Albion Woodbury Small and Education

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ALBION WOODBURY SMALL AND EDUCATION

by

James M. Ansbro

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

January

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I would also like to express my appreciation to the staff of the Archives of the University of Chicago, Special Collections, for all their help in obtaining material on Small.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for putting
up with the idiosyncrasies of a dissertation writer.

Without the generous assistance of all these people I have no doubt that the research and final preparation to this dissertation would have been long delayed.
Albion Woodbury Small has become a forgotten man in American history. Very few people know of him and the work he did for sociology and education. It has been a mistake to forget the work that Small accomplished. He organized and headed the first department of sociology in the world. The writings he produced in this area attempted to establish sociology as an empirical science. The work other sociologists did in these areas overshadowed Small's foundational work to such an extent that his preliminary work was soon forgotten.

Small helped to overshadow his own contributions to sociology soon after he wrote his elementary textbook in sociology. In this work he attempted to connect sociology to past economic systems, but the world was not ready for his multi- and inter-disciplinary approach to academic disciplines and much of his work was soon overlooked. Perhaps if he had continued with his statistical approach to sociology his work would have remained recognizable after he died. But this was not the case and he soon passed from the scene.

One of Albion Small's contributions which is acknowledged by many educators is his founding of the American Journal of Sociology. Under Small's editorship the Journal was begun
and remained in the forefront of sociology even to this day. But, again, Small is forgotten while the *Journal* remains.

The purpose of this paper is to establish Albion W. Small as an educator who had many sound educational ideas and policies. In establishing Small as a first-rank educator it is important that the most important areas of education which he may have helped develop or influence be clearly defined. Therefore, Small's work as teacher, administrator, and writer will be examined in the hope that they may shed light upon his contributions and establish his impact on the development of twentieth century education in America.

The scope of this paper takes into account the major developments in the work of Small from his years at Colby College to his years at the University of Chicago. Chapter One gives a biographical sketch of the main events in Small's life. Chapter Two details the major writings of Small including some of his work in and on the *American Journal of Sociology*. Chapter Three develops two of Small's many theories that had educational implications. Chapters Four, Five, and Six provide a detailed account of Small's work and its influence on early twentieth century education. The final chapter attempts to connect Small with noted educators. It is also suggested that Small's work had implications on the educational scene of the present century.
It is hoped that this paper will connect Small to education and its development as a social function during our present century. By doing so it is hoped that Small will be better known and remembered for what he did for the field of education.
VITA

The author, James M. Ansbro, is the son of Patrick Ansbro and Mary (Fogarty) Ansbro. He was born 8 November 1939 in Chicago, Illinois.

His elementary education was obtained in the parochial schools of Chicago, Illinois, and secondary education at St. Mel's High School, Chicago, Illinois, where he graduated in 1957.

In August, 1964, he entered DePaul University, and in June, 1967, received the degree of Bachelor of Arts with a major in history. While attending DePaul University he was instrumental in organizing the History Club.

In September, 1968, he began teaching in the Chicago Public Schools. In September, 1969, he entered Concordia Teachers College, and in August, 1971, received the degree of Master of Arts in Education with a major in Curriculum.

In February, 1974, he entered the Ph. D. program in the Department of Educational Foundations at Loyola University. In September, 1975, he was granted an assistantship.
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A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF ALBION WOODBURY SMALL

Albion Woodbury Small was born and raised in a small New England town. In his teens he moved to a larger metropolis but he retained his small town upbringing. His years at college and theology school were devoted to study and learning. He became a college teacher, president, department head, dean of graduate and undergraduate schools, director of important projects, and a prolific writer in his chosen field of sociology.

On May 11, 1854, Albion W. Small was born in Buckfield, Maine. His father, Reverend Albion Keith Parris Small, was the minister of the local Baptist Church and a descendent of Edward Small, an Englishman who had migrated to the English colonies in America sometime around 1640. Edward Small had settled in Kittery, Maine, and he purchased from or traded with the local Indians for title to the northern part of the county of York. He farmed this land and passed title of it to his eldest son. This progression continued for each succeeding generation and title of the land was passed to the eldest son. Albion Keith Small was not an eldest son and he received no land. He worked his way through Waterville College, later called Colby University. In 1849, Small became principal of
Hebron Academy, then entered Newton Theological Institute for one year, after which he was named pastor of the Baptist Church in Buckfield.¹

When Albion Woodbury Small was four years old the family moved to Bangor, Maine, in order for the elder Small to assume the ministry of a larger congregation, the First Baptist Church.² For the next ten years the Small family lived in Bangor and Albion attended the local public school where he finished the eight-year course in 1868. During the same year the Reverend Small was appointed to another congregation, the First Street Baptist Church of Portland, Maine. Young Albion entered the public high school there and graduated in 1872.

Having decided on a career as a Baptist minister Albion entered the Baptist denominational college at Waterville, Maine, his father's alma mater which was still known as Waterville College. The name of the college was later changed to Colby University and still later to Colby College. Small's undergraduate career was outstanding and he was known for his intelligence, wit, and sensitivity. He was awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1876; and, following his desire to be a minister, he entered Newton Theological Institute in 1877 where he was awarded the Doctor of Divinity degree in 1879. While at Newton, Small came under the influence of Ezra

² Ibid.
P. Gould, a professor of the New Testament who was breaking away from traditional views. It was the influence of Gould that developed in Small an ambition to devote his life to scholarship.

This devotion to scholarship sent Small, along with his friend Charles Rufus Brown, to Germany after their graduation from Newton. Small developed a penchant for history and political economy as an undergraduate at Colby. He continued his readings on these subjects while studying theology at Newton. He decided that the German universities offered the best courses in these subjects. Small spent his first year in Germany at the University of Leipzig furthering his knowledge of history and political economy. At the German universities he came under the influence of the social economists Gustav Schmoller and Adolf Wagner.

Small was able to afford his German education because his father's fortune increased as his congregation grew. The elder Small gave his son anything he wanted. One of the regrets that Albion Small had was that he did not remain in Germany long enough to receive his Ph. D.

Not all of his time in Germany, however, was devoted to the pursuit of pure scholarship. Small met Valeria von Massow, daughter of a Prussian general and landowner. They were married on June 20, 1881.

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Small and his bride returned to America during the summer of 1881. He had already been elected to the chair of history at his alma mater, Colby University.

Small's first years at Colby were devoted to the teaching of history and the developing of the history department. A report by the examining committee of the university cites the work being done by Small. In the committee's "judgment he is fulfilling the highest expectation of his friends." It was during his first year at Colby that a daughter, Lina, was born on May 16, 1882.

Besides the teaching of formal history at Colby Small also taught a course in the history of philosophy and instructed freshmen in composition.

The department of history was slowly and deliberately built up at Colby through the efforts of Small. He instituted new and better ways for the students to learn the historian's art. There was a gradual shift by Small in his history classes away from pure factual history to a view of the social history of the past. He emphasized more the role of solving present day problems by using the past as a guide. He also taught the first course in political economy at Colby.

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4 Colby University, "Report of the Examining Committee of Colby University, 1881-82." Collected papers of A.W. Small, Special Collections, Colby College, Waterville, Maine. (Hereafter referred to as the A.W. Small Collection, Colby College).

5 Ibid.

6 Albion W. Small, "Report of the Department of History to the President and Trustees of Colby University, 1883-84," A.W. Small Collection, Colby College.
Dissatisfied because he never received his Ph.D. in Germany, Small became excited by the new graduate school at Johns Hopkins University. This school carried on the German idea of graduate study in Baltimore, Maryland, and it offered the Ph.D. degree. Small went to Johns Hopkins on a sabbatical leave from Colby University for the academic year 1888–89. Small was mainly concerned with graduate studies and earning a Ph.D. degree but he also taught a course in American Constitutional History at Johns Hopkins. His doctoral dissertation was entitled *The Beginnings of American Nationality: The Constitutional Relations Between the Continental Congress and the Colonies and States*. This dissertation by Small was written under the supervision of Herbert Baxter Adams, Richard Ely, and Woodrow Wilson. Albion Small was honored by Johns Hopkins in that he was invited to make an address to the graduates of his own class at that institution. To his knowledge Small claimed that this distinction was never before or after given to a candidate for the doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins.

During the summer of 1889 Dr. Small was elected to succeed Dr. Pepper, on his recommendation, as President of Colby University. He was very young, only thirty-five, to be elected to a college presidency. Small brought new life to

8 Archives of Andover–Newton Theological School, Newton Center, Massachusetts.
Colby along with a new policy of academic freedom and an emphasis on research. He not only governed the college but he began teaching a new course called sociology.9

Small held the position of President of Colby University until the winter of 1891-92 at which time he was asked by William Rainey Harper to head a new department at a new university. Harper wanted Small to head the department of sociology at the new University of Chicago.

President Harper had actually been in touch with Albion Small as early as November of 1890. Harper was the leading Baptist educator of his day and John D. Rockefeller wanted the new university to be led by a Baptist. Harper's concern for a department of sociology centered around the ideas of research and training with the ultimate goal being the improvement of society. The University of Chicago's sociology department was "largely a product of President Harper's interest in particular personal[sic] and not the result of a deliberate intention to develop a new discipline."10

Some of the early people recruited by Harper for Chicago were the historian Herbert Baxter Adams and the political economist Richard T. Ely, both of whom were Albion Small's former professors at Johns Hopkins. Harper wanted them to head

10Steven J. Diner, "Department and Discipline: The Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago, 1892-1920," Minerva (1975): 516.
the division of social sciences, particularly a department of sociology. Both of these men had been offered the positions to head the departments of social science and history between them. However, they wanted higher salaries than Harper offered, and they wanted complete freedom to select the members of their departments. This selecting of faculty for their department became an unsurmountable obstacle because of Harper's tendency to interest himself in all appointments.

Harper once again turned to Albion Small. Whether Harper intended Small to be a member of the sociology department or head of the department is not known. But it is a fact that Small was a known educator and the head of a Baptist college. The fact that Rockefeller was inclined towards Baptists may have had much to do with Harper's selection of Small to head the department of sociology. Why people like Lester Frank Ward, whose book *Dynamic Sociology* had been published some years previous to this, or William Graham Sumner, who was teaching sociology at Yale University, were not solicited for this appointment is not known.

Harper's negotiations with Small became more intense because of the obstacles set up by Ely and Adams. Small laid out a program for himself and sociology in letters to Harper on December 8, 1890 and March 28, 1891. This program was submitted by Small in the event that he might head the department of sociology at Chicago.

The academic work which I would do for the rest of my life,
if perfectly free to select for myself, would be to organize such a department of Sociology as does not exist to my knowledge. It should include a collegiate foundation of history, and economics, more thorough and comprehensive than any required for entrance upon graduate study in the United States . . . . It should then, on the historic side, contain courses for three years, first in English and American institutional history, second in English and American economic history; on the economic side, upon a required basis of familiarity with the substance of all that may be called contemporary economic doctrine, original studies of the actual conditions of American economic problems with a view to comprehension of the status of these questions in their concrete relations, rather than to a doctrine about them in the abstract; on the sociological side, first, courses filling one year in exposition of the philosophies of history. Second, courses filling the last year in Sociology proper—a synthesis of the facts of social physiology, as derived from the tributary biological, psychological, historical and economic sciences—being an inductive substitute for the antiquated metaphysical philosophies of history, and a clinical preparation for practical diagnosis of specific social developments . . . . I would never grant the doctorate to men of the microscope alone, but would insist that they shall have acquired a sharp sense of the relation of what their microscope discovers to the laws of society as a whole.11

On January 4, 1892, Harper made a "definite offer" to Small. The offer was accepted and thereby instituted the formal establishment of the first department of sociology in the world. Harper, meanwhile, had negotiated with Frederick Starr, head of ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History and an associate of Harper at Chautauqua. Starr accepted an appointment in anthropology which was to be associated with Small's department of sociology. Thus the Division of Social Sciences and Anthropology was formed at the University of Chicago. The official opening of the University of Chicago on October 1,
1892, saw the Division of Social Sciences with four members—Albion W. Small, sociology; Charles R. Henderson, a leading welfare worker; Frederick Starr, anthropology; and Marion Talbot, sanitary science which later became known as home economics.  

Dr. Small's experience as a university administrator was immediately put to use by Harper. Small was first drafted to serve as Dean of the College of Liberal Arts at Chicago. Later on he was Director of Affiliations and, finally, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature.

The years that Small spent at the University of Chicago were fruitful both for Small and sociology. Having organized the Department of Sociology along the lines that he mentioned in his letters to Harper, Small began to develop the necessary textbooks and outlets for the study of society. Small's initial ideas of how sociology must study contemporary society were not clear, but he had the notion that the study of society had to be done by following the scientific method. His early training in Germany made him aware of the scientific procedures of historiography.

The city of Chicago was an excellent place for Small to study society. Chicago was emerging as an industrial giant with all the good and ills associated with an industrial, urban complex. The population of Chicago was growing with many immigrants coming to the city to find work.

Small developed his ideas of sociology along the lines

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12 Ibid., pp. 519-20.
of history, political science, and economics. While he was still at Colby Small taught one of the first courses in sociology to be given in the United States.\footnote{There were courses taught in sociology previous to Small's by W.G.Sumner at Yale, a course in sociology at Indiana University, one in 1889 by F.W.Blackmar at the University of Kansas, and one by F.W.Giddings at Bryn Mawr. See L.L.Bernard and Jessie Bernard, \textit{Origins of American Sociology} (New York: Russell and Russell, 1965), pp. 657-69.} His first writing was an outline he developed for a course in sociology at Colby University. When he went to Chicago he, along with George Edgar Vincent, elaborated this outline into a textbook in sociology. This work was entitled \textit{An Introduction to the Study of Society} and was completed in 1894. This book was a "laboratory guide" to "help in the training of beginners." To Small and Vincent this book was to be used as one uses a laboratory guide in biology. It was their belief that "the book would serve a purpose in Sociology analogous with that aimed at by Parker's \textit{Elementary Biology}, or by Huxley's \textit{Practical Biology}."\footnote{Albion W. Small and George E. Vincent, \textit{An Introduction to the Study of Society} (New York: American Book Company, 1894), p. 15.}

In 1895 Albion Small started the \textit{American Journal of Sociology}. This was the first journal of sociology published anywhere in the world. How the \textit{Journal} came into being is a remarkable achievement on the part of both Small and Harper. In an article of 1916 Small describes how the \textit{Journal} began:
Among the appropriations in the first budget of the University of Chicago was subsidy for a university extension magazine. Late in the spring of 1895 . . . Dr. Harper was forced to the decision that the attempt to create a constituency for such a journal must be abandoned. It was a matter which had never in any way come to my knowledge, and I was taken completely by surprise when, as I was about to leave his office after a consultation on routine business, Dr. Harper abruptly remarked: "We have got to give up the University Extension World. It would be a pity for that subsidy to be transferred to anything but publication. Are you willing to be responsible for a journal of sociology?" The audacity of ignorance to which I confess above had never gone to the extreme of imagining that our department commanded the necessary resources for maintaining such a venture. On the other hand it was no time and place for men who would flinch at a challenge, and there was no room for doubt that Dr. Harper intended his suggestion as a "dare." After brief consultation with my colleagues, Henderson, Thomas, and Vincent, I reported to Dr. Harper that we believed there was a vocation for a journal of sociology, and that we were ready to undertake editorial charge of such a publication. When the announcement was made, shortly after that the University Extension World was to become the American Journal of Sociology, we had not even promise or material enough to fill the first number. More than that, some of the men whom we tried to interest as contributors advised us to reconsider our purpose, as there could not possibly be in the near future enough sociological writing to fill such a journal. Nevertheless, we issued the first number in July, 1895, while it was still uncertain whether material for a second number, the following September, could be obtained. Without the prompt and hearty co-operation of Lester F. Ward, followed closely by Professor Ross, the enterprise would scarcely have survived the first year . . . . But something persuaded the Trustees not merely to transfer the previous subsidy of the University Extension World to the proposed journal of sociology, but to increase the amount by the sum of $800.14

Small was the editor of the Journal until his retirement.

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During his lifetime he wrote fifty-one articles that were published in the *Journal*. He also wrote numerous book reviews for the *Journal*.

In 1904 Dr. Small was appointed Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature. He held this position for twenty years in addition to his function as chairman of the Department of Sociology and his teaching duties in sociology. He was a popular speaker who lectured on many different topics and subjects.

Small served as vice-president of the Congress of Arts and Sciences at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition. He was the fourth president of the American Sociological Society, 1912-13. Small also served as President of l'Institut International de Sociologie of Paris. He was the university faculty representative of the Intercollegiate Conference of Athletics. Small was trustee and deacon of the Hyde Park Baptist Church and he served on the faculty of John Dewey's Laboratory School.

In 1916 Small's wife died and in 1924 he retired from the faculty of the University of Chicago in poor health. He lived with his brother, Dr. Charles P. Small, until 1925 when he took up residence with his daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Hayden B. Harris (he of the Chicago banking family), at the Del Prado Hotel. The final months of his life were very difficult for Dr. Small. His son-in-law, Mr. Harris, wrote:
During the last few months of his life he had frequent and very painful attacks of the disease which took him, an average of one an hour, but never once did he utter a word of complaint. The last day of his life he registered to vote in the precinct to which he had recently moved. During that day he explained to his oldest grandchild, N.W. Harris II, the details of voting and something about municipal politics. The afternoon before the night he died he wrote out methodically the precise directions as to what to do in the event of his death and inclosed it with a note to me [as also to his brother Charles], saying: "You may have use for this presently." His courage never wavered for an instant and there was never a word of sentimentality.15

On March 24, 1926, Albion Woodbury Small was dead. There was a funeral service on March 26 in Mandel Hall of the University of Chicago. At this service Dr. Small was eulogized by President Emeritus of the University of Chicago, H. P. Judson, Dr. Nathaniel Butler, Vice-President J. H. Tufts, and Small's minister, Dr. C. W. Gilkey. His body was cremated and the ashes were put in the cemetery at Newton Center, Massachusetts, near his father, mother, and wife. Dr. Small left his entire estate to the University of Chicago to support publications in social science. This legacy became known as the Albion W. Small Publication Fund.16

Small's philosophy towards life was summed up by him in a letter he wrote to a friend on the death of his wife.

I was long ago convinced of the futility of trying to

16 Ibid., p. 14.
reason out a philosophy that could conclusively vindicate life. Whether the last word in a given debate is uttered by pessimist or optimist, it is not convincing. The other remains of the same opinion still. I can devoutly thank God, however, that my outlook on life has brought into the field of vision more reasons to believe that a benign than that a malignant destiny will prove to be the ultimate explanation. All the attempts, from the Hedonists down, to express life in terms of happiness affect me more and more as abortive. Life seems to me to be an evolution of something which does not yet appear, and which quite likely will never appear in great completeness to moral vision . . . . Loyalty, using one's place in life for all it is worth, whatever the gauntlets of pain which must run in order to do one's part, not a balance sheet of pain and pleasure, seems to me to furnish the most credible pointer towards the final values . . . . Work seems to be to one's mental and moral nature what a circulation of the blood is to the body . . . . Allegiance to life as long as life lasts, reconstructions of plans so far as our power reaches, even after they had been thwarted by powers beyond our control—this does bring serenity, if not happiness.17

Among the chief sociological works of Dr. Small, in addition to the An Introduction to the Study of Society and the American Journal of Sociology, was his most famous work General Sociology written in 1905. In this book Small attempted to summarize the most important developments in sociology and to present some of his own views. He followed this with Adam Smith and Modern Sociology in 1907 and The Cameralists in 1909, a work in which Small combined economics and sociology. In 1910 he wrote The Meaning of Social Science and in 1924 Between Eras: From Capitalism to Democracy to show the problems of politics and their relationship to sociology. His final book was Origin of Sociology in 1924 in which Small showed how sociology devel—

17 Albion W. Small to Leslie Cornish, 23 August 1924, A.W. Small Collection, Colby College.
oper from its nineteenth-century intellectual origins.

Summary

The story of Albion Small has no singular moments that can be called great. He was a simple, kind-hearted, family man who was a scholar, a devout Christian, a teacher, and an administrator. Whatever he did Small did well. He pursued knowledge with the Christian ideal of helping to improve society. He championed the plight of the workingman in order to improve their lives. He wanted the workers to share in the wealth of their labors. Small developed his sociology as an outgrowth of his study of history and political economy. After accepting the position as Head Professor at Chicago, Small attempted to firmly establish sociology in scientific tradition and develop its worth as an academic discipline. Although he was a prolific writer much of his work in sociology was soon abandoned or overlooked by other sociologists as new ideas came along. His administrative work was done within and for an institution and thus was known to few outsiders. In the next chapter some of the writings of Albion Small will be examined to show how he contributed to the study of sociology.
CHAPTER II

THE MAJOR WORKS OF ALBION WOODBURY SMALL

The development of sociology was thought to have come from the French, especially Auguste Comte. From Comte the linear progression was to Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner. When the ideas of these sociologists could not answer the problems of society the new sociologists attempted to apply the ideas of science to the study of society. Among these new sociologists was Albion Woodbury Small and he was in the forefront of those thinkers who wanted to make sociology a pure science. Not only did Small attempt to establish a scientific sociology but, in doing so, he also attempted to establish a historic link for scientific sociology not to the French sociologists but to the German sociologists.

This chapter will give a brief summary of the writings that Small authored during his lifetime. Two of Small's early works will be looked at closely in an attempt to understand what Small was trying to accomplish with his writings.

The early sociologists saw man and society progressing through various evolutionary stages from the simple to the complex. For example, Auguste Comte saw society as an organic
whole which developed from the individual to the family and into society. Herbert Spencer's ideas were not as elaborate as Comte's but he saw sociology as the study of evolution.

The evolutionary sociologists developed the idea that society was the natural progression of man. This evolutionary belief led people such as William Graham Sumner to rationalize the advantages of the privileged classes over the unprivileged members of society on the grounds of natural law and the Darwinian concept of survival of the fittest. Sumner has been called a Social Darwinist because of the way he used evolution to block social reforms and changes. Sumner justified his position on the grounds that social evolution must follow natural law. Any preplanned social scheme, to Sumner, was pure folly because natural law was not taken into consideration.

The positivistic organicism associated with Comte, Sumner, and others became unacceptable to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century sociologists. The major reason for

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1 The idea of positivistic organicism is really a tension situation. Organicism refers to a mental picture of the world that sees society as an autonomous entity analogous to an organism. This concept sees society as a living thing. One can compare this concept to the relationship of organs in the human body with individuals in society. Positivism refers to the idea that restricts the explanation of phenomena to the phenomena themselves. This approach limits explanation to exact scientific procedure and it rejects anything that cannot be explained scientifically. Organicism and positivism should have been in conflict but they were put together and accepted by the intellectual community. For a good explanation of positivistic organicism see Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1960), pp. 52-77.
the move away from evolutionary positivism was that it was based on an unscientific principle. The defenders of this early sociological position defended themselves by using a set of ideas to justify a certain social position or to promote a certain social program. The new breed of sociologists wanted to base the study of society on the principles of science and empirical knowledge.

The theory developed by the academicians was one of social conflict between classes. Positivistic organicism could not maintain itself on any scientific grounds because it could not explain conflict in any theoretical sense. The central fact of society is that there is class conflict and this conflict has to be somehow resolved. Every society requires a minimum realism about its conflicts to survive. Looking at society from the standpoint of conflict was not really a new theory developed by man in the Western tradition. From the ancient Chinese cultures, through the ancient Greeks, through the Middle Ages (especially the Italian Niccolo Machiavelli), from Hobbes, Hume and the classical economics of Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus there is mention of the idea of conflict. This idea was called competition. Conflict and the struggle for survival were the basis that Charles Darwin used for his biological theory.²

The early twentieth century sociologists saw society

²Ibid., pp. 127–50.
in constant movement toward adjusting, stabilizing, equalizing, and ending conflicts. The sociological theory of conflict was much more realistic than its predecessor. Conflict theory tried to explain society in an empirical sense.

Albion Woodbury Small was the most balanced conflict theorist in early American sociology. Most of the early social theorists played down the individual in favor of society. It was Small's belief that society did not take the individual into account. His position was that the "social fact is the incessant reaction between three chief factors: (1) nature; (2) individuals; (3) institutions, or modes of association between individuals."³

Small developed his early sociological concepts first at the German universities where he was influenced by the social economist Gustav Schmoller and the ideas of Adolf Wagner and later on his own at Johns Hopkins University. The first actual sociological writing Small did was an outline he developed for a course of study at Colby University which he called "Sociology." While at Colby, Small was heavily involved in the study of the writings of Comte and Spencer. Small developed a position of anti-positivism because of his readings and observations in sociology and theology. His Outline of a Course in Sociology indicates that he began to develop his own concept of sociology. In this Outline Small describes the field of sociology:

Here if anywhere the field is the world. All agencies and instrumentalities are included. As many things as contribute to human welfare, so many are to be numbered under general means. Social life is as manysided as individual life. One has only to consider the multitudes of means by which the individual is served to understand how practically unlimited are the means of social progress. The same is true of method. The ways of serving the group. Every method that will work is counted in. Of course it is true of both means and methods that some are more serviceable than others. The part of rational intelligence is to discriminate between things that differ and give precedence to the most worthy.4

After establishing the world's first sociology department at the University of Chicago in 1892 Small developed his previous Outline into a full book with the help of George Edgar Vincent. The title of this first work is An Introduction to the Study of Society and its major function was to act as a laboratory guide to help beginners in studying society. Small reported that he was constantly asked by different individuals to write a book on sociology:

Since the organization of the department of Sociology in the University of Chicago, in 1892, applications for information about a suitable college text-book in Sociology have been incessant. The fact that no such text-book exists has enforced the belief that the preparation of a guide to the elementary study of sociology is the best scientific service which the department can immediately render.5

This book was one of the first actual textbooks in sociology designed for a college class and it had much practical worth

4 Albion W. Small, Outline of a Course in Sociology (privately printed for use by the students, Colby University, n.d.), p. 41.

for beginning sociology students.

Small and Vincent intended this book to be "an invitation to practice observation and interpretation of the most ordinary social relations." But the book was not intended to stand alone. A competent teacher was needed to help "guide the studies of pupils." The book was to be used to direct people to places where "material of social interest" could be found. To get the most out of the book, the authors state, the students should "use the principles of analysis and synthesis illustrated in the text for investigation of corresponding conditions within the range of their own observation." The authors wanted the book to serve as a training manual. They gave various "Subjects for Investigation" at the conclusion of each chapter.

One section of the book, "Natural History of a Society," is a very long and detailed account of a fictitious midwestern city from its origins as a single family settlement to its progression into a large urban-industrial complex. This section was written:

(1) to exhibit qualitatively, not quantitatively, the various factors of social life as they appear at different stages of social organization; (2) to illustrate the tendency toward integration, specialization, and interdependence of parts which characterize a growing society; and chiefly (3) to suggest to the student a method of observation, which seeks to gain a conspectus of all social activities in their interrelations, not to scrutinize separately one department of life.7

The success of this book is evident by the fact that the earliest community study done in America, a study of

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6 Ibid., p. 17. 7 Ibid., p. 99.
Galesburg, Illinois, was accomplished "After the Method of Small and Vincent." 8

Small and Vincent manifest a belief in rural America over metropolitan America. The section on the development of a city from a small village indicated that there was a greater spirit of community on the part of the inhabitants of the village than on the part of the city dwellers. Urban sprawl has many divergences in "wealth, intelligence, customs, and ideas" that force special "groupings, some of which give coherence to the whole society, while others tend to exaggerate antagonisms and separations." 9 These problems could be solved in small towns, according to Small and Vincent, because of the "moral unity" that exists in rural America. For the large cities the responsibility of solving the ills of society rested with the university scholars who have to act as the moral leaders of society. Small saw the ethical system of America resing on the shoulders of the university professor. This professor was generally an educated theologian prior to his work in other academic disciplines. The main task of sociology, as Small saw it in 1894, was to develop ethical leaders to help cure the ills of society. This task was along the lines Small and Harper discussed when Small was chosen to head the

9 Small and Vincent, p. 164.
Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago.

Small's second book on sociology was his *magnum opus*, *General Sociology: An Exposition of the Main Development in Sociological Theory from Spencer to Ratzenhofer*. The book was intended to give Small's interpretation of the entire field of sociology up to the twentieth century. The premises Small had in mind in writing this book were "first, to make visible different elements that must necessarily find their place in ultimate sociological theory; and, second, to serve as an index to relations between the parts and the whole of sociological science."\(^{10}\)

The first part of *General Sociology* is devoted to a discussion of the field of sociology that included the history, subjects, and definitions that were needed for a complete study of sociology. The next part is a discussion of the views of the true founders of sociology: Spencer, Schäffle, and Ratzenhofer. This section includes Small's synopses of the works of Morgan, Tarde, Simmel, Veblen, Ward, and Ross. Small found this intertwining to ideas necessary because he wanted to offer the reader a "series of generalizations" on the present status of sociology so that researchers in the field would have a "working terminology for the notions so generalized."\(^{11}\)

In the first part of *General Sociology* Small wrote of

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\(^{10}\) Albion W. Small, *General Sociology*, p. vi.

\(^{11}\) Ibid., pp. 397-98.
his opposition to the individualistic view of history and society. Further along in the book he came full circle and claimed that "social forces" are found "lodged in individuals." He stated that "in the last analysis, the stimulus of every act is an interest of the individual who acts." The individual is central to Small, whether he accepts individualism or rejects it in favor of the socialization process of collectivizing all individuals into an organic social whole; for example:

Every man is what he is as a resultant in part to the pressure of the human associations within which his personality has its orbit. The concept "human life," whether we try to construct it for individuals or for the race at large, is a fictitious and unreal picture, unless it includes the notion "association." Association is the universal medium in which the individual completes his existence by merging it into the larger life of all individuals.

Small told his colleagues that they should see the world as a place of human interaction or individuals associating with other individuals. In carrying this theme further Small described an individual working in society:

He is an intersection of all groupings which human beings form in the pursuit of all the ends of life, and all the ends of life are epitomized in that single man's character. He is a function of the whole process by which they are working together to organize their physiological, economic, and personal, and scientific, and aesthetic, and religious interests. Make a cross-section of him, and we find we have in him every fiber of civilization.

In a direct way Small was arguing that every aspect or facet

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12 Ibid., p. 365.  
13 Ibid., p. 507.  
14 Ibid., pp. 520-21.
of every man's life is related to every aspect or facet of every other person's life. There are no unique character traits in certain individuals. We are all made with the same interests and ends of life. A person does what he finds interesting to him but his ends are in reality no different than the ends of society.

Small continued this theme of interests which he first developed in *An Introduction to the Study of Society*. He wrote of six basic interests in man (health, wealth, social, knowledge, beauty, and rightness) and these interests form Small's limited view of sociology. Within this view Small distinguishes between the psychological and sociological perspective of the individual. The reason for this distinction was to enable Small to move away from the positivism that had dominated earlier sociological theories.

By moving away from the positivistic approach to sociology Small was able to embrace the social forces theory of the individual in relation to the rest of society. Small claimed:

> There are no social forces which are not at the same time forces lodged in individuals, deriving their energy from individuals, and operating in and through individuals. There are no social forces that lurk in the containing ether . . . and affect persons without the agency of other persons.15

These social forces are the desires of persons that range in energy from a personal whim to feelings shared by the whole race.

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15 Ibid., p. 532.
Social forces are developed from an established relationship that has developed between the individual and society. Social forces are motivators found in every person and these forces compel man to form or become a part of society. Man acts in conjunction with the society which nurtured and developed him. By developing the idea of social forces Small was able to combine psychology and sociology into the generalization that the individual is never alone but is always governed by the rules and regulations established by society. The role of the individual is played down to the importance of society at large.

Small stresses the individual only in respect to society. He argues from the position that interests should be in the forefront of sociological study because society is a result of conflicting interests and they would make a logical starting point for further study:

In a word, then, the energies that have their basis of action in the human animal differentiate into impulses that cause the actions of that animal to radiate. The individual that comes into being through this differentiation is the resultant of the different interests that wrestle with each other in his personalities(sic). The career of that individual, and of all individuals combined, is persistent struggle, on the one hand, of the interests in the individual, by virtue he is what he is at any moment, and... of the combination of the interests in one individual with the combination of interests in all the others.16

The combination of interests17 in everyone was Small's way of

16 Ibid., p. 472.
17 See Chapter III for a further discussion of Small's concept of interest.
combining psychology and sociology. The individual is the center of each. One had to use the knowledge of the other disciplines in order to understand society and the individual.

Small saw society as the arena of mediating conflict. "There is not and cannot be harmony between people as claimants to the product of industry." He continued this theme with "each class wants either to retain or to increase its power and to enforce its own estimate of its own economic rights." 18 This conflict could be eased by unionization. Small believed that collective bargaining was a way towards "constitutionalism in economic enterprise" that would restrain capitalism.

The unformulated and unconscious struggle today, in all industrial states, is for constitutionalism in economic enterprise, just as the struggle of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was for constitutionalism in politics. That is, each economic class wants a fundamental economic order which will contain checks and balances adequate to keep other classes from usurping economic power. 19

Small's belief in class cooperation and political control over capital stemmed from his idea of "social process" and the role of the social scientist in the realm of social conflict. This "social process" was a basic unity inherit in all human beings for cooperation in order to develop a society.

The concept of the community is a body of interests that control all men. The body of interests prevent man from acting as an animal. In the past the conflict between men was more prevalent and "conciliation and agreement have been rather

18 Ibid., pp. 300-01.  
19 Ibid.
resultants of social forces than prime factors in movements."
As society progressed interests overlapped and they became more prominent and more important. One of the ways to appease this conflict was through economic growth.

So long and so far as the struggle for existence develops merely material wants, the persons or groups feeling those wants are implacably hostile to all persons or groups whose existence threatens the satisfaction of those wants. As other wants develop, terms on which persons are willing to pursue satisfaction of their wants become less absolute. The social process continues to be largely in the form of struggle, but it is less and less inexorable struggle.20

The state was a prime mover in reducing conflicts of interests between groups and individuals. For Small the state means "people so far integrated that a government is one of their bonds of union."21 The state can help alleviate class conflicts by various means:

The State always brings to bear upon the individuals composing it a certain power of constraint to secure from them in all their struggles with each other, the observance of minimum established limits of struggle . . . The master-key to the occurrences which take place in all States, throughout their development, is the perception that, whatever the incidents of political struggle in any case, the one constant factor is the civic organization attempting . . . to guard the interests of the individuals and groups of which the State is composed, by constraint appropriate to the needs of the situation.22

The state, then, was the catalyst that brought society, by using the social process, from a way of life of "hostility" to one of "sociability." People demanded a state in order that "the struggle of interests" be limited and subservient to "certain positive rules."

20 Ibid., pp. 204-05. 21 Ibid., pp. 227-28. 22 Ibid., pp. 242-43.
There is a common interest amongst all people and this interest is a desire for order. Small saw the state as having to impose itself on individual and group interests in order for social interaction and the social process to occur:

By virtue of combinations, always stronger than individuals, the modicum of common interest intrenches itself more and more firmly, while the quantum of common interest meanwhile increases. Throughout this process, the State is becoming more and more necessary to the typical individual, but at the same time more and more antipathetic to everything in the individual in proportion as it conflicts with the typical. Here, then, we have the conditions of the irrepressible conflict which the State does not originate, but by means of which the State carries on the social process. National life is conflict, but it is conflict converging toward minimum conflict, and maximum co-operation and sociability.23

The problem Small associated with the state is that only a certain group of people hold power. They do not want to give up this power nor do they wish to share their power with others. It is "one of the characteristic tendencies of the governing class in States founded by conquest . . . to set themselves with all possible vigor against the formation of a middle class."24 Through the social process new groups emerge that want to share in the power of the state. If these groups are assimilated into the power structure then conflict decreases. But when these groups are resisted or suppressed then conflict arises.

In the United States we have the same antagonism of forces rallying about different interests. With approximate abolition of political classes, we have economic strata that use both economic and political means of

23Ibid., p. 245. 24Ibid., p. 230.
conflict. The managing class is suspicious of the fitness of the many to share in political and industrial management. Our political campaigns are becoming more and more trials of skill between men, on the one hand, who have the confidence of successful business organizers, and, on the other hand, men who are attempting to organize the fears and the jealousies of those who distrust the political integrity and ability of the economically successful classes. 25

Small's belief in a constitutional equality in the economic sector is plainly visible. Small saw the United States Constitution as guaranteeing every person the equal opportunity to share in the power of economic self-determination. Without the equal means to achieve power and economic self-determination, man or groups of men will cause continual conflicts that will destroy society. Small felt that he and the many other university professors represented the true intellectual interests of society. As representatives of these interests, the intellectuals could possibly solve the differences that exist in society.

The essential conflict today is between the intellectual, the knowledge interest, and all the other interests combined. The primary issue, between groups, within groups, and even between conflicting motives in the individual, is that of assumption, on the one hand, and knowledge, on the other, as the basis of action. Shall we first of all desire to know, or even consent to know, all the bearings of our conduct, before we choose our course of action; or shall we take refuge in the claim: Whatever is, is right, if it favor us, and whatever is, is wrong, if it balks our wish? 26

Small saw sociology as a science that studied the entire social process. Sociologists had to study all points of social conflicts without choosing sides. The sociologists had to be arbitrators in social disputes because they had the

25 Ibid., p. 233.  
26 Ibid., p. 387.
knowledge of the social process and of social institutions. The sociologists should also lead society in choosing the correct course of events and which interests society should encourage in order to realize its goals.

The writings Small produced following General Sociology were continuations of themes or ideas he developed in this book. It was these continuations and variations on themes developed in General Sociology that lead most authorities to declare that General Sociology was Small's magnum opus.

In 1907 Small wrote Adam Smith and Modern Sociology. In this book Small attempted to combine sociology and economics. These two fields were Small's areas of expertise. Small condemned the classical economic theories because they were narrow and abstract. He defined sociology as a moral philosophy. He said that: "Sociology, in its largest scope, and on its methodological side, is merely a moral philosophy conscious of its task, and systematically pursuing knowledge of cause and effect within this process of moral evolution." 27 Small attempted to show that Adam Smith's economic theories were a part of a larger moral philosophy. The excesses of the nineteenth century made wealth the prime factor in life. The connected social and moral conscious of Smith's writings were entirely neglected. These aspects were but a small "potion of

moral sciences" that were completely overlooked by the followers of Smith from Ricardo onward. They held that economics were "both the cornerstone and key-stone of moral science." The point made by Small was that the entire spectrum of the economic theories that were developed in the nineteenth century had to be reexamined through the concept of a moral science, namely sociology.

Economic theory, in England and America, throughout the nineteenth century, made the wealth interest unduly prominent in the process of moral evolution, and thereby introduced confusion into the whole scale of moral valuation . . . a sufficient interpretation of life to be a reliable basis for social programs must express economic relations at last in terms of the whole moral process. 28

Small's interpretation of the economic theories of Adam Smith was entirely different than previous interpretations. By making Smith primarily a moral philosopher with an economic theory Small had associated Smith with socialism. "If Adam Smith had lived until today, and had reiterated certain of his general views about the fundamental conditions of economic relations, he would be classed as a socialist without benefit of clergy." Small also believed that had Adam Smith seen what had happened to his economic theories he would have changed them. "If he had lived until the revolution was fully accomplished, he would, without much doubt, have returned to some of the fundamentals in his moral theory as a basis for restate-

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28 Ibid., pp. 23-4.
ments of the derived doctrines which have been used to bolster capitalism." 29

Small believed that any economic theory which did not take into account the moral questions of society was "sterile." By using the economics of Adam Smith as an example Small developed his concept of the role of sociology. "Modern sociology is virtually an attempt to take up the larger program of social analysis and interpretation which was implicit in Adam Smith's moral philosophy, but which was suppressed for a century by prevailing interest in the technique of the production of wealth." 30

Small continued in the economic vein with his next book two years later, in 1909, entitled The Cameralists: The Pioneers of German Social Polity. In this work Small attempted to show that the social and economic problems of the German people had been recognized by German economists since the sixteenth century. Small found wanting the economic practices of England and America because of the way these countries treated society and social welfare. One had to see, according to Small, the problems of society and the social welfare needed to overcome these problems. The Cameralists, who were the economists of Germany from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, believed in a type of social planning even though their main concern was with getting money for the Prince. Man was an integral part of society and economics was merely a

29 Ibid., pp. 65-6. 30 Ibid., p. 238.
subsection of the whole of society.31

The Meaning of Social Science was written by Small in 1910 and it developed the idea of an ethical sociology. Small attributed religious significance to social science and to all areas of scholarship when he declared:

Sociology is really assuming the same prophetic role in social science which tradition credits to Moses in the training of his nation, when he sounded the keynote, "Hear, O Israel! The Lord our God is one Lord." Or the role of the rallying cry of Islam, "There is but one God and Mahomet is his Prophet." [Or] the role of the unitheists . . . or . . . modern psychologists who saved us from that mental philosophy which turned the human mind into a department store with devices for opening and closing impenetrable partitions between the divisions of intellect, sensibility, and will. Sociology is like each of these unifying alternatives in the one particular that it is proclaiming the elementary truth of the unity of all the divisions of science that may be invented as machineries for understanding that reality. 32

Small continues his crusader belief in the religious role of the social scientist. One could interpret Small's position as that of a scholar entering holy orders when he studies man and society.

In all seriousness, then, and with careful weighing of my words, I register my belief that social science is the holiest sacrament open to men. It is the holiest because it is the wholest career within the terms of human life . . . . The whole circumference of social science is the indicated field for these "works" without which the apostle of "salvation by faith" declared that faith is dead. 33

The meaning of the social sciences was clear to Small. The


social scientist had an obligation and duty to develop an understanding of human life within the framework of society according to an ethical precept handed down all the way from Moses. The social sciences must create a better and more just social order.

In 1913 Small wrote a book entitled Between Eras, From Capitalism to Democracy. This work is very difficult to read. It uses the novel form and dialogues to help the reader understand contemporary society. The central theme of the book was to propose reforms for various types of governmental regulations that were imposed upon private businesses. Small characterized the capitalists of society by portraying them as irrational men afraid to act without total justification. Small used examples to show how these men in a capitalist setting have to rationalize their every move.34

A review of this book in the American Journal of Sociology, written by Walter Rauschenbusch, a professor at Rochester Theological Seminary, suggests its value. According to Rauschenbusch the book Between Eras:

is simply an analysis of our present conditions. It cuts up and reduces to foolishness the usual arguments made on behalf of our capitalistic society, without at all proposing a socialistic organization. The author has evidently . . . limited himself in this book, and we must accept his self imposed limitations . . . within those limitations this book is the cleverest, the most incisive, and the best equipped analysis of the capital-

34 Albion W. Small, Between Eras: From Capitalism to Democracy: A Cycle of Conversations and Discourses with Occasional Sidelights Upon the Speakers (Kansas City, Missouri: Inter-Collegiate Press, 1913).
istic system of industrial production which has appeared within our time. No one can afford to pass it by. 35

This has to be considered high praise from a professor at a theological school. Rauschenbusch continues with his interpretation of Small's book and of his joy in reading it.

This book is evidently an effort on his part to speak the language of the common man, and he does it with immense success. In fact, his language is so vivid, so much the language of the street, that I wonder that our magazine editors have not long ago been after him. Not only does it sparkle with epigrams and racy modern expressions, but it is put in the form of conversations, and runs along a clearly defined thread of narrative, so that the book is actually sort of a novel. At the same time it is packed with ideas and takes hold of a man's intellect with a firm grip from beginning to end. 36

In *Between Eras* Small takes a negative position of the capitalistic society that existed in his day. In his view the capitalists were small narrow men who never saw anything outside of their own petty greed and their limited society.

The last book by Albion Small was *The Origins of Sociology*. The author deals entirely with German thinkers in the realm of sociology. In this book Small attempted to give scientific facts and meanings to social science data. By using the political-economic theories of nineteenth century Germany Small showed that the social science method of understanding man was directly opposed to laissez-faire economics. Small had stated this theme in his previous books on economics. Small

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36 Ibid., p. 853.
contended that true sociology developed in Germany and not in France as had been believed. "The American Sociological movement is on a lineal continuance with the Germanic movement." The German, Friedrich Karl von Savigny, showed that all things human were historical creations. Another social scientist, Karl Friedrich Eichorn, relied heavily on the interrelatedness of any social phenomena. He emphasized a comparative method to bring about the "relativity of social practices." Using these same descriptive definitions of early German sociologists Small developed the ideas presented by Karl Menger and Eugen Boehm von Bawerk that made economics help society by eliminating economic fluctuations. Small related the ideas of Adolf von Knies on political economy with those of Adam Smith to show that there was something morally higher than economics. Adolph Wagner and Gustav von Schmoller believed in the true ethical life as the aim of mankind. Albert Schäffle emphasized the relative good of material things only in so far as they lead man to a better life. Small concluded the book with the idea of Hugo von Mohl and Heinrich Ahrens that sociology was the ultimate science of society.

Small briefly described the development of the sociological movement in America in Origins of Sociology when he wrote that:

a few scholars a generation ago became dissatisfied with

the way things were going among the different social sciences. After fretting fruitlessly for a while, they decided to create a science of their own. They advertised that they were going to furnish the world with a science that would correct the errors of the older and futile social science. They would substitute a social science as it should be, capable of explaining all about society, including principles and rules for guiding society in the future to a speedy perfection. They adopted the name "sociology" and I am frank to admit that they accepted it a compliment when, after a few years, European scholars began to refer to "sociology" as the "American Science." 38

Small's basic concept was that there was a general theory of sociology. Stated briefly Small's theory was that the "final interpretation of human experience is not to be found in abstractions from experience but in composition of abstracting into a reflection of the totality of experience." 39 Small had an objectivist's view because he wanted scholars to study real things and not abstractions from reality. As his swan song Origins of Sociology shows no real development in his thinking from three or four decades previous.

Albion Small contributed many articles and reviews to the American Journal of Sociology. It was part of Small's plan to make sociology a respectable academic discipline. In order to do this Small established the ideas of sociology in the academic traditions by using various works that had already been accepted by European scholars. It was Small's wish in establishing the Journal that it be used to help others either

38 Ibid., p. 6. 39 Ibid., p. 36.
as source material or a place to get their ideas published in the field of sociology. The very first article published in the Journal was written by Small and he defined sociology in his own words as a God-given "consciousness" and a "movement" to aid man in complex society. Sociology was to be thought of as:

the movement of the common mind to understand the complex relations of man to man in modern society, and to forge out the science and arts of living and working together. It is the movement of the common heart to realize the undying hope of social justice and human brotherhood. It is the movement of the common will to find and apply some adjustment of the disturbed relationships and dislodged classes, caused by the most revolutionary force ever introduced into human affairs, except the gospel, viz., the modern industrial system. 40

As a sociologist Small saw the excesses caused by the industrial revolution. The focus Small wanted to use in looking at the capitalistic system was that as a sociologist he, and others like him, had to know and judge the present in order that they might set goals for the future. The American Journal of Sociology was established for this purpose.

The American Journal of Sociology will be a medium for exchange of thought between scholars upon the work of developing an orderly view of associated human activities as a whole. In this Journal a large number of American scholars, with many representative European sociologists will also try to express their best thoughts upon discoverable principles of societary relationships, in such a way that they might assist all intelligent men in taking the largest possible view of their rights and duties as citizens.

The Journal will thus be primarily technical. It

will be devoted to the organization of knowledge pertaining to the relations of men in society into a sociology that shall represent the best American scholarship. On the other hand the Journal will attempt to translate sociology into the language of ordinary life, so that it will not appear to be merely a classification and explanation of fossil facts. No subject which pertains to men's pursuits is beneath the notice of sociology, provided it can be treated so that its relation to involved pursuits becomes more evident. 41

These were high but realistic hopes Small had for his Journal. Sociology was to be a living science that could and should be used by men to help better all of society. Small believed that through understanding all aspects of society one could help in promoting the "general welfare" of mankind. Small wanted the Journal to form and develop a "social philosophy" in order to "insure the good of men."

Many of Albion Small's articles in the Journal were reprinted in book form. Since it was Small's personal task to make sociology a respectable academic discipline, one of the ways he attempted to do this was by establishing a historic precedent for the study of sociology. Small used the Journal and his books for this purpose. Small established the historical roots for the study of society by connecting the American school with the social theories that existed in Germany and their influence on the development of the American social sciences. With the American Journal of Sociology Small made available to American scholars many of the fundamental contributions of the German social scientists.

41 Ibid., pp. 13-14.
Small had the not unique view of his writings that they were stimuli to others to continue from where he had left off or to go into some of his subject matter more deeply. In a letter to Harry Barnes Small admitted his shortcomings:

My mother once asked me, with a deep sigh, "Why is it that you never publish anything that contains either gospel or entertainment?" I could only admit the soft impeachment, and leave the subject with an unsatisfying answer. I do not remember that I have ever written anything, except things to be spoken, without feeling myself trailed by some coming man who would carry the job nearer to completion. All my life I have felt myself under mandate to get out stuff in the rough, which would be a challenge to somebody to work it over, or to get out more and better stuff of a more ultimate order. I have never been able to address myself to book readers, but only to potential book makers, and I have already felt that, with them, as makers not of literature but of a technical treatises, not form, but substance, and pointers toward more substance, matters. 42

Under the editorship, guidance, and contributions of Small the American Journal of Sociology rose to become the most important journal of sociological thought in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Small allowed the Journal to become a place where sociologists throughout the world could air their ideas. The Journal also published the works of many young sociologists. Small actively encouraged the young sociologists to contribute their material. For many years since its founding the Journal was the only place that American readers could keep abreast of the developments in the literature of sociology. The service that Small did for

sociology as editor of the American Journal of Sociology is enough to grant him a high place in the history of sociology.

Summary

Small's sociological writings had much influence in establishing sociology on scientific principles. From his first work, An Introduction to the Study of Society, Small attempted to view society as something that could be studied just as science studies things in laboratories. With his General Sociology Small developed the German School of sociology and its influence on the development of scientific sociology. Small developed his theories of man and society with special attention to his theory of interests in order for sociology to have some scientific footing. The next step for Small was to develop connections between sociology and economics because he saw economics as the real governor of society. He attempted to show with The Cameralists that social and economic problems go hand-in-hand. Small saw economics as a positive force in helping society. In order that sociology not be used for ill-gotten gains Small wrote The Meaning of Social Science in an attempt to develop an ethical sociology. With Between Eras Small showed what he believed to be wrong with the capitalistic economic system and the society it produced. With The Origins of Sociology Small again attempted to link scientific sociology with the German thinkers. In establishing the American Journal of
Sociology Small wanted a medium that could be used as a resource center and one that could be used to publish new ideas in the field of sociology. Small's contributions to the *American Journal of Sociology* were numerous. Among his writings were original articles, book reviews, and editorial comments. The sum total of Small's writings in the *Journal* number almost two thousand pages. The articles and book reviews naturally dealt with sociological subjects. These writings were for the purpose of making sociology a respectable academic discipline and science. Small believed in establishing the science of sociology by giving it historical foundations. It was his belief that the German social sciences were responsible for the methodology of sociology and American sociology was in direct descent and continuum from this Germanic school. In the final analysis the writings of Albion Small helped establish the strong scientific foundation of sociology in the United States. In the subsequent chapters of this study we will show how Small's ideas made an impact on the educational scene.
CHAPTER III

AN EXPLICATION OF SMALL'S CONCEPTS OF INTEREST AND ETHICS

Small attempted to develop man in the context of society by developing society in the context of nature. It was his belief that the scientific study of society should be along the same lines as the scientific study of nature. For Small nature was the physical surroundings within which man came into existence and within which he lived and died. In order to understand the social process, which simply means the development of society, Small had to start with the knowledge that the physical sciences had gained about nature in order to have a similar knowledge of man in society. Small believed that the knowledge of man in society was scarce and he attempted to rectify this problem. Small saw the impact of the discoveries of science as similar to the effect his concept of interests was to have on sociology. He viewed the concept of the atom as the primary element that physical science could be reduced to. Analogously, interests were the last or primary element to which the actions of human beings could be reduced.

The first part of this chapter will deal with Small's views on these matters. The second part will develop Small's idea on the ethical and moral person living in
society. Small, a devout Christian, developed the sociological model that all men should follow. This model was Jesus Christ and Small believed that a perfect society would result if all men followed the life and teachings of Christ.

**Concept of Interest**

The uniqueness in the writings of Albion Woodbury Small is to be found in his early theoretical assumptions about motivational forces and in his views on the ethical characteristics of man and society. Small's early writings helped to establish a science of sociology.

Small saw the driving force of man as rooted in his prehistoric past and this force he referred to, in 1894, as "wants." He later changed these "wants" to "interests" in 1905. These "wants" or "interests" can be thought of as instincts which lead to certain kinds of behaviors or motivational forces which compel man to seek, develop, and follow certain types of behavioral patterns.

In *Introduction to the Study of Society* Small and his co-author Vincent paraphrased Auguste Comte who saw man as an "inert mass" that had to be artificially stimulated into accepting a "social life" and forced into doing his "duty as a citizen."¹ Small viewed man differently.

To him man was a creature of wants. Man expressed these wants in desires. The best way to express these desires was socially. This idea was Small's first principle of human nature. Various social groups express their wants differently. Small saw wants as the practical ends of life and the individual motivators to "efficient action."

Everything we do is an attempt to adjust ourselves to these "wants." Because of these "wants" Small, as opposed to Comte, conceived the individual "not as characterized by inertia, but as impelled by desires which demand the satisfaction of certain definite wants."² Small's objectives, therefore, for sociology were that it must "classify human wants" and it must analyze the various "forms" used to satisfy these "wants."

Small classified wants into six major groups:
(a) wants immediately connected with the activity of the physical function, (b) wants immediately connected with the use of material foods, (c) wants immediately connected with the activity of social instinct, (d) wants immediately connected with the activity of social instinct, (e) wants immediately connected with the activity of aesthetic judgment, (f) wants immediately connected with the activity of conscience.³ These "wants" were condensed into six basic

² Ibid., p. 174. ³ Ibid., p. 175.
terms or areas: (a) health, (b) wealth, (c) sociability, (d) knowledge, (e) beauty, (f) righteousness. These "wants" were common in all persons but they might be either latent or overt in each individual depending upon the way he found to satisfy them.

Following Small's concept of "wants" and "desires" is Small's position that sociology was a system of human interests and that these interests were controlled by society. He elaborated his original ideas of wants and desires into a system based on interests. Small felt that this system was pivotally important to sociology, and he discussed it at a meeting of the American Sociological Society in New Orleans in 1903:

We need to know, in the concrete, just how human interests have combined with each other in every variety of circumstances within human experience. There has never, to my knowledge, been a fairly successful attempt to schedule efficient human interests in general, till Ratzenhofer did it less than ten years ago in *Das Wesen und Zweck der Politik*. With this work sociology attained its majority. Henceforth, all study of human relations must be rated as provincial, which calculates problems of life with reference to a less comprehensive scheme of interests than his analysis exhibits.

Taking the ideas of Ratzenhofer Small combined them with his own when he developed the concept of interests that

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4 Ibid.
motivate individuals to action.

In going from his original idea of desires to interests Small developed the individual as a "center of activities which make for something outside the psychical series in which volition is a term." These activities were desires, and these desires Small later referred to as "universal interests." But Small qualifies the differences between desires and interests. Desires are those things that a person wants, whereas interests are remote. Desires of a person come into being because the interests stimulate some unrecognizable end. Making the unknown known or making the unconscious conscious was what Small was trying to explain with his theoretical concept of interests. Small wanted people to become aware of the role that interests play in their lives. Interests compel man to action and Small wanted everyone to be aware of this compulsion. Small's concept of interests can be better understood if we use the term instincts for interests.

Nevertheless, Small's concept of interests was a kind of motivational force which directed all human activity. Interests were forces that compelled man to "act in order to gain satisfactions." The clue to all social activities is in this fact of individual interests. Every "act that every man performs is to be traced back to an

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interest" 7 either psychological or physical. Interests are "the simplest modes of motion which we can trace in the conduct of human beings." 8 Small conceived of the "whole life-process" of the individual in society as being centered around the "developing, adjusting, and satisfying" of interests.

In connecting his concept of interests with sociology Small could not accept the idea that interests were a matter of choice or volition. He saw interests as determiners of a person's life. Interests are "affinities, latent in persons, pressing for satisfaction, whether the persons are conscious of them either generally or specifically, or not; they are indicated spheres of activity which persons enter into and occupy in the course of realizing their personality." 9

The sociological system that Small developed was built on the concept of interests and their social control. Man develops through the primary group that we call the family. From the influence of the family man develops a cohesiveness and identity to a certain people, race, language, definite geographical place, and many other sociological influencing factors. What gives man life in the sociological sense is the social group. Society;

7 Ibid., p. 433. 8 Ibid., p. 434. 9 Ibid.
institutions, the family, et cetera, are maintained through "psychical forces." These forces are the belief by individuals and society in the good of the structures. Everyone, therefore, should want to maintain and develop further these social structures.

Inasmuch as this persistence is maintained by psychical and not by physical forces, it is really the outward expression of a community of thought, belief, and technical activity, which constitutes the higher individuality of society. It is this common stock of ideas representing the accumulated experience of many generations which acts by and through individuals and groups, influencing structures and functions, and constituting the super-organic and super-psychological life which alone can be predicated of society as its peculiar vitality.

The social structures give social life to the individual. The individual gives life to the social structures by supporting them and elaborating their aims and development. The interests of the individual, although developed in him in the prehistoric past, can only find satisfactions through the established social structures. The social structures thereby give life to the individual by giving him a correct outlet for the psychical forces that drive him. To Small these psychical forces were termed interests.

It is this correct social outlet for interests that Small alluded to when he referred to social control. Society controls the way a person seeks satisfactions for

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his interests. The interests of society are greater than the interests of the individual. It is imperative for the life of society to control the individual. This idea of social control was simplistically defined by Small as the management and restraint of the behavior of an individual in favor of the corrective good of the group. The educational schools and theorists between the years 1900 and 1920 further elaborated upon Small's basic concept of social control. These educators felt that social control was the answer for developing in various groups certain kinds of habits and beliefs in order that they could form desired behaviors in the younger people. The desired behaviors were a love of democracy, the puritan work ethic, conformity to the laws of the State and the furtherance of the goals of the group.\(^{11}\) The reciprocal arrangement between man and society has been going on for eons.

In other words then, the energies that have their basic action in the human differentiate into impulses that cause the actions of that animal to radiate. The individual that comes into being through this differentiation is the resultant of the different interests that wrestle with each other in his personality. The career of that individual, and of all individuals

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combined, is persistent struggle, on the one hand, of the interests in the individual, by virtue of which he is what he is at any moment, and on the other hand, of the combination of interests in one individual with the combination of interests in all the others.

Civilization, so far as it is bound by national limits consists in enlargement of the content of the common spiritual substance, until it approaches inclusion of all interests, so far as they depend upon concerted conduct; leaving scope for independence only in those activities in which free individual movement best realizes the common interests.

Our whole life—from our eating and sleeping, to our thinking, and trading, and teaching, and playing and praying, and dying—is a part of the social process. In us the process has its lodgement. In the process we live and move and have our being. Instead of not being concerned with it, nothing else is our concern, so far as we are citizens of the world. We do not know our personal concerns until we see through and through the social process. 12

It was Small's conclusion that man cannot exist without the social process. The social process is the assimilating of man into the social whole. Once man is assimilated into the social whole he develops his personality and his life becomes real in the sense that he is interacting with his fellow man. In order that man channels his interests for the betterment of society there has to be social control over him. The best agent for social control is the State. The State gives a person independence within its own controlling sphere. The State, as Small saw it, was organized to minimize conflicts between individuals and groups. This was Small's answer to why the State emerged as a social

12 Small, General Sociology, pp. 472 and 363.
institution. The State was formed as a reciprocal arrangement between individuals and groups to help resolve conflicts and to exert control over individuals and groups.

Civic society organized as the State is composed of individual and group factors, each of which has in itself certain elements of political independence. That is, each has interests seemingly distinct from the interests of the others. Each has some degree of impulse to assert these interests in spite of the others. Thus the State is a union of disunions, a conciliation of conflicts, a harmony of discords. The State is an arrangement of combinations by which mutually repellent forces are brought into some measure of concurrent action. 13

Small saw the State, the agent of society, not only as the controller of personal interests but as a modern day oppressor. The State uses the educational system to further its control of society. The values that the State believes in are transmitted to each generation through the formal social institution known as the school. By using the school as the transmitter of cultural heritage, the State controls the individual by effectively dominating those who are responsible for the education in any society. The schools help the State to control individuals and groups. This suppression of the individual and groups by the State also occurred because special interest groups refused to share power with others. Therefore the State became not only the agent of the special interests but the oppressor of all but a limited few.

13 Ibid., pp. 252-53.
Small conceived of six general categories of interests he believed were common to all men. Even though each individual in society has these interests there is an arbitrary distribution to the amount of force each interest exerts on the individual. Whatever the force each interest has "the fact [is] that no two persons have exactly identical conceptions of the way the same general kind of a desire [interest] will best find satisfaction."\(^{14}\) Even though each individual member of society finds a different way to satisfy his own interests Small categorized only six major areas of ways to achieve personal satisfaction for these interests. Small called these areas "Concepts of Personal Satisfaction" and they are:

(a) Satisfactions of physical functions from unrestrained animalism to the perfect body, as an instrument of highest life.
(b) Satisfactions of possession, from "material possessions the ultimate good" to "the trusteeship of wealth."
(c) Satisfactions of social instincts from wolfishness to brotherhood.
(d) Satisfactions of mental activity; from being in servitude to the physical to becoming the ultimate end of effort.
(e) Satisfactions of aesthetic feeling; from delight in the hideous to deification of beauty.
(f) Satisfaction of conscience; from fetichism to theosophy.\(^{15}\)

Small emphatically insisted that these interests and satisfactions did exist in every human being. What Small saw as the difficulties were the proportion of these interests and

\(^{14}\)Small and Vincent, p. 175.

\(^{15}\)Ibid.
satisfactions that exist in every individual. In order to
determine this proportion in each person Small left to the
province of "Statistical Sociology" which determines "what
ought to be."

To illustrate his point Small gave the following
description of his concept of wants (interests) and their
satisfactions:

In classifying human wants, the question might arise as
to the description which shall be made of the desire of
which the theater is an expression. Under one aspect,
it is a form of sociability; under another a means of
increasing knowledge; from still another standpoint it
is conductive to aesthetic cultivation, and again, many
would assert that it teaches ethical lessons. It is
obviously difficult to make a decision which does not
seem arbitrary, but in the great majority of cases, the
teacher may be classed under sociability as a form of
amusement, although the presence and often the predom-
inance of knowledge or even of physical relaxation may
be recognized.

The variety of concrete forms which the same general
desire may take in the cases of different individuals
has already been implied under "Conceptions of Personal
Satisfactions." Thus (health) the dissipated man finds
his highest physical pleasure in the taste and exhilar-
arating effects of alcoholic liquor; the athlete, in
exercising and developing his muscles; (wealth) the
miser gloats over his hoard strangely precious in itself;
the philanthropist seeks wealth as a means of furthering
his benevolent plans; (sociability) the gambler and thug
frequent the company of their fellow-man to cheat and
despoil them, the city missionary associates with the
poor and deprived with the hope of making them happier
or better; (knowledge) the schoolboy goes enthusiastically
afiel in search of bird's eggs, and butterflies and
fossils; the scientist interrogates Nature, eager to
extol her deepest secrets; (beauty) to the rustic eye,
the gaudy chromo is a delight, and to the villager's
ear the local band discourses sweetest music; the cul-
tivated connoisseur finds keenest pleasure in some
shadowy old Dutch interior, or listens enchanted to a
symphony of Beethoven; (righteousness) the Chinaman devoutly burns his stick of incense before the Joss; the earnest Christian aspires to live in harmony with an omnipotent and loving Creator and Ruler of the universe. Between these extremes, and beyond them, an infinitely varied conceptions of form in which human desires can best find fulfillment. 16

The educational structure, as Small viewed it, was to be used as a socially acceptable outlet for satisfaction of mental activity and as a place for training to achieve the satisfaction of aesthetic feelings. The satisfaction of mental activity was basically an educational want. The formal institution of the school was the perfectly acceptable channel that Small believed was best capable of satisfying this interest. Intellectual curiosity was best satisfied through the established pathways that existed, namely formal educational institutions.

Georg Simmel, the noted German sociologist of the early twentieth century, wrote Soziologie: Untersuchengen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung (1908). Simmel also believed that man possessed basic wants and desires. But Simmel carried his idea a step further than Small. Simmel saw man filled with "subjective impulses, wants, desires, envies, or hatreds." These internal drives or unrests lead man into internal conflict situations that must be resolved or appeased. Simmel believed that once the "conflict" arose the organism fights to overcome the pressure of the "existing

16 Ibid., p. 177.
dualism." Conflict has to be resolved even if it "involves the destruction of one of the parties. The conflict itself is but the resolution of the tension between the two elements." Conflicts eventually resolve themselves in some type of peaceful solution, either "co-ordination" or "sub-ordination." This was Simmel's dialectic as he saw the peaceful solution as a synthesis between the two conflicting parties thesis and antithesis. This concept held for both "union and opposition." Small and Simmel felt that the conflict between the individual and the State was a struggle for survival for the individual or the entire evolutionary process that man has passed through during his entire history on the earth. The State maintains its control over the individual by resolving or appeasing the individual through many different means foremost of which were superior power and resources. But the struggle persists in almost every man and in each succeeding generation. Until the State and the small groups controlling the power of the State take into their circle the dissatisfied peoples who want a share in this power, the struggle will persist until the death of one or the other or both.

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Concept of Ethics

The major focus of Small's analysis of the part that interests play in determining interrelationships of men centers on the idea of harmony in social relations. Man's interests should be harmonized and ordered within a framework of Christian ethics. Small attempted to build a model of ethical man based on the life of Christ. This is the ethical model that all men should seek out and follow. Small believed in a world of law and order so that man might better himself and make a better society. But this concept was incomprehensible to man. Sociology had the job of helping man find and understand the law and order in his life and in the universe. Small, seeing the godless industrial society of his day, believed that there was a crying need for the principles of Christianity and an ethical model for man to pattern his life after. Religion had to become more relevant to the people. Small's position in this matter was to connect religion and sociology.

Sociology would have no sufficient reason for existence if it did not contribute at least to knowledge of what is worth doing. The ultimate value of sociology as a pure science will be its use as an index and a test and a measure of what is worth doing. 18

Small was more inclined to the using of moral judgments in his writings than he was in looking at man and society with a scientific eye. Small used sociology to judge

18 Small, General Sociology, p. 663.
the worth of moral and ethical ideas:

Ethics must consist of empty forms until sociology can indicate the substance to which the forms apply. Every ethical judgment with an actual content has at least tacitly presupposed a sociology. Every individual or social estimate of good and bad, of right and wrong, current today assumes a sociology. No code of morals can be adopted in the future without implying a sociology as part of its premises. 19

By following the ideas of Small it can be seen that sociology becomes important because it helps build the foundation for the control of the social process 20 and the gradual improvement of culture and institutions.

To do the right thing, except by accident, in any social situation, we must rightly think the situation. We must think it not merely in itself, but in all its connections. Sociology aims to become the lens through which such insight may be possible. There must be credible sociologists in order that there may be far-seeing economists and statesmen and moralists, and that each of us may be an intelligent specialist at his particular post. 21

Small developed his criteria for fundamental ethical judgments based on sociology. He believed that the function of the social process would help man realize his potential and develop his basic interests through correct ethical satisfac-

19 Ibid.
factions. Judgments as to whether something was good or evil were to be based on whether they improved or hindered the social process.

If we are justified in drawing any general conclusions whatever from human experience thus far, it is safe to say that the social process tends to put an increasing proportion of individuals in possession of all the goods which have been discounted by the experience of humanity as a whole, and that all social programs should be thought out with a view to promotion of this tendency. 22

Using society as the ultimate judge of ethics Small believed that:

All the systems of ethics, and all codes of morals, have been man's gropings toward ability to express this basic judgment: That is good, for me or for the world around me, which promotes the on-going of the social process. That is bad, for me or for the world around me, which retards the on-going of the social process. 23

The ultimate judge of all our acts was the improvement or decline of the social process. Man cannot and should not do anything to hinder the social process from developing to its full potential. This is the ethical standard that all men must follow. If our acts help society develop to a higher evolutionary plane then the acts must be, in and of themselves, good not only for the individual but for all of mankind.

Man's nature is to socialize. Within this socialization Small saw man incorporating intrinsically the greatest interest of all. Small believed that rightness or righteousness

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22 General Sociology, p. 522.
23 Ibid., p. 676.
was the predominant interest in all man's undertakings. Small believed that in the "sphere of human activity the content of which is a rightness which has an existence independent of other departments or human conduct or condition." Rightness is conduct that is "proper to all action that deserves any place in human life" and it cannot function nor have existence "apart from ordinary action." Rightness is inseparable from the other five basic interests. Rightness has an all prevailing effect upon a person's interaction with society. Within the other Smallian interest groups satisfaction can only be realized through the interest rightness which develops ethical and moral conduct in the social process. All correct motivational forces direct human activity toward a social good. Man's activity has to be filtered through the ethical system Small called "rightness."

Small held that virtue was innate. His ethical beliefs were premised on the idea that all men want to do good and avoid evil. Small believed that evil existed only in the sense that there was a "disproportion or displacement" of the rightness interest. It is "interest fighting with interest" that causes changes in both and this in turn "produces the individual as a composition of both." Rightness is an instinctual behavior modification that influences the other interests to gain satisfaction through ethically, morally, and

\[24\] Ibid., p. 467.  \[25\] Ibid., p. 471.
socially acceptable behavioral patterns or conducts:

The energies that have their basis of action in the human animal differentiate into impulses that cause the actions of that animal to radiate. The individual that comes into being through this differentiation is the resultant of the different interests that wrestle with each other in his personality. The career of that individual, and of all individuals combined, is persistent struggle, on the one hand, of the interests in the individual by virtue of which he is at any moment, and on the other hand, of the combination of interests in one individual with the combination in all the others. 26

The individual must work for the good of society. Man can achieve this ethical standard and Christlike model.

Small analyzed righteousness as coming about in man's early stages of development. Small saw society as developing three major systems of social functions. He called these the "Sustaining System," the "Transporting System," and the "Regulating System." Part of the function of the "Regulating System" is to develop in man discipline and control. Society helps discipline man by using the nuclear family to develop ethical and social training in each individual. The parents, as agents of society, help their offsprings to interact first with the immediate community and later with society at large. The regulating system controls the activities of man in order to coordinate these activities to sustain and promulgate society. The regulating system is a dictator in this sense because its prime function is to insure the survival and

26 Ibid., p. 472.
development of society.

In order that society may preserve its efficiency and advance to higher types of organization, it is necessary that the individuals composing it should possess and exercise certain capacities for subordination, cooperation, self-control, and altruism. Man may always have been a gregarious animal, but it has required ages of groping blindly toward lofty ideals, to make him a social person. It is manifestly of vital importance that the experiences of the race represented in the common wisdom of any generation should guide the training of the next. Only in this way can retrogression be avoided, and only through constantly improved discipline is progress insured.

The regulating system is ethical and moral conduct that has become a part of society. The ethical and moral spheres of man, Small's rightness interest, were developed in order for society to come into being and to ensure its perpetuation and growth. Children learn to develop these traits in the immediate family and they extend them when they become involved in the community. Small saw Christ as a model for man to follow. It was the teaching and example of Christ that man should follow in order that he develop correct behavior and be of service to others and to society in general. Small conceived "a paramount standard of right" which was against the then prevailing concepts of morals and ethics that existed in the urban, industrial society. Small's ethical model was not only individual but collective. It was a "universal ethical standard to which one class may appeal against another class and get a verdict which the defeated litigant feels bound to

\[\text{27 Small and Vincent, pp. 247-48.}\]
Small condemned the existing problem where "there is one code of professional ethics for lawyers, another for the doctor, another for the editor, another for the employer, another for the minister." These different ethics led to class conflict. In order to avoid this conflict there must be a "paramount standard of right." It is the function of university scholars in general, and sociology in particular, to identify and develop this paramount standard.

Because of the advances made during the industrial age Small saw the training that the child received in the family as becoming less and less as the parents left home to earn a living. The school had to step into this training vacuum and fill the void. The school has, or is in the process of having, taken over the primary function of the family—the training of its young. Small berated the education that existed during his time. He asked teachers in American schools to become not only leaders of children but makers of society. Not only did Small believe that college professors should be the ethical models for the young to use as examples but he also felt that elementary and secondary teachers should be fit examples for the American youth to pattern their lives after. Small believed that children see their teachers more

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29 Ibid.
than they see their parents. The teacher became the adult model for many children. Since this was the case Small believed that teachers should not only be trainers of the young but also fit examples for the young to follow.30

Small combined sociology and ethics in order to institute a universal standard which would reduce the ethical confusion that existed in his day. Small saw the university professors as leading the way and serving as examples of ethical and moral behavior that the rest of society could follow. The entire educational system would become the new model of society and not the industrialists.

Small believed that small towns were ideal communities as compared to large cities that were developing in America. He saw more moral unity in the small towns than in the large cities. Small towns have a common cause and loyalty that urban America lacks. The small towns unite people in a unified whole. The cities have "differences in wealth, intelligence, customs, and ideas [that] result in groupings, some of which give coherence to the whole society, while others tend to exaggerate antagonisms and separations."31 Small pondered the problem of why the ethical and moral unity that characterized small towns was missing from the large cities. The moral leaders of America, especially the university pro-

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31 Small and Vincent, p. 164.
fessors, must solve this problem. The universities must find a way of "standardizing social measures of value." The university professor must be the exemplary model that society can look to for moral and ethical standards and leadership. Small saw sociology as best suited to this task. Sociology could find a correct moral cause for men to follow:

Sociology would have no sufficient reason for existence if it did not contribute at least to knowledge of what is worth doing. As it is hardly worthwhile to challenge the traditional concession of the whole field of conduct—valuation to ethics, we may frankly rank sociology as tributary to ethics. The ultimate value of sociology as a pure science will be its use as an index and a test and a measure of what is worth doing.32 Worth doing, for Small, were those things that were ethically and morally correct. The basic significance for sociology was to define the ethical value of various "substance" and "forms" in all human life.

It was Small's belief that sociology must analyze moral judgments in order to find the correct moral course for society to follow. Small saw moral judgments as being characterized by five basic psychological forms. The first was that "all moral judgments are telic in form." Moral judgments become "appraisals of things as good or bad because they are believed to make or not make for things supposed to be good." These moral judgments are "impulsed estimates of the usefulness

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32 Small, "The Significance of Sociology for Ethics," p. 113.
of the actions concerned with reference to ends contemplated as desirable."  

The telic condition of moral judgment is the central factor in the social gospel, it links "moralizing to the social world." Small saw the practical use of moral judgment when he said that "ethical judgments are utilitarian in form; that is they are judgments of uses . . . they are estimates of the relations of actions to ends." The second form was that an "act of judging a thing or an act good or bad is beyond our control." The act itself is beyond volition. Individuals have historical standards for making judgments. But the "classification of objects or acts as good or bad . . . occurs spontaneously whenever particulars become objects of attention." The "highest thinkable good is a variable condition" was Small's third form. Man thinks only of the "good of adjustment" because everything constantly changes and any good for man is merely "motion in conformity with the stage in the process in which he belongs." Each good for man is nothing more than a step to help him advance into the higher stage for the betterment of society. Small's fourth form is that "the only intelligible measure of good is human condition." The human condition sets a standard "in which the objects [ of

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33 Ibid., p. 122.  
34 General Sociology, pp. 668–69.  
35 "The Significance of Sociology for Ethics," p. 124.  
36 Ibid., p. 125.
choice] are related to the condition of the persons judging."\textsuperscript{37} It can be assumed that human judgments are subjective to the situation man finds himself in when he has to make a judgment. Lastly, "the existing body of perceptions about human facts and possibilities must fix the limits of our working judgments of the highest good."\textsuperscript{38} Small again relates judgments in a subjective sense. One's needs are generally considered to be the central point when one makes judgments. Knowing what the ends in view are man relates his judgments accordingly. Small saw the problem for the sociologist as having to become cognizant of "the virtue in the psychological necessity of employing relative standards of ethical value. We must learn to determine the relative standards which involve the nearest approach to absolutes which our intelligence can achieve."\textsuperscript{39}

The above are Small's five forms of ethical judgments. Small's theoretical position was based on how he saw sociology and ethics. Small saw ethics as universal standards used subjectively. The task of the sociologist was to determine the standards which man uses for judgments in the hope of utilizing them for the universal betterment of mankind. In order to attain this ideal Small wanted a general theory of morality that would be agreeable to everyone. Life is dynamic

\textsuperscript{37}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{38}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid.
and judgment must constantly be revised and improved upon. Small felt that there must be a universal framework of ethical principles for mankind. Within this framework, brought about by a general consensus of opinion, man makes his everyday judgments and his long range ethical considerations. Sociology must concretize the vague notions of man in order to help man and society improve. Small saw a universal standard of morality and ethics as the best way to improve society.

Summary

Small developed two major sociological concepts that were important for education. The concept of interests was established by Small in order that man could understand what motivated his actions and how he satisfied these actions. Small wanted to understand man so that he could understand society. He reduced man to six basic interests. These six interests Small believed were common in all men. The interests found satisfactions in sociably accepted ways. The concept of social control was an attempt by Small and others to direct the ways that interests found satisfactions. Directing and controlling the ways a person found satisfactions was an attempt by early sociologists to develop the right kinds of behaviors in people. The proponents of social control included educators who believed that the schools of America were fertile grounds in which they could plant and cultivate a control over
society. These educators and proponents of social control rationalized their position on the grounds that whatever they did was for the good of society.

Educationally Small's concept of interests divided man's psychological self into six major categories. Developing any and all of these areas was left to the expertise of educators whose task it was to define interests and develop the proper attitude and choice in the learner. The educator could motivate students by stimulating certain areas of interests that could find proper satisfactions in society.

In order for satisfactions to be sociably acceptable they had to be filtered through the rightness interest. The rightness interest was the predominant interest in Small's theory and it was developed in a person by his immediate family. Without the proper family background the rightness interest would not be fully or properly developed and a person could develop anti-social behavior. Small therefore felt that the proper development of the rightness interest was necessary if society was to survive and if society was to become better than it was. The other interests could be developed by the schools which were the instruments used by society to educate the young.

Small developed a theory of ethics which centered on using Jesus Christ as a model because he felt that the youth of our country needed someone or something to pattern
their lives after. The college professor was Small's choice as the living paradigm of society because the college professor was usually a graduate of a divinity school and a scholar. By emulating the professor the young, who were the future leaders of society, would know how to act and they would have a model that they could follow. Small believed that even though people had, hopefully, ethical and moral training at home and in the schools they still needed a model to follow. The greatest model for them to follow was Jesus Christ. Small felt that in many cases people were not fully trained in the moral and ethical virtues. This lack of training could lead to the demise of society. He believed that it was better for college professors to be Christlike in order that their students would follow their examples and be Christlike also. Small believed that the student, who was following the good example of his professor, would eventually follow the life of Jesus Christ and, as a result, would help build a better world.

In the next chapter the ideas of Albion Small will be examined in light of their significance for education. Although Small is considered a sociologist many of his ideas have and have had educational value.
CHAPTER IV

SMALL AT COLBY UNIVERSITY

The early educational ideas of Albion Small are found in the work he did as teacher and administrator at Colby University. As teacher Small wrote annual reports that reflect his educational ideas. As administrator Small influenced the development of students at Colby when he wrote a series of articles that put his educational ideas into practice. This chapter will look at the reports that Small wrote as head of the history and political economy department in order to find the educational ideas that he had for his students. The second part of this chapter will examine a series of articles that Small wrote when he was an administrator at Colby. These articles show Small's educational ideas and how he attempted to implement them at Colby.

Small As Teacher

Albion Small was elected to the chair of history and political economy at Colby University in 1881. He had to develop these departments because they were new disciplines at Colby. At the end of his first academic year of teaching, 1882, Small filed an annual report in which he cited the
problems associated with developing and organizing the department of history. Small indicated that there was a major problem in training students to do historical work. There was a "prejudice against the study of history" that Small had to overcome as well as the formidable task of making room for historical study by the side of older disciplines. Professor Small accomplished this task by degrees. First, he developed within his students "historical knowledge" and, second, he taught the students how to make "historical generalizations."\(^1\) Small must have been successful in his first year because a report by the Colby University Examining Committee in 1882 cited the work being done by Albion Small and in their "judgments he is fulfilling the highest expectations of his friends."\(^2\)

As an educator Small saw his task in the teaching of history as being fourfold. He was laying a foundation for the future in the students and for the new department of history. Among the things he was that needed doing were: (1) fostering a desire in each of his students for grasping an overview of "the great movements in the development of modern civilization," (2) attempting to "infuse" the students with


\(^2\)"Report of the Examining Committee of Colby University, 1881-82," Waterville, Maine. A.W.Small Collection, Colby College.
the "primary lesson of the continuity of history," (3) helping the students become aware of the "more obvious and general laws which historical evolution illustrates," and (4) assuring that the students knew how to gather "evidence for themselves [by] deducing from it definite and legitimate conclusions."^{3}

These objectives were Professor Small's criteria that each student of history should assimilate if he wanted to master the "scientific historical processes."

Having to rationalize continuously the development of the department of history at Colby, Small used the argument that history was second only to "philosophy and morals." He was of the belief that "the materials gathered by historical research so broaden the view as to rescue all other thinking from provincialism." It would also develop the habit of mind induced by training in scientific historical processes . . . the habit which every man of affairs must sooner or later acquire in order to estimate rightly the forces that modify the society in which he moves and probable effect of proposed measures, policies and institutions.^{4}

Historical study at Colby was reserved for the "Senior class" because Small felt that the "study of History as a philosophical science cannot profitably be pursued earlier."^{5} Small was of the opinion that the upperclassmen

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^{3}Small, "Report of Albion Small, History, June 1882."
^{4}Ibid.
^{5}Ibid.
would be sufficiently developed intellectually to pursue the study of history and develop lifelong habits from their exposure to it.

The teaching methods used by Small during his first year at Colby were along the lines of lectures and discussions. He based his lectures on the ones "delivered by Prof. Dunan to the Senior classes at Brown University." The textbooks adopted for Small's history classes were "Green's Short History of the English People" and "Pomeroy's Constitutional Law." The discussion periods were from "topics by the different members of the class" and from an "outline of the political history of the Colonies up to the adoption of our Constitution." 6

Small felt that the lack of historical books in the Colby Library hindered his students from doing proper historical research and from doing proper comparisons among different authorities on historical topics. There was also a need for a suitable lecture room with plenty of blackboards in order to do optimal map work. These were basics that Small felt were needed in order to make good scholars out of his students.

Small's first year at Colby was indeed busy and full; yet his only complaint was that he felt there was a great need for improvement. He implored the Examining Com-

6Ibid.
mittee to make recommendations to aid him in general or specific methodology.\(^7\)

In his annual report for the academic year 1882–83 Small described his teaching methodology and the development of the department of history. Small justified his teaching methodology as being more suitable for the students because he eliminated "mental drill" and replaced it with having the students know "the facts of History . . . in order to give. . . a correct standpoint from which to contemplate the phenomena of social life, not only in the past, but in the present and future."\(^8\) Small predated by many years those educators who felt mental drill was a non-learning educational technique that had to be eliminated.

Small appeared to be shifting away from the study of pure factual history to one of social history and, perhaps, to sociology. In this new development Small brought up the "social and political questions" of the past and he and his students were not satisfied until these problems were "settled rightly." In rationalizing this approach Small stated his philosophical guidelines: "Whenever a fundamental principle of right forbids an existing or proposed social arrangement, it is the dictate of political and economic wisdom to adopt

\(^7\)Ibid.

\(^8\)Albion Small, "Annual Report to the President and Trustees at Colby University, 1882–83," Waterville, Maine. A. W. Small Collection, Colby College.
a social order in which such principle shall be observed.  

Small's earlier training in Germany was starting to show itself and his idea of developing an experimental society along the lines of political and economic wisdom to solve moral problems is utopic. It can be seen that Small went from the study of pure historical facts to the study of society along the lines of moral, political and economic principles.

The emphasis of the history department was on presenting an introduction to the "four great civilizations which have, in turn, prevailed in Europe during the Christian Era." Small emphasized these civilizations in order to show that "the art of living in society has been rendered possible by gradual recognition and application of the laws of the moral world." The period from the Battle of Actium until 1850 was, for Small, the one in which four great civilizations or historical periods attempted to organize a permanent social order. These four civilizations or historical periods were the Roman Imperial, the Feudal, the Germano-Italian, and the National period of United States History. The compelling factor for the choice of these periods was that Small saw these civilizations disregarding the laws of human nature and society; yet the people within these historical times desired the same goals as the founding fathers of the United States: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

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9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
The failure of these civilizations lay in their misconception about "liberty and happiness."

In teaching his history classes Professor Small relied on the lecture method, and he distributed an outline which contained suggestions for the readings of the different topics. Small also taught English and American Constitutional History. In addition, the classes were supplied with Small's own lecture notes which were printed by the "Hektograph" process.

The Colby University Library responded to Small's pleas from the previous year and they purchased many historical books and resources which enabled Small to "give much better instruction." But one of the areas that was anathema to Small was his required teaching of elocution. He felt that it consumed too much of his time and he stated that it "wearied me that still more time was useless for study." Small believed that teaching elocution was a fulltime job for one faculty member and not an addendum for faculty members in other departments. If the college wanted to attract students who were facile in public speaking, then the college, according to Small, had better hire a fulltime faculty member to teach this discipline.

In the academic year 1883-84 Professor Small's work in history was substantially the same as it was in the previous two years. Small reworked his lectures so that he could treat the same historical topics differently. The class
lectures were printed for the students in order that the class periods could be devoted to discussions between the Professor and the students. Small felt that his 1884 class was better trained in history than his previous classes. This better training, he believed, resulted from the reading and thinking the class was doing in historical topics. Small substituted Political Economy in place of English and American Constitutional History. Many faculty members at Colby objected to Small’s changes in the curriculum. Small said that he would concede to the objections of the other faculty members if the administration did not support him. It appears that the administration did not support him, and he did not teach Political Economy during the coming academic year.

The academic year of 1884-85 was a personal failure for Small. He took a strong stand against Colby’s curricular isolation of history courses. In his report of 1885 Small analyzed the previous year's work as nothing more than "school-boy learning of lessons, with little interest in study of a higher order."12 Even though he had printed his lecture notes for the class Small felt that the students would not progress further than the memorization of general facts. The Professor felt that in the future it would be wiser and more expedient for him to print only an

outline for his students.

In order for history to advance at Colby, Small felt that the entire history curriculum had to be revised. By allowing only the Senior class to study history, Colby University was misapplying the resources that were available to the students. The study of history was felt by the administration and other faculty members to be only an archaeological exercise by the students. The students did not see, nor were they prepared to see from their previous three years at Colby, any "living issues" from Greek or Roman life. The students did not believe that there were any "social questions still unsettled." These students felt that the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome were nothing more than "philological museums."

Small believed that history should not be isolated in a college course by itself but should rather be related to other studies. The student could not really understand the modern world "without knowing how it came to be . . . as it is." Colby could be accused of teaching only a "cut-and-dried Philology." The methods of instruction and study were "unscientific" and by allowing this to happen Colby stunted the "growth of the human mind." Taking a strong stand Small argued that the philosophy of Colby was supposedly centered around "general training" and not a school for professional studies. Small claimed that this philosophy was a "lie" because the
aim of the college was to make "all the students Philologists" just as it is to make students lawyers, chemists, or engineers. In order to overcome this shortcoming Small felt that Colby should adopt the principle that "all College study should be historical study."^{13}

Small believed that a "'liberal' education should afford the student at least a superficial acquaintance with the world he lives in." The progress of man was built upon a foundation laid in the past. All "products of the human mind" cannot achieve their "best results" unless they have been taught their historical lessons. The best way to achieve this end is to make classical literature, the Humanities, familiar to all students. The ancient societies of Greece and Rome represented areas of social and political experience that are analogous to the social and political "phenomena of our own times." The writings of ancient Greece and Rome had the intellectual and educational importance of "being mirrors of civilizations in which they were produced."^{14}

Small As Administrator

When the President of Colby retired in 1889 the Trustees of the University asked Albion Small if he would be interested in the position. Small accepted the honor and was

^{13}Ibid.  
^{14}Ibid.
president until 1892 when he went to the University of Chicago.

When Small wrote an eulogy for a past President of Colby it was as much an outline of his own administration as it was an eulogy. Small defined Christian education at Colby and stated his own philosophy when he said:

Christian education ... is [a] reciprocal stimulating response to the tardily translated revelation that education and Christianization are merely distinguishable aspects of a greater process which can be complete only as it merges the two aspects into one operation. 15

It appears that Small saw education and Christianity as one and the same. Small never wavered throughout his whole life from the Christian ideal in both his personal life and in his educational beliefs. When William Rainey Harper, the founder and first president of the University of Chicago, was dying he sent for his personal clergyman and Albion Small because Small was a close personal friend and, more importantly, Small epitomized the ideal Christian to Harper. 16

While president of Colby Small also taught a course in sociology which was a modified version of his earlier course work in history, political economics, and moral philosophy. College presidents in those times were required not only to do the administrative work but also to teach in the college. In a welcoming address to an entering class Small spelled out

15 Albion Small, "Dr. Robins As College President," (n.d.), (Typewritten). University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections, A.W. Small, Box 2, Folder 13.
his educational views. Small was of the Puritan traditionalist's idea that a busy man was a happy man. He urged the students to always remember that "the savings of men who wanted to do society a service" was responsible for building an institution that they could enjoy. Small told these students that their tuitions paid only a "small fraction" of the total cost of "maintaining these institutions" and that they could repay these "philanthropic foundations" by "preparing themselves for a better quality and larger quantity of work than they could do if uneducated . . . and give an actual return to society for the expenditure of their benefactors." Since the students were taking advantage of the largess of certain wealthy men and organizations then the students should pay back this benevolence by helping to improve society. By not helping to benefit society the students, Small felt, were "most dishonorable." Along the lines of helping others Small wanted the older students to help and guide the younger ones.

All students were urged to partake in the "social or religious enterprises of the churches" in the Waterville community. Small explained to the students that the community was directly interested in the careers of every former and new student. The town watched the "conduct of our school popu-

17 Albion W. Small, "School and College," Part I, from a series of articles that appeared in the Waterville Mail [1889-1890]. The articles were found in the University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections, A.W.Small, Box 2.
lation" and the "literary and moral standing" of each individual.  

Small was addressing his remarks to the age old problem of town and gown. Ever since universities developed during the Middle Ages there have been conflicts between townspeople and the students of schools situated near these towns. Small saw the solution to this conflict as being within the students and not with the townfolk. The students were only visitors at that place for a short while and they should capitulate to the desires of the townspeople who usually live there all their lives.

Small believed the importance of a college education was that a student should learn "how to learn." The "ranking system" that colleges use "tells . . . the relative success of different students in bringing their intellectual forces under discipline." If a student worked so that he had a good grasp of his subject matter then the rank would come naturally and judge the student's abilities accordingly.

While addressing the students, Small also introduced some of his sociological ideas. He told these young people that "progress is the realization of a want. College students deal largely with the ideal world. They form opinions of what ought to be." The students seek to right the wrongs

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18Ibid., Part II.
19Ibid., "Enthusiasm Counts," Part III. Small used different titles for Parts III to XII.
20Ibid.
of society and complete "social reform." Small believed that college graduates should want to "make the world better" in unselfish ways. Colleges should foster the hope in the students of making a better world that would lead to a "golden age."

Small went on in "School and College" to describe the effects of a college education on a young person. It was no longer felt that colleges prepared people only for the "ministry or the law or medicine." If a man wanted to reach the top in any occupation then a college degree would help him immensely. Businessmen were more successful if they were college trained. Small, attempting to rationalize a college education to the business world, believed that business should take the "best brains, and the best trained brains" in order for the man and the business to go to the top.21 An academically well-trained individual should be able to use his college training to rise to the executive ranks in any company. Small saw education at all levels as becoming "action" oriented, and he was convinced that the aim of education was "to subject learners to the process that [would] develop the most power to accomplish good results."22

Small took to task those who believed that educators were people who could not be successful in the business world.

21 Ibid., "Not Strangers, but Partners," Part IV.
22 Ibid.
On the contrary, these men were more valuable than all the captains of industry. "Teachers who succeed in school and college to-day are not men who are good for nothing else, but they are successful precisely because they are capable of success in the kind of work that our practical generation demands." An educator's success was in the training of young men to enter the business world and help the economy grow and produce more jobs.

The college graduate had a "mission in the world." He would be challenged to supply his strength where needed. The college graduate was the leader "leading the march of general progress." The common school was fulfilling the needs of the "masses" by teaching them "reading, writing and arithmetic" but the common schools also had to realize that they were not the "people's schools" no more than the "high school and the colleges." Small felt that the future of the United States depended on a literate society that was "intelligent enough to recognize and follow worthy leadership." The "worthy leadership" Small referred to came from higher education. Small's position was like that of Plato; both men advocated an educational elite who would lead the masses towards "general progress." The function of higher education, according to Small, was to teach "men to covet the privilege of bearing burdens and performing labor in proportion to their

\[23\text{Ibid.}\]
Small's early views hold a hint of Marxism that he may have picked up in his two years of study in Germany.

Small viewed the development of the common school movement in America as being founded "to do certain work better than it could be done by the family." Parents still had the duty "to make wise restraint and moral influence and religious example." In this respect the teacher had to follow along by training "pupils first, to love right and hate wrong; and second, to know and to think exactly and liberally instead of slackly and narrowly." When the citizens of the community value good schools then the community would have good schools. The teacher had the right to demand of the pupils "regularity and punctuality of attendance, respect, obedience and refined deportment." Such demands by the teacher would lead the pupil in good habits because habit "is three-fourths of our lives." The family had been too lenient on its members and, therefore, the schools suffered because of this leniency. Society had a right to demand that the family exert its prerogative in this matter:

If individual parents do not value this kind of training, they have no right to weaken the teacher's influence in this direction, for the public has a higher right to insist that this influence be exerted. 26

24 Ibid., "Workers, not Shirkers," Part VI.
25 Ibid., "The People the Masters of the School," Part VII.
26 Ibid.
Small believed that the parents and the community-at-large are affected by good or bad schools. The working members of society come from these schools year after year. If these future citizens are to be "high minded and honorable and public spirited" then the schools have to push for this behavior. It is education for living that has future value for the community and the schools are directly responsible for it. Using the concepts of economics laid down by Adam Smith, Small saw the schools leading the way toward "moral improvement" and the betterment of all of society. These "high ideals" were, or should be, part of the common school.

But people had a negative attitude towards the schools. In order for parents and other community members to see what was really going on in the schools then they should "call, in a friendly way, upon one of the teachers or a member of the school board." In order for the schools to function at the best possible level Small told the community that it must support the schools to the fullest extent. The people must encourage progress within the schools:

Public sentiment ought to keep up with the march of educational improvements; it should not merely tolerate, but encourage, progress; it should not only demand that the moral standards of the schools be high, but it should be a fulcrum on which school officers could rely in lifting the schools towards these standards. 27

The people, according to Small, had the power to uplift the

27Ibid.
schools and, as a result, uplift the standards of society. Small was of the belief that schools, from primary through university, only reflected the values of society. Whether directly or indirectly the "lawlessness" and unrestraint that went on in society could not be blamed on the schools and colleges because the "public will not allow them to rise higher." When the demands of the people coincided with the "words of the law" then, and not before, would we have the best kinds of schools and members of society.  

Small tendered the idea that undergraduates should not have already decided on a career or profession that would last their whole lives. A student who has already fixed his sights on a certain area of study "is a more difficult subject for the symmetrical development which the course is designed to give, than the man without a known vocation." Small hoped that the colleges and universities in the United States would develop "all-round men." The reason for the development of "all-round men" was that colleges want to develop "all the intellectual and moral powers, that they may be under perfect control, whatever be the demands upon them in after life." Every school should develop this idea in its students and encourage them in "all-round development as the best pre-

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28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., "Citizens First—Specialists Afterwards," Part VIII.
paration for special work later."30

Small believed that the interdisciplinary approach to college courses was best. Instead of going out of their way to show how their courses were separate from other areas of study, college instructors should follow the German approach of relating their courses to other fields. It was dependent on the instructors to make their study meaningful. These two approaches would lead a college education toward a "symmetrical whole" and give credence to the aim of a college education which was:

... to fit men for thoughtful and influential participation in the multiform activities that make up the life of the State, to familiarize them with the varied aspects of the life of their time; to get them into circuit with progressive impulses; to prepare them for honorable partnership in the enterprises of their generation. 31

Small wanted colleges to prepare the young to become good and active citizens of America and to give them the foundation on which to build their lifelong careers. The college's role was to lift the intellectual and moral above the material world. Colleges have taught that "right thinking and lofty purpose and noble action" are far better than wealth and material goods. The colleges want to "distinguish what is worthy of respect and endeavor." It was now time for the colleges to earn the respect of the American people by helping to guide

30Ibid. 31Ibid.
social enterprises and by being a positive influence on "general opinion and action." 32

Small wanted the colleges to be less the ivory tower and more the practical partner in society. Colleges had to get into the "swim of current affairs." The proper place for college was not only in education but in many "public enterprises." Small wanted colleges to form departments of instruction devoted to contemporary institutions and issues. 33 The student would then develop a real interest in "social advancement." In order to accomplish this aim colleges should have students observe the work of the local school board and labor unions. Small believed that "intimate knowledge of present institutions and systems increases desire for knowledge of the past and makes that knowledge more definite." 34

There must have been some movement during Small's time at Colby for the abolition of examinations. Small wanted to give his opinion of the merits of examinations. He felt that getting rid of examinations was the "most irrational attack upon practical education." Even the idea that some students may be excused from examinations because of achieving high grades during the semester was absurd. Small believed that students would work hard during the beginning of the semester in order to get a high grade,

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32 Ibid.
33 Ibid., "Practical Politics in College," Part XI.
34 Ibid.
which would excuse them from the final examination, and then they would do nothing for the remainder of the term. Small believed that examinations should not begin until "late in a child's school life." Examinations should go from the simple to the complex. When a student became a man then Small wanted examinations to be "tests comparable with those which he must meet in a professional career." When students recognize the importance of examinations then they would gladly accept them as they were meant to be.

Small saw examinations in college as being "a first-rate factor in the educational process." Examinations are part of the "all-round training" that colleges should give to its students. This training will lead to the "effective man" who can have "his knowledge at command when occasion requires and who can survey a large field of thought and comprehend its proportions." If a man enters the professions he is constantly called upon to pass examinations.

The medical specialist passes an examination well or ill every time he makes a diagnosis. The lawyer who works up a case of any importance is obliged to master a mass of detail compared with which the work of a single college term is Lilliputian. The preacher, especially if he speaks without manuscript, must, before placing his thoughts in order, collect and consider and arrange a vast amount of material. The

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Ibid., "Examinations," Part XII.
teacher is constantly drawing upon resources stored up in the past, and if he is giving advanced instruction, he is often put to tests as severe as those of the forum. 36

These everyday examples justified, for Small, the need for examinations. College examinations helped develop in these professionals the ability to succeed or fail under the ordeals of their inquisitors.

Small, a firm believer in examinations, felt that there was a need for a science of examinations. They should test the knowledge and skill that a particular course was supposed to teach. Small believed in both subjective and objective types of examinations especially those that involved general principles. Small saw examinations as developing powers of "independent reasoning for application under new conditions" in the students. Small wanted examinations to test the mental faculty of the students and help train them for later life. College is a training ground for later life and, in order to be successful in later life, a student had to derive self-satisfaction from his college career.

Summary

This chapter attempted to show how Small devel-

Ibid.
oped the study of history into an acceptable academic discipline at Colby. He accomplished this task by developing within the students the proper kinds of behaviors that were necessary in order to study history. Small used the study of history as an aid in getting his students to solve societal problems that were as of then still unsolved. Small tried to use the study of history as a tool in helping to solve the problems of his time.

The entire series of articles by Albion Small, "School and College," were primarily intended to introduce the entering college freshman to college life. Small wanted to make clear to these young men the social and academic milieu that they were entering. What comes out of these articles in the Waterville Mail was an educational philosophy that Colby University, under the direction of Albion Small, was trying to follow. Small gave direction not only to Colby but to all colleges when he stated that colleges must become active in community and societal affairs. Small felt that involvement by colleges in the life of the community made colleges less remote from everyday affairs and more realistic. It was the intent of Small to get businesses interested in college-trained individuals in order for colleges to supply the needed trained personnel that businesses were then starting to demand. The overall philosophy that Small was trying to instill in these students,
as well as society, was that colleges must become committed to social and economic progress. The benefits from this commitment would improve the quality of life in the world and create economic prosperity.

As a teacher and administrator at Colby University Small developed a philosophy that lasted throughout his whole life. There are hints of his sociology, which was not developed until later, in his approach to the teaching of history and his views as an administrator on the role of the college in contemporary society.

The next chapter will deal with Small as an administrator at the University of Chicago and the implications that his work had on the field of education.
CHAPTER V

SMALL AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Albion Woodbury Small served the University of Chicago in many capacities. He was the Head Professor of Sociology, the first Dean of the Undergraduate School, the Director of Affiliations and, finally, the Dean of the Graduate School of Liberal Arts and Literature. This chapter will cover the work that Small did in these areas and will suggest the implications that this work had for education.

Dean of the Undergraduate College 1892-1893

In 1892 Albion Small was asked by William Rainey Harper to join the faculty of the University of Chicago to head the Department of Sociology. Small was chosen because he was both a devout Baptist and one of the few sociologists in America. Small accepted Harper's offer because he could start the world's first true Department devoted exclusively to sociology and because Harper offered him $7000 per year. ¹ Harper also asked Small to help somewhere in the "Executive work." Small readily agreed to Harper's

offer and he agreed to start by the Fall of 1892. During the Summer of 1892 Harper clarified his "Executive work" by asking Small to become Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Science. Harper said that this position was relatively minor and would only require from Small some "consultation and advice." Harper made it clear that the position was only temporary and that it would not pay Small any salary for his work. Harper needed Small's experience as a college President to guide the new institution in its initial phases. Small's main function was Head Professor of the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago.

Harper wanted the University of Chicago to become the "educational center of the Western United States." He wanted the school to have "extension and correspondence courses, certify the standards of primary and secondary schools, and provide opportunities for advanced research and both graduate and undergraduate education." 2

Within the framework erected by Harper, Small influenced the early stages of undergraduate work in Liberal Arts and Science when he acted as Dean of that particular division at Chicago. The "Special Regulations" set up by the University had to be developed by Head Pro-

2Diner, "Department and Discipline: The Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago, 1892-1920," p. 515.
fessors in various departments within the College of Liberal Arts and Science. Acting as Dean of this particular area Small had the final approval of these regulations, Harper notwithstanding. How much of these regulations were Harper's and how much were Small's is not known; but the final regulations, approved by Small, divided the College into two areas of study—the Academic College and the University College.

The Academic College offered the first two years of college work and the student selected Liberal Arts, Science, or Literature. The student was required to complete course work in Latin, Greek, German, French, Mathematics, Natural Science or Engineering, History, and English or Biblical Literature. Having satisfactorily passed this area of study the student entered the University College for his final two years of undergraduate study; there he was able to select a particular area of study that appealed to him as his major field. The regulations as established by the College required that the student still broaden his horizons by selecting more than one Department for advanced study.  

Small had previously urged students at Colby University not to narrow their choice of college courses

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and to get a broad, general education. The students, Small felt, could specialize when they entered graduate study. It seems that Small's influence or philosophy was incorporated into the Special Regulations of the Liberal Arts and Science College.

**Director of Affiliated Work 1896-1903**

After having completed the initial work as Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Science Dr. Small was asked by Dr. Harper to establish relations with secondary schools and colleges in the Midwest and the western part of the United States. Harper wanted to be able to certify the standards of secondary schools in order to get qualified students for Chicago who were at the same academic level. Harper also wanted to establish relations with smaller colleges and universities in order to get qualified graduates for Chicago's Graduate School. In order to make Chicago one of the best schools in the United States Harper believed that he had to attract the best available students. Why would students, or their parents, choose the newly established school in Chicago over the older and more established private and public colleges and universities? Harper's plan was to form alliances with secondary schools in the Midwest in order that they would recommend the University of Chicago to their students and to form some
kind of relationship with established colleges for a type of agreement which would result in their graduates being sent to Chicago for graduate work. Harper's brilliance was in his ideas and his administrative ability; he was able to get others to put his ideas to work. Small was requested by Harper to carry on the idea of affiliation with other educational institutions. The actual work in affiliation was left to Small. Most of the credit for this work of affiliation was given to Harper or simply the University. The official record of the University of Chicago states briefly:

Recognizing the immense importance of the secondary schools to its own success, as well as its own duty to all educational institutions, the University at once took the initiative in entering into vital and helpful relations with the secondary schools. It realized that it could not decide all the questions which arose in connection with secondary education purely from its own point of view, but must confer freely and on equal footing with the leaders and teachers in the schools from which its junior students must come. 4

Small methodically developed agreements with secondary schools in the areas immediately adjacent to the University of Chicago. He believed that the "prosperity of the University depends upon educational progress in the territory that centers about Chicago." 5 The policy which

4University Record 4 (December 8, 1899): 103.
Small had instituted was one of mutual assistance between colleges and secondary schools that would be coordinated with the Academic and University Colleges at Chicago in order that their work would be equivalent to the work being done by the University in its various departments. Small wanted the affiliated schools to have their own autonomy because each school was different. The work of affiliation was to have two major considerations:

First, it is doubtless true that these differences do not make the University in all respects, and for all students, the most suitable place in which to get an education. There are many circumstances which may indicate the wisdom, even [if] it is not dictated by necessity, of choosing the smaller institution for the larger part, or, perhaps, the whole of the undergraduate course. Second, while the opportunities afforded by the University multiply and intensify the cultural influences which it exerts, in contrast with the smaller institutions, yet the obvious differences concern elements of education that are incapable of precise measurement and estimate. There is no reason in the nature of things why the smaller institution may not give to students, within the more restricted range that its curriculum covers, a quality of instruction of the corresponding grades in the departments of the University. 6

The overall consideration that Small was striving for as Director of Affiliations was one of cooperation between Chicago and the smaller colleges, universities, and secondary schools. Small wanted to be able to organize the teaching faculties of the different schools because he wanted

6Ibid.
the instructors at these affiliated schools qualified to teach their specialities at their own schools and at the University of Chicago. Small hoped that by organizing the teaching faculties of different schools he could get jobs in higher education for students with advanced degrees from Chicago. In order for Chicago to be attractive to future graduate students the University had to be successful in placing its graduates on the faculties of different schools of higher education. Small saw affiliation as one of the ways to accomplish this objective.

The work of affiliation was successful because Small was able to offer students from affiliated colleges and universities free tuition and a Bachelor's Degree from Chicago for twelve weeks of resident study. The Graduate School of Chicago allowed the faculty members from the affiliated schools to study in its various departments for advanced degrees. The work in affiliation between schools of higher education and Chicago became very successful and Small began to pull away from too many affiliations. Some of the faculty members at Chicago, and many of the graduate students who had not yet finished their advanced work, were

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7 Articles of Affiliation Between the University of Chicago and Butler University (n.d.), President's Papers—1889-1925, William R. Harper, University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections, Box 60, Folder 28.
being offered positions on the faculties of affiliated and non-affiliated schools. Small believed that this success was depleting the University of its faculty and capable graduate students and would lead to its ruin if unchecked. It was not Small's position to stop the work on affiliation but the function of the Board of Trustees.

The work of affiliation was designed to bring better qualified students to Chicago. Small wanted affiliation to continue with secondary schools and colleges in order to "insure the attendance of better qualified students in the Senior College and Graduate Schools of the University in sufficient numbers to compensate for this initial loss." One of the effects of affiliation was that the affiliated Rush Medical College of Chicago, Illinois became an integral part of the University of Chicago as the Medical School of the University of Chicago.

Small developed areas of cooperation and affiliation with secondary schools. Affiliation was developed with private secondary schools and cooperation with public secondary schools because public high schools "cannot be subject to the close educational supervision which is possible with schools on a private foundation." Small's

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9 Small, "The Department of Affiliations," p. 194.
10 Ibid., p. 195.
standards for affiliation and cooperation between Chicago and public and private secondary schools were that of careful investigation of the "material equipment of the school, its curriculum, and the work of its faculty" for the purpose of determining whether the "preparation for college is equivalent to the requirements for admission to the University." Affiliation and cooperation between Chicago and the different secondary schools were designed to get a steady supply of students for Chicago's undergraduate schools. Students were admitted to the Junior Colleges, formerly the Academic Colleges, upon "presentation by them of certificate that had to be "signed by the principal and teacher who instructed the pupil in that subject." Small felt that by having the principal and teacher sign the certificate they would "personally vouch" that the student was prepared to do advanced work in that subject.

After the student entered the University his work was carefully recorded by each department. The progress by the student would give the Board of Affiliations a guage to measure the work being done by the sending secondary schools, subject by subject, and instructor by instructor. Small wanted this information available for

11Ibid. 12Ibid., p. 196. 13Ibid.
the inspection of a school by the University. This measure was also helpful to the secondary school because it would reveal the "real and permanent value of the instruction given in the school." Small felt that this careful evaluation of students and secondary schools was a valuable aid in accrediting these schools so that their graduates could be accepted by the University of Chicago.

Along with this work of affiliation and accreditation the Board of Affiliation under Director Small held semi-annual conferences with the affiliated and cooperating schools. These conferences had lectures by "noted educators" and general discussions on educational topics that were of interest to everyone. The objectives of these conferences were:

(1) to bring the instructors in both schools and University into closer personal touch and sympathy through a joint consideration of the problems of the work in which all are alike engaged; and (2) by united action on the part of the University and schools to establish, maintain, and elevate the standard of education. Small convinced these educators that mutual cooperation and affiliation were the best tools available to help improve the quality of education in secondary schools. The discussions and lectures by well-known educators aided Small's plan of getting for Chicago top-quality students for the undergraduate

\[14\text{Ibid.}\] \[15\text{Ibid., p. 197.}\]
schools at Chicago. Small was able to offer one scholarship to every Chicago high school and to the schools outside Chicago twenty-five scholarships yearly for deserving students. Chicago also granted free tuition to teachers in the affiliated schools. The use of scholarships was to be an incentive to get qualified students and qualified graduate students from the faculties of the various affiliated schools.

In the early 1900s Small spread the work of affiliation of secondary schools in the Midwest to schools in the South and West. Small had the hope that expansion of affiliated schools throughout the United States would promote his plan of "standardizing ... entrance" requirements for colleges and the requirements for a "bachelor's degree." Small wanted all secondary schools and smaller colleges equal to the training received by graduates of the "largest institutions." Small wanted to get high schools and colleges "up to the best grade" in order to have a "receptivity of the pupils" between schools. It had to be the function of the larger institutions to lead the way by encouraging and crediting the students and their work.

During his work for affiliation Small expanded the horizons of Chicago from the Midwest to the southern
and western parts of the United States. This work brought Small into contact with the educators at the University of California at Berkeley and Stanford University. The western educators were developing the idea of the junior college system in California. Small saw this idea as part of the work of affiliation that could help Chicago and all large educational institutions. He believed that students could improve and mature in smaller colleges (junior colleges) and the more successful students could transfer to the larger schools. This idea would help to develop a continuous flow of students to larger institutions. In a letter to President Harper, Small emphatically stated how important the idea of junior colleges was and how they could help larger institutions. Harper was impressed enough with Small's idea that he underscored it, investigated the junior college more fully, and recommended the changing of the undergraduate schools at Chicago from Academic Colleges and University Colleges to Junior Colleges and Senior Colleges. Harper also asked Small to present the idea of Junior and Senior colleges to the Senate Committee of the University to get their reaction. Small was able to convince the Committee of the relative merits of having a Junior College Division and vertical divisions above

this level. Small hoped that a general education was the most important aspect of the Junior College and specialization, although better in graduate school, was acceptable in the proposed Senior College.17

Small wanted his work of affiliation to bring a steady stream of scholars to the University of Chicago's Graduate School and its undergraduate schools. Small accomplished this objective with the affiliations he established with various smaller colleges, the work of establishing an International Exchange of Students,18 and his work of accrediting secondary schools throughout the western United States. When Small accepted the job as Director of Affiliations Harper's educational plan for the University of Chicago was to be of far-reaching service to smaller institutions throughout the western part of the country. Small accomplished Harper's plan through affiliations over and above expectations. Small had so over-extended the plan of affiliation that the work of affiliation was ended with smaller colleges. Thomas Goodspeed supposed that affiliation ended because it was found to


18 Harper to Small, (n.d.), President's Papers—1889-1925, William R. Harper, University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections, Box 60, Folder 60. This was a copy of a note to Small from Harper citing his work for the International Exchange of Students between Chicago and foreign universities.
be "without value." It is more factual to believe that affiliation achieved its objective over and above the expectations of Harper and the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago. Small had established Chicago as a major educational institution through his work of affiliation. By allowing transfer to Chicago from the affiliated schools into the Academic—Junior and University—Senior Colleges and by accepting graduates from the affiliated schools into the Graduate School, Small had developed the necessary network for the flow of scholars to Chicago. Since this network was accomplished by 1901-1902, and the number of students steadily increasing, and students with advanced degrees from Chicago being easily placed in affiliated and non-affiliated faculties of higher education, the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago saw no further need for affiliations with smaller colleges and decided not to fund the program any longer. The work of accrediting the secondary schools was delegated to the School of Education. Harper never gave Small an adequate explanation of why he did not fight for the extension of affiliation. After Harper had died Small commented on the work he did in affiliation and the changes that occurred at Chicago because of it:

I venture to think that if Dr. Harper had lived until the present time, he would have been among the most decided in his judgments that the changes which have been realized thus far, and the methods by which they have been accomplished through various agencies working in harmony, have been on the whole more substantial, and that they now promise better for the future, than would have been the case if the precise scheme had been adopted which was involved in his plan of affiliation. 20

Undoubtedly Small saw his own work of affiliation as far surpassing the plan that Harper had originally intended. The acceptance and growth of the University of Chicago can be directly attributed, in large part, to the work of affiliation that was accomplished by Albion Small.

**Graduate Education: Dean of the Graduate School 1904-1924**

Having finished his work on affiliation Dr. Small became involved in the organization and planning of the Exposition in St. Louis in 1904. Called the Universal Exposition of the International Congresses of Arts and Science at St. Louis, Small was asked to be its Vice-President. He readily agreed and his function was to secure chairmen for the various departments of the Congress. The chairmen were to arrange for guest speakers and panel discussion members for each event. Small developed departments for almost the entire range of human knowledge that was known in 1904. 21

20 Ibid. This is a direct quote of Dr. Small as reported by Thomas Goodspeed.

21 The departments consisted of every science, religion, all types of sociological ideas, such as dependent groups, industrial knowledge, and the various subjects listed under Arts including "political economy."
Small wanted to get the most noted individuals in their respected fields to chair each department. When Small could not get some of the top people, he asked for suggestions from scholars all over the United States to recommend members for different areas. Small was extremely gratified when he was able to secure for sociology such noted sociologists as Ferdinand Tonnies, Gustav Ratzenhofer, and Lester Frank Ward.\(^{22}\) The success of this venture made Small renowned among his fellow academicans. The St. Louis Congress appears to be the culmination of the early Chautauqua Movement that entranced Americans during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One of the more renowned Chautauqua leaders was William Rainey Harper.\(^{23}\)

When the St. Louis Congress ended, the position of Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature at the University of Chicago was offered to Small. Harper wanted Small as Dean of the Graduate School because of the successes that he had achieved in every position that Harper

\(^{22}\)From letters and documents found in the Albion Small Collection, University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections, Box 1, Folder 1.

\(^{23}\)There are no written records of Harper's making any suggestions or comments to Small in reference to Small's work for the St. Louis Exposition, but similarities make one wonder if Harper might not have suggested that Small follow the Chautauqua educational idea since the Chautauqua plan had areas of interest run by different individuals. One could make a comparison between Chautauqua and the St. Louis Exposition.
had asked Small to fill. Small readily accepted the position as Dean of the Graduate School and he almost immediately changed the requirements needed for the advanced degrees at Chicago. The graduate students previously, after completing the course work in their field, had only to declare a dissertation topic, get it approved by the department, write the paper and receive the degree. Small, keeping most of these requirements, wanted the students to have practical application of their theoretical assumptions by participating in laboratory and field research.

Within one year of assuming the duties of Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature Small made it equal to the Ogden School of Science which was the graduate school of science at the University of Chicago. Graduate students in both schools now had to meet the same minimum requirements for graduation.

During that same year the number of graduate students enrolled at Chicago decreased. Small had to explain the decline to the Board of Trustees. One of the reasons cited by Small for this decline was that the economic prosperity the country was undergoing was a factor in drawing able students away from graduate study and low-paying jobs as college professors into the higher-paying business world. Another factor in the decline was that there were more than twenty schools offering graduate study
in 1905-1906 as compared to the one or two when the University of Chicago was founded. This naturally drew many students to universities other than the University of Chicago.

Small could do little to offset the larger salaries offered by industry but he had a plan to offset the other reason for low graduate enrollment. Small believed that the number of graduate schools in the United States would increase greatly within the foreseeable future. In order to continue the increase in the number of graduate students Small wanted the University of Chicago to stress the "quality of work" that was to be done there.

Small stated that:

The most important subject for consideration, from the standpoint of our Graduate School, is the quality of work by which we may be enabled to maintain the relative position which it is our aim to occupy. It is evident that the ambition to retain students is stimulating some institutions to offer graduate work without the ability to furnish the environment in which such work can be most profitably performed. Under the circumstances, we have no more important nor timely task than that of emphasizing in every proper way the marks which ought to distinguish graduate from undergraduate work. \( ^{24} \)

In order to accomplish this aim Small established three essentials that all Departments in the Graduate School had to follow. There must be a "sharp discrimination between the aims of graduate and undergraduate work." \( ^{25} \) This was

\[ ^{24} \text{Albion W. Small, "The Graduate School of Arts and Literature," The President's Report 1905-1906 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906), p. 11.} \]

\[ ^{25} \text{Ibid.} \]
necessary in order for undergraduate education to put the "emphasis on imparting accepted knowledge." Small was still of the belief which he stated in his "School and Society" articles that undergraduates should be given a broad, general education and that they should delay specialization until graduate study. Graduate study at Chicago must emphasize "training for investigation." Small contended that "training for investigation" was the correct form of instruction from the primary grades on through college but there was a difference between "curiosity" and "scientific interest." Small wanted to provide for the "needs" of the student in the areas of scientific research.

The second essential for the Graduate School to follow was that it had to create "the graduate atmosphere." Many graduate students believed that there were certain areas of knowledge that they had "disposed of once and for all" because they had certain courses in school. These students did not believe that there is "unexplored territory beyond the range of their present point of view." The students felt that they had attended some lectures on a certain topic and there was nothing more to know about the topic. Small wanted students to get away from this provincial attitude toward knowledge. He wanted graduate students to understand that writing a book about a certain subject did not make the author an errorless authority on that subject. Many books and authors had to be questioned
regarding their subject matter. The students had to consult many points of view in investigating their topics or research areas. By following these premises the student was helping to create the proper "graduate atmosphere" that Small wanted for Chicago so as to have the emphasis on quality over quantity.

The third area of development that Small sought for the Graduate School was multi-faceted. Among the items emphasized were adequate library facilities and scientific journals for each department; the necessary scientific apparatus to do quality investigations and research; the association of many graduate students; high standards for each department; "equalization of allied or subsidiary departments"; better environments to do field research (hospitals, clinics, courts, et cetera); reciprocal arrangements between other institutions and countries in order to do proper investigations; the "utmost absence of arbitrary requirements or conditions" in the choice of work, and in using time as the demands of one's special subject dictate; easy access for publication of investigation and research so as to present results for the "benefit of criticism" from peers; lastly, many scholarships and fellowships in order to obtain many talented students who could not normally afford graduate study.\(^{26}\)

\(^{26}\)Ibid.
Small emphasized in his report that the University must make every effort to "systematize higher education in the United States." Small wanted to do this because he felt that many graduate schools were "prolonging the period of undergraduate absorption" and were not really graduate schools. The University of Chicago should strive to attain a uniform policy of what constitutes graduate work and a basic standard that all graduate schools should meet.

Institutions that cannot furnish facilities for carrying investigation to the point of discovery, and that cannot assemble a considerable working force, both of instructors and of students who are constantly progressing toward discovery, should be persuaded, if possible, to discontinue the policy of encouraging students to remain after taking the Bachelor's degree. If these schools are persuaded to desist from these practices then a "more favorable environment" would help to create "critical and productive efficiency."

Although it is possible to assume that Small wanted undergraduate colleges to be merely training divisions for the graduate schools, especially the Graduate School of the University of Chicago, this is not entirely true. Small wanted colleges to plan their work around the interests of the students who might profit by graduate study and to also meet the needs of those students who wished to leave school after the Bachelor's degree.

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27 Ibid.
Colleges leave many students feeling that there is a whole new intellectual world beyond their experience. College must satisfy the intellectual curiosity of all its students and direct to graduate study only those students who have the necessary "qualifications for successful graduate work." Along this line Small wanted to send representatives from Chicago's Graduate School to various undergraduate schools to present the "ideals" of graduate study at Chicago.

Admission to the Graduate School at Chicago was opened to those who had earned an undergraduate degree equivalent to the one at the University of Chicago. Small also allowed admission to students who were twenty-one years of age or older provided they had good reason to take the proposed subjects. Any student seeking admission to Chicago, who had graduated from any other institution of higher learning, had to present "testimonials as to character and scholarship."28

The ideal that Small was striving for in the immediate area of graduate study in the social sciences was "discovery . . . of some factor . . . which is a clue to permanent relations of cause and effect in the human situation." The "ultimate validation of all scholar-

ship is its contribution to knowledge of present values and to intelligent direction of conduct."29 Scholarship was useful if it increased the body of knowledge of a subject or area and, more importantly for Small, if it was practical.

Necessary dead work in all science must apply study to things which have little visible relation to present uses; but it is misappropriation of public funds and prostitution of personal powers to pose as a scholar unless one hopes and believes that one's work will at least contribute to knowledge of how to live. 30

The improvement of mankind should be the only practical end of scholarship and research. The idea of "truth for truth's sake" is sterile and without worth. Scholars must help society become better and "wiser" in the future. The process of acquiring knowledge is useless pedantry if that knowledge cannot be "applied to problems that are live issues in contemporary life."31 All departments within the Graduate School at the University of Chicago must proceed to be "more systematic and [give] intensive treatment," within the departments own speciality, and apply the findings of the professors and the students to current problems. To achieve a more realistic outcome of its research work each

29 Albion W. Small, "What Should Be the Ideal of Our Graduate School of Social Science?" This typescripted article was found in the University of Chicago Archives—Special Collections: A.W.Small, Box 2, Folder 16. The date of the article is March 30, 1924. P. 1.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., p. 13.
department could become more visible if it were in constant "cooperation with the other departments" with the ultimate aim of devising a "common purpose" as the outcome of all research. Small wanted his students to know about cause and effect "in past or present human experience" in order to make predictions of the future. By being able to predict future events Small believed that man could have available to him the means to the "control of future conduct."

Small wanted to institute a "super-seminar method" whose "attitude and condition" was to try to solve or predict human affairs. "Group study, as contrasted with departmental study or individual study, would go far toward getting all the factors concerned in human relations" put correctly in their place. Research that is being carried out in the departments of the Graduate School are merely "exercises of mental gymnastics" which really mean nothing. This leads to the destruction of individual differences of each department and fuses it "into an undifferentiated mass." Small wanted "full departmental autonomy, but intensive departmental cooperation" as the ideal he suggested. To accomplish this aim research plans should be a group venture which would lead to higher forms of human progress.

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32 Ibid., p. 10.  
33 Ibid., p. 12.  
34 Ibid., p. 5.
but which would offer individuals work that would not isolate them from the whole plan. Small felt that departmental interplay was needed because the man doesn't live who can write an account of any considerable range of human relations which specialists in other types of human relations cannot run a coach and four through in matters of details and proportions and relations with interlocking circumstances. 35

In order to improve the quality of work being performed in graduate schools Small offered suggestions that would help clarify what a graduate school should be. He believed that the fundamental principle of a graduate school was not "spreading information" but teaching. Too much time was being wasted in spoon-feeding students instead of letting them learn for themselves. "It should be a crime against academic law and order to tell a graduate student anything he is capable of discovering" for himself. 36 Graduate students must know what they need to know. The responsibility for an education rests with the students and not with their professors. Small was still fighting "classroom drill" even after thirty-four years of trying to eliminate it. Work in the classroom must emphasize the "method of discovery" which Small equated to "laboratory or interne's work." Small wanted graduate education to have a fundamental body of common knowledge that all students must know. The

36Ibid., p. 10.
graduate student must have an "adequate conception of the ranges of specialization" that are involved in the "investigation of the human process." The professor must take the initiative in making the interrelationships between various departments. Whatever a student learns he should be able to apply it to problems common to mankind. Problem solving must transcend departmental bounds and be related to other subjects.

The problem of insularity and isolationism between departments arose because it was considered "bad form" to show any "serious interest in the work of anybody else." The work of others was to be considered as to its "bearing" on all "cognate interests" in other fields. Otherwise one's scholarship was open to question because the researcher had not covered the entire field of human interest as it might affect his speciality. Small wanted different group participation for the purpose that "many different . . . lines of investigation might be suggested which might in as many ways modify the conclusions in more or less important details or even call for a recasting of the whole report."37

By following the methods presented by Small the time would be ripe for the "development of research schools" whose function would be "analogous with diagnosis and physical culture and surgery and therapy of the living body."38

37Ibid., p. 15. 38Ibid., p. 18.
In such a place reports by individuals and groups would become parts of "cooperative investigations" that would be scrutinized by all departments. "It will be subjection of partial attempts to interpret portions of human reality to the most trying ordeal that our composite scientific standards can invent." Cooperative investigations would lead to further investigations which will eventually be made for the purpose of advancing the human race. Students would learn more by participation in these seminars and group discussions than they would ever learn in formal classrooms.

Small saw this dream of a research center, particularly in the social sciences, as being incorporated by some university that would be a "super-graduate school." Small wanted the University of Chicago to adopt this plan of a "super-graduate school." Small's ambition for graduate study was limitless. He wanted the Graduate School of the University of Chicago to lead the way for his "ideal graduate school." Small wanted knowledge and research to be of worth to society. He wanted scholarship to be useful in that it would improve the world.

39 Ibid., p. 19. 40 Ibid.
Small and Coeducation

While Albion Small was Head of the Department of Sociology and Director of Affiliation at the University of Chicago there arose a controversy over coeducation at the college. The growth of the University was reaching the point where overcrowding was occurring in the lecture halls, laboratories, and libraries. One solution was to get larger accommodations. Neither the administration nor the Board of Trustees could see the value of limiting enrollment. To solve the problem of overcrowding the University used the four block area of the original campus for work in the higher levels of academia. For Chicago, this meant the University or Senior College and the Graduate School. The freshmen and sophomores, the Junior College, were removed from this area and provided for elsewhere.

The removal led to the charge that Chicago discriminated against women. Small, answering this charge at a meeting of the National Educational Association, stated that the University of Chicago recognized the equal rights of women more completely than any other educational institution in the world. Small claimed that Chicago treated men and women on equal terms and that the trustees and the faculty were committed to equality of the sexes. The real issue, claimed Small, was the perfecting of the educational system at Chicago through the establishing of separate but
equal Junior Colleges for men and women, three to four city blocks apart. This separation of a Junior College for men and another for women still left Chicago open to a charge: not of discrimination against women, but now of their segregation from men. Small believed that all the colleges of Chicago belong to one University and there could be no validity to the charge that Chicago was segregating the men from the women. The faculty of the University was equally shared between the two Junior Colleges so Small could not see how Chicago could be accused of being a segregated school. The saving grace for Chicago was the fact that at the end of the sophomore year segregated facilities were not a part of the Senior College.

The "sheltered community life" that the women had at Chicago was rationalized by Small who believed that women in the first and second year of college life do not know what they want for themselves; they only go to college as the "line of least resistance" and because their parents have the money to send them there. Small believed that the University was doing the men a great service by separating them from young women during the first two years of college. He suggested that the men did not have to be embarrassed by the presence of girls in their classes until their third year at Chicago and they could concentrate better on their school work. The girls likewise benefitted from this seg-
regation because they would develop poise and refinement and they could concentrate on their studies since classes would be more than social centers. Small believed that by removing the distraction of the opposite sex the University was developing the right "conditions of comfortable, healthy, normal growth, and incidentally of effective college work." 41 This was Small's and Chicago's opinion concerning coeducation. Small felt that there was no reasonable argument for or against separate but equal facilities for men and women. Therefore, Chicago was correct in its approach to coeducation:

I believe that the contrast between the naive coeducation which we stumbled into and that which we shall develop in the future is parallel with the difference between the little purgatory which the memories of my childhood recall under the name of primary school, and the kindergarten which the wisest teachers are perfecting today. 42

The importance of this address to the National Educational Association by Dr. Small rested in the fact that he wanted to show how he and the University of Chicago were contributing to the "theory and practice of education." Small hoped that the experiment in coeducation at Chicago would "contribute to improvements in administration of coeducation everywhere." He defined the concept of coeducation as


42 Ibid.
"instruction under a single management, of males and females upon equal terms, under conditions which promise to prove in the long run most advantageous to all concerned." Small believed that education was a "progressive revelation, and selection of means according to the revelation." The difference between education and coeducation for Small was that education should be available to both men and women equally. It must be the function of the State, the Church, private business, and individuals to conceive of education as an equal right of men and women. In Small's view the University of Chicago had led the way for equal educational opportunities between men and women. Progress in coeducation was the policy of the University and Dr. Small believed in it wholeheartedly. Just because Chicago was trying a new way in its approach to education between men and women did not mean, in Small's opinion, that it should have become a controversial issue. Small believed that Chicago was leading the way in equal educational opportunities.

Summary

Much of the work that Small did for the University of Chicago went unnoticed by other educators outside this.
institution. As an academic insider Small saw his work for Chicago as helping to make that institution the best center for higher education in the United States. The work he did as Dean of the Undergraduate College helped to establish the general rules and regulations that governed the academic life of the undergraduates for many years. Small achieved, to some extent, the view he held at Colby of a general education for all undergraduates. Although Chicago let undergraduates specialize in their third and fourth year Small was pleased that his idea of a general education for all undergraduates was used in the Academic College.

The work Small did for affiliation between Chicago and various institutions throughout the United States has to stand as a milestone in his career. Small developed areas of affiliation between Chicago and institutions of higher learning in order to get a steady stream of scholars for Chicago's Graduate School. The success Small had in this area of affiliation was directly related to the success of the Graduate School of the University of Chicago. The work of affiliation between Chicago and various American secondary schools, both public and private, was successful because Small worked at getting Chicago to recognize and approve the various programs and schools that wanted affiliation with Chicago. These schools could use the expertise of the faculty at Chicago to improve their schools and Chicago
would accept the graduates of these secondary schools in the undergraduate colleges. The work Small did on affiliation between secondary schools and Chicago was so successful that it had to be disbanded by 1903 because of the great number of students coming to Chicago from the affiliated schools. The work in affiliation was primarily started to get Chicago qualified graduate and undergraduate students. Affiliation blossomed into an educational system with Chicago as the head which regulated the curriculum and faculty of each affiliated school.

As Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Literature at the University of Chicago Small developed his early ideas of graduate study as research oriented. He actively supported the research component of the Doctor of Philosophy degree, this at a time when such a component was not universally required. Small saw graduate school as a place that produced able scholars in every field. He wanted graduate study to take the multi- and inter-disciplinary approach whereby various fields were related in order to produce results that were beneficial to mankind. Small had no use for ivory tower educational institutions that separated themselves from reality. Small wanted graduate study to be real people working on real problems that could help society. At the close of his career as Dean of the Graduate School Small envisioned a super graduate school. He wanted all
departments in this ideal graduate school to be working on cooperative investigations that would eventually help to advance the human race.

When the issue of coeducation at Chicago arose Small was asked to answer the critics of Chicago's approach to coeducation. He explained the problem of overcrowding at Chicago and he believed that separating men from women in the Junior College was doing a great service to both sexes. The men and women could concentrate on their studies in the classroom because they would not be embarrassed by members of the opposite sex. Small held the belief that men and women were being educated at Chicago equally. Small believed in the idea that education was an equal right of men and women.

Small's work as an administrator at the University of Chicago did much to advance that institution to a position of excellence among colleges and universities. Much of the work Small did in higher education went unrecognized. Credit for much of his work went to Harper or, simply, the University of Chicago. Recognizing the work that Small did at Chicago helps to position him in the forefront of early twentieth century American educators.
CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION AND SOCIOLOGY

This chapter attempts to establish Albion Small directly in the educational field by showing how his sociological ideas had significance for education and educators. Small saw educators in the forefront of the groups that could change society. Scholars can find answers to the problems of society. Schools and colleges are supported by society because the work done in these institutions may help to improve society. Small found wanting the work of the Committee of Ten because its members wanted education removed from the real world. From his condemnation of the work of the Committee of Ten, Small defined his educational theory in terms of reality. He placed the student in the center of education. The task of education was to help the child perceive his place in society. The ideas that Small had for sociology have educational implications. His concept of interest and his sociological ideas influenced educational thought in the early part of the twentieth century. Small again returns to the family as the primary educator of the young. He was among the few early educators who saw the
value of technical schools. Small believed that the problems of society were due to the failure of the schools.

Small and Education

Small anticipated the impact of sociology on education when he wrote that most educators were "shirkers" if they did not "grapple" with the immediate needs of society. Scholars are supported by society because society wants them to find solutions to the problems that perplex it. Scholars and educators were held in esteem by society because we are presumed to be exponents of the higher excellencies of thought and action. We are expected to hold up ideals of the best, to guide the endeavors of the masses of men. It is squandering money to put more endowments into the keeping of educational institutions that are not devoting their energies in larger and larger proportions to search for solutions of these moral problems together with the solution of the physical problems, through both of which the larger welfare of men is to be secured. 1

Small believed that learning and research done by educators and scholars was not an intellectual exercise to amuse other intellectuals. Research must be used for the improvement of the moral and physical institutions that make up society. It was folly to keep putting money into schools and research enterprises if nothing of concrete value came out of the work of these scholars. The value that Small

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wanted his colleagues in higher education to strive for was the improvement of society through their work. Scholarship practiced by the intellectual minority was useless unless its aims were the "clarifying [of] fundamental or general conceptions" of what society holds to be good; secondly, scholarship must perfect the "devices and plans" that society develops to help it grow and improve. The scholar must find a way. The problems that man faces in his everyday life could be lessened and, it was hoped, solved if scholars would apply their ideas and researches to society's betterment. The improvement of society had to be the end of scholarship or scholarship was useless.

When the Committee of Ten\(^2\) published its report that condemned the then confused state of secondary schools in the United States, it made recommendations on the improvement of these schools. In responding to the Committee's findings as a sociologist, Small felt that the Committee had insulated itself from the real, everyday world of work and was building an elitist ivory-tower approach to education. In his article "Scholarship and Social Agitation" Small took to task pedanticism in education; he wanted scholars and educators to use their knowledge to improve society. In his opinion the report of the Committee of

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Ten appeared to divorce education, especially secondary and higher education, from the real world. Small found nothing wrong with the methods used in meeting the needs of the learner at each stage of his educational career. What he did object to were the "ends to be gained in education."

The Committee, through the Conference of History, Civil Government and Political Economy, stated that the end of all education is "training." Small completely rejected this end as being inane. Small defined education in terms of its effects on society:

The end of all education is, first, completion of the individual; second, implied in the first, adaptation of the individual to such cooperation with the society in which his lot is cast that he works at his best with the society in perfecting its own type, and consequently in creating conditions favorable to the development of a more perfect type of individual. 3

The Committee was returning to an educational psychology that was prevalent during the Middle Ages. Small condemned its approach to school subject matter and the learner because education was not merely perceptions, reflections, and judgments. Education must develop the "whole personality" and not just the intellectual side of the learner. Small wanted schools to make their subject matter "action in contact with reality." The aim of education had to be

the making relevant of abstract subject matter. What good was education if it developed only the learner's intellect and did nothing to make the subject matter of the schools real to the student? Small wanted a desirable balance between pedagogy and sociology. By concretizing the abstractions that one learns in school Small felt that learning, in school or out, would have some relevance to the real world.

The Committee of Ten made a recommendation for school work and entitled it "subjects good for study" foremost of which were algebra, geometry, zoology, physics, and foreign languages. Small found little good in these subjects because they, like the Committee's definition of educational aims and psychology, were totally removed from reality and there was no connection made between these subjects and the "cosmic reality" to which they are part. The subjects one learns in school are often presented in such a way that they appear to be separate entities totally different from other subjects. Such presentation forces the learner to compartmentalize each subject as an abstract form of reality. There is no unifying whole to the teaching of classroom subjects nor is any attempt made to make these "pedantic abstractions" real. This educational mismanagement

\[\text{\textsuperscript{4}Tbid., pp. 840-41.}\]
not only limits knowledge it also distorts man's "attitude" towards reality.

The "world of experience is one" and not made up of different groups of facts. Education must perceive reality and pedagogy as one and the same. Because of all their abstract theories educators have lost sight of the fact that reality is the "proper educator." Small demanded that educators look at schooling, particularly the primary grades, not as an "afflictive imposition upon life" but as a "portion of life itself." In order to accomplish this aim Small wanted teachers to "supplement the education of action by the education of information" and to make the "objects of knowledge real" by showing them as "organic parts of the one reality." The educational practice of making learning and school subjects separate from the real world must stop. By integrating learning and school subject matter the schools would be making learning a living reality.

Small defined his educational theory and practice in terms of "human experience." He claimed that there were three basic parts to experience: (1) "man's material environment," living and non-living; (2) "man himself as an individual," all the facets that make him what he is from his place in the biological spectrum through "his special

5Ibid., p. 842.
physiology, psychology, and technology"; (3) "man's associations or institutions." These three concepts—nature, man, and institutions—are present reality. This total reality finds expression through society which Small defined as "individuals in association within the conditions imposed by the material environment and modified by human achievement." Every man must define reality for himself and "accommodate himself to prevailing conditions" by whatever means he chooses in order that he may find and enjoy a part of the benefits which society has so far accomplished. The pedagogical task of teachers is to help the individual adapt to the "social conditions, natural or artificial, within which individuals live, and move, and have their being." Small saw the educator's task as being the teaching of reality.

The then prevalent idea of Johann Friedrich Herbart's faculty psychology was condemned by Small. When educators strive to make a unified whole out of the supposedly different faculties of the mind they are performing a useless exercise in pedagogy. Small saw the person who comes into contact with reality exercising every "mental power" that he had, "probably in a more rational order and proportion than can be produced by an artificial process." The

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6 Ibid.  
7 Ibid.  
8 Ibid., p. 843.
function of the teaching profession was not to "train particular mental powers" but to select "points of contact between learning minds and the reality that is to be learned." Small had explicit faith in the ability of the mind of man to accomplish the task of knowing which faculty to use as the occasion arose in reality. He also believed that teachers should bring the learning process of the students into "perceptive contacts" with objects of reality so as to have the student make the necessary associations with all objects of reality. As Small said: "We should help pupils first to see things, and, second, to see things together as they actually exist in reality." By creating the right environment Small felt that the human mind would make the necessary adjustments in order to interpret reality correctly and use its power as occasion arose.

The center of education must be the student and nothing else. Small believed that pedagogy should develop itself as the "science of assisting youth to organize their contacts with reality." Teaching children how to both think and act as the demands of the real world arose was what teachers should be doing in the schools. Teaching students to adjust and adapt to the surrounding environment was the prime function of educators. Once this objective

9 [Ibid.]
10 [Ibid.]
11 [Ibid.]
was undertaken then the teacher had to aid in getting the pupil to understand the environment in which he lived and as it related to him. When the student discovered the world around him he would become less concerned with himself and would begin to perceive those around him.

The child would progress from the family to the school. At school he would become involved with others. The child would extend his horizons to the community and, "if his education is complete," to society-at-large. When the pupil is young everything centers around him. All there is to reality is that which directly affects him. As he grows older the pupil realizes that his is not the center of the universe but a part of the cosmic whole that is society. Educators were to use all available means to aid the child in perceiving himself in relation to reality and society. Educators must also "perfect influences" which help the student understand the function he has in society. Small, although not explicitly stating it, wanted schools and teachers to create a facsimile of the real world within the school in order to help the student think, act, function, and adjust to experiences that would carry over into the real world. Teaching students how to adjust in society could be accomplished by controlling their environment. This control of the environment could be accomplished by multiplying the experiences the child had in school until
such time as he might properly take his place and function in society. This type of learning was the proper aim of education for Small.

Society is made up in part by everything that is known or worth knowing. The teacher, by "proper direction and organization," helps the pupil develop his "perceptions" of reality. "This reality as a connected whole, related to the pupil, is always the natural and rational means of education." Reality is always facing the student. School subjects cannot be abstractions from reality. When the students know reality then they can begin to know the segmented parts of it that are the subject matter of advanced school work. Small explained the method he wanted educators to follow if students were to learn anything:

Education from the beginning should be an initiation into science, language, philosophy, art and political action in the largest sense. When we shall have adopted a thoroughly rational pedagogy, the child will begin to learn everything the moment he begins to learn anything.  

Small, like Rousseau, wanted the idea of a return to nature revitalized in the school; unlike Rousseau, however, Small wanted a "scientifically explored" nature. The baby in the nursery is in contact with life. When the child enters school he should "learn his world at the smallest expense, and with the least cause for regret, both to others

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12 Ibid.  
13 Ibid.
and to himself. 14 The child would get to know himself and his world. The experiences and knowledge that a person needed would come from reality and not pedantic abstractions of reality. Within this reality Small saw most subjects worthy of study because they revealed life to which man is both "creator and creature."

Small wanted the education of teachers to include sociology in order to put "teaching in the setting which the sociological viewpoint affords." Small wanted education and educators to be taken seriously because of the enormous responsibility educators had in the teaching of the young. When society realized how serious and important education was, it would only allow "men and women who have more than the bachelor's preparation" to practice it. The educator should relate to the pupil his right place and function in society because it is part of the student's life. Following this principle Small wanted educators to teach history from the present and go to the past as the need arose.

The science of pedagogy should be organized into three categories: "interdependence, order or cooperation and progress or continuity." Small saw these categories as necessary if pedagogy was to be taken

14 Ibid., p. 846.
seriously. To him interdependence was the connecting of all acts or events in a person's life with the same acts or events in the lives of people past and present. "Beginning with the family and extending to the compass of the race, society is a network of interdependences."\textsuperscript{15} Educators must help students make the connection to show that whatever they are studying is somehow related to events in the past or present. By cooperation Small meant the interactions of people in micro- and macro- social groups with society in general. There is an established order within society and it behooves the educational profession to make this order known to the students. "Wherever men have been associated, even in the most temporary society, the measure of stability in their relations has been preserved by an institutional order."\textsuperscript{16} Thus, whenever students are learning anything, the teacher must help them become aware of influences which the past has had on the development of the present. Men of the past, great and ordinary, must be shown in the correct relationship of how they affected their world and the world of the present.

The third category, "process or continuity," was defined by Small to mean that history has continuity. The present has developed because of events in the past and the

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., p. 850. \textsuperscript{16}Ibid.
future will develop because of events in the present. Small saw this process as being a "social attitude" that teachers must develop in their students. This "social attitude" led Small to the idea that the ultimate product of education was the development of the "purely intellectual condition," namely, the idea of cause and effect. Facts without relationships are misleading and false. The educator has to relate the events of the past to the present.

Small wanted educators to be "makers of society" and not "leaders of children." To reform society and to make it better than it was appeared to be a task for the teaching profession because teachers "hold the leverage." They had the power to improve mankind. The good teacher would:

read his success only in the record of men and women who go from the school eager to explore wider and deeper these social relations, and zealous to do their part in making a better future. We are the dupes of faulty analysis if we imagine that schools can do much to promote social progress until they are motivated by this insight and this temper. 17

Small wanted educators to build a better world than the one that then existed. The educators had the power to accomplish this aim if they made their students aware that the intellectual and learning experiences they had in the schools were related to society. Students who are aware of the

17 Ibid., p. 851.
influences of the past on the development of the present will build a better world. They will know that what they do will have a direct effect on the future. The future is what man makes it. This idea was what Small envisioned as the aim of education.

In another article, "Pedagogical Talks to Graduate Students," Small stated that when the student reached the point where he no longer needed the teacher to guide his educational progress he begins to shape his own destiny. Small felt that the school was an unnatural setting in which to learn this skill because it placed unnatural restraints on the student. The school must teach reality by having the student study the world of people and the world of things. Small saw these worlds as the only reality the student should know. If the student was to continue his education he must organize the knowledge he has learned. Behind this organization was the idea that the student should become aware of the "gaps" in his schooling. Once the student is aware of this shortcoming he will decide "what kinds of knowledge it would be best worth his while to enlarge." He will then better prepare himself for the study of any discipline if he has a fundamental knowledge of people. Small saw a danger in learning about

things without also learning about people. "The physical universe may have a quite different meaning to an infinite intelligence, but men have to estimate it in its relation to human conditions." The wants and needs of man should dictate what is worth knowing in the world. Small believed that the person who was to be the "most trustworthy natural scientist" would first be the most "intelligent social scientist." The true subject matter of the world is people whether it be their forms, processes, conditions, elements, or products.

There are too many facts in the universe for anyone to know. The educational process that was needed required a sense of proportion and unity for mankind. Educating people to the reality of society would help them make sense out of the confusion that existed in the world. Small wanted students to study the social sciences instead of abstractions of reality. Students must understand that in the real world of people everything is related to everything else. Small did not want specific areas of study isolated from other areas of study. The student had to know that every area of human knowledge was coordinated and interrelated to every other area of human knowledge.

\[19\text{Ibid.}\]
Small's Sociology and Its Relation to Education

Many of the ideas Small presented in his sociological writings have implications for education. The concept of interest and the ethical model that were presented in Chapter Three were used in a sociological sense by Small but they were partially used to influence education in the early part of the twentieth century. Small developed some educational ideas that he felt were important because they influenced the development of society and its institutions.\(^{20}\)

Small viewed man only in relation to the group. Man had no identity outside of the group. Small saw the work of the school as assisting in the development of the concept of group identity for the individual. Small viewed the school as manifesting "almost any one of the characteristics which general sociology identifies" as helping man eventually gain entry into society. With such a large responsibility the school, in Small's opinion, was justified in "controlling group" behavior.\(^{21}\) The direct or indirect influence of the schools on the individuals was justified because society had to grow. The growth of society led man


\(^{21}\) Ibid.
into a better life and improved his institutions. Society's economic base was reinforced by the schools through their control of subject matter and values. The schools were influencing the young to enter the labor market but only as workers and not as a part of the business community. Small wanted an educational emphasis based on the premise that a person who labors for any enterprise should share in the guiding of that business and have a voice in its management. Although this idea was labelled Marxist at that time, Small felt that the best place to begin this sharing of labor was in the schools. 22

Education from the primary school to the graduate school should serve two functions: "(1) the increase and (2) the communication of knowledge." 23 Within these two functions Small believed that the "process of gathering, organizing, and diffusing" of knowledge characterized education. In his view general education focuses on the second function: communication. The best communicator of knowledge is the school because it has the structure to do this efficiently, but there are many other communicators

22 Albion W. Small, "Conflict of Class Material." University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections, A.W. Small, Box 2, Folder 11, pp. 10-11. (I date this material circa 1915.)

23 Albion W. Small, "Some Research Into Research." University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections, A.W. Small, Box 2, Folder 12, pp. 7-8. (I date this material circa 1920.)
knowledge. The most important are the press, the lecturer, organized religions, and the government.

Small believed that the greatest extender of training in the intellectual sense was the family. The family has always had the responsibility for training the young in the ways of work and for introducing them to society and its institutions. By 1894, Small saw the family losing its basic responsibility for training its young to the school.

The systematic teaching of the young has become so largely a social activity . . . that the family function in this regard is virtually limited to the early period of children's lives, and even this much of instruction is being gradually surrendered to the kindergarten. 24

Intellectual development was no longer directly influenced by the family. Societal institutions from kindergarten through the university supplanted the family in its intellectual functions. Small wanted to see the responsibility for this development as being partially a function of the family and partially a function of the school. Cooperation between the family and the school would go a long way in getting the child to appreciate those areas of intellectual development that must be satisfied if the child was to become a worthy member of society. The final responsibility for preparing the child to take part in the

24Small and Vincent, p. 247.
life of society rests with the family. Small believed that the child learned better in the home because the family represented a "miniature society" and a "school of discipline." The love, care, and patient understanding along with persistence by the parents insured that the end results sought would be reached. The family prepared its young to be "normal social elements." The instruction given to its members by the family was seen by Small as preserving the physical and psychological "generational continuity." The family was of prime importance to Small because its functions toward the young were fundamental in transmitting the culture to future generations. The family's chief functions as seen by Small were: "(a) propagation, (b) location or settlement, (c) defense, (d) production, (e) apportionment and transmission, (f) communication, (g) intellectual training, (h) socialization." These activities are grouped together to preserve the physical and psychological continuity of society.

Part of the family's function was the socialization of the young. When American families grouped into villages and communities the socialization of the young was delegated to the social institutions of education, namely, the school. The schools were organized to help

25 Ibid., p. 248. 26 Ibid., p. 250.
the young learn the value of socialization early and to help transmit the general and technical educational needs of society. The training of the young in general and technical education became the function of the school. The child was first taught in the home and later in the church or Sunday school. From these schools the young went on to district schools within the rural community and villages. As these small hamlets grew into towns and cities the district school became the graded school, the high school, the college, and finally, the university. Each phase of development was seen as the function of one area of society supplanting another area. For example, when there were few people in any geographical area the child was taught everything he needed to know by the family. As the area became populated the educational function of the family was taken over by organized education, the school. From the smallest district school to the schools of cities and towns the function of education was taken away from the family and done more effectively by the school. The schools became the primary force in transmitting the physical and psychological aspects of the culture to the young.

There was also the second area of education that Small called technical. This technical education was defined as the "domestic industries requiring" certain skills. The family, at one time, taught its young the technical skills
it needed to survive in an isolated and hostile environment. As the community grew the child spent the most productive part of the day in school learning cultural heritage. The technical skills taught in the home evolved as a function of the school. Having learned in the village or district school all the manual arts he needed to know in order to survive the child found himself in the graded schools and academies in the larger towns and cities. In these schools the manual arts were no longer generalized but were broken down into various tasks and skills. Manual arts became manual training in public schools and a viable part of the curriculum. From the manual training taught as course work in public schools there evolved the technical schools which are usually associated with cities. From the beginnings of manual arts, the progression went through manual training and domestic industries to technical schools as the population of a geographical center shifted from the rural village to the larger urban centers.

Although it was stated earlier that Small was an educational elitist who saw the college-trained individual as leading society into a better life Small also strongly believed in the value of technical training and technical skills. By the turn of the twentieth century Small was convinced that technical schools were greatly needed in the United States. These schools filled the needs and
requirements of society by training individuals in the skills that society needed and valued. Small wanted William Rainey Harper to see the need for developing more and better technical schools as society increased and industry became more complex. 27

Small believed that there was a "common body of knowledge" that society possessed. This common knowledge was "accumulated experience" that was amassed from untold generations. These experiences were believed to be "treasures of thought" that were built up, refined, and improved upon by "discovery and research." It was necessary that society develop the intellectual capacity for this knowledge and that it promote and encourage individuals to develop "original thought" in order that the progress of science and the "widening of culture . . . be secured." 28

Society can encourage people by acting through its institutional agent known as the school.

The educational institutions of society, public, private, and ecclesiastical, made up of teachers, professors, books, apparatus, and buildings, perform . . . the double service of preparing individual minds for the reception and use of knowledge, and of communicating what men through great periods of time have learned about nature and humanity. 29

The schools were not the only agents of society that aided in the intellectual training of man. Small saw


28 Small and Vincent, p. 262.

29 Ibid.
the value of lectures, sermons, and various addresses as having distinct "educational value." Libraries, museums, and the press held many opportunities for "self-directed study." There was the valuable knowledge one learned from the social contact of communicating with others. Through all its agents the work of "training and transmission" helped develop the "continuity and progress" of the "organic life" of society that was "absolutely essential" to society's survival and growth.

Small wanted the function of training the individual members of society to remain with the family. The reason for this belief lay in the fact that a person's conduct will be "instinctively or intelligently social" if the training is done by the family. The conduct of the individual will not become anti-social if the family and other social agencies act together to develop correct ways of behavior in the young. Society, through the family and other agencies, demands that every individual behave in a disciplined manner. "Each [social] organ trains its own elements to perform their particular tasks, and certain general institutions, educational, ecclesiastical, and governmental, take part in the aggregate activity." 30

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30 Ibid., p. 263.
duties and interrelate with others is effectuated by all
the agencies of society from the family to the state.

If society is to continue and develop, all parts
of the social structure must cooperate with each other.
This "demanding master," society, has to be sustained and
nurtured to insure its growth. Whatever society uses to
insure its existence and development is absolutely neces­
sary and justified. The controlling of all human activity
is a necessary function of society so that it may continue
to exist. The regulating activities of this system insure
that ideas and the vital energy needed to sustain it are
continued. Control is brought about by the cooperation of
all social agencies. Every aspect of the organism, society,
is controlled by this one system. Social institutions have
elements of control but these institutions subordinate
themselves to the "regulation of another agency." Schools
are independent institutions that direct their own ends
but they must work in harmony with the entire educational
system of which they form a viable part. Society demands
that the young are trained and that the schools transmit
knowledge to them. These social elements, schools, perform
their task by the use of discipline and the controlling of
all social activity.

Small agreed that the schools have the responsi-
bility to train the young members of society to take over the functions of society to help it grow and develop its full potential, but he saw education in the United States rife with deficiencies. Among the more obvious were: (1) large numbers of incompetent teachers, (2) conventional and unscientific courses of study, (3) wrong methods of instruction, (4) inadequate provision for urban school populations, (5) only brief schooling for large numbers of people, (6) lack of unity and coordination in the educational system as a whole. These deficiencies led to inefficiency in society. Small blamed the schools for not teaching the young to observe the things around them, for not teaching them how to accurately use language, and for not teaching them how to reason clearly. Small called these schools "untrustworthy" organs of society because the young people came out of these schools "ill-equipped" to go to work and socially naive in their interactions with other members of society.

In 1892 Joseph Meyer Rice wrote a series of articles on public schools in American cities for The Forum magazine. Rice's writings described untrained, unfeeling teachers and dull students. Albion Small believed that

\[31\] Ibid., p. 293.

Rice's articles were important because they showed the influence of politics on education. Teachers were chosen because of political influence rather than fitness to teach. As a way to improve the schools Small wanted to develop "relations" between primary, secondary, and higher education for a "progressive curriculum" from kindergarten through graduate school.33 The work that Small did as Director of Affiliation for the University of Chicago attempted to put into practice his idea of a "progressive curriculum."

Another problem that Small saw in American education was its ineffective teaching of "ethical ideals" to the young. Schools can control students only for a short time and, as a result, many people leave school unadapted to social life. The "controlling system" that society uses to insure its development employs education and the schools to develop within the young certain lines of conduct. The higher importance of society justifies any method to insure its growth and development.

Small was convinced that his society was in a "diseased condition." This problem was due to the failures of social institutions, especially the schools. Small wanted education to help people adjust to different environments,

33Small and Vincent, p. 294.
to offer people adequate protection against danger, to get workers to share equally in the products of wealth, and for everyone to receive the necessary schooling to become intelligent members of society. If the family was returned to its proper place and functioned as it did in the rural community then society would develop to its full potential.

Small was convinced that an individual develops two kinds of knowledge—personal and social. Personal knowledge develops from observations and studies that a person makes on his own. Social knowledge is of a secondary type which has to be communicated. As a person is schooled he develops a great wealth of social knowledge which he integrates with his personal knowledge. The educated individual has acquired most of his knowledge from the resources of society. The person relies on his own observations and accepts the social knowledge without question. The collective knowledge of society, everything that society retained since its inception that helped it survive and grow, becomes a part of the educated individual. The decisions and choices an educated person makes are influenced by the social knowledge he has learned. The person, although seen by Small as having an individual free will, is determined by the "common will." How a person acts and chooses is always done with the idea of the better-
ment of society.

We may recognize the existence of a certain volitional freedom in ethical consciousness, and a consequent measure of personal responsibility, but it is useless to deny that social forces exercise a constraining influence upon individuals, which unites them in a coherent, organic whole. 34

By being aware of the compelling nature of society Small believed that the student would understand his true nature. The collective conscience and will of society determine an individual's thoughts and actions. The necessity of this condition is significant if man is to understand himself and society. Education, in its ultimate sense, displays the collective, social conscience and directs activities toward definite goals. An aroused social consciousness will manifest itself in a better society.

Summary

Albion Small had an ulterior motive for all of his work and writings. He had as the basic goal for his life the eradication of social evil, and he did not believe that this goal could be accomplished through politics. Rather, Small developed the idea that the method and agent to use to build an ideal society was education and its social institution known as the school. From his start as

34Ibid., p. 300.
a college teacher at Colby College to his many positions at the University of Chicago Small wanted to establish a basis of knowledge that would help develop an ideal society of shared wealth and the eradication of evil. The school, from primary through the university, could influence the individual members of society to establish a cohesive whole and a collective conscience that sought the improvement of society and, in turn, each of its members. Scholars had the knowledge to help develop a better society within which man could feel secure.

The Committee of Ten took an unrealistic view of the student and the world. Small saw education and society as one and the same. Education, to Small, was to develop a complete individual capable of living in the world and able to make a living in this world. Small had the idea that education could develop a better individual and a better society. He saw reality as the true educator and, along with this idea, Small wanted schools to be similar to life outside the school. Education must center on the student. By centering on the individual education would help each student learn how to think and act in the world. The prime function of the teacher was to help the student adjust and adapt to his environment. Small felt that by having real life experiences in the classroom the child would learn how to get along in the world.
Small opted for a historical perspective to be developed within each child. He believed that history gave to the student the concept of cause and effect and the student would become aware of the idea that the events of the present would develop the future.

Small saw the teacher as a maker of society. The teacher could influence his pupils to reform society. The good teacher would influence his students to make a better future. The teacher had to make the students aware that what they learned in school could be practiced in the world so that a better world would develop.

Small believed that the family was the best trainer of the intellectual side of man. Before there were schools all a person needed to know he learned at home. With the advent of the common school movement in America Small saw the family losing its responsibility for training its young to the school. Small, recognizing the importance of both school and family, wanted to see the responsibility for educating the young shared between the school and the family. The cultural heritage of society was better transmitted by the family than the school. The family also did a better job of socializing the young than the school.

Small became an advocate of technical education.
He believed that in an urban environment the student could learn technical and vocational training better in the schools devoted to this training. Small believed that technical schools filled a need of society and industry by teaching the child skills needed by a complex industrial society.

Small found the schools of his time "untrustworthy" because the graduates of these schools were not equipped to make a living and were not able to interact with others. The solution for this problem, Small believed, was to develop a "progressive curriculum" from kindergarten through graduate school that would have knowledge build upon itself and that would be related to the world.

In the next chapter Albion Small will be viewed in the light of his contributions to the overall development of twentieth century education.
CHAPTER VII

THE IMPLICATIONS OF SMALL'S WORK AND IDEAS ON EDUCATION

Albion Small's contributions to education have not been recognized adequately because his work was primarily that of a sociologist and administrator at the University of Chicago and Colby College. The question arises as to the extent of Small's contributions to the overall concept of twentieth-century education. The answer is not easily found nor readily available. Viewing all the work Small did as a teacher and administrator does not foster a true appreciation of his contributions to education because the work affected, supposedly, only Colby or Chicago. The sociological writings that Small produced were only read by a small number of academicians. However, a true picture of Small and his impact on education can be seen from the many educational ideas he had and from his implementation of the educational ideas of others, namely William Rainey Harper. This chapter attempts to demonstrate the extent of Small's impact on education.

As a teacher at Colby, Small designed a curric-
ulum for history that was used there until the 1920s. The library at Colby was built up because of the prodding done by Small to get the university to purchase learned books and journals not only in his field but in all fields of knowledge. One of the first ideas that Small condemned was the curricular isolationism that Colby practiced with its students. Not giving the undergraduates a broad or liberal course of study was cheating these young men out of an education. In the 1970s we still see this same problem existing in higher education. Some institutions of higher learning have become narrowly specialized in the various areas of learning. The colleges and universities have become overconcerned with filling the needs of certain segments of society. Some students become so narrow in their outlook that they have no conception of other areas of human understanding. These students develop like machines and lack the humanizing elements that make our world.

These same problems were part of the educational scene in the late 1800s. Small wanted to have students become familiar with all areas of human knowledge while in college. The student was to be aware of the many facets of mankind and appreciative of all areas of human understanding. Following the development of Small's sociology,
we can see that his answer to the dehumanized society of our day might point to a lack of sufficient research on societal problems. By not being aware of the wants, needs, and desires of ourselves, others, and society in general, the individual becomes divorced from the real world and lives a life separate or apart from others. In Small's view, the humanizing quality of life that he sought was to be found in helping others and in devoting one's life to improving all areas of society. The higher educational institutions might help achieve this humanizing by giving the student a broad general education in the undergraduate years, a specialization in the graduate years, and a general knowledge of sociology. In the business community Small wanted students to be familiar with the liberal arts before they specialized in a certain area of business. The necessity for this broad education lay in the fact that the young person needed to be cognizant of the society within which he lived and worked.

Small wanted college students to have a basic knowledge of history. This knowledge was necessary because the student was to be a future leader of society. By being aware of the developments of the past, the student would know the mistakes of the past and avoid them in the future. This awareness would help in developing a better society
than the one in which the person was then living. Small believed quite firmly that the lessons taught by history had to be used in making judgments in contemporary society.

When Small developed his sociological theories they were aimed at improving society. The overall consideration that Small was striving for in his theoretical assumptions was that ideas and research had to be practical. In the practical sense one would view the present, with an eye to the past, in order to improve the future. The goal of this action was the building of a moral and ethical system far superior to the one that existed in Small's time. The goal of sociology was that it might help bridge the gap between morals and ethics in order to establish "the good life." Small wanted sociology to be able to "generalize those means of valuating past conduct into means of deciding whether this or that in the present is worth doing."¹ One's judgment on any moral issue must clearly be made in the social context for the good of society, and one's choice in this area had to lead to the bettering of society. Small saw people learning and developing the concepts of right and wrong in the institutions developed by society. Among the best insti-

¹Small, General Sociology, p. 664.
tutions, Small felt, were the family and the school.

The concept of the family was developed by Small and Vincent when they wrote *An Introduction to the Study of Society*. Small had a very positive belief in the family but he saw its power of educating the young being taken over by the school. As the primary social unit the family had the duty and responsibility of educating the young to become worthy members of society. Small did not want the family to lose its control over the child to the school even though he felt that the school was a worthy social institution that could fill the gap created by the loss of the influence of the family. John Dewey carried on the idea of the importance of the family in the educational process of the young. Dewey's *School and Society* (1899) discusses the changing role of the family as a result of manufacturing and urban development and the implications these had on the educational scene in America. Dewey appears to paraphrase Small's ideas on the education the child received in the family circle in pioneer America. The child learned skills and social cooperation from the family. In this area Dewey was in accord with Small. Whatever direct influence Small's sociology may have had on John Dewey is not known but the concept of the family as a primary educator was written by
Small before Dewey developed it.²

Dewey and Small had many ideas in common. Both of these men believed in the importance of rural America as opposed to urban America. Dewey laid stress on the social aspects of man in the same way that Small did. Dewey wanted to create a better social order by stressing the community as opposed to the non-community. Small believed and did the exact same thing. Dewey believed in achieving a new social order through an orderly process set up on the ideas of a small town or local community. Small was against the then existing state of society. He wanted to change society from the impersonal urban industrial one that was coming into being to one of the ideal small town where people help people and are concerned about one another. Small saw the achieving of this end as the work of social control. According to Small the small town can exist in the urban center if people are aware of their fellow man and have a real concern for him and a desire to form a community. To effect social change one had to be aware of the interests of men and groups. To introduce the young into society and channel their psychic

²Others beside Dewey touched upon the relationship of the family and the American educational scene; for example, Elwood P. Cubberly in Changing Conceptions of Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909). However, a delineation of Cubberly's views is beyond the scope of this study, since it is the similarity of views between Dewey and Small which has more relevance to the author's position.
forces into non-destructive social roles was the responsibility of the family and the social institutions known as the schools. The family and the school were able to accomplish this end by employing the concept of social control that resulted in the proper kinds of behaviors that people use for improving society. As Small said: "Here, then, is a constant condition of the human relationship, to be placed in calculation most carefully when we are most convinced of the illimitable[sic] possibilities of human improvement."4

The solution for the improvement of society for Small, as well as Dewey, was the formalizing of effective means of communication between the individual and the community. "It is this fact of community which has most enforced the organic concept . . . [of] society."5 Cooperation between individuals was the desired end of the socialization process. Dewey concurred with Small in this area. Even Small's concept of interest was similar to the ideas that Dewey had regarding interest. Small and Dewey are similar in this respect: they believed that the individual must subjugate his own interests to those of society. Small's theoretical assumptions were also shared by Dewey although Small carried out his ideas in the sociological

3 See Chapter III.
4 Small, General Sociology, p. 582.
5 Ibid., p. 583.
sphere whereas Dewey developed his position in the area of educational philosophy. When Small wrote "Some Demands of Sociology Upon Pedagogy" Dewey found it of such value that he included it in his book My Pedagogical Creed. Obviously Dewey respected the views of Small and included Small's article in his own book which has no other article by any other author. Furthermore, Small was also included on the staff of the Laboratory School of the University of Chicago that Dewey and his wife supervised until they left Chicago.

In what capacity Small served at the Laboratory School is not known; most of the records were lost or burned in a fire. To restate a point: Dewey and Small held, in common, ideas of the socialization process of the individual, the influence of the family, and the concept of interests that motivate man to action and the formation of a community.

In another vein, Small was one of the first educators to deplore the state of society and education in the United States, especially as they affected the family.

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8 Other educators were interested in this theme. In A Statement of the Theory of Education in the United States of America as Approved by Many Leading Educators written in 1874 by Duane Doty and William T. Harris there
Dewey further elaborated upon the theme of family and education while Small went on to develop his sociology. Small's co-author of *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, George Edgar Vincent, followed Dewey's example. He developed his ideas by applying them directly as a teacher. After receiving his degree from the University of Chicago, Vincent went on to teach pedagogy at the Normal School in Mount Pleasant, Michigan.

Small managed to get his views on education before the public by addressing the annual meetings of the National Educational Association and by speaking before various county educational groups throughout the Midwest.

is a discussion of the problem of taking the child away from the influence of the "family-nurture" too early and making the school too important in character development. See Duane Doty and William T. Harris *A Statement of the Theory of Education in the United States of America as Approved by Many Leading Educators* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1874), especially pp. 12-16.

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10George E. Vincent to Albion Small, 1904. University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections, A.W. Small, Box 1, Folder 5.

11Harriet McClellan to Albion Small requesting him to address the Delaware County Educational Association of Indiana. University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections, A.W. Small, Box 1, Folder 5.
In one respect Small considered himself a professor of education when he was at Colby College and as such he sent letters of recommendation for his former students to various school districts. 12

As a professor of history at Colby Small deplored the state of the historian's art that was taught and practiced there. The research in history that was carried out by the Colby faculty, and by other teachers at many colleges, was condemned by Small as "not really finding out what mattered most, but . . . largely occupied with trivialities that would be gossip if they pertained to yesterday or the day before." He did not understand why the "painstaking research" of these historians did not further the art of history or lead to positive results. Small condemned the then existing historical research methods as being useless because the "methods of causation that determine the destinies of men and nations were not being revealed." 13 In order to overcome this lack of the historian's art Small wanted his students to be able to gather historical data for themselves and to be able to

12 See the recommendation for Eugene Stover from Albion Small to the Superintendent of Schools in Naco, Arizona, September, 1904. University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections, A.W. Small, Box 1, Folder 6. Small signed the letter as "President and Professor of Education of Colby College."

13 Edward Cary Hayes, "Albion Woodbury Small,"
recognize the more "obvious and general laws which historical evolution illustrates." If the students, and the professors of history, did this work then they would be able to apply the lessons of history to current events in order to improve the future.

When Small switched his emphasis away from history he embraced the new discipline of sociology. He wanted students to "be exercised in gathering evidence for themselves." Students might do this by observing their own communities using the general categories laid down by Small in An Introduction to the Study of Society. Small and Vincent urged "competent teachers to lead capable students beyond the point at which the book stops" by offering the "scholar ideal—not investigation as a substitute for civic service, but investigation as both promise and performance for civic duty."¹⁴ By developing a standard of investigation through the principles of science Small established the basic tenets of social investigation for the field of sociology. Extrapolating the ideas presented for history and sociology allowed Small to extract an educational philosophy and methodology that was relevant to the entire

¹⁴Small and Vincent, p. 373.

field of education. Small was emphasizing his belief against the then tradition of the academician as teacher to one where the scholar was researcher and teacher. To what extent Small influenced this development is not known but it will suffice to say that Small was presenting this idea long before it took effect in the twentieth century. It must be stated again that Small was associated with the new social science, sociology; most of his work and ideas were kept within the confines of developing sociology as an empirical science.

When Small, and his co-author Vincent, wrote *An Introduction to the Study of Society* they developed a three-part system of society: sustaining, transporting, and regulating. The function of the regulating system was to coordinate and make efficient the economic developments of society from the manufacturing of goods to the distributing of goods throughout society. The regulating system not only controlled wealth but the entire functions of the individuals, families, groups, societies, and the State. The regulating system controlled because it had the responsibility for the propagation of society. Whatever means it used was rationalized through the concept of survival of the species. When society evolved from the primordial family into unwieldy urban masses the function
of passing on knowledge, moral and ethical training, and socialization traits were drawn away from the family and became a function of the State. The reason for this occurrence was explained by Small in an economic sense. When the family was part of the rural agricultural community the family trained its offsprings to function within that society to carry on the process of growing food for themselves and others. The family achieved the education and socialization of its young by training them in every area needed to survive. As the rural community developed into the village, small town, and eventually into a city, the primary function of the family was eroded as the parents went into the factory for sixteen hours a day. They no longer had the time nor the opportunity to continue the training of the young. The State stepped in to fill this void by developing the social institution known as the school. This institution usurped the role of the family by training the young in the areas that were formerly the function of the family.

The parents were always considered the agents of society in developing the ethical, moral, and social training that the young needed. The educational institutions took over this function as the need arose. The urban family no longer had the opportunity nor the desire to
develop these traits in their offsprings. Training in these areas was of necessity so basic that without it man would revert back to animal behavior, that is, survival of the fittest. In order to insure that the young of society would receive the necessary training to insure the survival of society and, because of the fact that the family was no longer able to accomplish this end, the schools had to take over this training. Whatever means the schools had to use to accomplish this aim was justified in the sense that the schools were on a direct continuum with the aim of the family, the state, and society in training the young in ethical, moral, and social behavior.

Among the methods used to educate youth in the areas of moral, ethics, and social training was the concept that Small referred to as "social control." The elaboration of the concept of social control was one of the concepts of interests that Small had developed in 1894 and furthered in 1905. The interests that are interpreted as motivational forces led man from his animalistic past into an urbanized, industrial society. This progression was accomplished through the social instincts that motivated man into forming social units. That these units developed properly along ethical and moral guidelines was the function of the righteousness interest and the following of the ethical model, Jesus
Christ. Man was able to accomplish this objective because he gave up, either voluntarily or involuntarily, his free will. Man, as observed by Small, acted, chose, and judged behaviors and functions according to historical precedents. These precedents were established in the past and they led man into accepting certain behaviors. Since the family was no longer able to train its young, the school, in order to accomplish societal aims, used social control in lieu of historical precedent in developing correct behaviors in the young. The school, acting as agent of the state, developed the necessary kinds of behaviors in the young that would make them good citizens, productive members of society, and further the ideals of the State, whatever they might be.

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15See Chapter III above.
16While he was in Germany Small could have been exposed to the works of Johann Friedrich Herbart. The pedagogical doctrine of Herbart included the concept of interest in which he attempted to classify the forces of mind (feelings, desires, and volition) in the individual. Herbart did this classifying in order to outline a pedagogical creed that was to help the teacher present new material to the child with as much ease and absence of trauma as possible. The teacher controlled the educational environment of the child and, as a result, controlled the intellect, character, and will of the learner. Herbart rationalized the mind controlling aspects of education as necessary so that the proper kinds of material, instruction, assimilation, and behaviors on the part of the instructor and the learner would lead to the desired kinds of behavior that the school (society?) desired for the learner. Herbart wanted to control the untrained force and energy that the child had in order that these be directed for perfection in the moral and ethical sense. Small developed his ideas of ethical and
Educators of the early twentieth century saw the concept of social control as a means of developing correct behaviors in the young that would complement the aims of American democracy and society. The common school movement was successful in America because the schoolchild had to be efficient in the English language. The school was the agent that assimilated the foreigner, or their offspring, into the mainstream of American life. The ideas of democracy, puritan work ethic, and the advancement of society were successful in the twentieth century because social control was justified on the grounds that it improved society.

moral behaviors, and, for that matter, most of his concept of interest, on the premise that he wanted perfectibility in man in order that the result would be a perfect society. Although there is a positive relationship between Herbart and Small there is no reference in Small's work to indicate any direct influence that the works of Herbart had on the works of Small. There might have been some influence of Herbart on Small even though this influence might not have occurred while Small was in Germany.

Charles DeGarmo, who Americanized Herbartianism, was on the campus of the University of Chicago at the same time as Small. Professor Small interested himself in all areas of academia at Chicago and, as such, must have been aware of the American Herbartian Society. There is no record of Small ever having been a member of this Society. Suffice it to say for the present that the concepts of interest and social control that Small developed seem to have a hint of Herbartianism. See Harold B. Dunkel, Herbart and Education (New York: Random House, 1969), for a good synopsis of Herbart's ideas.
Although Albion Small was the first known educator to define the concept of social control, Edward A. Ross of Stanford University, and later of the University of Chicago, developed the concept more fully in a series of articles published in the *American Journal of Sociology*.\(^{17}\) Ross believed that nature no longer equipped man for social life or to improve society and help it progress to a higher level. To Small social control was "that domination which is intended and which fulfills a function in the life of society."\(^{18}\) Although Small was an originator of the concept of social control he credits Ross with using social control as a "searchlight with which to visualize group phenomena that had previously been a technique and a philosophy which put the discovered things together so that they [would] yield the most meaning."\(^{19}\) Obviously, the concept of social control that Ross defined and developed was superior to the idea that Small had, and this was so by his own admission. Yet Small, albeit not credited by Ross, founded and developed the idea of social control that, to some extent, was practiced in the schools of America during the early part of the twentieth century.


\(^{19}\)Ibid.
Small was a firm believer in the concept of American democracy and the idea of assimilating foreigners into the American system through the schools. He especially saw the concept of teaching English as being the main equalizer in getting all foreigners to become Americans. When George F. Bureach wanted to start a new college for the Bohemian peoples of America, a college which was to be conducted entirely in the Bohemian language, Small wrote to him denouncing such an idea as being un-American:

The first desideratum for immigrants of all nationalities who propose to cast in their lot with Americans is that they, and especially their children, should as soon as possible become assimilated with the whole of the population. The fundamental necessity of that of providing means of culture which will unite them as closely as possible with the other elements of the population. 20

Small wanted foreigners to unite with all the other Americans with a common language and a common culture. One wonders what reaction Small would have to the bi-lingual and bi-cultural educational policy that is being mal-practiced in the 1970s in American education. Small would probably have condemned the practice as being un-American and not meeting the ideas of the founders of American democracy. However much the idea of social control  

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20 Albion W. Small to George F. Bureach, 28 September 1904, University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections, A.W.Small, Box 1, Folder 2.
was used by educators in the twentieth century, Albion Small most deservedly must be credited with influencing the development of social control in American education.

Another accomplishment which must be credited to Albion Small lies in the area of administration. As an administrator Small can be credited with developing the University of Chicago from a regional institution into one of world renowned fame. When Small arrived at Chicago William Rainey Harper had worked at getting the best faculty members he could for the new school. Small was appointed Head Professor of Sociology and Dean of the College of Arts and Science. The regulations he helped to develop went a long way toward obtaining the kinds of undergraduates that Chicago wanted. Small's ideas on undergraduate education were developed at Colby where he first believed in a wide range of educational subjects for all undergraduates and specialization only at the level of graduate school. Although his plan was not fully implemented at Chicago, William Rainey Harper's plan involving the first two years (called the Academic College) was used. This plan consisted of a general core of courses that every entering freshman had to take. These courses were of a sufficiently broad nature that the student was exposed to many areas of human understanding. The student
could specialize, to a certain extent, when he entered the
University College, which was the final two years of under-
graduate school. This was the second part of the plan.
Actually, Small wanted specialization to occur only in
graduate school, but he accepted this limitation on his
idea since the notion of specialization in the last two
years was achieved by a consensus of opinion from the
departments and senior faculty. Small felt that the arrange-
ment was satisfactory in that the student would be aware
of many fields of knowledge before specialization took
place.

From the writings of Small one may get the im-
pression that he was an educational elitist. Small pushed
for an educated elite who were to lead mankind into a
higher level of society. Even though Small knew that some
people entered college only to finish four years, receive
a bachelor's degree, and enter business, he did not feel
that such reasons were appropriate for the purposes of
higher education. To him, a college education terminated
only with the doctorate. All other lesser degrees were not
fulfilling the purpose of education; namely, the advance-
ment of society. As Dean of the Graduate School of Arts
and Literature Small wanted specialization by students in
their chosen areas. Small wanted the graduate school to be
science-oriented in that it stressed functional application of theoretical assumptions in controlled situations whether they be laboratories, clinics, society, or other places where theory could be proved. This application of theories seems to stress the area of Small's expertise, sociology; but, in reality, most of the areas of advanced study improved themselves when they were required to make the areas of human understanding practical. Small found sterile scholars whose work was read only by other scholars. If scholarship, Small pointed out, had any value it was to improve society. The education that a person received, from the cradle to the grave, had the purpose of increasing knowledge and the communicating of that knowledge to others. The individual or the educational institutions had the purpose of communicating knowledge to the rest of society. The scholar, who worked only for other scholars, was useless because his communication was with a select few whose purpose was not the improvement of society.

Again the condemnation or the ignoring of Small by most educators rested in the fact that they saw his theories as being limited to sociology. By the time the formal area of social foundations of education came along Small was either forgotten or other scholars had improved upon his theories; their own theories became known with
At the level of graduate study Small wanted to establish an environment that was conducive to proper investigations and research. As he had stated in *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, Small believed in the scientific approach to education and he saw for social scientists all of society as their laboratory. Working in real areas of society was what the scholar had to do in order to make proper investigations and give creditability to his work and theories. Small was striving to have a scholar's work deemed worthwhile and valuable. Along with this Small wanted the graduate school to emphasize the sharing of knowledge between different academic departments. He saw that what one discipline may discover may have practical application to another discipline. By stressing this sharing of knowledge Small anticipated by many decades those educators who were implementing the higher educational goals of multi- and inter-disciplinary approaches to knowledge and its benefits for mankind.

The overall aim that Small was striving for as an administrator at Colby and Chicago was the improvement of the academic community. He accomplished this aim at Colby when he developed the department of history, improved the quality and quantity of the materials in the library, and served as President at Colby. As a teacher at Colby,
Small emphasized historical research, the involvement of the students in organizing class topics, the elimination of drill work, and the relating of particular subject matter to other fields of study. As President of Colby, Small sought to involve the parents of the students and the entire community in the education of the students. Small was of the opinion that parents and the community had a vested interest in what went on in the schools—primary, secondary, and college. The schools could benefit from the involvement of the parents and the community because the people would know what the schools were doing and they would support the work of the schools. As a college administrator at Colby Small wanted the college to become involved in contemporary affairs that affected the community and all of society. The true purpose of education was, Small felt, the development of individuals that would improve all areas of society. If the student was aware of the needs and aspirations of the community and society when he was an undergraduate, then he would, after his graduation, do his best to help meet the needs and aspirations of society. Small saw the ivory-tower educational ideas of colleges and universities as being sterile. Colleges and universities should use their expertise to help improve society. Small was in the forefront of educators
who wanted a practical end for all knowledge.

When he was Director of Affiliation for the University of Chicago Small established cooperative agreements between Chicago and various colleges and universities throughout the United States. Small saw his work in this area as that of helping less prestigious colleges share in the academic wealth that was available at Chicago. Small developed reciprocal arrangements between many other colleges and Chicago whereby students and faculty could enroll at Chicago to finish their undergraduate training or enroll in the graduate school for an advanced degree. The area of affiliation between Chicago and other institutions of higher learning became so successful that most affiliations were discontinued.

Another area of affiliation that Small helped to develop was between Chicago and many public and private secondary schools throughout the United States. The purpose of this affiliation between Chicago and schools of secondary education was to get many qualified students to go to Chicago for their college degrees and also to help standardize the secondary school curriculum. In order that there be a uniform standard of academic preparation in the affiliated secondary schools Small established certain criteria which these schools and their graduates had to
meet. The University of Chicago checked the quality and quantity of work done in the secondary schools. The schools, in order to be affiliated with Chicago, had to have a certain number of classroom hours in various subjects, qualified instructors, science laboratories, libraries, and other specifics of the criteria deemed appropriate by Chicago. Small was very successful in this affiliated area.

When Albion Small was chosen to be Dean of the Graduate School of Liberal Arts and Literature at the University of Chicago he helped to establish Chicago in the forefront of graduate schools in the United States. One of the criteria that Small demanded for the Graduate School was that of quality over the quantity of work that was being done there. The Graduate School was, according to Small's direction, to become research oriented, much more so than it was before he became Dean. Small believed that all theories should be tested in practical situations to determine their value. The Graduate School of Liberal Arts and Literature was to emphasize research just as the Ogden Graduate School of Science at the University of Chicago emphasized research. Small felt that research would lead the graduate students and their professors to develop practical application for their theoretical assump-
tions. The ultimate value of research was that there would be discovered ways in which society might be improved. To help make theories and research practical Small wanted departmental interdependency. He felt that this interdependency and the sharing of knowledge would lead to solutions for the ills that affected society. Not only did the Graduate School at the University of Chicago follow the directions laid down for it by Small but many graduate programs in schools throughout the United States followed ideals similar to Small's for Chicago. The practical end of research and graduate study that Small emphasized during his tenure at Chicago continued on into the present. Graduate education in the United States has followed some of the ideas on graduate education that Albion Small laid down for the University of Chicago. 21

Small believed that research was the most import-

21 The development of graduate education in the United States seems to have followed the direction that Albion Small felt it should go. Although no known past or present educator or administrator of graduate education has specifically stated that they followed the directions of Small there are many similarities between the programs and ideas Small had for graduate education and the actual way in which it developed in America. See Richard J. Storr, The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953). The future direction of graduate education seems to follow Small's ideas more so than the past development of graduate education. See Richard J. Storr, The Beginning of the Future (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973).
ant aspect of graduate education. He felt that research was "merely trying to find out things." He saw research as following six general categories. The first type Small referred to as "naive Research" and he defined it as "glorified childish curiosity." This type of research Small concluded as "attempts to pass from not-knowing to knowing." The second category of research Small called "Socratic or Dialectical Research." Small defined this research as "attempts to find out things outside the mind by deriving them from relations traced between previously formed conceptions of things inside the mind." He found the research of this type as based on "pseudo-evidence." The third type of research Small called "Pedantic Research" because it expended "enviable ingenuity upon things that don't matter." He believed that pedantic research was trying to find out something nobody knows nor cares about anyway. The fourth category of research was what Small entitled "Partisan Research." He defined partisan research as assuming "some supposedly indisputable standard for measuring the conduct of the people concerned, and justifies or condemns them by that test alone." Small called partisan

22 A. W. Small, "Some Researches into Research" (1924). University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections, A.W.Small, Box 2, Folder 12.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
research false research because it beclouded and distorted the past and rested on "reciprocal misrepresentation." The fifth kind of research was "Pickwickean or Curio-hunting Research." Small defined this research as "historical rag picking, fussing around after finds that mean nothing." Small cited the example of whether Washington took command of the Continental Army under an elm tree, or some other type of tree, or any tree at all. Small found pickwickean research useless because, again, no one cared nor did it help make clear some historical problem. "Practical Research" was Small's sixth category of research. He found practical research to be of the most worth because it followed the essentials of genuine practice research [which] are, first, a problem, something not known, to be found out; second, a method, a technique, a means adequate to the end, a procedure which appears to be a feasible way of arriving at the something not previously known. Small found practical research to be of the type that leads to a "Doctor's Dissertation." He was of the opinion that practical research for the doctorate need not try to solve the "most exigent problem" within a certain field of knowledge. Small saw the most important thing in practical research as being that the "researcher . . . apply means adapted to the end and adequate to the end." Small was firm in his belief that practical research for the doctorate

\[26\text{Ibid.} \quad 27\text{Ibid.}\]
should give the student adequate experience in using the "appropriate tools" with which to do a "workmanlike job" on the dissertation. Practical research on the part of the doctoral student was to be "evidence of good faith and a promise of more important work after the apprentice period" was over.

The first five types of research that Small referred to seem to be his way of condemning much of the work that was being done in different areas at various institutions of higher learning. The sixth type, practical research for the doctorate, was what Small believed a doctoral dissertation should be. Small felt that much of the work graduate students did on their dissertation should be nothing more than exercises in acquainting them with the appropriate tools of research. The end result of the research done by graduate students should be dissertations that were considered workmanlike in the sense that the students were able to use the tools of their trade in order to accomplish results that were adequate to their profession. Small believed that the dissertation was to be a promise of better things to come after the student received the doctorate. Small held a realistic view of the worth of graduate research and the doctoral dissertation.

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28 Ibid.
Small was instrumental in establishing the *American Journal of Sociology* because he wanted a medium that could be used as a forum for new ideas. Small wanted a journal that was exclusively reserved for sociology. He was of the opinion that the ideas and research done by graduate students and members of the sociology faculty might never be known since they had little or no outlets for the publication of their work. Small wanted the *Journal* to "show the relation of the educational factor in civilization to social progress . . . . These articles should help to qualify teachers to perform their work from the larger outlook of the sociological viewpoint." 29

The *Journal* was to be used as an educational instrument to present new concepts and ideas while exposing educators to different and new ideas in order to improve the subject matter of their respective disciplines. Small hoped that the *Journal* would also improve the quality of education that a student would receive because the student would be aware of the different developments in his field.

**Conclusion**

The prime consideration in writing this disserta-

29 Albion W. Small to William R. Harper urging the University of Chicago to support a journal of sociology (1895). President's Papers 1889-1925, W.R. Harper, University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections, Box 60, Folder 12.
tion was to establish Albion Woodbury Small directly in the sphere of early twentieth century education. Small was educated as a historian but he transferred his emphasis to sociology during the late nineteenth century. He attempted to establish sociology as an empirical science and, later, as a method to understand the economic principles that governed the world. His economic writings attempted to establish a premise for developing a more just social order and a better society than the one in which he lived. Most of the theories he developed were for sociology but there were implications for education in some of them. For example, Small's theory of interests developed the concept of social control that was elaborated upon by other educators and used in the schools of America during the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The concept of interest helped establish an educational theory of how children and adults find ways to satisfy their knowledge interest. Small tried to show with this concept that wants and interests could be used educationally when he described how certain individuals satisfy their desires. The personal satisfactions that Small described could be used by educators to satisfy basic human desires in students. In order to satisfy these wants, desires, or interests the educator has to meet the needs
of each individual student by making available to the student many areas that would satisfy these basic desires. Small described the satisfying of the desire for knowledge in the "schoolboy" when he found bird's eggs, butterflies, and fossils. As the student became more sophisticated he interrogated Nature to find her secrets. Small, by using this example, held the belief that knowledge, and for that matter the entire field of education, builds upon itself and should motivate life-long pursuits in all individuals. Educators, by following Small's example, could meet the basic needs of the student by satisfying his early curiosity and developing within him more sophisticated ways to satisfy these desires. Small showed that individuals find different ways to satisfy their basic desires and no two people may want to satisfy their desires in the same way. By carrying Small's basic premise of desires into the schools the educator would have to meet the needs of each pupil. Small's idea was postulated in 1894 and it may have been too advanced for the educational theorists and schools of his time. Although some normal schools and educational associations did use some of Small's ideas and writings in their teachings and discussions, his work did not become

30 Small and Vincent, p. 177.
31 For example, C.M. Light to A.W. Small, 21 June 1904. University of Chicago Archives, Special Collections,
popular with the more noted educationalists of his period. The concept of meeting the needs of individual pupils had become part of the educational policy of the American schools by the late 1960s. This example shows that Small had theories of educational value and some of them were not recognized by educators until long after Small died. Small was neither praised nor credited with educational ideas because he was not around to establish his theories in education and most of his work was believed to have been in sociology. He was merely ignored or forgotten.

Small was an established scholar, administrator, and educator throughout his academic life. He had such a strong belief in education, especially in institutions of higher learning, that he established for the University of Chicago many affiliations with colleges, universities, and secondary schools in order to bring a steady stream of scholars to Chicago to pursue advanced knowledge. Small wanted college teachers to be scholars first and teachers second. He felt that scholars would make better teachers because they knew much more about their subject matter and would, hopefully, convey more knowledge to their students.

A.W. Small, Box 1, Folder 6. Mr. Light, Principal of the Normal School of New Mexico, stated that Small's "sociology was used quite successfully in their teacher education" courses. Small also received many invitations to address various educational associations to discuss sociology and education.
The idea that Small had of the scholar-teacher has been accepted by most institutions of higher learning. It is suggested that Small's efforts at bringing this about at the University of Chicago may have been instrumental in winning acceptance for this idea.

Albion Woodbury Small is a forgotten man. He is forgotten in his own field of sociology which he helped establish as a scientific academic discipline because the people that came after him far surpassed his elementary plodding in this new area. Educators never fully recognized Small to any great extent. Some of his work was used in Normal schools but on the whole any theory he may have had that could help education was never credited to him. The work he did for the University of Chicago was not known to many educators outside the University. The work he did in standardizing secondary curricula was seen only as aiding the University of Chicago and not the whole of secondary education. There are other educational areas that he influenced but in these he has, again, suffered neglect. 32

As a moralist Small believed that the university professor had a professional responsibility to act Christlike as an example for his students to model themselves after. Small

32 For example, the influence Small had on the Social Reconstructionists of the 1920s and 1930s. This area is so broad that to do justice to Small's influence on the Social Reconstructionists would require a separate study.
felt that by being Christlike the university professor could establish moral concern on the part of his students in order for them to want to improve society.

The foregoing presentation of ideas that connect Small with education lead us to emphasize that we have much to learn from Small's work in all its ramifications. There is much that we can still learn from what Small postulated as a sociologist and did as an administrator and teacher. Those of us in the field of education can especially learn something from the wisdom of Albion Woodbury Small. If we wish to call ourselves educators we must seek to describe and analyze the social reality of education and the school as accurately as we can. If we follow the works of Albion Small we will know how the school came to be as it is and how we can change it to make a better world. Although it is difficult or almost impossible to measure influence, many of Small's ideas and concepts were incorporated by others into the educational make-up of the schools of the twentieth century. There is no known record of Albion Small directly influencing education. We can believe, however, that he helped impel education to where it is in the present.
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