping in the school laundry, and the care of grounds and farm animals.

Some schools, such as Avon Old Farms in Connecticut, have created "communities" complete with their own laws, courts, post office, and town hall. The concept of the New England Town Meeting has been adopted as the form of school government in a number of boarding schools, among them the Cambridge School of Weston, Massachusetts.

Whether restrictions are many or few, whether students are rarely allowed off campus or are permitted to sign out and sign in whenever they have no scheduled appointment, whether

faculty-student relationships are maintained in such a way as to foster independence and self-sufficiency or so that the student senses a constant partnership between himself and his housemaster or advisor, the boarding school has used its independence to undertake a dimension in secondary education which cannot be matched elsewhere. It is clearly true, as Hall points out, that

...it is at least partly the residential factor which most clearly distinguishes the popular concept of "private" from public high schools.<sup>14</sup>

Part of the clear distinction is, as has been pointed out earlier, owing to the historical association of boarding facilities with the academy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Part of the distinction may also be found in the fact that city and country day schools have attempted to carry out within the confines of a day-school operation the intent of the boarding school.

Country day schools, a development within this century, aim at giving students "the long, varied day and healthy environment of the boarding school without separating them from home."<sup>15</sup> The city day schools usually suffer from a greater attenuation of facilities in that they cannot offer even the few acres of campus which typify the country day school. They nevertheless assume as much of the ethos of the boarding school as they can, and if the

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<sup>14</sup>Hall, p. 433.

<sup>15</sup>National Council of Independent Schools, p. 146.

proximity of parents threatens occasionally to usurp the school's function, the day school can also find examples of valuable assistance and advantage stemming from the same source. The education of its parents to understand and cooperate with the aims of the school is a far greater task for the day school, which must depend for its success on partnership with the home while avoiding the situation of having parents who wish to act in loco docentis or, conversely, serve merely as a paedagogus.

The fact that most boarding schools are located in rural areas, many of them far from large population centers, has led almost inevitably to a concept of such schools as "ivory towers," hallowed places of the intellect, bastions of prestige for the privileged few. Such a concept may have fit various boarding schools at various times in the history of the movement; it may fit a few today.

The evidence available from their catalogues, even though, as Hall acknowledges, "it is impossible that all independent schools should live up to the sum total of the claims published in their catalogues,"<sup>16</sup> the comments of respondents to the questionnaire and of persons interviewed, and the continuing if diminished record of college placement testify that the boarding schools are not apart from the mainstream of secondary education. One respondent urged that the study should not suggest that

<sup>16</sup>Hall, p. 432.

independent schools were different from public schools, it being his contention that independent schools are a part of the same, public, service, differing only in that they are conducted privately.

Private conduct of a public service does not seem sufficient to describe the conditions, the emphases, and the independence of either the day schools or the boarding schools. To ascertain the relevance of independent secondary education to secondary education as a whole, it is necessary to examine the extent of independence in relation to the state and to the whole educational profession.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE EXTENT OF INDEPENDENCE

The relationship of independent secondary education to the mainstream of American secondary education has varied in kind and in degree throughout history. The economic, social, and philosophical changes, the shifts in emphasis on the value of an intellectual elite, and the almost limitless pluralism of twentieth century America have had the effect of creating a series of anomalies in independent education. Some of these have already been examined: the almost exclusive concern with college-preparatory education, the phenomenon of the boarding school, and the virtually ubiquitous focus on the individual.

This chapter examines the relationship of independent secondary education to the mainstream from the point of view of the extent of independence and points out some of the implications for educational philosophy in terms of three subsidiary, but intertwined, relationships.

The first of these subsidiary relationships is that of the independent schools to the state. The degree to which the legislative enactments of a given state, regional body, or the federal government affect the existence and conduct of independent education and the response of the schools are of great

significance in defining the limits of independent education. The second relationship is that of the philosophy which supports independent schools to the principles of democracy which underlie public education.

The third is the more specialized relationship of those engaged in independent education to the educational profession, with emphasis on the views taken of professional training and organization. These three facets, the legislative, the philosophical, and the professional, will be treated separately although it must be understood that each impinges on the others.

#### Legislation and Independent Education

In the history of state and federal legislation affecting independent education, some of the enactments have served to encourage the existence of independent schools while others have served to limit their scope.

The Massachusetts School Law of 1647 provided for the establishment of schools in every town of 100 or more families and stipulated that teachers' salaries be paid by either "the inhabitants in general" or "the parents and masters" of the students.<sup>1</sup> At this time, the schools combined the secular subjects with religious training.

In Congregational New England the colonial schools were for the most part supported by taxation and so to this extent took the character of public schools. In

<sup>1</sup>National Council of Independent Schools, p. 145.

other colonies schools were established and supported not by law but by philanthropic individuals or, more commonly, by particular religious groups--Anglicans, Friends, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, and others.<sup>2</sup>

With the rise of the academy, many of the founders of these institutions obtained charters from the state legislatures and, benefitting from the decisions of the Dartmouth College case (1819), were able thereby to protect the academies from the state while making it possible for many of them to receive state aid.<sup>3</sup>

Independent schools continued relatively unchallenged until the time of the first World War. Nebraska's law prohibiting instruction in any language but English (1919) posed a threat to the private schools which used other languages as the medium of instruction. The law was declared unconstitutional, and the existence of private schools was preserved by the Supreme Court in Meyer v. Nebraska (1923).<sup>4</sup> Oregon, in 1922, passed a law requiring the attendance of children from the ages of eight to sixteen at a public school; permission had to be sought for an exception, and the students had to submit to examination by the county superintendent. This law was also declared

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>3</sup>Sizer, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>Butts, p. 525.

unconstitutional, and the right of parents to direct the education of their children was affirmed in Pierce v. Society of Sisters in 1925.<sup>5</sup>

The arguments in support of both the Nebraska and Oregon statutes have not disappeared; recent efforts to reconsider the Oregon decision have been made by such educators as John Childs of Columbia, in 1949, and James B. Conant of Harvard, in 1952. These arguments have tended to center about the view that the maintenance of a dual system of education is inimical to the best interests of democracy; as such, they will be given greater attention later in the chapter.

The aspect of legislation most obvious to persons in the independent schools is that of state laws regulating the operation of non-public schools. Trustees and administrators are aware of the statutes and codes governing the condition of the physical plant. Teachers, less aware of such statutes, are at least cognizant of state certification requirements, whether or not they teach in a school which is subject to such standards.

The extent to which the state attempts to regulate the operation of independent schools within its boundaries varies widely, and there is evidence of an increase in activity by state legislatures and state departments of education in terms of regulation and control.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 526.

In order to assess the current practice of the state departments of education, a questionnaire was sent to each state. The information is summarized for the forty-one states which replied:

	Yes	No
All independent schools in this state must be registered with the state.	23	18
Only those independent schools seeking state recognition or accreditation need register.	12	
Independent schools must submit to state inspection.	25	16
Teachers in independent schools must meet state certification requirements, whether or not the school seeks recognition or accreditation.	19	22
Independent schools must meet certain curricular requirements, whether or not they seek state recognition or accreditation.	22	17
Independent schools must meet certain requirements with regard to the physical plant, whether or not they seek state recognition or accreditation.	25	13

This information represents the practice of the states at the beginning of the 1967-1968 school year.<sup>6</sup> The questionnaire also revealed that six states had regulations affecting independent schools in areas other than those covered by the questions. Seven states required independent schools to submit to annual inspection. Four state departments did not understand

<sup>6</sup>The questionnaire was sent and the replies received during August-September, 1967.

the term "independent schools," despite the fact that the name has been in use since 1926 and is to be found in the title of the national association and in most state and regional associations.

The problem of identification of the term "independent" may at first seem rather minor, but in light of a number of recent publications by the National Association of Independent Schools, it appears that it is this very problem of communication which most affects the relationship.

In an article in The Independent School Bulletin of February, 1968, John deQ. Briggs reported on the results of a questionnaire sent to member schools of the NAIS (National Association of Independent Schools). While Briggs was primarily involved in exploring the schools' in-service training practices, he included a question on state certification requirements and their effect on the NAIS schools. He also concluded, from what the schools themselves reported, that requirements vary

a good deal, from those states which leave independent schools' faculties entirely alone to those which require exactly the same of independent school faculties as of public school faculties.<sup>7</sup>

NAIS has also printed and distributed to member schools an address by its President at a meeting of independent school heads called by the State Department of Education in Maryland. Cary Potter's speech, entitled "Independence and Cooperation," opened with an acknowledgment of the opportunity

<sup>7</sup>Briggs, p. 21.

to organize my thoughts about the current state of relationships between independent schools and public agencies, at all levels, and this is a subject that has been very much on our minds.<sup>8</sup>

Stressing the need for a positive attitude toward "nonpublic school-state relations," Potter spoke of the advantages and disadvantages of independence in these terms:

A most noticeable development, I think, is the growth in the number and complexity of cooperative arrangements of one sort or another, and a lessening of isolation. There are lots of advantages, theoretical and practical, to the independence of schools. Freedom of choice, localized decision-making, proximity to the constituency, flexibility, all come to mind quickly . . . But there are some disadvantages to independence, too, and one of these is isolation, a setting apart from one another and from the main stream of education. While isolation may provide a relatively untroubled atmosphere in which to work, it also produces some problems, not the least of which is poor communication, with resulting misunderstanding or no understanding at all of the schools and what they are doing.<sup>9</sup>

Among the cooperative or collaborative efforts of the schools and public agencies cited by Potter were the sharing of equipment and personnel by two or more schools, the trend toward involvement of the schools in the communities "of which they are a part and for whose concerns they have a responsibility," and the impact of Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act on communication between the independent schools and public agencies.

<sup>8</sup>Cary Potter, "Independence and Cooperation," address (Baltimore, Maryland, December 7, 1967). Published by the National Association of Independent Schools, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

Potter concludes his remarks with recommendations for the schools and the states, recommendations which he feels are essential to avoid the negative attitudes which have been, and continue to be, hindrances to communication and cooperation. The negative attitudes include the view of the schools on the one hand that "every action of the state (is) inimical" and that "the school is not answerable to anyone," and of the state on the other hand which sees the nonpublic school as something to be suffered, to be eradicated if possible, or "failing that to (be made to) conform to a model which in some mysterious way has been determined to be the right answer to education."<sup>10</sup> The recommendations are, for the schools:

(1) a recognition that with their constitutional right to exist goes the obligation of the state to concern itself with the kind of education that its citizens are offered; and certainly an obligation to protect its citizens from educational fraud;

(2) a recognition of the public nature of the non-public school,

and, for the state:

(1) a recognition that diversity in education is desirable as well as being constitutional, that the goals of schools may differ wisely as well as widely, and that quality can be attained in nonconforming ways, even surprising ways;

(2) a recognition on the state's part as well as that of the school that the nonpublic school serves a public purpose, and therefore one which it is in the interest of the state to foster.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 8-9.



A third report of concern on the part of independent education with its relationship to the state is to be found in the lead article of the most recent NAIS Report. Entitled "The Independent School and the State," the article reviews recent legislative action in seven states (Arizona, Connecticut, Georgia, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, and Vermont). Most of the legislation has been aimed at the problem of the "fly-by-night" schools--a problem which has existed since the private-venture schools of colonial times--and the enactments have been accompanied, in some instances, by activity on the part of state departments of education in enforcing previously enacted statutes which have fallen into desuetude.

In commenting on the importance of the increase in activity over the period of the past two years, the report offers the following interpretations:

The increase in administrative activity on the part of state departments of education . . . is too a reflection on the fact that (they) are growing in resources and strength, are assuming a larger role in all the educational activities in the state, and are being substantially helped in this expansion by the support they are receiving under Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

. . . the question of the proper definition of the state's authority over the nonpublic school is a difficult and sensitive one . . . Its particular manifestation varies with the local circumstances, and it is hard to provide generalized answers for it.

. . . the abuse of independence to offer substandard or fraudulent education is surely a concern of reputable schools, as well as of the state . . .

loosely drawn legislation designed to cure one ill may turn out to create more problems than it solves and needs to be watched; and the same can be said of unimaginative enforcement.<sup>12</sup>

The report urges that the schools should provide some mechanism for effective relationships between schools and states and cites the concern of state departments for the same goal. In two states, full-time personnel have been given responsibility for nonpublic schools.<sup>13</sup>

On the subject of federal relations, the same issue of the Report announces the appointment of Richard P. Thomsen as the NAIS Washington representative as a first step to "a more active federal relationship." This decision to seek liaison with the federal government followed a talk to delegates at the NAIS Annual Conference, held in New York in March, 1967, by Commissioner Harold Howe II. The Commissioner, whose experience includes independent schools as well as public schools, urged "more 'entangling alliances' and less 'neutrality' on the part of independent schools with respect to national educational concerns and deliberations."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>National Association of Independent Schools, Report (Boston, Massachusetts: February, 1968), pp. 2, 3-4.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 6. Commissioner Howe taught at Phillips Academy, Andover from 1947 to 1950. He was subsequently superintendent of schools in Newton, Mass., and Scarsdale, N. Y.

In 1940, Phyllis Byrnes expressed the view that

That minority group, the private secondary schools, should be alertly aware of the judgment of the generation as it expresses itself in laws and administrative arrangements and even before it so expresses itself.<sup>15</sup>

It appears that, until recently, the advice has been neglected; that, without the urging of the Commissioner and the increased activity of state legislatures and departments of education, the independent schools might have continued inactive despite their unquestionably genuine concern about "fly-by-night" schools.

Just as the traditional schools did not concern themselves with formulating their philosophy of education until the challenge of the progressive education movement, so the recent activities of the independent schools and their associations seem to have followed the challenge of increased attention from the states.

Support for this contention may be adduced from the admissions by the schools themselves and by the fact of a growth in vigor and purpose by the state and regional associations of independent schools. The February, 1968, issue of the NAIS Report described some of the new activities in independent schools associations in New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, California, the Central States, and New England.

The added fact that legislation initiated by independent schools has been an "attempt to provide a less restrictive legal

<sup>15</sup>Byrnes, p. 53.

and administrative framework in which to operate,"<sup>16</sup> strengthens the inference that the previous inattention of independent education to its relationships with state and federal legislatures stems, if not from the negative attitude described by Potter (v. p. 129), from an entrenched position of independence. It may be that independent schools have felt that they were discharging their public responsibilities by educating a leadership class; it may be that, once the question of their constitutional right to exist had been settled, they have felt almost wholly neutral to the "judgment of the generation as it expresses itself in laws."

Now that the schools have responded, a number of collateral advantages are possible. There is a good chance that the independent schools will come to know each other better--isolation from the mainstream has been, as Potter pointed out, accompanied by isolation from each other. There is an even better chance that state departments of education will come to recognize not only the name "independent," but something of that for which it understands. Ultimately, the public may come to have more and better information about a group of schools which it has often misunderstood and mistrusted.

If all these advantages materialize, there is the further possibility that independent education as a system may be able

<sup>16</sup>National Association of Independent Schools, p. 2.

to articulate a common purpose which, while it is most unlikely to be susceptible to detailed descriptions on subsidiary points of belief, may add substantially to the efforts to define the philosophy of independent education.

One of the issues which independent education will need to confront in its response to the legislative voice of the state and federal governments is that of its responsibility as a potential, and sometimes actual, organ of dissent. Potter has urged the view by the state that diversity is not necessarily dissent; the fact of creation of independent schools in some states as a means of circumventing federally-enforced integration clearly shows that independent education can and does dissent where a group of individuals wishes to claim its constitutional privilege to direct the education of its children.

Consonant as this use of independence is with the guarantees of the constitution and with the pluralism of American society, it has not reduced the attacks on the dual system of education, which the existence of the independent schools represents, and on the concomitant threat to national unity, which the attackers suppose to be a by-product of a dual system. The relationship between independent schools and democracy needs closer examination.

#### Democracy and Independent Education

Attacks on independent schools as undemocratic and charges of divisiveness have accompanied the nonpublic schools

throughout their history. The arguments have been based on the notion of privilege, on social and economic separatism, on harm to public education. The independent schools have replied to these charges as and when they have occurred, but that they have not effectively silenced the opposition may be due, in part, to their own disunity--their "individuality within the community"--as it is due, in part, to their inability to change the view that only through the common education of all citizens in the principles of democracy can any sense of national purpose be inculcated or fulfilled.

The opposition to independent schools has rarely had a more prestigious or persuasive spokesman than James B. Conant, the former president of Harvard University. In a speech before the American Association of School Administrators in 1952, Conant made the following argument against nonpublic schools:

. . . (the people) are too little willing to make the sacrifices required to maintain our schools as effective instruments of our democracy.

I hope that it unnecessary for me to spend any time reaffirming my deep conviction that the expansion of our free, tax-supported schools in this country has been an essential element in our national life.

Of the desire to provide unity in national life, Conant affirms:

Unity we can achieve if our public schools remain the primary vehicles for the education of our youth, and if as far as possible all the youth of a community attend the same school irrespective of family fortune or cultural background.

Of the value of diversity, he adds:

Diversity in experimentation we maintain by continued emphasis on the concept of local responsibility for our schools.

That diversity constitutes a threat when provided by nonpublic schools is first suggested by the view that

. . . there is some reason to fear lest a dual system of secondary education may in some states, at least, come to threaten the democratic unity provided by our public schools.

This view is expressed more directly by the following statements:

To my mind our schools should serve all creeds. The greater the proportion of our youth who attend independent schools, the greater the threat to our democratic unity.

Therefore, to use taxpayers' money to assist such a move is, for me, to suggest that American society use its own hands to destroy itself.

The founding of a new independent school in a locality is a challenge to those connected with public education.

A dual system serves and helps to maintain group cleavages, the absence of a dual system does the reverse.

The growth of free public high schools in this country would indicate to me that public opinion in the United States has been committed to a single, not a dual, system of education.

The false antithesis between education for the gifted and education for all American youth must be resolved.<sup>17</sup>

There is nothing in the position of the independent schools which would suggest disagreement with Conant's view of the

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<sup>17</sup>James B. Conant, "The Private School Controversy," Saturday Review, 35 (May 3, 1952), 11-14.

expansion of public education as "an essential element in our national life." The question of unity and of its obverse, divisiveness, was treated at another meeting of the AASA by I. L. Kandel, where attention was drawn to the Lloyd Warner study of the divisive effect of socioeconomic conditions upon (1) the type of course pursued, (2) participation in extracurricular activities, and (3) choice of friends. It is Kandel's finding that there is not nearly as much evidence of divisiveness in private education.<sup>18</sup>

Assuming Conant's remarks to be more particularly directed to the denominational schools or to the situations which would foster nonpublic schools in response to the Supreme Court order to desegregate, one may interpret the call for unity to be sound on ecumenical or moral principles, but one has only to look at the per-pupil expenditure rankings of the states or at the contrast between city and suburb to find the evidence for Erickson's statement that there exist

. . . inequities in our system of educational finance, (inequities) that function at times to aggravate those very inequalities of class that the public school was designed to destroy.<sup>19</sup>

Independent schools are unlikely to agree that the continued emphasis on "local responsibility for our schools" is sufficient

<sup>18</sup>I. L. Kandel, "The Nation's Schools: Public and Private," School and Society, 75 (April 26, 1952), 268.

<sup>19</sup>Donald Erickson, "Nonpublic Schools," Clearing House, 37 (April, 1963), 459.



to guarantee diversity. The National Council of Independent Schools' statement (1951) makes this disagreement clear.

If a parent's liberty to choose the schools his son or daughter may attend were to be denied, the educational system would become a state-controlled monopoly--a monopoly as complete and far-reaching as has resulted wherever religious freedom has been abolished to strengthen a single state church or where free enterprise has been destroyed to build a state-controlled economy. . . .

There is such a thing as a tyranny of the majority which is just as oppressive as any tyranny of a minority. The only antidote to it and safeguard against it is a strong segment of free endeavor which continually exercises the right of dissent, choice, and action.<sup>20</sup>

Erickson is more specific in his contention that the public schools do not permit the diversity which Conant feels we can and must have. Erickson lists nine features of the public school system which he calls "drawbacks to diversity":

1. teacher-tenure laws
2. pressures from professional organizations
3. civil service requirements
4. population distribution
5. financial inadequacies
6. constitutional or legislative prescriptions
7. Supreme Court rulings (as on religion)
8. centralization of control
9. the "sometimes irrational dictates of local political consensus."<sup>21</sup>

The independent schools' view of the relationship to the mainstream would seem to be misunderstood by those who feel that the schools view themselves as separatist. One independent

<sup>20</sup>National Council of Independent Schools, pp. 148, 149.

<sup>21</sup>Erickson, p. 459.

school headmaster, in a reply to Conant's charges, expressed a view which would be shared by all independent schools:

The proposition that Americans are free to maintain in addition other schools conducted under private auspices, if they wish to do so, is equally a part of our democratic tradition.<sup>22</sup>

Allan Heely sees the tradition of independence in education "embedded in our political philosophy" as strongly as the expression of support which Conant argues for the existence of a single educational system. Heely sees no conflict between the two "systems" because the independent schools are "an instrument of public service under private auspices," and he argues that the private school can be of service to no one if it regards itself "as set apart from the whole national educational program."<sup>23</sup>

Independent schools fear, or at least mistrust, bureaucracy. They resent and resist anything which is suggestive of administrative expediency; they do not wish to be told what to do. The opposition on the part of the schools to federal aid to independent education is based more on the fear of federal control than on any ideological conviction about separation of church and state. The key to the independent schools' position is provided by Potter in his description of the negative attitude of the state. Independent schools are simply unwilling to be made to

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<sup>22</sup>Allan V. Heely, "A Call for Diversity," Saturday Review, 35 (May 3, 1952), 15.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

"conform to a model which in some mysterious way has been determined to be the right answer to education."<sup>24</sup>

John F. Gummere, also an independent school head, has this reply to Conant's warning that a new independent school is a challenge to public education:

If a nearby independent school is offering some particular advantage to its students--let us take as a possible example a language laboratory--this very fact can help the public school administrator to get the funds for one of his own.<sup>25</sup>

This is the sort of challenge which the independent schools would not object to providing. If these schools have certain advantages, of atmosphere, size, and associations, they may indeed compete for students with the public schools, for those parents with the means to do so cannot be expected to forego what they regard as the best education available.

The philosophies of Gummere and Conant meet briefly when each of these educators cites Jefferson. Conant chooses to quote him on his view that "our liberties will only be secure in the hands of the people. . . with a certain degree of instruction,"<sup>26</sup> while Gummere speaks for the independent school as follows:

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<sup>24</sup>Potter, p. 7.

<sup>25</sup>Gummere, p. 451.

<sup>26</sup>Conant, p. 13.

The independent school takes a Jeffersonian stand in the matter of top education for top-quality pupils. Those who would have it that special opportunities for the specially gifted are "undemocratic" are, to my way of thinking, very much mistaken.<sup>27</sup>

Conant links his citation from Jefferson with the doctrine of equality as a foundation for a single system of public education.

The National Council of Independent Schools asserts that

. . . choice of educational opportunity should be available for all, but Americans have not agreed that, because not all can have opportunity, none shall.<sup>28</sup>

Kandel is more blunt. To the arguments that a dual system is inimical to democratic principles, he states:

It is a gross error to believe that the attainment of the ideals of democracy is dependent upon uniformity of educational institutions. . . .

It is a naive concept of social forces that places the responsibility for creating prejudices and intolerance upon any kind of private school or that public school education makes for that unity that transcends other divisive influences.<sup>29</sup>

From the Oregon decision (1925) to the present, the place of independent schools in a democracy has been challenged by educators as well as laymen. Columbia's Thomas H. Briggs, in the 1930 Inglis Lecture at Harvard affirmed that there was no place for the private secondary school in a democracy with its great investment in public education.<sup>30</sup> Columbia's John L.

<sup>27</sup>Gummere, p. 453.

<sup>28</sup>National Council of Independent Schools, p. 147.

<sup>29</sup>Kandel, p. 268.

<sup>30</sup>Byrnes, p. 48.

Childs, in 1949, argued reconsideration of the Oregon decision on the grounds that children could best learn to cooperate with other cultural groups through the medium of the common school.<sup>31</sup> Conant was joined in 1952 by Dean Hollis T. Caswell of Columbia's Teachers College in the warning that unity could only be preserved via the public schools.<sup>32</sup>

The independent schools have resisted these arguments on the grounds that such schools provide the freedom of choice guaranteed by the constitution, encourage diversity, and are a safeguard against an educational monopoly. The increase in activity by the states is not likely to redefine the relationship of the independent schools to the state, either legislatively or philosophically; it may, however, realign the charges on the one hand and the defenses on the other, out of which may come yet another dimension of the philosophy of independent secondary education.

The independent schools have long had a tradition of philanthropy. They have, of course, themselves been the beneficiaries of philanthropic support, but more importantly they have traditionally used whatever funds they possessed--and specifically sought monies for the purpose--to provide opportunity for promising students whose families could not otherwise afford the expenses of private education.

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<sup>31</sup>Butts, p. 527.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 528.

Ninety-five of the schools replying to the questionnaire reported that they had a scholarship program; ninety-two offered tuition aid. Sixty-four schools said that they recruited able students regardless of their ability to pay tuition.

Financial support is but one aspect of the philanthropy in independent education. As expected, a majority of the schools (71) reported the existence of special offerings for the gifted; this is consistent with their goal of college preparation. On the other hand, only twenty-three schools had any special offerings in the regular school year for the "culturally disadvantaged." A number of independent schools have sponsored Upward Bound programs in the summer, but relatively few have arranged for the continuation through the school year of such offerings.

There is little evidence that the independent schools have pioneered in such programs. Until the recent federal sponsorship through public agencies, the involvement of the independent schools appears to have been less purposive and their commitment to serve the total community less well defined.

This generalization cannot be applied to all independent schools, but from the reports of recent innovations is sensed an increase for some and a beginning for many. The programs may range from a "Human Relations" club whose members tutor in the community to a collaborative effort such as the ABC (A Better Chance) program originated by Dartmouth College and a number of

New England boarding schools. There has also been a move by some independent schools to send their students into their own or other communities, with the hope of mutual benefit.

Thus again has social change, this time in the form of recognition of a service which can and should be offered not only to the community but to the students in the independent schools, been instrumental in re-directing the efforts of independent education.

In a similar fashion has come the response of independent schools to the Civil Rights movement. Some schools have long admitted Negroes, although in many instances the number of Negroes constituted what would today be called tokenism. Some administrators have not been able to persuade their trustees to establish a policy under which Negroes might be admitted until comparatively recent times, and there is at least a hint in some quarters that such a move has been propelled by the desire to avoid demonstrations. There are, however, a number of independent schools which do not admit Negroes as a matter of policy, and some which were founded for the specific purpose of avoiding integration.

The effects of charges of being undemocratic, of cooperation with public agencies, of the increase in activity by state legislatures and departments of education, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act--particularly Title III, and of the social change implicit in the Civil Rights movement and the War

on Poverty are by no means complete, and conclusions as to the implications for educational philosophy within the ranks of independent schools are not possible. It does, however, seem clear that one effect will be better and more purposeful communication between independent schools and public education, a communication which will have a bearing on the relationship of the independent schools and the educational profession.

### Independent Education and the Profession

The diversity which has already been seen to characterize the independent schools is continued in the matter of the schools' relationship to the educational profession. Among the features of independent school practice which point to separatism from that branch of the profession concerned with secondary education are the views of teacher preparation and teacher organization.

#### 1. Emphasis on teacher's preparation in his subject

Of the 103 schools which replied to the question, sixty-one did not require professional training in education. Of the forty-two which did, only twenty-five did so of their own resolve.

Independent schools for the most part are unconcerned with methods courses and other formal offerings of undergraduate or graduate programs in education. They seem to prize the man or woman with a broad, liberal arts background who can offer depth



in one of the disciplines coupled with an enthusiasm for learning, teaching, and working with young people.

Some independent school administrators and teachers hold very harsh views of what they call "educationism," and their rejection of teaching reduced to a "science" amounts in many instances to a rejection of what they consider as education designed for the mass of public school students. In terms of preparation in schools of education, the relationship of the independent schools seems to be impaired by dysfunctionality, brought about by the fact that the colleges and universities respond to the needs of the vastly greater number of teachers in public schools.

J. Leonard Sherman called attention to the contribution which higher education could make to the independent schools:

The universities can assist by offering in the departments of education courses covering the problems peculiar to the private school.<sup>33</sup>

At the time of writing (1942), Sherman was aware of only two universities which did this.

The independent schools tend to associate education courses with certification requirements, requirements which in some states apply also to nonpublic schools. That the independent schools feel that they have developed more suitable criteria for

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<sup>33</sup>J. Leonard Sherman, "What Shall Be the Status of Private Secondary Education?," School and Society, 55 (February 14, 1942), 189.

determining fitness to teach is evidenced by the fact that fewer than one-fourth of the schools surveyed require professional training by their own decision.

There are some signs that changes are occurring in this area also. The February, 1968 NAIS Report describes some of the summer seminars and institutes sponsored by universities or university personnel, among which are two courses offered for the second year by the School of Education of the University of Virginia, "specifically designed for administrators in independent schools: (1) Curriculum in the Independent School; (2) Counseling in the Independent School." Addressing itself to the current issues facing independent schools is

A new and very interesting program (of) two experimental three-week seminars for administrators in nonpublic schools which will be offered by the University of Chicago:

1. Major Policy Issues for Nonpublic Schools;
2. The Financing of Nonpublic Education.

The announcement accompanying the Chicago seminars points up the conditions which are likely to produce or strengthen the relationship of the independent schools to the profession:

What methods of accreditation and state regulation for nonpublic schools are likely to be salutary rather than destructive, controlling disreputable and fraudulent schools while encouraging diversity?

What are the predictable consequences for the general welfare and the nonpublic schools themselves of various modes of governmental assistance?

What contributions are nonpublic schools uniquely qualified to make in terms of national unity, cultural heterogeneity, and the advancement of educational research and practice?

What is the nature of the increased involvement of non-public schools in urban politics under the Economic Opportunity Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and other recent legislation at federal and state levels?

What functions of nonpublic schools are likely to be altered by current and anticipated developments in the field of education and society as a whole?

What modes of intervention seem most effective for influencing public agencies in these particulars?<sup>34</sup>

Another program in its second year is an Institute for independent school personnel involved in teacher supervision. This four-day program will have as instructors three staff members of the Harvard Graduate School of Education.<sup>35</sup>

Independent school personnel have been heard to say at various times that they felt the need for professional training, but not as it was then available in schools of education. The nearest that the universities have come, at least until the last year or two, to meeting the needs of the independent schools has been through the medium of the M.A.T. degree programs which emphasize graduate preparation in the subject field.

## 2. Disassociation from educational organizations

The independent schools have formed their own local, state, regional, and national associations, groups which have been characterized, until recently, as rather loosely organized. Their

<sup>34</sup>National Association of Independent Schools, Report (Boston: NAIS, February, 1968), p. 9.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

function has been one of service to the several schools, a means by which schools could communicate with one another on such matters as faculty openings, criteria for awarding tuition aid, and innovations in curriculum.

The fact that independent school teachers are not subject to local political pressure and the condition of smallness which permits easy communication with administrators are two reasons why the organizations of public school teachers have little to offer. The issue is perhaps most clearly seen in the matter of teacher tenure in independent schools.

Very few schools have tenure, and it is, of course, their choice to offer it or not. The practice is generally one of continuing the employment of a teacher for at least two years unless his continued employment constitutes a threat to the welfare of either party. Some schools delay certain perquisites until the third year of service (e.g., participation in the retirement program). In general, it seems to be the practice for contract talks to take place in February or March, and employment is continued on the basis of an annual contract or letter of intent.

The aim of independent education for excellence is bound up in its view of tenure as it is in the freedom of faculty selection. Gummere speaks for many in independent education when he says:

. . . the power to fire (is) invested in exactly the same people who have the power to hire. This, too, is typically the American way, and again it involves grave responsibilities.

Of tenure and salary schedules based on merit, he adds:

. . . rather distressing that . . . tenure laws seem to be an absolute necessity.

It is entirely contrary to the culture of this country for excellence not to be properly recognized and mediocrity given its suitably smaller recompense.

When any profession or any industry is forced to operate under such circumstances (tenure), it is being forced to operate in a decidedly un-American fashion.<sup>36</sup>

While it is the practice of many schools to have a salary schedule, the headmaster is often empowered to depart from it whenever the question of retaining or attracting a valuable faculty member requires him to do so. Bargaining is, thus, an individual matter.

It is the view of a number of independent school people that unionization and collective bargaining are not consonant with the professional status of teachers. Some schools have faculty committees on salary schedule, but even these have only local influence. While the practice of one school in the area may have an effect on what the others do, each is bound ultimately by the funds at its disposal, and the tradition of headmasters struggling to provide better faculty salaries seems to be a major factor in the lack of teacher militancy in independent schools.

<sup>36</sup>Gummere, pp. 451-453.

Size is, of course, a valuable asset for the independent school. Smallness and the local decision-making power enables the teachers to bring grievances directly to the headmaster, usually with little or no delay. Salary negotiations are usually initiated by a personal letter or conducted in an interview.

Independent school teachers are, for the most part, paid less than their public school counterparts, but they appear to view the advantages of small classes, lack of red-tape, academic freedom, and personal contact with the administration as an equalizing factor. To the present time, they seem to have no need for unions or bargaining agents.

The independent schools contribute to their branch of the profession in various ways. Many schools encourage their faculty to pursue graduate study; some are able to provide financial support. The regional and national associations maintain standards of membership which help to police the schools. Some schools have taken experimental approaches to their organization to carry out the theme of independent school teaching as a profession. One example is that of the Thomas Jefferson School in St. Louis, Missouri, which is organized like a law firm, with the masters as partners.<sup>37</sup>

While there may be few schools so organized, there is a strong sense that independent school teachers consider themselves

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<sup>37</sup>Sargent, p. 21.

as partners in the enterprise of education in which they work with rather than for their administrators.

These subsidiary relationships, legislative, philosophical, and professional, are currently undergoing changes more rapid than any previously encountered. What will emerge is uncertain, and it is evident that the independent schools themselves are uncertain.

In 1942, Sherman warned that there was

an urgent need for a rather complete survey of private secondary education . . . (which) could probably be completed by an individual within a year.<sup>38</sup>

In 1951, the National Council of Independent Schools closed its statement as follows:

It is the earnest hope of the National Council of Independent Schools that its first statement, "The Functions of Secondary Education in the United States," and this statement, "The Functions of Independent Secondary Education in the United States," will be followed by a completely disinterested, thorough, and factual study of the secondary independent schools of the United States.<sup>39</sup>

In 1963, Eugene Vandenberg called for

a complete reexamination of secondary education both as to objectives and philosophy.<sup>40</sup>

While Vandenberg saw the value of such a study as a "tremendous contribution to the future of public secondary education," his notion that the study

<sup>38</sup>Sherman, p. 189.

<sup>39</sup>National Council of Independent Schools, p. 150.

<sup>40</sup>Vandenberg, p. 137.

could give us direction in this modern educational age and give positive orientation to education in the years ahead.<sup>41</sup>

is equally applicable to the persons and institutions involved in independent education.

The conditions in 1942 and in 1951 apparently did not produce the studies called for by Sherman and the National Council. Some of the conditions described in this chapter may be considered to have played a significant part in the project begun in the fall of 1967, partially sponsored by the National Association of Independent Schools and directed by Otto Kraushaar, former president of Goucher College. The project, known as The Study of the American Independent School, is planned to take two years to complete.<sup>42</sup>

If the independent schools are to give an account of themselves to the project, and ultimately to the public, they will need to draw together the assumptions and philosophical bases which underlie their existence and their function in a manner which will submit to analysis and comparison. To do this, the schools will have to examine what they have drawn from their past traditions, what they are deriving from present conditions, and what implications are involved by the direction each school hopes to take for the future.

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Potter, "Independence and Cooperation," p. 8.



The future of independent secondary education may hinge more on economic than on purely philosophic considerations, for the financing of independent education--the whole question of economic survival--is a major issue confronting the schools. Economics alone, however, will not provide a solution, although it promises to play a major role in shaping educational philosophy and in defining the extent of independence.

## CHAPTER V

### WHITHER INDEPENDENT EDUCATION?

Independent education in the past, originating from European models of classical training for the children of the aristocracy, served the fledgling nation as the means by which the narrow college-preparatory curriculum might be expanded to include the more practical academy subjects which the temper of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century demanded. Its traditions, strong enough to stand up against the rise of public secondary education, continued into the twentieth century. Throughout its past, independent education has provided a choice--for those who could afford it--which could procure for its patrons a strong college-preparatory program, individual attention, stress on character education--with or without a distinct church affiliation--and, for those attending boarding schools, a continuity of purpose and sense of belonging without the distractions of home life.

The past is very much with independent secondary education in the present century. Having maintained their constitutional freedom, the independent schools have continued to prepare students for college, to cultivate diversity, to maintain the focus on religion in education, and to experiment with content and

method. The first of these, college-preparation, has been carried on despite significant opposition. Adverting to the fact that in the fifteen to twenty years before World War II there was objection to the "exacting" academic program made up of foreign language, three years of math, four years of English, science, and history, Gummere points out that now, (1961), the public "rejoices" at the trend "back to solids."

In all that distressing devaluation of our academic standards, the independent schools . . . continued to do as they have always done and as they do now, namely, to require a genuine academic course. Thanks to their freedom from domination by elements which sought to mold all schools into a single pattern, these schools maintained their ground . . . an excellent thing for education in this country.<sup>1</sup>

The cultivation of diversity is a natural function of a group of institutions whose very existence is provided for by a pluralistic society. The concept of individuality is borne out in their institutional independence as it is in their pedagogical concern for the individual student.

The independent schools, by virtue of their existence, now provide the only secondary educational framework where prayer, worship, and the immanence of God in life and learning may be legally and publicly acknowledged.

The independent schools are justly proud of their history of contributions to education through experimentation, yet while they may point to the academy and to the leading role taken by

<sup>1</sup>Gummere, p. 454.

private schools in the "new" education, to the development of Advanced Placement and other programs for the gifted, they do need to acknowledge that in recent years a considerable portion of the initiative has been taken by public education, facilitated by state and federal funds.

Underlying all of these functions is the primary emphasis on the individual. Whether viewed as a necessity--a giving of individual attention as a return on the money invested in tuition--or as stemming from philosophical convictions about educating the young, the concentration on the individual is one of the most distinguishing features of the independent school. Despite the pressures to expand which have come from an increase in applicants and an increase in costs, most schools have preserved their size, their atmosphere, and their associations as means by which they might strive for excellence.

The excellence for which we in the independent schools are striving has its moral and spiritual and, above all, its personal dimensions. . . .

Ours is a day in which the search for personal identity looms large, especially for youth. The existential mood is common among adolescents, though they may not know it by that name. Truth in a Person, values embodied in a Person--these are the calls that fully satisfy the longing of youth and of us all for identity.<sup>2</sup>

The weight of tradition tends to obscure the impact of some of the changes which have recently been, or are being, undergone

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<sup>2</sup>F. E. Gaebelin, "Spiritual Values in the Independent School," School and Society, 90 (September 22, 1962), 294-5.

by independent secondary education. The increased activity, in prose and in practice, by the schools in establishing, strengthening, or questioning their relationship to government, to society, and to the profession is indicative of both practical and philosophical concern about the present and the future.

Some of the practical steps taken by independent schools in recent years have already been mentioned. The strengthening of regional associations, the appointment of a Washington representative, and the collaborative projects with public agencies are among the more publicized activities. The initiation or expansion of policies to admit Negroes and to provide programs for the culturally disadvantaged is a factor in a small, growing number of schools.

The awareness of a responsibility to the community, and to society as a whole, which is represented by the implementation of programs for the disadvantaged appears to be matched in some schools by a feeling that the maintenance of a boy or girl in a position of academic and social "isolation" during the secondary school years may ultimately contribute to his or her disadvantage. Some schools have combined the aims of independent study--directed toward preparation for college--and community involvement--directed toward preparation for citizenship--in programs which allow, and in some instances require, students to become active in the community.

With the increase in programs for the disadvantaged has come the impetus for expansion of programs for the gifted. In recent years a number of schools have begun or enlarged summer sessions to provide advanced courses and travel opportunities. While the finance committee of the trustees may view this measure as a means of meeting the costs of a plant which might otherwise remain empty throughout the summer or as a means of financing a summer program in connection with Upward Bound, the effect for the students is one of academic and social benefit. One school will, in the coming summer, conduct an advanced summer session on its own campus and travel-and-study sessions in six foreign countries; another facility of the same institution will have an Upward Bound program for the second year.

The response to social change has an echo in the response to the new technology. Several schools are experimenting with the use of computers as teaching tools, and some have been led into cooperative ventures with colleges or other secondary schools, public and private, either as a function of the cost of the equipment or as necessitated by the scope of their experiment.

The combination of the role which independent secondary education sees itself as having played, and as being in a unique position to play in the scheme of secondary education as a whole, and the rapidity and dimensions of social and technical change in the middle third of this century has presented what

may well be the greatest challenge in history to the independent schools.

The reaction to this challenge is in progress, and it would be premature to attempt any definitive assessment. The views of independent schoolmen are, typically, varied. One headmaster was quoted in a recent newspaper series as saying that he felt that all independent schools were "running for their lives," and that in another twenty years they would be "through." Another school head, from the same geographical area, voiced this opinion:

It is now time that we look at the final third of the twentieth century, time that we choose a role for the independent school which will ask of each of us the best that we have as we seek a definition of the needs of children and of our society, the best that we have in imagination as we search for the ways and means which will serve these needs.<sup>3</sup>

It seems to be an accepted view that some of the independent schools will perish, that those

which meet the market's demand for quality will survive . . . if they remain "alert to the velocitous nature of our culture and aware of its pluralistic base."<sup>4</sup>

In considering the challenge of the present and of the future, the schools seem to feel that there is little importance to be found in the attitudes of the traditional school as differentiated from those of the progressive school. These differences

<sup>3</sup>Nathaniel S. French, "Independence for Education," The Independent School Bulletin, 27 (October, 1967), 28.

<sup>4</sup>Richard T. Cooper, "Independent Schools' Crisis," Chicago Sun-Times, January 9, 1968, p. 22.

are largely ones of emphasis, approach, and method. The prior consideration is, as French has pointed out, that of seeking "a definition of the needs of children and of our society."

The question of techniques and tools must depend on the answers to French's search, to the definition which will come from the re-thinking of the social and political philosophies of the independent schools.

The National Association of Independent Schools has already announced the inauguration of a project to study the American Independent School. It is unlikely that the recommendations of the project committee will be as radical as those of Jehn Fentress Gardner, Headmaster of Waldorf School of Adelphi University in Garden City, New York. Writing in The Independent School Bulletin, Gardner argues that public schools should be replaced by independent schools. Gardner advertises that his proposals are meant "to incite radical thinking rather than radical action," and paves the way for the evolution of a new statement on the social philosophy of the independent schools by challenging them to express views which go beyond the traditional remarks about constitutional right to exist, schools for leaders, and freedom of choice.

It seems clear to me that independent schools should take much more seriously the signs of the times. These signs are those of centralized power and of uniformity . . . appearing in mass production, mass media of communication, and mass culture. . . .



All these signs call for a radical strengthening of the individual. They call for a powerful and immediate impulse to decentralize. They require to be offset by a new spirit of independence that should be nurtured where all of culture takes its start, namely, in the sphere of education. . . .

There may have been a time when America needed a school system that served as a melting pot. That time is past. Today we are faced with the need for a renewed defense of freedom. . . . Most schools, today, are unfree in the sense that they are bound to government by the same economic and legal ties which the churches had to break, in colonial days, in order to achieve freedom of conscience.<sup>5</sup>

Gardner sets forth eleven affirmations "as a stimulus to discussion that can lead to a clear-cut philosophy of independence for all schools, nationally and internationally."<sup>6</sup> The affirmations establish his thesis on education and government, a thesis which might be described as advocating the separation of school and state, e.g.,

The traditional ideals of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly should now be extended to include a new right: the freedom to found schools undiscriminated, against by the legal or economic power of the state,<sup>7</sup>

and

Since all education begins in the premises and eventuates in the conclusions which we call ultimate values, the meaning of the First Amendment to our Constitution should be extended to cover education as well as religion.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> John F. Gardner, "Independence for Education: The Proposal," The Independent School Bulletin, 27 (October, 1967), 20.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 20-1.

Urging speed in coming to the conclusion that independent schools must ultimately supplant the public schools, Gardner suggests that

A great step forward was made when the free schools redefined themselves and gained acceptance as independent rather than private; for private connotes self-centered exclusiveness, while independent connotes initiative and courage, which the whole community of citizens can well imagine making a contribution to its welfare. The second step . . . will be for our free schools . . . (to) see themselves, and be seen by others, as standard-bearers for all the free qualities that are dear to our dream of America yet are impossible of complete realization, no matter how much good will is summoned, in state schools.<sup>9</sup>

Gardner concludes by asking the National Association to "appoint a commission to formulate a clear statement of the social philosophy of the independent schools," which is a prerequisite to implementing the principle that "we must replace the state school idea with the independent school idea."<sup>10</sup>

Richard Cooper sounded a similar note in his series of articles based on his study of independent schools in the Chicago area. Speaking of the "sustained attention to the individual" which he found characteristic of the schools he studied, Cooper concludes his opening article with:

Thus far, government policy makers have assumed such education is not feasible for the masses. If dedicated independent schoolmen could convince them otherwise, they would indeed have made their little lights shine.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 21-22.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 22, 23.

<sup>11</sup>Cooper, Sun-Times, January 7, 1968, p. 69.

The Study of the American Independent School will necessarily have to concern itself with the social philosophy of independent education. The Study, begun in the fall of 1967, is expected to take two years to complete. In the meantime, another consideration is forcing itself on the independent schools, one which, because it implies a confrontation with the fact of federal aid to public education, requires that the schools examine their political philosophy.

The remark of the administrator who felt that independent schools were running for their lives does not reflect any sense of a lack of quality in the educational programs offered by the schools. The evidence is that the courses, materials, and methods are not only keeping pace but in many instances outstripping the demands made by the colleges. It is a frequent occurrence that a college freshman will return to his secondary school and report that his courses are easier; some report that the courses of the freshman year are largely repetitious. The depth and breadth of the curricular offerings, as described in the catalogues, are, to say the least, impressive.

Applications have increased, in some instances to the point where the schools are reluctant to indicate the ratio between applicants and places for fear of discouraging future candidates.<sup>12</sup> The reasons for the increase include growth of

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<sup>12</sup>Cooper, Sun-Times, January 9, 1968, p. 22.

population, increase in earnings, decline in quality of education in some public school districts, and the time-honored reason that parents feel that independent schools can get their children into "better" colleges.

If the quality of the offering is as good as, or better than, it has been in the past, and if there is no shortage of qualified applicants, what is the reason for the pessimistic note that in twenty years the independent institutions would be "through?" The answer is to be found in the financial statements of the schools.

Since in order to do their job as they feel it must be done, the independent schools resist enlarging the class size or teaching load, the greater number of applicants do not represent any additional revenue. Costs rise for independent schools as for public ones, but the machinery for meeting the costs varies, and under present policy it varies to the disadvantage of the independent school.

The independent schools' quality is, at present, still largely the product of well-qualified and dedicated teachers working with well-qualified and usually highly-motivated students. The work often takes place in old buildings which contain poorly-equipped laboratories and scarcely sufficient libraries. There is a number of older preparatory schools, mostly in the East, which has built up over the years sizeable endowment funds and which has produced physical plants which will continue to be

more than adequate for many years to come, but there are few schools which do not need to seek more money than is brought in annually by tuition.

Teachers' salaries constitute a major portion of the rise in costs. The gap between starting salaries in public and independent schools in the Chicago area was recently indicated to be in the neighborhood of one thousand dollars; the gap in other areas may range considerably higher. The independent schools are required to establish salary schedules which are within at least a reasonable distance of the corresponding public school scale.

The December, 1967 Report of the National Association of Independent Schools yields the following statistics on sources and amounts of income for the member schools. Eighty percent of the member schools returned the questionnaire, and among these 610 independent schools (485 secondary; 125 elementary) the dependency on tuition ranged from 81.1 percent to 85.4 percent of total income. Sixty-nine of the secondary schools reported that 100 percent of their income was derived from tuition.<sup>13</sup>

The most immediate, and for some the only, source of additional income is from an increase in tuition. While parents expect tuition increases, as they expect to be asked to contribute to capital campaigns and annual giving drives, there is a

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<sup>13</sup>National Association of Independent Schools, Report, 23 (Boston: NAIS, December, 1967), p. 1.

ceiling above which the independent schools will find that they have "priced themselves out of the market." There is the added factor that parents will continue to expect the independent schools to maintain their record of getting their graduates into the "better" colleges.

The schools have found some additional sources of income in recent years; ten years ago the range of dependency was from in excess of 85 percent to over 90 percent.<sup>14</sup> To many independent schoolmen, the gains are not enough and "pricing themselves out of the market" is a very real threat.

The competition, however much it may ultimately be shown to have its roots in social philosophy, is for the present and the foreseeable future, economic in nature. Federal aid to public education has meant better facilities in physical plant and equipment; federal money for teachers' salaries in the public schools would close many independent school doors.

Independent school graduates are already discovering that college admission is not guaranteed, a factor generated by the increase in quality of public schools across the nation and an apparent change in the social philosophy of the independent colleges and universities who are now recruiting students for the places they once reserved for "prep" school graduates.

Some federal assistance has already come to the independent schools, some of which participate in the federal lunch program,

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

many of which have been the beneficiaries of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The overall reaction of the independent schools to the question of federal aid has been, and continues to be, that they should not accept it.

The early efforts to establish Federal Aid to public education in 1961 were delayed by claims from parochial school officials which resulted in long debates over the constitutional separation of church and state, and by local expressions of concern about the threat of federal control over an area which was reserved to the responsibility of the states.

The fear of federal control is unquestionably a factor in the opposition of many independent schoolmen; some, however, insist that "independent" means--or should mean--financially independent as well, even though written guarantees of non-intervention should accompany federal grants. Those who feel that independent schools should continue to merit financial support from parents, alumni, and friends are not necessarily associated with the schools which appear to stand the best chance of economic survival. Their view is, rather, an expression of the conservative political philosophy which many independent schools seem to share. There has been little evidence of political militancy on the part of independent schools or their associations throughout their history, and there is some feeling that if the schools wanted federal aid, they might have secured it through a concerted effort.

Polls taken of the independent schools in 1961 revealed the following attitudes of 267 schools (53 percent of the membership of the National Council of Independent Schools):

1. On Federal Grants to independent schools:

222 opposed  
30 in favor  
15 undecided

2. On Federal Loans to independent schools:

166 opposed  
89 in favor  
12 undecided

3. On some form of tax relief for those paying tuition to independent schools:

188 in favor  
66 opposed  
13 undecided.<sup>15</sup>

A much smaller sampling (32 schools) tested some subsidiary attitudes; the questions and the responses, in percentage figures follow:

	% Yes	% No
Should independent schools be tax-exempt?	82	11
Bus transportation for independent school children at public expense?	11	73
Any difference between non-denominational and religious schools which should affect receipt, directly or indirectly, of public monies?	18	82

<sup>15</sup>National Council of Independent Schools, Report, 65, quoted in Gilmour, "Federal Aid and the Independent School," (unpublished study, 1962), p. 3. Missing percentage figures represent replies of "Undecided."



	% Yes	% No	
In favor of Federal Aid to public education?	34*	20	
Can there be Federal Aid without Federal controls?	34	59	
In favor of Federal Aid to independent non-denominational schools?	4	57	18% Loans only
Federal Aid to religious schools?	11	57	14% Loans only
Is there any question of constitutionality involved in Federal Aid to independent schools, in your view?	39	39	
Do you envision the threat of Federal controls in independent schools in the possible event of Federal Aid?	70	25	

\* 41 percent of the schools offered a qualified "Yes" to the matter of Federal Aid for public schools.<sup>16</sup>

The results of so small a sampling, despite the fact that it represents schools from across the country, of all sizes, boarding, day, boys', girls', and co-ed, are statistically invalid. They have been included here because the questions went somewhat farther than did those of the NCIS poll, and because the results substantially bear out those of the study conducted by the National Council.

The questionnaire used in the present study attempted to elicit the current attitudes of the schools.

<sup>16</sup>F. C. R. Gilmour, "Federal Aid and the Independent School," (unpublished study, 1962), p. 5.

B19. The question of federal aid to non-public schools has been much studied and debated. Do you feel that there are philosophical positions which argue for or against federal aid to independent schools?

Yes	71	For	28
No	19	Against	50

B20. It is argued that the future of independent education may depend on its ability to compete financially with public education. If this ability can come only via federal aid, do you feel that the threat of loss of independence can be overcome?<sup>17</sup>

Yes	72
No	26

There appears to be reason to conclude that some change in position has already been made with respect to the threat of federal control. Of the seventy-one schools which agreed that there were philosophical positions relative to the question of federal aid to independent schools, some felt that there were positions for and against; nineteen schools did not feel that philosophical positions were involved; seventeen schools which replied to the questionnaire did not reply to this question. The preponderance of replies indicating confidence that loss of independence is not an insuperable threat is a significant departure from the expressions of fear of federal controls which were common in 1961-1962.

<sup>17</sup>For comments on these questions, see the Appendix.

The rationale that federal aid should be offered and accepted as aid to the students, as opposed to assistance to an institution, has already been proposed by those favoring public monies for nonpublic schools. The range of views of independent schoolmen is from the optimistic opinion that other means will be found to the insistence that federal aid will and should mean federal control, a condition which some feel wholly unacceptable.

Whether the rising costs of their own operations or the competition of the federally supported public secondary programs will result in a drastic reshaping of independent school philosophy must remain for the present a matter for speculation. It is a reasonable inference that some in independent education would rather cease operations than submit to government control. It seems equally reasonable that others will strive to arrange for long-term, low-interest, federal loans if the safeguards which the Dartmouth College case assured for state-chartered schools can be secured from the federal government.

Government money is already at work in special projects in independent schools; experimental programs, architectural designs, and funded pilot studies are some examples. If the independent schools show signs of national responsibility and if they want federal aid, it seems altogether possible that they can participate in federal programs as do many private universities, without relinquishing their autonomy.

In 1942, Arthur Traxler raised the question, "Are the independent schools one of our luxuries?" and pointed out that their function had been "to preserve our cultural heritage." Traxler urged that their proper function should be

. . . not alone to preserve it, but to give it new meaning and application in these critical times.<sup>18</sup>

In 1968, the schools seem to be working toward that definition of the needs of children and of our society which will enable independent education to provide that meaning and application, a function which they can perform only if their independence has not become a luxury.

It is felt that the universities could be of significant help to the independent schools in the evolution of social and political philosophies which the times demand and upon which the subsidiary questions of emphasis, content, and method depend. The independent schools have their peculiar problems, and the schools do not have as much perspective as they might in which to view them. Despite the fact that such schools constitute a minority in terms of the number of institutions and the number of secondary students enrolled, they merit more concern from higher education in terms relevant to their function in American secondary education.

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<sup>18</sup>Traxler, pp. 509, 510.

As one respondent phrased it,

I believe that the public and independent philosophy of education is the same and that we are wrong to try to differentiate between them. . . .

We must work together. Do not indicate . . . that we are different. We have been trying for years to indicate that there is a place for both of us.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup>Questionnaire # 39.

## APPENDIX

Many of the respondents to the study questionnaire added comments to amplify their answers. It has not been practicable to weave all of these into the body of this paper, but the comments themselves are valuable indications of the philosophical bases and presuppositions in independent education. For this reason, the appendix contains, in addition to a tabulation of results of the questionnaire, those pertinent comments which relate to the several questions.

The comments have been grouped where possible to show similarity of view or topic. Since anonymity has been guaranteed to the persons replying to the questionnaire, the only identification is by means of the numbers which were assigned to the returns in their order of arrival.

Profile of the Characteristics of the Independent  
Schools Participating in the Study Questionnaire

Two hundred questionnaires were sent to schools of various types in all sections of the United States. One hundred and seven returns were received and used in the tabulation in the appendix.

Although no statistical inferences are intended to be drawn for all independent schools, the following profile of characteristics of the schools participating in the study shows a well-balanced sampling by location, type, composition, and size.

Geographical Location

New England	24
Middle Atlantic States	14
North Central States	28
South	22
West	19

Type of School

Boarding	22
Day	40
Boarding and Day	45

Composition of Student Body

Boys' Schools	40
Girls' Schools	30
Coeducational Schools	37

Size of Student Body

150 or fewer students	27
151 - 300 students	51
301 - 550 students	17
More than 550 students	12

A. Operation of the School

A1. The school at present:

is exclusively college-preparatory	97
offers other curricula (in addition to college-prep.), e.g., general business, vocational	8
is a tutorial school	1
other _____	1
please specify	

(Note: the school identified under "other" is a school for professional children in the performing arts.)

A2. The chief function(s) which you perceive as being fulfilled by the school is/are:

preparation for college	101
community school	10
individual instruction	34
other (specify, please)	



A3. Much has been written of the philanthropic aspect of independent education. Does your school:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
have a scholarship program?	95	12
offer tuition aid?	92	12
recruit able students regardless of their ability to pay tuition?	64	42
have any special offerings in the regular school year for the "culturally disadvantaged?"	23	80
have any special offerings for the "gifted."	71	28
Approximately what percentage of your tuition budget is allocated for scholarship and/or tuition aid?		
Less than 20%	79	
20 - 30%	15	
More than 30%	1	

A4. The following is/are specifically stressed in the educational program. If one aspect is stressed more than others, please so indicate.

	<u>Stressed</u>	<u>Most Stressed</u>
Academic or Intellectual Pursuits	34	82
Citizenship	63	42
Emotional and Spiritual Well-being	72	25
Family and Social Relations	46	8
Moral and Ethical Education	64	38
Vocational Choice and Preparation	20	7

B. Philosophical Bases and Presuppositions:

- B1. There follow some categories of goals which have been considered to be important in secondary education. Please check those which are stressed in your school, those which you feel independent schools tend to stress most, and those which you feel need more attention from independent schools in the future:

	<u>Stressed Most in this School</u>	<u>Stressed Most by Independent Schools</u>	<u>More Attention Needed</u>
<b>a. <u>Intellectual</u></b>			
Development of logical thinking			
Development of open-mindedness	98	83	18
Development of intellectual curiosity			
<b>b. <u>Moral-Spiritual</u></b>			
Character education Development of:			
idea of service to fellow man	82	60	36
sense of commitment to personal goals			
sense of commitment to social and cultural goals			
moral-spiritual values			
<b>c. <u>Civic</u></b>			
Respect for social, political, and cultural traditions			
Understanding of national goals	47	37	63
Preparation for adjustment to the new technology			

	Stressed Most in <u>this School</u>	Stressed Most by Independent Schools	More Attention Needed
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c. Civic (contd.)

Understanding of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy

d. Family

Education for sound family relationships, including sex education

20

11

80

e. Other: Please list any other categories of aims or items which you feel are, or should be, stressed in independent schools.

B1. (continued)

Comments:

Questionnaire #

- On item "a" 66. "a" is misleading--since most private schools stress the intellectual; but they mean preparation for college--not logical thinking, etc.
68. More attention need--always!
89. I do not believe it is easy to generalize about independent schools beyond category a.
- On item "b" 6. sense of commitment to "Christ and His Kingdom."
15. Are you assuming your sub-topics are synonymous? I would have preferred to answer each separately.
- On item "c" 34. needs more attention at this time.

B1. (continued)

Comments:

Questionnaire #

- On item "d" 19. (this school) has been working on a strong program which is to begin this fall. (indep. schools) generally of recent origin.
44. omit sex education.
- On item "e" 13. capacity for self-direction.
16. service and leadership but not adjustment. Independent responsibilities: to see a need and meet it honestly.
19. self-fulfillment or realization.
29. patriotism.
42. the learned capacity to adapt while retaining individuality.
44. earlier maturation, less dependence, more sufficiency, having received much from many sources from the cradle on, learn to give back more than received.
46. our school places a great deal of emphasis on the emotional and psychological needs of the individual, an area of "education" which we believe is unfortunately understressed in most private schools.
51. learning the values of work and personal responsibility.
61. particularly the responsibility of a woman, as a citizen, wife and mother. These children owe a debt to society which they can pay only by being the best citizen possible.
67. understanding the duty to preserve our richest inheritance of natural beauty and of the earth's resources.

B1. (continued)

Comments:

Questionnaire #

On item "e"  
(cont'd.)

77. physical well-being and creative arts also stressed.
86. our motto is "self-discipline through self-expression."
100. open-minded experimentation, willingness to try and to accept new ideas. Cooperation with other school systems.
- General 33. I don't think you can generalize "independent schools." The moral-spiritual category worries me. Obviously those schools having a strong church affiliation--not parochial--will and should emphasize this category.
43. not qualified to answer. Great changes are happening in independent schools.
50. I find this impossible to answer. Any good school attempts to do all these things--and could strive to do better.
56. These are all too neat to be quickly commented on.
83. all of the above is poorly phrased and misleading. Naturally the majority of time is spent on intellectual pursuits. Little attention (comparatively) is given to "sound family relationships," because little is needed, generally. However, more time and attention should be given to sex education, possibly...

B2. Listed below are some of the features described as unique advantages of independent education. Please check those which you agree are unique advantages. Again, please add others which occur to you.

Freedom from political control	89
Freedom to experiment	84
Academic freedom	81
Freedom to select students	93
Opportunity to provide "quality" education	75
Attention to the individual	89
Others:	

Comments:

Questionnaire #

3. Freedom to teach Christian ideas and values.
16. Freedom to make a basic commitment and publicly to work freely from that commitment.
26. Religious education--shared with parochial schools.
47. Freedom to teach religion.
66. Teaching moral values.
70. Freedom to expose students to religions, philosophical, ethical ideas.
6. Broader and deeper contact with students by faculty and administration.
33. Opportunity for students to identify with their teachers.
55. Opportunity to request and have parent awareness of students' problems and successes.
66. Provide adequate counseling.

## B2. (continued)

Comments:Questionnaire #

- 83. Opportunity to deal with student in a more complete way, particularly for boarding schools, and to come to know more and understand more through observation and involvement outside the classroom.
- 86. A curriculum leading to the fullest development of the individual.
- 91. Indeed, students' control over own courses and part in administrative or faculty decision-making processes.
- 8. Threatened by increasing state control.
- 36. Selection of faculty.
- 47. Freedom to employ talented, but uncertificated, teachers.
- 61. Freedom to select students cannot be overestimated.
- 71. Freedom to select teachers.
- 93. The single most important advantage is freedom to select faculty.
- 97. Freedom to select outstanding teachers regardless of whether they have a state teaching certificate or not.

B3. Do you feel that independent education has any unique obligations, other than to make good use of the advantages checked in B2?

Yes 59 If Yes, please indicate their nature:  
No 24

Comments:

Questionnaire #

- 3. To be the best school available.
- 15. Obligation to provide superior education to that received in public schools.
- 19. To bail out and strengthen good academic material which cannot be reached successfully by the public high school.
- 26. Develop critical thinking.
- 39. To teach boys to assume leadership.
- 40. To provide a continuity of leadership in taste and culture in the U. S.
- 42. To further the development of educational excellence.
- 53. No reason to exist unless aspiring to do superior job in area school selects to do its work.
- 61. To develop good leaders for present day society.
- 69. To stress the uniqueness of each individual and to help him develop his potential to the fullest.
- 72. To secure the finest possible faculty.
- 88. To provide a superior education for students whose parents pay school taxes and tuitions.
- 4. To work with other educational institutions--public/parochial.



## B3. (continued)

Comments:Questionnaire #

- 13. Freedom to be unique.
- 16. To be independent.
- 43. Meet needs of education not met by local public schools.
- 50. To use the freedoms above (B2) to add to educational techniques--not just keep imitating others.
- 51. To help public schools do their job better.
- 66. Supporting policies and programs to improve public education.
- 80. Provide leadership in curriculum--this is not a "freedom"--it is a responsibility. To break the lock-step of the "subjects-taken" system.
- 85. To provide leadership for public education.
- 87. Attention to innovations and promising practices.
- 93. To provide educational leadership for all schools.
- 101. The obligation to develop superior teaching.
- 7. Commitment to the community (particularly for day school); involvement in socio-economic life of the community.
- 12. More responsibility to, and knowledge of, the community.

## B3. (continued)

Comments:Questionnaire #

35. Still has obligation to community at large--lab for new ideas which public system can adopt later if useful, education of certain groups which public system ill adapted for.
48. To lead in inter-cultural activities in the community.
54. To be in touch with the community and participate in the mainstream of thought.
62. To justify our existence to the community at large--otherwise we will become more and more vestigial (sic).
63. Responsibility to the development of our society through educational service to the local community--particularly with respect to programs helping underprivileged children.
67. To turn out citizens sufficiently fortified to resist "group" thinking and yet strongly dedicated to community work.
92. Obligation to relate itself and its students to the common purpose of society as a whole.
46. The obligation to inculcate a desire and responsibility among its students to serve mankind.
52. To develop a sense of service and moral strength.
56. Education of a responsible privileged class.

## B3. (continued)

Comments:Questionnaire #

60. To inculcate concept of service not competition.
70. To inculcate humility (as well as pride in excellence) and a sense of responsibility to one's fellow being.
96. To remain independent--we cannot remain free if we accept direct subsidies from government. Independent schools are essential in order to give people a choice and so keep public schools more nearly free.

B4. With which of the following statements do you most agree? Least agree? (If you find agreement with more than one, or if you wish to modify one slightly, please write whatever synthesis or modification in the space provided.)

	<u>Most Agree</u>	<u>Least Agree</u>
1. The primary purpose of education should be to transmit to the younger generation the tools and values of the existing culture.	20	28
2. The primary purpose of education should be to direct the younger generation towards the attitudes and values of the more stable society which existed at an earlier time.	2	73
3. The primary purpose of education should be to equip the younger generation with those tools which will enable them to identify and solve the problems which they will encounter in their personal, social, and professional lives.	91	3
4. The primary purpose of education should be to encourage the younger generation to strive for a consensus of cultural goals, thereby reconstructing the present, relatively aimless, society; further, to provide them with the tools needed to work for the achievement of such goals.	17	23

Comments: (The range of syntheses and modifications offered makes grouping useless for the comments on this question. The comments are, therefore, listed in order of the questionnaire numbers.)

Questionnaire #

1. Add (to 3.) intellectual and aesthetic to types of lives. Add also "to encourage a curiosity that precludes sad satiety or boredom with life."

B4. (continued)

Comments:

Questionnaire #

6. (2 and 3) through a personal confrontation and realization that in Christ is the "all sufficiency" for individual and collective well-being.
12. (1 and 2)...to take the best of the old and use it to best advantage in the face of the new.
16. 1. The primary purpose of education should be to make the younger generation aware of tools and values of existing cultures and past cultures, making it possible for...
4. them to reconstruct the present, relatively aimless society, and to provide society with tools needed to achieve its goals.
23. What about commitment and self-sacrifice?
34. Synthesis of 3 and 4.
36. Synthesis of 2 and 3, or the primary purpose of education is "acquiring judgement and learning how to evaluate as a mature person." Cf., Ex-Pres. Dodds of Princeton, American Mag., January, 1954.
48. To achieve happy and constructive lives for themselves and to contribute to the happy and constructive life of the community.
50. Synthesis of 4 and to strive for an understanding of the potentials of the world they will be living in, and to help them explore its possibilities.
62. The primary purpose of education should be to encourage the younger generation to strive for a consensus of cultural goals, thereby leading to a reconstruction of the present society, in terms of past development and in anticipation of future needs; we neither abandon the past nor fail to anticipate the future. (cf., Gardner, Self-Renewal).

## B4. (continued)

Comments:Questionnaire #

66. (3 and 4) We do not know what problems they will have to solve--esp., gearing education to the unknown would be foolish.
67. Synthesis of 1 and 3-4: The primary purpose of education should be to direct the student toward the best attitudes and moral values of the more stable societies of the past while teaching him the use of tools and techniques of our existing culture so that he may be intelligently committed to the needs of his community and of the peoples of the world.
74. (Added to 3) and to share with them our adult view of the values and attitudes we believe are valuable from man's past.
82. Our primary goal at (name of school) is college preparatory education and thereby encompasses the general goals included in this ideal (4).

B5. There is some disagreement over which school of philosophy has the greatest influence on secondary education today. In your opinion, is it:

Existentialism	8
Idealism	10
Pragmatism/Experimentalism	65
Realism	14
Other (please specify)	

Comments:

Questionnaire #

6. We are on a sliding scale between 3 and 1 (Pragmatism and Existentialism).
18. The whole is no better than its parts.
19. None by themselves, usually parts of some if not all.
23. All are somehow involved--probably none fits.
33. I doubt that any of them have a great influence--unfortunately!
36. Promethean Humanism.
39. I hope idealism.
43. Not able to judge.
53. Existentialism is moving in fast.
62. Eclecticism.
69. Idealism - Humanism.
78. Have no idea!
80. Eclectic - in independent schools.
89. Lately, a move toward realism, but prag/ex. have long been entrenched.
99. Hegelian.
25. Do you mean public education or independent education?  
100.

B6. In your view, does the same philosophy which prevails in public education prevail in independent education, or is there a philosophy of independent education distinct from a philosophy of public education?

Same philosophy prevails in public and independent education 22

There is a distinct philosophy of independent education 68

Comments:

Questionnaire #

On "same philosophy"

1. I don't know. There need not be.
36. Different philosophies prevail...but there is no distinct philosophy of independent education.
43. Not a distinct difference, but some.
44. More or less.
47. Should!
49. Generally.
55. Not distinct, but not identical either.

On "distinct philosophy"

6. This is only answerable by the individual school.
22. Some aspects are the same.
23. Overlapping, depending on the school.
35. Object to wording: there are differences, mostly of emphasis and method.
56. There should be and in some places is a distinct philosophy (of independent education).
89. Independent education has as yet in today's world no distinct philosophy--pluralistic.



B7. Do you consider that your school reflects a distinguishable general philosophy?

Yes 73  
No 23

If Yes, is it:

Existentialism	4
Idealism	39
Pragmatism/Experimentalism	28
Realism	19
Other (please specify)	

(Note: Although the question sought the identification of a distinguishable general philosophy, a number of respondents either combined two of the schools offered--accounting for a higher number than there were replies of Yes--or added qualification to their choice of response.)

The comments on this question included the identification of a Christian philosophy by four schools (Questionnaire #s. 3, 52, 53, 89).

Two replies suggested particular interpretations, viz.,

Questionnaire #

59. Idealism--as defined by me.

70. Our school's stated philosophy (which I wrote) says: "...believes in the goals for every student of intellectual discovery and of respect for one's self and for others." The first seems to reflect "prag/exp," the second, "idealism."

B8. Do you agree or disagree that there is more "traditional" (classical, conservative) education in independent than in public schools?

Agree 78  
Disagree 23

B9. In your school, is "philosophy of education" discussed in full faculty meetings?

Yes 82  
No 21

Is there a standing committee on philosophy and aims?

Yes 43  
No 62

B10. To what degree are your school's philosophy and objectives established by the following groups?

	<u>Greatly</u>	<u>Partially</u>	<u>Little or Not at all</u>
Trustees	22	62	20
Parents	3	40	57
Administration	82	22	1
Faculty	66	39	0
Students	8	62	32

(Note: One respondent added the category of Alumni under "greatly" -- Questionnaire # 92.)

B11. In the meetings of your local, state, or regional educational association, is the discussion of "philosophy of education" a:

regular topic 11  
frequent topic 19  
occasional topic 27  
rare topic 29

B12. Much of the philosophy of education taught in schools of education is derived from general philosophical systems. Do you agree with this orientation, or do you feel that the present state of education requires more specialized study and the development of philosophy of education?

Agree with present orientation	22
Feel need for specialized study and development	68

Comments:

Questionnaire #

"Agree"

44. Agree, so far as it seem indisputable, but "feel need" always.
50. If well done.
84. It cannot stand alone to one side.

"Feel need"

18. But not by schools of education.
19. Schools of education affect public H.S., a good deal, I suppose, but not Independent Schools, whereas philosophies of education seem to vary greatly.
35. Feel need to abolish or improve dramatically schools of education. The form of this questionnaire demonstrates how little real education is involved.
42. Very much so.
62. Particularly taking cultural anthropology, sociology, and psychology into account.
70. I doubt if many independent school administrators care very much what is discussed in schools of education. Perhaps shocking, but, I feel, true.
43. Neither.
59. Both.

B13. Does your school, either of its own resolve or because of affiliation with an accrediting organization, require professional training in education for its administration and faculty?

Yes 42  
No 61

Own resolve 25  
Required by accrediting organization 31

If Yes, is Philosophy of Education specifically required?

Yes 16  
No 31

Do you feel that it should be?

Yes 28  
No 33

Does your school conduct in-service training of teachers?

Yes 57  
No 22

Is Philosophy of Education included?

Yes 33  
No 32

Comments:

Questionnaire #

19. I am still quite unhappy about professional training in education as a whole.
23. Not the way it (phil. of ed.) is taught in most teacher training institutions.
34. Not as presented in many colleges.
44. We encourage it; philosophy of education desirable.
67. In choosing teachers we hope for greater depth in chosen field rather than in methods.
74. ...I value such training and give preference to those who have it.

B14. What term (or descriptive sentence) best describes the underlying aim or philosophy of the total program of your school (including instruction, athletics, activities)?

As expected, the comments ranged too widely to permit rigid classification. Certain topics or terms were frequently mentioned, and these have been used as an arbitrary means of grouping the responses. It will be noted that in some instances the comments might as easily have been grouped with another topic as with the one under which it appears. It is stressed that the purpose in grouping is to reduce the randomness of response; it is not intended to suggest fundamental similarity between or among the schools. The topics or terms used in grouping are: excellence, the individual, religion, and the social purpose of education. Those comments which fall outside these topics are grouped together at the end of the list.

Comments:

Questionnaire #

"Excellence"

1. Academic excellence is the term one most often hears.
97. The humane pursuit of excellence.

"The individual"

2. We reeducate and train intelligent, normal young boys who have the ability to do eventually college work, despite their academic deficiencies and/or failures.

B14. (continued)

Comments:

Questionnaire #

"The individual"  
(cont'd.)

8. Individual development and constructive citizenship are best fostered through study of liberal arts, through self-discipline, and through the cultivation of individual resources and talents.
12. The full development of the individual as a responsible entity in a rapidly changing world.
13. Knowledge for self-direction.
17. Individual attention to help each student reach his maximum potential.
18. The responsibility of every individual to do the very best of which he is capable.
22. Maximum development of each individual in every constructive area.
24. Development of individual boy to take his place in society.
27. Attention to the individual.
33. Producing a realistic self-image; a happy producer at that stage of his life; a college preparation.
36. Fundamental concern academic excellence for each to the fullest of his own potential and inculcation of sound ideas.
37. We strive to develop in each student a strong sense of who she is, what she truly wants and what she is willing to commit herself to--how much she is willing and ready to assume in exercising her freedom and ability.

B14. (continued)

Comments:

Questionnaire #

"The individual"  
(cont'd.)

- 38. A balanced development of the mind, the character, the emotional life, and the physical health of each of its students.
- 45. Improvement of the individual as an individual.
- 47. Individual needs of students.
- 55. By complete participation of every student in every activity to his fullest extent, fullest opportunities for development are offered; awareness is developed to the full.
- 57. Recognition of the individual--his abilities, goals, strengths, weaknesses.
- 62. To allow each student to develop their talents by exposure to in and out of class experiences of first quality (inductively).
- 63. We seek that each student, in light of his potential, develop to the maximum intellectually, emotionally, spiritually, physically.
- 74. Self-development. Increasing the awareness of a student of his unique abilities and of his responsibilities to himself and others, and helping him to develop his talents.
- 86. Self-expression through self-discipline.
- 102. Student-centered--wide variety in student abilities.
- 11. Attempt to develop "the whole child."

B14. (continued)

Comments:

Questionnaire #

"The individual"  
(cont'd.)

- 20. To develop the whole boy.
- 71. Education of the whole boy.
- 95. Toward becoming a "whole person." Moral, intellectual, and physical growth as balanced as we can make it.

"Religion"

- 3. To present the body of knowledge within the context of the Christian faith--to study the "why" as well as the "how."
- 6. ...a Christ-centered education.
- 10. Jesus Christ.
- 16. Christian recognition of individual's worth and responsibilities.
- 26. Development of personal character through a strong academic program in a school community which emphasizes Protestant Christian study and worship.
- 40. Trying to produce intellectually illuminating Christian gentlemen (just like the Rector of Justin!)
- 52. To allow the student to develop to his maximum as a Christian well-equipped intellectually to find a meaningful and useful place in society.

"Social purpose"

- 29. To acquire useful knowledge while developing discriminating judgement and independence of thought. To develop leadership, citizenship, and self-discipline.



## B14. (continued)

Comments:Questionnaire #"Social purpose"  
(cont'd.)

- 34. To prepare our students for a democratic society so that they may make their maximum contribution.
- 39. We attempt to train boys for leadership through sound scholastic and other training.
- 66. Guide the student to develop his full potential and a sense of responsibility to his fellow man.
- 88. Community service.
- 94. The greatest good of the greatest number.
- 96. To accept responsibility for one's actions as they relate to one's self, to one's own culture, to family and to mankind.
- 100. Education for service, for commitment, for the use of one's facilities for the benefit of the community.
- 105. A liberal arts approach to good citizenship and intellectual development.

General

- 14. College preparatory.
- 15. Idealistic.
- 32. Creative citizenship.
- 42. Focally academics and peripherally therapeutics.
- 43. "No talent lies latent."
- 44. Happiness, self-respect through worthy achievement.

## B14. (continued)

Comments:Questionnaire #

## General

48. Growth to responsible maturity.
50. Use human talent and facilities to open the minds of students and teachers and, in so doing, to act as an example.
56. Intensive education of a socio-intellectual elite.
58. To educate the heart as well as the mind.
67. The development of healthy, effective young women capable of adjusting realistically to surroundings and needs.
72. Integrity.
80. To help students learn, i.e., change.
81. To develop in harmony the physical, mental, and moral powers of its students.
82. Co-educational, college-preparatory.
84. Realism. Imposed to a great extent by college entrance requirements.
89. "Balanced excellence, balance among the academic, physical, and the spiritual"--as good a phrase as any--this one from report of visiting committee on accreditation, 1965.
101. Independence.
103. The awakening and strengthening of awareness, understanding and sympathy in all relationships.

B15. If you care to indicate a person (or persons) to whom you trace your own philosophy of education, please do so here:

This question was intended to investigate, without directing the response, whether persons readily recognizable as philosophers would be indicated by the respondents; and, if so, which ones. Only forty-six questionnaires contained a response to this question. Of these, 18 referred to persons either unnamed or of only personal acquaintance.

The philosophers and educators named are listed below, together with the number of respondents citing each:

John Dewey	7	(There were several qualifications, e.g., "via Bothby," "unprostituted," "with refinements," "as interpreted by Kilpatrick.")	
Alfred North Whitehead	3		
Christ	1		
Paul Tillich	1		
Albert Schweitzer	2		
William James	2		
Thomas Jefferson	2		
Piaget	1		
Jerome Bruner	3		
Endicott Peabody	2	Socrates	1
Dwight Moody	1	Gilbert Highet	1
Frank Boyden	3	Claude Fuess	1

B16. Do you feel that there are philosophical positions which apply uniquely to independent education?

Yes 49

Elaborate, if you wish:

No 40

Comments:

Questionnaire #

19. (No) However, the great variation and application, rather than consensus, is the major contribution. The offering of diversity to the prospective student is of very real value. What is good for one is not so necessarily for another.
23. Emphasis not on leveling, melting pot, being accepted or a good Joe, but on development of individual qualities, even if they are not acknowledged as 'hip' by the 'peer' group. Especial attention to qualities of character; standards of excellence.
26. The very fact of being so interested in the individual person.
34. There is more freedom of action in most academic areas.
43. Result of religious affiliation of some schools.
48. Greater stress on academic excellence as one of the means by which the over-all objective has to be achieved.
52. Philosophies which assume that the personal, religious, ethical dimensions must be reached through the educative process, as much as the intellectual.
54. Total education is possible in boarding schools. The close work-play situations that are ever present are extremely meaningful.

## B16. (continued)

Comments:Questionnaire #

69. Mainly because we have some control over the make-up of the student body.
70. If you mean Dewey, Thorndike, Whitehead, Bruner, Skinner, etc., I couldn't really say. Since I am both pragmatic and idealistic, whoever combines the two would "apply uniquely"--in any case more than method is involved.
81. Take the student where he is and make every effort to improve that student.
83. I believe independent education can and does concern itself with personal development of an individual. Public schools address themselves to "citizenship;" independent schools address themselves to the question of "personal responsibility."
87. Personalization.
88. A large percentage of community leaders pass through the halls of independent schools. Ergo, an independent school can direct its prime strength towards leadership.
89. Traditional humanism of western civilization (before the periods of ideologies).
93. Not really. Independent school philosophy is a part of wider field, with some important features.
95. We are less bound by the "lowest common denominator" definition of democracy.
96. Independent schools are uniquely suited to explore all channels of information without constitutional restrictions relating to religious training and education. That is, they are free to limit themselves if they wish or not limit themselves and explore in all directions.

B17. What is your view of the "nature of the pupil?"  
Is he:

a sensitive plant to be nurtured carefully  
in all aspects of his development? 17

already a significant force in his own  
education who should have some part in  
planning his activities? 86

an equal partner with his peers and  
teachers in the process of his  
education? 10

A number of respondents checked more than one completion for this question, citing as their reason the factor of maturity.

The replies may be adduced to suggest that, at least for this sample, the attitude of the majority is neither largely restrictive-conservative nor permissive-liberal. The preponderance of agreement with the notion of the student as a "significant force...who should have some part" is clearly consistent with the concern of independent education with the individual.

B18. Do you feel that any of the "theories of learning" have had direct influence on instruction in independent schools?

Yes 49

No 29

If Yes, which of the following do you feel has influence currently?

Stimulus-Response	17
Gestalt	12
Operant Conditioning (Skinner)	8
Behavioral	18
Structural (Bruner)	24
Other	1

Comments:

Questionnaire #

22. We do not subscribe to any "limited" or "limiting" theory.

44. Independent school teachers have a very free hand to employ what they think "works."

56. No, but should have.

62. No, but they should have.

(Other) 19th century rigor -- it fails.

86. It is our belief that there are too many amateur psychologists in the educational field.

87. In some. (Stimulus-Response) in traditionally oriented schools. (Operant conditioning-Structural) in progressively oriented.

B19. The question of federal aid to non-public schools has been much studied and debated. Do you feel that there are philosophical positions which argue for or against federal aid to independent schools?

Yes 71

No 19

For 28

Against 50

What are the philosophical positions?

Comments:

Questionnaire #

- For:
- 27. All children are entitled to equal benefits, should not be penalized because they pay tuition.
  - 42. Everyone pays taxes.
  - 44. Education is always cheap--whatever the cost or source.
  - 62. We are public schools privately controlled--we can use public resources and learn from public programs. We must participate.
  - 72. Obligation of state to provide alternative means of education.
  - 76. That independent schools benefit the nation as a whole and therefore deserve support.
  - 83. Philosophically, aid is justified because of the value of the work being done in independent schools. Philosophically, aid might be unwise if unwisely administered.



B19. (continued)

Comments:

Questionnaire #

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| For:     | <p>88. Independent schools cut federal, state, and local education expenses by lowering enrollment.</p> <p>98. Parents of students in independent schools are paying taxes for public schools, so their share of public aid should be paid to independent schools.</p>  |
| Against: | <p>18. The basic meaning of <u>independent</u>.</p> <p>22. Restrictions, limitations are usually part of the package. Indecisiveness, procrastination, red tape.</p> <p>33. In our government public monies should not be spent for non-public purposes.... certain controls...independent schools would no longer be independent.</p> <p>34.</p> <p>39.</p> <p>44.</p> <p>46.</p> <p>55. (All of the comments contained in these returns expressed objection to the threat of government control as an inevitable feature of federal aid.)</p> <p>58.</p> <p>68.</p> <p>77.</p> <p>82.</p> <p>96.</p> <p>101.</p> <p>106.</p> <p>61. (These respondents cited the importance of maintaining separation between church and state.)</p> <p>77.</p> <p>105.</p> |

B20. It is argued that the future of independent education may depend on its ability to compete financially with public education. If this ability can come only via federal aid, do you feel that the threat of loss of independence can be overcome?

Yes	72
No	26

Comments:

Questionnaire #

- 37. Not unless the independent school is guaranteed its independence.
- 48. As I do not agree with the premise, I cannot answer the question.
- 51. I don't think we can compete financially with the public schools.
- 53. Hopefully.
- 67. Depends on the character of government.
- 68. One could be optimistic.
- 69. At this point I do not.
- 83. Whether it will or not is the question.
- 88. A tough one!
- 89. Possibly. I do not know.
- 101. I'm not sure, but I feel that we will be able always to secure funds other than from the government.

B21. Has there been any increase, or move to increase, guidance and/or counselling services in your school in recent years?

Yes 92

No 13

Are you aware of any such tendency in independent education to develop or increase such services?

Yes 83

No 20

If Yes, does this, in your view, suggest any change in philosophical orientation concerning either the nature of the pupil or the function of education among those in independent schools?

Yes 27

No 45

Comments: on "philosophical orientation."

Questionnaire #

18. Greater recognition of the professional value of professional counselling, especially with respect to emotions, etc.
19. It ought to.
23. Probably more that life is becoming infinitely complex and hard to fathom for a young person.
33. (Yes)--among some of those in independent schools.
41. (No) Required by accrediting agency.
42. We begin now to recognize that techniques of psychology can be effectively used to the benefit of all.
74. But a change which is a part of the cultural change and not unique to independent schools, and as indicated above, the independent schools have been more traditional.
89. A move toward a less narrow, less categorical kind of guidance.

B22. Please use this space for any additional comment, either on the operation of your school or on its philosophy of education, aims, and objectives, which you feel would be helpful in this inquiry.

Twenty-four respondents provided additional comment; many of them appended pamphlets or sections of school publications. In a number of instances, these comments expanded on remarks made in connection with earlier questions. Some of the more pertinent comments are given below.

Comments:

Questionnaire #

40. Primarily we believe in the value of what we are doing per se rather than as a step toward anything.
51. Technically, philosophies of education really don't seem to be a part of our life. We know what we are trying to get across and work at it any way we can.
53. We are trying to provide "sound learning and Christian education" for our students; the latter is becoming more and more difficult in these secular times.
83. Unfortunately, there is still too much social caste in many independent schools. The social reasons for entering such a school (status, respectability, association with others of approved breeding, etc.) exist too often, and tend to obscure the good work done by these schools. We can and should do without snobbishness. We do need some wealth to help support us, but can do without name-dropping and status-seeking.

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**APPROVAL SHEET**

The dissertation submitted by F. Courtlandt R. Gilmour has been read and approved by members of the Department of Education.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

June 5, 1968  
Date

John M. Wozniak  
Signature of Adviser