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William T. Harris' Contributions to Education as an Administrator

William J. Murawski

Loyola University Chicago

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WILLIAM T. HARRIS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDUCATION

AS AN ADMINISTRATOR

by

William J. Murawski

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

February
1968
LIFE

William J. Murawski was born in Chicago, Illinois, September 6, 1929. He was graduated from St. Mary of Perpetual Help Elementary School in 1943, Tilden Technical High School in 1947, De Paul University, B.S.P.E. in 1951 and received the degree of Master of Education (Teaching of Science) in 1956 from Chicago Teachers College (now Chicago State College).

He entered military service in April, 1951 and completed Officer Candidate School, Fort Benning, Georgia, in May, 1952. In August, 1961, he graduated from the Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Presently active in the United States Army Reserve, Lieutenant Colonel Murawski commands the Physical Reconditioning Battalion - 371st Convalescent Center.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer is greatly indebted to many persons for cooperation, assistance, suggestions and criticisms related to this study. The value of studying William Torrey Harris' works and contributions was first suggested by Dr. Joseph Linehan, Principal of the Hale Elementary School. His counsel has been most helpful.

This dissertation has been prepared under the supervision of the following committee:

Dr. John Wozniak
Dr. Gerald Gutek
Dr. James Smith

To each of these the writer expresses sincere appreciation. The author further acknowledges special recognition to his major advisor, Dr. Gerald Gutek, for his many valuable suggestions for planning and implementing this thesis.

An unusual opportunity for information and assistance in this study was afforded in connection with a visit to the Annex Building, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., where the writer was able to examine and study Harris' original manuscripts. For this opportunity gratitude is acknowledged. Thanks also are due to the Library of the University of St. Louis for arranging a number of interlibrary loans with regard to Harris' annual reports and to the other libraries who willingly contributed data utilized in compilation of this treatise.
Further appreciation is expressed to Katherine Graspas and to Sandra Golab, reference librarians, Loyola University, for efficient, friendly, cooperative compliance to numerous requests for books and source materials. Their efforts were most helpful.

Special acknowledgment is given to my wife, Elizabeth Ann Murawski, who demonstrated untiring effort, intelligent suggestions, endless typing, constant support, and unfailing supervision of our four children during completion of this dissertation. Without her help, this study would not have reached fulfillment.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study of the life and the works of William Torrey Harris, specifically in the area of theory and practice of educational administration and philosophy, is to describe the development of one man's educational ideas by placing him and his contributions within the cultural background from which they emerged. This investigation makes readily available an analysis of the numerous works of an educational leader who helped direct the course of public education in the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning years of the 20th century. The treatise begins with Harris' birth on a farm near North Killingly, Connecticut, September 10, 1835, and terminates with his demise at Providence, Rhode Island November 5, 1909.

Direct attention is given to the content of Harris' individual works and their relation to the cultural milieu in which they were, in the main, responses. Throughout the study, Harris' works are treated in chronological sequence to illustrate how his convictions developed or changed. This study encompasses the whole of his life and writings, and especially emphasizes the theory and practice in educational administration congenic to his ideas.

As guidelines for the investigation of Harris' personal and professional development, the following questions were given special emphasis:

1. What conditions existed in American society during the years 1850 - 1909 that appeared to have contributed to Harris' development as reflected in
his maturing ideas?

2. Who were the people, which were the books, and what were the paramount events that helped shape his ideas?

3. Where, when and in what capacity did Harris appear on the educational scene? To include emphasis upon the delineated areas of:
   A. Administration
   B. Staff
   C. Students
   D. Curriculum
   E. Methodology

4. What were his expressed educational ideas and what social and intellectual pattern(s) did they mirror?

5. What was the extent of Harris' participation in curriculum revision activity during 1850 to 1909?

6. What was the nature of Harris' contribution to educational thought, especially in regard to the theory and practice of administration during 1880 and 1909, his last years in the profession?

7. What was the expressed philosophy of William Torrey Harris?

Further, this study utilises reports, books, articles, reviews, speeches and personal manuscript notes, particularly pertinent to Harris' theory and practice of educational administration and philosophy. His recommendations regarding philosophical, educational and administrative concepts will be isolated and examined. No suggestion is made that all the principles and practices mentioned were initiated by him. However, it is contended that his forceful advocacy of certain educational principles, established their further definition and acceptance by American educators.

Nicholas Murray Butler emphasized:
The history of American education and of American contributions to philosophical thought cannot be understood or estimated without knowledge of Harris' work.¹

Through his 479 written articles, 890 manuscripts, lectures, books and multitudinous writings in magazines, his impact on American education was transforming and his administrative genius demonstratively practical and progressive. As a widely accepted professional educator, Harris' broad range of interests and exceptional depth contributed to America's educational design:

As United States Commissioner of Education, he was the most eminent philosophical, professional, educational official of the world. No other American commanded respect in official circles throughout the world as did he. No other American has received anything approaching the almost idolatrous worship of America's public school men which he received during the years in which he was the official professional leader of the school people of the United States.²

In 1888 Harris' name was synonymous with educational leadership, and he was called "the most potent influence upon the public school system and the teachers of America."³

The cultural pattern during the latter half of the nineteenth century was a changing one. The industrial revolution identified the need for curriculum revision and universal education. Public schools aided the assimilation of countless immigrants. As the once predominantly rural community of American


life changed to a predominantly urban civilization, industrialization diversified the American society. American educators faced different problems which demanded new solutions. In the great reorganization and redirection of education which took place between 1860 and 1900 in response to these new ideas, no American provided more influence and forceful leadership than Harris. This is substantially what Curti meant when he said, "while it was Barnard and Mann who laid the foundations of the American public system it was William T. Harris who presided over the rearing of the structure."\(^1\)

Ultimately, James L. Rupp, while granting that "it may be unjust to name a period for one man when there were so many others who contributed to the progress of education during the same years," nevertheless, insisted that one seemed justified in using Harris' name to represent the last quarter of the nineteenth century period in American education.\(^5\)

Having briefly examined the historical prominence of this eminent educator, this writer believes further study of Harris' life is needed. Particular emphasis will be placed on his administrative theories and practices in light of his philosophic orientation. Such an examination will provide a foundation for future studies and lead to a more sophisticated examination of his educational concepts.

To establish the necessary historical framework for this study, a preliminary investigation of the early life and environment of Harris was made. This


was followed by a scrutiny of his writings and of related secondary material to extract his educational philosophy. Next evaluated were the thirteen reports he made as Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis, where he applied his theories and gained a national reputation as an educator. Further, his reports issued as Commissioner of Education were checked and supplemented by additional confirmation secured from the 890 manuscripts at the Annex Building of the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C.

The historical method was the primary research technique utilized to collect the applicable source material. These data have been arranged to adequately represent Harris' educational theories and practices. His concepts influencing education are contrasted with current educational practices to establish concurrence or deviation. All these ideas are not unique or original to Harris, but as the literature will indicate, it was his leadership which antecedes their final acceptance.

The concluding chapter attempts to generalize further, with intense focus in the direction of comprehensive evaluation, regarding Harris' total contributions. This chapter was included so that the large volume of data might be summarized and systematically presented, thus emphasizing the range and depth of the many contributions of this great educator.

Using the historical method of research in education, the writer is conscious of limited or partial sources which at times renders contextual comprehension abstruse. Also recognized is the fact that Harris' many sided and versatile nature makes an evaluation of him particularly difficult. Hence, the writer is marshalling the opinions of other men and examining the many articles and manuscripts of Harris to establish his direct and indirect
influence on education. It is hoped that these opinions will lead to a more refined synthesis and eliminate the possibility of subjective error.

Fortunately, Harris wrote countless articles, 890 manuscripts, and issued numerous reports, which makes it possible to find several manifestations of the same theory. This reduces erroneous interpretation which could readily occur if a singular source were used. In most cases, the literature confirmed drawn conclusions by providing substantial documentation from several sources. Wherever the evidence was considered limited, the most objective analysis possible has been rendered. For factual misinterpretation, the writer must accept complete accountability.

It is anticipated that this dissertation may be received as a positive contribution to the history of education, presenting an extensive and inclusive record of the genesis and developmental stages of current educational concepts, ideas, and practices in the areas of philosophy, administration, supervision, staff, students, curriculum, materials, and methodology to the extent that they may be attributed to one man, William Torrey Harris.
CHAPTER II

HARRIS' BACKGROUND

William Torrey Harris, administrator, philosopher, lecturer, writer, educator, son of William and Zilpah (Torrey) Harris, was born September 10, 1835 on a farm near the village of North Killingly, Connecticut. The village is now called Putnam Heights in honor of General Israel Putnam of the American Revolution. Harris' father, William Harris, was the son of John Harris and Amy Wilkinson Harris, residents of Scituate, Rhode Island.1 His mother, Zilpah, was the daughter of William Zilpah Davidson Torrey of Windham County, Connecticut. Her ancestor, William Torrey, a native of Combe, St. Nicholas, Somersetshire, England, emigrated to the United States in 1640 and settled at Weymouth, Massachusetts.2

Harris' grandfather was once a silversmith, but later turned to farming, thus affording Harris the learning experiences provided by a rural setting.3 At the age of four, he was enrolled in the rural country school of his community but later spent several years in the city schools of Providence, Rhode Island, thus giving him at an early age a range of contrast to draw comparisons he was to use later as a school administrator. Recounting these


2Ibid.

early years while writing, *How I Was Educated*, Harris said, "I might have learned to read a little, but have no recollection of anything except my interest in the older boys and girls whom I saw there."¹

Harris' academy life was initiated as a teenager, when at thirteen he enrolled and attended for one year each of the academies at Woodstock, Connecticut, Worchester, Massachusetts, and Andover, Massachusetts, in addition to two others of comparatively lesser importance.

Attributing pertinence to his school life at Phillips Academy, he stated:

> I had never before met a disciplinary force that swept me completely off my feet and overcame my capricious will. My intellectual work had been all haphazard, a matter of mere inclination. I now began to hear a great deal about mental discipline and to see many industry. I took myself to studying in earnest, and tried to see how many hours of persistent industry I could accomplish each day. In my short stay at Andover, I gained more than at any other school, and have always highly revered its discipline and instruction.⁵

Harris' early educational experiences precipitated later ideas which developed his ability to successfully advocate sound educational policy as subsequent chapters will indicate. He described another series of experiences at one of these schools, which also helped shape his later thinking regarding grading and classification of pupils:

> At the beginning of the school term all pupils were made to commence with the first lesson in their books, no matter how many years they had devoted to

¹W. T. Harris, "How I Was Educated," *The Forum*, I (August, 1886), 552.

the study of them. This, of course, had its merit, as an annual review tended to produce thoroughness. In case, however, the teacher attempted classification, the maturer pupils were kept back for the sake of those just beginning, and not being required to study again what was already familiar, fell into lax and listless habits.  

Despite this transient type of education wherein he transferred from one school to another, Harris' achievements were phenomenal and indicated strong capacity and potential:

I taught school in the country for two winter seasons, after my third and fifth academical terms, respectively, I used my winter evenings in study. During the first winter, at the age of sixteen years I mastered geometry and trigonometry. The second winter I devoted entirely to Locke's "Essay on Human Understanding," having read somewhere that Franklin prided himself on reading that work at my age.

Harris enrolled at Yale University in 1854 but terminated his official status as a student during his Junior year. Reasons for his withdrawal are inconsistent. One source considers his departure as an attempt to initiate a professional career as a teacher; another states that Harris was asked to leave; while still another, indicates that his record as a student was one of remarkable achievement.

Research indicates that his final reason for leaving was probably a

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7Ibid.


combination of these stated factors. At this time, he was not content at Yale and was anxious to initiate his professional career and to undertake independent study and writing. Further, he desired to study science, literature, and history.

Harris phrased it:

About the middle of the Junior year, I withdrew my connection with the college, full of dissatisfaction with its course of study, and impatient for the three "moderns" - modern science, modern literature, and modern history.11

His duration at Yale created self introspection, a process he called Die Aufklärung - "that clearing up which arrives when one breaks away from use and want of human laws and customs, throws off adherence to blind authority, and begins to think for himself."12 This process of self estrangement or emancipation was fundamental to his philosophy and will be fully discussed in the next chapter.

Of his student performance at Yale, he reminisced:

There was a written examination at the close of each term, for which preparation must be made by private reviews. To be able to go over one's entire work for the term in two or three days of study, brought into discipline a new power, usually called the power to "cram." Of all of my school discipline, I have found this one of the most successful. The ability to throw one's self upon a difficulty with several times one's ordinary working power is required again and

12W. T. Harris, "Books That Helped Me," Forum, III (April, 1887), 143.
again in practical life on meeting any considerable obstacles.13

As a young man, Harris developed an interest for studying constituted authority and concerned himself with spiritualism, mesmerism and phrenology. Study of these subject areas accelerated his interest in idealism where principles ideals and abstract concepts were dominant. These furthered his adherence to the postulates of Hegel. A reader of insatiable appetite, he pondered the conflict on aspects of authority which included geological books offering philosophical interpretations of Genesis and books on astronomy developing ambiguous concepts at variance with the scriptures.14 Harris was also dissatisfied with the constricting influence of college life, as stated above, and his decision to leave Yale became significantly important.

In his new environment, St. Louis, Missouri, 1857, he initiated his professional career, first as a tutor and secondly as a teacher of shorthand. Advancement followed a progression from assistant teacher, 1857-1858, to principal of Clay School, 1858-1867.15 Harris was appointed assistant city superintendent in 1866 and superintendent in 1868, a position from which he vaulted into national prominence and which he securely held until 1880.

Harris founded the Journal of Speculative Philosophy in 1867 and served as editor until 1893, attracting European educators' attention to this

14Harris, "Books That Helped Me," op. cit., p. 143.
16Twelfth Annual Report of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1866, Appendix, p. lvi.
quarterly which comprised twenty-two volumes. Arthur Balfour, English statesman and philosopher, referring to these volumes, commented that no one in England could have composed them. Philosophy was emphasized as the most practical of all subjects and every question, whether in art, science, politics, religion, or education was interpreted philosophically. Harris said, "the test of any system of philosophy is the account it gives the institutions of civilization." Philosophical perspective towards human history and the institutions of the school, the state, the church, and civil society as they relate to securing and conserving individual self determination becomes significantly important.

The year 1880 witnessed the termination of Harris' official duties as School Superintendent of St. Louis and his founding of the Concord School of Philosophy and Literature. For the next nine years, he devoted his energies to the pursuit of philosophy.

In 1889 Harris accepted the position of United States Commissioner of Education and functioned in this capacity until 1906, when he voluntarily resigned. He died at Providence, Rhode Island, November 5, 1909.


18 Ibid.
CHAPTER III

PHILOSOPHY

To Harris, philosophy was a basic, practical subject, used to explain questions concerning educational purposes and methods. He justified social institutions with philosophical explanations and held essential the search for adequate first principles.\(^1\) As an idealist, he rejected the "status quo" and continually worked for refinement and improvement. His idealistic first principles set goals and his practical interpretations for solving current educational problems directed his thinking and action toward solutions and eventual goal attainment. Historians record Harris as America's first great educational philosopher.\(^2\) His transformation from phrenology to a study of German literature and philosophy occurred as a result of hearing a lecture given by Bronson Alcott. This change was also influenced by an essay written by Theodore Parker praising German achievements in literature, theology, history, and philosophy. This essay initiated Harris' interest in Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Goethe, and Hegel. Harris commented, "I resolved to devote much of my life to these writers to analyze their thoughts as truths or

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fallacies." He was analyzing Goethe and Kant when he met Henry C. Brockmeyer in 1858, an acquaintance which had a definitive effect upon his later accomplishments.

Under Brockmeyer's advocacy, Harris undertook what finally evolved to be a life-long study of Hegel. In 1908 he was able to say he had read Hegel's Philosophy of History sixteen times and regarded Hegel's Logic as his philosophical Bible. He interpreted Hegel's philosophy and did more than any other man to make Hegelianism potent in American education. His nineteenth century Hegelianism was the foundation for his theories of education:

This work of Hegel's comes nearer to being a genuine theology, a justification of Providence in human history, than any other work I know. The world-history is the onward progress of man into consciousness of freedom.

Continuing in this article, Harris, discussing Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, states:

I was gradually training my feeble thinking powers and soon after I had devoted a year to the "Critique" I broke through its shell and began to reach its kernel. It formed a real epoch in my life. It seemed to me that I was accustomed to say, "I have made an intellectual step this year as great as the whole step from birth up to the time I began to study Kant."

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3W. T. Harris, "Books That Have Helped Me," The Forum, III (April, 1887), 144-145.


6Ibid.
As an educator and philosopher, Harris used knowledge and facts to solve educational and sociological problems of his culture. He solved problems related to finance, curriculum revision, increased enrollment, the industrial impact on education, personnel, and many others. To him, the practical was not a matter of the present to be measured exclusively in terms of budgets and immediate financial necessities justified by temporary expedients. His solutions contemplated a klasidoscopic view which included realistic intermediate and practical long range educational goals. He sought to reform educational practices with a strong foundation philosophically and sociologically to insure implementation and public acceptance for an extended duration. 7

His course of study (discussed in Chapter VII) is an example. With it, he formulated a definite series of principles and evaluated the claims of all subjects in light of these principles. This insured balance and overall coverage of knowledge, an achievement of far reaching importance. He contended that education must generate studious habits, the power to readjust to changing conditions, and, basically, help individuals to help themselves. Society furnishes the ideals to education, but education must fit the individual to take part in society. Further, education must provide the tools by which the student surmounts nature and secures self directive power. The "conventionalities of intelligence" which he believed made these goal attainments possible were:

Harris recognized the school as a product of society and, in terms of the educative process, ranked it as less important than the family, church, community, and state. As a Hegelian, he accepted change as a by-product of necessity and contended that the dominant school role was one of preserving the past cultural heritage and adjusting the individual to society. Further, the school was not an agent for guiding and adjusting to societal transitions; rather, it must prepare the individual with indispensable powers of adaptation and adjustment to meet evolutionary exigencies.9

Harris' philosophy, without sacrificing the American ideals of self help and \textit{laissez faire}, lifted the individual to a higher plane. Charged with idealism, he justified the existing order by declaring that whatever is, is right. He rationalized the victory of nationalism, imperialism and industrial capitalism by insisting that true individualism is realized only by supporting the individual to existing institutions. He confirmed class arrangements but obscured them by idealizing class collaboration for the realization of an ethical and spiritual whole.10

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10\textit{Ibid.}, p. 347.
To assimilate necessary concepts of life, Harris recognized five categories of knowledge which he referred to as the "five windows of the soul." Mathematics and geography pertained to man's comprehension and conquest of nature; arithmetic represented inorganic nature and geography represented organic nature. History provided the necessary study of sociological, political, and social institutions and represented man's will. Grammar presented the scientific and technical study of language, eventually leading to logic and psychology and represented man's intellect. Literature represented man's sensibility and included study of the literary works of art. All five constituted a well balanced education.

Harris considered these subjects the "tools of thought" which, through the educational process, induced by self activity, changed the individual's original nature into a spiritual nature. Man's original nature includes animalistic urges and tendencies and life becomes a struggle to transcend from the animal level to a spiritual level - to a spiritual nature, one of ideals and first principles. These will be fully discussed later in this chapter. These tools help man master the realms of nature as well as those of mind. The individual must familiarize himself with the ideas that form his civilization and these he must use to understand the phases of human life that relate to society's institutions and to civilization's moral structure. This self-estrangement removes the human being's inability to understand and

assists him with interpretation of basic elementary ideas and perceptual
discernment. 12 Through this knowledge, man acquires necessary understanding
to free himself. Harris referred to this thesis as the self-estranged
spirit."

The process of self-estrangement and its removal
underlies all education. The mind must fix its
attention upon what is alien to it and penetrate
its disguise, making it become familiar . . . .
When he has been through the self-estrangement,
he has gained power to objectify his immediate
feelings and impulses, and can understand that which
was before obscure in himself. 13

A re-identification of the individual occurs when the original nature is
transcended to a spiritual nature, one of mental equivalents that becomes
familiar as a result of experience through education. He has now established
a frame of reference to permeate the unknown and is able to cogitate
consciously and rationally as opposed to instinctive and impulsive reasoning.

This doctrine of self-estrangement constitutes the central tenet of Harris' 
educational theory and underlies all education.

According to this theory man has two natures, natural and spiritual.
Spiritual nature represents man's ideal or true self and is only a possibility
in terms of attainment. Spiritual nature opposes natural nature which, by the
process of education, must eliminate animal appetites, passions, whims, and

12 W. T. Harris, Psychologic Foundations of Education (New York: D.

13 Ibid., p. 289.

14 W. T. Harris, Psychologic Foundations of Education (New York: D.
caprice to obtain freedom of thought and moral purpose. Man must realize the possibility of infinite unfolding and achievement of the spiritual attributes of intellect, and will power. Life becomes a series of successive phases through which the individual must pass from primitive states to a state of rational freedom:

There is a continual collision between the will of the individual and the will of the social institutions. The individual is surrounded by the social order as a sort of fate; he must harmonize with it or be crushed by it. Education must estrange the individual from his natural self; must overcome his isolation; must lead him to adopt social customs and to realize his true self. By study and practice, the original nature of the pupil will be effaced and his higher nature re-enforced.15

This theory presupposes that the individual, though born into society, is not a part of society, and it proposes that the main task of education is the acquisition of knowledge from this isolated and limited self, so that the self grows in stature as a participating citizen of society. Development of reason which involves the imparting of broad views, universal ideas and principles, instead of numerous isolated facts must be the intellectual aim of education.

This "self activity" Harris discusses is an essential quality of the mind, a metaphysical principle necessary to interpret the external world. It places effort and work above interest. This self activity to acquire cultural knowledge is, in essence, that the child is originally of one nature and through active education becomes or transcends into something different.

Harris states:

Man is born an animal but must become a spiritual being; he is limited to the present moment and to the present place, but he must conquer all places and all times. Man, therefore, has an ideal of culture which is the destiny or vocation to achieve. 16

Through self activity, a process of self building with God given energy, the pupil acquires education which gradually releases him from the common and familiar and after cultural acquisition enables his return to the world nearest him, to consciously cogitate its problems and solutions. Without this self-estrangement to that which is near and immediate life does not become objective but remains instinctual and implicit. 17 Education, therefore, arouses an active force in the pupil to modify and improve his environment. Imperfect creatures like men participate in this self activity and have the possibility of growing into it by their own free activity. This development comes through further education and further self activity.

The family, society, the state and church are the prime institutions of the spiritual nature and these carry man away from his original nature as an animal. The spiritual nature is self-acting and gradually accumulates knowledge, realizes everything for itself, makes its view of the world, makes its intellectual environment and finally makes its material environment to the extent man has a material environment. 18 Harris describes this spiritual


17 Ibid., p. 289.

nature or human nature:

To Agassiz in the scale of the fish he sees the whole fish and in that scale he sees the whole fish kingdom. And so with a great geologist, seeing a pebble he knows its history, what mountain system it is broken off from, under what glacier it took its present shape — he is enabled to see the whole in a part, and to realize the whole universe in every part of the universe. That is what human nature is. Real nature is controlled by the environment. The individual as he rises into human nature, becomes self-active and overcomes any environment that you may put about him, and looks beyond this to the universal, to see it in a system. So human nature is that self-activity we call the soul, the mind, and which is not going to receive things passively.15

Harris accentuated the divergence between work and play, maintaining in work man gives up his individual likes and dislikes and surrenders himself to particular demands. Work is purposeful while play lacks direction and gives full rein to individual whim and caprice.20 He further believed work was essential to accomplishment in life and that education should teach the pupils to help themselves. As life is real and earnest, a constant struggle upward to reach the goal, education must be real and earnest. It must be based not upon pleasurable interests, but upon work, effort, and self help.21 Work and play, he stressed, should be singularly preserved for their intended purpose in life. If play is suppressed and work imposed upon the child, self-

19Ibid., p. 6.
directive power is weakened. Denying play suppresses character development and education emphasizing play could result in the child treating everything in life with contempt. The necessity for play is in the function it serves: in play the child acts selfishly, while in work he suppresses his subjective inclination for the production of what is useful for others.  

It is not to be understood that play can be utilized and made into work, not that play can be dispensed with in the life of the child. If serious occupation is made into childish play the result is that the stage of irrationality is prolonged. If play is suppressed and serious tasks imposed upon the child beyond his ability, the elasticity of youth is broken and a mechanical drudge, is developed. The necessity of play to children is found in the function it subserves: in play the child acts directly for himself while in work he suppresses his own subjective inclination for the production of what is useful for others. Play and work should be carefully preserved.  

Work insures the acquisition of culture, the preservation and interpretation of our institutions and their progressive development as new conditions arise. Hence, man finds his problems of life to consist in the origin of ideas and the organization of the world guided by their meaning. Consequently, man creates his cultural heritage and civilized institutions. In this, man, the individual, realizes the existence of a totality which transcends his individual existence and recognizes that the institutions endure for generations.  

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23. Ibid.

To learn this culture, man must study literature, history, and language and also obtain the highest life through art, religion, and philosophy. This acquisition of the highest form of culture develops true individuality, an inward sensibility of self. Harris recognizes this essential as the immortality of man and expressed it thusly:

Education is emancipation, but in a two-fold aspect; on the one hand it emancipates the newly born individual from his naturalness, his mere animality, his subordination to appetite, and to merely external laws; this it does by subordinating him to the use and want of human laws and customs, -- by civilizing him; on the other hand it emancipates him spiritually by giving him insight -- aesthetic and religious. . . .

The enlightened individual conforms to the conventional usages of society -- the net-work of moral, social, political, and religious observances -- because he sees their necessity to the realization of spiritual life, and not from mere habit or blind custom.25

This realization establishes true individuality and self-recognition. Harris asserted that the immortality of man begins with this self-recognition and becomes more defined with the recognition of the self as persistent.26

This idea he explains:

It is only in this latter species of knowing that the soul comes to recognize itself in its true nature, and it celebrates this fact first in religion as a knowledge of God as Creator and Redeemer of the world.27


27Ibid.
Harris separated life into the developmental stages of childhood up to and including the sixth year, youth, and maturity. At six, when the child enters school, he must acquire the accepted standards of intercommunication and expectations of the culture. Harris believed in early character formation, affirming that changes occur at the ages of six and seven, between kindergarten and school age. This character transformation is marked by more regulated attention upon the outer world as the child begins to be a real person, and to feel himself as such. The first experience of independence is demonstrated initially in play with material objects. As the developmental stages unfold, activities become more progressive and purposeful.

With four essential ideas of Hegel: self, self-estrangement, self-activity, and the ages of man; and, with Hegel's dialectic method, Harris attempted to establish pedagogical theories, methods, and daily administrative school practices which, in his opinion, would lead to the possible attainment of the immediate and ultimate goals of the educative process. These goals, as Harris saw them, were to fit the child to take his place in society and to make him feel that he has a common interest with all other individuals. The child learns to surrender his good fortunes, and by producing for the good of all, produce for himself. By making the common ideal the object of his striving, each individual contributes to the institutions that make up his civilization. Harmonious coexistence and socialization were direct aims of


29Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending August 1, 1876 (St. Louis: Slawson and Company, Printers, 1876), p. 116.
his educational system.

Education had a dual purpose: first, the social, which qualified each individual as a member of society; and, second, the elevation of the self to higher standards of conduct. Harris accentuated the social purpose, because this affirmation established that individual welfare can come only through the welfare of the social group.

Harris contemplated the ages of man in relation to the social institutions of family, school, and vocation. The institutions of the state, business, and the church he said would predominantly prevail in the selection of a vocation. He explained:

The first stage of this educative process we call that of nature. It lasts from birth to the age of five or six years, and is the education which the family gives the child. . . . The school performs a very important function when it provides knowledge of the technics of intercommunication, and makes familiar the elementary ideas of human institutions.

After school comes the education of one's special vocation.30

Whenever acculturation occurs, there develops the school, as auxiliary to the family, and introductory to the state, the church, and organized society. The more refined and structured a civilization the more intricate its patterns and conventionalities - the more comprehensive its organizational make-up hence, too, the more significant the school, as a defined instrumentality

exclusively organized to train the unfledged and inexperienced for practical functioning in this complex democratic way of life.\textsuperscript{31} Harris avowed that the school, as an independent agency, cannot produce the education of the family, church, state, and organized society. It is an often reiterated fallacy, he said, "to demand of the school all kinds of education: education for trades and business, education in religion, education in politics and statesmanship, education in habits which the nature of the family should supply.\textsuperscript{32}

In Harris' educational hierarchy, the church was regarded as the dominant educational establishment, because it disclosed the ultimate cause to man, that of the Creator of the world. In this relation, the church reveals the origin of man and the inevitable power which determines the course of events in nature. In subsequent writing he states the church commences into the mysteries of the beginning and destiny of man and of his relation to God.

It is no finite or temporary ideal of man that is furnished by religion, nor is it an ideal of character that should have national boundaries. It relates to the essential nature of man as \textit{man}, and concerns life here and here-after. As religion has furnished the ultimate ground of all obligation, and founded morals (or the code of conduct between man and man) - in short, all education of the will - so, too, it has instituted and preserved intellectual education; in all early civilizations the priestly caste alone has access to knowledge.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{31}"The Church, The State and the School," \textit{North American Review}, CXXXIII (September, 1881), 216.


\textsuperscript{33}"The Church, The State and the School," \textit{op. cit.}, 222.
For fifty years Harris made "that German philosopher Hegel speak English"31 to American educators through his reports, lectures, articles, and writings. Harris' idea of self-activity toward cultural acquisition is the key to understanding and explaining institutions of family, state and church. Harris contended all occurrences and events had mental equivalents and that matter was the representation of spirit. "Thought alone makes life valuable and has power to protect and preserve it."35 To him, the highest forms of self-activity in man are the mental processes which transcend the world of experience and understanding, and synthetically provide sequence and regulation to interpretation and conviction. They go beyond sense training, which is only a first step or stepping stone to organized knowledge, to the idea of a first cause.36 Roberts elaborates:

Individuals, therefore, partake, to an extent of the nature of God. There is an ascending order of beings, through plants and animals to man, each order manifesting a new state of self-activity and self-consciousness. Man partakes of the nature of God in a higher sense than other beings. He has the potentiality, not necessarily the actuality, of complete freedom and of definite progress toward perfection. His ultimate destiny is immortality.37

The philosophy of Harris confronted the past, but a considerable number of his


36Ibid.

ideas are viable and responsive to the present. These will be discussed in the ensuing chapters.
SUMMARY

In the area of philosophy, Harris applied the principles of Hegelian Idealism. His postulates were two:

I. The charters of the American concepts of social and economic organization

II. The philosophy of Hegel

He helped design the structure of the public schools and provided practical solutions to everyday educational problems while adhering to deep reaching philosophical ideals and ideas. He translated Hegelian philosophical principles into logical and systematic organization and structured in concurrence with his thinking, the conduct and action of those who heard him. His contention that democratic education must be good enough for the best and cheap enough for the poorest was fundamental. Harris maintained that an ignorant people can be governed but only a wise people can govern themselves. He secured support for universal American education, acting as a catalyst and interpreter, fighting for tax supported and publicly controlled schools of a non-sectarian nature. Through his annual reports, speeches, and definitive expository articles, he set the pattern which public education was to follow.

Harris believed in the supremacy of reason and the individual's right to direct his destiny. He forcefully contended that the member of society who contributes to the good of the group contributes to the good of the self. His persistent application of Hegelian philosophy to every phase of life along with his demonstrated working principles constitute a precious inheritance to the American people.
CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION

Chapter IV will describe the manner in which Harris functioned as an administrator. This chapter examines Harris' administrative leadership and his methods of transmitting the cultural essentials which he deemed educationally important. Only selected aspects of his educational theory and practice are described in which administrative policy was fixed and where specific recommendations were advocated. They include:

1. Educational Support and Control
2. Aims of Education in a Democracy
3. Institutional Organisation
4. Kindergarten
5. Elementary School
6. High School
7. Higher Education, Post Graduate Study and A National University
8. Science
9. Separation of Church and State
10. Vocational Training
11. Co-ed Education
12. Education of the Negro
13. Libraries
14. Evening Schools
15. Corporal Punishment

16. Normal Schools

These areas are analyzed and compared with modern educational theory and practices. Subsequent chapters develop other aspects of Curriculum, Staff, Students, Teachers, and Methodology. These categories are investigated in detail in an attempt to describe Harris' techniques, terms, methods, and administrative theories and practices within the school system which in his opinion would lead to the possible attainment of the immediate and ultimate goals of the educative process.

EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT AND CONTROL

The system of public education constituted the major educational effort of the American people in the twentieth century. This system is predicated on the conviction that the educational process is established and maintained to perpetuate, foster, and strengthen basic democratic principles. This belief was derived from the assumption that human intelligence is capable of providing order for human affairs and that each individual in a democracy has a duty to participate actively and intelligently in the regulation of his social order. To promote such participation, educational means must be provided, which increase capacities and develop potentialities of every citizen and concurrently advance and improve society. Education must make the individual responsive to the requirements of the social institutions under which he lives. It must include institutions that develop character formation, intellectual enlightenment, and also train the individual's emotional and aesthetic qualities. These institutions are the family, civil society, state, and church. They must
be available to all regardless of economic status, social strata, geographical location, ethnic extraction or religion. Universal education, dedicated to the attainment of public goals, must also be publicly supported. It is generally accepted today that the state and the Federal government have the right to provide educational facilities by means of taxation. Property taxation for support of free universal education is now generally accepted as one of the better methods of educational support. In this vein Harris commented:

The public school is the instrumentality designed for the conservation of true democratic principles. It protects one class against another by giving an opportunity to the children of all classes for free competition in the struggle to become intelligent and virtuous. An aristocracy build on the accident of birth, wealth, or position cannot resist the counter influence of a system of free schools wherein all are given the same chances.

To eradicate caste distinctions in the community, is, perhaps, the most important function of the public school system. Homogeneity of population is the great desideratum for free institutions—but homogeneity on the basis of educated intelligence, and not of illiteracy.1

Another principle of American public education is that of public control. All forms of public education, from the smallest rural school to the largest state university, are under direct or indirect control. This control may be evidenced directly in the form of the educational program; or indirectly, through the election of officials whose policies might influence public education. The state is the chief administrative unit in public education and

It was the work of many years to convince the masses of

accepted.

public school because the teaching before the final acceptance was

to exercise the rights of democratic government. The struggles for these
be also has the right to demand that all others shall be educated, if they are
not only does the citizen have a right to demand the privileges of education;
but also education as the object of all government. Further, it is contended
that education would preserve democratic government and introduce
repealed laws.

American Public School was to break down caste distinctions. This theme was

It was here that one of the principal functions of the

stated. "There, too, provided the share of opposition to the broad trend free

established in practice.

Each of these principles had been contended in every state before becoming

is currently assumed greater control and claim the larger financial support.
apathy, religious jealousies and private interests.\(^5\)

Problem areas of public school administrative policy developed. These areas have been delineated to establish the definition, advocacy and leadership proposed by Harris.

AIMS OF EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRACY

In his writings, Harris specifically attempted to enumerate his educational aims. In describing his curriculum and methodological procedures, his practices were justified in terms of the eventual behavioral and attitudinal outcomes that the program and methods were to achieve. He regarded educational aims to be a process of conscious evolution and recognized the school as the most rational and reliable agency by which man could work out his destiny in harmony with the will of the Divine Being.\(^6\) Further, he said social needs would dictate the aims of the school:

The requirements of the civilisation into which the child is born determine not only what he shall study in school, but what habits and customs he shall be taught in the family before the school age arrives, as well as that he shall acquire a skilled acquaintance with some one of a definite series of trades, professions or vocations in the years that follow school; and, furthermore, this question of the relation of the pupil to his civilisation determines what political duties he shall assume and what religious faith or spiritual aspirations shall be adopted for the conduct of his life.\(^7\)

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Harris related education to social development and regarded schooling as preparation for complete living, and not merely for occupational adaptation. He recognized the school as the agency to furnish these necessary qualifications for a complete life. It was a foundation on which the individual could build, master self-direction, while recognizing social obligations through practiced habit patterns. The school preserved society and the conditions of civilized living were the focus of education. He regarded the idea of community sharing and participation as the most important concept in educational philosophy. First, make the pupil a participating member of society and second, introduce him to the fundamental ideas of civilization through personal conviction. 6

The first aim Harris described as initiating the pupil into the technicalities of intercommunication with his fellow men. The second was to familiarize him with ideas underlying civilization which were necessary tools of thought to observe and understand the phases of human life as they relate to human institutions, 9 science of society, and to the moral structure. He asserted that stability in democratic government depended upon this knowledge and education of the masses was the indispensable element of a functioning democracy.

All the evils which we suffer politically may be traced to the existence in our midst of an immense mass of ignorant, illiterate, or semi-educated people who assist

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in governing the country, while they possess no insight into the true nature of the issues which they attempt to decide. If, in Europe, and even in China, the directive classes are educated at public expense, how essential is that the Republican State shall before all insure universal education within its domain.10

The citizen needs training, cultural acquisition, and action manifested and guided through education to fulfill his political duties. He needs to understand the science of society, the moral structure of civilization, and the elementary ideas essential to interpret life:

We must insist always, that the pupil must do right. We ought always to be sure that he grows in ability to see the right and thus becomes a law unto himself. The task of supplying this guidance is undeniably a difficult one but it must be performed if the schools are to develop individuals who possess social sensitivity and an enduring sense of personal responsibility.11

It consequently becomes incumbent upon society to provide the necessary experiences through formal institutions developed by preceding generations to realize these aims of a democratic society.

INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION

The structure of educational institutions may be analyzed from two distinct perspectives. One perspective refers to the external relationship between various educational units and to the degree of articulation between such units; for example, the kindergarten, elementary schools, the secondary school, and college. In modern educational systems, each stage is in a sense,


preparatory for the next one. The programs of the various levels are interdependent and interlocking and the curriculum of each stage is influenced to a large degree by those institutions contiguous to it. Thus, the kindergarten prepares for the elementary schools, which must prepare students so that they will be able to achieve success in the secondary school. The secondary school must offer, in addition to social demands, some preparation for college-bound students.

The other perspective refers to the internal organization of each educational unit. Grading, the grouping of pupils for teaching purposes, discipline, curriculum, and promotion from level to level until the requirements of the elementary school, for example, are completed, are all aspects of this internal organization. These will be discussed in ensuing chapters.

To effectively demonstrate Harris' efforts in the area of institutional organization, discussion will follow explaining his administrative position from kindergarten to university, during each developmental stage of education. Further explanation with regard to correlated and ancillary problems of education wherein Harris demonstrated direction and guidance will also be discussed.

KINDERGARTEN

Interest in the St. Louis Kindergarten system was generated by an immigrant population about 1850, and was further stimulated by Elizabeth Peabody, of Boston, who opened a private kindergarten in 1860. Harris, who appreciated the value of play in education, recognized that early environmental experiences were important factors in developing a child's personality. He also recognized the gap between the experience of the young child and the work
of the lower grades and the necessity of the kindergarten as a transition between the home and formal school work. For this end, Harris advocated the early initiation of kindergarten into the American public school system. He was cognizant of the fact that a child's school life in the big city was only three to four years and by admitting students one year earlier the length of stay in school would be significantly increased. He expressed it:

    If he (the child) could be properly cared for in school at five years of age, his school life would last five years. This period would suffice to make a durable impression on his life.12

Harris contended that modern education faced the responsibility to civilise the slum population and that the kindergarten would be a powerful contributing factor to providing a solution. His working premise was to establish an earlier influence through a formally structured program as a deterrent to crime and pauperism.

Harris felt the kindergarten would serve both the poor people and the new wealthy people who had risen quite rapidly from one social class to another and during the transition had been unable to care for their children. He stated:

    When I wish to put my ideas on the kindergarten in a nutshell, I say that: The kindergarten provides for two classes of weaknesses that develop in a city community. First, the children of the very poor who lack the virtue of thrift, and do what they can to educate their children into the same weakness. The kindergarten takes them from the street at an early age, and gives them a humane introduction to neatness, cleanliness and social union with their fellows, thus initiating them into civilization. On the basis of self

respect, industry and thrift will grow.

The second class of weaklings which develop are the moral weaklings; for example, those furnished by the class of spoiled children. The many chances for wealth in this country combine to create a class of people newly become wealthy. The time of the father has been absorbed in gaining the wealth, that of the mother in adjusting herself to the new social caste into which she has entered. Their children are precocious in directive power and almost unmanageable by the ordinary tutor or governess. In the absence of parental restraint, they develop selfishness, indulge all their appetites and often die of excess in early manhood. The kindergarten through its mild discipline and facilities for employing these precocious children in work, by means of gifts, occupations and games, succeeds in saving most of them.13

Harris recognised the kindergarten as one effective solution for developing at an early age necessary training of the will. This early introduction to the fundamental character traits of obedience, thrift, regularity, punctuality, industry, respect, neatness, and cleanliness, which were neglected in the home training could now be initially acquired and reinforced. He contended that kindergarten especially provided for the needs of the pauper class, the wealthy, and also benefited middle class children. This program, first introduced by Froebel, and endorsed by Harris, was desirable because it satisfied the needs of the parents, the students, the school system and society.

Harris demonstrated more interest in the subject of earlier admission to school during the first year of his superintendency when he was preparing the school board and the people of St. Louis for the kindergarten:

13W. T. Harris, Manuscript No. 880, "Is The Kindergarten System in Harmony with the Christian Theory of Education?", March 29, 1888.
True, they do not learn there the A, B, C, nor is any book
made use of, with the exception of picture books and
representations of things comprehensible to the mind of the
child, but they are practiced in thinking and the correct use
of the language, separated from all influences of bad morals,
and vulgar, incorrect language; and they enter the schools
with heart and mind in the proper condition—a freshly plowed
field ready to receive the seed which the skillful planter
will scatter. A system of logical training preceding the
public school proves therefore of invaluable benefit. 14

Continuing his argument for an earlier school age Harris, at this time,
based his recommendations on socio-economic grounds. To economise, he
recommended the establishment of morning kindergartens and afternoon kindergar-
tens. This practice which provided for maximum use of buildings and equipment
countered arguments opposing the inception of the kindergarten based on
excessive spending and was so successful it is still utilised today. 15 He explained:

Moreover when it considered that the discipline of the school
room at so early an age will act more potently on the formation
of habits of industry and correct deportment, it will appear
economical to society and just to the next generation. 16

Harris asserted that starting school at seven years of age was late,
because character formation had begun much earlier and this perpetuated a
corrupt influence away from the school since the child usually dropped out at
age ten. Harris argued:

of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending
August 1, 1869 (St. Louis: Geo. Knapp and Company, 1869), p. 81.

15W. T. Harris, "Report of the Superintendent," Sixteenth Annual Report of
the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending
August 1, 1870 (St. Louis: Plate, Gluehauson and Co., 1871), p. 25.

16Ibid.
Some years ago the crowded condition of our schools rendered necessary the passage of a rule discriminating against the admission of pupils under seven years of age. In my opinion this has worked evil in many localities. That pupils as early as the completion of their sixth year, and in some cases as early as the fifth year, should be in school, seems desirable. The mechanical training into habits of good order and industry should begin early. In localities where the tone of social life is not high, the necessity in still greater and children of five years of age should be collected in school. At that age they rapidly acquire habits that are very difficult to eradicate two years later when they come into our schools. . . . That the system of kindergarten education may furnish us some hints in this respect seems probable, and I venture to suggest the propriety of establishing an experimental one in connection with our system of schools, not with a view to extending our system of schools, by the addition of kindergartens themselves, but with a view to the practical adoption into our primary grades of such features of discipline and instruction from them, as may seem better adapted to our purposes than those we now employ.17

Harris continued to enjoin for the establishment of a kindergarten and in 1873, with the assistance of Susan Blow, this was achieved.

The offer of Miss Susan Blow to undertake gratuitously the instruction of one teacher appointed by the Board, and to supervise and manage a Kindergarten provided the Board would furnish rooms and a salaried teacher, was accepted August 26, 1873, and Miss Mary A. Timberlake, one of the primary teachers, was assigned a room in the new building of the De Pere School set apart for the experiment. Under the enthusiasm and eminent practical sagacity of Miss Blow the Kindergarten soon developed surprising results.18

Prior to this, in other parts of the country, a few private kindergartens had been established but the educational significance of this program had not been generated. The De Pere School Kindergarten was the first public school

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18Twenty-second Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending August 1, 1876 (St. Louis: Globe-Democrat Job Printing Company, 1876), pp. 80-82.
Kindergarten to be established. Widely accepted, the Kindergarten experiment was received with national interest. Other cities followed and by 1877 forty-one kindergarten centers were established with thirty-nine directors, thirty-nine paid assistants, and one hundred and sixty-five volunteer assistants.\(^{19}\)

The success of Harris' pioneer kindergarten experimentation is further reflected in these figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Kindergartens</th>
<th>Number of Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1873-74</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874-75</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-76</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-77</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877-78</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878-79</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paid kindergarten teachers increased from 32 in 1876-77 to 131 in 1878-79, while the 150 unpaid in 1876-77 decreased to 65 unpaid teachers in 1878-79.\(^{20}\)

Increased enrollment evidenced popular recognition of the educational value of the kindergarten. Conscious economies reduced maintenance cost and counteracted objections which alleged excessive spending.\(^{21}\)

Harris, by 1879, was able to claim the kindergarten a success, and an accomplishment that merited continuation:

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\(^{19}\)Official Proceedings, Board of Public Schools, St. Louis, I, November 11, 1871, p. 404.


\(^{21}\)Ibid., p. 190.
The entire number enrolled in the kindergarten in the course of the year was 6,915 - 3,176 being boys and 4,099, who belonged to both the kindergarten and primary school and 2,826, who belonged to the kindergarten only. 22

Although kindergarten popularity and usefulness increased, substantial resistance remained. This resistance could have acquired immeasurable force if the experiment proved futile, but Harris exerted the necessary leadership to insure its acceptance and its success, making other cities quick to follow his example. The following quotations summarize the chronology of the kindergarten experiment fostered by Harris:

Whereas, The peculiar form of primary instruction known as "Kindergarten," has had a fair trial in the schools, under the control of this Board; and

Whereas, The educational value of many features of said instruction has been proved to be so great that they ought at an early day to adopt the most practicable plan for consolidating the best features of "Kindergarten" instruction in the first and second grades of our district schools. 23

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Harris advocated the K-5-8 plan and strongly urged for better articulation between elementary and high school. Prior to the inception of the eight grade plan the St. Louis elementary schools were extended through seven grades. At a Chicago meeting of school superintendents in November, 1873, it was decided


23 W. Woodward, Board of Public Schools, St. Louis, Official Proceedings, March 12, 1878.
that an eight year program, one year for each grade, should be implemented. This eight year standard was adopted to insure coverage of desired subject matter and initiated the introduction of the 3-8-1 plan. Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Toledo, Chicago, Memphis and St. Louis, agreed to accept this plan. Harris was present at this meeting and from this day he opposed any future attempts to reduce the elementary school program from eight years to seven years.

Directly related to the elementary schools were "intermediate schools" which were established to provide education for students working up to capacity, but not meeting promontional standards. These intermediate schools, designed to provide talented teachers to supervise and insure proper learning, actually provided a modified upper grade curriculum within the elementary school. This plan was acceptable primarily because of its twofold effect. It relieved the pressure for immediately enlarging the high school and still maintained high school admission standards. This idea was expanded to two schools in 1871 because of the numbers unable to meet high school standards.


26 Fifteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1869 (St. Louis: Missouri Democrat and Jug Printing House, 1870), p. 73.

27 Ibid., p. 103.

28 Official Proceedings, Board of Public Schools, St. Louis, I, June 13, 1871, p. 64.
Results of the first intermediate school summaries indicated that thirty-two students were promoted unconditionally and sixteen students received conditional promotions. These results indicated direct student benefit from this program but also suggested necessary modifications. An enrollment within the intermediate schools increased, high school enrollment increased. To solve the problems of increased enrollment, Harris recommended that establishing branch high schools within elementary school buildings where space was available would be feasible and necessary. He further endorsed elimination of the intermediate schools evaluating their progress as favorable in terms of the talented students but undesirable for the academically slow.

HIGH SCHOOL

In 1871 the people of St. Louis opposed the establishment of a free high school. This opposition, if successful, Harris again forcefully contended, would contribute toward perpetuating a caste society. Harris recognized public education, well informed masses, and a self directed populace (discussed earlier in this chapter) as democratic safeguards. These concepts were

29Ibid.


31Ibid., p. 47.

fundamental to democratic government and Harris emphasized the important role of free public high schools to secure their implementation. He regarded the high school as an institution which completed the study initiated in the elementary school, and set standards for elementary education. High school also provided a strong foundation for college. Harris did not equate high schools with colleges but he did recognize them as first class institutions meeting the needs of many students at that educational level. He emphasized that high school did not indulge in extensive programs, was not a "higher seminary" or anything similar, but was merely a first class school with pupils averaging fourteen years of age intent on completing courses begun in arithmetic, geography, history of the United States, English grammar and spelling. It was not expected that they would be linguists, chemists, architects, historians and authors. He expected the high school student to be sufficiently educated, to be able to enter spheres of practical life and concurrently pursue his cultural studies. He explained:

What may be reasonably demanded is, that they shall have learned how to study, shall have become familiar with the


36 Ibid.
the outlines and fundamental principles of the different branches, and shall be ready to enter our best colleges
and scientific schools, or else to begin life with such
general knowledge, and with abilities and habits of
thought so trained, that they shall be impelled toward all
that is high and useful, and be protected from the baseness
of ignorance. Whether the impulse thus given shall exhaust
itself, or whether it shall lead to high success, must
depend upon the nature of the individual, an accident for
which no human being and no human institution can be
responsible; men cannot build marble palaces of clay.37

High school studies were divided into two programs: Classical and
General. The four year college preparatory classical course included Greek,
surveying, civil engineering and laid great stress on mathematics.38 The
General course, also of four years duration, embraced mathematics and drawing
essential to engineering. Latin, French and German, considered culturally
desirable, were part of the general course. Also, science and literature were
included to insure a balanced program of educational intelligence at this
level.39 These subjects are categorized into Harris' course of study.

Topics Relating to Nature:
- Inorganic--algebra, geometry, plane trigonometry,
  analytical geometry, natural philosophy, chemistry;
- Organic or Cyclic--physical geography, astronomy
  (descriptive), botany, or zoology, physiology.

Topics Relating to Man; or "Humanities":
- Theoretical (Intellect)--Latin, Greek, French or
  German, mental and moral philosophy;

37Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis
Public Schools, 1872 (St. Louis: Plate, Olshausen and Company, 1873), p. 62.

38Ira Divoll, "Report of the Superintendent," Fourteenth Annual Report of
the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending
August 1, 1868, p. 11.

39St. Louis Board of Education Annual Report, 1874-75, p. 60.
Practical (Vill)--History (universal), Constitution of the United States; Esthetic (Feeling and Phantasy)--History of English literature, Shakespeare or some standard author (one or more works read), rhetoricals (declaration and composition), drawing.40

Harris wanted the high schools to have one course of study with some elective subjects. He insisted that the best practical course of study is also best for discipline and learning.

That course which lays the best foundation in discipline and insight for a future "liberal education" is doubtless the best to give the pupil strength of mind and practicability to grapple with the details of business.41

Again the lack of finances prohibited an adequate building program to keep pace with the increasing enrollment. Harris utilized vacant elementary school classrooms to establish strategically located high school branches and to reduce the children's travel time, concurrently providing a solution within the economic framework.42 This administrative technique of using available elementary school space for high school branches as an economy measure is still followed.

HIGHER EDUCATION, POST GRADUATE INSTRUCTION AND A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Harris proposed that higher education should be available to everyone.

40 W. T. Harris, "A Course of Study from Primary School to University," The Western, n.s., II, September, 1876, p. 521-26.

41 Twenty-First Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending August 31, 1875 (St. Louis: Globe Democrat Job Printing Company, 1876), p. 60.

42 Twentieth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending August 31, 1876 (St. Louis: Democrat Lithographing and Printing Company, 1877), p. 98.
He contended that adequate solutions to the many complex socio-political problems needed the close scrutiny of college trained minds. Further, higher education would furnish the formula for these solutions to national problems. He opposed the accepted concept that colleges were exclusively for doctors, lawyers and clergy maintaining that those engaged in providing the essentials—food, shelter, clothing for daily living also needed college training. 43

To secure more effective articulation between high school and college, Harris focused his attention on curriculum revision. The high school, discussed in the previous section of this chapter, presented a dual curriculum with the selection of electives geared for college under close supervision. Harris' subject matter recommendations are included in a course of study for college.

**Topics Relating to Nature:**
- Inorganic—analytical geometry, spherical trigonometry, differential and integral calculus, physics, chemistry, astronomy, (etc., elective).

**Topics Relating to Man; or "The Humanities":**
- Theoretical (Intelect)—Latin, Greek, French or German comparative philosophy, logic, history of philosophy, Plato or Aristotle, Kant or Hegel, (or a representative of ancient philosophy and also one of modern philosophy);
- Practical (Will)—philosophy of history, political economy and sociology, civil and common law, constitutional history, natural theology and philosophy of religion;
- Ethical (Feeling and Phantasy)—philosophy of art, history of literature, rhetoric, the great masters compared in some of their greatest works: Homer,

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44Ibid., 150.
Sophocles, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Philidias, Praxiteles, Skopas, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Mozart, Beethoven, etc.45

This course of study was well rounded, adequately combining humanistic and naturalistic studies, including intellectual studies, the emotional, the aesthetic and ethical aspects of human nature. Harris also emphasized the importance of the formulation of fact producing principles by conception, generalization, and reasoning, instead of the memorizing of unrelated facts. His attempt is reflected in this course of study. One limitation of significance is the uniformity between high school and college. Differentiation and modification between the high school and college course of study would be supported by the small percentage of college bound students.

Harris supported cultural education from kindergarten through college and also advocated post graduate study as a necessary essential of an extensive education. Further, he recognized the need for special schools in agriculture, medicine and mechanical arts as early as 1879, but maintained that these should be pursued after cultural education has been completed.46

He explained:

There should be a fourth stage of education, that of the university, quite beyond the education of the college, and its characteristics should be those of specialization and original investigation.47

45W. T. Harris, "A Course of Study from Primary School to University," The Western, II (September, 1876), X, 521-28.


With regard to a national university, Harris, at a National Education Association Convention, as early as 1874, claimed that such an institution was necessary. Harris regarded prevalent college instruction as conservative and inadequate, maintaining that many subjects such as literature, history, law, sociology, political science and the philosophy of science were not properly covered. Harris avowed that a national university would: (1) elevate college standards, (2) supply more competent teachers, (3) avoid excessive lower grade emphasis on the natural sciences, and (4) remove the public schools from the limiting influence of the ultraconservative colleges.

SCIENCE

Harris recognized the value of organized science and introduced new educational practices in this subject area to the schools of St. Louis. E. P. Cubberly explained:

Under the influence of William T. Harris who became superintendent of schools in St. Louis in 1867, an important change was made from the scattered object lessons on all sorts of scientific subjects to a much more logically organized study of different sciences. He published, in 1871, an extremely well organized course of study for the orderly study of the different sciences, and one thoroughly characteristic of his logical mind. Due in part to his high standing as a school superintendent, and in part to his course of study being a marked improvement over the English-Oswego object lesson work, this type of course of study was widely copied, became very popular in our schools for the next generation, and did much

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48 Addresses and Journal of Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1874, p. 83.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.
to introduce science instruction into our schools. Oral lessons in physiology were also introduced into all the grades, and this subject, due to its importance soon tended to separate itself off as a new study.51

Although he stressed the importance of the three "R's," Harris was also convinced of the necessity of incorporating science into the curriculum to meet demands for increased technical knowledge warranted by socio-economic conditions. Herein was his theoretical foundation that scientific study should have a place in the public school.

He advocated an abbreviated time allotment for science - one hour a day, once a week, and suggested that science be presented as a diversion from other subjects.52 This abbreviated exposure, Harris contended, would provide the interpretive essentials to understanding basic scientific concepts. Further, these basics would present technical terms and scientific language necessary for interpretation of periodical literature. This knowledge would reveal the important position and function of science in everyday life - without it, the student would remain a scientific illiterate.53

Harris initiated science into first grade with plant study and during the

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53W. T. Harris, "Industrial Education in the Common Schools," Education, VI (June, 1886), 609.
second and third year he recommended animal study and physiology of the human
body. Beyond the third year he suggested studying experiences fitted for
realistic living. 54

These suggestions are reflected in the Syllabus Outline of Lessons in
Natural Science made in 1877:

First Year -- Outlines of botany;
Second Year -- Outlines of zoology and physiology;
Third Year -- Elements of physical nature and natural
philosophy. This completes the subject
of natural science in its most general
aspect. A second resolution of the
spiral brings us through each of these
topics with a more stringent method and
with more explicitness of detail;

Fourth Year -- Botany systematically studied;
Fifth Year -- Zoology, physiology and hygiene;
Sixth Year -- Natural philosophy and astronomy;

The third revolution of the spiral course
occupies two years in our course of study;

Seventh Year -- Outlines of geology, the water, meteorology,
the life and distribution of plants, animals
and men on the globe;

Eighth Year -- Natural philosophy. 55

This formal presentation of science teaching into the St. Louis schools
This formal presentation of science teaching into the St. Louis schools was one original educational achievement traced directly to Harris. An innovator in this area, he also designed illustrated lessons, using blackboard diagrams and living specimens. These additions resulted in changing the science course of study and modified subject instruction at all grade levels. The evolved science course of study was followed as a model throughout the United States and it replaced the English-Oswego object lesson because Harris had reduced science teaching to a logical development. Further, he established grade level grouping adapted to comprehension with complete and careful analysis of the different science subjects into structured categories. The Committee on Physics Teaching of the National Educational Association, in 1887, incorporated this course of study into their report.56

Harris' method of teaching science was discussed by Parker:

The difference between object teaching and natural science seemed to be in the degree of classification. Science was conceived "as completely classified knowledge"; hence, the most important thing in instruction was to see that the children learned the classifications. The "syllabus of lessons in natural science" was most formidable, embracing almost everything in "nature inorganic... and nature organic... The technical phases of these sciences were to be introduced, though not so rapidly as to burden the pupils. Good types, or representative examples of the general classes, were to be studied.57


57Ibid.
THE SEPARATION OF RELIGION FROM THE SCHOOL

Another important phase of education in which Harris demonstrated prophetic brilliance was his defense of the non-denominational character of the schools. In this area he was most successful, exerting supreme effort and enduring some of the most underhanded attacks.

An article in the daily papers appearing in the year 1868, heralded a most vicious attack on the public schools in the name of religion. It was charged, children were educated to be radicals in politics and infidels in religion and trained for the brothel or the jail as well as to become enemies of the social order and good government. The Hon. Dr. Charles R. Smythe, a democratic member of the legislature, likewise published damning articles in the Missouri Republican in which he called the Public Schools immoral and dangerous pest houses. He even charged that infanticide, demoralization, divorce, despair, and prison were the consequences of girls visiting the schools. 58

During the first year as superintendent he faced the Methodists, who were unhappy because the Bible was not being taught in the schools; the Presbyterians, who complained that Harris was propagating Irreligion and creating infidels; and the Catholics, who demanded a larger share of public funds for their schools.

Harris met these allegations, demands, and unfounded criticisms with facts, political philosophy, and accumulated knowledge, repudiating them fully and completely. He called the separation of state and church the indispensable principle of Democracy.

Let the community see to it that our public schools are free from sectarian bias of whatever kind, and then the Church, by its appropriate instrumentalities, will best perform its mission. In the purely secular schools are taught those technical instrumentalities (Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, and Grammar) which prepare the pupil not only for practical life, but for religious training as well.59

Harris asserted that the responsibility for education must be divided among all social institutions, and that the separation of church and state was a coveture of individual liberty. This separation, as stated, will insure singular developmental perfection and full realization that the state assists in the amplification of religious principles.60 This moral function can be performed only when the two exist independently and this solution to the problem of separation of church and state can be solved by a study of history and philosophy.61 The public school does not come between the parent and child in matters of individual conscience - it does in fact, attempt to supplement morals and high principles and never demonstrates hostility toward individual religious preferences.62

Harris advocated strict separation of church and state but he also adhered to establishing teachers as moral-religious exemplars:

But the higher virtues -- the 'celestial virtues,' faith,
hope, and charity -- must be taught by example rather than precept, and by the general demeanor of the teacher -- the spirit of his work -- rather than by any special training imposed on the pupils.63

By example, he wanted the teacher to inculcate the moral habits of obedience, respect, honesty, regularity, punctuality, thrift, neatness and moderation. His idea of separation was to remove sectarian support of any kind - to keep the church and state, as much as possible, completely independent. To the extent that moral education provided by the church and the state fundamentally overlapped, he recognized, for purposes of discipline and regulation within the laws of society, that this moral training was not only necessary but extremely desirable.

VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

In addition to successfully initiating the public school kindergarten experiment, Harris also promoted manual training. In St. Louis, as early as 1868, manual training was taught in the O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute under the supervision of the St. Louis School Board. However, Harris at this time was not forcefully supporting industrial education. In fact, in the earlier years of his work as an educator he commented:

The position that I desire to state is, that public education should confine itself to the indispensable accomplishments like reading, writing and arithmetic, and after these to unfolding general principles applicable in all spheres of life, and that industrial education should not pursue any other course. 64


64Fourteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending August 1, 1868 (St. Louis: Globe Democrat Job Printing Company, 1869), 95.
He opposed the introduction of manual training and vocational subjects into the general course of study, because he favored a manual training school as a supplement to high school. Harris contended that manual training was essentially mechanical and rote. More must be learned than machine operation, for this, in effect, enslaves the people. They must develop self-direction and thinking ability to solve cultural problems. Training people for jobs does not achieve this objective and compounds the complex problems of democratic government. Harris explains:

But when compared with the present course of study in the school, it cannot be claimed that manual training opened any new windows of that soul, although it may give a more distinct view from the window that opens toward inorganic nature.65

With time, Harris reconciled his position to industrial education, realizing increasing demands imposed by a new industrialized society made industrial training necessary. He realized there could be no advance in culture without progress in the means of producing wealth and also recognized the fact that lack of proper industrial training contributed toward the prevalence of crime and poverty. More technical training was needed with the increasing use of machinery. In the report for 1870-71 Harris stated:

That productive industry is the instrument of Democracy there can be no doubt. Whenever machinery saves hands from drudgery, it elevates and frees the laborer. The democratic idea of civilization sends forward as its advance guard of legions in productive industry, and covers its flanks with

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65W. T. Harris, Manuscript No. 142, The Intellectual Value of Tool-work (Address, National Education Association, 1889).
the all-powerful engines of inter-communication—the railroad, the steamship, the telegraph.66

Expanding industrial capacity was recognized as essential to a developing country, but, Harris also recognized, even more, the necessity for a well informed, self-directed populace. He equated this concept with the idea of self-preservation, and regarded it as essential to secure man's immortality. He cautioned against over-emphasizing industrial focus:

But if the ruling classes of society are impelled by a desire to continue in power, to furnish to the people education of an industrial kind only, they certainly mistake the means of realizing their purposes. It is not by such means, that the monarchial idea can be preserved and defended much longer. Man will not submit to be educated simply as a director of machinery and instrumentalities of industry. He soon aspires to direct himself and to be self-governed. . . . Not only mechanical directive power shall be taught in the people's schools, but also spiritual directive power.67

Harris alleged that machinery tended to remove some of the undesirable aspects of simple manual function related to dull vocations. It freed the worker from the drudgery of uninspiring work and had an elevating effect on society. He accepted specialized industrial training but he insisted that cultural education was vital and should never be sacrificed despite industrial needs. In industrialized education he recognized progressive development of classes and eventual evolution toward acquiring culture.68

67 Sixteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending August 1, 1870, (St. Louis: Platte, Olshausen and Company, 1871), p. 93.

To capsulate his thinking on manual training, Harris established a priority and order relating cultural studies and manual training.

There remains, notwithstanding, a permanently valid place for the manual-training school side by side with apprentice schools for all youths who are old enough to enter a trade, and who are unwilling to carry on any further their purely cultural studies. Cultivate the humanities first, and afterwards the industrial faculties. . . . Above all, we must never yield to the economic spirit that proposes to curtail the humanizing studies in our schools for the sake of adding special training for industries.69

Harris favored industrial education that trained the worker's individual directive power. With self-directive ability, the worker acquired culture, solved new problems and readily adapted to a diversified industrial society.70 Harris recognised these as building blocks to strong democratic government and asserted that a trade or vocation was a small part of the total life function. Education must provide the other essentials that make life a success or failure.71 It must provide an educated directive power as an essential prerequisite to develop the necessary qualifications for vocational adaptation and adjustment to different and more useful job changes.


CoED EDUCATION

Harris favored coeducation on the theory that discipline, and hence, moral growth was greater when both sexes were taught together. He commented that the manifestation of indecency was attenuated by a more watchful atmosphere created within "mixed" schools.72 He believed that realistic everyday experiences demonstrated that men and women must work together exchanging ideas and problems. These ideas and problems Harris stated, are not restricted to one sex; they are universal,73 and a complete education must include exposure to both sexes. He asserted that under these conditions discipline would improve and incivility dissipate. Further, co-education reduces female learning by rote with equivalent reduction of male formalization. Boys would progress faster in literature and girls more quickly in mathematics. He explained:

Each sex testing its strength with the other on an intellectual plane in the presence of the teacher, each one seeing the weakness and strength of the other learns to esteem what is essential at its true value. Sudden likes and dislikes, capricious fancies and romantic ideals give way for sober judgments not easily deceived by more externals. This is the basis of that "quiet self-possession" before alluded to, and it forms the most striking mark of difference between the girls or boys educated in mixed schools and those exclusively for one sex.74


73 Ibid., p. 105-106.

74 Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending August 1, 1870, St. Louis: Plate, Olshausen and Company, 1871, p. 19.
Convinced that the social role of the American woman was an expanding one, Harris asserted that equality of opportunity should be based upon functional ability rather than sex.

Out of social changes arises the necessity of modifications in our system of education. The demand of women for equal advantages in education with men is not a mere temporary demand arising out of the sentimentalism incident to the epoch, but only an index of the social movement that underlies our civilization. The demands of the woman of the present day are such as to compel her to educate herself in science, art, and history. Her natural proclivity to versatility and alertness of mind fit her in a peculiar sense for the sphere of teacher of children.75

Harris continued to assert that theory and practice had demonstrated the advantages of co-education within certain age limitations. Further, co-education was justified on the basis of: (1) better discipline; (2) improved instruction; (3) economy, because of higher teacher pupil ratios and grouping which resulted.76

EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO

Another significant problem to be resolved at the administrative level was the education of the Negro. In Missouri, 1865, the state decreed that Negroes were to be educated. St. Louis was advanced in this respect having previously permitted Negroes to conduct schools of their own. With regard


to these provisions of the Civil Rights Bill, the St. Louis Board of Education continued to press for amendments, maintaining:

Whereas, the provisions of said Civil Rights Bill would be carried out, work irreparable injury if not total destruction to the public school system in St. Louis, as well as in other cities of our section, and throughout the South, by causing the withdrawal of large numbers of white children from the public schools, and by strengthening the adversaries of public schools to such an extent as to secure the repeal of the public tax by which said schools are supported; there be it Resolved, That on behalf of this board a memorial be prepared by the president and superintendent and directed to the Senators and Representatives from Missouri, urging upon them the importance of immediate action on the premises with a view to secure such amendments to the civil rights bill as shall relieve all schools from the necessity of admitting both races to the same rooms and classes, wherever equal provision has been made for the education of each in separate schools. 77

Harris' position with regard to the education of the Negro was reflected in a quote given by Robert G. Winthrop, the president of the board of trustees of the Peabody Fund in an address, October 1, 1890, to which Harris often referred.

If there be a race problem anywhere, time and education alone can supply its solution. But time without education will only render it the more insoluble. Continued ignorance is a remedy for nothing. It is itself the disease to be cured and eradicated. Free common schools with industrial, agricultural and mechanical departments attached to them, and with all the moral and religious influences which can be brought to bear on them... these seem to me

77 Official Proceedings, Board of Public Schools, St. Louis, I (June 9, 1874), p. 340.
the great need, if not the one and only thing useful, for the countless masses of colored children of the South at this moment.78

According to Harris, racial problems were approached with this philosophy and solutions were based on this religious principle.79 Harris further believed that man's needs dictate his intellectual education and contribute to individual development. People must be educated to secure self-direction and self-discipline, requisite for national safety.80 He reflected:

Thus, religion, which states the deepest principle of our civilization, is confirmed by the scientific, political, and social movements of our age, and all agree in this supreme doctrine, that the lowest must be lifted up by the highest, - lifted up into self-activity and full development of individuality.81

Further - the Negro should be educated because education makes possible his self activity and individual participation. Harris regarded education, intellectual and moral, as the means to help the Negro help himself. He contended that other forms of aid would enervate the beneficiary and create dependence while education develops self respect, fertility of resources, knowledge of human nature, and aspirations for a better way of life. He added, that any help that does not help the pupil to help himself, is excessive.82

78W. T. Harris, "The Education of the Negro," The Atlantic Monthly, LXIX (June, 1892), 721.

79Ibid., 722.

80Ibid.


82Ibid., p. 721.
Harris recognized the school as the solution to provide the Negro with necessary education to produce intellectual training and to discipline the will. Here the pupil learns obedience to the social order. The school constitutes a small community in which many immature wills are combined to prevent one from dominating another. Subsequently, the individual helps the group and the group helps the individual. Thus, the pupil learns by seeing student effort at mastering the lesson and by hearing the teacher's explanations. Fundamentally, this intellectual training is characterized by a mastery of the 3 R's.

These considerations Harris deemed essential to civilize the intellect and will of the Negro pupil, giving him the necessary power to comprehend the inner springs of action that move the faces. Further, they provide the directive power which subsequently leads to self government. This also develops the groundwork for industrial training, which Harris accepted as the Negro's necessary skill to manage machinery and make himself useful to the community in which he lives. 83

Harris contended that the Negro would be valued as a citizen when intellectual education and industrial education were acquired. In this sense he meant industrial education to be school instruction in arts and trades as applications of scientific training. 84 Harris summarized his thinking on this subject:

83W. T. Harris, "The Education of the Negro," The Atlantic Monthly, LXIX (June, 1892), 729.

84Ibid.
With the colored people all educated in schools and becoming a reading people interested in the daily newspaper; with all forms of industrial training accessible to them, and the opportunity so improved that every form of mechanical and manufacturing skill has its quota of colored working man and woman; with a colored ministry educated in a Christian theology interpreted in the missionary spirit, and finding its auxiliaries in modern science and modern literature, - with these educational essentials, the Negro problem for the South will be solved without recourse to violent measures of any kind, whether migration, or disfranchisement, or ostracism. Mutual respect for moral and intellectual character, for useful talents and industry, will surely not lead to miscegenation, but only to what is desirable, namely, to civil and political recognition. 85

LIBRARIES

Harris was instrumental in providing leadership for public acceptance of libraries. Administratively, he recommended more uses for libraries and advanced policy to complete book supplies, increase references, and generally provide more library facilities. As early as 1865 he was a member of the Board of Trustees and remained a member until 1868, when the Public Library of St. Louis was transferred to the care of the school board. The prime reason for this organization and support was to supply high school students and teachers with free reading and reference materials.

Initially, an annual charge of twelve dollars was exacted for drawing library books. This expense, moderate as it was, denied some students the right to library membership. Harris suggested free membership for attendance, behavior, punctuality, and scholarship for regular evening school enrollments. These opportunities to self-improvement and free library membership were

85Ibid., 736.
realized by students in excess of 1,000 every year. These procedures substantially contributed to the growth of libraries in the St. Louis area. 86

Harris intended that the library should supplement classroom instruction:

The use of the library in a system of schools is so obvious that it wins ready assent. But it is so great an instrumentality that we must confess, that all this far achieved is as nothing to which should be done, and without delay. A close connection should be established between the daily school work and the use of the library. It should be the task of the teacher as much to direct properly the miscellaneous reading of the pupil as his studies in school. 87

Harris became acquainted with a system of cataloging used in the city of Boston. In 1871, seeing certain advantages to cataloging, he designed an improved plan for cataloging the books of the St. Louis Library and published writings explaining and advocating this new system. Harris' work was accomplished prior to the inception of the Dewey Decimal system of 1876, giving marked evidence of pioneer quality. 88 A comparison of the two systems indicates basic similarities.


87 Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1871 (St. Louis: Plate, Ollhausen and Company, 1872), p. 112.

88 Kurt F. Leidecker, "The Debt of Melvil Dewey to William Torrey Harris," The Library Quarterly, 15, April, 1945, 199-212.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>0-99</th>
<th>100-199</th>
<th>200-299</th>
<th>300-399</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2-5</td>
<td>6-16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theology</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Social and Political Science</td>
<td></td>
<td>17-</td>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>26-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jurisprudence</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>29-31</td>
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<td>32-34</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Science</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philology</td>
<td>400-499</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Science</td>
<td>500-599</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>41-45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Useful Arts</td>
<td>600-699</td>
<td></td>
<td>59-63</td>
<td>64-68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine Arts</td>
<td>700-799</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>66-68</td>
<td>69-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prose Fiction</td>
<td>71-78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature</td>
<td>800-899</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>80-87</td>
<td>88-96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography and Travels</td>
<td>97-99</td>
<td></td>
<td>98-100</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biography</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appendix</td>
<td></td>
<td>89</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Evidence of Harris' library work is reflected accordingly:

From that day ... this institution grew rapidly and well, under the fostering care of Dr. Harris, who ever remained its best friend and strongest advocate, and whose greatest contribution to its usefulness was the classified catalogue which he prepared when its volumes had reached about twenty-four thousand in number. It was a remarkable digest and organisation of all literature which proved of incalculable usefulness to the reader in the search of what the library contained for him, according to the testimony of its first librarian, the late John J. Bailey. This, in connection with an alphabetical index, prepared at the same time by Dr. Harris was rendered even more practicable by the introduction of a card catalogue, suggested by that at the University of Leyden. 90

It is manifest that much more can be done than has been, to utilize the libraries collected, and that it would also facilitate their increase. I would call special attention to the effort of Hon. Wm. T. Harris, the able superintendent of public instruction of the city of St. Louis, to render more useful the public school library of that city, by his essay on the system of classification, published in the catalogue of that library. 91

In 1894, as Commissioner of Education, Harris mentioned the increase of libraries in the United States as an indication of marked progress toward the goal of the public school to inspire its graduates to continue their education by reading books and newspapers. He reported the existence of more than 4,000 public libraries, each containing more than 1,000 volumes.

90 Francis E. Cook, "William Torrey Harris in the St. Louis Public Schools," Fifty-Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis for the Year Ending June 30, 1910, p. 36.

Harris interpreted the function of the school to teach reading and delineated the library function to furnish reading material. In a democracy, he recognized the literary sources, especially libraries, as requisites for perpetuating education. Harris asserted, that the school library had a more direct influence on the prosperity and expanding developmental capacity of the city of St. Louis, than any other division of the public school system.

EVENING SCHOOL

To supplement the limited education of countless immigrants, who left school early to become salaried employees, special classes were organized and taught by regularly assigned teachers. These classes were primarily to augment the language subjects of reading and writing, important to mastering the English language, a problem of specific concern to the predominant numbers of German people in St. Louis. Harris' solution to this problem was to offer evening instruction in practically every elementary school in the city. During the 1871-72 school year he included sixty-four evening sessions, of two hours duration, to an enrollment of 4,000 students. This program,


94Official Proceedings, Board of Public Schools, St. Louis, I, November 11, 1871, p. 107.
although limited to students over twelve years of age, was so successful that enrollment in 1872-73 increased to 8,000.95

Harris regarded the evening school as the most effective measure of providing for a growing immigrant population needing Americanization and necessitating some way of transmitting the American culture. This technique of supplementary instruction is still utilized in school systems throughout the country, for basically the same purpose.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Harris believed that corporal punishment in the public schools would eventually be abolished. He said:

In this connection it is worthy to remark that the system of corporal punishment generally employed is likely to go out of use altogether before the close of the century. Any review of its history developed earlier and earlier with each succeeding generation, and corporal punishment should give place to punishments of honor as soon as this sense develops. Honor is the feeling of the recognition of one’s essentiality on the part of the community. To be deprived of this recognition is a keen suffering to most American youth above the age to enter school. Suspension from school is a means of punishment based on the sense of honor in pupil and parent, and also on the desire of the latter for the culture of his child. Municipal authority in the shape of truant and vagrant regulations must be relied on to supplement a mild school discipline, and special reform schools, in which the spirit of military discipline prevails, will train into mechanical habits of obedience those who are morally too weak for the common school.96

95Eighteenth Annual Reports of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1872. (St. Louis: Democrat Lithographing and Printing Co., 1873), p. 16.

He cited Chicago as a progressive city where school discipline was adequately maintained without excessive physical force. He noted that the Chicago Board of Education rules permitted corporal punishment but the teacher did not exercise this right. During the 1873-1874 school year only six Chicago cases were reported.

Harris continually opposed physical punishment and disagreed with the theory "that the use of the rod shortens the time requisite for discipline." The best discipline teaches the student to help himself. This instruction makes the pupil a law unto himself. Hence, strictness which is indispensable, must be so administered to generate respect and a desire to obey the law for the law's sake. He regarded the use of force as a deterrent to cultivating self direction and self discipline and admonished that obedience secured by the use of physical force created more problems than it solved. He discouraged corporal punishment but recognized that obedience was essential to learning. As early as 1873 he advocated separating those children who chronically disrupt classroom instruction and made learning impossible:

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97 Ibid.


99 Third Year Book, National Herbartian Society, p. 72.

100 Fifteenth Annual Report, op. cit., p. 80.
Two or three grades of institutions where unruly and dissolute children could be confined and made to learn would be, perhaps, the best remedy. Such children could be sent to these institutions upon application of parents or guardians or by due process of law for vagrancy.101

To improve control he consistently recommended engaging parental support, a change in environment and appealing to the student's sense of honor to produce desirable behavior. Wherever this control was not secured he advocated special schools or classrooms and/or supervision (current educational practices), as the best remedies.102

NORMAL SCHOOLS

In 1855 Superintendent Tice asked the Board of Directors to establish a Normal School which would serve as a model for St. Louis Schools. This was accomplished October 28, 1857, when the first Normal School west of the Mississippi River opened with Richard Edwards, a former assistant secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, as principal.103 Edwards stated the aims of the Normal School:

This is strictly a professional school the chief object of which is to train teachers for the grammar and primary


103 Fourth Annual Report of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1857-1858, p. 16.
departments. The course of study, therefore, comprises a thorough review of the common branches usually taught in the schools, with special references to giving instruction to them.104

Normal School enrollment during the next decade was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1857-58</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858-59</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-62</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-66</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-67</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Up to 1867, only one half the requests for St. Louis teachers were realized. Prior to this Harris participated actively in the Missouri controversy over the establishment of Normal Schools:

The State Teachers' Association at its sixth meeting which was held in St. Louis, June, 1866, appointed a committee to prepare a memorial to submit to the next legislature on the establishment of normal schools. This committee was composed of William T. Harris, Ira Divell, E. B. Neely, George P. Beard and T. A. Parker.105

Harris believed that Normal School training provided a more effective education for teachers:

The advantage of the professionally educated teacher over the others is to be found in the fact that he has been trained to observe methods and devices of instruction. On entering a school taught by another he at once notices, without special effort, the methods of teaching and management and notes defects and improvements if there are any. He is constantly increasing his repertoire of successful devices to secure good behavior without harsh measures, and to secure industry and

104Pigfith Annual Report of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1858-1859, p. 63

critical attention in study. 106

He asserted that the Normal School teaches methodology and unique techniques of instruction and concluded that each individual experiences self-improvement by practice and by the experience of the other teachers. Further, the Normal School used "different methods of preparation for the kindergarten, elementary school, secondary school, college, and post-graduate school." 107 This he prophetically believed, would necessitate a change in methods and fix the Normal School as a necessary part of the educational structure.

Harris continuously struggled to establish the Normal School as a fixture of American education and while he was Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis, the Normal School course of study, 1875, reflected most of the subject areas he recommended:

106 W. T. Harris, "Recent Progress in the Public Schools," Harpers Monthly Magazine, XC (1895), 790.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fourth Class</th>
<th>Junior Class</th>
<th>Middle Class</th>
<th>Senior Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 weeks</td>
<td>20 weeks</td>
<td>20 weeks</td>
<td>10 weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>Reading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiology</td>
<td>Physiology</td>
<td>Physiology</td>
<td>Physiology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td>Algebra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History (General)</td>
<td>History (General)</td>
<td>History (General)</td>
<td>History (General)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography (Physical)</td>
<td>Geography (Physical)</td>
<td>Geography (Physical)</td>
<td>Geography (Political)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometry</td>
<td>Geometry</td>
<td>Geometry</td>
<td>Geometry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Philosophy</td>
<td>Natural Philosophy</td>
<td>Natural Philosophy</td>
<td>Natural Philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>Constitution of United States</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Literature</td>
<td>Theory and Art of Teaching</td>
<td>English Literature</td>
<td>Theory and Art of Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory and Art of Teaching</td>
<td>Theory and Art of Teaching</td>
<td>Theory and Art of Teaching</td>
<td>Theory and Art of Teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Education</td>
<td>Grammar Review</td>
<td>History of Education</td>
<td>Grammar Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoology</td>
<td>Zoology</td>
<td>Zoology</td>
<td>Zoology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>Composition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>Drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>Singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spelling</td>
<td>Spelling</td>
<td>Spelling</td>
<td>Spelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calisthenics</td>
<td>Calisthenics</td>
<td>Calisthenics</td>
<td>Calisthenics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SUMMARY

Regarding education in a democracy, Harris reaffirmed the following:

I. The educational process perpetuates, strengthens and fosters the basic principles of democracy.

II. Every citizen must advance and participate in improving society.

III. Universal education dedicated to the attainment of public goals must be given public support.

IV. All forms of public education should be under direct or indirect public control.

V. Self-determination of the individual is the object of all government.

VI. Social needs shall dictate the aims of the school.

VII. Education relates to the function of social development and that schooling is a preparation for the whole of life.

KINDERGARTEN

I. Early admission to school developed positive environmental factors important in personality development.

II. The Kindergarten program was economically feasible, served the pauper class and also met the needs of the wealthy.

III. Harris forcefully advocated against kindergarten resistance and successfully accomplished the kindergarten experiments which led to their final acceptance, expansion and adoption, not only in St. Louis, but throughout the United States and Canada.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

I. Advocated the K - 8 - 4 plan

II. Worked for better articulation between elementary and secondary schools.
HIGH SCHOOLS

I. Forcefully fought for free public high schools.

II. Pioneered the idea of branch high schools in partially vacant elementary schools.

HIGHER EDUCATION

POST GRADUATE STUDY

A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

I. Opposed the concept that colleges were exclusively for doctors, lawyers, and clergy.

II. Supported cultural education from kindergarten through college.

III. Advocated post graduate study as a necessary essential of an extensive education.

IV. Fought for the establishment of a national university.

SCIENCE

Introduced and provided a systematically arranged course of study in science for the St. Louis School system.

THE SEPARATION OF RELIGION FROM THE SCHOOL

I. Advocated separation of church and state as a cardinal principle of democratic government.

II. Fixed the responsibility for education to be divided among all the institutions of society.

VOCATIONAL SCHOOL

I. Developed the need for industrial education to meet the demands of an industrialized society.

II. Recognized that productive industry is the instrument of democracy.
CO-ED EDUCATION

Favored co-education for better discipline, economy and improved instruction.

EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO

Recognized and fought for providing education and job opportunity for the Negro.

LIBRARIES

I. Established a new system of cataloging books.

II. Recognized the library as a supplement to instruction for the student and as a reference source for the teacher.

EVENING SCHOOLS

Supplemented the instruction of countless immigrants by advancing an extensive evening school program.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

I. Pushed for the early abolishment of corporal punishment in the public schools.

II. Advocated establishment of special classes and schools for atypical children.

NORMAL SCHOOLS

I. Took an active part in the early establishment of normal schools.

II. Recognized the need for special education in methodology for teachers.

A general summary reflecting a critical view of Harris' administrative policies will be included in the final chapter.
CHAPTER V

TEACHERS

During the later half of the nineteenth century a teacher shortage existed, nation-wide in character and not peculiar to the St. Louis metropolitan area. The alleviation of this problem fixed attention on teacher training schools. Prior to Harris' incumbency as Superintendent of the St. Louis Schools, steps had been initiated to establish a normal school for teacher training (discussed in Chapter IV) to help counteract this shortage.

Arguing from an economic viewpoint, Harris urged the expansion of Normal School facilities to meet the teacher shortage problem. According to his theory, the importing of teachers from eastern cities to fill teacher vacancies was more expensive than training native midwesterners. Following Harris' insistence on having teachers prepared in Normal School, the Board improved Normal School facilities.\(^1\) Further, he inspired additional teacher instruction beyond that imparted by administrators and enjoined continuance of the work of the St. Louis Teachers' Association.\(^2\)

\(^1\)Sixteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending August 1, 1870 (St. Louis: Plato, Wahlhausen and Company, 1871), p. 15.

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 189.
However, despite Normal School replacements, teacher supply sources in St. Louis could not meet the demands. The population increased but demands for needed qualified school personnel could not be met, despite this increase. It became necessary to establish liberal personnel policies, adequate salaries and fringe benefits to recruit out of state personnel from school systems where similar problems and shortages existed.

These problems were partially created by professionally sub-standard working conditions. "They earned less than policemen and after twenty years of service were paid less than a clever clerk."³

Out of the $500 which they earned during their first year they were expected to pay $2 monthly for carfare and stationery for notifying parents of the fact that their children were truant, $9 - 10 for laundry, and $32 - 40 for board. At one time the Missouri Republican wrote:

It must indeed be regarded as a great honor, that after a teacher's exit from this mundane, that august assemblage, the Teachers' Association, shall put on elongated faces, and, with the Board of Education, pass a vote of assent to a parcel of formal and false resolutions of intense grief concerning one of whom half of them had never known. It would be more fitting that the public sit in sackcloth and bewail those victims whom their perniciousness has murdered outright.⁴

To overcome these conditions, as early as 1871 Harris fought for higher salaries. The 1871 salary schedule reflected male assistant pay for High


⁴Ibid.
School instruction to progress from $1,500 for the first year to $2,000 for the fifth year, increasing each year for five years by $100 increments - far from adequate.  

Selectivity where special skills were needed, especially where higher salaries were demanded, necessitated establishment of a "Committee of Examiners". This was carried to completion by rule 79 of the Board of Directors in 1872. Committee responsibilities included evaluating applicants, completing records, reporting results and compiling statistics to the Teachers' Committee in accordance with prescribed regulations. Harris considered the committee selection of teachers to be professionally acceptable and best designed to meet educational needs. He worked to perpetuate its function:

The best method that I know of is to have a standing committee of three to six members, say about one fourth of the entire membership of the Board called a Teacher's Committee, and have the teachers appointed by this committee, acting in conjunction with the superintendent. The superintendent should have the most to say regarding the appointment of teachers, but he should share the responsibility with a committee.

Normal School graduates were accepted as teachers, without additional

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5. Official Proceedings, Board of Public Schools, St. Louis, I (June 13, 1871), p. 67.


7. Ibid.

8. W. T. Harris, Manuscript No. 605, "On the Methods of Nominating Teachers".
However, policy specified that demonstrated teaching ability, while filling vacancies, was requisite before being permanently assigned. Forty per cent of teaching assignments in 1872 were from out of state. This further intensified the need for more liberal personal practices and higher salaries. Continuing his struggle against the problem of adjusting teacher salaries, the salary schedule of 1875 reflected these improvements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Year's Service</th>
<th>Second Year's Service</th>
<th>Third Year's Service</th>
<th>Subsequent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third Asst.</td>
<td>$700</td>
<td>$800</td>
<td>$900</td>
<td>$900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Asst.</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Asst.</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Assistants of the Central High School</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>1,900*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fifth and subsequent years, $2,000.

Throughout his incumbency as superintendent and even during the last years of his life he concerned himself with teacher morale and teacher salaries. He advocated recognition of experience, length of service and

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9Official Proceedings, Board of Public Schools, St. Louis, I, (June 13, 1871), p. 67.

10Official Proceedings, Board of Public Schools, St. Louis, I, (December 10, 1872), p. 166.

advanced education. Harris regarded teachers as a professional class of people and believed that adequate salaries were necessary to preserve professionalism and to foster morale and thus maintain teacher stability. Salaries must be graded to reward character, skill, and successful instruction, by promotion from the ranks to the administrative positions in the schools and to the highest salaries. This grading based on skill and learning saves the best teacher talent from transferring. Further, it preserves the professional spirit of the school and transmits unique instructional techniques and effective discipline procedures to less progressive teachers within the system.\(^\text{12}\)

Salaries remained the crux of Harris' strategy to stabilize teaching as a profession.

Harris explained:

Economy in salaries is a matter that should be regulated by the question of "supply and demand." An indiscriminate reduction in a schedule of salaries usually has the effect of making a corps of teachers disheartened, and of driving away the best ones to seek positions elsewhere. The few teachers of experience and tried efficiency occupy the positions with less salaries. But there are sufficient higher positions to reward the faithful and meritorious. The teacher of energy and ambition does not ask for a large salary during the first years of her trial, but looks rather to the possibility of rising by efficient work.\(^\text{13}\)

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\(^{13}\)Twenty-first Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1875, (St. Louis: Globe-Democrat Printing Company, 1876), p. 35.
Harris advocated equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex. It was his contention that the salary paid should be attached to the position and not to the person. He drew new talent to St. Louis by professional manipulation despite a teacher shortage. Thus, George B. McClessan, who received in Virginia $900 a year, was called to St. Louis at $1,500. Anne C. Brachett of Charleston, S. C. went from $800 to $2,000 by transferring to one of Harris' schools.¹⁴

Harris considered the complete mastery of the five windows of the soul (discussed in Chapter 3) as fundamental to a desirable teaching background. He urged that national association teacher meetings be held to discuss the classics of literature and art. In a Concord lecture on "Landscape Painting" given in 1882 he spoke of art as a means of attaining the infinite."¹⁵ He appreciated poetry and recognized in his publication on Dante that certain great poems showed the operation of a supreme principle.¹⁶ He regarded knowledge of past leaders who demonstrated a fundamental diversity of thought to be a positive moral force to the teacher. He expressed it:

On both sides therefore, - on that of the scientific thinkers who follow the lead of Darwin, Compte, or Herbert Spencer, as well as on the side of the great thinkers who trace their pedigree to Aristotle and Plato, - we who have the direction


of education, as teachers or supervisors of school, are urged to the study of its history, its process of development.\textsuperscript{17}

He recommended diversity of reading material to stimulate the teacher and supplement his understanding of past educational reforms, maintaining that present practices could be improved by more informed professionals.\textsuperscript{18} Roberts describes this relationship between Harris and the teacher:

Every supervisor and teacher, therefore, should be acquainted with his (Harris') work, not only to obtain information and to be able to interpret and criticize present practices intelligently, but also to become inspired by his (Harris') high ideals and noble purposes.\textsuperscript{19}

Harris' earnest desire to improve educational standards and the character of reading of the teachers was recommended consistently in his writings. He constantly urged upon teachers the value of becoming acquainted with cultural ideals as expressed by the greatest writers in all fields. He mentioned as great masters, Homer, Sophocles, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Phidias, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Mozart and Beethoven. Further, emphasis was placed on art, architecture, sculpture, painting, music and poetry. Harris said the American Teachers should rise to purer forms than have hitherto been attained.\textsuperscript{20} To help realize this purpose he planned the International Education Series. He

\textsuperscript{17}W. T. Harris, Manuscript No. 847, \textit{The Study of Evolution in Education.}

\textsuperscript{18}W. T. Harris, Manuscript No. 731, Editor's Preface: International Education Series, Volume 52, "An Ideal School".


\textsuperscript{20}W. T. Harris, Manuscript No. 731, Editor's Preface: International Education Series, Volume 52, "An Ideal School".
wrote prefaces for each of the first 58 volumes and rendered a service to educators in general and teachers in particular. To create strong teachers and build good schools, Harris asserted that professional teachers must command a knowledge of psychology, philosophy, history, religion, art and civil law; they must master the details of physical science to elevate the teaching profession to the dignity of other learned professions.21

It is the profound ideas of these educators that must be thought and then allowed to filter through into spontaneous methods modified as circumstances and capacities render necessary.22

To generate these ideas, Harris advocated extensive reading and strongly recommended specific professional writings for intensified acquisition of the cultural heritage.

Harris, with his spirit and hope, infused with idealism, encouraged teachers to hold fast to high ideals and look upon children as having the potential of immortality. To achieve this accomplishment, he recommended exposure to the great ideals portrayed in the masterpieces of literature, painting and other arts.23 He recognized Carlyle as a literary master, stressing that as an author he was the most able to arouse and hold attention to important themes.24 Harris' recognition of Carlyle is further reflected

21W. T. Harris, Manuscripts No. 5, "German Reform in American Education." (Address, German-American Teachers' Association at Hoboken, August 3, 1872).
22W. T. Harris, Manuscript No. 132, "What Should Teachers Read?"
24W. T. Harris, Manuscript No. 132, What Should Teachers Read?
in a list prepared in 1887 to cultivate the literary tastes of teachers and expedite establishment of teaching as an equivalent professional.

Among those writings listed:


2. Carlyle's essay on "The Nibelungen Lied," in this "Miscellaneous Writings."

3. Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner."

4. "Odin," from Carlyle's "Hero Worship."

5. Emerson's poems on "The Test" and "The Solution."


7. Carlyle's translation of Richter's "Dream."


10. Tennyson's "In Memoriam."


17. Chapter on Supernaturalism" in Carlyle's "Sartor Resartus."


20. The first part of Fichte's "Destination of Man," Hedge's "German Prose Writers."


Harris maintained that, reading, comprehending, and re-reading, allowing time for meditation, absorption and refinement, would cultivate a literary taste, creative thought, and an educated, professional personality. His interest in philosophy, art and literature was fundamental to the final attainment of success for the teacher and this he regarded as the key to improve the standards and professionalism of the teacher.

In Indian education and the process of Brahmanical instruction, Harris describes the teacher:

The teacher is honored. He is a Brahmin "devoted to spiritual direction," he is "the illumination, the revelation and exposition." A god to others, he teaches the Vedas, morality in the shape of fables from the Hitopadesa, philosophy, duties, ceremonials, reading, writing and arithmetic to the twice-born boy. As a mark of respect the pupil puts the foot of the teacher on his head, is careful to pronounce the holy syllable "om" to insure right success and learns his lessons by the "monitorial" system. Letters are first written in sand, then with an iron pencil on palm-leaves. One child assists the other in learning, and they all reside with the teacher in a sort of boarding school. 25

24 W. T. Harris, Manuscript No. 132, What Should Teachers Read?

Harris recognized the difficulties of the teaching profession and demanded strong safeguards for the teacher. He recommended shortening the day's work to five or six hours, making a five day work week, and abbreviating the long school year to permit teachers time for rest and study. Realistic in recommending teacher fringe benefits, he advocated an administrative policy which provided funds for fringe benefits and authorized leaves of absence. With the controversial question of teacher pensions, no specific policy was suggested. However, he did provide information to teachers which could be utilized to frame constitutions and to form legislation applicable to pension laws. He contended the teacher must be adequately paid, well read, college trained, and culturally-oriented. Further, he felt that the profession was learned and the teacher must continue throughout life to remain engaged in continuous self improvement. He said:

. . . . the teacher in order to keep himself young and fresh should himself be a learner in at least one specialty. Continuous private studies of his own give him the proper sympathy with the learners under his charge.

26 W. T. Harris, Manuscript No. 43, "Educational Significance of the Centennial Exposition," (Address, State Teachers' Convention, Springfield, Mass., December, 1876.)


Continuing, Harris states:

... that the teacher in any grade of work from the kindergarten to the university needs to have a perennial subject of interest in which he is growing intellectually and morally. Only the growing teacher can achieve the highest results in the school room. 29

**SUMMARY**

Harris pushed for the early professionalization of teachers. He strongly advocated Normal School training as part of a teacher's professional preparation and was one of the first to recommend teacher selection through examination and committee interview. Liberal teacher salary schedules, adequate fringe benefits (pensions, personal leaves, paid sick days, others) were areas in which Harris provided leadership. He presented teaching as a learned profession and required that teachers remain engaged in continuous self-improvement.

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29 Ibid.
CHAPTER VI

STUDENTS

The later half of the nineteenth century, which reflected the teacher shortage discussed in Chapter V, also witnessed the compounded problem of increased student enrollment. This increase was manifested within the administrative hierarchy of the St. Louis School System as it related to the grouping and classification of students, uniform terminology and other ancillary problem categories.

Educational terminology with a common denominator for understanding was particularly lacking. Harris readily perceived the possibility for misunderstanding which existed and proposed early adaptation to uniform terminology within the public schools. He regarded the diversity of the American population and the heterogeneity of the different and necessary school system as definite components contributing to this problem. He explained:

If the reader or listener happens to be acquainted with a radically different system only, his attempt to construe our words results in ludicrous misconceptions. Few people have any idea of the diversity that really exists in our public educational systems in the United States. Not to speak of the difference of public school methods from those of private or parochial schools, one may find variety enough within the public schools to explain how such misunderstandings arise. It is not sufficient to state a system in words which have become technical in a particular locality.
The reader of a different locality will read such words attentively, but will put his own construction upon them.1

Semantics remained a problem within the educational field, especially as it applied to technical and statistical interpretation. Harris, through the National Education Association, initiated an all out effort to disseminate information and to establish a common denominator for educational understanding. He contended that the school system, particularly as it related to terminology, needed revision.

At a time when few administrative guidelines were available to solve these problems, Harris attempted to resolve the need for reform and change.2 He emphasized the necessity for terminology agreement and the dire need for standardizing statistical data.

I do not consider a report complete in any sense which does not give, besides the facts and figures, an account also of the aims and purposes of those who direct or manage the system. Without this it is impossible to read the lessons contained in the statistics presented. So far as possible therefore the meaning of the facts and figures should be sought out and discussed in the light of the ideas which lie at the basis of the public school system.3

Harris pushed for reformed attendance record keeping and as an influential member of a National Education Association on school statistics,


he helped define many of the terms in common educational use:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technical Terms Used in Education—Definitions and Foreign Equivalents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. School age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Compulsory school age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Enrollment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Attendance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Average Attendance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. School year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Length of school year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Elementary instruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Secondary instruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Higher instruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Special schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Evening schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Continuation schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Schoolhouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. School property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Salary of teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Revenue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These common definitions established a broader base for understanding and made for more effective school administration as it related to gradation, promotion, classification and other educational problems.

Harris insisted that classification required flexibility to insure impartial promotions for the undeveloped and continuous development for the progressively intelligent. He indicated that lower grades provide an inexhaustible supply of bright pupils. This continuous development, he reasserted, would insure capacity achievement and eliminate failure caused by discouragement. This concept realized two goals - the bright were not attenuated by the presence of the slow and the slow were not discouraged and stereotyped as failures by the bright.\(^5\) Harris supervised a school system that was divided into four quarters of ten weeks each and included classes through seven grades. He was instrumental in extending this program to eight grades, supplemented by four years of high school. He encouraged promotion or reclassification every three months,\(^6\) believing this would better provide for the sick, the transients, new admissions and the regular students:

The pupil who tries his best and then fails is deeply injured, and is apt to endeavor to preserve his self-respect by some sort of subterfuge.... The root of all bitterness is loss of self-respect; the man or child who goes about thinking himself shut out from participation in the highest by his own natural


\(^6\) In a letter to John S. Roberts, dated February 1, 1917, F. L. Wiley, secretary to the superintendent.
incapacity is like one inclosed in a tomb while yet living.... In the first place, there is difference in capacity; the relative mental endowments differ; tastes differ, and yet in the graded school all are to be compared with the same standard.

Harris also recognized that this procedure could not be applied within the rural schools because the effectiveness of classification and gradation would be affected by limited enrollments. The need for classification within rural schools was unquestioned and the problem presented by this heterogenous group was a constant one for school administrators. Harris recognized that teacher classification in rural schools was ineffective. Consequently, he recommended no classification should be initiated because the pupils never get beyond fundamental application of the three R's. He further recommended consolidating outlying schools into a centralized location, with transportation provided to help solve the problem. This concept is being implemented today - not only in rural communities but within metropolitan areas and is recognized as educationally sound and philosophically acceptable.

Also contributing to the problem of classification was good teaching which increased the range of achievement and emphasized the principle that

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different groups are separate entities and will advance at different rates. He explained:

What I would lay stress on it this: never try to bring the degree of advancement of any two classes or divisions to the same exact standard or to standards exactly a year or multiple of years apart. Rather encourage the organization of classes at intervals of less than a year apart, so that reorganization of classes for economical reasons, or for purposes of better classification may be made at any time without inconvenience. This can be done easily when the classes are only six or ten weeks apart, but not easily when they are a year apart.

Harris defended frequent classification on importance to achieve grade level objectives. He indicated that classification and gradation were also effected by student failures - children emotionally disturbed with atypical behavior and poor study habits. For these children, he recommended special classes. Further, Harris prescribed that talented teachers be assigned to upper grades to assist students to qualify for promotion. (These were discussed in Chapter IV).

As an administrator Harris quickly recognized the dynamics of grade classification and intrinsic weaknesses created by slow students. To prevent talented students from being regulated to lock step annual promotions, he suggested quarterly divisions with intervals varying from six to twenty weeks.

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He asserted that intelligent students would be penalized and experience detrimental habit patterns, unless progressively advanced. Slower students would experience undesirable exposure to overwhelming competition, develop a defeatist attitude and become discouraged as a result of the accelerated pace.

Frequent classification, Harris stated, provides these advantages:

1. Minimizes lost time for slower students because of the shorter grouping interval.

2. Administrative flexibility in classification.

3. Unrestricted rate of advancement for talented students.

Administratively this program reduced mass changes and emphasized outlined advantages with minimized classroom disruption. Teachers could concentrate on ability advancement for the majority and spend less time with those unable to keep pace. Further, the bright advanced by performance, consequently relieving them of rote drilling and repetition. Subsequently, this plan facilitated instruction, assisted the slow learner, and directly benefited the faster students. Student progress was unimpeded and achievement scores dictated class placement.  

Each teacher had two classes with these approximate intervals: eight rooms devoted to grammar school work: thirty pupils in one eighth grade; 70 pupils in three seventh grade classes; 110 pupils in four sixth grade

13Official Proceedings, Board of Public Schools, (St. Louis, I, July 9, 1872, p. 167.
classes; 190 pupils in seven fifth grade classes with an interval from five to ten weeks. This "graded school" indicating rooms, classes, grade of advancement, and enrollment is reflected in the following schedules:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Class - Course of Study</th>
<th>2nd Class - Course of Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Room</td>
<td>Pupils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This system recommended by Harris, had a weakness -- it required that teachers be changed frequently and this, coupled with other administrative factors, led to delayed acceptance of this plan. Compulsory education laws increased retention cases, especially the mentally slow, and this created another educational problem. When the concept of classification which Harris advocated was initiated, the following limitations materialized:

1. Special methods of teaching the slow and dull were necessary.
2. Special time schedules and courses of study were required.
3. Special attention and instruction for the dull was at the expense of neglecting the bright.

Despite the strong, positive aspects of classification emphasized by Harris, general national policy at that time consistently demonstrated class promotions on an annual and semi-annual basis, due largely to the limitations outlined above, and administrative expedience. Today, however, after careful study, good school organization requires that students will be classified according to abilities. Among those classifications presently practiced:

1. Specialized education classes for emotionally disturbed, socially maladjusted, blind, deaf, physically handicapped.

2. Programs of a departmentalized nature so that repetition, if necessary, would be only for given grade or subject.

3. Continuous development, multiple track.

4. Accelerated classes for bright students (enrichment).

These concepts, currently practiced, basically reflect Harris' early ideas. With regard to the limitation of frequently changing teachers, Harris stated that a new teacher presents new techniques, displays a different personality, and prevents the danger of distorting character development. He held this desirable in the lower grades and acceptable in high schools where daily students recitation was practiced.  

Harris classified and formulated the course of study according to student ability and considered modified discipline to meet childrens needs.  

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16 Nineteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1873 (St. Louis: Democrat Lithographing and Printing Company, 1874,) p. 28-29.

continually emphasized the necessity of providing a broad, cultural course of study from kindergarten through college where every student was to be challenged to capacity. Examination to determine qualifications for high school and college were also used and supported by Harris. He recommended their frequent application and cautioned against use extended beyond a year, maintaining:

1. Their value contributed to better articulation.
2. Were useful for student review.
3. Had a healthy effect on the lower school.
4. Were useful in gradation and classification.

**SUMMARY**

Harris' proposals were forerunners of ability grouping and the concept of advancing students based on achievement. He opposed the lock step promotion plan structured by the calendar and advocated several class sections according to ability within grades to maintain flexibility for placement. His rationale regarding "continuous development" was far in advance of educational thought of his time. Further, he recognized that centralizing the educational facility and providing transportation was the answer to gradation and classification of pupils in rural schools. This concept was also new and years ahead.

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18Ibid., p. 56.
20Ibid.
of its final acceptance by public education.

Pioneer quality was also demonstrated when Harris advanced the need for universal terminology to establish a common denominator for understanding educational problems. Acceptance of the examination as a teaching tool useful in review work and essential to better articulation between levels of schooling was another strong classification and gradation technique employed by Harris. He argued against using the examination on a strictly annual basis.
CHAPTER VII

CURRICULUM

To assist effectively the work of the teacher (discussed in Chapter V), Harris believed that the curriculum must be constructed to give the pupil a thorough and practical command of the tools of intercommunication and thought accepted as the conventionalities of intelligence. He regarded these experiences and acquirements as necessary means to directive power and to further self education. These preliminary educational accomplishments reveal to the pupil's mind directional guidance in terms of study and application. To realize these objectives, Harris considered four problems in curriculum development and implementation:

1. What are the purposes or aims of the school?
2. What educational experiences can be provided to attain these purposes?
3. How can these educational experiences be effectively organized?
4. How can these purposes be evaluated?

Harris' rationale similar to Tylers,1 rested on the principle that research will provide information and knowledge necessary in curriculum decision making. The theory draws from three major sources: one, the needs

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of the learners; two, the needs of contemporary society; three, the suggestions
of subject specialists. Examination of the existing social conditions during
the latter half of the nineteenth century revealed a period of rapid growth and
expansion. Reorganization and redirection of education was an imposed
necessity. Assorted factors contributing to curriculum revision included:
manufacturing growth, commercial and industrial expansion, mechanization,
increased metropolitan development, evolving democratic government; expanding
public schools and the reduction of private schools. These evolving
conditions established the need for curriculum revision to meet requirements
of social change. They indicated that subject matter must be taught in terms
of prevailing socio-economic conditions better to adjust the learner to a
contributing role in society. A course of study must be structured to meet
societal purposes or needs. Harris defined these goals:

The education of the school should be considered preliminary to
the education of life; its chief purpose is to put into the
student's hands the instruments which he may use in a life-long
pursuit of culture.  

Since school time is limited for each individual and since many things are
learned better informally than in the school, it is necessary to select care-
fully the educational elements which are entrusted to the school.  

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2 W. T. Harris, "The Proper Place of the YMCA in the Educational Field", Education, XI (January, 1891), 265.

3 "The Education of the Family, the Education of the School", Journal of the American Social Science Association, XV (Feb., 1882), 1.
One criterion should be that the school should teach "only what the pupil is not likely to pick up from intercourse with the family circle, with his fellow-playmates or with his fellow workmen."  

Formal education should include subjects relating to the students' world, and the institutions in which the student will participate. Harris regarded designing a course of study (which he interpreted as the sum total of subject learning experiences in school to which the student is exposed) as educationally important because this design related the student to civilization. It transmitted culture through essentials of history, music, literature, and grammar as opposed to specialized training. The course of study reflected balance between the humanistic and the naturalistic studies. According to Harris the course of study indicates progressive thought, respects the demands of society, the demands of science, introduces new subjects, yet continually emphasizes fundamental subjects.

As chairman of a sub-committee on the correlation of studies in elementary education he was instrumental in structuring the grade school program which introduced algebra, Latin and French or German during the last two elementary school years and represented a direct effort to improve articulation between...

4 Official Proceedings, Board of Public Schools, St. Louis, I, October 10, 1871, p. 96.

5 Ibid.

the elementary and secondary school. Further, it indicates those subjects which Harris recognized as essential for transmission of the cultural heritage and the necessary tools of intercommunication and thought. A time schedule is also included reflecting the amount of time devoted to each subject.
### The Ideal Elementary Course of Study

**Subjects** | **Grades** | **Time Allocated and Variations**
--- | --- | ---
Reading | 1-8 | daily
Penmanship | 1-6 | 10 lessons per week -- Grades 1-2
 |  | 5 lessons per week -- Grades 3-4
 |  | 3 lessons per week -- Grades 5-6
Spelling | 4-6 | 4 lessons per week
Grammar | 1-7 | 5 lessons per week. Oral composition or dictation to middle of 5th grade, textbook instruction from middle of fifth grade through seventh. Composition writing required.
Latin or French or German | 8 | 5 lessons per week
Arithmetic | 1-6 | 5 lessons per week. Oral instruction, grades 1-2; textbook instruction, grades 3-6
Algebra | 7-8 | 5 lessons per week
Geography | 2-8 | 5 lessons per week, grades 2-7
 |  | 3 lessons per week, grade 8
 |  | Oral lessons, 2d to middle of 3d grade; textbook from middle of 3d grade through eighth
Natural Science and Hygiene | 1-8 | Sixty minutes per week
History of U.S. | 7-8A | Five hours per week
General History and Biography | 1-8 | Sixty minutes per week

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>GRADES</th>
<th>TIME ALLOTTED AND VARIATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Culture</td>
<td>1 - 8</td>
<td>Sixty minutes per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocal Music</td>
<td>1 - 8</td>
<td>Sixty minutes per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>1 - 8</td>
<td>Sixty minutes per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual Training</td>
<td>7 - 8</td>
<td>One-half day each week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing, Cooking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DIVISION OF TIME

The following schedule shows the number of lessons each week for each quarter of each year in the elementary schools:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branches</th>
<th>1st yr.</th>
<th>2d yr.</th>
<th>3d yr.</th>
<th>4th yr.</th>
<th>5th yr.</th>
<th>6th yr.</th>
<th>7th yr.</th>
<th>8th yr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>10 lessons a week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>10 lessons a week</td>
<td>5 lessons a week</td>
<td>3 lessons a week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spelling lists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 lessons a week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Grammar</td>
<td>Oral, with composition lessons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 lessons a week with text book</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 lessons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>Oral, 60 min. 5 lessons a week with text book</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 lessons a week</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>Oral, 60 min. 5 lessons a week with text book</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 lessons a week</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Science &amp; Hygiene</td>
<td>Sixty minutes a week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. History</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 les. a wk.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. Constitution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 lessons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### DIVISION OF TIME (CONTINUED)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branches</th>
<th>1st yr</th>
<th>2d yr</th>
<th>3d yr</th>
<th>4th yr</th>
<th>5th yr</th>
<th>6th yr</th>
<th>7th yr</th>
<th>8th yr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General History</td>
<td>Oral sixty minutes a week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Culture</td>
<td>Sixty minutes a week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocal Music</td>
<td>Sixty minutes a week - divided into 4 lessons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>Sixty minutes a week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual Train. or Sewing &amp; Cookery</td>
<td>One-half day each</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of lessons</th>
<th>20-7</th>
<th>20-7</th>
<th>20-5</th>
<th>24-5</th>
<th>27-5</th>
<th>27-5</th>
<th>23-6</th>
<th>23-6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daily</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>daily</td>
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<td>exer.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total hours of recitation</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>23</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>16 1/4</th>
<th>16 1/4</th>
<th>17 1/2</th>
<th>17 1/2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Length of recitation</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Begins in second half year.

Report of Committee of Fifteen, 1895, 93-94.
The course of study for secondary education proposed by Harris indicated the same "five windows of the soul" discussed in Chapter III. Further, it demonstrated his emphasis for balance and the necessity for close articulation between schools.

The college course of study is included to project Harris' recommendations in terms of subjects in relationship to higher education. It develops the treasure of literature, history, and the fine arts, all the spiritual inheritance of the race incorporated into one unified, balanced course of study.

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GENERAL COURSE OF STUDY FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL

Topics Relating to Nature:

Inorganic -- Algebra, geometry, plane geometry, analytical geometry, natural philosophy, chemistry.

Organic or Cyclic -- Physical geography, astronomy (descriptive), botany or zoology, physiology.

Topics Relating to Man: or "The Humanities":

Theoretical (Intellect) -- Latin, Greek, French or German, mental and moral philosophy.

Practical (Will) -- History (Universal, constitution of the United States).

Aesthetical (Feeling-Phantasy) -- History of English literature, Shakespeare or some standard author, rhetoricals ( declamation and composition), drawing.

The arrangement of courses according to year of school was outlined as follows in 1875:

First Year: Latin, algebra, physical geography, rhetoricals, drawing.

Second Year: Latin, algebra and geometry, natural philosophy, rhetoricals, drawing.

Third Year: Latin or French or German, chemistry and physiology (each one-half year), geometry, universal history, history of art.

Fourth Year: Latin, or French or German or Greek, trigonometry (one-half year), constitution of the United States, history of English literature, Shakespeare or Milton (one-half year), botany, zoology or geology (one quarter or one-half year).

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9Nineteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools, 1873 (St. Louis: Democrat Lithographing and Printing Co., 1874), p. 84.

GENERAL COURSE OF STUDY—COLLEGE

Topics Relating to Nature:

Inorganic -- Analytical geometry, spherical geometry, differential and integral calculus, physics, chemistry, astronomy (etc., elective).

Organic or Cyclic -- Anatomy and physiology, botany, zoology, meteorology, geology, ethnology (etc., elective).

Topics Relating to Man: or "The Humanities":

Theoretical (Intellect) -- Latin, Greek, French or German, comparative philosophy, Logic, history or philosophy, Plato or Aristotle, Kent or Hegel.

Practical (Will) -- Philosophy of history, political economy and sociology, civil and common law, constitutional history, natural theology and philosophy of religion.

Aesthetical (Feeling-Phantasy) -- Philosophy of art, history of literature, rhetoric, the great masters compared in some of their greatest works; Homer, Sophocles, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Phidias, Praxiteles, Skopas, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Mozart, Beethoven, etc.

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These courses of study at different levels emphasized the importance Harris attached to the sensitivity of man and to the aesthetic values in literature, and other art forms. Correlated studies, related to one another, were psychologically related to the student to realize capacity development, to assist adjustment to social institutions, and to secure intellectual emotional, and moral refinement. This correlated course of study introduced the student to the world in which he lived - his spiritual and natural environment. It directly related him to civilization through the selection and orderly sequential arrangement of subject matter and it developed worldly insight and command of individual resources. Through the "five windows of the soul", Harris represented a symmetrical presentation of organized and interrelated knowledge as a living active unit.  

Harris opposed specialization in any school lower than university, as the courses of study indicated. He demanded classical studies and developed a course of study emphasizing cultural values. Classical education results, according to Harris, in discipline, culture, exactness of thought and refining influence complete with mastery of books.

His interpretation of classical education emphasized the instruction in Greek and Latin in addition to mathematics and ancient history. Harris asserted that the spiritual evolution of civilization was transmitted to us through Greece and Rome. He recognized these countries as distinct

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contributors to world civilization and maintained that intellectual appreciation was realized when the mind became "imbued with the classical spirit through the study of Greek and Latin." He believed that the student of Latin and Greek left high school with a double experience - one modern and one ancient, the latter being a key or clue to the former. Harris believed that the acquisition of language familiarity was in some measure, learning to think in it, and view the world after the manner of people who originated the language.

Harris considered mastering the art of reading, and its application to other fields, as the elementary school's prime purpose. He contended that, with reading ability, the pupil could pursue self-study to supplement formal instruction independent from the textbook.

Harris' position on the role of the school is unmistakable. He distinguished its peculiar position to be intermediary between the institutions of the family and civil society.

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14 Ibid., p. 148.
15 Ibid., p. 91.
Whenever civilization develops, there develops the schools, as supplementary to the family, and propaedeutic to the State, the Church, and civil society. The more advanced a civilization, the greater the complexity of its forms and usages - too, the more important the school, as a special institution devoted wholly to the work of training the immature individual for taking part in those complex forms of life. 17

Harris regarded one sided subject area emphasis as an educator's administrative shortcoming. This, he maintained, would tend toward arrested development. Education should remove self concentration and reveal the greater surrounding civilization, 18 and this, he avowed, was accomplished through a balanced symmetrical course of study covering needed subject areas. His course of study perceptibly influenced elementary school instruction in this country and was imitated by many superintendents in other large school districts.

In 1894, Harris approved the Report of the Committee of Ten, which recommended four programs:

1. Classical Program
2. Latin Scientific Program
3. Modern Language Program
4. English Program


Table IV of the Report of the Committee of Ten

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASSICAL</th>
<th>Three foreign languages (one modern)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YEAR I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>5 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Geography</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>20 p.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>5 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German (or French) begun</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometry</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>20 p.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>5 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German (or French) (Geometry 2)</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics (Algebra 2)</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>20 p.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>5 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German (or French)</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table IV (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Credits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trigonometry &amp; Higher Algebra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 p.

* In any school in which Greek can be better taught than a modern language, or in which local public opinion or the history of the school makes it desirable to teach Greek in an ample way, Greek may be substituted for German or French in the second year of the Classical programme.
Table IV of the Report of the Committee of Ten (Continued)

**LATIN-SCIENTIFIC**

Two foreign languages (one modern)

**YEAR I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>5 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Geography</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>20 p.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**YEAR II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>5 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German (or French) begun</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometry</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botany or Zoology</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>20 p.</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

**YEAR III**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German (or French)</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics (Algebra 2)</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Geometry 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astronomy ½ yr. &amp; Meteorology ½ yr.</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>2 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>20 p.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**YEAR IV**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin (as in classical 2)</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (additional 2)</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German (or French)</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trigonometry &amp; Higher Algebra</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geology or Physiography ½ yr</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatomy, Physiology, &amp; Hygiene</td>
<td>20 p.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table IV of the Report of the Committee of Ten (Continued)

MODERN LANGUAGES

Two foreign languages (both modern)

YEAR I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Credits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French (or German) begun</td>
<td>5 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Geography</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 p.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

YEAR II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Credits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French (or German)</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German (or French) begun</td>
<td>5 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometry</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botany or Zoology</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 p.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

YEAR III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Credits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French (or German)</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German (or French)</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics (Algebra 2)</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics (Geometry 2)</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astronomy ½ yr. &amp; Meteorology ½ yr.</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>2 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 p.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table IV of the Report of the Committee of Ten (Continued)

MODERN LANGUAGES (Continued)

YEAR IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Credits</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French (or German)</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(as in Classical 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(additional 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German (or French)</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trigonometry &amp; Higher Algebra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geology or Physiography (\frac{1}{2}) yr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatomy, Physiology &amp; Hygiene (\frac{1}{2}) yr.</td>
<td>20 p.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table IV of the Report of the Committee of Ten (Continued)

ENGLISH

One foreign language (ancient or modern)

YEAR I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin, or German, or French</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algebra</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Geography</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:** 20

YEAR II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin, or German, or French</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3 or 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometry</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botany or Zoology</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:** 20

YEAR III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin, or German, or French</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(as in others 3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (additional 2)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Algebra 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics (Geometry 2)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astronomy ½ yr. &amp; Meteorology ½ yr.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(as in the Latin-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History (Scientific 2)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(additional 2)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total:** 20
Table IV of the Report of the Committee of Ten (Continued)

ENGLISH (Continued)

YEAR IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin, or German, or French</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(as in Classical 2)</td>
<td>4 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (additional 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trigonometry &amp; Higher Algebra</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geology or Physiography $\frac{1}{2}$ yr.</td>
<td>3 p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatomy, Physiology, &amp; Hygiene $\frac{1}{2}$ yr.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 p.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These, he suggested, were adequate to meet the needs of most students.

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20 *Proceedings of the National Education Association*, 1891, p. 500.
Harris opposed the acquisition of myriads of facts (faculty psychology) as a poor substitute for acquiring necessary culture derived from fundamental studies in regular sequence.  

He regarded language, reading, writing, & grammar, as fundamental to school discipline, and established obedience as an essential purpose of the public schools. His course of study recognized change and flux, and maintained standards to meet the demands of society. The course of study was fluid and not rigidly fixed to a calendar to prevent mass grade advancement related to achievement. He introduced science as a curriculum change and advocated an eight year course of study, rather than seven years, in the elementary school. He contended the curriculum should

21 Fourteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending August 1, 1875, St. Louis: Globe Democrat Job Printing Co., 1876, cxxvi.


aim at all culture - towards giving the pupil the wisdom of previous
generations. 28

Education must relate first to citizenship, the production
of the human being that can live peaceably in our civilization
and combine civilly with his fellow men; secondly, to the
intellectual mastery of the scientific view of the world;
thirdly, to the mastery of the technical matters that go to
make a living. 29

Harris' course of study has withstood the test of time, undergone modification
and listed some new subjects, but essentially it remains intact because it is
based on fundamentals and balance.

However, this course of study evidenced some limitation. Stated in terms
of knowledge, "the five windows of the soul", it omitted the essentials of
activity. Methods were directed primarily to mastering knowledge, without
adequate stressing activity of expression. Also, Harris over-emphasized
knowledge of the past. Traditional subjects became entrenched and were
retained beyond meaningful value. This focused attention on the past rather
than the necessary study of the present and the future. A full course of
study, including geography of remote places, Colonial Wars, & bank discounts,
precludes the introduction of new subjects such as physiology, personal
hygiene, science of electronics, and automotive shop, necessary to competitive

28 W. T. Harris, "Should Colleges Lower Their Standards of Admission?"
Education, XVII (June, 1897), 581.

29 W. T. Harris, "International Education in the Common Schools,"
Education, VI (June, 1897), 581.
living.

Harris was a Hegelian, a conservative, and opposed revolutionary type changes. He was slow to change but quick to recognize that civilization demanded flexibility to realize its purpose. Consequently, he required that his course of study retain some flexibility. This, he asserted, would insure that the fundamental reason for its design, transmitting the cultural heritage, would be achieved. The crux of the discussion would be - did it change often enough?

He cautioned against impulsive changes and formulated a series of principles as an evaluative criteria for any proposed adaptations. He required stability to protect the children from well intentioned theorists, instant educators and self seekers. To further add permanency, he developed his course of study as a coherent totality, without one sided subject emphasis. He opposed permissive elective selection and maintained that substituting organic nature subjects for those relating to man would create uneven developments.

As long as these electives are so arranged that the symmetry of the course of study is presented and each department is represented in a proper manner, there is no great injury done to the pupil. But if a branch of study relating to organic study is substituted for one relating to man, much harm may result. 30

Harris neglected to emphasize manipulatives; concrete materials to assist the senses with interpretation. He relied heavily upon the textbooks and the

acquisition of knowledge at the expense of activity expression. This criticism is based largely upon the argument of Harris being too literary and too abstract.

Discussing formalized grammar was also given high priority by Harris. This emphasis of using grammar as an aid to correct speech and writing was overstressed. Current scientific study indicates that the ability to speak and write correctly results more from imitation and application of proper reinforcement than from deliberate analysis. The new techniques of using tapes and sound booths with a variety of audio visual equipment to implement direct, individual and natural conversational methods registers rapid and effective progress. This indicates that formal grammar is not necessary to speak a language correctly and fluently.

Despite these discussed limitations Harris' course of study was more than adequate:

Certainly, the course of study formulated by Dr. Harris, so well balanced between conservatism and progressiveness in its essential principles, harmonizing the sociological and psychological values of the subjects, emphasizing those topics that relate to life, and subordinating those that lead to life, and subordinating those that lead to mechanical memory, drill and routine, revealing all the heritage of society on the one hand and appealing to all the phases of mind on the other, is a most important and valuable contribution to education.

One test of educational theories is their success when applied practically on a large scale. Judged by this stand, Dr. Harris' course of study has been eminently successful. 31

SUMMARY

Harris regarded the course of study as the design, whereby the learner relates to civilization. He planned it to be systematic, applicable to various educational levels, wide in scope with sequential development meeting the psychological and sociological needs of the learner. Articulation between levels was stressed and electives were introduced only under close teacher supervision. Vocational training was suggested as a supplement rather than an integral part of the course of study, which considered the demands of science, but continually emphasized the value of fundamental subjects. Harris' rationale for a course of study is adequately summarized by Roberts:

Civilization grows by the participation of each individual in the work of all. The inheritance of the race, the accumulated treasures of the millions and millions of people who have labored through countless years, is laid at the feet of each successive generation. This inheritance has many forms, literary, artistic, scientific, institutional, mathematical, religious, etc. It is the function of civilized society to transmit this inheritance in its manifold forms to the coming generation. It is the duty of each generation to master this inheritance, to take an active part in social life and to make its own additional contribution to the wisdom of the race.32

Harris recognized the course of study as a necessary planning component for this cultural transmission. His priority listing of educational problems ranked the course of study as first in importance.

CHAPTER VIII

MOTIVATION AND THE LEARNING PROCESS

The analysis of Harris' educational theory has thus far considered his best philosophy, the sources of educational authority to which he ascribed, and his views concerning the role of teachers and administrators in the educative process. Harris made an additional contribution to nineteenth century education by examining, describing, and offering solutions for the motivational and disciplinary problems that continually arose in the teaching-learning process. In his writings, he provided lengthy recommendations for the encouragement of various types of learning. The subtleties of psychological terminology and the complex conceptual scheme that are an integral part of contemporary educational psychology were prophesized in Harris' program. His writings revealed his definite awareness of the forces which energized and directed behavior and of the fact that learning results from teacher-pupil interaction toward a common goal. Consistent with nineteenth century views of education and the learning process, the problem of motivation for Harris revolved around providing the necessary stimuli within the individual to promote desirable intellectual and effective behavioral responses.
Harris demanded:

.....that there be a short but intense school life - the youth therein learning how to use the printed page, and to master readily its contents - then at an early age, a busy life, each one mingling in the wholesome atmosphere of civil society, and contributing to the productive industry of his time.¹

Harris was regarded as a leader of the movement to reject the old psychology - the so-called faculties of the mind - and to develop a new psychology based upon child study.² He believed that the mind was a totality, a unit of interrelated process, some reinforcing others, some inhibiting or restricting the activity of others. The concept of separate, independent categories, each supreme in singular fields was totally unacceptable. He accepted the explanation that higher powers, reason and insight, could be explained by tracing the history and genesis of lower processed. These elemental or basic powers were transient and should not be considered the goal of education. The higher powers, which include the lower, give us concepts, universals and world views - they must be the goal of the singular aspects of memory, perception, recollection, reason, insight or understanding. This strength is derived from the whole functioning as a unit.


According to Harris:

1. All people had a right to an education and should be schooled to gain in material wealth and cultural wealth.

2. A new element in education was necessary, recognising that the mechanical methods of teaching, particularly those exclusively cultivating memory were definitely inadequate.

3. The developing method of instruction was good, especially as unfolded by Froebel and Pestalozzi.3

In affirming his support for universal education, Harris expounded:

To the first position I most heartily subscribe: Not only the moral and religious duty of giving the means of the highest culture to the young, but the exigencies of political economy urge us to the same conclusion. Further, than this one may assert with all boldness, that since the Franco Prussian war, the question has been settled for all time that no state can neglect the education of her citizens except at her peril. Moreover, the higher education is essential to the lower, and for the development of directive intelligence, essential to the powerful state.

To the third position I assent so far as to endorse most heartily the systems of Froebel and Pestalozzi. The school education should commence quite early and that its guiding thread should be drawn from the psychology of play, I am fully convinced. Especially in our cities and among the lower strata of society, there is no agency half so potent as the kindergarten and there should be enough of them to provide all with free admission and do not feel so decided as to the age; I am inclined to think that public kindergartens should make the limit four years of age instead of three years, and that the system should be modified somewhat so far as to adapt it to the district school course, which is to follow it. The Pestalozzian Method, in so far as it relates to what is spoken of as die Entwickel Inde Methode des Unterrichts is unquestionably the true method and will never yield place to another. Its foundations lie in the dialectic method to which it corresponds, and indeed we might almost prefer to call this famous method the Socratic, in as much as Socrates used it

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3W. T. Harris, Manuscript No. 5, "German Reform in American Education", Hoboken, N.Y., August 3, 1872.
with such eminent success as to make an epoch in the spiritual history of our race. 4

The question of subject matter was fundamental and he demanded literary classics instead of unrefined, irrelevant content of antiquated reading books. Great significance was attached to language work in opposing the memorizing of unrelated facts, and he urged the method of tracing cause and effect to master science and history. 5 Methods, according to Harris, were processes and alternatives to secure an end and not an end in themselves. Many ways existed to achieve the same goal. All school methodology related to discipline and instruction should be structured to realize the common goal of community living -- socializing and harmonious co-existence. 6 This social development Harris considered the essential aim of educational method and fundamental to education in a democracy. 7

In his discussion of the manner in which behavior is energized and directed, Harris includes as integral elements of the motivational process: the type of environment in which learning best takes place; the force that promotes desirable learning; the manner in which learning is reinforced; the

4 W. T. Harris, Manuscript No. 5, "German Reform in American Education," Hoboken, N.Y., August 3, 1872.


6 W. T. Harris, "The Basic of Education as a Science", The Western, III (May, 1877), 278.

7 W. T. Harris, "The Basic of Education as a Science," The Western, III (May, 1877), p. 278.
emotional aspects of motivation; the role of the applicability of knowledge in motivation, the use of incentives such as rewards, punishment, competition, and finally social approval as factors in the motivational process. In these areas he worked for refinement. He favored a graded system, except in areas where the population segment was too small to make gradation practical. Graded schools replaced the old system and for the first time in St. Louis boys and girls shared coeducational experiences. Harris considered good behavior a necessary pre-requisite to advancement and concentrated early school efforts toward attaining this objective:

The principal objects aimed at in the kindergarten course of instruction are--(1) Skill in the recognition and production of forms. The hand and the eye are disciplined in the most effective manner by the several occupations of cutting out shapes in paper, weaving patterns in different colors, perforating cardboard and working pictures in colored threads, construction of geometrical and other figures by means of sticks and softened peas, modelling of designs in clay, ruling paper and drawing symmetrical figures. (2) The theoretical knowledge of form and number, is trained by the use of blocks representing the elementary geometrical solids; counting, the elementary rules of arithmetic, the use of fractions, are taught by these blocks. (3) Besides this the child is taught valuable lessons in manners. He eats his lunch at the table spread in a proper manner, and learns neatness, cleanliness and the conventional etiquette that marks polite behavior at meals. (4) In the games which are played, the imagination is exercised in a lively manner, and the healthful training of the body is secured. The session of the kindergarten usually lasts for about three hours per day, and may continue for one, two, or three years according to the age of the pupil upon entrance. . . . The kindergarten restrains, though in the gentlest manner possible. It furnishes a training nearest approaching that of the family; and is the proper transition from family to school.

8W. T. Harris, "A Course of Study from Primary School to University, "The Western, n.s., II (September, 1876), p. 521.
Harris is characteristically direct and straightforward in dealing with the problem of motivation. Learning, according to Harris, at least in a formal setting, resulted from the interaction between the teacher and students. To promote desirable learnings thus required an interpersonal relationship between students and teacher that was conducive to such learning. This, Harris believed, required teacher knowledge of the student's background and an understanding of the student's problems, his aims, purposes and highest intentions. Harris affirmed that the teacher should engage the pupil's ideals, his better nature, sense of honor and reason to derive maximum results.

Harris noted early character formation during the first seven years of life as important to refine the training of the will and to develop self directive power by early practice of correct habit patterns. He asserted that teaching must be vitalized and that development resulted from motivation. He maintained that an absence of demonstrated ability was directly responsible to a lack of student interest. Motivational devices and unique teaching techniques to arouse pupil interest and create a desire to learn were paramount to the educative process:


With the advent of the professional teacher and the expert supervisor there has arrived an era of experiment and agitation for reform. The general trend of school reforms may be characterized as in the direction of securing the interest of the pupil. All the new devices have in view the awakening of the pupil's inner spring of action. He is to be interested and made to act along lines of rational culture through his own impulse. The older methods looked less to interesting the pupil than to disciplining the will in rational forms. "Make the pupil familiar with self sacrifice, make it a second nature to follow the behests of duty and heroically stifle selfish desires" - this was their motto, expressed or implied. It was an education addressed primarily to the will. The new education is addressed to the feelings and desires. Its motto is: "Develop the pupil through his desires and interests." Goethe preached this doctrine in his Wilhelm Meister. Froebel founded the kinder-garten system on it. Colonel Parker's Quincy School experiment was and his Cook County Normal School is, a centre for the promulgation of this idea. Those who advocate an extension of the system of elective studies in the colleges and its introduction even into secondary and elementary schools justify it by the principle of interest.

It is noteworthy that this word "interest" is the watchword of the disciples of the Herbart system of pedagogy.12

Harris viewed the teacher as a professional expert, a classroom supervisor, and one who directed his efforts toward securing interest and maximum achievement of the pupil. He indicated that students should be aroused and confronted with problems, discussions, and recitation experiences from textbooks and other literary sources. Harris strongly recommended the classroom recitation technique:

The good teacher does not waste very much of his time lecturing to his pupils on the theme of the lesson. He

sets them to searching each for himself, in preparing the lesson. Hence, when the class comes to recitation he has nearly his whole time to compare and bring together results, and need not take up time in merely communicating information.13

The student uses the textbook for preparation and during the recitation sees the subject presentation widen his views through the perspectives of fellow students and the teacher. Critical mental alertness is acquired and progression occurs with new student inquiries and mental reinforcement. Teacher effectiveness used each recitation as an instrumentality for individual reinforcement through group insights.

Harris established the need for motivational techniques and devices and closely scrutinized the effects of mechanical drill coupled with limitations created by over-attention to detail. This concentration on specifics limited the conceptual development of the child, arrested self-directed function and accomplished little except mechanical perfection.15 These repeated practices do not make for mental progression. The first practice was educative, but subsequent repetitions were dull and uninteresting, contributing further toward arrested development.16

13 W. T. Harris, Manuscript No. 309, Class Recitation.


The teacher should be a continual source of new and more effective devices. He sees clearly that each device soon loses its life-giving efficacy. The efficient teacher, therefore, is not the person who merely knows the highest educational principles, but the one who can use these to give life to practical methods, and who can measure such practical methods, and who can measure such practical methods or devices by principles and introduce modifications at the right time, so as to accommodate them to the increasing power gained by the pupil. 17

Harris' methodology established general guidelines and subject area coverage within a large conceptual framework wherein the teacher was permitted to work out the details regarding concepts, skills and values to be derived. He recognized the fact that similar results might be obtained by dissimilar methods and held that energized and vitalized teaching was not concerned with the details of methodology. 18

The teacher during recitation first draws the thoughts of the pupil, his view pertinent to the subject matter and probes beneath the first statements to the more comprehensive phases which indicate understanding. With a few searching questions, that part of the lesson not totally comprehensible is brought into focus. Here the pupil supplements or perfects his view by those of others, who willingly and eagerly add their statements, that which is needed to correct the one sided recitation of the first pupil. 19


It will always happen in getting at this result, that several new phases - not even in the mind of the teacher at the moment - are elicited, all tending to clear up and amplify the exposition. 20

Obedience to the rules of social order was paramount in Harris' evaluative criteria for school success. With a weak will, capricious and vacillating, discipline must be firm and authoritative, implicit obedience must be exacted. In this instance mechanical discipline is indispensable, but as the will develops, more freedom should be granted and more self control expected. It becomes a question of should there be freedom and initiative or prompt unquestioning obedience. One develops desirable conduct, the other, improperly administered, results in arrested development of the will, limiting the opportunity to advance to higher stages. 21 He stressed behavior, order, and attention, to obtain intellectual training, believing this would establish students as contributing members of society. He identified regularity, punctuality, silence, neatness, courtesy, kindness, liberality, truthfulness, patience, self-denial, and industry as desirable personality traits. These, he maintained, are the basis of moral education, industrial success, and responsible living. Without a sense of responsibility one is without moral character. 22 Individual responsibility creates a workable combination and

20 William T. Harris, Manuscript No. 309. Class Recitation.

21 Ibid.

develops individual habits of self-control essential to social effort and social advancement. This same report states:

According to Harris we believe that a child can easily learn the lesson of willing obedience to lawful authority. We would therefore, place him upon the basis upon which he must stand when he leaves our care; under such circumstances alone we can predict that those whose school record is good will make useful citizens.

Harris' philosophy on discipline is discussed:

The school that is strictly disciplined by harsh methods, corporal punishment and the like, may become poisonous to the higher virtues. But the school that is governed by laxity, neglecting industry, silence, and punctuality, is far more deadly in its effects on the character. The martinet system of discipline is moral in so far as it gives those habits of prompt combination with one's fellows, but it is better adapted to galley slaves and prison convicts than to children of the public schools.

He opposed the use of force and emphasized moderate application of discipline tempered by reason to be a mandate for every teacher in the public schools. Each case was to be effectively determined and punishment administered only after other means have failed to elicit acknowledgement.

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24 Ibid., p. 65.


Punishment should be regulated, flexible, and adaptable with regard to the particular case and its attending circumstances and not fixed to rigid, arbitrarily set standards or abstract rules. The demonstrated need for adjusting discipline to individual differences is the most difficult assignment of the teaching profession. 27

In training children, Harris recommended:

Demand obedience by compulsion to external form; (2) drill habits of punctuality, regularity, and silence; and, (3) encourage obedience to government through reason. He felt that if the pupils were treated with consideration, justice, and kindness they would learn to appreciate the necessity of order in the schoolroom. He did not wish the teacher to rule arbitrarily, but through reason. 28

Continuing - Harris explains:

Hence the self-determination of the individual is the object of all government. No doubt an infant can be carried in the arms of the nurse more gracefully and with greater economy of time, but we prefer that he should learn to walk by himself. Such principles as these have penetrated our system of pedagogy. 29

Harris insisted that the pupil be obedient to the rules of the social order. These constitute the basis of self-control within society. Without punctuality and regularity, no combination is practicable and without silence and industry, school work is impossible. Discipline is the developmental


28 Fifteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools for the Year Ending August 1, 1869 (St. Louis: Missouri Democrat Job Printing House, 1870), p. 56.

29 Ibid.
process of training the will away from personal appetite and caprice, to evaluate the stage of impulse to that of moral activity, to occupy the pupil with necessary self-alienation essential to self knowledge, subsequently developing reasoning and understanding.  

The school is the theater in which the transition takes place from obedience to external authority into free action from personal conviction..... Self-rule does not mean arbitrariness, for this is anarchy, or rather, the rule of passion. Self-rule is the government of reason, and implies conviction in place of caprice. Therefore discipline should act on the conviction of pupils.  

Moral education requires time, far more than theoretical education. Where we must do both--give the child theoretical and practical education--we should require the maximum of time in school. In one work, our whole education should aim to give the pupil directive power; he is to be called upon (more than is the case in any other nation) for the outlay of directive power. He must, therefore, be practiced for a long time in self-government, and he must be thoroughly initiated into the social necessity that underlies moral action; he must see principles.  

Harris held the primary factor in education to be obedience and directed the general form of all school work on this foundation. Within the pleasant atmosphere of a schoolroom the will of the pupil experiences confrontation with the higher, more rational will of the teacher, and the pupil yields. 

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30 W. T. Harris, "A Course of Study from Primary School to University", The Western (September, 1876), p. 533. 


In this response to a higher will, the pupil becomes conscious of responsibility. By holding the pupil to a constant sense of responsibility, the school develops a sense of transcendental freedom in the pupil, which identifies him as author of his deeds and holds him accountable. In this respect the school helps change the pupil from a natural being to a spiritual being. Further, when acceptable group standards are established, the norms of conduct realizing efficient functioning of the group will emerge. The student actively participates in the school community and develops further his sense of responsibility. Harris attached extreme importance to this aspect of education:

Moral education is a training of the will and not of the intellect, consequently, it relates to the formation of habits. The duties of (1) punctuality, (2) regularity, (3) silence, (4) truth, (5) industry, (6) and respect for the rights of others.... they form the indispensable background for life.

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33 National Herbart Society, Third Yearbook, 1897, p. 65.


35 Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools, for the Year Ending August 1, 1871, (St. Louis: Plate, Olshausen and Company, 1872), p. 65.

36 Ibid., p. 16.
Regarding methodology, Harris believed the pupil should be trained for self-education and independent study. This obedience must come from free action through personal conviction and reason without external force to generate the necessary self-directive power. Intellectual refinement through mastery of the printed page should be the aim of school and will free the pupil from the teacher's direction and constant supervision to pursue an independent course of developing self-activity, which he regarded as essential to a society wherein public opinion ruled. To Harris the textbook method of instruction was the most direct and effective for initiating the individual student into cultural activities and best secured the emancipation of the individual from the immediate environment and the personal influence of others. This method provided an inexhaustible source of knowledge. Discipline was acquiring moral education and should raise the student to a point where personal conviction completely replaced external authority. Education must direct the individual and produce characteristics of a civilized demeanor which include habits of self-reliance, industry, courtesy, kindness, obedience, respect to superiors, and a sacred regard for the truth. Discipline must make the pupil feel that he is a part of the total school community and that teachers and parents should encourage and motivate and not just criticize and punish. Teachers must direct students to develop a sense of responsibility to fulfill their obligation to the social order. Harris contended, when the school develops learning experiences which are similar to those in real life,
then we can attain those principles which form the foundation for any workable worthwhile way of life.
CHAPTER II

SUMMARY

This final chapter summarizes Harris' contributions to education and presents an overall judgment of Harris as an educational administrator. His strengths, with lasting contributions, and his weaknesses, with recognized limitations, are discussed. The chapter also includes suggestions for further research and study.

Harris' greatest strength was his writing ability. His prodigious literary output contributed to his wide influence. His bibliography contains 479 titles and exhibits a knowledgeable range which covers 13,475 items, primarily concentrated in education and philosophy. Harris once said:

If you have any thoughts to give to the world which you consider of value, get them printed; disseminate them. My own plan of doing this, when I was unknown to the reading world, was to get my essays published, no matter how obscure the journal in which they appeared. I asked no compensation for them, other than a few hundred reprints, which I scattered among those interested in education, art, and philosophy. Before long, authors were sending me their own lucubrations. By such means I established associations and came in touch with the thinking men of the world over.1

Harris' tenacious adherence to this counsel was clearly evidenced by his multititudinous writings. Harris wrote extensively for state and nationally


Another category of Harris' strength was his desire to speak and to attend conferences and meetings. He made himself known among educators throughout the country and received honorary degrees from Yale, the University of Missouri, the University of Pennsylvania, Princeton University and the University of Jena. His convictions with respect to certain educational concepts demonstrated prophetic brilliance. Through his lectures and writings he brought the work and the ideals of the public school to the attention of the people of St. Louis, in particular, and the country and the world in general. His major strengths were adequately summarized by Frank H. Kasson who said of Harris:

Many names are deservedly eminent. . . but when we ask for the most symmetrical man, whose life and teachings touch the educators of our land at the most points and most profoundly, who is most impressing himself and his instruction upon the whole country, who is most widely quoted and revered by the editors of our educational journals and by the teachers of the ten-millions of children
in our public schools, I am convinced that the men of wide experience in educational matters will answer Dr. William T. Harris, of Concord, Massachusetts.2

The St. Louis school system, under his leadership, was recognized as one of the best and most progressive in the country. As an educator, Harris ranks favorably with Horace Mann and Henry Barnard. In St. Louis, his work influenced the lives of thousands of people and added prestige to the public school. His analysis of all problems went back to fundamentals and his recommendations envisioned an ultimate ideal. Historians write:

His annual reports were models of their kind and have greatly interested educators all over the land. He held steadily before him this aim—that the school must develop all children into good citizens.3

To provide a final assessment of Harris' educational contributions, a concluding judgment will be made of his conceptions regarding social aims, administrative problems and organization, curriculum, teacher preparation and methodology.

SOCIAL AIMS

Harris believed that democratic education should provide equal opportunity for all. Education must give the pupil an enduring sense of

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3Ibid., 623.
responsibility and provide necessary guidance to insure development of self-directive power. He reaffirmed the principle that the educational process perpetuates, strengthens, and fosters the basic tenets of democracy. To improve society, he said, every citizen must receive the cultural heritage which provides the tools of thought necessary to effective social participation. Universal education dedicated to the attainment of public goals must also be supported and controlled directly or indirectly by the public. He further stressed individual self-determination as the object of all government. Every citizen was to be given the opportunity of a cultural education preparatory to individual advancement to any station in life. This, he regarded as the most important function of the public school. Since social needs dictated the educational aims, an education conducive to social development was a preparation for the whole of life. The public school was the instrumentality designed to preserve these democratic principles and to protect the freedom of opportunity for all children. For this reason, he contended that the public school must be free of sectarian bias of any kind.

Harris held that educational responsibilities should be divided among the state, family, church and school, each performing separate and defined but compatible functions. Education was the joint responsibility of all these institutions and not exclusively the school.

In dealing with the question of Negro education, Harris advocated both time and schooling. He regarded continued ignorance as a remedy for nothing and strongly urged the establishment of free common schools for Negroes. He further advocated agricultural, mechanical and industrial departments within these schools. A strong moral and religious influence was to be exerted upon
the students. This program, adequately implemented, he regarded as essential to the solution of educating the masses of southern Negroes.

With the colored children educated, industrially adaptable, and equipped with the tools of cultural communication, mutual respect for moral and intellectual character would follow. This would lead to a civil and political recognition establishing the Negro as a positive social contributor and eliminate recourse to violent measures of any kind.

Although Harris advocated an education for the Negro which contained both cultural and industrial components, he was essentially a gradualist in racial relations. These were similar to the views held by Booker T. Washington.

ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION

Basically, Harris could not be described as a germinal thinker, though he worked for originality. He borrowed from Hegelian Idealism and he practically applied the fundamental concepts of this philosophy to the problems he encountered. His involvement within so many different administrative problem areas established him as an interpreter, catalyst, leader, contributor, writer, speaker, developer, and in some instances (science, public school kindergarten, cataloging library books), an innovator.

Harris helped establish the kindergarten institutionally in American education by demonstrating that the program was economically feasible, educationally practical, and philosophically defensible. His successful experimentation in this area led to the adoption of kindergartens across the United States and in 1882 directly from St. Louis into Canada. Time has
demonstrated that this innovation has helped humanize education through all levels of school life.

Harris advocated the K-8-4 plan and worked for efficient articulation between elementary and secondary schools. He subscribed to the establishment of intermediate schools and forcefully fought for free public high schools. He was also involved with pioneering the idea of branch high schools in partially vacant elementary schools.

Recognizing that colleges were not exclusively for doctors, lawyers and clergy, Harris supported cultural education from kindergarten through college. He strongly advocated post graduate study as a necessary essential of an extensive education and fought vigorously for the establishment of a national university.

Within ancillary problem areas of education, Harris was an active leader and exerted the interest and energy necessary to implement the difficult beginning stages in many problem areas such as:

- Co-Education
- Libraries
- Evening Schools
- Curriculum
- Science
- Vocational Education
- Teacher Preparation
- Methods
- Discipline
- Gradation and Classification
Uniform Educational Terminology

Examinations

Harris favored co-education, believing that discipline and hence moral growth was greater when both sexes were taught together. His co-education theory was defended on the basis of better discipline, improved instruction, and economy. He was correctly convinced that the role of the American women in society was to increase in importance and that opportunity to work and participate must be based upon ability and not one's sex.

Harris was instrumental in organizing and supporting a sound library system within the St. Louis public schools for purposes of free reading and reference. He established a close connection between school work and library work and believed that the teacher should properly direct and channel the students to purposeful reading during leisure hours.

His systematic organization of a thorough book cataloging plan gave added impetus to researchers and users of the library. This system increased library utilization and facilitated developing the trend to increase the number of libraries throughout the country.

With the establishment of evening schools in the St. Louis school system Harris presented an adequate practical solution to the predominate number of immigrants flooding the area. This technique of supplementing the general plan of education offered during the day did much to readily transmit the American culture and hasten the assimilation of these people into the American mainstream. This procedure of presenting basic communication skills after working hours when many salaried employees were unable to avail themselves of regular instruction was so successful that it still remains as part
of our educational system.

CURRICULUM

Harris considered the course of study to be the most important component of the educational system. He regarded the selected learning experiences and their organization to be more essential than the techniques of methodology employed in their dissemination. This design, whereby the students relate to civilization, he contended, must be systematized, applicable to a wide range of needs and educational levels with sequential development to meet psychological and sociological requirements. He stressed articulation, advised the selection of electives under close supervision, and regarded vocational education as a subject to be taught separately and apart from the regular school curriculum. He suggested five subject areas, the "five windows of the soul," mathematics, geography, history, grammar, and literature. These, he believed, included all human knowledge within the course of study for any level, elementary, secondary or higher education. For balance, he emphasized that all five of these groups must be represented. These he considered the "conventionalities of intelligence," necessary essentials, which make effective communication possible and cultural transmission probable.

Harris' inclusion of science as a regular subject in his course of study constituted one of his major educational contributions. His curriculum and the science segment was widely copied and resulted in the acceptance of science as a subject at all grade levels. From classification of plants and animals he reduced science teaching to a logical presentation of knowledge
adapted to grade level comprehension of the child. Complete with illustrated diagrams, specimens, and organized subject matter and coupled with the direct pressure of his leadership, this innovation was accepted in St. Louis and eventually throughout the country.

Vocational training was regarded as necessary to an industrialized society and that a lack of education in this area would contribute to crime and poverty. Further, no cultural advance could be sustained without progress in the means of producing wealth. However, Harris did stress that men should be trained not as "a director of machinery," but as one with self-directive powers capable of self-government. His vocational education favored training the directive power of the worker.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Harris remained a strong proponent for professionalism among teachers, and as a leader in this area he considered morale and *esprit de corps* essential components of the teaching profession. He isolated the following factors which he recognized as highly correlated to teacher efficiency and essentially related to teacher morale:

I. Inclusion of a liberal salary schedule and adequate fringe benefits (sick leave with pay, leaves of absence, reasonable assurance of re-employment)

II. Promotional opportunities fixed on standards of excellence in performance.

III. Establishment of teacher selection policies based on examinations and committee interviews.
IV. Presentation of teaching as a learned profession requiring that teachers remain engaged in continuous self-improvement.

V. Longer tenure for teachers.

VI. Cultivation of literary tastes to rank teaching as an equivalent profession.

VII. Raising standards of preparation for teachers.

VIII. Equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

Harris also believed that teachers needed strong educational backgrounds and special training schools in which these might be developed. He regarded proper method as important to a successful teacher and maintained that professional preparation to secure industry and critical attention in study must be taught. These, he concluded, were best learned in Normal Schools and he moved to make them a necessary part of the educational structure. After decades of time and test, teacher education programs remain an essential component of our over-all educational system.

METHODS

Harris considered methodology subordinate to curriculum construction in terms of developing substantial and formal student activities. Method was a means to an end and not an end in itself, and Harris recognized the Pestalossian Method as it relates to the die Entwicklungs Inde Methode des Unterrichts as the true method, holding its positive strengths against all others. Rooted in the dialectic to which it corresponded, he marked its similarity to the Socratic technique which he regarded as eminently successful and contributing substantially to the history of our civilization.
class recitation, maintaining that when confrontation occurs, the conflict of
knowledge yields to developing more total group insight and forms the
foundation for independent study.

Harris recommended discipline through reason. He regarded self-
determination of the individual to be the goal of democratic government -
conviction in place of caprice, and discipline based on obedience to lawful
authority. Honor and self-responsibility were watchwords of his suggested
disciplinary system.

Harris worked for establishing continuous development and for classifi-
cation according to abilities within the schools. He recognized that
capacities, mental endowments, and tastes of students differed and that
adherence to identical standards disregarded these differences and
contributed toward perpetuating emotional cripples. His theories on ability
grouping and advancing students based on achievement were far in advance of
his time.

Harris provided opposition to a lock step promotion plan related to a
calendar; implemented programs to initiate uniform terminology within the
area of education, and accepted the examination as a teaching tool useful in
review work and essential to articulation between schools and gradation and
classification within schools. Harris' theories in these areas are current
educational applications.

CRITICAL COMMENTARY

Harris' major weakness was his inability to perpetuate his name as an
educator. Students in education invariably recognize the names of Henry
Barnard and Horace Mann, but comparatively few recognize the names of William Torrey Harris. His lack of written organization was partly responsible for this failure to transmit the value of his experiences to future generations. His influence and renown seemed to die with him.

Critical analysis of Harris' writings indicates a strong reliance on ideals and abstract experiences. His writings are scattered over an overwhelming variety of subject areas (see Appendix II) without any structured category arrangement, making analysis difficult. They reflect a degree of impatience and a theoretical approach with heavy idealistic emphasis. He demanded originality and attributed pertinence to statements which essentially reflected this demand:

Is it original or only an importation of European ideas? Why not publish something indigenous? . . . Why rifle the graves of centuries? You are no Hydra! Does not the spring bring forth its flowers, and every summer its swarm of gnats? Why build a bridge of rotten coffin planks, or wear a wedding garment of honey wrappage? Why desecrate the present by offering it time stained paper from the shelves of the past?

. . . If we must differ from other people, let us differ in having a wide cosmopolitan culture. "All men are alike in possessing defects," says Goethe; "in excellencies alone, it is, that the great differences are found."

. . . Once disciplined in speculative thought, the new growths in our national life will furnish us objects whose comprehension shall constitute original philosophy without parallel.1

However, these demands for originality are subject to interpretation. Some of Harris' contributions were original, but certainly not the majority. His ideas were implemented and made functionally practical directly as a result of his leadership, but the genesis of the idea, in many cases, had its beginning long before Harris came upon the American educational scene. His basic philosophy, for example, was a direct inheritance of Hegel.

This Hegelian idealism explains the world in terms of mental equivalents - first principles, ultimates and ideas. Realistically, the world is far from perfect, being wrought with problems demanding practical everyday solutions - far from ultimates and first causes. Further, problems dealing with the masses of people are also far removed from idealistically oriented first principles. Too much idealism tends to obviate the difficulties and problems in the world - distorting perspective in terms of priority. It leads to setting high standards and attempting what is immediately unattainable. The control must be a sensible and practical means based on careful scientific inquiry. The end might never be realized, so life dictates prudence in selecting the means which are constantly with us, ever changing with time and circumstance.

Over-emphasizing idealism places undue concentration on the spiritual and removes the focus from the problem of the practical. This creates a condition of striving for future perfection at the expense of present daily living. We must use the best means available to render effective solutions, and constantly strive for perfection, but not at the expense of harnessing our talents because of an inability to achieve that perfection. Idealism gives us high standards and goals - which is good, but to become fixed on the
goal alone is bad. In this respect, Harris, while applying educational principles, was capable of bridging the gap between the idealistic and the necessary. His belief is apparently something to the effect that, in the long run, the theoretical is essentially the most practical. He believed that theory well understood lends itself to practice well done. His methods were continually evaluated and he never lost sight of perfection, his ultimate aim.

Harris opposed instant educators and self-seeking individuals attempting to impose pet programs on the public schools. As a conservative and Hegelian, he was slow to change and demanded substantial evidence to demonstrate the necessity for program modification. In this respect, critical questions could be initiated: Was Harris flexible enough to keep pace with societal transition and other changes created by industrialization and progress? Did he overemphasize knowledge of the past and fix attention on traditional subjects? These answers would be subject to close scrutiny. His concern was to put into practice what he considered to be the tried and the true, not always what was immediately necessary.

He did not adequately utilize manipulatives and his lack of attaching importance to meaningful activity assignments, by current accepted standards, evidenced a shortcoming of significant note. He relied heavily upon the textbook at the expense of activity experiences. This limitation again accentuated his heavy emphasis on the literary and abstract aspects of education.

Criticism must also be made of Harris' course of study, adequate as it was, for not providing more definitive subject area distinction between the
high schools and colleges. His course of study applied the same subject coverage to each developmental level. With many students never finishing high school, it is impossible, especially today, to conceive of continuing a uniform course of study for students in high schools and colleges, as was suggested by Harris.

However, it is worthy of note that, despite these listed limitations, this metaphysician of strong abstract tendency was the first man to convince the American public that their children needed kindergartens, gymnasiums, science courses, better and more organized libraries and manual training shops. Herein lies the enigma of interpreting this great educator, who expressed the philosophical and contributed the practical.

Harris was a visionary scholar of great latitude and persevering application. His mind was prophetic and his philosophical orientation was practical, demonstrating a desire to understand life and provide necessary solutions. His career was initiated before the first American public school kindergarten drew attention to the needs of the young child, before manual training became a recognized necessity and even before public education in a democracy became an established reality. In fact, these educational movements were finally implemented to practical procedure within the public school system, largely as a result of his astute leadership.

Harris believed in the supremacy of reason and in individual self-direction. He asserted that the individual who contributes to help the group, contributes to help himself. His thoughts were largely in terms of ideas, but he also applied substance to realistic problem situations. His persistent philosophical application to life's problems, along with
demonstrated working principles, constitutes a precious inheritance to the American people.

Harris died on November 5, 1909, in Providence, Rhode Island and was buried at Putnam Heights (North Killingly, Connecticut). The inscription on his monument, taken from Goethe's *Tribute to Plato* reads:

A rare scholar whose life was zealously and unceasingly devoted to philosophy and education. His relation to the world is that of a superior spirit . . . . All that he utters has a reference to something complete, good, true, beautiful, whose furtherance he strives to promote in every bosen.5

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Suggestions for future research direct the interested student to the Library of Congress, Annex Building, third floor, where volumes of Harris' useable data can be found. Personal visitation resulted in accumulation of many factual specifics utilized in this study. A list of general titles of Harris' 890 original manuscripts is attached for reference and possible problem organization. This valuable collection, demonstrating an absence of systematic structure, would in itself present a priority item for future research.

The manuscripts, contained in forty-nine separate containers, consist of articles written and typewritten. Some are printed; others are in note form scribbled on paper of assorted sizes - baggage checks, on the backs of

---

programs and scrap paper, while still others are reprints and galley proofs.

Possibilities for problem implementation are many, as the variety of titles will indicate. Orderly arrangement of varied subject matter for categorical analysis, lending itself to expository treatment, would constitute an invaluable contribution to future researchers.
APPENDIX I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Born September 10, North Killingly, Connecticut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Attended local school district.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843-45</td>
<td>Attended city schools of Providence, Rhode Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852</td>
<td>Attended five different academies including Woodstock, Connecticut Academy and Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Attended Yale University (Class of 1856 - did not graduate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857-67</td>
<td>St. Louis Public Schools - Teacher, Principal and Assistant Superintendent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Elected Superintendent of Schools.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Granted honorary M.A. degree by Yale.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>LL.D. University of Missouri</td>
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<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Introduced the first public kindergarten in the United States.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>President of the National Education Association.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Tendered the honorary title &quot;Officer de l' Academie at the Paris Exposition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Assisted in establishing and lectured at the Concord School of Philosophy - Assigned as superintendent of St. Louis Public Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Superintendent of Schools at Concord, Massachusetts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>President of the Boston School Master's Club.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

161
1889 Received from the French government the title of "Officier de l'Instruction Publique."

1889-1906 United States Commissioner of Education.

1890 Published, *Hegel's Logic*, in Griggs Philosophical Classics, Chicago.

1893 Ph.D. Brown University.

1894 LL.D., University of Pennsylvania.

1895 Granted honorary LL.D. degree by Yale.

1896 LL.D., Princeton University.


1899 Represented the United States Bureau of Education at the Paris Exposition.

1900 Editor-in-Chief of *Webster's International Dictionary*.

1906 Resigned as United States Commissioner of Education.

1909 Expired November 5, Providence, Rhode Island.
APPENDIX II

Harris' original manuscripts located in the Annex Building of the Library of Congress occupy 19.6 linear feet of shelf space and are contained in forty-nine separate containers. These papers contain typescript drafts, manuscript and printed copies of articles, addresses, lectures and reports written by Harris. Several containers also include the notes used in preparation of various articles. There is no correspondence.

Harris' speeches and writings relate almost entirely to the fields of education and philosophy. His work covers the years 1866-1908, with the period 1862 to 1879 being most productive. It was during this later period that he wrote his thirteen annual school reports as Superintendent of Schools of St. Louis which gained him international recognition as an educator. These manuscripts constitute volumes of knowledge usable for future research. A list of general titles is attached.

MANUSCRIPTS BY WILLIAM TORREY HARRIS

Manuscript Division
Library of Congress
Annex -- Third Floor

1. Three Stages of Knowing
2. Educational Methods (Geography)
3. Address before Missouri State Teachers' Association, April 8, 1868
4. Prescription--its province in education (Address, American Institute of Instruction, July 22, 1871)

5. German Reform in American Education (Address, German-American Teachers' Association at Hoboken, August 3, 1872)

6. Dissipation of Energies

7. Elective Studies in Schools and Colleges

8. On the Function of Illustration

9. Relation of the System of Public Schools to the American Commonwealth

10. Present Aspects of Public Education in Europe and America (Address, Department of Superintendent, National Education Association, February 9, 1881)

11. Abstraction in its Practical Relation to Life

12. The Idea of the State and Its Necessity

13. Words versus Things

14. Educational Psychology (Outlines of a System)

15. Census of 1880 from and Educational Point of View

16. Early Withdrawal of Pupils from School (Address, National Education Association, Boston, August 7, 1872)

17. The Education of Women (Address, Women's Educational Association, Boston, April 18, 1872)

18. Speech of Welcome to the Fourth German-American Teachers' Association, St. Louis

19. Diversion of School Funds for Religious Purposes

20. Church and State (Lecture, St. Louis, December 16, 1873)

21. On Equivalents in a Liberal Course of Study (Address, National Education Association, 1880)

22. Textbooks and Their Uses (Address, National Education Association, 1880)

23. Theory of American Education (Address, National Education Association, Cleveland, August 19, 1870)
21. What are the claims of the Kindergarten as a department of Public Education (Address, National Education Association, Department of Elementary Education, 1879)

25. Common School System of Great Britain (Third lecture in a course of five at Washington University, St. Louis, 1881)

26. The History of Education (Lecture, St. Louis, February 2, 1877)

27. Education as a Science (Lecture, St. Louis, January 26, 1877)

28. The Church, the State and the School

29. Do the Public Schools Educate Children beyond the position They Must Occupy in Life? (Address, Connecticut State Teachers' Association, 1882)

30. Report of Superintendent of Schools, Concord, Mass., 1884

31. Kindergarten

32. Report of Superintendent of Schools, Concord, Mass., 1883

33. Report, Board of Visitors to the Indiana State Normal School, 1882

34. Recess (Address, National Education Association, Department of Superintendents, February 13, 1884)

35. Moral Education in Schools (Report, Committee on Moral Education, National Council of Education)

36. Place of the Study of Latin and Greek in Modern Education

37. Function of the Study of Latin and Greek in Modern Education

38. On a National University (Address, National Education Association, Detroit, 1874)

39. Participation—the Essence of Spiritual Life (Address at opening of new reading-room Public School Library, St. Louis, 1874)

40. Reasons for the retention of German—English Instruction in St. Louis Public Schools

41. Bird's-eye view of the St. Louis Public School System, 1879

42. The Personality of God
43. Educational Significance of the Centennial Exposition (Address, State Teachers' Convention, Springfield, Mass., Dec., 1876)

44. Is Pantheism the Legitimate Outcome of Modern Science? (Address, Concord School of Philosophy, July 30, 1885)

45. What Shall We Study?

46. Divisions of School Funds for Religious Purposes

47. The Sphinx Riddles of Education (Address, State Normal School, Worcester, Mass., July 10, 1877)

48. Compulsory Education in relation to Crime and Social Morals (Address, 125th Annual Conference of Charities and Correction, Washington, D.C., 1885)

49. Definition of Social Science and the classification of the topics belonging to its several Provinces (Address, American Social Science Association, Department of Education, Sept., 7, 1886)

50. Editor's Preface: International Education Series, Volume 3, Memory by David Kay

51. Philosophy in Colleges and Universities (Address, National Education Association, 1888)

52. Ought Young Girls to read the Daily Newspapers? (Address, National Education Association, 1888)

53. Report Committee on the Educational Exhibits at the San Francisco Exposition (1888)

54. Rowland G. Hazard as a Philosopher (November 17, 1888)

55. The Psychological and Pedagogical Value of the Modern Methods of Elementary Culture (Address, National Education Association, 1887)

56. The Function of the American Public School (Address, National Education Association, 1887)

57. Theology (from his diary)

58. Goethe's Theory of Color (Address, Milwaukee Literary School, 1886)

59. Definition of Social Science

60. Moral Education in the Common Schools (Address, American Social Science Association, 1883)
61. Moral Education in the Public Schools
62. Industrial Education
63. The Demand for Manual Training
64. Drawing, the Industrial Education Needed in our Schools
65. Manual Training in Public Education
66. Supplementary Reading
67. Educational Needs of Urban Civilization
68. Remarks on Profit-Sharing—American Social Science Association, 1888
69. Wasp-stings
70. Public School Question in St. Louis, 1888
71. Review of Webster’s Unabridged Dictionary, 1878
72. Review of Great Speeches of Daniel Webster, 1879
73. How far may the State provide for the education of her children at public cost? (Address, National Education Association, August, 1871)
74. Letter to W. H. Hailmann (1871) — (What Shall We Study)
75. Uniformity in the School (Letter to Popular Educator, Boston, February, 1886)
76. How I Was Educated
77. John D. Philbrick (Address, 1886)
78. Industrial Education in the Common Schools
79. Review, System of Shakespeare’s Dramas, by Denton J. Snider, 1877
80. Eight-Hour Law (Letter to S. S. McClure, 1886)
81. Must We Abolish Property in Land?
82. The Right of Property and the Ownership of Land (Address, American Social Science Association, September 10, 1886)
83. The Pendulum of School Reform
84. Plato's Dialectic and Doctrine of Ideas
85. What School Studies are of Most Worth? (1886)
86. Excessive Helps in Education (Address, Schoolmaster's Club, Boston, 1886)
87. Händel'sohn's Song of Praise
88. The Course of Study (In German, translation of St. Louis School Report, 1872-1873)
89. Spelling list, Appleton's Third Reader
90. Synopsis of Course of Study in District Schools (St. Louis, 1880)
91. Syllabus of Topics in Oral Lessons in History (St. Louis, 1880)
92. Course of Reading
93. Culture and Discipline vs. Information and Dexterity (Address, Society of Pedagogy, November 20, 1875)
94. Thoughts on the History of Education
95. Some Thoughts on the Carnival
96. History of the St. Louis Public Schools
97. Bird's Eye View Course of Study
98. Synopsis of Four Lectures on Educational Psychology
99. Beethoven's Sixth Symphony (Address, St. Louis Art Society, 1875
100. The relation of the Will to the Intellect
101. The History of Philosophy
102. Intentions of Mind (Letter to Henry Farquhar, December 26, 1876
103. Biographical Sketch of Charles Louis Bernays (Address, St. Louis Historical Society, 1879)
104. Methods of Discipline and Instruction
105. The Concrete and the Abstract in their Practical Relations to Life
106. Philosophy of Jeremiads
107. Method of Study of Social Science (Address, St. Louis Social Science Association, March 4, 1879)

108. Library Classification

109. Library Classification

110. The Money Question

111. On the Printing-Press as an Instrument of Education

112. The Concrete and the Abstract considered in their Practical Relations to Life

113. Education as Social Science (Address, American Social Science Association, Department of Education)

114. The Course of Study (Abstract of Address, State Teachers' Association of Missouri, April 1875)

115. The Kindergarten Americanized

116. Value of New Kindergarten Experiments

117. Review, Life of Emerson, by Oliver Wendell Holmes

118. Why Educate the Children of the Common Laborer?

119. The Education required for cities and the reason for the immense growth of cities in the present century (Address, Educational Convention, Hyde Park, Massachusetts, May, 1885)

120. Need of the active influence of women in the affairs of government (Address, St. Louis, 1884)

121. Philosophy of Religion (Address, Free Religious Association, May 30, 1884)

122. Immortality of the Soul

123. Philosophy of Religion

124. Outline of Philosophy (Notes for lectures, Kindergarten Club, St. Louis, 1883)

125. Philosophy of Religion (Notes for lectures in St. Louis, 1883)

126. Causality and Self-Cause (Abstract of lecture, Concord School of Philosophy, July 20, 1883)
127. Space and Time (Abstract of lecture, Concord School of Philosophy, July 18, 1883)
128. Psychological Inquiry (Address, National Education Association, 1885)
129. Definition of Science (Report to National Council of Education, 1881, Committee on Pedagogics)
130. Report to National Council of Education, Committee on the revision of its constitution in regard to membership, (1882)
131. Report to National Council of Education, Committee on Chairs of Pedagogics in Colleges and Universities (July 18, 1881)
132. What Should Teachers Read?
133. Editor's Preface: New Exposition of the Science of Knowledge, by J. G. Fichte (Translated by A. E. Kroeger)
135. The Church and the State in relation to the school (Address, Congregational Club, Boston, October 24, 1887)
137. Abstracts of five lectures on Educational Psychology, Boston University, December, 1888
138. What has Modern German Thought done for us? (Address, Deutscher Verein, Harvard, February 20, 1889)
140. Morality in the Schools
141. Kindergarten Methods contrasted with the methods of the American Primary School (Address, National Education Association, 1889)
142. The Intellectual Value of Tool-work (Address, National Education Association, 1889)
143. Comments on "The Critic's" list of 100 world authors and 100 American authors worthy to be read for literary culture, 1886
144. The problems of Philosophy and its Method (Notes for address, New Haven, May 7, 1880)

145. The Public School as an Institution of Civil Society and the State (Address, Missouri State Teacher's Association, 1873)

146. Growth of cities, etc. (Abstract of remarks, American Social Science Association, September 9, 1885)

147. The Common School as a Factor of Christian Civilization (Address, Denver, February 6, 1887)

148. What Studies are Best?

149. American Genius in Literature and Philosophy (Response to Toast, Banquet Knights of St. Patrick, St. Louis, March 1, 1889)

150. Study of Natural Science, its uses and dangers (Address, American Institute of Instruction, July 9, 1889)

151. The Educational Lessons of the Census (Address, National Association, February, 1883)

152. Other institutions besides the school as instrumentalities of culture (Address, Department of Education, American Social Science Association, September 7, 1882)

153. On the Multiplicity of Conscious Beings

154. English Reprint St. Louis School Report

155. The Basis of Education as a Science

156. Co-education


158. The Metaphysical Calculus

159. Thoughts on Educational Psychology

I. What is meant by Educational Psychology

II. What is Introspection?

III. Self-activity

IV. The Three Stages of Thought

V. A Conception is not a mental picture

VI. Time, Space and Causality

VII. Causality and the Absolute

VIII. The Infinite and the Absolute in Education
IX. The Logic of Sense-Perception
X. How Sense Perception uses the first figure of the syllogism to reinforce its first act in the second figure
XI. How Sense-Perception uses the third figure of the syllogism to store up its experience in general terms
XII. The Body and the Mind
XIII. No title
XIV. The Localization of Functions in the Brain
XV. The Will

160. The Normal School Course of Study (Address, The Normal School, Framingham, Massachusetts, July 2, 1889)

161. Moral Education in the Common Schools

162. Oriental Philosophy and the Bhagavat Gita


164. Necessity of Colleges to Supplement High Schools

165. Religious Instruction in the Public Schools

166. Manual Training (Letter to Hon. George Lueckey, Superintendent of Schools, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania)

167. Books that have Helped Me

168. Goethe's "World Spirit" and the "Vishnu" of the "Bhagavad Gita"

169. Emerson's "Dharma" and the "Bhavavad Gita"

170. Examination and Education

171. Is Religious Instruction in the Public Schools Expedient?

172. President Eliot's "Shortening of Programs," 1886

173. The Psychology of Manual Training (Address, National Education Association, March, 1889)


176. History in Schools (Address, New York City, March 1, 1889)

177. Circular for the "Proceedings of the Milwaukee Literary School," August, 1886

178. The True Function of the State (Address, National Woman Suffrage Association of Massachusetts, May 30, 1889)

179. Educational Pessimism


182. Is Pantheism the Legitimate Outcome of Modern Science? (Address, Concord School of Philosophy, July 30, 1885)

183. How to Teach Natural Science in the Public Schools

184. Educational Value of Manual Training (Address, National Education Association, 1889)

185. Ralph Waldo Emerson

186. Emerson's Philosophy of Nature (Address, Concord School of Philosophy, July 21, 1884)

187. Emerson's Orientalism

188. Emerson's Relation to Goethe and Carlyle (Address, Concord School of Philosophy, 1884)

189. Dialectic Unity in Emerson's Prose

190. Hegel's Philosophic Method

191. Natural Science Course

192. Hegel's First Principle

193. Kindergarten (Letter to R. W. Gildefor, President, New York Kindergarten Association, December 13, 1890)

194. Knowledge not derived from the senses (Address, Woman's Anthropological Society, February 12, 1891)
195. Centennial of Kant's Kritik (Address, Saratoga and Concord, 1881)


197. Faith and Knowledge, Kant's Refutation of the Ontological Proof of the Being of God

198. Ontology (Address, Concord School of Philosophy, July 26, 1887)

199. In what does Shakespeare's greatness consist?

200. Educational Waste

201. Philosophy in Colleges

202. Philosophy in Outline

203. Does "Correlation of Forces" presuppose conscious beings?

204. Goethe's Theory of Colors

205. Latin and Greek in Modern Education

206. Editor's Preface: International Education Series, Volume 12, European Schools, by L. R. Kelam

207. Nominalism and Realism

208. The Pendulum of School Reform

209. Review, Physiological Notes on Primary Education and the Study of Language, by Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi

210. Excessive Helps in Education

211. Educational Psychology, fruitful lines of investigation

212. University Extension (Address, Princeton)

213. Music (Letter to, Washington Evening Star, February 9, 1890)

214. Address at American Defense Association, Philadelphia, December, 1890)

215. A Bill to establish an educational fund to aid the support of public schools in the several states and territories, January, 1891 (First draft)
216. The Philoofhic Aspects of History (Address, American Historical Association, December 31, 1890)

217. Postal Savings Banks (Address, Mohawk, New York, June, 1890)

218. Leigh's System of Phonetics in St. Louis

219. The Philosophy of Crime and Punishment (Address, National Prison Association, Cincinnati, 1890)

220. List of books serviceable to teachers of colleges and high schools at the beginning of their career

221. Editor's Preface: International Education Series, Volume 17, Essays on Educational Reformers, by R. H. Quick

222. Pantheism or God, the Universe

223. Paul Janet and Hegel


225. The Place of the Y.M.C.A. in Education (Address, April 11, 1890)

226. Contributions to Philosophy

227. Report, Assistant Superintendent St. Louis Public Schools, 1866-1867

228. The Single Tax (Address, Social Science Association, September 5, 1890)

229. Normal School Course of Study (Address, Massachusetts State Normal School, Semi-Centennial, Framingham, Massachusetts, July 1889)


231. Editor's Preface: International Education Series, Volume 13, Practical Hints for the Teachers of Public Schools, by George Howland


233. Editor's Preface: International Education Series, Volume 11, Pastoralism, by Roger Deguimpe (Translated by J. Russell)

234. The Fault of Eastern Schools
235. The Education of the Family and the Education of the School (Address, Social Science Association, 1891)

236. Claims of the Kindergarten as a department of Public School Education

237. Religion and Morality

238. Part of a report on the Belgium Educational Congress, 1880

239. Address, Spencerian Business College, May 26, 1890

240. Review, *Elements of Psychology*, by C. Compaire (Translated by W. H. Payne), 1890

241. What should be taught in our schools?

242. Does the mind have any interest in that which it does not understand? (Letter, Editor, *Public School Journal*, March 19, 1891)

243. Socialism, Anarchy, and Free Competition, 1889

244. Aristotle's Theory of the Syllogism compared with that of Hegel

245. The General Government and Public Education Throughout the country (Address, National Education Association, February, 1890)

246. Aristotle's Doctrine of Reason


248. Manual Training

249. Notes on Crime

250. Address to Colored Teachers, Richmond, Virginia

251. Kindergarten, Interview, 1890

252. Buddhism (Notes, address, Sunday Vespers, Chautauqua, July 19, 1891

253. Spelling Reform (Address, Anthropological Society, 1893)

254. The Kindergarten in a Nutshell

255. Catholics—Protestants in Public Schools (Letter to E. P. Dahlgren, New York, November 16, 1892)
256. The Education of the Negro

257. A Theory of Insanity

258. Intellectual Education (Address, Chautauqua, New York, July, 1891)

259. The Philosophy of Education (Address, Chautauqua, New York, July, 1891)

260. Vocation vs. Culture or The Two Aspects of Education

261. President Harrison's Political Wisdom

262. Grading in Country Schools (Address, Saratoga, New York, July, 1892)

263. Report on the World's Educational Congress (National Education Association, Committee, Saratoga, 1892)

264. Kant's Third Antinomy and His Fallacy Regarding the First Cause (Paper read at Philosophical Congress, Chicago, 1895)


266. Editor's Preface: International Education Series, Volume 24, Mental Development of the Child, by W. Freyer

267. A Statement of the Theory of Education in the United States

268. Review, Speeches and Orations, by Daniel Webster

269. Review, System of Shakespeare's Dramas, by D. J. Snider (1877)

270. Commercial Geography of the Mississippi Valley (1879)

271. Place of Technical Grammar in the School

272. Educational Value of the Census (Letter to C. W. Seaton, Superintendent, Tenth Census, January 8, 1885)

273. Education (Address, Chautauqua, New York, July, 1891)

274. Annual Statement, United States Commissioner of Education, 1889-1890

275. Leaving school early (1881)

276. Relation of invention to the communication of intelligence and the diffusion of knowledge by newspaper and book (1891)

277. Commentary on Plotinus, Ennead III, Chapter 7
276. Mind a Substance or a Relation?
279. Philosophical Society, Washington, March, 1893
280. What are the proper duties of superintendents of schools?
281. Proofs of Immortality
282. Self-determination, the Basis of Freedom of the Will
283. Herbart's Doctrine of Interest
284. Single Tax
285. Apperception
286. Herbartian and Hegelian
287. School age for children
288. The Old Psychology vs. The New (Address, Boston Schoolmasters' Club, 1895)
289. Space
290. Commissioner's letter transmitting Annual Report, United States Bureau of Education, 1892
291. Reading for Farmers
292. Indiana Schools (Letter to Editor of Indianapolis News, 1894)
293. The Schoolmen (For Johnson's Cyclopedia)
294. Editor's Preface: International Education Series, Volume 30, Pedagogics of the Kindergarten, by Freidich Froebel
296. Socrates (For Johnson's Cyclopedia)
297. Sophist (For Johnson's Cyclopedia)
298. Soul (For Johnson's Cyclopedia)
299. Schopenhauer (For Johnson's Cyclopedia)
300. Schleiermacher (For Johnson's Cyclopedia)
301. Schelling (For Johnson's Cyclopedia)
302. Scepticism (For Johnson's Cyclopedia)
303. Sanchoniathon (For Johnson's Cyclopedia)
304. Colonel Parker as Principal of Cook County Normal School (Letter, September, 1894)
305. Industrial Education
306. Teaching Temperance in the schools (Letter to Mrs. M. H. Hint, 1894)
307. The Inititative Faculty in Education
309. Class Recitation
310. Letter to C. W. Eliot, Chairman, Committee of Ten, 1893
311. Cosmic Suicide
312. What a student gets from a study of Latin and Greek that he does not get from a study of science and history (Address, Chicago, Illinois, 1893)
313. World's Congress of Education (1893)
314. Letter concerning railroads, to Professor Alexander Hogg, Fort Worth, Texas (1893)
315. Analysis of Preclus
316. Relation Manual Training schools to common schools (Letter to Professor Henry H. Balfield, Chicago Manual Training School)
317. How to Improve the Qualifications of Teachers
318. Phonetics
319. Relation of Mnemonic Systems to the Cultivation of the Power of Thought (Report of Committee on Psychological Inquiry, National Education Association)
320. In Memoriam Brother Azarias
321. Preface to Proceedings of International Congress of Education
322. Influence of Higher Education upon Elementary Schools (Address, National Education Association, 1895)

323. Transcendental Freedom

324. Is Education Possible without Freedom of the Will?

325. Establishment of Office of Land-grant Colleges in Bureau of Education (December, 1895)

326. Higher Education of Negroes (Address to Students, Atlanta University, 1895)

327. Correlation or Concentration? Letter to Editor, Intelligence, 1896)

328. Correlation within each study (National Education Association, 1896)

329. Facts as to Incomes — what would statistics show?

330. Moral Education (Lecture, Buffalo High School, 1896)

331. What Will the Figures Show?

332. Evolution of the Will

333. University Extension (Address, Princeton, New Jersey, 1890)

334. Schools of the District of Columbia, Report to Congress by Commissioner of Education

335. Course of Reading in Philosophy, No. 1
    Course of Reading in Philosophy, No. 2 (for more advanced students)

336. Relation of School Education to the Work of Civilising other Races (Address, Mohonk Indian Conference, New York, 1895)

337. In What Does Spiritual Evolution Consist?

338. Emerson's "Days" (Letter, Emerson Birthday Celebration, 1895)

339. Dewey's Doctrine of Interest as related to Will

340. Shall Teachers be Pensioned?

341. World's Congress of Education

342. The Curriculum for Secondary Schools (Address, National Education Association, Department of Superintendents, 1894)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>343</td>
<td>Edgar Allen Poe's Significance in American Literature</td>
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<td>344</td>
<td>Should Colleges lower their Standards of admission?</td>
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<td>345</td>
<td>Being-Essence and subordinate categories are steps in emancipation of</td>
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<td>finite, etc.</td>
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<td>346</td>
<td>Plato, abridgment of an article by Taylor Lewis (For Johnson's</td>
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<td>Cyclopaedia)</td>
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<td>347</td>
<td>The Location of Great Cities</td>
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<td>348</td>
<td>Educational Vision of the South (Address, Southern Educational</td>
<td>Association, 1899)</td>
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<td>Association, 1899)</td>
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<td>349</td>
<td>Should children learn to speak a foreign language? (Letter to Mrs.</td>
<td>H. L. Taylor, New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>On Growth of Mind through synthesis of Intellect and Will</td>
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364. Some general principles of religious instruction in the schools
365. Editor's Preface: Science of Morals, by Friedrich Ficthe (Translated by A. E. Kroeger)
366. The Fruits of Philosophy
367. Parts and Wholes -- Principles of Explanation (1885)
368. Statistics vs. Socialism
369. Teaching Cookery in Schools (Letter)
370. Letter, recommending, New Elementary Geography, by American Book Company, 1897
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372. Indian Corn (Letter to C. D. Woods, Agricultural Experiment Station, Orono, Maine, March, 1897)
373. How the School Teaches Morals
374. Free Kindergartens
375. Old vs. New Philanthropy
376. The St. Louis Public Schools
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380. Indebtedness in the United States (Letter to Miss L. T. Ames, 1895)
381. Editor's Preface: Colonel Parker's book in the Home Reading Series
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383. Necessity of Five Coordinate Groups of Studies in the Schools
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385. Quantitative (Letter to J. A. Livsey, Elderville, Texas, 1898)
386. Corporal Punishment of Children (Letter to I. H. Sturgeon, St. Louis, 1891)
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388. Letter to Professor John Dewey
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   (1) Fichte's Destination of Man (August 9, 1882)
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400. The Report of the Committee of Ten
401. Mohonk Conference on the Negro, 1891, Address and discussions
403. Address, St. John's College, 1892
404. Textbooks for Alaska
105. Tolstoi


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114. Difference between Herbartians and Hegelians (Letter, Editor, Western School Journal, March 30, 1895)

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474. Social Science (Notes for lecture, 1891)
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   (c) Lecture III—Opposition between Pestalozzi and Herbart as educational leaders
   (d) Lecture IV—Rousseau and the return to nature
   (e) Lecture V—Herbert Spencer and what knowledge is of most worth
   (f) Abstracts of the five lectures
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| 513. | Herbert's immoral education (Letter to Editor, Education, 1895) |
| 514. | Length of grammar-school course, etc. |
| 515. | Symposium on Dewey and McClellan's book, *Psychology of Number* |
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| 520. | Notes |
| 521. | Ventilating school-rooms by windows and fire-places (1890) |
| 522. | School of Comparative Jurisprudence, Columbian University (George Washington University) Washington, D. C. (Letter to Dr. Wells, President) |
| 523. | The Johns Hopkins Method (New Orleans, Piosayme, 1891) |
| 524. | Resolutions that October 12, 1892, be celebrated in United States schools as anniversary of discovery of America (National Education Association, Department of Superintendence, 1892) |
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548. The Modern Descartes, Matthew Arnold's "God of Metaphysics"

549. Ought the workshop to have a place in our common schools for its educational value? (Address, Industrial and Kindergarten Educational Association, 1893)

550. The Silver Strike (Interview, Buffalo, July 1896)

551. Notes for address, Clark University (June, 1893)

552. Remarks at Carlisle Indian School Commencement (1896)

553. Monitorial System Experiments (Letter, School Journal, 1895)

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579. "Dante's Doctrine of Sin" (Address, American Dante Society, New York, 1891)

580. Response to Address of Welcome, National Education Association, Asbury Park

581. Teaching of Agriculture (Address, Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiments Stations, 1894)

582. Address to Colored Students, Atlanta University, 1895

583. Relation of Colleges and Universities to Modern Civilization, June 1892

584. Nationalization in Modern Systems of Education (New Haven, April 27, 1896)

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586. Studies on National Idiosyncracy

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the South (Address, National Congress of Education, Atlanta, 1895)

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University, 1896)

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and Practices of Teaching, by James Johomst

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612. A Brief for Latin and "Christian Brother" Schools in United States (Letter to Secretary of the Interior, 1896)

613. Miscellaneous memoranda, 1895

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618. Psychologic Foundations of Education, (Book Manuscript)

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620. Remarks introducing Bishop Spalding for Address, Higher Education of Women, at Catholic University

621. Correlation Again

622. Editor's Preface: International Education Series, Volume 15, Letters to a Mother, by Susan E. Blow

623. A Brief for Latin

624. How the child outgrows the symbolic stage of mind

625. Editor's Preface: Home Reading Series, Rob Roy

626. The Future of the Normal School (Address, Dedication of Normal School, Providence, 1898)

627. Letter concerning, Dr. Gates' article, Psychology, Psychurgy, and the Kindergarten

628. What are the benefits gained from studying the classic languages, Latin and Greek in secondary schools and colleges? (Address, Worchester Academy, 1897)

629. Psychology
630. Rational Psychology for Teachers, July 6, 1898
631. Education in Alaska
632. The Educational Situation in the South
634. Shorthand notes for National Education Association, July, 1898
635. Editor's Preface: International Education Series, Volume 5, Froebel's Education of Man (Translated by W. H. Hailman
636. Herbert Spencer and what knowledge is of most worth (Address, Educational Club, Philadelphia, 1897)
637. My Pedagogical Creed
638. Chicago Schools
639. Plotinus (Letter to P. B. Sanborn, 1898)
640. Class Intervals in City Schools (1893)
641. Study of Arrested Development in Children as Produced by Injudicious School Methods (1897)
642. Reasons for Establishing Kindergartens in Cities
643. University Extension
644. Psychology for Teachers (Address, Henderson, Kentucky, 1891)
645. Passing of Plato, by O. P. Jenkins
646. Education and the Paris Exposition (Response to Toast, Chicago, 1898)
647. Uses of Higher Education
648. The Use of Higher Education (Convocation Address, Boston University Quarter Centennial, May, 1898)
649. Editor's Preface: Memoirs by Baroness Marenholz von Bulow
650. Relation of Art Education to General Education
651. Relation of Philosophy to Society, Art, and Religion
652. Relation of the Philosophy of Art to the Philosophy of History
(Address, University Club, February 25, 1875)

653. The Relation of Religion to Art

654. The Philosophy of Art (1882)

655. Home Culture in Art Studies

656. Historic Ornament

657. Art Education, the True Industrial Education

658. Philosophy of Art vs. the 'Isms of Aesthetics (Lecture, Parkersburg,
Virginia, 1883)

659. Christianity in Art

I. How to Study Art
II. Raphael's Transfiguration
III. Da Vinci's Last Supper
IV. Michael Angelo's Last Judgment
V. Architecture
VI. The Madonna and Child (Sistine and Halbein)
VII. The Christian Music—Mendelssohn's Hymn of Praise
VIII. Corregio's Holy Night; Michael Angeles Fates
IX. Raphael's St. Cecilia; Corregio's Day;
    Fra Angelico's Crucifixion

660. Religion in Art

I. Religion in Art (January, 1886)
II. Apollo Belvedere: Van Eyck Altarpiece
    (February, 1886)
III. Michael Angelo's Ceiling of the Sistine
    Chapel (March, 1886)

661. Religion in Art, II, Apollo Belvedere: Laocoon;
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    Religion in Art, III, Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel

662. What Greek Art Means to Us

663. Greek Art and the Restoration of the Venus of Melos

664. Michael Angelo and Da Vinci (1879)

665. Michael Angelo and Da Vinci and Michael Angelo's Last Judgment
666. Michael Angelo's Fates

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668. Educational Influence of Art and Literature (Abstracts of Lectures, Johns Hopkins University, 1895)

I. Philosophy of art and literature and their educational function

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III. Symbolic Art

IV. Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting

V. Music and Poetry

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670. Why Art and Literature ought to be studied in our Schools

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672. Educational Value of the Tragic as Compared with the Comic in Literature and Art

673. Beauty in Art vs. Beauty in Nature

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Art Education (Letter to John S. Clark, Boston, 1893)

Washington High School

675. Manuscript of the Spiritual Sense of Dante's Divine Comedy


676. Manuscript of Hegel's Logic, published in "Grieg's Philosophical Classics," Chicago, 1890

677. Printer's Copy (typewritten) of Hegel's Logic and materials used in its preparation

678. Continuation of materials used in Hegel's Logic
679. Manuscript of the Report of the Sub-Committee of the Committee of Fifteen on the "Correlation of Studies in the Elementary Schools." Original draft of the Report and Secretary Greenwood's Minutes of the meetings of the committee with Scrapbooks of the discussions on the Report of the Committee of Fifteen (clippings from various educational journals in 1895)

680. Committee of Fifteen: Scrapbooks continued

(1) Translation into German
(2) Memoranda
(3) Elementary Education or "The Report of the Committee of Fifteen"

681. Articles collected for possible use in the preparation of a book

682. Manuscript of a book on the "Course of Study" in Preparation at the time of Harris' death

683. Notes on Cause Sui

684. Rosenkrezen (For Johnson's Cyclopedia)
   The Sublime
   Species
   Spontaneity
   Weigel (Valentine)
   Zeno of Elea
   Zeno the Stoic


686. The Use of Higher Education (Address, Boston University, Quarter-Centennial, May 31, 1896)

687. Remarks at Funeral of Andrew J. Rickoff, 1890

688. How to Make Good Teachers out of Poor Ones (Address, National Education Association, Department of Superintendency, 1899)

689. Letter to Henry Sabin, 1895

690. Response to Address of Welcome, National Education Association, 1890

691. An Educational Policy for our New Possessions (Address, National Education Association, 1899)

692. Letter to General John Eaton on Porto Rican Schools, 1899
693. Material for Articles

1. Symbolic and Conventional
2. Child outgrows symbolic
3. General notions not mental picture
4. Imitation

694. How to Educate the Feelings and Emotions through the Intellect and the Will

695. Is Cultivation of Ambidexterity Justifiable?

696. The Single Tax

697. Education and the Paris Exposition (Address at Banquet for F. H. Peck, United States Commissioner-General to Paris Exposition, 1900, Chicago, December 6, 1896)

698. Progress of Education in the South in the last Twenty Years (Address, Southern Educational Association, December, 1896)

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Remarks on Report

701. What Shall the Public Schools Teach?


703. The Psychology of Mathematics

704. Notes on Physiological Psychology (1888)

705. Studies in Kant’s Logic (September 27, 1887)

706. Notes on Categories

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708. The Present Status of Education (1900)

709. Colonel Parker and the Quincy School (1900)

710. The Past and the Future of the American University (Address: Rochester,
711. The Educative Work at Missions

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713. Future of the Kindergarten

714. Collection of Duplicates, St. Louis Public Library Committee, W. T. Harris, Chairman, 1871 (Correspondence with F. M. Crandall, 1900)

715. Editor's Preface: Supplement to Webster's Dictionary, 1900

716. Articles printed in American Journal of Education, 1874-1876; The County Superintendent; Freedom of the Will; The National Committee of Education; Revolution in Course of Study

717. President's Address, National Education Association, 1875

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720. Relation of Universities and Colleges to the Public Schools in the South


722. Education and Crime

723. The Being of God

724. Geography in the Elementary School (1901)

725. A Year's Progress in Education (Address, American Social Science Association, 1900)

726. Interview, The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, August 16, 1899, Refutation of Collis P. Huntington's statement that the "average American boy is over-educated"

727. Progress of Education in the United States during the Nineteenth Century

728. Education to Regenerate the Slums

729. Educational Progress in the Twentieth Century


733. Editor's Preface: *The Library of Useful Stories*, 1902

734. Higher Education in the United States

735. Tribute to Colonel F. W. Parker

736. How the School Strengthens the Individuality of the Pupil

737. Danger of Using Biological Analogies in Reasoning on Educational Subjects (Address, National Education Association, 1902)

738. America and Spelling Reform

739. The Isolation of the School: Its Educative Function (Address, National Council of Education, 1901)

740. Difference between Efficient and Final Causes in controlling Human Freedom (Address, National Council of Education, 1902)

741. Address, Inauguration Nicholas Murray Butler as President of Columbia University, 1902

742. Why Many Women Should Study Law (Address, Washington College of Law, Commencement, 1909)

743. Formal Discipline (Discussion of Dean Briggs' paper, Department of Superintendents, National Education Association, 1901)

744. Spelling Reform


747. Review Questions in Grammar and Difficult Spelling List, 1869

748. Recent Growth of Public High Schools in the United States as Affecting the Attendance of Colleges (Address, National Education Association, 1901)
749. Civilisation and higher Education (Address, National Education Association, Department of Indian Education, 1901)

750. Fragment on "Individualism"

751. Editor's Preface: International Education Series, Volume 51, Student Life and Customs, by H. D. Sheldon

752. Notes on Psychology for Teachers

753. Place of Geography in Elementary Schools

754. What Captains of Industry Owe to Higher Education

755. What is Civilization? (Address, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1899)

756. Herbert Spencer and What to Study (1902)

757. Organic Connection of the Kindergarten and Primary School (Abstract of Address, California Teachers' Association, 1896)

758. Separation of the Church from the School Supported by Public Taxes (Address, National Council of Education, 1903)

759. University and School Extension as Supplemented by the Church (Address, "Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle," Twenty-fifth Anniversary, 1903)

760. How the Normal School Fits for the Work of Teaching (Address, Dedication, Chicago Normal School, 1903)

761. The Kindergarten as a Preparation for the Highest Civilization (Address, International Kindergarten Union, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1903)

762. Response to Address of Welcome, National Education Association, 1903, Boston


764. Hegel's Voyage of Discovery (Address, American Philosophical Association, 1903)

765. Oxford University and the Rhodes Scholarships (Address, National Education Association, 1903)

766. Emerson's "Nun's Aspiration"
767. Pearson's "Days"

768. Observations on Physical Training in and out of School (1902)

769. Abraham Lincoln and a College Education

770. Growth of the Public High School in the Southern States and a Study of its Influence (Address, Southern Educational Association, 1904)

771. Address, Inauguration of Reverend John Gordon as President of Howard University, Washington, D. C., 1906

772. Address, Dedication McKinley Training School, Washington, 1903

773. Address, Public School Centenary, New York City, 1905

774. Political Economy of School Finances or Conditions which cause variation in the rate of school expenditures (Address, National Education Association, 1905)

775. Editor's Preface: Everyday Ethics, by Ella Lyman Cabot (Mrs. Richard Cabot)

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791. Freedom of the Will, Herbert Spencer

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807. Rome, Chapters XVI and XVII

808. Modern Civilization, Chapters XVIII-XXII

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817. Lecture II, India and Buddhism

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820. Lecture VII, Early Christian Education

821. Lecture IX, Classic Study

822. Lecture X, The Reactionists and Reformers

823. The Universities of Great Britain
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II. China
III. Persia
IV. Education for and against Caste
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The dissertation submitted by William J. Murawski has been read and approved by members of the Department of Education.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

February 9, 1968
Date

[Signature of Adviser]