Few dissertations on vocational educational history are being written by graduate students. Reasons for this paucity of research include: (1) few opportunities exist for employment in the foundations of education field; and (2) few mentorships are available for those with training in both historical methods and vocational education fields. The history of vocational education has had various trends. Early 20th-century educators propagated the myth of a universal mandate for public schools. These historians tended to ignore the social and class struggles that were a part of early public education and are essential to an understanding of it. Some early educators recognized public schooling as a ladder for social mobility. The post-World War II educational historians broadened the scope of educational history. They often fell into the class of reform liberalism. Later, revisionist historians sought a different set of motives for early school reformers. They believed that vocational education was shaped by the model of efficiency advocated by industry, and that education was made to be "efficient." Vocational education was seen as keeping the lower classes in their place. Vocational education history has been largely hortatory in approach, seeking to advance its own cause. Instead of a top-down approach, however, a bottom-up approach is needed, and is being provided today by a few scholars who are doing case studies, looking at limited areas, and trying to discover what vocational education has done for former students, rather than what educators have said vocational education should do. More of this small-scale type of research is needed to paint a clearer picture of vocational education history. (KC)
HISTORICAL INQUIRY IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

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Doing Vocational Education History

There is a paucity of historical dissertations by vocational educators. This is understandable in that graduate students desiring to pursue historical studies often have to hurdle a variety of obstacles. Interdisciplinary studies are necessary in history and/or educational foundations departments. The course work and credit hours are often electives to established program requirements. Potential mentorships in this field are questionable. Vocational professors, often lacking the appropriate methodological skills, are usually not interested in generating historical research topics. Most vocational programs offer some history or philosophy courses. Traditional service sectors sometimes aggregate "foundations" courses into several which provide a generic overview of the field. This approach glosses over important subdisciplines that are useful for graduate students in generating research questions. Finally, the outlook for employment in vocational education with history specializations is bleak. Vocational teacher educators, curriculum development specialists and policy makers do not generally secure the consulting services of an educational historian. Federal funding for humanities-based research

is at an all-time low. Tenure-track lines or endowed chairs in foundations of vocational education are virtually nonexistent.

Why would a graduate student want to specialize in the history of vocational education? I have examined some of the abstracts of the past ten years of historical vocational education dissertations. Where major advisors are listed, the dissertations seem to be clustered around scholars, for instance, like Arthur Wirth at Washington University in St. Louis, who are known for their acumen and longevity in vocational education history. Under his guidance, two important biographies of Charles Prosser and Calvin Woodward were undertaken. Other dissertations indicate that strong foundations of education faculty -- hybrid historians specializing in vocational education research -- are similar bellwethers. Two University of Illinois, Champaign - Urbana graduate students produced excellent studies on progressive era ideology and practices exhibited by a variety of industrial educational reform groups. A University of Minnesota dissertation added significantly to the historiography surrounding the rationale of early vocational education leaders. Several dissertations have produced needed histories of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. I would like to offer one final observation. Historical dissertation research is often delimited by the geographic locale of archival sources. Graduate students tended to investigate topics within one day's driving time of their university. These sketchy examples suggest that graduate students formulating historical topics might be influenced or attracted by the notoriety of scholars in their "foundations of education" faculty. A more thorough perusal of dissertation committee
memberships would reveal those faculty who sat on committees holding appointments in "foundations" areas. Similar investigations could reveal the academic lineage of scholars with an historical interest in vocational education. In addition, graduate students seem to be influenced by the accessibility to primary sources. For conclusive findings it is necessary, for comparison purposes, to geographically map the settings of historical dissertations vis a vis home universities. An investigation of agencies that fund dissertation research might reveal a pattern for awarding support to institutions specializing in educational history. Finally, an investigation of the graduate student's academic background, training, major and minor areas and career goals might suggest important proclivities for doing historical research.

Vocational Education Historiography

Henry Ford, quoted as saying "history is bunk", repudiated historical scholarship. Yet, in Greenfield Village, he captured much of his "lost" childhood. This nonsequitur provides a good example of the political uses of history. The dates, places, eras, people and events that comprise the "facts" of the historical profession are meaningless to the average American. Ford, every bit a modernist in the business sense, realized that the public would flock to his anachronistic village to vicariously live an arcadian past and the lifestyle it represented. He carefully chose to marshal evidence that would glorify a past marked by a smooth transition to factory mechanization. Fordism offered the ideology of grandeur, progress and destiny to the American public.
A similar outlook prevailed in the formation of the education profession. Early twentieth century educators propagated the myth of a universal mandate for public schools. Stanford educational administrator Ellwood Cubberly portrayed schools as the great engines of democracy. His *History of Education* (1920), provided the teacher educator with the opportunity to instill an esprit de corps within prospective teachers. This helped to legitimate a growing educational profession. A strengthened professionalism would heighten public acclaim of the difficulties of teaching as well as build morale within the ranks. Professor of Manual Arts Charles A. Bennett provided a similar booster history for the prospective industrial educator. His two volume *History of Manual and Industrial Education* (1926, 36), a standard reference work in the field, was written as a result of the difficulties he encountered in trying to help students build an adequate historical background essential to the understanding of the present-day problems of public education. Overly preoccupied with the details of formal institutions of instruction, his history ignores the political struggles -- successes and defeats -- which shaped the modern curriculum. Bennett deliberately chose to emphasize the past individuals, institutions, and practices he was familiar with. This former machinist writes "No conscious effort has been made to emphasize or even, in most cases, to indicate the relationship between the past and the present." Thereby, his history overlooked the essential cultural forces that shaped the present form of industrial education. He lacks what Bernard Bailyn calls "the historian's instinct", that the social forces of the historian's world were most likely nonexistent in past life. Dismissing these types of histories
as overly parochial, a new crop of post-world war II educational historians would broaden the scope of institutional history.

Lawrence Cremin's *The Transformation Of The School* (1961) signaled the beginning of a new historiography. Following the Bailyn dictum, Cremin would investigate these previously neglected informal cultural aspects of education, i.e., family, church and community. True, Cremin was interested in a vast and abundant variety of cultural life. But his desire to seek consensus/continuity fell short of accounting for conflict and struggle. Little sympathy was accorded those elements of spontaneity, effervescence and violence, charges historian John Higham, as conflict becomes muted and consensus gives us bland history. Throughout his histories, public schooling is recognized as a ladder for social mobility and equal opportunity. It is a benevolent and benign institution with well-meaning actors. Progress, i.e., reform, is defined as a common vision shared in the fundamental soundness of educational institutions. Conflict is mitigated by willing acquiescence or propitiation to social structures. Vocational education histories written during this period have also exhibited a similar reform liberalism. Often, both labor and business interests are represented as undeniably faithful to public education. "The attitude of labor has always been an important factor in the progress of industrial education," writes Melvin Barlow (former American Vocational Association Historian and Professor Emeritus of Vocational Education at University of California, Los Angeles) in his *History of Industrial Education In The United States* (1967). Barlow proceeds to explain the American Federation of Labor's support for industrial education. However, throughout his
work American labor is portrayed both monolithically (the voice of Samuel Gompers) and monomaniacally ("that labor supported public education there can be no doubt"). Business support for industrial education is similarly characterized via the National Association of Manufacturers. Institutional history, in this sense, is merely a chronicling of voluntary interest group demands. Similar hegemonic values favor rhetorical goals while confirming shared assumptions about reform. Industrial education is chosen because of its beneficent outcomes. Vocational education serves more students of diverse socio-economic backgrounds and increases career choice, economic standing and educational level. Future institutional histories will have to do better than assume elite domination. They must look at the processes of decision making and the perspectives these institutions held for social classes and individuals.

A rival group of educational historians, called revisionists, sought a different set of motives for early school reformers. The questions they asked attempted to test out social theory. Do public institutions create class divisions which ensure elite power and control? Does school bureaucracy provide a mechanism for shoring up the middle class? Do working classes oppose school expansion and reform? Their leading spokesman, Michael B. Katz, revealed the revisionist perspective when applied to public schooling.

"The development of public education cannot be understood apart from the social relations between classes, anxieties about disorder, attempts to shore up a social structure under stress, and the invention of modern forms of bureaucracy."[17]

Joel Spring, Paul Violas and others argued that the adoption of
business values by school administrators were used to militate against 18
the lower classes. Industrially derived segmentation and
regimentation were similarly exhibited in scientifically managed
public institutions. Raymond Callahan’s pioneer work *Education and
The Cult of Efficiency* (1962), drew upon the numerous examples of
business adoption of scientific management techniques in schools. He
determined that school superintendents readily adopted business
practices. In addition, school boards were composed of business types
who espoused the "efficiency" rhetoric of the era. Autonomous school
administrators were finding their domain was becoming increasingly
centralized due to the presence of school board rule. Callahan
stressed that the twentieth century school administrator was extremely
vulnerable to the whims of the school board. He argued that
educational leaders capitulated "to whatever demands were made upon
20 them." Callahan concluded that the total effect of a rudderless
leadership was,

"adopting values and practices indiscriminately and
applying them with little or no consideration of educational
values or purposes. It was not that some of the ideas from
the business world might not have been used to advantage in
educational administration, but that the wholesale adoption
of the basic values, as well as the techniques of the
business-industrial world, was a serious mistake in an
institution whose primary purpose was the education of
children." [21]

Scientific management in the schools, revisionists claimed, was a
vehicle for social control. Schools tracked students into
class-related levels in order to prepare them for their eventual
social dispositions. Children of the working classes would receive an
education that "fit" them for industrial life. Values such as
docility, discipline and cooperation were inculcated through
vocational training. Paul Violas in *The Training of The Urban Working Class* (1978) provides a convincing argument for the social control thesis. Evaluating the rhetoric of early proponents of industrial education, Violas suggests that vocational training would accommodate a "new" student who could adjust to the modern demands of industry.

"The labor force now required workers with habits, values, and personality patterns conducive to assembly line techniques. . . The rationale for industrial education maintained that such learning would develop in the future industrial worker psychic structures that would increase his productivity and diminish his alienation."[23]

Violas' portrait of the various curricular support services, i.e., career guidance and intelligence testing, fueled his thesis that schools were the mechanism for sorting students into the industrial laboring class. Each child has a distinct occupational future that was limited by class backgrounds.

"The reality depicted by the public schools, and especially the vocational guidance movement, portrayed industrial vocations as normal expectations for working-class children. Within the prescribed boundaries of this reality, students could choose their future vocations."[24]

Historians, scrutinizing the importance of social efficiency doctrine, suggest that a belief in social predestination would maintain the status quo. Arthur Wirth claims that vocationalists were strongly aligned with social efficiency forces. Other educational leaders, he says, adopted a more humanistic outlook for schoolings role in society. In *Education in the Technological Society: The Vocational-Liberal Studies Controversy in the Early Twentieth Century* (1980), Wirth explicates these two themes through the counterpoising of John Dewey and David Snedden. By examining the
Snedden-Dewey debates over dual control of the Illinois educational system, Wirth claims "Sneddenism" is the source of a conservative philosophy that buttressed an educational social sorting function. Some critics might argue that Wirth is drawing a false dichotomy specifically intended to destroy the credibility of vocational educations principles and practices. On the contrary, he has attempted to distinguish the degrees of progressive reform. Wirth separates a fanciful liberal progressivism from the more prosaic conservative variety. Liberal reformism is equated with democracy and social service. Conservative progressivism represents efficiency and social control. Continued historical inquiry will help to explain the legacy of progressivism for industrial education.

Revisionist educational historians such as W. Norton Grubb and Marvin Lazerson, offered a coup de grace to prior vocational apologists by suggesting that "the writing of the history of vocational education has been largely hortatory, designed to elicit support for vocationalism." This statement has characterized the immense imbroglio that occured between the revisionists and the liberal interpreters in the past decades. Cool dispassionate scholarship was reduced to name-calling and mudslinging. Fueled by Diane Ravitch's book The Revisionists Revised(1977), rejoinders escalated to absurd charges that some universities cabalistically supported radical scholarship; thereby, promoting political revolution. Countercharges attacked the political motivation of funding sources supporting liberal history monographs. Historian James Sanders suggests that the ideological orientations in the revisionist controversy stemmed from the question of equal opportunity.
In America. Although still relevant in the 1980's, he claims that the prior contentiousness of the debate has dwindled into a "stalemate for the protagonists and boredom for the less ideological bystanders."

Vocational Education History and Revisionism

Vocational education historical works written during the 1970's reflected an overwhelming intent to disprove the revisionist thesis. Turn-of-the-century school reformers were characterized as exhibiting various political positions. Since any one reformist vision was subscribed to by a limited number of people, progressive educators exhibited a panoply of diverse motives. Curriculum reforms mirrored this variegated pattern of special interest groups. Dennis Hershbach's dissertation Industrial Education Ideology, 1876-1917(1973) was an early study of the complex ideological frameworks that drove industrial education policy. Coalitions formed, dissolved and re-aligned in a mutable interlocking directorate. The early twentieth century marked a watershed in changing views of educational reform but the social reform drive initiated by Horace Mann was still there. Secular piety, millenialism, scientism, efficiency or radical meliorism, it didn't matter what you called it, progressivism represented a transition toward increased confidence in public schooling. Reforms often resulted in an attempt to resolve inherent complications of industrial life. For instance, Hershbach describes the elements of conflict regarding the proper education of the immigrant child.

"On the one hand, the proponents of industrial education pointed to the fact that the subject could contribute to the upward mobility of the aliens; industrial education could provide the necessary skills, attitudes and
habits essential to success in an industrial environment. It could help Americanize the immigrant. On the other hand, industrial educators reflected the existing social antagonism towards immigrants, and the subject field was seen as a means of controlling the social and economic success of the immigrant, to the extent that native children could be provided with a marked advantage in the industrial enterprise."

Currently, similar historical inquiry has been directed to other target groups (e.g., blacks, women, working classes) in an on-going analysis of the consequences of industrial education.

Vocational educators, rarely questioning the assumptions of their discipline, have been criticized for an excessive filiopiety. Hershbach's examination of past developments in vocational-industrial education recognized the importance of re-evaluating the historic foundations of the field. Soon other vocational educators would fall under Clio's spell. Charles J. Law's plea for a usable vocational history -- one that would help reconstruct a philosophical basis for the discipline -- required a re-assessment of the foundations. Law realized that the philosophic base is, in reality, still evolving and currently ill-defined. He writes:

"We retreat to the original tenets of our founding fathers for support and, thus are schizophrenic. Is it any wonder we appear to friend and foe alike to be inexplicable even to ourselves?"

Katy Greenwood demonstrated that it was acceptable for vocational educators to reassess the historical intentions of the early leaders without committing apostasy. Her scholarship calls for, in part, an examination of the professors philosophical premises. Greenwood writes:

"Re-examination and re-development of a philosophic rationale as an integral part of the perpetuation and
Her dissertation on Prosser's and Snedden's early motives entailed the construction of a model classifying several important pre-WWII educational philosophies. This was an analytical device used to bring clarity to reformers underlying intentions. These vocational leaders had a distinct utilitarian philosophy, she argues, based upon the Prosser-inspired notion of mobility, i.e., the acquisition of job preparation skills. Her conclusions represent a conscious effort to rescue Prosser from the legacy of social efficiency. Vocational educators could, as she claims, recognize utilitarianism as the guiding philosophical foundation for the field. Her work provides important directives for vocational educators intending to research the foundations areas. At a 1979 AVA symposium on vocational historiography, Greenwood charges that vocational educators must begin to assume responsibility for interpreting their own history and philosophy. They should enter the revisionist debate armed with a knowledge of historical methods. They should be aware of the bias in so-called "presentist" history. Most importantly, historical inquiry provides an opportunity for clarifying current policy and leadership in the field. Historical introspection is necessary in order to illuminate the assumptions of the field.

Vocational researchers are beginning to recognize some of the neglected foundations areas. At a recent colloquium sponsored by the American Vocational Education Research Association, Merle S... emphasized that historical research should become a recognized and respected activity in the research community. He writes:
"Few become excited about historical research in vocational and technical education. However, we seem to be reaching a point in our development in which many newcomers are discovering, sometimes by accident, what has been known for years. This is not to say that we should do historical research in order to repeat history but, rather, so that we may learn from it." [25]

Vocational historians, less hesitant than before, are beginning to chip away at clay feet. Since 1925, vocational practices have been guided by Prosser's sixteen theorems. Melvin Miller argues that the field of vocational education has been guided by principles instead of a philosophy. He suggests that the continual adherence to Prosser's theorems is indicative of the substitution of principles for philosophy.

The principles of vocational education have been substituted for a philosophy for vocational education. However, principles of vocational education do not equate a philosophy for vocational education, and the contemporary principles of vocational education should not be substituted for a philosophy." [36]

Recently, William Camp and John Hillison have reassessed Prosser's theorems in light of the changing societal notions of work. They suggest that the shift from a service-sector economy, with a subsequent de-skilling of industrial jobs, has important consequences for a reformulation of vocational philosophy. They recommend that those theorems that are no longer applicable must be discarded. Historical scholarship, within the field, reflects the quandry over the founders egalitarian claims. Part of the difficulty is the problem with terminology. Industrial education is a tautology confusing the meaning of trade-specific training. In his history of the National Association of Manufacturers, Kenneth C. Gray argues that broad interpretations over terminology created problems for continued
business and labor support for industrial education. Differing agreement over the outcomes of trade schooling proved detrimental to the movement. Declining membership in the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education and a move toward in-house training were manifestations of manufacturers less than enthusiastic endorsement of public vocational education.

Post-Revisionist Inquiry

Part of the difficulty in researching the history of vocational education is determining the motives and intents of the early reform leaders. A kind of medieval scholasticism surrounds the ongoing debate. Combative scholarship, limited to disputations over authoritative claims, restricts the boundaries of original research. This "top-down" history is clearly unable to examine the general public's response to vocationalism. Historian Julia Wrigley astutely charges,

"Reforms and social changes, according to both the revisionist educational historians and the corporate liberal theorists, are primarily generated by an elite to maintain their own position and are seldom a response to effective pressure from below. Neither set of historians readily admits the existence of potentially destabilizing elements in the society."[39]

The educational historians task is changing as post-revisionist inquiry overtakes the field. What are the family decisions that impact school going? How have workers responded to their changing faith in education? What were the patterns of school attendance according to socio-economic class, racial background and gender differences? Educational historian David Angus articulates the post-revisionist perspective when he writes:
"One feature shared by virtually all interpretations of the rise of mass high schooling, whether liberal or revisionist, is a heavy reliance on analyzing the words of educators rather than their deeds. Books and journal articles, the proceedings of professional associations, the reports of commissions, etc., form the raw materials from which the debate is forged. Little attention has been devoted to what actually went on in high schools in this period, who attended, for how long, what students studied and how they fared. Beyond the analysis of educational rhetoric, no good case has been made for or against the notion that high schools in the early twentieth century were sharply class biased."[41]

"Bottom-up" analysis of students and schools, often using the methods of quantitative social science research, is characteristic of the latest trend in vocational education history. Curriculum histories predominate the field. Paul Ringle's excellent historical study of Fitchburg High School provides one example of the trend towards isolated case studies. Ringle suggests that vocational schooling provided greater mobility for its graduates. His analysis of inter-generational occupational patterns showed that Fitchburg graduates had higher status "white-collar" jobs than their parents. Ringle's study becomes an important source for an analysis of vocational education outcomes. Two recent dissertations have examined vocational curriculum reforms in local settings. Leigh Altadoona's study of the Philadelphia public schools and Richard Caster's research on the Canton City Schools reveal the influence of progressivism in municipal government. Industrial education was significantly impacted by active community reformers. Further urban histories are needed that will reveal the extent to which local and state progressive reforms mirrored the national movement. Daniel Rodgers and David Tyack suggest that "much of the early political history of vocationalism remains obscure." They state:
"Support came from virtually everywhere, or so the vote on the Smith-Hughes Act would lead us to believe. But the Smith-Hughes coalition was potentially a fragile one, shot through as it was with tension between labor's dream of prying open the doors to advancement and management's vision of the schools as an efficient training and sorting mechanism. How long did that alliance hold together? To what extent was it duplicated at the state and local levels? Who pushed first and hardest within local school districts for vocational education courses: employers, labor spokesmen, state education officials, local school personnel, or parents?"[44]

Future historical research should shed light on the reform struggles played out in America's backwater cities and towns. Small-scale research can offer a comparison of urban and/or rural support for educational reforms. Local and regional analysis could facilitate an understanding of patterns of school attendance. Case studies can identify the elements of the school curriculum. Post-revisionism illuminates the close local study of school participants, administrators, parents and supporters. Only community studies can offer this analysis of the impact of schooling on the individual. Newer methodologies, characterized by their lack of a national focus, avoid "sweeping" synthesis due to the vernacular differences of each study. This is indicative of the social history trend in educational history. Micro-level analysis illuminates a variety of interpretations about support for public schools. Post-revisionism represents the study of the social aspects such as class, ethnicity, gender and race which are unique to the development of schools in his country. Some historians, lamenting the lack of synthesis in their respective fields, feel that post-revisionism creates even more diffuse and fragmented research. Yet, new lines of inquiry in social history divulge the uniqueness of the American
experience.
Footnotes


7. Charles A. Bennett, Professor of Manual Arts, was Cubberley's contemporary in a similar ideological vein. He wrote a two volume History of Manual and Industrial Education
1870-1917, Peoria, Ill: Chas. A. Bennett Co., 1926, 1936. His rationale is briefly revealed in the preface to volume 1, page 3. For a brief biographical sketch see John P. Schenck "Charles A. Bennett Remembered", The Technology Teacher (November 1983), pp 8-10.

8. Ibid., p.3.


13. Ibid., p. 380.


16. Revisionist sociologists like Melvin Tumin have challenged the 1950's functionalist theory. Functionalists believe that society works harmoniously to achieve mutually beneficial results, i.e., stratification is a system for motivating individuals to seek socially important positions and to fill these positions conscientiously by rewarding those who do so with special incentives. Tumin states that due to restricted upward mobility, functionalism encourages hostility and suspicion among those denied access to prestigious positions. It breed an alienation of individuals and an iconoclasm of institutions. See Melvin M. Tumin Readings on Social Stratification, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1970.


20. Ibid., p. 111.

21. Ibid., p. 244.


23. Ibid., p. 125.

24. Ibid., p. 217.


31. Historical inquiry of black schooling has primarily focussed
upon the reconstruction era experiences of newly freed slaves. Practical solutions to the "Negro Problem" were touted, such as General Samuel Chapman Armstrong's highly successful Hampton Institute or Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. These schools became the models for black industrial education. The widespread activities of Chapman's most famous student Booker T. Washington are the primary focus for revisionist historians. Washington has been portrayed as an accommodationist serving up an education that accepted black social and political inequality, see Donald Spivey Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education, 1868-1915, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978. See also Samuel Henry Shannon "Agricultural and Industrial Education at Tennessee State University during the Normal School Phase 1912-1922: A Case Study," (Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1974). Shannon charged that the focus of industrial education was to produce teachers (provided with manual training) who could reproduce proper work discipline throughout the population of Southern blacks. Instead of mirroring the white land grant emphasis on scientific agriculture or trade training, Tennessee State functioned primarily as a Normal School. Students at Tennessee State, Shannon claims, were never seriously considered for trade or apprenticeship training. For an excellent overview of black industrial education, see James D. Anderson "The Historical Development of Black Vocational Education," in Kantor and Tyack Work, Youth and Schooling, pp. 180-222. Also, Willena Wilkinson Stanford "Black Americans and Vocational and Practical Arts Education --An Historical Development: 1750-1954," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wyoming, 1984). Gender analysis in vocational education history has been informed by the feminist perspective. Female-only work or school experiences provided an environment for feminist consciousness raising and the creation of an autonomous homosocial community. For an example of this thesis in a study of department store sales women, see Susan Porter Benson "'The Customers Ain't God': The Work Culture of Department Store Saleswomen, 1890-1949," in Michael H. Frisch and Daniel J. Walkowitz (eds.) Working-Class America: Essays on Labor, Community, and American Society, Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1983, pp. 185-211. Homosocial bonding was manifest in early twentieth century political action such as consumer protection, suffrage, tenement reform and child labor. The potential impact of home economists on legislative activity is suggested in Edna K. B. McBreen "The Interface Between Family Law and the Family Relationship Concerns of Home Economics: A Historical Analysis," (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1982). Two recent studies of the founding philosophy and history of home economics offer convincing evidence of the broadening professional sphere of women outside the family and home. See Virginia Bramble Vicenti "A History of the Philosophy of Home Economics," (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1981) and Judy Arnette Jax "A Comparative Analysis of the Meaning of Home Economics: The 1899-1908 Lake Placid Conferences and Home Economics: A Definition," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1981).


