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The History of the Role and Responsibility of the Principal in Chicago, 1854-1945

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THE HISTORY OF THE ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY
OF THE PRINCIPAL IN CHICAGO: 1854-1945

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND POLICY STUDIES

BY
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To the memory of my
loving parents
James and Mary
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CHAPTER I
THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN SCHOOLS AND THEIR MASTERS

In the early nineteenth century there were different types of schools. There were district schools, grammar schools, and common schools. The schools varied according to the region of the country in which they were located, in the ways they were supported, and in the students who attended them. They also had diverse systems of supervision and management. These schools existed parallel to each other in history; however, the rise of one affected the other's popularity and number.\(^1\)

The Need for District Schools

District schools were the forerunners of the common schools and provided for elementary education. They were well established in the Northeast by the turn of the century. Kaestle describes the district schools as being an American tradition of neighborhood schools which developed roughly from 1750-1835.\(^2\) District schools were established in rural areas wherever the people felt they wanted a school closer to them. The number of schoolhouses established grew for several reasons. The education of girls was gaining in acceptance and Americans were beginning to realize how important widespread
education was to certain values held by them.

The prevailing thought was that mass education was necessary for social stability. It was believed by the republican leaders that if people at all social and economic levels were educated they could govern themselves. Ways and means had to be found to support mass education. Taxes were not popular avenues for funding, because memories of the Revolutionary War and its causes were far from being forgotten.

Financial Support and Governance of District Schools

After the Revolutionary War, states provided for education in their constitutions. The following excerpt from Massachusetts' constitution, dated 1780, exemplifies one such provision.

Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, differed generally among the body of people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of the legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Common-wealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them.3

Even though the states expressed interest in education and later passed laws expressly stating that there would be district schools, they did not provide adequate funds. The early town schools were supported by tuition fees. Later, parents were asked to help by paying according to
their financial ability; and still later some towns had a general property tax.⁴

The law which was enacted in Massachusetts legally establishing the district school system passed the responsibility for each school to a local school committee. Schools were to be maintained for primary (later termed elementary) education, and for secondary education in the more densely populated areas. School committees were charged with maintaining and operating schools.

The early school committees have been compared to boards of education because of the responsibilities they had. The committee had to furnish the school building, decide what was to be taught, set the length of the school term, and hire the teachers. It was also the duty of the committee to furnish heat, and make all needed purchases.⁵

When a teacher received a certificate from the overseer, it should have meant that the teacher was qualified to teach, and was of good character. In truth however, this was not always the case. There were times when people were certified without taking an examination; failed the examination and were still given the job; were given the job because they were too cheap to pay, or hired because of nepotism.⁶ This became especially significant when it is realized that the teacher was the key person in
the school. Once the students entered the school, the sole responsibility for them was upon the master. Recognizing the important role a teacher played in the school, the schoolmaster's requisites should have been above reproach.

Usually, a minister was a member of the early boards in order to judge the moral character of the teacher hired. Other committee members were often uneducated and incapable of discharging their duties effectively. Their ineffectiveness, as well as lack of adequate monies in the community, led to poor quality schools.7

Leadership of District Schools

The only leader in the early school building was the schoolmaster, or teacher hired by the school committee. The requirements to become a teacher were minimal. One had to be able to teach the "three R's," have proper classroom conduct and be religious. In 1824, James G. Carter, who campaigned for the training of teachers in Massachusetts, wrote that the qualifications for primary schoolmasters were that they should be "of good morals, well instructed in Latin, Greek, and English languages," as well as geography.

Carter attributed the inexperience and failure of teachers, as well as their tendency to remain so, to the abundance of jobs, and to the poor pay given to them.8
In almost all instances, early schoolmasters were portrayed as being incompetent and inexperienced. Carter placed instructors in three categories. In category one were the uneducated, who were teaching solely for the money and the non-taxing nature of the job. These teachers, mostly men, were said to be gross and vulgar. Category two instructors were better qualified, but used teaching as a stepping stone to another permanent position. Finally, the instructors in category three were unlikely to earn a living doing anything else, and certainly lacked the qualities needed to be an effective instructor. As late as 1840, Connecticut's Henry Barnard, who was Secretary to the Commission of the Common Schools, discussed the fact that those who were unfit for business, taught.

In 1842, the teachers in Connecticut were expected to be in the school an ample amount of time before students arrived. If the teachers were absent, one or more boys had to be designated to take over. The instructors were held responsible for improper conduct near the school. The school leaders were to set a good example of neatness, cleanliness, orderliness, friendliness, and frankness.

Teaching the curricula, listening to recitations, and exhibiting moral behavior were combined with keeping registers which was an added responsibility for the teacher. These registers were used to verify attendance
for the allotment of school funds. This job had passed from the hands of the "Visitors" or Overseers," who were not doing an adequate job, due to lack of time and skills. The overseers were responsible to the District Committee, which was responsible for the school district.

As we look at the history of the district schools, we can see that its spread was an attempt to satisfy taxpayers who had moved from the cities and towns, and wanted their schools near them. One problem created by this move was a lack of uniformity in local support; inadequate financial support. Some schoolhouses were substandard with inadequate lighting, heat, furniture, and books. The curriculum was restricted to very basic subjects taught during irregular terms. Terms were dependent on the availability of money for necessities such as heat, books, teachers, and teachers' wages. Some teachers were deemed inadequate because they were morally incompetent or viewed teaching as an intermediate vocation instead of a career. These were contributing factors to the decline of the district schools.

There also had been a steady decline in Latin grammar schools, which had been established in 1789 in towns having at least two hundred families. Some students who left the primary or district schools went to the grammar schools for a higher education. The main subjects taught in the grammar schools were Latin, Greek, and sometimes
arithmetic. These subjects were required for college entry. According to James Carter in 1824, the grammar schools ceased to be mandated by law, except in the larger cities, where they would be supported anyway. The grammar schools failed to increase, and the void began being filled by academies.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{Rise of Academies}

Theodore Sizer cites the period from the Revolution to the Civil War as the age of the academies.\textsuperscript{14} He defines an academy as a school providing instruction beyond rudimentary literacy and computation.\textsuperscript{15} The term came into widespread use after the publication of Benjamin Franklin's proposal to establish an academy in Philadelphia, in 1749.\textsuperscript{16} Literally thousands of academies were established between the Revolution and 1850, and there were probably just as many, or more, variations in them. However, Sizer cites two basic characteristics which were common to most academies. He describes these differences as relative private control and a broader and more practical curricula than that of the Latin grammar school. Some of the academies were not so private that they did not receive local, state, or federal monies. They were, however, in the control of independent trustees who applied for state charters. Anyone could attend an academy, if they could afford the
tuition.\textsuperscript{17}

A number of ideals prompted the establishment of and the attendance at academies. One ideal which encouraged the growth of academies was the need for an educated electorate, which would foster the newly won independence.\textsuperscript{18} It was in 1779 that Jefferson submitted his proposal for a three-tier system of education. The proposed middle tier would have established twenty tuition-free academies, for a select group of boys. As late as 1817, the people were still rejecting the idea of free schools for everyone.\textsuperscript{19} They valued education as an equalizer, but this did not supersede the desire of the people to avoid heavy taxes.\textsuperscript{20}

While one might conclude that preserving the republic and establishing one's equality were prime reasons for the establishment of academies, we cannot overlook the influence of the various religious groups. The academy established in Philadelphia had members of almost every religious sect on their board of trustees.\textsuperscript{21} Emphasis was not put on religious belief, but on morals, and the production of ministers and schoolmasters. The petition of the trustees of the Academy of Philadelphia stated among their purposes for the foundation, the need to have their children educated in America, as opposed to abroad, so they could keep an eye on their morals.

The academy would provide schoolmasters, and this
would eliminate having to import teachers whom the colonists described as "vicious imported Servants, or concealed Rapists, who by their bad Example and Instruction, often deprave the Morals or corrupt Principles of the Children under their care." Thought was also given to how the academy would aid the economy by bringing in students from surrounding communities who would have various needs, and would spend monies to fill those needs.

The academies fulfilled the aforementioned ideals, especially for the middle class, who had been left out during the period of the grammar schools, which had limited course offerings due to the lack of money. The academies had to provide classes for male and female students from the middle class, who made up the majority of their students. In 1800 the eight Atlantic states had 102 academies to which these students could go. Some of the academies offered courses which were higher than those offered by some of the colleges. For example, the elder Timothy Dwight, who had attended academies and studied natural science, became the president of Yale College. President Dwight recruited science teachers and Yale became a key scientific center among colleges. Some of the academies were also in advance of the colleges in the teaching of English and mathematics.

The early academies established separate schools,
that is, Latin, English, and mathematics schools, each of which had its own building or area in a common building with separate masters for each school. Near the end of the eighteenth century, there was dissatisfaction with the narrow, traditional curriculum. Americans wanted to complete their educational goals in a shorter period of time and to have a more practical curricula. They wanted subjects that would fit them for life, prepare them for a vocation, and improve them socially. Religion was still important to them, but they were not as dogmatic as they had been previously.

Prior to 1800, some academies may have included Greek, geography, or philosophy in their narrow curricula. Others would have taught the college bound student the required subjects of Latin, Greek, and arithmetic. Still others, which enrolled females, would have taught what were called polite branches such as music and dancing. After 1800, there was a prolific growth in the courses offered by academies, and the offerings depended upon the desires of the people and whether or not the teacher was capable of teaching them.

The following is what Robinson considered a substantially complete list of subjects for male and coeducational academies in Virginia.

Latin, Greek, composition, vulgar arithmetic, algebra, geometry, practical mathematics, logic, history, astronomy, natural philosophy,
chemistry, rhetoric, French, German, reading, writing, moral arithmetic, trigonometry, surveying, Italian, physical science, globes, the structure of language, English literature, metaphysics, criticism, elocution, political economy, drawing, belle lettres, Hebrew, bookkeeping, ethics, navigation, oral arithmetic, vocal music, instrumental music, penmanship, ancient geography sacred history, profane history and physics.

In addition to the preceding list, some of the female academies offered the following subjects:

ancient history, modern history, chronology, mythology, painting, plain sewing, marking, muslin work, embroidery, print and point work, gold work, bead work, block work, dancing, japanning, sacred geography, drawing of maps, wax work, ornamental needle work, harp guitar, fancy needle work, fruit, flowers, and figures shell work, drawing and painting on paper, silk and velvet, landscape painting, miniature and portrait painting, head painting in water, chalk, and oil colors, organ sacred music, Bible, Anglo-Saxon, modern literature, classical literature, general anatomy, physiology, hygiene, religion and dictation.

By 1860, geometry, geography, English grammar, algebra, and ancient history were the prerequisites for college entrance. The curriculum was quite varied and so were the qualifications and teaching abilities of the masters.

**Colonial Masters**

Pre-revolutionary education provided for the changes in the needs and social levels of Americans. Before the war, the middle class had the grammar schools and colleges. Gradually the grammar schools began to increase their curricula to accommodate the new interest of
Americans in English, vocations, and self-improvement. After the war, academies were established by "teachers" who needed either no particular qualifications or minimal ones to establish schools and teach. There is evidence that the ability of the masters varied from ill-fitted and ill-prepared to being exceptionally qualified in deportment and knowledge of content and methods of teaching.

There were no official guidelines to determine the quality of teaching or the degree of competency of the masters. However, those wanting to teach should have known Latin, Greek, English, and mathematics. Two other criteria used were the masters' knowledge of the subject matter and their ability to transfer that information to the students.

Many of the masters in the east were well credentialed from Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and institutions of higher learning in European countries, especially Scotland. In Virginia there were masters from Great Britain, France, and Germany. Those masters who were Scottish or Irish were from universities of the caliber of those found in Glasgow or Dublin. Other groups of masters were ministers. There was no indication as to the amount of education they had. Some masters were said to have come from the better class and were refined. Masters, on an individual basis, were lauded by their
former students as women and men who indeed were qualified and exceptional instructors. On the other hand, some of the Scots and some of the Irish had reputations of being too fond of the rod and the drink. Some masters were held in low-esteem, and it was believed that they left their own countries because they were "worthless wanderers."

Many of the masters who were teaching in the south near the time of the Civil War were from the north. The main criterion used to judge them prior to the war was the fact that they were northerners. They were not trusted by the southerners due to their political differences. Biographies and autobiographies reveal some interesting facts about the duties, skills, and character of some of the early masters. In his autobiography, Joseph Caldwell, the first president of the University of North Carolina, tells how he attended the grammar school of Princeton, in 1784, at the age of 11 or 12, and later moved to Newark where he had the good fortune to study under a Dr. McWharton. (Dr. McWharton is exhorted by Mr. Caldwell as one of the best teachers in the country. He used methods of instruction newly derived from Scotland.) Dr. Caldwell was one of the many educators who went south from Princeton. However, the north maintained its share of incompetent and competent masters.

Around 1811, the Boston Latin School was described as
one where the master used the rod excessively, was sarcastic, and had such a poor method of instruction that the boys had to cram for public examinations. Eventually, the students rebelled and a new master was hired. Brown cites the organization of the school in the 1820s as one of the clearest accounts of school management of the time. At that time, the school had a Principal, or Head Master, a Sub-Master, and four assistants. Assistants were sometimes called ushers.

At the Latin School, all entrants went to the Principal, whose responsibility it was to listen to the boys recite and observe their character, and eventually divide them into groups of about fifteen boys with an instructor for each group. The school did not teach writing therefore, the younger students had to be dismissed early to attend writing school. Students had to be at least nine years of age, and be able to read, write, and have some knowledge of English grammar before they could be admitted to the school. The course of study was five years. All students and instructors met on Saturdays for declaration (oration).³³

Robinson states that in the first half of the nineteenth century, Virginia had 110 one teacher grammar schools. This teacher was often a minister who had one or two assistants. The schoolmaster could only be fired by the trustees for just cause.³⁴
Society and the masters became more and more receptive to the idea of girls receiving more education. The education of girls until the latter part of the eighteenth century had been in dame schools, in the home, and in some religious schools. After the revolution, some schools offering higher studies were opened for girls. Dr. Benjamin Rush is said to have opened an academy for girls in Philadelphia in 1780. Caleb Bingham who was considered an outstanding master of the time, was asked to open a school which made provision for girls, in Boston, in 1789. The school was a reading school which offered reading, spelling, grammar, and geography. The plan was to have the boys attend a writing school in the morning at a different location while the girls were attending the reading school. The students would change locations in the afternoon. This system was called the double-headed system. It was continued even when new schools were built where the top room was for reading and the lower room was for writing. Each master was in control of his own school. When at a later date double-headed schools were abolished, it was found that each master was able to teach only reading or writing, not both subjects. Because of the lack of sidewalks, girls could only attend school during the summer months. Many academies had summer and winter sessions and summer and winter teachers. Women were hired as summer teachers and
at a lower wage than that paid to men. The education of the females and paying them lower wages were two key factors in the growth and financial maintenance of the common schools.

Masters in the Common School

Financial support by means of state taxes was the prime factor in the maintenance of what was called interchangeably, the free, public or common school. Cremin considers the time period between 1815 and 1850 as the common school movement period. According to Cremin,

1. A common school was a school ideally common to all, available without cost to the young of the whole community.
2. A common school was a school providing students of diverse backgrounds with a minimum common educational experience, involving the intellectual and moral training necessary to the responsible and intelligent exercise of citizenship. It was careful to avoid in the process those areas which in terms of conscience would prove so emotionally and intellectually divisive as to destroy the school's paramount commitment to universality.
3. A common school was a school totally supported by the common effort of the whole community as embodied in public funds.
4. A common school was a school completely controlled by the whole community (usually through its representatives) rather than by sectarian political, economic, or religious groups. 16

It was not until 1850 that such a definition could be set down because the people of the new republic were working toward making four ideals a reality. 1) In order to have people exercise their rights of citizenship, they had to
be educated. 2) The working class saw education as a means by which class stratification could be avoided. 3) There was a growing sense of American nationalism which was threatened by immigration. The immigrants were poor and had a tendency to be gregarious. Some saw this as a threat to nationalism and felt that education would remove this threat. 4) There had to be a school established which would "Americanize" all citizens so they would have the ability and desire to be responsible citizens.\textsuperscript{37}

By 1850, communities were charged with the responsibility of providing all youth with a free education. It was difficult to change from the traditional methods of funding education according to one's means to the new free, public education. There were groups of reformers who took the standard for free, public education and pushed for its universal acceptance. These were people like James Carter, Horace Mann, and Henry Barnard. They worked unstintingly for many years for free, public education. The movement spread from the east to other parts of the country as witnessed by the works of Calvin Wiley and Charles Mercer in the south, and those of Caleb Mercer, Calvin Stowe, Samuel Lewis, John Pierce, and Ninian Edwards of the west.\textsuperscript{38}

Many of the reformers were involved in organizations which aided in their promotion of the free schools. Some of the more prominent groups in America were the American
The reformers were from varied economic backgrounds but shared similarities in their education and professional lives. Many of them received their early lessons at home, then attended a district school, an academy, and finally, if they were fortunate, college.

Calvin E. Stowe was born in 1802, in Natick, Massachusetts, raised in a fatherless destitute family, and attended a district school. He was an apprentice to a paper maker and attended Gorham Academy in Gorham, Maine. He was helped financially by church members. Stowe graduated as valedictorian of his class from Bowdoin College. He worked at the college for one year after graduation as an instructor and a librarian. In 1825, he entered Andover Theological Seminary. By 1831, he was a professor of Greek at Dartmouth. In 1832, Stowe married Eliza Tyler who died in 1834. Reverend Stowe married Harriet Beecher on January 6, 1836. Ms. Beecher was the daughter of the president of Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati Ohio, where Mr. Stowe served as the chair of Biblical literature. It was also in 1836 when Mr. Stowe
went to Europe to select a library for Lane Theological Seminary. Some friends of education gave him money to study European schools, especially in Prussia. Mr. Stowe noted that they taught science by going from practice to theory and from facts to demonstration. He also noted that religion was free from sectarianism.

Professor Stowe laid out a method by which he felt schools could be improved. His recommendation dealt with teacher preparation; the comfort and discipline of children; full-funding of the schools; and bilingual education.40 Mr. Stowe felt that the teacher had to have control over the classroom. However, he noted:

No inconsiderable part of the corporal punishment that has been inflicted in schools, has been made necessary by the discomfort of schoolhouses and the unskillfulness of teachers. A lively, sensitive boy is stuck upon a bench full of knotholes and sharp ridges without a support for his feet or his back, with a scorching fire on one side of him and a freezing wind on the other; and a stiff Orbilius of a master with wooden brains and iron hands, orders him to sit perfectly still, with nothing to employ his mind or his body, till it is his turn to read. Thus confined for hours, what can the poor little fellow do but begin to wiggle like a fish out of water, or an eel in a frying pan? For this irrepressible effort at relief, he receives a box on the ear; this provokes and renders him still more uneasy, and next comes the merciless ferule, and the poor child is finally burnt and frozen, cuffed and beaten, into hardened roguery or incurable stupidity, just because the avarice of his parents denied him a comfortable schoolhouse and a competent teacher.41

Reverend Stowe's description is a graphic one of the
conditions which were prevalent in the common schools during this time.

Samuel Lewis was born in Falmouth, Massachusetts, in 1799. He was never able to attend school in his earlier years because he was at sea with his dad. When he was fourteen, his family moved to Pennsylvania and his father hired him out as a farmhand. Mr. Lewis worked at several different kinds of jobs and went wherever he could find work. He settled in Ohio where he was working as a mailman. He never ceased to study on his own. In 1822, he was admitted to the bar. Mr. Lewis was closely allied to the Western College for Teachers. It was before this group and the state convention, in 1836, where he explained how the common school could become popular and efficient. Eventually, Mr. Lewis became the superintendent of the common schools in Ohio. The following are some of his findings regarding the schools: Cincinnati was the only city in Ohio where rich and poor students alike went to school; almost one-half of the 3,370 districts had no schoolhouses; many of the houses where school was held were not worth ten dollars; and less than one-third of the houses would be worth fifty dollars.

When he made his report in 1839, Mr. Lewis tried to make it clear that common schools were not charity institutions. He felt that there had been an improvement in education because most of the schools were now offering
reading, writing, arithmetic, and grammar. More women were being employed in the schools. The average salary for women was $10.00 a month. The average salary for men was $16.00 a month. The Ohio legislature passed a bill based on recommendations by Mr. Lewis which established a school fund of $200,000 to be distributed equally throughout the state. Teachers were to give mandated reports. Incorporated towns and cities were to have a board of education. These boards were to have the power to establish schools of a better quality than was common and the office of the state superintendent was made permanent.42

The common school curriculum educated students for everyday living, for morality, and for responsible citizenship. The question at the turn of the century was what subjects could best achieve these objectives. The subjects were to be suited to all members of the community. At first, the number of subjects requested was too many. Finally, it was decided that common schools would be the first schools students attended, and should offer the common subjects.

These basic subjects were: reading, spelling, writing and arithmetic. The goals of teaching religion and morals were problematic, because some way had to be found to teach them without espousing a particular sect's beliefs. The same had to be done with political values. This was
done by teaching basic information about government's purpose and operation, without including controversial party politics.  

One issue which was alive for decades was the quality and the quantity of teachers for the common schools. Educators realized that there was a need for more skilled people to take the lead, as well as for continuity and coordination of this leadership. Many of those, leading the crusade to improve the common schools, were educators who had attended district schools, taught in them at some point, or made teaching their life-long career.

Often the common school teachers themselves became some of the greatest advocates for more teachers with better skills. William A. Alcott of Connecticut began teaching in 1816 at the age of eighteen. His preparation consisted of home instruction, district school for three or four months in the summer, and four months in the winter, and attending a church school for six months. Mr. Alcott swept his own schoolroom, made his own fires, demanded strict obedience, and boarded at the homes of thirty different families at one school where he taught. He wanted to be a printer, but could not pursue the vocation nor a higher academic education due to poverty. There was no normal school for training. Mr. Alcott finally became a physician by studying under another physician. He made monumental contributions to education
through his writings.45

Denison Olmsted was another educator who believed that only the lack of competent teachers, and the need for necessary books, kept the common schools from being of higher quality. In 1816, when he received his Master of Arts degree from Yale, the topic of his oration was, "The State of Education in Connecticut," in which he lamented the ignorance and incompetence of schoolmasters.

Mr. Olmsted proposed a seminary (Normal School) for schoolmasters that would be directed by a principal who would be an experienced teacher with a liberal education. The principal would have an assistant and would be responsible for the government and organization of the school.

In 1840, Olmsted, who was now a member of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools for Connecticut, stated in his annual report that without normal schools, they could not provide an adequate supply of capable teachers.46 This plea for normal school training was inclusive, because Olmsted felt that since more women were teaching, they should be properly trained. Once trained, their status was raised.

Emma Hart Willard, founder of Troy Seminary for women and Superintendent of the Kensington Common Schools, attended the district school for her area and complained that none of the teachers motivated her or made an impact
on her life. However, she does give her father credit for having awakened a desire within her for learning. Mrs. Willard's education was furthered when she attended several academies. She began her teaching career at the age of fifteen. It was almost a lifetime later when at the age of fifty-three, Mrs. Emma Willard was elected Superintendent of the common schools in Kensington, Connecticut, in 1840. She was extremely influential in the education of females. Mrs. Willard and her husband were principals of Troy Seminary, an endowed school for women. She resigned from Troy in 1838. After studying the deteriorating conditions of the common schools, she accepted the superintendent's job, with a plan to improve them.

The plan was, first, to select four teachers, who were referred to as principal teachers and were under the direct supervision of Mrs. Willard. There was one principal teacher in each school in her parish. Second, assistant teachers were to be selected from among the oldest and best instructed girls. Finally, in addition to furthering their education, these girls would eventually become full teachers.

Mr. Henry Barnard (publisher of the *American Journal of Education*) reported Mrs. Willard's school organization to the legislature, and in his journal. Consequently, this information was disseminated to other states which
duplicated the organization of principal teachers and assistants. This plan saved school communities money, because they did not have to hire as many fully trained teachers, and because the student assistants, who were being trained would become teachers. The principal teacher was to review the classes of the assistants regularly. Mrs. Willard considered this the best method of educating teachers for the common schools and felt that if the common schools did not educate their own teachers, most of them would not be educated. It is interesting to note below that some of the duties of Superintendent Willard involved instruction of teachers and students.

She counseled with the teachers, met them for special instruction at appointed times; gave minute attention to the teaching of the children of the several schools, so that everything should be done at the right time, and in regular order; she introduced her own methods of discipline and instruction, practiced at Troy; she selected schoolbooks, established a regular system of marks, and exercised the children most successfully in reading, geography and arithmetic; made copies for their training in penmanship and drawing; dictated model letters of business and friendship, and accustomed them to compose off-hand compositions, writing on their slates accounts of occurrences, and she so taught them that mistakes in Spelling were rare.

**High School**

In Boston, in 1818, the school committee voted to establish a school which would extend the upper boundaries of schooling and give the students the foundation they
would need to go into either a business or mechanical profession. The school was called the English Classical School when it opened on 21 May 1821. Three years later, this school was to be housed in a new building and was referred to in the school committee's report as the English High School. The school's course of study extended over a three year period and had one class (or course of study) to be completed per year. Students had to be at least twelve years of age and take a strict test for admittance. The masters and ushers had to have been educated at a university. When the classical school opened with over one hundred students, Mr. George Emerson was its principal master, and it was also served by a sub-master, and two ushers. Boston's first high school used regular instructors, but many of its later high schools and those established in other states used the Lancasterian method which saved them money.

The Lancasterian method was not used at Central High School of Philadelphia in 1842 where John Hart was principal. The students ranged in age from twelve to twenty-one. Mr. Hart was praised highly for his management skills. His chief function was not teaching, but guiding others. He handled every discipline case. Even though there were eight professors and two assistants, there was never any indication of dissension among the staff. The principal had to be and was very
resourceful in terms of providing for the needs of the school. Mr. Hart worked hard and was well-qualified academically. He had to examine candidates for admission twice a year as well as instructors to fulfill vacancies. It was during the examination of teachers that he discerned a need for teacher improvement. He began Saturday classes for teachers. The classes were continued and taught by the professors of Central High School. Mr. Hart was instrumental in getting some courses, which were taught in the high school, moved down to the grammar school.51

Teachers in Illinois

During that same decade in Illinois, the 1845 law called for a State Superintendent of Education, who was to serve as ex-officio officer, as well as the election of a school commissioner who was to examine those people wishing to teach. Many of them were female teachers from the east who were well received. The requirements were knowledge of reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, and history of the United States. These standards were too high because they prevented schools from being able to get qualified teachers. The standards were reduced and teachers were allowed to determine in which of the subjects they were able to take the examination. In 1849, the original requirements for
obtaining teaching certificates were restored. The salaries at this time were $13.00 per month for men, and $6.00 for women.\footnote{52}

During the 1850s some of the teachers were unfit, others may have been members of other professions, such as medicine and law. Some were surveyors and farmers. It was not uncommon for male teachers to have one source of income in the summer, and to teach school in the winter. It was also not uncommon for school to be dismissed early because the teacher had had too much to drink. Often, ministers would not show up for church for the same reason. This was tolerated by the community.\footnote{53} Some teachers were young. A teacher who was eighteen years old was described as having fought to outwit students who felt that he should have given them a treat on Christmas Day. He finally won, but treated them anyway to two gallons of whiskey and two pounds of sugar.\footnote{54} His win was especially significant because often the students who attended school in the winter were big and rowdy.\footnote{55}

**SUMMARY**

America's educational institutions and educators went through some interesting developmental changes from mid-eighteenth century to mid-nineteenth century. This is the general time frame within which we find some significant changes in district schools, grammar schools, academies,
and common schools. All of these schools co-existed, but had an increase or decrease in numbers as social and economic conditions and needs changed.

The district schools were neighborhood schools which were supported at whatever level the community saw fit. Their purpose was to provide elementary education. The grammar schools were to provide secondary education and prepare students for college. Only those students whose families could afford the fees for tuition, books, and room and board could attend. Occasionally, a student would be fortunate enough to be sponsored by a religious group. The grammar school curricula was narrow and eventually did not meet the needs of the new Americans. The Americans who did not belong to the middle class aspired to acquire the knowledge and social graces which would enable them to better themselves. The academies were eager to please and so broadened their curricula to meet the demands for a larger number of subjects and for a shorter course of study. Academies, like grammar schools, required money. The leaders of the nation and reformers wanted everyone to have an education and proposed a school which would deliver an education which would mold responsible citizens in the common school. These schools would be free and accessible to all Americans.

The evolution of our elementary and secondary schools had two elements which were of major concern throughout
most of the century, that is, 1750 through 1850. They were the source of funding for schools, and the quality of teachers. By mid-nineteenth century, free public schools and the effort to standardize the qualifications of teachers through certification had begun.
CHAPTER I ENDNOTES


9. Ibid., 185-186.

10. Ibid., 186.

11. Ibid., 196.


15. Sizer, 1.

16. Brown, 156.
17. Sizer, 2.
18. Ibid., 16.
22. Ibid., 185.
25. Ibid., 75.
28. Ibid., 12.
31. Ibid., 26.
32. Ibid., 27.
33. Brown, 275-278.
34. Robinson, 41.
35. Brown, 251.
37. Ibid., 29-49.
38. Ibid., 49.
39. Ibid., 50.
40. Barnard, 344-350.
41. Ibid., 349.
42. Ibid., 55.
43. Cremin, 80.
44. Barnard, 349.
45. Ibid., 249-267.
46. Brubacher, 122.
47. Ibid., 164.
48. Barnard, 163.
49. Brown, 300.
50. Ibid., 305.
51. Barnard, 482.
53. Ibid., 63.
54. Ibid., 67.
55. Ibid., 66.
CHAPTER II
THE PRINCIPAL TEACHER 1854–1890

The newest ideas related to education usually occurred in the northeastern area of the United States. The development of these ideas probably were facilitated by the easier access to new ideas from Europe due to the coastal location. Horace Mann, who was elected Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts in 1837, promoted ideas such as consolidation of schools, classification of students, improvements in books, methods of discipline, and qualification of teachers. He also exposed poor administration practices. The growing midwest was the perfect setting for the implementation of many of these ideas. By 1850, in the urban areas, the business people and politicians had gained control of many district schools by becoming allies with the local people. Local people were reluctant to give up control of their schools. However, centralization of schools and standardization of instruction and materials were key processes which contributed to the loss of lay control of the schools. The effort to centralize control of schools was very prominent between 1840 and 1850 and was
characterized by the building of bureaucratic through the development of town educational systems, the development of the mechanics for state supervision and regulation, and the continued change from private to public schools. Reformers were concerned about the cost of maintaining many scattered schools and the quality of instruction they would provide. According to Kaestle, school promoters sought larger school units and more supervision through legislation.

**Shifting of Curricula**

As free tax supported public schools increased, the number of students who attended and completed elementary school also increased. Efforts were made to vary curricula and adopt quality textbooks. Schooling was being extended by the establishment of high schools. Some were totally new, others were simply extensions of academies and grammar schools. Once these students had completed elementary school they needed somewhere to go. Virtually, none of these students were college bound. The academies were still an option for those who could afford them, but they did not offer a curricula for the general public. By 1850, the movement to provide schooling for college bound as well as career bound students was spreading. It had begun in 1821 with Boston's English High School. The Boston High School was originally called
the English Classical School. High schools served students who were rich and poor and whose parents were in many different occupations. Over several decades, high schools were established for girls and some were co-educational. The curricula were designed to meet the needs of the students by offering many courses which were short in duration. For example, Elmer Brown wrote that when he taught high school in a small town in central Illinois:

The course of study was three years in length and included twenty-four subjects, all required. In his senior year, the student in this school studied natural philosophy, zoology, civil government, essays, astronomy, physiology, universal history, mental philosophy, and chemistry, the most of them for one-third of the year each. I do not think this instance was at all exceptional. The school had then no laboratory and but little apparatus, and only two teachers were employed in the high school department.

The practice of adding any and all subjects requested by the masses to the high school curricula led to an adjustment in the newly developed educational system. Some of the high school courses were shifted up to the college level, others were shifted to the elementary school level. In 1893, The Committee of Ten, which was appointed by the National Council on Education, to devise a plan which would systematize and improve the program of the secondary schools, submitted its report. The committee suggested longer courses with college bound
students and non-college bound students going through the same program. 

This change to a more systemized classification of courses was helped by the fact that classes were now graded. Each grade now had its own course of study. The total number of years in school was twelve, however, the number of grades varied from six to thirteen. Eventually, the number of grades were standardized to ten. Originally, the higher numbered grades were primary ones, the lower numbered grades were for grammar school, but this was reversed in 1875.

**Expansion of Principals' Duties**

Demands on those teachers who had been designated as principals began to grow as schools were graded. States began to regulate teacher training, and school administration developed as a field of study. According to Paul Pierce, a detailed list of the duties of "Male Principals" appeared in the board report of Cincinnati in 1853. These duties were administrative in nature, attending to the daily needs of the school and its plant in a routine manner. Pierce considered the following list of duties as being typical of the principals' duties during the middle of the century.

"The Male Principal," as the local superintendent, is responsible for the observance and enforcement of the rules and regulations of the Board for the guidance and
directions of Teachers and government of the schools, and is accordingly invested with authority to carry them into effect. "With the cooperation of the Female Principal, he is to classify the pupils in the different grades above the primary department, according to their advancement in arithmetical studies. He shall employ half an hour each day in visiting the schools of his District, and shall announce to the other departments, by the ringing of a bell, the hour for beginning and closing school, for the recitation of classes and for recess. He shall promulgate to all the Teachers such rules and regulations of general application as he may receive from the Board, and record the same on the blank leaves of the Rules and Regulations shall transmit to the Clerk, at the close of each school month, all bills for salaries of teachers and report monthly to the Board according to blank forms furnished him, with such additional information as the Board may from time to time require, or as he may think important to communicate and any failure, except sickness, to file with the Clerk the aforesaid report, according to the full requirements of the forms prescribed, will debar him from the reception of his salary until the same is rendered to the satisfaction of the Board. He shall transmit to the clerks, at the close of each quarter, a report of the condition of all the schools in his District, and a similar report at the close of each year. He shall also at the close of each year return to the Clerk the keys to the rooms of the house over which he has had charge. He shall see to the safe keeping and priorities of the house, furniture, apparatus, fences, trees and shrubbery and maintain the strictest cleanliness in the school and out houses. He shall require the pupils not to appear in or about the yard earlier than fifteen minutes before the opening of the school, and prevent them by noise or otherwise from annoying the neighborhood of the school. He shall provide for the sweeping and scrubbing, lighting and maintaining the fires of the house, by some suitable person or persons acceptable to the local Trustees, and for payment of the same, shall make an equal per cent assessment on all the teachers in the house, according to their respective salaries, and any teacher declining to pay his or her share of such assessment, upon
being reported to the Board, will have the same deducted from their salary.10

The Principal Teacher Defined

The office of the principal administrator evolved from the practice of having a head teacher or principal teacher. In the early 1800s, when there was more than one classroom in a school house, the person with the most experience became the principal teacher. The term implies that the person was still expected to teach while being the main administrator in charge. Teaching was still their main duty.11 In addition to teaching, the principal teacher served as clerk and took care of the cleaning and heating needs of the school. According to Pierce, there is evidence that in some cities, schools were placed under one principal as early as 1838. However, credit for placing one principal over all departments in 1847 has been given to John Philbrick, who was principal of the Quincy School in Boston.12

City Superintendents

The same growth in population and systemization which led to the consolidation of schools and the placement of one principal in charge of each building, also contributed to the establishment of city superintendents. The office of the city superintendent developed slowly between 1837 and 1860, when the first superintendents were appointed in
Buffalo, New York, and Louisville, Kentucky. A superintendent's main job was to coordinate the work of a district that was composed of several schools. The plan was for superintendents to relieve boards from handling the business needs of the schools, and have the principals who were considered to be very independent leaders in their schools, take on these tasks.

There were variations in who became superintendent as well as in their duties. Some superintendents were educated. William Harvey Wells, Chicago's second superintendent, was well educated. During his teens, he attended an academy and at twenty-two, he attended Andover Teacher's Seminary. Mr. Wells had a total of twelve years of teaching experience and had served as the principal of an academy in Massachusetts. Others were not. Some of them who were not educators were involved in politics and got their jobs by political appointments. According to Moehlman, the superintendent was primarily an instructional supervisor from 1860-1900. However, their supervision of instruction was limited to making suggestions because principals decided whether or not they would act upon any recommendations made by the superintendent. Other superintendents had duties such as working with supplies, textbooks, course of study, and records. Generally, the executive decisions regarding such matters as personnel, purchasing, and other financial
expenditures were made by boards.14

**Principal Power**

The establishment of the office of principal teacher preceded that of the office of superintendent. The principals were in contact with the boards of education through the trustees and working committees and were in positions of authority. They were accustomed to being independent leaders of their buildings and were resistant to any change which necessitated relinquishing their authority. The building principals and their teachers were responsible for the instructional program. The principal was responsible for the plant. When superintendents were hired, principals felt that much of this autonomy was threatened.15

In some places, superintendents tested students' progress. In New York, in 1859, a group of principals protested the procedure being used to evaluate their students. As a result, the procedure was changed.16 In Boston, principals were said to have been passively resistant to change during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.17 According to Moehlman, around 1865 when principals were thought to be resisting changes in curricula, regional supervisors were created by superintendents to insure that requests to make changes were followed. This practice did not affect high
schools. In St. Louis, in 1898, the board was careful to state that the duties of central office supervisors should not infringe upon the rights and authority of the principal.

High school principals were not subjected to these conditions because they remained independent. From the time the office of city superintendent of schools was created in 1837, in Buffalo, New York, until the turn of the twentieth century, superintendents made the high school principals their allies. High school principals were also closely allied with colleges and universities, and the boards of education. As a result of these alliances, the high school principal was independent, strong, and prestigious to an even greater degree than was the elementary school principal. Pierce, referring to primary principals, states that:

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the principalship in large cities had acquired certain outstanding characteristics: 1) a teaching male principal as the head of the school, 2) female and primary departments with women principals under the direction of the male principal, and 3) prescribed duties which were limited largely to discipline, routine administrative acts and grading of pupils in various rooms.

Women and Minorities

The trend of having mostly male teachers in the early 1800s shifted during the first half of the nineteenth century. More women were hired and paid less than their
male counterparts even though they were considered the best teachers for young children. The hiring of women also aided the organization of the schools because most assistants could be females and their overseer or principals were males. In fact, by 1900 women comprised 70 percent of teachers of the pre-collegiate level.\textsuperscript{22}

The public school advocates did not argue for the inclusion of African Americans in the schools, not even as students. As a matter of fact the predominant protestant Anglo-American culture resisted integration because of racism. In the south, from around 1820 to 1850, African Americans were forbidden to learn to read and write. The slave owners feared that these skills would make them unfit as slaves. Many slaves continued to learn these skills in their compounds and other clandestine locations.\textsuperscript{23} In the Northeast, there was also a division between those African Americans who wanted integration and those who favored segregation. One of the key issues of the controversy was that the African American teachers should be able to teach their own race. The controversy continued and generally schools remained segregated across the nation.\textsuperscript{24}

\textbf{Chicago's Finances and Politics}

In 1837, Chicago was incorporated and there was a shift in control of the schools from the lay people and
many operators of private and religious schools to the City Council. The City Council appointed a Board of School Inspectors. There were seven of these unpaid inspectors. Each district was to elect three trustees. In 1839, the new city charter was amended. Among the changes were the rights given to the City Council to appoint local district trustees and inspectors; to choose textbook and to prescribe the course of study. The latter right was relinquished to the inspectors in 1841. The school funds were controlled by the County Commissioner until 1839, when the council was given control, which it maintained for the next three decades. Once in control of the School Tax Fund the council began sub-dividing, selling and leasing the school section. Many under the table transactions were made. Land was sold at low prices and rents were not collected. Often, properties were occupied by unknown tenants and never regained.

Much of this land was obtained by the city's business community which planned Chicago's successful rebound from the economic fall of 1848. The Illinois and Michigan Canal was completed by 1848 and in 1851, several railroad lines were completed. This improvement in transportation meant economic growth due to the increased ability to move goods into and out of the city. The growth also meant new jobs, new workers, and more children. The city's population increased from 4,470 in 1840 to 29,963 in 1850.
The number of elementary students grew during this same period from 317 to 1,919.\(^{29}\)

The rapid population growth was cause for the trustees and inspectors to take another look at their duties. They were finding it difficult to keep up with their personal interests and civic duties. They were deemed by law to take care of and preserve schools. The trustees and inspectors could recommend repairs, purchases, and the building of schools to the council. The inspectors could not set teachers' salaries but could hire teachers. As early as 1840, the trustees tried to be sure textbooks were uniform and attendance was recorded.\(^{30}\) The inspectors recommended establishing a high school in 1841 but this did not become a reality until 1856.\(^{31}\)

**Chicago's First Principal Teachers**

The council had the authority to sell and rent school lands, and pay bills. Upon the recommendation of the trustees, the council used this authority to build a new school in District 1 in 1844. The building was completed in 1845. A. D. Sturtevant, Lucia A. Garvin, and Martha Durant were the teachers assigned to the new school.\(^{32}\) In fact, Mr. Sturtevant was appointed as the principal-teacher of the first permanent public school built in Chicago.\(^{33}\) According to Mary Herrick, "the teachers were
to keep order and dispense knowledge."^{34}

Even though Sturtevant was Chicago's first public school principal-teacher, he was not the first to hold this title. In the East, the term teacher had replaced master. The term principal was used singularly or in combination with other words to identify one who instructed. Button and Provenzo cite various terms which were synonymous with the word teacher. Some of the terms were tutor, professor, professor-principal, principal tutor, tutor governess, instructor, and preceptor.^{35} A biographical sketch of William Harvey Wells, the second superintendent of Chicago Public Schools, included the fact that the administrator of the East Hartford School, where Wells taught in 1831, was called the principal.^{36}

Sturtevant, as well as many other educators came to Illinois from the East, the section of the country where the concept of the common school was conceived. Some other educators from the East were Elisa Chappell, Grenville T. Sproat, and Frances Willard. Elisa Chappell, who arrived in Chicago in June, 1833, was born in Genesco, New York. Miss Chappell opened a school for young students and eventually accepted older students whom she was determined to prepare to teach.^{37} Grenville T. Sproat, who opened an English and Classical school for boys in 1833 was from Boston. Miss Frances Willard opened a school for young ladies in 1836. From her letters to
friends in the East, one could discern the great demand for her services and the difficulty she had in finding ample facilities. Her enrollment grew from seventeen to fifty-seven students in one month.38

Some of the instructors in the public schools in Chicago were not always held in high esteem. Gale describes some of them as, "unqualified and indifferent teachers; men who had never fitted themselves for the work, or who engaged in it temporarily, because of lack of employment." He refers to many of them as being incompetent and having the audacity to take the "exalted office of instructor."39

The instructors in Chicago were expected to give the students moral and mental training. The students were also to be taught problem-solving, grammar, geometry, and geography. In some cases composition writing and declamation were part of the curricula.40 Perhaps the instructors did not feel it necessary to prepare themselves to teach the expected curriculum because teaching to them was a temporary position. They were really studying to become lawyers, ministers, or doctors.

Several teachers were cited by name. Rumsey and Collins were mentioned as unforgettable because of their two special qualifications, "of monkey cunning and heartless tyranny."41 Mr. Sturtevant was spoken of as one who was respected by, "almost every scholar in the
building." He remained in the teaching profession for sixteen years.

Most school rooms of the time were considered to be inadequate and unfit. However, Mr. Sturtevant was fortunate because he was assigned as principal-teacher to "Miltmore's Folly," a new school. "Miltmore's Folly" was so named after the inspector who insisted upon its being built for the exorbitant sum of $7,500. Its official name was School Number One. In 1858 the name was changed to the Dearborn School.

Although Mr. Sturtevant and his co-workers were fortunate in their building assignment, they were not so lucky in regards to their working conditions. One problem was instructing over five hundred students with only three teachers. According to Herrick, "As the number of children grew, by sheer necessity teachers used the Lancastrian method of having older students drill the younger ones.

Superintendent Dore

The year 1854 was especially significant for businesses in Chicago. The Rock Island Railroad was completed and provided an impetus to industry; but from 1 June to 1 September, a cholera epidemic raged so rampantly that 1,424 people died. Business was seriously curtailed. Several banks were closed. One of the town's prominent
bankers poisoned his wife and later committed suicide in jail by poisoning himself.

The year 1854 was just as significant for education. The inspectors, many of whom were in manufacturing, finance, railroading, insurance, and medicine found they were unable to devote ample time to the increasing demands of managing the schools. Consequently, the city council created the office of superintendent of schools on 28 November 1853, and decided that the superintendent's salary was to be $1,000 annually. However, they made the actual appointment in 1854.

In June of 1854, there was an amendment to the ordinance giving the inspectors the authority to vary the salary which was not to exceed $1,500. Again Chicago looked to the East. John Dore of Boston was hired and given a salary of $1,500 per year. During his first year, Superintendent Dore noted that each school operated as an independent unit with little or no organization of students, textbooks, or curriculum. He described principals as ones who, "did little more than govern the filing in and out of classes." In his first report, Dore encouraged citizens to take more than a political interest in their schools. He asked for their monetary support as well. During his first year, he did much to organize the schools as evidenced by this excerpt from his report:
The pupils in the schools have been classified, and the several classes apportioned among the several teachers, so as to secure a proper division of labor and individual responsibility. A system of promotion has been adopted depending upon the qualifications of the pupils, determined by examination.\(^{50}\)

The use of class books and the revival of the teacher institutes were among the changes made by Superintendent Dore. The inspectors supported him by making an effort to hire the best teachers. Dore's recommendation to establish a high school was finally acted upon in 1856.

**Central High School Principal**

When Central High School opened 8 October 1856, it was public, co-educational, and offered normal training courses for teachers. Its principal, Charles Dupee, earned $1,500 per year.\(^{51}\) The new high school had three distinct departments: classical, English and normal.\(^{52}\) The requirements to graduate from them were; three years of classical, three years of English and two years of normal respectively. It was to have had one hundred of the best scholars from the ungraded rooms. Two of the main reasons for its establishment were to give some students advanced training and to relieve crowded ungraded rooms by reducing the number of older children.\(^{53}\) After all of the testing had been completed, the first class consisted of 169 boys and girls. These students had to be twelve years old or older in order to take the written
entrance examination. If the students were sixteen, they could enter the two-year normal course.\textsuperscript{54}

The high school principal in Chicago appeared to have enjoyed the same independence and higher pay as other high school principals across the nation who in 1859 were averaging $1,800 compared to the $1,250 earned by grammar school principals.\textsuperscript{55} The Chicago Board of Education had few rules which were written specifically for high schools. In 1862, rule number sixty read, "High Schools are committed to the hands of the principal."\textsuperscript{56} In 1865, rule number 8 read, "The Library is under the special care and supervision of the principal, subject to the direction of the Board of Education."\textsuperscript{57} In 1870, there was still only one high school in Chicago, however, the population of Chicago had increased significantly. The high school housed the normal division and employed nine male teachers and eleven female teachers. The principal's salary had increased to $2,500 a year. Section 52, of a board report reads, "The general management and discipline of the High School are committed to the hands of the principal; but each of the assistants shall be responsible, under the direction of the principal, for the order and discipline of his own room."\textsuperscript{58}

The new high school in 1856 had a classical course which offered Latin and Greek and was aimed at preparing students for college. There was an English course which
offered Latin, readings in English, and sixteen other subjects. The third course was the normal course offered to students who were at least sixteen years old. The normal course excluded foreign languages, but included United States history theory of teaching and mental philosophy. In 1874, there were three two year "division" high schools located in the Sheldon, Moseley, and Skinner school buildings.

By 1881, the high schools began offering a four year course of study in the English Department. The classical course was still three years in duration. The Central and West Division High Schools were consolidated. Finally, the North and South Division High Schools which were housed in primary and grammar schools were to be moved to newly erected buildings in 1882. More concern was being shown for the curricula. Some educators wanted the high schools to prepare students for college. Superintendent Howland expressed concern that no teacher in the High School should have been less prepared, professionally, than the grammar school principal.

The Population Explosion

Providing an adequate number of seats for elementary students in the proper geographical location was an ongoing problem because the new settlers moved as soon as their economic conditions improved. It was not easy to
predict the number of seats which would be needed nor how long residents would remain in a given area. The increase in the number of students was due mainly to immigration and the annexation of unincorporated areas. From 1837, when Chicago was incorporated, to 1890, twenty-one areas were annexed. Chicago's population increased by 57 percent between 1880 and 1890.\textsuperscript{63} This tremendous population growth impacted on schools and those who were responsible for them. Superintendents and principals were among those persons affected.

\textbf{Roles and Responsibilities}

In the 1860s changes were made in the roles and responsibilities of the superintendent and the principal. The principal teachers were relieved for about one-half of the day to take care of administrative duties.\textsuperscript{64} The duties of principal teachers had grown from teaching to keeping order, classifying students, and devising courses of study. The tasks of the principal teacher were in the areas of maintenance, discipline, supervision, and administration. Among his administrative duties, the principal had to approve bills for all purchases, send notices of teacher absences, establish rules for having order in the halls and stairways, and keeping class books and general records. Records had to be kept of attendance, department, scholarship, dates of admission,
discharge, age, nativity, residence, name of parent or guardian, total school membership, average belonging, average daily attendance, and number of tardies. Principals, with appropriations made for maintenance, had to purchase all articles needed for sweeping and cleaning the school houses. They had to hire suitable persons to make fires, sweep, dust the furniture, and take care of outhouses, the basement, and the grounds. The principal was also in charge of washing the floors, desks, chairs, doors, wainscoting, and the dusting of the ceilings, floors, and walls. Changing the furniture was also among the duties of the principal teacher. Due to the increased duties, the principal teacher was given a head assistant, who was to help with record-keeping and perform other duties as assigned by the principal.

During the early 1860s, under Superintendent Wells, as part of his supervisory duties, the principal was expected to visit classrooms, to meet with teachers once a week for consultation, to examine class books once a month, and to give directions to assure accuracy and uniformity. Principals served on board committees. It was really through these committees that the board functioned. In 1873, there were eighteen standing committees whose titles indicated the main thrust of the many areas into which principals had input. The committees were: buildings and ground, apparatus and
furniture, janitors and supplies, salaries, publications, finance and auditing, school fund property, text books and course of instruction, examination of teachers, judiciary, high school, normal school, evening school, medals and rewards, rules and regulations, German, music, and drawing. It is uncertain as to what degree they participated in each area. They were very active in the examination of teachers and in devising the course of study for Chicago. It was not uncommon for them to meet on Saturdays, and work during the evenings and during the summer without compensation.

By 1884, the supervisory personnel in music, German, and other disciplines had grown and their presence in the schools created a conflict. George Howland, who was the superintendent of schools at that time, saw the principal as the chief supervisor of his school. He stated:

The prime factor in the success of individual schools is the principal, and no amount of itinerant supervision can supply his place. Through him largely must the General Superintendent act upon the schools. He only can efficiently supervise the work of the schoolroom, correcting errors and devising methods for securing better results.

The responsibility for discipline in the schools was shared between the principal and the superintendent. The principal was to read board regulations to the students so they understood what was expected of them. He had to report (to the superintendent) the names of students whose
conduct, in or out of school, he deemed unfit. The superintendent reviewed them and decided what the consequences would be. Students who were absent from yearly examinations and did not have an excuse were suspended by the principal immediately. The superintendent and parents had to be notified of the suspension.\textsuperscript{70}

By 1868, the superintendent's duties had become too numerous for one man. When Superintendent Pickard requested an assistant, he wrote: "This suggestion is made not from an unwillingness on my part to do the work assigned me, so far as time and ability will permit but because with all my willingness, I can not do the work of more than one man."\textsuperscript{71}

**Shortage of Competent Principals**

It seems that finding competent people to fill positions in the schools was as much of an on-going problem as was finding seats for students. From 1854 to 1870, principal teachers were selected by school inspectors.\textsuperscript{72} In 1870, the practice of having them selected by the board was instituted. Each candidate had to submit credentials. From these candidates, some were selected to take an exam. The final step in the process was voting by the board members. A candidate had to receive a majority vote from the board.\textsuperscript{73}
In the Sixth Annual Report, the board president wrote of the difficulty encountered in finding competent teachers, principals, and head assistants. Seven years later the dilemma of how to fill the position of principal was still a problem. Principals of grammar schools, who had more than one school to supervise, often had to go from building to building. This meant that a lady teacher would have to supervise in his absence since usually the principal was the only male in the school. It was felt that this was not a good practice for several reasons. First, students who attended the grammar schools, "should have the influence of a thorough male teacher." Secondly, there were jobs in the building and on the playground which should not be done by a lady. Thirdly, there was need for a training ground for the many new principals who would be needed to meet the demand due to the rapid growth of the city.

**Women and Minorities**

From 1854 until 1875, there were differences between the salaries of male and female principals in Chicago. Men were usually the heads of grammar schools which were larger and women were in charge of primary schools. In 1875, Chicago began paying principals according to longevity and size of schools. Principals having 12 to 15 rooms started at $1,200 and advanced by increments of $200
each year to a maximum of $1,800; principals with schools of 16 to 19 rooms advanced from $1,400 to $2,000 in four years; and those in schools of 20 or more rooms advanced from $1,600 to $2,200 with the same yearly increments. According to principals salary schedules for 1874, high school principals made $3,000 a year; district school principals made from $1,800 to $2,200; and grade school teachers made from $500 to $750. The salary schedule in 1876 was $2,250 for high school principals; and from $825 to $1,550 for elementary school principals. The board had reduced salaries due to a depression and shortage of funds.

There were no female high school principals as late as 1889. In the year 1888-1889, there were 38 male and 47 female principals in the grammar and primary schools. These numbers increased during the 1889-1890 school year. There were 89 male and 81 female principals. The high school principals grew in number from three, between 1888 and 1889, to ten between 1889 and 1890.

Primary and grammar school teachers could teach with only a grammar school education which was what most of them had. Less than half had graduated from the four year high school or the two year normal division. Most of the high school teachers had college degrees.

Even though prior to the Civil War the schools were integrated, there were no African-American teachers or
principals. The Civil War caused a great amount of hostility toward African-Americans and this hostility precipitated the board of education's establishing the colored school. However, this order was repealed in 1865 and the school was discontinued.

According to Homel, "Chicago had expanded educational opportunities for black children, but its residents were sharply divided over the desirability of black teachers." Mary E. Mann, a mulatto girl, who after a vote by the school board, was admitted to the high school which prepared students for college and teaching only. She was not allowed to participate in the graduation ceremony with her classmates. 79

Commentary

There were significant changes which influenced the principalship from 1854 to 1890. The role of the principal had grown from that of a single teacher in sole authority of a one room schoolhouse to that of the one person designated from a group of teachers as the sole authority for the group. This person needed no special training or credentials. However, near the end of the nineteenth century, the trend was toward professionalization of the teaching force. This affected the principalship in that the principal's primary duties moved from those of a clerical nature to those related to
the organization and management of schools. Principals were expected to train many of the new teachers.\textsuperscript{80} This training was done primarily by giving demonstration lessons and conferences with the teachers.\textsuperscript{81} In Chicago, principals prepared presentations on educational theories and principles. These were shared at the superintendents' meetings.\textsuperscript{82}

Another trend which developed during the latter half of the nineteenth century was that principals were no longer only white males. Women were assigned to head up primary and grammar schools but were paid less. There were women who excelled in the field of education in spite of the prevailing attitude. In 1865, Ella Flagg Young became the principal of the Practice School for teachers. In 1887, she delivered a paper to the very male dominated National Education Association.

There were other changes which affected the role of the principal. One such change was population growth. Population growth impacted upon the number of schools needed. When schools became too numerous for one organizational pattern to work another pattern had to be designed. Therefore, teachers became principal teachers. Superintendents had to be appointed when principals became too numerous. Supervisors were needed when principals were not responsive to the superintendent. Principals and superintendents needed assistants.
The growth of this hierarchy was accompanied by the development of job specialization. The principals' responsibilities grew from teaching and doing general clerical duties to include supervisory duties which at one time were done by the superintendent. As the needs in education changed, the responsibilities of the principal changed to include whatever needed to be done to help meet new goals.

As the end of the nineteenth century grew near and the job of principal teacher had been in existence for nearly a half century in Chicago, it was clear that changes which were affecting the principal teacher were taking place. There were changes as to who could become principals as well as in what their roles and responsibilities were. As the city grew, and the educational system developed and became more complex, so did the roles of the principals. Their relationships to other people in Chicago's political, social, and educational systems were indeed changing.
CHAPTER II ENDNOTES


3. Kaestle, 120.


5. Noble, 188.

6. Ibid., 292.

7. Ibid., 188.


11. Pierce, 11.

12. Ibid., 9.


15. Ibid., 241.
16. **Eighteenth Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of New York, 1850, 8-9.**

17. **Annual Report of the School Committee of Boston, 1903, 52.**


20. Moehlman, 564.


26. **Thirty-fourth Annual Report, 46.**


30. A. T. Andreas, vol. 1, 211.

31. Herrick, 30.

32. Andreas, vol. 1, 211.

33. Andreas, vol. 1, 211.

34. Herrick, 27.


40. Ibid., 209, 216.

41. Ibid., 212.

42. Ibid., 215.

43. Herrick, 28.

44. Herrick, 29.

45. A. T. Andreas, vol. 1, 211.


47. Herrick, 29.


49. Ibid., 214.


54. Herrick, 41.


59. Herrick, 41.


80. Pierce, p. 36.


CHAPTER III
PRINCIPAL AS MANAGERS

The National Influence of Educational Progressives

The period from 1890-1920 has been referred to as the Progressive Era. The trend was to transfer decision making from the citizenry at large to managers who were considered experts. The Progressive Era had been preceded by a period in which corruption permeated almost every major area of American life: business, government, and education. The thrust of the educational evangelists had been to enable citizens to fight evil. The emphasis of the educational progressives differed in that their focus was science, efficiency, and problem solving. The trend was toward centralization and professionalization.¹ Hierarchies were built and grew into business and educational trusts.

Cremin defined progressive education as part of an effort to give everyone in "the new civilization" an opportunity to fulfill the American dream. This dream was one which offered every member of the new urban industrialized society a government which was by, of, and for the people.² The new civilization described by
Cremin derived from massive immigration and technological advances. The proponents of change aimed for organizational efficiency, subject specialization, and teacher/administrator professionalization. Their method of achieving these goals was social engineering, that is, by giving people the expertise needed to do better jobs at higher levels.³

According to Tyack:

By the turn of the twentieth century leadership in American public education had gravitated from the part-time educational evangelists who had created the common-school system to a new breed of professional managers who made education a lifelong career and who were reshaping the schools according to canons of business efficiency and scientific expertise.⁴

Smaller boards of education composed of successful businessmen selected superintendents to be the actual expert managers. Organizational skills and expert knowledge were key to the success of an administrator and became part of the qualifications they needed in order to be selected.⁵ Superintendents also had to select good principals; thus the requirements for a principal became more stringent as the principalship became more managerial.⁶

Principals in the large cities such as New York, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, and Philadelphia were expected to be university trained and/or to have had a specified number of years of teaching experience ranging from three
to ten years. An applicant for a high school certificate in New York, in 1897, had to have had: (1) a college degree; (2) ten years of teaching experience, five of which had to have been in a secondary or higher institution; (3) and had to pass an exam in four areas, one of which was personality.⁷

**Women and Minorities**

Women challenged male dominance in education by becoming principals and attaining some positions as top administrators. In fact, by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, women out numbered men as principals of elementary schools. Men dominated as high school principals.⁸ According to Tyack, in 1905, only 5.7 percent of high school principals were women. The male superintendents who were in control liked the female principals because they took orders well and generally were not expecting additional promotions.⁹ Sometimes women were eliminated from the market because they were unlikely to have some of the necessary qualifications such as department head experience. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, salary for women became an issue. Oftentimes, women could not be married if they were to be teachers or principals.¹⁰

Debates about integration and segregation continued. Ground which was gained by African Americans relative to
integration and equality since reconstruction was being lost. Tyack notes that in addition to the formal criteria for principal selection, there were also informal criteria: ethnicity, religion, friendship, and graft were all part of this criteria. Ellwood Cubberley, who received his Ph.D. degree from Teachers College, in 1905, throughout the years taught, "the inherent superiority of white, male, Anglo-Saxon, native-born Americans," and was not questioned by teachers nor administrators, most of whom were native-born protestants. Cubberley put African American education in the same class with education for the blind, retarded, and crippled. He also advocated segregated schools for African Americans as did most other educational leaders and citizens across the United States during this time.

Chicago Overview

Chicago was one of the large cities affected by the tenets of progressivism. By 1900, it had risen from the ashes of the fire of 1871 to become the second largest city in the United States. Its population was over one million. Chicago's economic growth and prosperity were accompanied by social and economic problems. The immigrants were crowded into slums, areas where housing was not only of poor quality, but was inadequate and unhealthy as well. The working conditions were poor and
wages of the workers were low. City services were few for the slum dwellers. Garbage was not collected, and few streets were paved or lighted. The water from Lake Michigan was contaminated from refuse dumped into it. The poor were often sold spoiled and contaminated food. The city slums had few parks and the schools in these densely populated areas had no space for playgrounds. Working conditions for the immigrants were just as deplorable as their living conditions. Workers had no security or bargaining power. They began to realize that one way to fight these deplorable conditions was through unionizing.

Principals had their own organizations. The men belonged to the George Howland Club, and the women belonged to the Ella Flagg Young Club. On 28 October 1899, the groups united and became known as the Chicago Principals Club. Their purpose for organizing was not a financial one, but it was "to unify and facilitate thought and action on educational questions, and to improve the social and professional stature of the Chicago teachers and principals." In order to become a member, principals had to pay dues which were set at two dollars annually. The principals met and discussed educational issues and made staff development and curricular contributions to the field while teachers continued their struggle for better pay and working conditions.
General and District Superintendents

The superintendent's job had expanded so much by 1890 that eight assistant superintendents were appointed. The school system continued to enlarge to the point at which each assistant superintendent was given his own section of the city. In 1888, the assistants became known as district superintendents. The district superintendents reached a point where they were operating their areas as independent units as far as what was taught, when, and in many other personnel and curricular matters. In order to stem this practice, in 1905, district superintendents were transferred several times so that they could become familiar with several other districts. The superintendent began to meet with the district superintendents, who were treated as a board, to discuss policies which would apply to all of the schools.

The district superintendents visited and observed the conditions of all schools. Teachers were examined. Discipline, instruction, and ways in which improvement could be made were discussed with the principals. District superintendents also assigned and transferred teachers. Even though the principal evaluated teachers, the board of superintendents could adjust those ratings up or down. They also reserved the power to make the final
decision regarding a teacher's rating of inefficient. That is, if a principal rated a teacher low enough to be dismissed, the district superintendent plus one other had to agree before the teacher could be dismissed. Salaries to be given to teachers entering the system from outside of the city were based on the recommendations of the superintendent of the district. The principals requested additional openings but it was the board of district superintendents who decided when classrooms would be opened or closed.¹⁹

**Progressivism and the Superintendency of Lane, Cooley, and Young**

In 1890, in Chicago, reformers continued to work for change. In 1892, the staff of the newly established University of Chicago began to contribute ideas for educational change. Progress was slow. There was continued discontent with the state of education in Chicago. Dissatisfaction was so great that in 1898, Mayor Harrison appointed an Educational Commission. The commission was chaired by William R. Harper of the University of Chicago. It was impressive, for the commission was composed of the presidents of thirteen prestigious universities and board of education superintendents of twelve of America's largest cities. The commission made an in-depth study of the entire school system. The size, the duties, and the obligations of the
Chicago Board of Education were studied. The commission scrutinized the role, duties, and relationship of the superintendent to the board, the city council, principals, and teachers. Some other areas to which attention was paid were the correlation of high school and elementary curricula; ample classrooms; quality teachers; community use of school buildings; decentralization and the involvement of lay persons; and continued study of the system by experts. According to Herrick, many of the commission's recommendations which required legislative action were not acted upon for years. She cited the fact that after seventy-two years, from 1898 to 1970, principals still were not in charge of the engineers and janitors in their buildings.20

The assignments of superintendents, principals, teachers, and other board employees were deeply affected by politics, especially so since all of these positions were political appointments. Each superintendent from Howland to Chadsey was affected by the political and educational practices which were prevalent during their tenure. The superintendents during the Progressive Era were Lane, Andrews, Cooley, Young, Shoop, Chadsey, and Mortensen. Lane, Cooley, and Young served for longer periods of time during this era than the others and therefore had more time to effect change.

Superintendent Lane, whose term lasted from 1891 to
1898, got along well with teachers, principals, and the board of education. Basically, the changes instituted during Lane's term were initiated by outside agencies. Some of the innovations were manual training classes in elementary schools, the adoption of kindergarten classes in the public school system, and the establishment of night school for immigrants and working youth. Lane was instrumental in getting small revisions made in the course of study.

Lane was instrumental in getting major changes in teacher training. The need for teacher training, and more scientific based curricula had been documented and publicized by Dr. Joseph Mayer Rice. Dr. Rice was an M.D. at Columbia University, who did an eight year study of school systems in Europe and the United States. Lane wrote the following remark in his first annual report: In St. Paul, St. Louis, Washington, D.C., New York, Boston and other large cities they have a system of cadeting similar to ours except that they require it after one or two years of special instruction in a training school for teachers. None are admitted to their training schools until they have completed the four year course in the high school of the city. When they enter the schools, they have been made familiar with the full course of study, the requirements of each grade, the relationship of each subject to other subjects, the methods of teaching,
and they have received special training for every department of the graded work. Chicago needs a school for the training of teachers, and only those who have completed a full high school course of study or its equivalent should be admitted.  

During this time, academic requirements to become a teacher in Chicago were fairly simple. Teachers could be assigned to an elementary school after graduating from high school or after one year's teaching experience, and taking an examination. All of the above were meaningless if the candidates did not have a political sponsor. They had to have a letter from a ward committeeman before they could become a cadet. The cadet had to serve successfully under a training teacher for six months before being hired as a regular teacher. During his tenure, Lane made a series of changes in teacher training and the requirements for the hiring of teachers.

Lane began in 1892 by providing an after hours school course for cadets. They had to attend it for six months. In 1893, the board adopted Lane's recommendation to accept cadets without a test if their scholarship scores averaged 90 percent over a four year course of study. Lane felt that many teachers were feeble mentally and physically. In December 1894, candidates had new requirements to meet before they could
receive teaching certificates. They had to have satisfactory letters of reference, four years of experience, and be high school graduates.\textsuperscript{29} This change could have been crucial in helping to reduce political influence in the hiring of teachers. According to historian Joan Smith of Loyola University, politics along with the fire of 1871 and the economy, probably were responsible for the closing of teacher preparation programs.\textsuperscript{30} Teacher preparation programs were resumed in 1896 when the Cook County Normal School turned over its holdings to the Board of Education.\textsuperscript{31} Carter Harrison, Chicago's mayor, had not been happy with Lane and felt that he should have been able to select the superintendent. In 1898, Lane was demoted and Andrews was elected. Andrews was egocentric which led to friction between him and the board. He felt that he could not function due to the board's interference. Andrews showed little respect for the teachers and received the same from them. There seemed to have been an effort on Andrews part to eliminate all influences on education including that of educators. Those who were more progressive felt that educators needed more training and more involvement in the educational process. Andrews antagonized the board so much that he was given a leave of absence two months before his contract expired. In 1900, Edwin J. Cooley was elected to succeed him and was given an unprecedented five
Freedom from political influence and professionalization were national trends in education and were subscribed to by Superintendent Cooley. However, he found that politics were still very much a part of the board's game. Cooley used the board's rule that the superintendent should report all political efforts to influence his decisions. Superintendent Cooley did just that and read a list of the names of eight such board members to the board. Mr. Cooley also fought the chairman of the school management committee who would discard reports he did not want approved. Mr. Cooley made the reports himself.

Cooley made other efforts to effect improvements in education. He tied salary to professional preparation by requesting that teachers take an examination in order to move from step seven to step eight and thereby receive a pay raise. Later, he rescinded the test requirement and required teachers to take five classes; each had to consist of 36 hours of instruction time. The provision of adequate playground space and the reduction of child labor were among Cooley's efforts. Since Cooley was not new to the system, he was able to use his knowledge to curtail some of the board's power and interference. One of his plans to avoid political tampering caused much rancor among the teachers. Teacher's ratings were secret. Those teachers who were given low ratings were given no
information regarding the rating. When Cooley resigned, the policy of secret ratings was still practiced.

Ella Flagg Young, who became superintendent in 1909, was a champion of progress and freedom for teachers and students. One of her first accomplishments was to abolish secret performance ratings of teachers. Young had been principal of the Normal School, had written her thesis on how isolation in the schools affected employees, and had been a student of John Dewey. Mrs. Young was an exponent of Dewey's philosophy. Among other things, she believed in concrete experiences for students, teacher councils, and freedom for all. She had an understanding of teachers, their roles in the classroom and community, and their needs. She believed that schools should serve as a uniting force for society. Ella Flagg Young wanted teachers to give some thought to and have some input into what they did. In order to share her philosophy regarding education and the child, Mrs. Young lectured to her teachers. She shared her beliefs that schools had to serve everyone regardless of their class, ethnicity, race, or religion. Salary increases were gained for principals and teachers. Mrs. Young had to resist negative political and social influences. There were pressures from book companies and other businesses who wanted contracts. Some people were still trying to use their influence to get people appointed to positions. Mrs. Young stood firm on
her ideals and maintained her focus on improving education.

Certification Requirements for Principals

The recommendations of the Education Commission were directed at professionalizing personnel training, standards, and administration. To professionalize personnel, the commission suggested that teachers should be in certified good health; they should have proof of professional status, such as a certificate from the Normal School or a B.A. or A.B. degree, plus practice teaching under supervision. It was recommended that the Board of Examiners should decide who entered the Normal School and that the Normal School would determine who would leave. Standards for principals were also raised.

The recommendation aimed at raising educational standards included improving the course of study by eliminating repetitions and correlating what was taught between grades and between elementary, high, and Normal schools. Kindergarten in every school was a long-range goal. Improved and increased facilities were seen as another need.

By 1890, in Chicago, the requirements to become a principal consisted of longevity in one's teaching career, maintaining residency in the city, examination results, and high annual ratings. Generally, principals were
required to have attended a normal school or have a degree from a college. In 1891, Howland required a principal's certificate. The fact that the superintendents had had the power to select, transfer, and promote principals since 1900 brought the principals closer to the direct source of power. Principals seemingly were pleased with their positions and level of preparation and were slow to take advantage of opportunities to develop professionally. They appeared to be content taking care of their clerical and routine duties.

Superintendent Cooley was not so complacent and wanted to see professional growth in Chicago's principals. He recommended that principals take a promotional examination to move from one salary group to another. To move from group three to group two, a principal had to have served one year in group three at maximum salary, have an efficiency rating of eighty percent or above, pass an examination in school management and methods of instruction in the lower grades. Principals in the second group could move to the first group by the same procedure except their examination was in professional work including school management, psychology, pedagogy, and the history of education. From December 1902, when the first examination was given, up to and including June 1904, four principals were successful in moving to group two, and six were successful in moving to group one.
In 1906, Superintendent Cooley made another suggestion by which principals could upgrade their professional standings and advance their salaries without taking an examination. He recommended their taking five university credits from an accredited institution. The courses had to be comparable to those offered for a Master's degree. The principal could not take more than two courses a year, and there was also a stipulation regarding when the courses had to be completed. The principals needed training in management skills, techniques of instruction, and scientific study because of the changes prompted by progressive educators the student population grew and had to be offered many new services in the schools.

**Duties of Principals**

In 1892, the average time in school was three years and the average lifetime was thirty-three years. From 1892 to 1921, the amount of time in school increased, instructional methods went from dull routines to manual training and active learning, and curricula improved and expanded. More students entered school and stayed longer. These changes were reflected in the duties of principals.

Many of the new services being offered to the students of the Chicago Public Schools were originally introduced and supported by public groups. Kindergarten was one such program. In 1892, kindergarten became part
of the Chicago Public Schools. The principal teachers of kindergarten were graduates of a kindergarten training college and had at least two years experience. A supervising principal was hired to coordinate the work of all of the kindergartens.41

Principals were expected to train new teachers, to be able to manage discipline, and teach all grades. In 1892, principals were given the freedom to graduate their eighth graders. This was seen as a real gain in power for principals.42 In 1894, the high school course of study was changed to meet the requirement of the institutions of higher learning by acquiring science textbooks, establishing laboratories, and increasing the use of libraries. More students were going to college.43 Students were thought to need more than the rudiments of education due to the advances being made in civilization. More scientific and manual training were being introduced so that mind and hands could be educated.44 By 1897, 66½ percent of all students were attending primary grades and stayed in school until they were fourteen.45 High schools were overcrowded. Some class memberships were as high as sixty.46 Services were provided for students with special needs such as blindness and feeblemindedness.47 By 1898, principals were considered the expert in the school and were expected to give teachers the assistance, encouragement, and know-how in classroom
management they needed. The principal along with the Board of Superintendents had set the standards for the teachers. In order to help them reach these standards, the principals, who were considered to be efficient, set the proper tone and purpose for their units and aided their teachers in the following ways according to Superintendent Lane:

The efficient principal will be watchful and helpful, always seeking to establish confidence and trust in the teacher on the part of her pupils, will supplement the teachers work with the pupils so as to show support and cooperation, will always sustain the teacher in matters of discipline, minimizing errors in judgement, aiding her in correcting mistakes so that self-respect may be maintained, and the confidence of the pupils be preserved. He will aid her to become a skillful questioner, and to lead her children to independent investigation and to a correct expression of their thought.48

There was unrest in the arena of the Chicago Public Schools. In fact, Dr. Joan Smith called the period from 1899-1909, "A Decade of School Turbulence."49 In 1898, the board had made provisions for educational councils on three levels, the school, the district, and a central level. The central council was composed of all superintendents, supervisors, and delegates from the high school and district councils. Superintendent Andrews did not feel that there was a need for teachers to have direct contact with the superintendent. He felt that it should have sufficed for principals and teachers to have their own councils. Teachers who had begun to come together to
fight for freedom of expression and better working conditions received another slap in the face when Cooley became superintendent. In 1903, principals were given the jobs which had been held by special teachers of music and art. There had been some conflict between these supervisors and the principals. The superintendent felt that this change would eliminate that conflict and make the school the unit which had control from within.

There were several other events which took place in 1903 and impacted on the job of the principal. Thirty-nine teachers and one hundred three children died in a fire at the Iroquois Theater. This tragedy served to increase everyone's awareness of the need for better and safer conditions of schools. Safety measures needed to be taken regarding fire-proofing. Health measures were also coming to the fore during this time, so interest was shown toward having better sanitary conditions and providing playground space.

More space was needed within the school buildings since the Compulsory Education Law, which had been passed in 1883, was amended. Now, children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen had to attend school the entire time school was in session. They also needed certificates verifying their ages and ability to read and write before they could work. These certificates had to be issued by the superintendent. The superintendent delegated this
duty to the principals during the regular school year. A clerk was hired to do this task during the summer months of July and August. Principals duties continued to increase in the years from 1907 to 1918. After the establishment of the Child Study Department, in 1907, teachers and principals were expected to refer children with learning as well as discipline problems.

An administrative duty principals and teachers had at the request of the superintendent was giving and grading tests for certification. They donated their time and were only given a noon-day lunch for their services. By 1907, the number of fields in which people needed to be certified had grown to the degree that there had to be a change in the way certification was attained. The Board of Education appointed a Board of Examiners. The Board of Examiners selected assistants and paid them for their services. Room attendants were paid $3.00 a day and those who graded papers were paid $1.00 a day.

Community and school were growing together through the way in which services were being provided to the students. Superintendent Young felt very strongly that educators should be concerned about the child instead of teaching methods. According to Dr. Young, as was then the practice, teaching was the conservation of what had been and she felt that there had to be a change to adjust to the social movement. Schools had to offer students
information which they could use to relate to their communities. The community, in turn, had to become a part of the students' learning. The school began offering penny lunches to the students in 1911. The practice was started by the Chicago Women's Club and supported by it and numerous other clubs. However, eventually, as with most of the programs started by civic groups, the lunch program was taken over by the Board and administered by the principal. It was felt that the principals' authority was greater than any outside agent's; therefore, principals could command better performance and accountability in the management of the lunch programs. The principal could select and hire people from the neighborhood to serve as attendants and helpers. The head attendant would order food and take care of the daily receipts.

Many of the duties of the principal were community related. Some principals applied for social centers at their schools. The social centers were organized according to the customs and traditions of the neighborhood in which they were located. The day-school principals were in charge and served without additional pay.\textsuperscript{54} The reports of the principals indicated that the students were involved in activities which promoted academics, social graces, good civic habits, and served to break down national, racial, and religious barriers, as
well as promoted concepts of American citizenship.\textsuperscript{55} Another indication that school and community were working together was the provision for the safety of the children crossing the street by stationing policemen.\textsuperscript{56}

The Clean Chicago Federation suggested that the principals be given free reign as to how they would implement Fly Prevention Week! One of the main ways principals chose to implement this task was through lectures. They were also to see to it that no obsolete material or unused materials accumulated. Another health related duty was the testing of hearing and vision. Since principals were free to decide whether or not they should test, some of them chose not to do the testing. In 1917, teaching about oral hygiene was added to the list of health related services provided by the schools.\textsuperscript{57}

During the year of 1917, several noteworthy events took place in the Chicago Public School system. The Board of Examiners was established. This board's sole function was to be responsible for all board testing. The Board of Examiners was an official department of the Chicago Board of Education and its members were salaried. The Chicago Board of Education established another department, the Department of Standards and Measurements. The establishment of this department was especially significant because it sought to quantitate everything. One of its first studies involved the marking of teachers.
It found that most principals tended to mark teachers too high. Among other subjects which this department studied were grade progress, and subject failure in elementary and high school.\textsuperscript{58} The United States entered World War I on 4 April 1917. The schools rallied to the cause in various and sundry ways all of which involved the principal in some way. The schools were involved by providing equipment, services, space, and personnel. They also participated in fund-raising by selling Thrift and War Savings stamps.

**High School**

In 1889, there had been a large annexation to Chicago. The annexation increased the number of high schools in Chicago from five to eleven. The eleven schools and their 1891 membership follows: The North Division High with 409 pupils; the South Division High with 611 pupils; the West Division High with 1006 pupils; the Northwest Division with 268 pupils; the Englewood High with 332 pupils; the Hyde Park High with 291 pupils; the Jefferson High with 120 pupils; the Lake High with 167 pupils; the Lake View High with 218 pupils; the South Chicago High with 74 pupils; the Calumet High with 31 pupils.\textsuperscript{59} The membership of most of the high schools was low. This could have been attributed to factors such as students having to go to work or being held in grammar
school until they were eighteen. The main purpose of high school was to prepare students for life. A secondary purpose was to prepare them for college. During this period, many students dropped out of school before graduating. According to Herrick, out of 185,000 students enrolled in high school only 731 were seniors. By 1915, the types of schools and classes were proliferating and afforded additional opportunities for teachers to become principals. Some of the special schools and classes in existence were: Schools for the Deaf; Schools for the Blind; Schools for Crippled Children; Children with Defective Speech; Open Air and Open Window Schools; Subnormal Classes; Former Truant Classes; Adults (ungraded); Carpenter Apprentices; Special Apprentices; Parental School; John Worthy School; Juvenile Court School; Frances Juvenile Home; Home for Girls; Epileptic Classes; Vacation Schools; Evening Schools.

High school principals, most of whom had college degrees, saw their problems as being different from those of the elementary school principals. When the Chicago Teachers Federation was formed in 1897, high school teachers and principals were excluded. The excluded groups, which included other administrators and special teachers, had received raises ranging from 14 to 100 percent, from 1877 to 1897. Most primary teachers had received nothing. The elementary school, and high
school principals, high school men, and high school women each eventually formed their own associations or unions. 64

The high school principals were concerned with personnel, pupil/teacher ratio, the number of classes teachers taught, libraries, curricula, admission of students during mid-year, and keeping track of the status and progress for students of evening and day school. In 1903, there were other problems which were most definitely unique to high schools. Principals were concerned with the scholarship of athletes, universities accepting students before they finished the high school course of study, and the existence of secret societies, which principals and teachers felt were, "undemocratic in their nature, demoralizing in their tendencies, and subversive of good citizenship." 65 Principals were responsible for science supply inventories and the redistribution of equipment. Expectations of what public education should be changed as did the needs of students and so schools offered physical culture, music, art, manual training, and secured technical equipment. This necessitated the principals having to be able to administer schools with academic, technical, and or commercial components. 66

Women and Minorities

The end of the nineteenth century in Chicago ushered
in the era in which women were appointed to the Board of Education, dominated the teaching profession, and held principalships in elementary schools. In 1891, there were seventy-nine male and eighty-six female principals in the grammar schools. There were twelve male and no female principals in the high schools. In 1903, the number of male and female teachers in the public schools had almost doubled. The number of high school principals had only increased by three. The number of men in the teaching force continued to decrease. Only 2.58 percent of elementary school principals were men in 1903.

Female educators organizing and fighting for better working conditions, and women in general fighting for equal rights, led to male leaders having to make some concessions to women. In 1909, Ella Flagg Young became Chicago's first female superintendent of schools. She was sure that women were on their way to holding more and higher administrative jobs. This did not prove to be the case. Men found ways not to promote women to these positions by making the positions ones to be filled by appointment or stipulating that the prerequisites required were not likely to have been acquired by women. Men who remained in education continued to dominate the higher paying position. Men and women, who were leaving education, went into better paying industrial and commercial jobs.
Commentary

Those who were principals during the period from 1890-1919 lived and worked in a time of dramatic change in their profession. The principal at the beginning of this period did not have to be very academic, but did have to be very political. The main entry into a principalship was not by qualifications, but this began to change. There had been a campaign to have teachers better prepared and teachers' skills were being improved. Principals who were usually selected from the teaching ranks had to increase their knowledge and abilities in order to be better able to supervise and train their teachers. Superintendents' jobs grew to the extent that they had to have help and could no longer make personal visits to rate teachers and schools. Assistant superintendents were hired and became the interim person between the principal and the center of power—the superintendent. As progress was made toward professionalization of education, higher and higher standards were set for those desiring to become administrators. The hierarchy of the Chicago Board of Education continued to grow. By 1919, there were many steps on the hierarchial ladder between the superintendent and the principal. Even though the principal was far removed from the center of power, he/she still was given latitude needed to manage his/her school and was expected,
and encouraged to do so in an efficient and democratic manner.

The duties of the principal evolved and sort of spiraled upwards. Around 1890, the principals were primarily concerned with routine tasks and clerical jobs. The job of the principal was related to that of the superintendent, with whom they worked very closely at first. By the end of the period, the principals' jobs had expanded to the point where they were doing most of the jobs which the superintendents used to do. In addition, the schools were offering more services to the students in school and to the community. The principals of high schools saw their jobs as having little relationship to what went on in the elementary schools. Administrators at both levels found it to their advantage to network with their colleagues, either in associations or unions. Society was determined to correct all of its ills and to make life better for everyone and the school often was the instrument through which these corrections were to be made.

Women continued to dominate the educational field, especially as teachers and elementary school principals. It was very difficult for them to take over the top paying positions. There were some who became top administrators and superintendents, but for the most part the entrenched males found ways in which to keep from promoting the
women. Men were steadily leaving the field as elementary educators, and moving into other types of work. For the most part, there was still that disparity in the degree to which women were prepared as compared to men. This difference decreased as the trend toward professionalization increased. The great debate as to whether there would be segregation or integration raged on and so did the notion that African-Americans were not to be considered for the high paying positions. By 1919, all administrators were on the verge of entering the age of "quantitative analysis," and needed to develop new skills so they would be able to measure, interpret, justify, and correct all activities which took place in the realm of education.
CHAPTER III ENDNOTES


4. Ibid., 106.

5. Ibid., 107.


7. Ibid., 164.

8. Ibid., 173.


11. Tyack, 179.

12. Ibid., 127.

13. Ibid., 127.


18. Ibid., 144.
19. Ibid., 147.
22. Ibid., 1.
24. Ibid., 31.
25. Herrick, 74.
26. Ibid., 74.
29. Forty-first Annual Report, 44.
30. Smith, Teacher Training, 7.
33. Herrick, 81.
34. Chester C. Dodge, Reminiscences of a School Master (Chicago, Illinois: Ralph Seymour, 1941), 83.
35. Herrick, 84.
37. Pierce, 21.

39. Ibid., 79.

40. Pierce, 35.


42. Ibid., 75.


46. Ibid., 60.

47. Ibid., 52.


52. Herrick, 115.


55. Ibid., 200-204.


61. Herrick, 82.


63. Herrick, 53.


After World War I, America began to concentrate on domestic, political, economic and educational issues. Decisions had to be made regarding what direction would be taken in each of these areas. Education was especially affected by business. According to Tyack and Hansot, "from 1890 to 1930, no other lay group had as much an impact on public education as did businessmen."¹ For example, influential businessmen sat on school boards.

They brought with them management styles fashioned after the corporate model. In this model, power was held by large centralized organizations and delegated to an expert manager.² Corporate foundations such as those of Rockefeller and Carnegie gave generously to educational causes. They were criticized for unfair labor practices and exercising undue pressure and influence in politics, economics, and education.³ Often, the wives of businessmen joined them in their educational endeavors by working to provide for or to institute certain educational programs. Several such programs were vocational education, kindergarten, and art appreciation.
Education was influenced in other ways by big business. Educational efficiency was modeled after the industrial management theory of Frederick Taylor, an engineer. Taylor's theory, first tested in a steel mill, showed that workers output could be increased by establishing harmonious relationships between employees and employers, by making all workers experts at their particular jobs, and by making all movements of the worker meaningful and productive. Education had adopted industry's language, techniques, and ideology. Science was now being used in education to legitimize the expert. It was defined as a systematic collection of facts to be used to set policy. Administrative Progressives is the term Tyack uses to refer to educators who combined business management and the scientific method in education. Increased professionalization of administrators was indicated by the augmentation of the number of teachers and administrators who were receiving college, masters' and doctors' degrees. In 1923, the percent of superintendents with the following degrees or no degree were: Doctor's, 2.92; Master's, 32.02; Bachelor's, 54.64; no degree, 12.81. By 1933, the percentages were as follows: Doctor's, 2.97; Master's, 56.68; Bachelor's, 36.22; no degree, 3.71. The type of courses being offered in colleges, the proliferation of the production of textbooks, and the types of theses being
written were also indicators of the increment of professionalization.

Author Isaac Doughton, gives a vivid description of educators returning to school.

Meanwhile the theory of school efficiency through quantitative studies was gaining headway in graduate courses in the universities; and later these technical courses and textbooks were gradually crowded down into the undergraduate field ... Courses in various phases of "school administration" and "school statistics" multiplied rapidly, and the necessary textbooks soon came from the presses, while teachers, principals, and even staid and sometimes elderly superintendents went back to school and college and university to catch up with the developments. The educational literature in books and periodicals took on a technical character, and teachers' institutes and educational conventions began to appear like meetings of industrial efficiency engineers, while the old-fashioned school-master and mistress began to get giddy with the whirring of technical machinery and the jargon of technologists. Old-fashioned academic professors now stood aghast as they watched the academic mills grind out "Masters" and "Doctors" for class work and theses that appeared to belong more in the engineering departments, and only reluctantly have they welcomed these birds of strange lineage and plumage into the academic preserves. 9

The proponents of educational efficiency were exceedingly influential. However, there were educators who believed in the democratic ideal and its application to education. John Dewey, the philosopher, conceived of democracy as social activity based on understanding of purposes arrived at through group deliberation. 10 Ella Flagg Young was a student of Dewey's. During her
superintendency of the Chicago Public schools, she shared her desire to see the schools used as instruments of democracy and insisted upon democratic practices being used with students and teachers. Actually, Mrs. Young advocated social freedom throughout the educational realms, that is, from student to superintendent. The tenets of democracy were needed to bring America's diverse ethnic groups, labor and management, and the sexes together. Democratic trends were seen in personnel policies, community involvement, and curricular changes.

**Duties of Administrators**

Nationally in the 1920s, there was a close similarity between two classes of personnel—principals and superintendents. Generally, superintendents were white married males who had had long careers in education. They had climbed the career ladder from teacher, to principal, to assistant superintendent. The only principals who were African-American worked in "separate but equal" systems mostly in the south and a few in the north. White females comprised 55 percent of supervising principals in 1928. Contrastingly, those who became superintendents more often than not were from small districts where pay and prestige were low. The major difference between a principal and a superintendent, especially in the smaller and medium-sized districts, was the degree of authority
and responsibility. Authoritatively, the administrative organization was fashioned after the army. The general staff officers were the deputy, associate, and district superintendents. Principals who were in the school buildings were called field or line officers. When systems grew in complexity, another administrative division was added. This staff division could have included people in child accounting, personnel, school plant, supplies, finance, and records, who performed technical services for the superintendent, but had no authority.  

The similarity of the duties of principals and superintendents during the 1930s can be noted by comparing the list of the duties of each. The superintendent had to 1) maintain state and board of education policies, 2) compare the policy with needs, 3) give the board of education information it needs to keep its public informed, 4) provide creative leadership to the teaching profession, and 5) serve as a professional adviser to the board of education. The principal was responsible for: 1) implementing the course of study, instruction, and seeing to it that standards of achievement were set and met; 2) assuring, through board policy, that teacher and child were provided with favorable physical and educational conditions; 3) monitoring and reporting educational, social, and physical conditions within the
schools, making reports and recommendations for the improvement of conditions; 4) providing professional leadership, through the collection of data and research, administrating, teaching, serving as operating agents; and 5) sustaining community relationships. Both administrators were responsible for implementing board policy, providing information to certain groups, and providing creative and professional leadership.

Curriculum

The adaptation of business management methods in education and the acceptance of the philosophy that one determined his or her lot in life by the amount of education received led to the age of credentials. The procedure of measuring everything and determining efficiency by using a set of standards revealed individual differences and the realization that instruction had to be varied to meet these differences. It also had to be designed to prepare people to reach their life goals. There were several considerations to be made when designing curricula in 1930s. First were the physical, social, emotional, and spiritual aspects of one's development. Another was the practical aspect, i.e., developing curricula for its functional instead of intrinsic value.

Functional curricula affected administrators in
several ways. They had to attend more classes to legitimize their positions. They had become leaders in making changes because they were considered the experts to whom teachers looked for directions. Decisions had to be made regarding what subjects were to be taught, when, and at what grade level. In addition to what subjects were to be taught, decisions had to be made regarding the objectives and goals to be set. Often, decisions were made based on surveys and reports made by commissions.

In 1937, the American Youth Commission concluded that the purpose of high school should change from primarily preparing students for college to include information regarding good health and the use of leisure time.\cite{17} This meant that principals had to become more knowledgeable because of the increased diversity of the job expected of them. They had to be students, teachers, statisticians, and public relations people, who had skills needed to plan, organize, and solve problems. These skills were needed to a lesser degree in smaller districts than they were in large districts.

**Chicago Overview**

Chicago with a population of over two and one-half million was one of those large districts in 1920. Seventy-five percent of the white residents of Chicago were foreign born or of foreign or mixed parentage.\cite{18}
According to Counts, the racial, class, and religious mix of Chicagoans was a complex one.

The task of keeping these various elements working together harmoniously in a system of schools not played upon by outside forces would be fraught with great difficulties. To achieve this end under the circumstances which prevail in Chicago or any other great industrial city would seem to require almost superhuman power. 19

The opportunities for employment which accompanied the war stimulated migration to the north of over one half-million southern African Americans. This sudden and prolific migration was part of the picture described by Counts and affected economics and education. 20 Many African Americans were encouraged to come north and were used in industries to break strikes or replace immigrants who had returned to Europe to fight in the war. Hostile Euro-Americans and migrant African-Americans were vying for jobs and housing. An unsuccessful attempt was also made to establish a segregated school system. The number of African American students had risen and they were often poor achievers with discipline problems due to their inferior educational backgrounds. Schools which enrolled more than 50 percent African American grew from two or three before the war to ten elementary schools and one high school by 1920. 21

The African Americans settled primarily on the south side. There was a definite sorting of their population
according to social and economic status. Spear defines the divisions of the population as zones, each of which was about one mile in length. Zone one was just outside the central business district. In zone one, approximately 6 percent of working men and 3 percent of working women were professionals or provided public service. In zone seven, the percentage of men and women in these categories was thirty-three. There were fewer working women in zone seven than in zone one. Twenty-six of 138 professional women were teachers according to census figures. Most women, even with high school and college degrees, were restricted to doing domestic service. The rapid changes in the makeup of Chicago's people continued through the thirties and forties. By 1930, the percent of foreign born had decreased from 75 percent to 65 percent. This percent continued to decrease as the whites moved farther from the center of the city, often to suburbia. The migrating African Americans moved into worn out substandard housing. By 1940, there was such a concentration of African Americans on the south and west sides that most of the schools were on double shifts due to over-crowdedness. Principals had to adapt to these changes as well as those practices related to testing.

**Overall Duties**

Many practices began during the war and these new
practices contributed to the expansion of the supervising responsibilities of the principal during the 1920s. The use of intelligence and achievement tests increased. There was concern generated for the physical and mental abilities of American youth. It was noted during the war that young people were in poor physical condition and many were illiterate.\footnote{27} By 1925, the elementary school enrollment had increased by 29.8 percent and in the high schools the increase was 130 percent. Classes for handicapped children increased. Special commercial, technical, manual, training, and household arts courses were added to the curricula of the high schools and elementary schools. Physical education class offerings were increasing. Students, who were compelled to attend school until they were sixteen, were being brought in by truant officers. The board took over playgrounds from the city. All students had been given free textbooks since 1921.\footnote{28}

The free textbook referendum gave rise to numerous publishing companies which were formed for the express purpose of doing business with the board. Principals were called and ordered to submit requisitions for materials even though they didn't need them.\footnote{29} Board employees wrote textbooks solely for the Chicago system. Graft in the system continued into the mid-forties. It was suggested in the \textit{Chicago Daily News} on 9 June 1936 that
the syndicate made collections on textbooks sales\textsuperscript{30}.
Superintendent of schools, William H. Johnson, who was appointed in 1936, used school personnel to write textbooks. These people were hired and paid by the board to perform other tasks.\textsuperscript{31}

**Changes in Techniques of Supervision**

The term supervision as it applied to principals was redefined during the 1920s. Pierce defined it as the technique for improving teaching examples, observing classes holding individual conferences with teachers, administering, testing and measuring (used to make learning diagnosis and to pinpoint difficulties), demonstrating teaching, implementing pupil study and adjustment, and holding teachers' meetings. These areas can be divided into five categories which are classroom visitation, test and measurement, instruction methods, pupil adjustment, and teacher ratings.\textsuperscript{32} The role of the principal was expanding.

Chicago's administrators took an active part in defining the supervisory position of the principal. In 1919, John Duggan, a Chicago principal, stated that as a supervisor, the principal should help teachers serve students. They should not dictate methods to be used in teaching but suggest remedies. The supervisor was advised to respect the authority of teachers.\textsuperscript{33} In 1922, Charles
Howery, superintendent of district three, described the principal as one who: 1) puts the policies of the system into action; 2) has great freedom; and 3) serves as an administrator and a supervisor. As an administrator, the principal had no control over the engineer, but was in charge of the grounds, supplies, cleanliness, attendance, reports, and the building up of teachers' discipline skills. As an instructional leader, the principal selected good teachers, and taught the teachers. He or she was also seen as a counselor who was responsible for the atmosphere of the school, and the eternal welfare of those around them.\textsuperscript{34} The principal was considered the most important factor in the improvement of instruction. In fact, during this period, principals were directly connected to the center of power -- the superintendent and his assistants. They, the principals, served as line officers of the superintendent.

William A. McAndrew, who became superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools on 1 February 1924, felt that principals were under-utilizing their authority. He came into office with a plan which included strengthening administration. McAndrew wanted what he referred to as "tight supervision" of the schools and their personnel. He proposed a reporting change in the teachers councils established under Ella Flagg Young. The original plan was to have councils on three levels. The membership of these
were to be as follows: school council, principal and teachers; district councils, district superintendent, principals, and one teacher from each school; and the central council, all superintendents, supervisors, delegates from the high schools, and district councils. The teachers councils requested the exclusion of principals from their meetings claiming that the presence of these administrators suppressed their sharing of concerns. McAndrew saw no need for teachers to by-pass principals and meet directly with him. He responded by forbidding the meeting of councils on school time and designing a new plan. In the new plan, the central council was composed of one elementary and one high school principal, one district, and one assistant superintendent and one representative from each of twelve voluntary teacher organizations in the school system. This group would only give advice to the superintendent when he asked for it. McAndrew justified his plan to have principals on the council by referring to state educational laws in which the term "teacher" includes principals and superintendents. Even though McAndrew defended his position by saying that administrators were teachers, he saw them as having power over teachers. He felt principals had iron hands which could be used to quiet disgruntled teachers. McAndrew made many demands upon teachers and principals in his effort to establish an
efficient and more effective line and staff system of control. However, the united principals maintained some autonomy, but found that their supervisory responsibilities were steadily increasing.

On 8 April 1925, the principals notified the board that they were unable to do the main tasks for which schools were designed. They could not plan and carry out programs due to unanticipated interruptions. There was a list of 273 activities conducted in the schools in 1925. Among those responsible for the activities were the Superintendent, Division Superintendents, District Superintendents, and principals who were listed in numerous categories. There were day and evening school principals, and principals of elementary, junior, and senior high schools. Principals in general were responsible for forty activities such as students' clubs, geography, grammar, kindergarten, kindness to animals, school newspapers, rating of teachers, zinc etchings, bath and beauty culture. Some evening and day principals were in charge of automobile mechanics, baking apprentice, instruction on how to use calculating machines, drawing, and radio. Junior and high schools offered art, athletics, civics, physical education, summer schools, bookkeeping, and electrical construction. Scores of charitable and civic activities were also performed by the schools. Baskets and toys were made. There were
collections for tornado sufferers, to improve buildings, for poor children, scholarships, and the Junior Red Cross donations of flowers, books, baskets, and magazines were made to hospitals. Students performed in concerts, pageants, operas, and plays for various publics. They also volunteered many hours to cleanup and to get citizens out to vote. The demands on the schools continued to increase during the latter half of the 1920s.

**How Principals Were Affected by the School Wrecking Program**

As the demands for service increased, the expenditure of the schools exceeded their income. In 1926, the state paid only 6 percent of the schools' income and the federal government made no contribution. The three main reasons for the financial problems of Chicago's schools were: 1) the increased inflation of the dollar during war time; 2) the amount of money from tax assessments failed to increase in proportion to the population; and finally, 3) the expenditure of large sums of money on the board's non-teaching employees who were political patrons. No taxes were collected in Chicago during 1928, 1929, and 1930. Nineteen twenty nine was the beginning of the Depression. Conditions grew progressively worse for the teachers and in the schools.

From 1930 to 1934, the teachers received a 23½
percent pay cut, and out of eighty pay days, seven were on worthless scrip and only eight were on time. In an effort to get paid, the teachers marched, held parades, and pleaded with the superintendent, the school board, and the mayor, all to no avail. Finally, they appealed to the bankers who would not honor the scrip. This appeal was also ignored. The Sargent Committee on Public Expenditures was formed March of 1932 during the same time period in which the teachers were taking these drastic pay cuts. The committee was chaired by Fred Sargent, president of the Northwestern Railroad. According to Sargent, the committee was made up of one hundred men. These men were influenced by city officials. They, in turn, influenced the school board. The constant theme was there had to be drastic changes made. By 2 July 1933, thirteen hundred teachers lost their jobs. This number included approximately one hundred thirty principals. This figure amounted to almost one-half of the Chicago Principals Association membership. Class sizes were raised, each elementary school principal was given two schools to supervise, and thousands of substitute teachers were listed even though no professional standards had been set for them. Junior colleges and some junior high schools were closed. The teachers were incensed by the payless pay days coupled with these drastic cuts. The cuts were unjustifiable because the legislature had made
provisions for any budgetary deficiency existing as of 11 December 1934 to be included in the budgets beginning in 1935 and ending in 1940. Even though they knew this, the board proceeded with the devastating cuts.

The principals did not know what process would be used to determine who among them would be fired. There was the conjecture that seniority would be the deciding factor or perhaps those principals who had been outspoken regarding the board’s cuts might be removed as a disciplinary measure. The board’s plan had been to use its own discretion in firing the principals. Haley found and sent the principals’ seniority list to the newspaper. The Chicago Herald and Examiner published the list on 26 August 1933. The board was forced to drop some principals who were not on the original list. Haley felt that a small number of principals, in order to save their own positions, had jeopardized the jobs of the remainder of the thirteen hundred people by withdrawing fraud charges from the petition. According to Haley, the principals were just as responsible as the board of education.

To save themselves they launched a lifeboat, leaving the rest of the passengers on the ship of education to sink or swim; and until every teacher and principal in the public schools of Chicago and every other American community realizes that his or her interests are essentially the same and require common guarding, the same kind of incident is going to happen over and over again.
Interestingly enough, there is no indication in the annals of the Principals Club that the membership felt there was a sellout by any of their constituents. At one meeting, President Kline responded to a member's query about the absence of other club members that he felt that they had the support of the vast majority of the principals indicating there was no reason to suspect disloyalty. In fact, Aaron Kline, president of the Principals Club from 1932-1934, was commended for his faithfulness and making sacrifices.

On 24 October 1933, Arthur Nickelson, chairperson of the Committee on Principals Directory submitted a report which had a recommendation that they should include the superintendents list of appointees with their correct dates of eligibility. If this had been done, it would have exposed those principals who were appointed without waiting their turn on the eligible lists. The report was corrected to omit that recommendation before it was accepted. Fortunately for the students, schools and principals in Chicago, in 1934, the board reversed its policy of having one principal for every two schools to having one principal for each school. Some new principals had to be selected to meet the new demand.

**Principal Selection**

The method of principal selection changed over the
years. Some of the most drastic changes occurred after 1922 when the number of candidates for principalship steadily climbed. There was an increase in the number of candidates, but the percent of those who were successful remained around twenty.\textsuperscript{53} The increase was probably due to the rise in the number of teachers who were receiving college degrees. Candidates for the principalship had to take a written examination which tested their scholarship and dated to 1880. Oral tests were mandated the same year but were never given. Before 1920, principals were actually selected by the superintendent. When the practice of assigning principals directly from a list began in 1920, the oral examinations grew in importance. It was felt that the oral test would reveal the lack of poise, poor speech and grammar, undesirable appearance, personality and character flaws, and lack of general fitness\textsuperscript{54} After 1920, principal selection was made according to the date the exam was passed and the candidates place on the priority list which was arranged by test scores. In 1922, there were 123 candidates, and nineteen were successful. There were 793 candidates in 1936, and 155 were successful.\textsuperscript{55} Once a principal had a certificate, it had to be activated within six years. Certificates were assurances that candidates had certain qualities.

In 1930, the candidate had to be a graduate of an
accredited college or university with six years of experience, and two of those had to have been in a classroom. The written examination was required or a major in professional study. Pre-requisites were three full minors (English, mathematics, and general history). Four half minors (general science, drawing, vocational music, and physical education) were also required. Eighty was a passing score, but no subject score could be below fifty.56

In 1941, requirements for admission to examinations for teaching certificates and for Chicago Teachers College changed. High school teachers of academic subjects had to have a Master's degree in the subject in which the test was being taken. Those persons seeking certification to teach a technical or special subject needed a Bachelor's degree. Chicago Teachers College offered one entrance examination at the end of the spring semester. Graduates were given teaching certificates which were valid in the Chicago system. In 1940, there were three hundred successful entrants out of 2,200 applicants. Principals were required to have a Master's degree and their graduate work had to include two courses in public school administration and two courses in public school supervision. All candidates as of 1 January 1941, had to prove United States citizenship.57 Nevertheless, the selection process for principals had its political
problems as evidenced by events in 1936.

**Principals and Politics**

William H. Johnson was appointed as superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools in 1936. Almost immediately, he announced a principals' examination. He also announced that his classes in administration would be used to prepare for the tests. As superintendent, Johnson was automatically the chairman of the Board of Examiners due to the Otis Law of 1918. The intent of this law was to give the superintendent, with the board's approval, jurisdiction over the appointment and dismissal of teachers. The superintendent was to nominate two other members who were to be approved by the board. Johnson did not have his appointees approved by the board. So, out of 830 applicants, 155 were awarded certificates. Johnson let people who failed the written test take the oral, designated who passed or failed the oral, and changed the rules regarding the passing score for candidates on the oral, after it was taken. He set the passing score at 75. Johnson's actions were challenged by the Chicago Teachers Union and the Citizens School Committee.

The first case asked that the entire list be declared void due to the examination procedure. The judge did rule that there was evidence of fraud and granted an injunction. There was an appeal. The Appellate Court set
aside the injunction stating that the plaintiff Hiram Loomis, principal of Hyde Park High School, had not suffered a personal monetary loss. The second case was filed by Raymond Cook, a Normal College teacher, because the superintendent changed the grades needed for passing without public notification, after the test. The lower court granted to Cook, whose written score was ninety, a certificate. However, the Appellate Court overturned this ruling based on the unlimited power given to the Board of Examiners by the state. The third case was brought by a district superintendent, Lemuel Minnis. In Minnis' case, the oral board had given him a passing score and the superintendent had changed it to sixty which made it a failing score. Once the decisions were made, the superintendent began demoting and transferring principals. There seemed little anyone could do to combat this new wave of corruption by the new superintendent.

The Principals Club tried. Shine met with Superintendent Johnson on 19 December 1936 regarding the involuntary transfers. Johnson simply assured him that percent of the changes would be made only upon request. The Principals Club issued a Declaration of Principals, regarding punitive demotions and transfers. The declaration appealed to the superintendent's and board's sense of history and fairness in assigning principals. George E. Anspaugh, President of the Principals Club,
listed two requests:

1) that principals' positions should be secure unless they are found to be ineffective by the Board of Education after a trial as provided by law; 2) that principals not be transferred unless they request it or the transfer is recommended by the board of superintendents after a hearing.

Anspaugh also requested loyalty from those principals for the sake of the children. During the same spring of 1937, a concerted effort was put forth by a Joint Board of Teacher Unions to form one union to fight to keep tenure rights. Specifically, they prepared to fight to have William McCoy, who had been transferred from Bowen High School to a small elementary school returned to his original position. The unions felt that McCoy's demotion was just a precursor of what was in store for principals and teachers who spoke against the board.

The Principals Club was invited to become a member of the proposed amalgamation of unions. John Fewkes, chairman of the membership committee of the Joint Board of Teacher Unions, indicated in the letter of invitation that he knew how sensitive this issue was. Yet, he felt very strongly that everyone's cooperation was needed to get the job done.

The Principals Club's response was as delicately phrased as Fewkes invitation. Mr. Shine wrote that they agreed in essence, but the club had committed itself to cooperating with the superintendent of schools. The
coalition fought unsuccessfully for McCoy's tenure. The court ruled that high school principals did not have to have a special certificate. Therefore, the board's demotion of McCoy was legal. In spite of the legal entanglement of politics and education, principals continued their efforts to fulfill their duties and responsibilities.

**Supervisory Duties**

In 1933, the principal's duties were defined in one paragraph in Section 16, paragraph 12, Board of Education Rules. Section 34, paragraph 8.1, Illinois School Code. "Principals shall be employed to supervise the educational operation of attendance centers as the board shall determine necessary." In 1936, there were 315 elementary schools. The general plan of educators to deliver instruction to students was to measure the ability of students and then find ways to match student ability and the work expected from them. Under what was called the Chicago Plan, the principals met in groups. Each group had similar concerns and was called a conference. There were twenty-eight conferences. Their principals discussed common problems, reviewed the literature, looked at current practices regarding teaching methods, grouping, content, and developed new practices. One practice studied was the two track plan. This plan attempted to
match students with instruction. The schools now had students grouped in high, average, or low ability tracks in an effort to better serve their needs. The board had complained about the costly student failure rate which had been as high as 20 percent. Having one-fifth of the students repeat a grade was an added financial burden to the budget, because about twenty-eight thousand of the approximately 320,000 Chicago Public School population were failing. However, the two track plan eliminated the need to retain students because they could just remain in their track and work at their own pace.

Principals also expanded their responsibilities into subject area matters as well as activities related to student government and socialization of the students. The principals' work was still done under the direction of and in conjunction with the superintendent or district superintendents.

In 1936 a committee, whose members were an assistant superintendent, district superintendents, principals, and elementary school teachers, developed a Handbook for the Elementary School Principals. The purpose of the handbook was to present a uniform and intelligent administration. It contained all statements of policy, rules and regulations of the Board of Education, city ordinances, and state statutes which were applicable to elementary schools.
Principals also attempted to guide teachers in developing high ideals, morals, civic integrity, and responsibility, through workshop training sessions. The teachers in turn were to teach these same desirable traits to the students. A character education handbook was developed which contained procedures developed from everyday experiences. It was to be used to teach truthfulness, justice, honesty, and unselfishness. The theme of character development was the central focus in the Chicago Public School.

According to Superintendent Johnson, in 1939, the high schools were expected to stress social living, that is, living together cooperatively. He designed an eight point program for the high schools. The program's key components were: research, socialization, character education, remedial reading, public relations, failure, adjustment, and vocational guidance. The goal was to focus on Americanism and democracy, student government and loyalty, and to minimize class differences. In 1941, Minnie Fallows, an assistant superintendent of schools, listed the welfare and needs of each child, and the promotion of the American way of life as the two basic responsibilities of schools. The topic of the American way seems to have become infinitely more significant after Congress declared war on Japan on 8 December 1941. During the 1941-1942 school year, Harry McKinsie, a district
superintendent, felt that the high schools needed to teach Americanism. In other words students had to: 1) be informed and understand ideals of the Declaration of Independence, 2) develop a spirit of cooperation with each other, and 3) understand that they must become responsible citizens and contribute to the war efforts. 68

Johnson praised school leaders for the contributions of schools and everyone else connected with the Chicago Public Schools. Among those commended were three hundred thirty-three elementary schools, 48 academic trade, and vocational high schools, junior college and the Chicago Teachers' College. The students grew victory gardens, salvaged tin, rubber, radios, and scrap metal. They sent gifts to soldiers, constructed games for men, collected newspapers, made stretchers for the American Red Cross, and made airplanes for the United States Bureau of Aeronautics. School buildings were used for various war related activities and one million man hours were contributed by employees. Principals were among these volunteers. They were responsible for keeping buildings open and implementing programs and changes in curricula. Physical fitness became a prime requisite due to the war and so physical education was increased from three periods a week to five. 69 Principals were also responsible for the management and supervision of nursery schools and war bond and blood drives. All of the many activities and
programs connected with the war impacted upon the principals until the war ended in 1945.

Commentary

The roles and responsibilities of the principal did not exist independently; they were definitely influenced by social, economic, and political conditions in the nation and in Chicago.

During the twenties, the influence of business in society and in schools was very strong. Emphasis was on production, competition, quantity, quality, superior class rule, and social control. For the principal, this meant sharing their knowledge with the less prepared teachers, using tests and measurements to diagnose student strengths and weaknesses, and using the information to design curricula. Principals were close to the center of power, the superintendent. They were in control of their buildings, except for the engineers, and according to McAndrew, had an iron hand. When McAndrew became superintendent in 1924, he wanted administrators to use this power to put an end to teachers griping about poor wages and increased responsibility. By the 1920s, there were 273 activities conducted in the Chicago Public Schools. These activities coupled with increased enrollment added to the financial woes of the Chicago Board of Education.
The 1930s were turbulent years, financially and politically, for the schools in Chicago. Teachers continued their fight. Politicians became more determined not to meet their demands. The board made devastating cuts. Superintendent Johnson wrecked havoc with the principalships by abusing his power as chairman of the Board of Examiners. Students were not responding to the business mode of cranking out products on assembly lines, and there were far too many failing. Principals, who had been the victims of some of the board's and superintendent's abuse, were required to become agents of change. They aided in the expansion of the application of scientific research in education by using it to organize, plan, and standardize practices. Scientific research was also instrumental in the professionalization of the field of teaching which included principals. Principals had to go back to school to legitimize themselves and their expertise through certification. Students were legitimized also through character development and being taught functional subjects which would help improve their lives. They were encouraged to cooperate instead of competing. Principals formed cooperative groups, called conferences, to address common problems. They also wrote a handbook on character development, and one which was a resource for elementary school principals. Efforts were being made to improve the morals and boost the morale of
students and staff. Starting in the late thirties, schools were fostering Americanism.

By 1941, when World War II began, it became quite evident why Americanism and democracy were so important. Each individual was encouraged to work to promote the American way. Schools worked to meet the needs of individuals and eliminate classes. Once war was declared, the schools took on countless war related responsibilities and made needed curricula additions and changes.

From 1919 to 1945, the principals' roles changed from managers to expert. They had to go back to school to legitimize their positions as experts. When the application of scientific research spread in the 1930s to the field of education, principals had to learn to test, and to use the information to report progress to superintendents, boards, and the public. Finally in the late thirties and early forties, principals had to contribute to the ideals of democracy by developing and supporting related curricula. During the war, they were expected to support war efforts in a myriad of ways. They fulfilled these expectations just as they had fulfilled most others throughout the near century principal teachers had existed.
CHAPTER IV ENDNOTES


1968), 11.


22. Frazier, 236.


29. Counts, 327.


40. Ibid., 6-17.


42. Herrick, 199.


45. Paetsch, 118.

46. Chicago Herald and Examiner, 26 August 1933.

47. Reid, 258.

48. Ibid., 258.


52. Paetsch, 128.


54. Ibid., 496.

55. Ibid., 498.


58. Herrick, 421.

59. Ibid., 248.


63. Section 16, paragraph 12, Board of Education Rules. Section 34, paragraph 8.1, Illinois School Code.

64. Eighty-second Annual Report of the Board of Education of Chicago, 1936, 89.


CONCLUSION

The development of the office of the principal and the roles and responsibilities which accompany it can be illuminated by looking at the socio-economic environment in which it evolved. Some of the key areas of change from the mid-eighteenth century to mid-nineteenth century were in: administration, governance, and finance; the purposes of education; teacher preparation; and who was educated.

Early in this period three types of schools existed. They were district schools, grammar schools and academies. The district schools provided elementary education and were governed by school committees whose members were often corrupt and gave teaching certificates to candidates who were undeserving. These boards were composed of lay people and almost always there was a minister on the committee to pass judgment on the morals of the candidates. The grammar schools and academies provided secondary education. The students needed money to attend the grammar schools and academies.

**National Trends in the Nineteenth Century**

Gradually the trend moved away from district schools due to, lack of a solid financial support base and uniform
Common Schools Developed from 1840 to 1890

These schools were tax supported and were controlled by a state and local bureaucracy which hired teaching personnel and monitored the curriculum.

These early schools were the vehicle through which moral and religious values were perpetrated. However, by 1890, there was the concern that the many immigrants needed to be Americanized. Schools now were to offer classes which would develop good Americans.

During the last half of our nineteenth century, girls received more education, and more women entered the teaching profession especially at the common school elementary level. Females were used in the summer when the men took off to seek other better paying jobs. The amount of education the women had was low and the pay they received was commensurate with it. More men were employed for a longer duration during the year but truthfully most of them were little better trained for their jobs than the women.

The reformers such as Horace Mann and Emma Willard, worked aggressively to improve the schools and the preparation of educators. The reformers began their work in the east and moved westward. One of the ideas they took with them was spawned by reformer and Superintendent
of Kensington, Connecticut, schools, Emma Willard. The plan enabled school leaders to choose teachers and to train them to manage schools. Known as principal teachers, there was one in each school in Willard's district. These teachers were taught and guided directly by Mrs. Willard. Mr. Henry Barnard, another reformer and publisher of the *American Journal of Education*, disseminated her plan through his publication and other states duplicated this organization.

The time frame from 1854 to 1890 was one in which many changes took place in the management of schools and the development of the office of principal. Many of these changes were influenced by the business communities which had aligned themselves with politicians and gained control of many of the schools. School bureaucracies grew rapidly as the mechanics for state supervision and regulation were developed. It was considered more efficient and cost effective to consolidate schools. There was also a decrease in private schools and an increase in public schools. The expansion of public schools meant that more administrators were needed. It also became necessary to put one principal in charge of each school when the size of schools grew. This person was usually white, male, the most experienced staff member, and the best educated.

Sometimes the principal also served as superintendent and had a wide range of duties including: enforcing the
rules of the board of education; classifying students; reporting on the conditions of all of the schools in his district; making reports on the conduct of students and their progress; collecting assessment from teachers to help pay for the cleaning of the schoolhouse and the building of fires; and the payment of all bills. The number of principals and their duties and responsibilities expanded until eventually the office of city superintendent of schools was established.

The office of superintendent was part of the emerging bureaucracy designed to relieve the boards of education and principals of some of their administrative duties. Their functions varied according to locale. They performed such duties as working with supplies, textbooks, records, and course of study. They tested students in some places, but principals along with their teachers were still in charge of instruction.

**Chicago Developments from 1890 - 1941**

The events which influenced the development of the office of principal in Chicago in many respects mirrored the national trends of development. Chicago's male principals tended to head the larger grammar schools while women were principals over smaller schools. It is for this reason that, even though the policy was instituted in 1875 to pay principals according to the size of their
schools, males still made more than females. Also, high school principals earned more than their grammar school counterparts. Although the number of principals in all three categories, primary, grammar, and high school had grown considerably from 1889 to 1890, there were no female principals in high schools.

The decade preceding the turn of the twentieth century ended with a large increase in Chicago's population and a greater demand for service from educators. Principals and superintendents alike needed assistants. The assistants to the superintendents changed the proximity of principals to the base of power and was cause for concern. The administrative bureaucracy was growing as was specialization and certification. Hence, the twentieth century became known as the "age of the experts."

Although gender inequities still existed in principalships, by the first decade of the twentieth century, the number of women principals had increased. Nationally, approximately 6 percent of high school principals were women, and in Chicago women could not be married and were likely to be denied promotions due to their lack of experience. The duties and concerns of high school principals differed from those of elementary school teachers. These high school principals had to monitor pupil teacher ratio, libraries, the number of classes a
teacher taught and keeping track of the status and progress of day and evening school students. Universities accepting students before they finished the high school course of study and secret societies were also problematic. The high school had an academic, a technical, and a commercial component, therefore, the principal had to be prepared to administer such programs.

By 1915, the different types of classes and schools proliferated and opened the door of opportunity for more teachers to become administrators. There were schools for the deaf, blind, and crippled. There were vocation schools and evening school. Classes existed for epileptics, and former truants. These were only a few of the special classes and schools.

When the United States entered World War I, all schools joined the war efforts and contributed in so many ways. They provided equipment space, services, and personnel. The students made various products for the soldiers, collected scrap metal, and bought War Savings stamps. Principals made their contributions to war efforts also. After World War I, the Administrative Progressives continued to combine business management and the scientific method to generate efficiency and expertise. Boards of education were influenced by businessmen. The educational organization had large centralized organizations and delegated managerial powers
to experts. One of the indicators of increased professionalism among administrators was the number and level of college degrees they earned.

The curriculum design had to be reshaped in the pre-collegiate educational realm, too. The goal of education now was to address the physical, social, emotional, and spiritual aspects of an individual's development. Curriculum had to be functional. High schools also changed some of their goals. In addition to preparing students for college, they were also providing information on health and how to use their leisure time. Educators, as leaders, had to become students, teachers, statisticians, and public relations people. By 1920 there were over two and one half million people in Chicago.

The duties of principals were affected by these curricular changes and the implementation of intelligent and achievement tests in the schools. Concern had been generated regarding the number of young people who were illiterate and physically out of shape. Once again enrollment had increased. The elementary school enrollment had increased by 29.8 percent and high schools by 130 percent in 1925. During the 1920s, principals had more supervisory duties. They were expected to observe classes, impart better teaching techniques to teachers, administer test to students, implement pupil study and adjustment since the use of tests had become widespread.
after the war. The principals were involved in a "war" of their own during the period from 1925 to 1935.

In 1924, William A. McAndrew became superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools. McAndrew believed that there should be a definite execution of power by principals over teachers. He wanted principals to rule and developed a three level council. Two levels were to have teachers and principals among their other constituents. The teachers requested that they be able to meet without the principals being present because they were not able to speak freely. The teachers recommended that they meet directly with the superintendent. McAndrew responded by forbidding council meetings on school time and designed an advisory group that would give advice only when the superintendent asked for it. As a rule, principal groups worked to improve instruction. It was seldom that they concerned themselves about their working conditions. However, in 1925, they notified the board of the difficulties in carrying out their duties. There was a list of 273 activities conducted in the schools! The students' clubs, school newspapers, art, physical education, and other school offerings were costly.

By the late 1920s the Chicago board of education experienced financial problems. Several factors were listed as the reasons for the financial woes of Chicago's schools. One was the inflation of the dollar during war
time. The other two, the failure of the 1929 tax reassessments to increase taxes in proportion to population increases, and huge expenditures on patronage jobs unrelated to education, were examples of Chicago's corrupt politics at work again. By the depression years teachers' pay was reduced and when they were paid seven out of eight times it was in worthless script. As if it were not enough to reduce pay and use script to pay, the board decided other drastic changes had to be made.

By 2 July 1933, those changes were made and the "wrecking" of the Chicago school system was on its way. Thirteen hundred teachers lost their jobs. One hundred and thirty of these teachers were principals who constituted almost one-half of the Principals' Club membership. The entire system was effected administratively and supervisorily, because class sizes were raised, each elementary school principal was given two locations to supervise, unqualified substitutes were maintained by the thousands, and junior colleges and some junior high schools were closed. The costs were unjustifiable because the state legislature had made provisions to correct the deficiencies in the budget. The corrective measures were to start in 1935.

There was a great controversy regarding the way in which principals were selected for dismissal. The board had chosen to drop principals according to its discretion
and not according to seniority. Margaret Haley, the Chicago teacher union organizer, found a principals' seniority list, compared it to those dismissed, and sent it to the newspapers. Haley felt that some principals were playing along with the board for their own gains. The majority of the principals never indicated that they harbored feelings of having been betrayed. In 1934, Aaron Kline, the Principals Club president from 1932 to 1934, was commended for his faithfulness. The board of education reversed its practice of having one principal for every two schools. More principals had to be selected and principals and teachers alike faced more political problems.

In 1936, William H. Johnson was appointed superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools and almost immediately announced a principal's examination. Johnson taught the classes needed to prepare candidates and he was also chairman of the board of examiners. He allowed people who failed the written test take the oral and changed rules regarding the passing score for the oral after it was taken. The Chicago Teachers Union, the Citizens School Committee, and the Principals Club challenged Johnson's actions. Several cases were taken to court. The final decision was that by law the board of examiners had been given unlimited power. John Fewkes, chairman of the membership committee of the Joint Board of
Teacher Unions, wanted everyone to cooperate in the struggle to put a stop to the superintendent's whimsical actions. Some of these actions were obviously punitive. Fewkes invited the Principals Club to join the proposed amalgamation. Mr. Shine refused by responding that the club had committed itself to cooperating with the superintendent of schools. The principals' group remained apart from the amalgamation but came together on educational issues.

Principals came together in 1936 in what they called the Chicago Plan. There were twenty-eight groups who held conferences. The groups came together to find ways to deliver better instruction to the students. The principals discussed common problems, reviewed the literature and studied current practices regarding grouping and content. One such practice was to group students according to ability. This tracking plan as it was known addressed the Chicago Board of Education's concern about the 20 percent of Chicago's students who were failed yearly, because they could be promoted in the low ability track instead of being failed.

Student government and the socialization of students were emerging as purposes of instruction. It was also important that principals were intelligent and administered from a similar perspective. A group of administrators and teachers developed a handbook to be
used by principals. This book contained policies, rules and regulations of the board of education, city ordinances, and state statutes. This put ready references at the principals' fingertips.

African American Population Growth

There was a complex racial, class and religious mixture of people. Three-fourths of them were foreign born or of mixed parentage. Prior to World War I these people had little competition for jobs from African Americans. However, when many Europeans returned home or went to war, they created a need for workers. This was an opportunity for southern African Americans. There were over one half million of them who migrated to the north and affected economics and education.

Most of the African Americans who had high school and college degrees still did domestic work. Before the war, there were two or three schools whose enrollment was more than 50 percent African American. After the war, this number grew to ten elementary schools and one high school. All of them were on the south side because of the pattern of housing for the newcomers who moved into the older houses near the central part of the city. The immigrant population began decreasing as the immigrants improved their economic status and could move to adjacent areas. By 1940, there was such a concentration of African
Americans on the south and near west sides that most of the schools were on double shifts due to overcrowding. This was a problem which lasted for several decades.

Chicago and World War II

High ideals, intelligence, morals, and integrity were important not only for principals but also for teachers and students. World War I had influenced America's concern for patriotism. Thus schools taught about truthfulness, justice, honesty, and unselfishness daily. In high school, social or cooperatively living was stressed. The basic idea was to focus less on differences and more on togetherness and democracy. On 8 December 1941, when America entered World War II, the need for Americanism became even more apparent.

Principals led the way as they, their teachers, and students made considerable contributions to the war effort. The students grew victory gardens, sent gifts to soldiers, and made stretchers for the American Red Cross. Principals supervised programs in their open buildings. The buildings were used for many hours and for a variety of activities. Of course, teachers were needed for supervision and instruction. People from all groups joined the armed forces. The war ended in 1945 and the schools contributions to that cause were brought to a close. School leaders were free to move into a new era,
to accept new members, and to meet new social, economic, and educational challenges. By 1945 principals had become an integral and powerful part of a burgeoning bureaucratic structure. The decades following the war would witness a competing power structure in the form of the Chicago Teachers Union.
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Vera Stevenson began teaching in the Chicago Public School System at Victor Herbert School in 1964. During the years, she has taught all grades except kindergarten, first, and fourth. Vera was cited in, Outstanding Elementary Teacher of America, 1975 edition. She was the Intensive Reading Resource Teacher from 1973 to 1983 at Herbert School. After having taken and passed the principals' examination in 1983, Vera accepted an interim assignment at the Hendricks Elementary School in 1987. In 1988, she was again given an interim principalship, this time at the Norman Bridge Elementary School. Presently, the writer continues to serve there as an assigned
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