This paper presents a historical overview of teacher education in America. It begins with a description of normal schools, whose function was closely tied to the church (e.g., teaching people to read the Bible). Then it covers the educational revival in the 19th century which established free public schools. James Carter, Samuel Hall, and Horace Mann are discussed in terms of their educational leadership. Standards for teachers were low at first, with high school graduation not even a minimum requirement. Normal schools turned into teachers colleges with higher standards, and finally teachers colleges became liberal arts colleges. Gradually the normal school disappeared, and teacher education became the province of colleges and universities. A discussion of teacher supply and demand explains both the earlier periods when far too few teachers were trained, and the modern period in which, for a number of reasons, there are too many teachers. The paper also describes the development of the science of education through advances in psychology, testing, child development, and the behavioral sciences. Criticisms of education departments are covered, notably those which state that education courses are too shallow and unscholarly. Finally, the paper describes the conflict between educational preparation through history, philosophy, and scholarship, and preparation through teaching of techniques and administration.
INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS IN THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS: AN HISTORICAL PREVIEW

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This paper has been written with a view to the Institute's interest in the education of teachers. It seeks to provide some background information on some factors bearing on such preparation, especially as they relate to the role of teacher training institutions. The paper discusses some aspects of teacher education as they were influenced by certain factors surrounding the early development of teachers' colleges and university departments of education as they emerged from state normal schools and normal departments of universities respectively.

The discussion centers around certain conditions including the development of the high school, the status of the teacher, curricula, the forces of demand and supply, and accrediting associations, and their effects on the education of teachers. It is hoped that this glimpse of early efforts in teacher education might serve to aid our understanding of some of the underlying problems of the Graduate School of Education.

There is no question that the schools present an unsatisfactory picture to many. The fault lies somewhere. Is it in the Graduate School of Education? Then that school's development should be carefully studied. This is imperative if we are to acquaint ourselves with the strength and weaknesses of both academic and professional programs in teacher education. From such a base we might be able to recommend alternative solutions to some of the problems in the schools.
Teacher education can be considered one of the oldest functions of the liberal arts college and the university. The medieval university arts degree was in effect, a certificate of admission to the guild of professional teachers. Indeed, among educational traditions, teacher education has been considered the central responsibility of institutions of higher learning. Traditional liberal education in Europe included the intellectual components of an ideal teacher preparation program.

The Church monopolized education during the Middle Ages, with little, if any, distinction between the preparation considered necessary for the office of the minister and that of the teacher. In fact, the priest often held both positions with equal confidence. The teacher, so called, aided the priest in the arduous routine tasks. The stronger students became the ministers, while the weaker students became teachers who served as sextons and clockmakers as well as instructors.

The Scientific Revolution of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries accompanied by the rapid rise and growth of commercial centers saw the breaking away from Church authority and the final separation of Church and State. As the work of the minister and teacher became differentiated two different classes of educators - the ecclesiast and the teacher-developed. The idea that education is a legitimate function of the state soon gained a foothold.

As the state assumed greater control of educational affairs, the importance and need for the special preparation of teachers gained greater
prominence. But there were difficulties to overcome such as lack of resources, and a divided constituency. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the German government began to give serious consideration to the training of teachers. Martin Luther had noted in 1524 in a communication addressed to the German authorities that "since the greatest evil in every place is the lack of teachers we must take the trouble to educate them and prepare them."

The first pedagogical seminary was established at Koethen by Ratich in 1619 under the patronage of Prince Ludwig of Anhalt Koethen. Other such institutions soon spread rapidly over other parts of Germany including La Salle in 1684, Halle 1696 and Berlin in 1748. Normal schools were the result of the realistic movement which by emphasizing objects of the environment, created a demand for new subjects as well as a more rationalistic method of teaching the older ones. These developments were to have profound impact on developments in teacher education in the United States. None of the agencies of an institutional character for the training of teachers such as normal schools and colleges, chairs of education in colleges and universities and teachers' colleges go far back in American history. Directly or indirectly these agencies came into being as the result of the educational revival which gained strength and momentum in the most progressive countries during the first part of the nineteenth century. Three distinct movements have marked the professional training of teachers in the United States: (1) The normal school movement which developed as a result of the educational revival in the middle of the first half of the nineteenth century; (2) the movement for the establishment of normal departments in colleges and universities which began with the second half of the
nineteenth century; (3) the movement for the establishment of university departments of education which began in the 1880's.

The educational outlook and activities of the American colonies most of which were established between 1607 and 1682, were influenced mainly by contemporary ideas and practices in England, with limited influences from other countries. There were no extensive provisions for schooling made by the early settlers and indeed for two centuries no definite attention was given to the professional education of teachers. The establishment of state-supported teacher-training institutions had to await the long battles that were fought to establish free tax-supported public schools.

The main institution in the colonies as in Europe for the preservation and transmission of the educational heritage as well as the religious principles was the Church. Elementary schools were instituted with the objective to impart to all the people the ability to read the Bible and other religious writings. Later, these educational provisions were extended to meet the general needs of the people. After 1820, great interest and enthusiasm were shown in educational legislation designed to meet the needs of the people. This interest, strengthened and influenced by normal school developments in Germany soon led to the movement for normal schools to prepare teachers for the elementary schools. It was in 1819 that the Prussian State through the school law required that one normal school be supported by every departmental district. American scholars who visited Germany on their return joined the ranks of their colleagues who were advocates of the normal school.
ON NORMAL SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS' COLLEGES

Toward the end of the eighteenth century there was an increasing awareness that a teacher should have proper qualifications for his profession. In fact as early as 1750 there was reference to the need for well prepared teachers in Pennsylvania. A statement relating to Benjamin Franklin's proposed academy that "a number of poorer sort will be hereby qualified to act as Schoolmasters" indicated the value placed on proper qualifications of teachers. Almost four decades later, in 1789, a similar note was sounded in the Massachusetts Magazine by the author of "An Essay Upon the Importance of Studying the English Language Grammatically": "I would place an able preceptor who should superintend the whole instruction of youth entrusted to his care and who together with a board of overseers, should annually examine young gentlemen designed for school masters in reading, writing, arithmetic, and English grammar, and if they are found qualified for the office of school-keeping and able to teach these branches with ease and propriety to recommend them for this purpose."  

These suggestions met some response from a number of academies and colleges which devoted some effort to teacher-preparation, among them being Parnassus Academy near Salisbury, North Carolina (1785) and Westtown Boarding School (1799) in Pennsylvania.  

But it was in the Northeast that the initial developments which led to the American common school took place. The normal school movement...

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developed as a result of the educational revival in the middle of the first half of the nineteenth century. Almost all of the elementary schools were private schools, and were for the most part ungraded and un-supervised. There was no regular system of public schools and little or no connection with the upper schools. The country schools were extremely weak with very poor school buildings and where reading, writing and simple calculation were poorly taught. This situation provided an ideal opportunity for the Lancasterian or mutual instruction system which was designed to educate the poor. The highly mechanical method of this system which called for great skill led to the formation of the model school in Philadelphia in 1818. This school "was no doubt the first school established in the country for the training of teachers."3

The first quarter of the nineteenth century saw a determined effort on the part of educational reformers in strong support of the public school movement. The schools in Massachusetts showed signs of general decline from earlier standards. The schools were plagued by very poor conditions: poor buildings and facilities, lack of teaching aids, low salaries for teachers, poorly qualified teachers, ungraded schools, narrow curricula, irregular attendance and short terms. These conditions provided fuel for the reformers, James Gordon Carter (1795-1849), Samuel Read Hall (1795-1877) and Horace Mann (1796-1859) who sought to arouse Massachusetts from her educational slumbers. These men were encouraged by the new conditions which were being created by industrialism and urbanism and which demanded a new shaping of elementary education.

James G. Carter did much to prepare the way for the success of the public-school revival in Massachusetts.

But James Carter, sometimes called "The Father of the Normal School" was not the first to open an institution for training teachers. Except for the short-lived Lancasterian model schools of the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the first normal school in the United States was established in 1823 by the Reverend Samuel R. Hall at Concord, Vermont. Here elementary subjects were reviewed and some secondary school subjects taught. During the third and final year there was observation of teaching and a subject called the Art of teaching based on Hall's book *Lectures on School Keeping* was introduced. It was not until 1827 that James G. Carter began presumably the second normal school at Lancaster, Massachusetts.

It might be worth noting the distinction between the concepts of teacher preparation as viewed by James G. Carter and Samuel R. Hall. In 1820 Carter urged the establishment of a teacher-training institution. In his *Letters* of 1824 he stated, that "the success of our schools depends as much on the principles by which they are governed and the school books, as on the personal and literary qualifications of the teacher." Here it is definitely indicated that the teachers should be learned and not merely possessing skill. This view was in keeping with that implied in the German usage of the Normal School. When the first regularly organized Teachers' Seminary or Normal School was established in Halle, Germany prior to 1704 the term "normal" had undergone a change of meaning from "a school of children so conducted as to be a model or pattern for teachers to imitate, to a school of young men who had already passed through an

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elementary or even a superior school, and who were preparing to be teachers, 
by making additional attainments, and acquiring a knowledge of the human mind, 
and the principles of education as a science, and of its methods as an art."5

But this view, with emphasis on knowledge as well as the skill of the elementary school teacher, was not to be strictly adhered to in the United States despite admiration for German ideas on normal school development. Rather, the view of Samuel R. Hall with emphasis on School-keeping would prevail in the long run.

As the normal school developed during the second quarter of the nineteenth century an important choice was made between a single-purpose normal school and the multi-purpose academy or college. Merle L. Borrowman has aptly observed that "The idea that a teacher education institution must have this singleness of purpose, that the demands of the professional task must dictate the whole pre-service program, was central to the very concept of the normal school."6 This idea was very persistent despite the fact that some leaders in colleges such as Amherst as well as academics in the normal schools wished for a combination of the professional sequence and the liberal on a more or less equal basis. These scholars advocated a general education for teachers similar to that given to college students. They agreed that some type of professional training was necessary, although they gave great weight to philosophic considerations over mere teaching skill. But they were opposed by their own colleagues who wanted only the liberal arts taught in the colleges.

5 Henry Barnard, Normal Schools (Hartford: Case, Tiffany and Company, 1851) p. 32.
The idea of emphasizing a liberal arts program for teachers was not supported by the proponents of the normal school such as Horace Mann, Massachusetts, Henry Barnard of Connecticut and others who strongly argued that the academies had failed to prepare teachers properly. Earlier, Benjamin Franklin had claimed that the academy would be able to supply teachers of good morals well prepared to teach children reading, writing, arithmetic, and the grammar of their mother tongue. But there was no reference to the preparation of teachers in the art and science of teaching. And even when later efforts were made by the colleges and academies to help prepare teachers for the schools, the advocates of the normal schools held that they had not placed enough emphasis on professional training. Thus, the Secretary of the Board of Education in Connecticut in 1841, in urging the establishment of a normal school stated that although the colleges, academies and private schools might be able to supply teachers for "the higher order of common schools," yet there were no adequate means provided in any of the institutions for the specific training or the apprenticeship required.  

The emphasis on teaching skill characterized the intensive efforts of the Reverend Charles Brooks, James G. Carter, and Horace Mann which led to the establishment of the first state normal school at Lexington, Massachusetts in 1839 under the principalship of Cyrus Peirce. Both Brooks and Mann were greatly impressed with the Prussian experiment in normal schools, which were established in 1819 and which based their teaching methods on the ideas of Pestalozzi.

The normal school movement which began in Massachusetts was bound to spread to other eastern states and then to the western states. Times were changing.

7Henry Barnard, Normal Schools (Hartford: Case, Tiffany and Co., 1851), p. 22.
School enrollments were increasing. The percentage of the free population enrolled in some type of school rose from 13.9 per cent in 1840 to 19.9 per cent in 1860. During that same period the development of normal schools had spread throughout the north-east through the ardent efforts of Samuel Young in New York, Henry Barnard in Connecticut and Rhode Island, and William F. Phelps in New Jersey. The place and importance of practice teaching in model schools was given serious consideration with noted accomplishments in New York, Connecticut and New Jersey.

State normal schools spread rapidly over the United States between 1860 to 1900. Their growth was due to the acceptance of the idea that special institutions should be devoted to the specific training of teachers. The Commissioner of Education in 1871 reported that there were 51 normal schools supported by 23 states. By 1880 there were 84 public normal schools, and by 1889 there were 135. One normal school of outstanding success was the Illinois State Normal University. Here there was evidence of steady and continuous growth, the number enrolled having risen from 127 in 1858 to 677 in 1890. Charles A. Harper observes that "in the decade 1870 to 1880 the Illinois State Normal University became the foremost school in the United States in resources, attendance and probably in influence." In Massachusetts the normal schools also did very well, and by 1886 it was reported that 56 per cent of its teachers received normal training.

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12Ibid., p. 162.
On the whole normal school products were helping to improve the general teaching level in the public schools of the several states to a greater or lesser degree.

In his analysis of the nature and contributions of the state normal schools Charles A. Harper noted that normal schools can claim responsibility for certain definite trends that were emerging in the last four decades of the nineteenth century: (1) the transformation of teaching into a profession; (2) the acceptance of the idea that teacher-preparation institutions must ever remain close to the needs of the public schools and the public at large; (3) the inservice or follow-up work; (4) the development of the concept of professionalized subject matter; (5) the tendency to emphasize the laboratory phases in teacher education; (6) the idea that activities formerly considered purely extra-curricula on the part of the students should be looked on as part of their preparation for teaching; (7) the pragmatic attitudes of the normal schools. Commenting on this last contribution Harper stated that the normal schools "looked upon themselves as developing with the shifting scene around them." But this very desire to develop "with the shifting scene around them" seemed to carry with it some of the most damaging seeds for the development of teacher education in the United States to this day." For this desire to move in the direction of every wind of circumstance could be indicative of instability, lack of a solid foundation, superficiality and triviality, lack of uniformity and lack of a proper sense of direction. And indeed such were the charges against normal schools toward the end of the nineteenth century.

15Ibid., p. 120.
By 1890 many problems faced the 135 public normal schools and 43 private normal schools in the United States. Many viewed them as not part of the educational ladder. Admission requirements varied and drew much criticism. In some states a promise or a declaration of intent to teach was a condition for admission. High school graduation was generally required in the city training schools. In general, admission was on the basis of examinations with little or no attention given to the schooling status of the applicant. This approach led to low standards in some schools. J. P. Wickersham noted in 1888 that "schools can be found that welcome to a place in their classes all who come with little regard to age, scholarship, or fitness". A few normal schools, however, notably the Illinois State Normal University sought to maintain reasonably high standards. First-grade certificate holders were admitted without examination while those with second-grade certificates were put on "a kind of probation." Other applicants were admitted after passing fairly comprehensive examinations. About 32 per cent of those who took examinations failed over a number of years.

At most normal schools, regular courses of study for prospective teachers were of two to four years duration. The preparation of secondary school teachers was also undertaken by some of the larger schools which offered academic subjects similar to those at the college level. The basic subjects studied were psychology, history of education, school economy and management, one or more special methods, principles of teaching and practice teaching and/or observation. On the whole standards were not high.

Notwithstanding the effort to maintain certain standards at the Illinois State normal schools President John Cook of the Illinois State Normal University confirmed the weaknesses of the schools when he stated in 1894, "Our normal schools are of low grade."17

It was difficult to set and maintain high standards in the face of the demand for trained teachers. The call in the 1890's for requiring high school graduation for entrance was not quickly accepted as can be perceived from the remarks of President John Cook of Illinois State Normal University: "If all the high school graduates of the State of Illinois graduated from our high schools last May were immediately and violently seized and put into the normal, we would have perhaps one-fourth of the teachers required yearly. We must admit pupils in the normal schools direct from the district schools."18

On the other hand there were commercial and unethical practices carried out by some schools in their zeal to attract the best teachers. Consider the impact of an advertising campaign by President Irwin Shepard of Winona, Minnesota which resulted in seducing three teachers from the Illinois State Normal University: It seems that the proper preparation in the West for a normal-school teacher is: (1) A course at the Normal University; (2) a course at Ann Arbor, Cornell or Harvard; (3) possibly from two to three years in Germany and a German Ph.D. from Jena or Halle; (4) then a course of three years of apprenticeship on our Winona faculty."19 Eventually this desire for academic status led to the development of Teachers' Colleges for the granting of degrees. But first serious attention had to be given to raising the admission standards to high school graduation. It can hardly but be concluded that the severe criticisms levelled at normal schools in the

17NEA Proceedings, 1894, p. 868.
18Ibid.
19Charles Harper, op. cit., p. 104
1890's were in large part responsible for the general upgrading in standards. In 1890 high school graduation was required for admission to the New York State Normal College at Albany, with Massachusetts following suit in 1894. By 1900 about 26 per cent of those matriculating in thirty-eight of the large schools of the nation were high school graduates. Normal schools had generally required a mastery of reading, writing, spelling, geography, grammar and arithmetic for admission to the regular professional courses. In many schools there were two courses of study: a two-year elementary course for preparing teachers for primary and lower grades in the common schools, and a one to two-year course to qualify teachers for grammar or high schools. And the need to prepare high-school teachers was an important factor in normal-school development. The increase in high school enrollment which kept pace with the growth of cities by this time made great demands on the normal schools for trained teachers. This did not prove to be an easy task partly because normal schools were established originally for the expressed purpose of improving rural schools. W. Grant Chambers in a reply to an article by Abernethy "The Passing of the Normal School" defended the record of normal schools and expressed the hope that they would be as truly professional schools as are our schools of law, medicine and engineering."21

The challenge to normal schools to become professional schools like schools of law, medicine and engineering was a great one. It sparked the development of the normal schools into teachers' colleges. This development, notes Charles Harper, "was merely a phase of the general expansion of education in the first two decades of the twentieth century."22

20Ibid., p. 105.
The industrial expansion of the closing days of the nineteenth century continued and contributed to the expansion of education. The percentage of the population 5 to 17 years of age attending school daily rose from 43.97 in 1890 to 56.20 in 1918. The need was urgent for the preparation of high school teachers in quantity as well as quality. W. Grant Chambers observed in 1903 that although Pennsylvania had thirteen state normal schools which graduated over 1700 teachers in 1900, yet they could not "begin to keep up the supply of teachers demanded by the schools of the state." The normal schools needed to expand their facilities and to meet other problems to be encountered in the transition to teachers' colleges. Charles Harper enumerates the basic problems which were thereby involved: (1) enrichment of the curriculum and the addition of one or two years to the length of the course; (2) securing the necessary financial means and popular support; (3) gaining the legal right to grant degrees; (4) preventing the colleges and universities from forcing normal schools out of the field of preparing highschool and special teachers; (5) meeting the problems of standardization; and (6) preserving their identity and distinctive traits as teachers' colleges.

The principal objective of the teachers' college was the granting of degrees. Jessie M. Pangburn notes the curriculum goals most closely associated with the development of normal schools into teachers' colleges: "(1) the standard collegiate degree granted upon the completion of a four-year curriculum based upon high-school graduation; and (2) recognition of

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the curriculum through being accredited by an institution or by an association of institutions."  

Since the 1870's normal school leaders gave serious consideration to the granting of degrees. President Richard Edwards of the Illinois State Normal University urged this in 1876 and President J.C. Gilchrist of Iowa State Normal declared in favor of the teachers' college degree in 1879. Indeed a great variety of degrees, such as Bachelor of Elements, Bachelor of Elementary Didactics, Licentiate of Instruction and even Master of Pedagogies were granted by some state normal schools before 1890 although "none of these degrees represented the completion of a full four-year course, and there seems to have been no intention that they should signify anything more than that a curriculum preparatory to teaching had been satisfactorily completed." A more meaningful degree for teachers was urged by J.C. Gilchrist, who, in 1879 advocated that both scholarship and professional art should be represented by the degree. 

Normal school degrees representing four years of college work were first conferred by the Albany Normal College which granted the Bachelor of Pedagogy and Master of Pedagogy degrees in 1890. These degrees included only professional subjects. Michigan State Normal College in 1905 was the first to confer the Bachelor of Arts degree as the result of a four-year course of study. The State of Illinois granted the privilege of conferring degrees to its four normal schools in 1907. After 1915 many normal schools

26( Jessie M. Pangburn, The Evolution of the American Teachers' College (Teacher College, Columbia University: Bureau of Publications, 1932), p. 84
27Jessie M. Pangburn, op. cit., pp. 85-86.
particularly in the West and South obtained the right to grant the degrees of Bachelor of Arts in Education, Bachelor of Science in Education and Bachelor of Arts. In 1908 a Statement of Policy for the Normal Schools which was drawn up by the NEA Department of Normal Schools strongly urged that "good as the name 'normal' is, it should be dropped from the name of these schools and they should be called Teachers Colleges." It is important to note that great emphasis was placed on scholarship in the new teachers' colleges during the first two decades of the twentieth century. This was due in part to the demands of scholarship upon high school teachers. This new emphasis was revealed in the announcements of the New York State Normal College of 1917:

Courses are arranged in such a way that all students must lay a broad foundation of informative and cultural studies before they devote themselves to specialization. The scheme of major and minor studies allows thorough preparation in one subject or in several closely related subjects.

The new attitude towards scholastic preparation of the teacher was well expressed in the policy of the Peabody Normal College in 1900-1901:

A teacher must first of all be a scholar both in attainment and spirit, but in addition to that knowledge which every educated young man must possess, he must also have that special and specific knowledge which distinguishes the teacher from the mere scholar.

Another important factor in the change in emphasis toward sound academic work at the teachers colleges was the threat from the colleges and universities. By 1890, the university leaders, conscious of the enormous growth of high

32Ibid., p. 42.
schools, contemplated extending their field of activity to embrace the
preparation of high school teachers. The University of Michigan led
the way in standardizing and accrediting high schools, and other
universities followed, insisting upon standard college preparation
for high school teachers. The North Central Association of Colleges
and Secondary Schools, organized in 1896 also put pressure on the high
school by means of its weapon of accreditation, to accept only college
trained teachers. The normal schools had no choice but to raise their
entrance requirements to high school graduation and then to institute
the four year liberal arts curriculum.

The impact was enormous. Jessie Pangburn aptly describes the situation:

As the schools advanced their starting point and lengthened their
curricula by providing "graduate courses" or by allowing an accumu-
lation of excess credits, they also enlarged the scope of their
offerings to include advanced academic courses, thus recognizing
the inadequacy of the scholastic preparation afforded by the old-
time normals .... Some schools went further, offering certain
purely academic curricula with no professional requirement; the
junior college curriculum of the California teachers' college
illustrates this practice.33

Normal schools had indeed come a long way. The time there was when
they were scarcely recognized by the academic world. They had not been
considered as part of the educational ladder which went from primary school
through the high school and into college. College education was considered
academic, normal school training was considered professional. Some even
believed that the work of the normal school and that of the college were so
distinct and separate that little or nothing was to be gained from bringing
them together. Yet with the new emphasis on scholarship this view was
greatly modified. Even the classics received intensive treatment to pre-
pare students for the universities. Writing at the end of the 1930's

33Jessie Pangburn, op. cit., p. 92
Charles Harper noted that the teachers' colleges were "just beginning to emerge from the paralyzing effects of the old classical, traditional, medieval, liberal-arts curriculum pattern."34

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century the university began to give greater recognition to the curriculum of the teachers' college. In 1911 the University of California allowed graduates from the State teachers colleges forty-eight units toward the sixty-four units required for the junior certificate. This policy heralded the new attitude on the part of the university with regard to accepting the two-year curriculum of the teachers' college as equivalent to the first years of the university curriculum. As the normal schools became teachers' colleges through the lengthening of their curricula to four years, full recognition was given by the universities in the form of admission to the graduate school. And according to Jessie Pangburn, "provision was in many cases of preparatory rank, and did not excel the training given in the normal schools."35

These developments encouraged many teachers' colleges to convert themselves into liberal arts colleges. By mid-twentieth century a writer under the name of John William Sperry found that it was difficult to ascertain how many teachers' colleges there were in the United States, due to the fact that so many of them were in the process of becoming liberal arts colleges.36

Despite their successes, however, the work of the teachers' colleges was constantly being undermined by a combination of social and economic factors beyond their control. In 1933 Willard Alger Ballou conducted a comparative study of the faculties of liberal arts and state teachers' colleges and concluded that there was "no denying the faculty superiority

34 Charles Harper, op. cit., p. 154
35 Jessie Pangburn, op. cit., pp. 31-32.
of these longer established teachers' colleges."37 In 1950 John William Sperry noted the reverse attributing this mainly to the inadequate physical equipment of the teachers' colleges.38 It was difficult all along for the teachers' colleges to compete financially with the colleges and universities which received land grants from the Federal Government. General Federal aid to education had not come about before 1950. Till then, teacher training institutions relied mainly on direct state appropriations which many times involved much political effort. According to Charles Harper, during the struggle for expansion of the teachers' colleges during the first half of the twentieth century "there came a squeeze, educationally and financially, which made the new teachers' colleges fight for their very existence."39

With their limited resources it was very difficult for the state normal schools and teachers' colleges to supply the great number of teachers that were constantly in demand. A study conducted by Jacob G. Meyer, Manchester College, Indiana, in 1928, revealed that in every state except California the teachers' colleges had failed to produce an adequate number of teachers. This was a very serious problem, especially as the need for high school teachers increased. Meyer noted that "if all the normal schools would attempt to train only elementary school teachers they would not be able to meet the demand with their present equipment."40

38John W. Sperry, "Who Teaches the Teachers?" Life October 16, 1950.
teachers needed annually in the late 1920's, not more than one third were produced by all teacher training institutions. Meyer continued: "the elevation of a large number of normal schools to the status of regular teachers' colleges has left the training facilities for elementary schools in a worse plight than before and has very seriously raised the problem of their equipment." 

The situation did not become better with the war years, 1939-1945. A decrease in enrollments in curricula for prospective teachers was noted in 1940, and this continued in 1941. This development resulted from the draft as well as from the attractions of good wartime positions for experienced people. Between 1940 and 1943 there was a 60 per cent decline in the number of students in state teachers' colleges. The Commission on Teacher Education noted in 1946 that "this circumstance contributed to a rapidly mounting shortage of teachers in the schools, which were also losing many experienced staff members to industry and the armed services." In order to meet this shortage the state teachers colleges for the most part gradually devoted themselves to the relatively rapid preparation of teachers. These colleges were supported by publicly appropriated funds and were under state control. Hence, they were "required by public opinion operating through the legislature and otherwise, to be relatively lenient in their admissions policies." Not only were they required to admit almost anyone who applied but they felt almost obliged to graduate all students. In 1943 one teachers' college principal wrote: "In these days, we do not select, we beg students to come and we keep all we can."

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41. Ibid., p. 90.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., p. 56.
Teaching standards were greatly affected by these practices as the teachers' college diploma usually guaranteed state certification to teach. The situation soon led to the crisis of oversupply of teachers.

During the 1930's several factors had combined to effect "mass preparation of teachers in most states far in excess of any reasonable needs."\(^{47}\) Richard Alan Barnes in 1939 referred to the problem of oversupply of teachers "not only in Michigan but the country as a whole."\(^{48}\) The National Education Association Committee on Supply, Preparation and Certification of Teachers in its 1941 report noted the prevalent forces and factors which combined to effect the drastic increase of teachers relative to demand. These included:

1) Decreases in professional and vocational opportunities in non-teaching fields, influencing some to prepare for teaching who really would have preferred to enter professional schools of other types.

2) Readjustments in industry, causing many former teachers to re-enter teaching and encouraging inexperienced college graduates to compete for teaching jobs.

3) In-service education, which has raised to an acceptable level the preparation of many whose original qualifications were inadequate.

4) Relatively fewer additional teaching positions created in recent years, as school enrollments have become static and in some areas actually declined.

5) Widespread demand for better prepared teachers, which has made the race to secure the necessary education seem attractive.

6) Change in the status of institutions for teacher education—particularly of normal schools to teachers' colleges—accompanied by growth in enrollments.

7) Marked increase in the number of high school graduates, which has meant more recruits for teachers' colleges as well as for institutions of other types.


Among the "institutions of other types" competing with the teachers' colleges for recruits to their teacher education programs were the liberal arts colleges and universities. The teachers' colleges which had claimed as their domain the preparation of teachers for the public schools had become adversely affected by the extremes of under and oversupply. Richard Barnes stressed the importance of regulating the supply of teachers to meet the demand. He noted that the failure to affect this so that there would be neither a serious shortage nor an excessive oversupply had a detrimental effect upon the teaching profession in Michigan. "A shortage of teachers," he observed, "tends to permit persons of inferior ability to secure positions, while an excessive oversupply of teachers tends to cause 'bidding' for jobs and other unethical practices."50 "Also," he continued, "under conditions of oversupply it is difficult to encourage talented individuals to enter teaching."51 In its report to the National Education Association in 1941, the Committee on Supply, Preparation and Certification of Teachers put it even more strongly: "Just as cheap money tends to drive sound money out of circulation, the least competent teachers tend to drive out their more competent fellows as soon as supply begins to exceed demand."52

The weak situation, therefore, was bound to be a recurring one. By the middle of the twentieth century teachers' colleges found it extremely difficult to attract students of high academic standing. In 1947 only 7 per cent of collegiate students attended teachers' colleges as compared with 22 percent in 1920,53 - and this would again lead to a shortage of well-prepared teachers.

In this the teachers' college was bound to become more and more vulnerable,

50Richard Alan Barnes, op. cit., p. 194.
51Ibid.
52National Education Association, op. cit., pp. 7-8
thereby hastening more active participation of the colleges and universities in the preparation of teachers. Indeed, with the addition of more and more knowledge to the base of professional education, it was inevitable that teacher education would become increasingly dependent on the liberal arts colleges and universities for the mastery of the arts and sciences underlying practice.

By the middle of the twentieth century, therefore, the colleges and universities, which about a century before played only a small role in the education of teachers had come to produce a major portion of public school teachers in the United States. As T.M. Stinnett has shown, in 1949-50 colleges and universities produced 73.2 per cent of the teachers prepared for the public schools while the teachers colleges accounted for only 21.9 per cent. The colleges and universities were bound to dominate the field of teacher preparation from here on. The change from normal school to teachers' colleges occurred generally between 1920 and 1935. By 1955 the normal school had completely vanished from the American scene, and of the 1200 colleges and universities which prepared teachers, only 125 were teachers' colleges. The shift was partly the result of the influence of small groups of scholars and professional educators who were concerned about the lack of efficiency of college graduates destined to teach in the public schools.

ON NORMAL DEPARTMENTS AND DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The colleges and universities sought justification for establishing departments of education in the need for a greater supply of teachers for

the public schools. By 1890 there were about 135 public and 43 private normal schools in the United States. Yet these schools failed to produce enough teachers to meet the pressing demand. A survey of the supply and demand of trained teachers conducted by Jacob G. Meyer in the 1920's revealed that for many years the normal schools could not keep pace with the demand for teachers. Of fifteen states studied, the median number of new teachers needed annually was 2,231 of which only 706 were supplied annually by the state normal schools. Meyer stated further; "there is also clearly evident a shortage of teacher training facilities and that practically every state has to rely on the liberal arts colleges and universities for training of the high school teachers." Very serious financial problems resulting in not only poor facilities but also poor faculty continued to undermine the work of the normal schools. The general situation can be depicted from a statement made by President David Felmley of the Illinois State Normal University which was one of the leading normal schools in the nation. "We cannot attract the best teachers to our normal schools. We lack funds. In 1915 the revenue of 204 tax-supported normal schools was $15,189,761 or $155 for each student enrolled in these schools not including pupils in the practice departments." In 1915 the revenue of 6 tax supported universities was $15,138,840 or $458 for every student enrolled. The best paid heads of departments in 55 normal schools had a median salary of $2,125. The best paid full professors in 45 tax-supported colleges had a median salary of $3,015. The better professors and better students therefore were found at the colleges and universities.

\[57\) Jacob G. Meyer, op. cit., p. 92.
\[58\) Ibid.
\[60\) Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, 1915, p. 766.
The earliest efforts in teacher preparation at the Eastern colleges and universities were marked by the introduction of special courses for teachers. Since 1832, a chair in the philosophy of education though short-lived, was established by New York University for educating common school teachers. In 1850, Brown University, on the recommendation of President Wayland, established a Normal Department. The purpose of the new department was outlined in the annual catalogue of 1851-52: "This department is opened for all those who wish to become professional teachers." In general, however, the Eastern colleges and universities had been quite content to leave the responsibility for training elementary teachers to the normal schools.

It was in the West, therefore, that the first serious efforts were made by the universities for the preparation of teachers. Normal schools developed slowly in the West, thereby making it necessary for the Western colleges and universities to become more involved in the preparation of teachers than their Eastern counterparts. Moreover, the Western institutions could be more easily identified with the preparation of elementary school teachers inasmuch as the gap between higher and common school education was not as wide as it was in the East. The first efforts were in the form of normal classes or departments which were not really part of the universities but rather separate normal attachments or preparatory adjuncts under their supervision. Such classes or departments were provided by the University of Indiana in 1852, University of Iowa in 1856, and the University of Wisconsin in 1856.

A review of the Brown University annual catalogue of 1851-52, reveals the nature of the work that was to be undertaken by the typical normal

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A course of lectures commencing on the 5th of November, will be given on the habits of mind necessary to eminent success in teaching; the relation of the teacher to the pupil; the principles which should guide in the organization of a school. The arrangement and adaptation of studies to the capacities of the learner; the influences to be employed in controlling the passions, forming the habits and elevating the tastes of the young; and on the elements of the art of teaching, or the best methods of imparting instruction in reading, grammar, geography, history, mathematics, language, and the various other branches taught in our higher seminaries.\textsuperscript{62}

The normal departments at several universities were not to be continued in that status for long. Developments at Brown University were indicative of the course of events of the normal departments in general. There, Professor Samuel Greene, head of the Normal Department, established a second class of teachers and students separate and apart from the university, and which, in 1852, grew into a private normal school and finally into a State Normal School in 1854. Following the establishment of this normal school Brown University discontinued its normal department and suspended its work in pedagogy. The normal department of the University of Wisconsin which was opened in 1856 was closed in 1866. The University of Indiana discontinued its normal department in 1873, three years after the Indiana State Normal School was established at Terre Haute. Thus with the establishment of state normal schools and their claim to the training of elementary school teachers came the end of the normal departments and preparatory schools, but only as such, for the university would seek a new expression of its role in the preparation of teachers.

This new role was effected by the rapid rise and growth of the high school and the accompanying demand for secondary school teachers, whose training the university considered its proper sphere and function. Soon, therefore, the universities changed their normal departments to collegiate departments.

\textsuperscript{62} G. W. A. Luckey, \emph{op. cit.}, pp. 63-64
of pedagogics, or created new arrangements such as chairs of didactics and departments of education for the professional preparation of teachers. The incorporation in 1873 of the normal department of the state University of Iowa as that institution's first chair of didactics was symbolic of the change that was taking place. But it was the University of Michigan which provided the best example of the new development. In 1879, the regents of that university, acting on the recommendation of President James B. Angell, established a Chair of the Science and Art of Teaching.

The last quarter of the twentieth century witnessed the rise and development of chairs and departments of education at several universities: The University of Wisconsin in 1881, Johns Hopkins, Missouri and North Carolina in 1884, Cornell and Indiana in 1886, Clark University in 1889, Stanford and Chicago in 1891, California in 1892, Illinois and Minnesota in 1893, Nebraska in 1895, Ohio and Texas in 1896, and Northwestern in 1898. While some of the first chairs formed part of established departments, usually philosophy, many of them were made into independent teachers' colleges, colleges of education, or schools of education, such as New York University School of Pedagogy (1890) and the School of Education of the University of Chicago (1901). Teachers College, founded in 1888, and chartered in 1889, became affiliated with Columbia University in 1893-94 and was incorporated as an integral part of the university in 1898.

The conditions which brought about this increased role of the university in the preparation of teachers were at once social, economic and political. Economic conditions were bringing about severe competition among teachers. For many years the normal schools held sway in the field of teacher-preparation.

64 James E. Russell, "The Organization and Administration of Teachers College," Teachers College Record, I (January 1900), p. 29.
and their graduates found unrestricted opportunities in the public schools. But things were changing. The better schools paid higher salaries and consequently insisted on getting better qualified teachers. Soon there was severe competition for the better teaching positions and this helped provide the spark for a better system of training teachers. Social and political pressures were gradually building up. The great demand for teachers intensified by the need for quality preparation and high professional standards aided this development. More and more the socio-economic status of teachers advanced. Political reform designed to promote the general welfare of the people resulted in teacher-tenure in 1906. This situation encouraged the colleges and universities to enter more fully into the advanced professional preparation of teachers especially as states continued to require courses in pedagogy for certification to teach in the high school.

Another important factor in the role of universities in the preparation of teachers was the development of a science of education. The Herbartian movement, the child-study movement, experimental psychology, scientific measurement and the testing movement were all combining to promote greater interest in the university study of education. The groundwork for this study was laid in the 1890's. G. Stanley Hall who studied at the psychological laboratory of Wilhelm Wundt in Leipzig, Germany, established in 1884, a center for the study of the mental development of the child at Johns Hopkins University. Although no very significant body of knowledge resulted immediately, credit must be given to this early effort which drew attention to the possibility of the scientific study of child development. J. M. Rice also contributed to the testing movement by his investigation of spelling in 1897.
The first decade of the twentieth century saw developments in statistical methods through the work of Edward L. Throndike as revealed in his publication of 1904, *Mental and Social Measurements*. Others who did significant work in educational psychology include William James and Charles Judd. Their contributions inspired other investigators who continued to increase knowledge about the nature of the learning process. Thus the developing science of education gradually became part of the teacher education programs at the universities. By 1920 over four hundred colleges and universities were providing programs in education which reflected to a not inconsiderable degree the findings of the new science. University departments of education entertained high ideals and objectives. They set out hopefully to formulate a science of education for the advancement of teaching. In 1900 Nicholas M. Butler commented on the work of the University of Wisconsin School of Education in the history, philosophy, the science, and the practice of teaching. The aim of the school was "to afford practical and healthful instruction to intending teachers, professors, principals, and superintendents, and to those students who desire to pursue studies and investigations in the science of education."66 In equally forceful terms the New York University School of Pedagogy Announcement in 1901 stated that "the aim of the school was "to furnish thorough and complete professional training for teachers," by bringing together" all that bears upon pedagogy from the history of education, from analytical, experimental and physiological psychology, from the science of medicine, from ethics, from philosophy, from aesthetics, from sociology, from the principles and art of teaching, and from a comparative study of different national systems of education."67

67As quoted by G.W.A. Luckey, op. cit., p. 140.
It is interesting to note that professional schools of education at the turn of the century, claimed to have equal status with schools of law, medicine and applied science. Nicholas Butler noted in 1900 that the plan of New York University School of Pedagogy, placed it "upon the same basis as the best schools of law, medicine and theology." But it should be noted that at that time it was difficult to find a very good medical school. The times were bad. Abraham Flexner in 1910 in his famous Report on Medical Education in the United States and Canada drew careful attention to the weaknesses of medical schools at that time. N.S. Davis in 1903 also noted that only the Chicago Medical College, later known as Northwestern Medical School, was meeting the admission requirements that were laid down by the American Medical Association in 1867. Hence, if the schools of education compared themselves with the medical schools then their standards could not be very high either.

University departments of education varied in their offerings. Teachers College, Columbia University, provided courses in education as part of the requirement for the university degrees of A.B., A.M., and Ph.D., and special graduate courses leading to the higher diploma of the college. At the University of Michigan the situation resembled that at the University of California, Berkeley, whereby the university teachers' certificate could be obtained in two years, the work being credited toward a degree. Requirements for the university teachers' certificate were (1) special knowledge in the subject or group of subjects to be taught; (2) professional knowledge based on work in pedagogy; (3) general knowledge of courses sufficient

68 Nicholas Butler, op. cit., p. 39.
to represent four groups from the Natural Science, Mathematics, English, Foreign Languages, History, and Philosophy.70

At the outset the colleges and universities intended to emphasize the academic aspects of teacher education. Instruction in the special courses for teachers at the Lawrence Scientific School, Harvard University from 1871, was, for the most part academic, with some attention to the best methods of teaching the subjects in question. In 1873, the Normal Department of the University of Iowa was merged into the academic, on the grounds that "Didactics, in the higher sense is a liberal study."71 At Teachers' College academic standards were constantly being raised. In 1891 algebra, general history, and physiology and hygiene were added to the entrance requirements, and in 1893 the requirement in English was increased. "Elevation of standards," wrote Walter L. Hervey, "naturally gave opportunity for better teaching."72

But despite these high aspirations the general situation was going to be quite different. In 1908, David S. Snedden, Adjunct Professor of Educational Administration at Teachers' College, while paying some tribute to the work of pedagogical departments of education remarked upon "the tentative and often unscientific character of the content of their courses."73 As a result of poorly qualified staff in some departments of education many of the courses introduced were of poor quality, hardly more advanced than those found in normal schools. Instructors assigned to these courses were usually those that did not have high standing at the university. In general faculties would keep the studies in education on a very low level and as distant as possible from the other departments of the university. In 1891, President G. Stanley Hall

70G. W. A. Luckey, op. cit., pp. 143-144.
71G. W. A. Luckey, op. cit., p. 68.
72Walter L. Hervey, "Historical Sketch of Teachers College From Its Foundation to 1897," Teachers College Record, Vol. I, 1900, p. 32
73David S. Snedden, "Pedagogical Departments in Colleges and Universities, NEA Proceedings 1908, p. 691.
of Clark University pointed to "the diastrous chasm between the university and the schools." Many of the books on education were criticized as being "on too low an intellectual plane to meet the needs of the day," as Nicholas Butler pointed out to the National Education Association in 1899. Butler further stated that "out of the fifty best-known books on education which were published between 1830 and 1890 certainly more than two-thirds of them must be deemed as unscholarly." The difficulty of gaining acceptance of education as a scholarly field of inquiry at the University level did not help the situation. In 1892 Teachers' College petitioned Columbia University to be accepted as an affiliate. The reaction was swift that there was no such subjects as education.

Teachers' College eventually became part of Columbia University in 1898 although satisfactory working arrangements with the undergraduate colleges had been worked out earlier. Under the leadership of Nicholas Murray Butler, Walter L. Hervey, and James Earl Russell it soon developed into a strictly professional school of university level charged with the preparation of teachers. The College had undertaken to train not merely teachers of children, but also teachers of teachers, supervisors, and superintendents, tasks which could only be properly reinforced by affiliation with the University. Through affiliation, it became by the end of the nineteenth century the professional school of Columbia University for the study of education and the training of teachers. It offered one to three years of graduate professional courses in addition to four years of undergraduate courses while at the same time maintaining the Horace Mann School and an Experimental School as centers

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of observation and practice. Although the college appeared somewhat late among university departments of education its leadership in the graduate study of education soon proved very strong.

After the affiliation of Teachers' College with Columbia University all degrees were conferred by the university. The College, however, continued to offer two graduate diplomas: a Higher Diploma earned after one year of resident graduate study intended to prepare teachers of superior ability and special academic attainments, to teach in colleges and normal schools, and a Secondary Diploma intended to fit specialists for teaching in high schools and colleges. Such preparation was accomplished with particular emphasis on four qualities deemed pre-eminently desirable in a teacher. These qualities were (1) general culture; (2) professional knowledge; (3) special knowledge, and (4) skill in teaching. The courses of study in Teachers' College fell into three groups: (1) Graduate courses; (2) general undergraduate courses, and (3) departmental undergraduate courses.

It should be noted that most of the education courses in colleges and universities prior to 1905 were either of a factual or highly theoretical nature such as history of education, philosophy of education and psychology, or dealt with specific methods of the subject matter to be taught such as teaching English, or teaching science. The element of prescription was also quite strong in undergraduate courses. After 1905, increasing support was given to the idea that schools of education should be organized for the purpose of planning and administering teacher education programs for secondary school teachers. With this undertaking came many of the problems with regard to content for education courses which have undermined the study of education to this day.

In 1905 one year post-graduate curriculum leading to the degree of Bachelor of Pedagogy was offered at the normal school at Plymouth, New Hampshire
The events following 1905 were merely an intensification and extension of what occurred at the University of Michigan in 1860 when that institution first provided a course in the philosophy of education, school economy, and the teaching art. In this, the university, while beginning a new era in this country did not even pretend to equate education with the older academic subjects. Many scholars were quick to point out the relative uncertainty of the subject matter of education courses as contrasted with the subject matter of courses such as Latin, physics or mathematics. The situation became worse in the wake of the growing problem of adjusting the relation between academic and professional subjects. Further problems affecting the status of the study of education developed when standardizing agencies such as the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools required professional training for appointments to positions on the faculties of approved high schools. Charles H. Judd has observed that as a result of such prescribed professional training "colleges have been compelled, often in the face of their own preference, to install and conduct professional courses." This compulsory establishment of professional courses gradually produced further cleavage between the already feebly organized schools and departments of education and the academic divisions of the universities.

One attempt to bridge the division between the faculties of education and faculties of arts and sciences has been through the all-university teacher education programs such as the Master of Arts in Teaching program at Harvard University. Here, the degree has been administered and awarded not by the Graduate School of Education but by a university-wide Administrative Board.

Such an arrangement has several implications as Morris Cogan has well pointed out:

It symbolizes a conviction that the education of secondary school teachers is inextricably linked to continuing study in the teachers subject field as well as to study in education. It means also that the field of education itself is seen as linked to the work of the other faculties and professional schools.79

The Master of Arts in Teaching program at Harvard was established in 1936 for the purpose of preparing liberal arts college graduates for secondary school teaching. The requirements for the degree have included satisfactory professional competence, adequate scholarship in one's subject field, and a broad general education. Scholarship in the student's special field must be marked by an undergraduate specialization equivalent to that of an Honors graduate and completion of at least two courses with honor grades in the subject field. In addition, the candidate must demonstrate understanding of the basic relevant concepts of "(1) human growth and development; (2) statistical measurement and inference; (3) the philosophical and historical foundations of education; (4) the sociological implications of the school in the American social order; (5) curriculum, methods, and principles of teaching, with special emphasis on the field of specialization."80

Like the Master of Arts in Teaching program at Harvard the Master of Arts in Teaching at Wesleyan University has also emphasized both a knowledge of subject matter and professional training. It is important that some meaningful relationship exist between the two. In the 1920's such a relationship became known as professionalized subject-matter, which on the one hand stressed such extensions of scholarship as was necessary to insure flexible control of the problems of utilizing studies for social purposes in particular teaching.

situations. On the other hand it stressed method thereby implying a conscious organization of instruction in subject matter with a view to the professional responsibilities of the future teacher. This was an attempt to correct the dualism whereby subjects and methods were in juxtaposition, the one in academic departments, and the other in departments of education.

There is no question that the American school of education has made worthwhile contributions to modern education. Gradually, however, philosophy, scholarship and history seemed to give way to technique and administration, thereby upsetting the delicate balance between the academic and professional aspects of teacher education. As Abraham Flexner pointed out in 1930, the college of education "has run into all kinds of excesses, all kinds of superficiality and immediacy." Surely, the most controversial aspect of the professional portion of the curriculum of the graduate school of education was the methodological. From time to time the validity of "how to teach" courses came under severe attacks. Other professional requirements consisting of foundation subjects, namely, historical and philosophical as well as psychological, anthropological and sociological helped provide some substance to teacher education programs.

An important development in the 1950's was the fifth post-graduate year, as in Washington State and California. Generally, there was strong support for an integrated five-year program consisting of an academic baccalaureate followed by two semesters of predominantly professional courses. This development was linked directly or indirectly with what was taking place in the nations classrooms. Professional educators, scholars and laymen had all become very critical of the public school curricula, and sought wisely to remedy the problem at the source, i.e. the school of education.

The academic "breadth" of broad field majors was preferred to specialized academic "depth" in order to prepare teachers for the self-contained classroom arrangement.

Indeed, there is no denying the direct line between the public school and the university department of education, which fact demands a consideration of serious study of the development of university departments and schools of education and the impact of such development on the schools.