

James P. Wickersham on Nineteenth Century European and American Schools

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James P. Wickersham, one-time Lancaster County Superintendent of Schools, Millersville Normal School Principal and Pennsylvania Superintendent of Common Schools, throughout his career had a strong interest in the school systems of other nations. As early as 1866, while Wickersham was still principal of Millersville State Normal School, it is reported that he wished to tour Europe and had planned to do so. The tour did not occur in that year since he was appointed Superintendent of Common Schools and traveled to Harrisburg instead of to the continent.¹ As Superintendent of Pennsylvania's Schools, however, he did meet and correspond with educators from other countries. The foreign minister from Argentina spent several weeks in Harrisburg in 1867 studying Pennsylvania's schools.² In 1872 a representative of the government of Japan visited with Wickersham in Pennsylvania's capital city and:

He remained several days, each morning being spent in listening to an explanation of our system by the State Superintendent, and in taking notes on the most important points . . . Commissioner Tanaka subsequently became Minister of Education in Japan and grateful for the aid given him at Harrisburg continued to correspond with the department up to 1881.³

In addition to these contacts with educators from overseas, Wickersham indicated his interest in foreign education by utilizing his position as editor of the *Pennsylvania School Journal*. He became the editor in October 1870⁴ and by December 1871 an article on teacher education in Germany appeared

in that publication.⁵ In July of the same year, he included an article which praised the historic organization and administration of the schools in Prussia.⁶ The schools of Sweden were the subject of an article in January 1872.⁷

Wickersham then began to write articles on European educational systems. He interpreted Bismarck's work in setting up a state school system in Germany and his ousting of religious officials, both Protestant and Catholic, from the school administration, as a positive act. He felt the German schools would ultimately become, as he put it, much like the "American unsectarian system of public education."⁸ A further look at the German schools appeared in August 1872 when he noted that A. W. Kissell, former Iowa Superintendent of Public Instruction, had written that the German schools were inferior to those of the United States. Wickersham reserved judgment on Kissell's opinion, but did note that this was "a new view in regard to their efficiency in comparison with ours in this country."⁹

The school system of Ireland and the method utilized by the Irish in teaching religion in a nonsectarian national system were the subjects of an article by Wickersham in November 1872. The Irish, he said, had been able to include religious instruction in their schools by keeping it separate, "that is, the children of all denominations receive secular instruction from the same teachers, in the same schoolrooms and classes, but separate during the hours set apart for religious instruction and are taught by teachers of their own faith."¹⁰ This method of religious instruction impressed Wickersham, but there is no evidence that he attempted to encourage the idea in Pennsylvania.

Gradually Wickersham expanded his interest in education in other countries and penned short articles concerning Chinese studying in Massachusetts,¹¹ physical education in Switzerland,¹² the structure of German education under Prussian dominance,¹³ and the study of Pennsylvania's school laws by an attache from the Russian diplomatic delegation.¹⁴

Further interest in education on the international scene was shown by his high hopes for a good American showing at the Vienna Exposition of 1873.¹⁵ The United States had been invited to prepare an educational exhibit for the exposition and Wickersham said:

Thus invited, we cannot in justice to ourselves or in courtesy to others decline to do what our friends in Europe request of us. Impelled by this feeling, the National Commissioner of Education, General Eaton, called a conference . . . This state was represented by George J. Luckey, of Pittsburgh, and H. W. Halliwell, Secretary of the Board of Control, Philadelphia.¹⁶

The plans laid at the above mentioned meeting were for the United States to send to Vienna educational statistics, state, city and local school reports and reports from law schools, medical schools, colleges and universities. It was also agreed that the United States should erect and stock school buildings for the edification of the European visitors to Vienna.¹⁷ He wrote:

Pennsylvania is more interested in this movement than any other state, inasmuch as if we show an indifference in helping others, others may hold back their help from us at our great Centennial in 1876. Philadelphia awake? What will Pittsburgh do? And our other cities—will they stand still while the cities of New England, New York or the Great West win the laurels they might gain?¹⁸

Wickersham's worry about the role Pennsylvania education would play at Vienna was justified. His disappointment with the state's action was clear when he commented in 1874 that Pennsylvania had sent only a few reports and forms to the exposition and no representative from the Department of Common Schools. Massachusetts and Boston, he complained, had gained a world-wide reputation while Pennsylvania made a poor display of her wares.¹⁹ This was particularly disturbing to him because the United States Centennial was rapidly approaching and was to be held in Philadelphia.²⁰ Wickersham called upon schoolmen to insure a creditable showing by Pennsylvania in 1876.²¹ Other states will make every effort to cooperate, he remarked,

But our own state will be expected to take the lead in the whole affair, as it is in our chief city the exposition will be held, and it is high time the note of preparation was sounded. The Centennial will be held; we have committed ourselves too far to let the matter drop now; *and the only question that remains to be answered is shall it be the equal of the great expositions of Europe, an honor to the nation, or will we allow it to end in such a partial success as will shame us in the eyes of the world.* In view of all this, let our cities, counties and institutions of learning, begin to bestir themselves.²²

Wickersham read a paper at the National Department of Superintendence in 1875 and attempted to arouse educators from other states and the United States Office of Education to exert themselves on behalf of American education and the coming Centennial. He observed that, although a plan for the educational exhibits to be included in the Centennial exposition had been formulated, two important questions remained unanswered. "Who is to do the work and where is the money to come from?" he asked.²³ Since he considered the Centennial Exposition to be of vital importance to the nation, he asked that the plan for educational exhibits be put into action. In order to facilitate matters he recommended:

In my judgment the head of the United States commission on the subject of education at the Centennial can be no other than the head of the United States Bureau of Education in Washington. He is already a commissioner to the Centennial, appointed by the President. Through him and in no other way, can character, system and unity be given to the work; and all of these are absolutely essential to success.²⁴

The financial support of the Commission on Education at the Centennial, he contended, should come from the United States government. If funds could be obtained, Wickersham was sure the educational exhibits would prove to be successful. He further suggested that states and cities should begin im-

mediately to make appropriations. Additionally he urged that "the note of preparation should be at once sounded all along the line, and a determination be evinced to achieve success in a matter where so much honor is to be lost or won."²⁵

After much hectic activity by Wickersham, school principals, teachers and students across the state a major exhibit became a reality²⁶ A building erected at the eleventh hour was 100 feet by 100 feet with two wings 40 feet by 24 feet. The exhibits contained therein gave some representation to every aspect of education in Pennsylvania.²⁷

The foreign exhibits had an impact upon Wickersham's educational thought and thus had significance for the teachers and schools of Pennsylvania. His interest in foreign systems of education was greatly heightened by the exposition. He wrote of them in the *Pennsylvania School Journal*, he reported on them to the legislature in his *Annual Report* of 1876, and his curiosity was piqued enough that he toured Europe during the summer of 1878 and wrote articles for the *Pennsylvania School Journal* about his travels.²⁸

The *Annual Report* of 1876 is worthy of special attention as it contains Wickersham's first real excursion into the realm of comparative education. Wickersham remarked:

The occasion of the Centennial Exposition ought not to be allowed to pass without deriving all possible benefit from it; and foreign nations can teach us some very useful lessons on the subject of education, will not be denied by any one who paid the least attention to what some of them were able to show us in that line at Philadelphia . . . Every civilized nation in the world has made vast progress in educational matters within the last few years, and today the school question seems to be everywhere the leading topic of inquiry and discussion among thinking men.²⁹

Subsequent to a discussion of the fact that in the United States the national government had no power concerning education and that local school boards managed most school affairs, Wickersham described the powers of the office of Minister of Education as it was then in most European nations, where the state controlled all education.³⁰ The structure of education overseas appeared to him to be most efficient and he expounded once again upon Prussia as a nation which had a "strong school organization,"³¹ while, noting of the educational system of the United States that "it is a standing wonder to foreigners that a system so controlled does not break down or fall to pieces."³² Wickersham looked upon education, particularly in Pennsylvania, as in need of more order saying:

That the policy of placing so much power in the hands of local boards as is done by our laws, has its weak as well as its strong points. Among intelligent citizens, alive to the interests of education, it is worthy of all praise; but where an ignorant people, or a people wanting in public spirit, elect school boards like themselves, no policy could possibly be worse. Can we not find a way to strengthen what is weak in this part of our

system of public education.³³

Wickersham had no further suggestions at this time, but it was evident that he was interested in increasing the authority of the Department of Common Schools and decreasing that of local school boards.

Continuing his discussion of the European exhibits, he focused upon the school buildings which had been erected by Sweden and Belgium at Philadelphia. The schoolhouses impressed Wickersham and he described them generally. What was of more moment, in his opinion, was that all schools in Belgium and Sweden were exact replicas of the buildings they had constructed on the exposition grounds. These schoolhouses, he said, had been planned by experts while "in contrast with the practice abroad, the schoolhouses of the United States are built and furnished by local boards of school directors."³⁴ Since in his judgment school boards did not have the expertise to properly plan and furnish school buildings he acidly stated:

The State should lose no time in adopting some plan of aiding the district school boards in erecting and furnishing schoolhouses. *No more unsightly, uncomfortable, inconvenient, badly lighted, badly heated, badly ventilated, ill furnished schoolhouses should be permitted to be erected in the State by anybody, to disfigure the landscape and disgrace the people.* With the same money now spent for the purpose, schoolhouses of the most approved plans can be built.³⁵

He did not ask that the Department of Public Instruction be placed in charge of such planning at this time, but it is apparent that he wanted to play a role in improving school buildings in Pennsylvania. As a former normal school principal, the superintendent had a long-standing interest in teacher education and he had been quite impressed with the things he had learned at the exposition about European teacher preparation. A feature of European teacher education that had caught his attention was that students there preparing for teaching did so in a similar fashion to persons studying to enter a profession or trade in the United States. Also if a person completed a teacher education program in Europe, this individual, he said, "generally expects to remain a teacher for life."³⁶

In addition, teachers in Europe were assured that they could work eight to ten months a year and were more secure in their positions than teachers in the United States. Firing another volley at the power of local schools boards in the United States, he noted that teachers in Europe could not be dismissed by local officials and would not be discharged by any authority as long as they performed their duties well. Although European teachers were not paid high salaries, he pointed out that a teacher in Europe was "sure of a pension should he become old or wear himself out in the service."³⁷

The certification of teachers was also said to be more professional in Europe where "teachers in all schools, both public and private, must possess a certificate of competency or a license to teach."³⁸ Examinations for certification could

generally be taken only by those who had prepared for the profession, either in a teacher's seminary or as apprentices under a master teacher. Remarking that it was not possible in Europe to obtain a provisional certificate, he emphasized that "an applicant can obtain no certificate at all, unless both in scholarship and pedagogic knowledge he comes up to a certain prescribed standard, but on obtaining a certificate he is troubled with no further examinations."³⁹

Attempting to inspire the legislature to consider a larger state role in the development of normal schools, he informed them that it was the continental practice to encourage teacher training. There this important function was carried out either by government-controlled normal schools or by private normal schools which received state funds and were subjected to state inspection.⁴⁰ After listing the number of normal schools in western European countries, he added that "in the countries of Europe most advanced, it is considered wise policy to make liberal expenditures to establish and support schools for the training of teachers."⁴¹ Future pedagogues in Europe studied teaching in normal schools where the curriculum was thorough. The curriculum of the *Pedagogium* of Vienna, he felt, was representative. "Students at Vienna took courses not only in languages, mathematics, natural history, geography, history and art, but also in pedagogy."⁴²

In order to improve teacher training and the status of teaching in Pennsylvania, Wickersham asked that the legislature learn from the European experience "that the status of the teacher should be more clearly defined by law and proper privileges be accorded to those who prepare themselves for a life-work in the profession."⁴³

As for teacher training the lawmakers must take heed:

That our normal school system should be modified and strengthened. It is a folly laughed at everywhere in the Old World, to expect teachers to grow up of themselves. They must be prepared. There must be Normal Schools or the whole system will fall in the ground, and the State should aid them with a liberal hand. If those we have are anywise defective let us cure their faults, make them what they should be, and thereafter treat them generously. No policy could be worse than that of starving them to death.⁴⁴

Wickersham next reported his observations on the elementary schools of Europe. He was especially affected by their curricula. France, England, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, and Spain had infant schools and Austria, Germany, and Switzerland operated kindergartens. This, he observed, was the first stage of the curriculum in those countries. Another mark of European education that he felt should be mentioned was that religion was "placed at the head of the courses of study in all Europe, except Holland, and some of the Swiss Cantons."⁴⁵

Other studies that he listed as appearing in the elementary curriculums of most European school systems were practical sciences such as agriculture.

horticulture and domestic economy, reading, writing, drawing, singing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, and history. In Prussia, Saxony, Austria, Belgium, and some Swiss Cantons gymnastics were also a part of the elementary school curriculum. Some European countries, although he did not identify them, were reported to include knitting and clothes-making for girls and carpentry and military studies for boys among the subjects offered at the elementary school level. Many of the subjects in the curricula, he observed, were taught through the object method.⁴⁶

Lessons that the Pennsylvania Assembly should learn from this section of the *Annual Report* of 1876 were, in Wickersham's opinion,

That the course of study so long used in our common schools needs amendment. It should be made broader and richer. We want less of words and more of things; less of abstract rules and definitions and more of living facts.⁴⁷

The supervision of schools in Europe received careful treatment by Wickersham as he tried to interest the legislature in building up his department. He considered the efficiency of the European schools to be a direct result of an excellent supervisory structure.⁴⁸ He described in detail the system of supervision in Holland because, although a small country, less than one-fourth the size of Pennsylvania, it had numerous school inspectors:

It is divided into 11 Provinces and 94 School Districts in each of which there is an Inspector of Schools . . . A few statistics will show how complete is the supervision of elementary schools . . . each provincial inspector would . . . control . . . a jurisdiction of 1,224 square miles containing 334,128 people, 344 schools, with 45,460 pupils, and 1,042 teachers and each School District Inspector would have to supervise in a jurisdiction of 143 square miles containing a population of 39,089, only 40 schools with 5,319 pupils and 122 teachers.⁴⁹

This in itself was admirable enough, Wickersham suggested, but it was the role of the local school boards which captured his fancy. The school boards in Holland were required by law to keep records "of teachers, of the number of pupils and of the state of the instruction given."⁵⁰ These boards also were to make reports to the communal councils in their respective districts and to the District School Inspector each spring.⁵¹ In overseeing the school system, the District School Inspectors must visit each elementary school twice a year and the provincial inspectors were expected to make visitations to each school district.⁵²

After considering the complex system of reportage throughout the system of inspectors, supervisors, local boards, and the ministry of education, Wickersham praised the elementary school administrative structure in the Netherlands as "among the best if not the best in the whole world" and noted that there were in addition other supervisory structures under the ministry of education for secondary schools, universities, and professional schools.⁵³

Wickersham, it is evident, wished to increase the educational bureaucracy

in Pennsylvania. He hoped that the legislature had gleaned a profitable lesson from his dissertation on the efficient schools of the Netherlands. Again deprecating the local boards of Pennsylvania, he suggested:

As compared with the best systems of supervision in Europe, our system is not close enough and is too dependent upon popular will. We need a system of supervision that can keep its eye constantly upon every schoolhouse, every teacher, every class, every pupil, every study.⁵⁴

European systems of education were advanced in the area of secondary education, too, the superintendent wrote. Europeans had many secondary schools and foreign visitors "studying the systems of education in the United States, are apt to note our lack of a proportionate number of similar schools as a serious defect."⁵⁵ Lacking accurate statistics on the number of high schools in Pennsylvania in 1876, Wickersham was unable to make an accurate estimate of Pennsylvania's numerical inferiority in secondary education, nevertheless he listed the statistics he had on European countries, apparently attempting to gain the attention of the legislators. Germany, he said, has 1,043 secondary schools, Austria has 205, Italy 383, the Netherlands 219, Sweden 103, and Switzerland 375.⁵⁶

His recommendation here was simple and direct:

That secondary education involving the grading of schools and the establishment of High Schools, should be more encouraged. The mere mechanical facility of reading, writing and arithmetic, lift a people up only to a very low plane of civilization. The state has duties in the matter of education far beyond the establishment of elementary schools.⁵⁷

The most protracted segment of the 1876 *Annual Report* is devoted to the development of technical education in Europe. Explaining the work being done in Europe on this type of education, he quoted from a report made by F. Buisson to the government of France concerning Buisson's observations at the Vienna Exposition of 1863. Buisson's comments include a description of the efforts made by European nations to set up institutions of technical education. These schools, he said, were designed to ease the transition from the classroom to the factory.⁵⁸ Disclosing his attitude toward the work ethic Wickersham remarked:

The United States has as yet taken little part in this movement; but it is high time that something should be done to enable our youth to learn trades and to form industrious habits and a taste for work . . . It takes more than a mere knowledge of books to make a useful member of society and a good citizen. *The present product of our schools seems to be, in too great degree, clerks, bookkeepers, salesmen, agents, office seekers and office holders. We must so modify our system of instruction as to send out instead large classes of young people fitted for trades, for business, and willing and able to work.*⁵⁹

Although the editor of the *Philadelphia Ledger* spoke out favorably on the topic of technical education and argued for schools which would equip

young people with an education that would help them gain employment in technical trades,⁶⁰ Wickersham did not comment on technical education in his *Annual Reports* until 1872.⁶¹ Some discussion of the value of technical education was included in the *Annual Reports* of 1874 and 1875 as well, but it was his viewing of the technical exhibit of European countries at the Centennial of 1876 that defined his thought on technical education.⁶² He apparently accepted the idea of the continuance of a class structure in America, but felt that technical education would improve the lives of those who were called upon to do industrial work.⁶³

After quoting directly from the Vienna Exposition report of F. Buisson on technical education in Saxony, the city of Hamburg, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, and Austria,⁶⁴ Wickersham described "The Artisan's School" at Rotterdam, Holland.⁶⁵ He was particularly interested in the exhibit of this school because he had been told by the Dutch exhibitors:

The experiment at Rotterdam had shown that boys who are occupied one-half the day with books in the school, and the remaining half-day with tools in the shops make about as rapid intellectual progress as those of equal ability who spend the whole day in study and recitation. And in addition, the mechanical skill they acquire is of immense value.⁶⁶

He was also intrigued by higher technical education in Europe and the specialized schools of law, medicine, theology, mining, agriculture, horticulture, forestry, architecture, engineering, veterinary medicine, art, music, landscape gardening, naval and military science, commerce, nursing, and culinary arts. Wickersham had been concerned prior to the Centennial that the United States would play second fiddle to European nations in world economic affairs if our educational system did not measure up at the level of secondary education.⁶⁷ The impact of the higher technical education displays at Philadelphia, particularly the Russian exhibits, prompted him to say that "the United States must be blind indeed, not to profit by the lesson they so admirably taught."⁶⁸

The Pennsylvania legislature should learn from the technical education exhibits at the Centennial, he contended, "that not only the interests of business, trade, commerce and the mechanical arts, but the more important and more vital interests of society and the state itself, demand that our system of public education be supplemented by a system of industrial and technical schools."⁶⁹

Wickersham thus took the position of Calvin M. Woodward, a leading proponent of manual training, who introduced technical education at the Manual Training School of Washington University in 1879. The addition of technical education at the expense of the customary curriculum was opposed by William Torey Harris, superintendent of the St. Louis public schools and other traditionalists. The debate continued into the 1890s with Woodward the apparent victor.⁷⁰ Wickersham had chosen in 1876 to learn from the Europeans. What he had discovered and what he wished to teach the legislators was that in technical education "the theoretical and practical in learning can be safely

united, and that the workshop can be made an auxiliary to the school in preparing the young for usefulness. We must profit by it."⁷¹

The pedagogical museums of foreign nations at the Centennial also appealed to Wickersham. These museums contained samples of school equipment, teaching materials, textbooks, and pamphlets on new methods of instruction. He described the pedagogical museums of Ontario, Canada and St. Petersburg, Russia in the *Annual Report* and recommended to the Pennsylvania Assembly "that a beginning should be made at once for the establishment at Harrisburg, or Philadelphia, of a great State Pedagogical Museum, where all school material that is produced at home or abroad worthy of such play, may be exhibited."⁷²

The series of recommendations made by Wickersham as a result of his observations of European exhibits and reports at the Centennial did not cause the legislature to alter the school code before his resignation in 1881. However, a law was passed soon after he left office that placed some restrictions on the selection of school building sites. The local boards were also asked to seek the advice of county superintendents when planning the erection of a schoolhouse, however, the law gave broad discretionary powers to the local boards in the matter.⁷³ Appropriations for normal schools were increased.⁷⁴ Major involvement of the state in teacher education, however, did not occur until 1911 when the bill authorizing the commonwealth to purchase the normal schools was passed.⁷⁵

Although Wickersham had touted some elements of European education as excellent and recognized that some of these would make good imports for Pennsylvania, he struck a nationalistic posture in his final comments to the legislature in the 1876 *Annual Report*:

Doubtless I shall be asked by those who will read what I have written in this report, whether I consider the systems of education in operation in the Old World superior to our American systems. My answer is on the whole, no; emphatically no. Public education in Europe is not generally free in any country except Switzerland; except in the Netherlands it is everywhere sectarian; it can scarcely anywhere be called a system for the education of the rich and poor alike; it is unable, in most places, to free itself from the influences of class and caste; the opportunities it gives to girls are greatly inferior to those it offers to boys; it allows the people so little voice in the management of school affairs, that their interest even in the education of their own children is apt to be deadened; and, worse than all, the prevailing spirit seems to be to educate not for the pupil's own sake, not to make him a man thinking and acting for himself; but with the design of preparing better soldiers, more devoted churchmen, more skillful mechanics, or more efficient laborers. These seem to me very grave faults, and render European systems of public education entirely unsuited for transplantation to American soil. With us the best of them would crumble to pieces in a day. Looked at from our point of view, they seem like mechanical structures and contrivances — built by States and Churches for their own interests over and above the people; not as ours, political organisms of and from, and by the people, and vital with their

blood, and nerve, and heart, and brain. But educational systems from across the sea, ill suited as I deem many of their features to the political and social condition of this country, I am nevertheless deeply anxious that our Commonwealth should profit by all the lessons foreign nations can teach us in the great work of instructing the young. We have here a deep, fertile soil and bountiful sunlight that will not only cause the seed long since planted by our educational fathers to produce luxuriantly after its kind, but will make the harvest many times more rich and beautiful by ripening the choicest fruits that may be brought from other climes.⁷⁶

The impact of the Centennial on Wickersham is well illustrated by the activities in which he engaged himself after the exposition closed. Evidence of his continuing interest in European school systems appears in the *Pennsylvania School Journal*, including articles on Belgium⁷⁷ and China⁷⁸ in July after the exposition closed, and continues sporadically throughout his career as editor until November 1881 when he announced the sale of the periodical to John Piersol McCaskey.⁷⁹

As a result of the Centennial, Wickersham's professional activities also included a comparative education tour of Europe. He said: "Seeing from the Centennial Exposition how much could be learned from a study of the school systems of the Old World that would be profitable in America, the State Superintendent so arranged the work of his department that he could spend the summer of 1878 in Europe."⁸⁰ The trip lasted from the end of June until the end of October 1878. It included visits to school officials in Scotland, England, Ireland, Wales, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Germany, Holland and France. He viewed only a few schools in operation since most were closed for the summer while he was there.⁸¹

When he returned to the United States in the fall of 1878, Wickersham reported to the legislature on his tour of Europe. He began with a discussion of the European universities. He described the hallowed, heritage-laden halls of Oxford and other European universities by noting that "the buildings of a European university are substantial, but plain and old fashioned."⁸²

The teaching he saw in European universities was entirely carried out by the lecture method. He also noted that textbooks were not used in the institutions he visited, but that students took copious notes when they attended lectures. The fact that there was no enforced class attendance led Wickersham to infer that "the discipline of these universities seems very lax."⁸³

Nevertheless it was his opinion, after reflecting upon European universities and those of America, that the European institutions were clearly superior. The European universities, he said, have higher entrance requirements than those of America and their faculties include the greatest thinkers of the world.⁸⁴ He also pointed out that the European universities "exert much more influence upon the social condition of the people, are a much more important factor in the civilization of the age, than in the case with higher institutions of learning in America."^{85, 86}

Concerning Europe's secondary schools, the comparative points that he wished the legislature to digest were: that European nations had many secondary schools, spent large sums of money on them, and that they were regularly inspected by officers of the state.⁸⁷

The elementary schools of Europe which Wickersham had visited provided sample information for him to utilize in comparing American and continental elementary education. European elementary education, he noted, was more advanced than ours in several areas.⁸⁸ Wickersham wished to instruct the legislature on European advancements in education and he listed five for them in the *Annual Report* of 1878.

1. They Are More Carefully Inspected. The local school officers seem to be selected with reference to their qualifications for the place, and the inspectors are specially prepared for their work. They have fewer schools to look after than our superintendents. Their tenure of office is for life, or good behavior, and they are held to a strict accountability by superior officers.

2. Their Course of Study Is Better. They do not have so much abstract grammar or arithmetic in their schools, or so much detailed geography; but, in place of those branches, they have drawing, vocal music, and the elements of the natural sciences. Many of them make a special application of the natural sciences to agriculture, horticulture, and domestic economy. More teaching is done without textbook.

3. Their Terms Are Longer. The schools are almost everywhere open for nine or ten months in the year.

4. The Teachers Have Made More Special Preparation For Their Work. They are, for the most part either graduates of normal schools or they have served an apprenticeship as pupil teachers in a school under the direction of a master of acknowledged skill. As a class, they are more learned than American teachers. They have, also, whatever advantages arise from constant employment and a permanent situation.

5. More Attention Is Paid To Moral And Religious Instruction. The teachers of the elementary schools as a class seem to be professors of religion. Religion as a branch of study is found upon almost every school program. Under this head lessons are given in the Scriptures, and in the doctrines of the church. Intermingled with this intellectual religious instruction there is much done to develop the religious life. A devotional feeling prevails in many of the schools that is very rare in America.⁸⁹

Although he had reported that European elementary education had advantages, Wickersham's *Annual Report* in 1878 differed significantly from that of 1876. Now that he had seen European schools during his 1878 tour, some of his Centennial observations, which he had gained from conversations, reports and exhibit viewing, were altered:

1. We Have Better Schoolhouses. This is true only in a general way of village and country schoolhouses. I saw schoolhouses in Berlin, Vienna, and other cities in Europe equal to the best we have in this country. Under the policy lately adopted by some states, of requiring all schoolhouses to

be erected according to plans furnished by a skillful architect employed by the Government, those recently built are admirable in all respects. *But, as a whole there is no country in Europe whose schoolhouses will compare in size and general adaptation to their purpose with those in Pennsylvania.*⁹⁰

2. Our School Furniture Is Superior. Several European nations had exhibits of school furniture at Philadelphia. It was acknowledged on all hands that none of them compared in excellence with the furniture made by American manufacturers. A like superiority was afforded to our school desks and chairs at Paris. In a majority of the country schools all over Europe, the pupils sit on long clumsy benches, and write on long clumsy desks, similar to those in Pennsylvania half a century ago. Blackboards are in the schools; but they are generally small, and seem to be used mainly by the teachers. I did not see a class of pupils working at a blackboard in a single school I visited.⁹¹

3. Our Textbooks Are Better. I speak of textbooks for elementary schools, and I risk nothing in saying that they are better than those of any country in Europe in matter, in arrangement, in method, in attractiveness—in all that goes to make up a good textbook for children of from six to twelve years of age. I do not believe that a single teacher, competent to compare the merits of textbooks, who examined the several exhibits of this kind at Paris, could have come to any other conclusion.⁹²

4. Our Schools Are Free. There are no free schools in Europe, except in some parts of Switzerland. All children who attend school, not on the poor list, must pay a fee. A child whose parents are unable to pay the fee, can be exempted for it; but this in Europe, as well as in America, is to put a mark on them.

5. Our Teachers Have More Tact. I have admitted that European teachers are, as a body, more learned than ours. They have made more special preparation for their work. But if my observations are at all reliable they do not evince that natural aptness as instructors of the young, which is characteristic of American teachers. They seem to be too heavy, too slow, wanting in versatility of talent, in mental flexibility and ready sympathy. They appear to teach under some restraint, and to be unable to forget themselves and the outside world in an effort to make not only scholars, but men and women, of the children placed in their charge.

6. More Is Done In Our Schools To Form Character. American schools are defective in the effort they make to form the character of the young, but with all their defects they form a happy contrast with European schools in this respect. *The highest aim of the average teacher of a country school in Europe seems to be to impart to his scholars such knowledge as will be useful to them in the sphere of life in which they were born.* This instruction contains no element *promoting them to make an effort to rise to a higher one, none teaching the great doctrine of human equality or evoking a self-reliant, independent executive power.* In America the school is a social force, always moving upward; in Europe it is a social force moving on a horizontal plane. Here, the effort is made to prompt inquiry in all directions, to promote free discussion, to encourage criticisms, to accept nothing that is bad because it is high, and to despise nothing that is good because it is low, and to implant in the breast of every child

an abiding faith that God has made him the peer of any man, and that it is lawful for him to aspire to the highest place on earth; there, *the children of the poor, who alone, as a rule, attend public schools in the rural districts, are taught to be content with their condition. To follow quietly the avocations of their fathers, to accept as right all that is done by their rulers, to repress all longings for something higher and nobler, and to live and die as generations of their ancestors have lived and died for hundreds of years.*"⁹³

Although Wickersham's comments on the superiority of American education in the areas of school buildings, furniture, textbooks, tactful teachers, and freedom from tuition are noteworthy, his concern with social mobility and the schools is of more interest. The idea that American children did not have to remain in the socioeconomic class into which they were born and that teachers should inspire their young charges to develop expectancies based on hard work and democratic opportunity were common ideas in the nineteenth century.⁹⁴ However, according to Michael Katz, the educational structure that had been formed in America by 1880 is still in operation today and despite the existence of free schools "most poor children become poor adults."⁹⁵ That the schools are only one facet of the problem and that they have been expected by faithful Americans to perform miracles which could not be achieved is the thesis of a book by a modern educational historian.⁹⁶

Wickersham had this kind of faith in the schools and in the role of education in a democracy as is witnessed by his writings on the superior formation of character in American Schools. However, his comments in an earlier *Annual Report* show that to some degree he looked at education as a method of social control.

The men of work and the men of wealth, are at war. Capital strives to control and oppress labor; and labor by its associations, its leagues, its unions, its strikes, endeavors to protect itself. *The most delicate and difficult of all social problems today is the reconciliation of these two contending interests.*⁹⁷

Wickersham apparently preferred a stable society to a disintegrating one. Nevertheless he had shown his sympathy with labor and the problems they faced in the 1874 *Annual Report*. He noted that George S. Boutwell, former secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, said of the relationship between capitalists and laborers:

That intelligent laborers learn more readily, are more skillful when learned, are more easily controlled, perform more as well as better work . . . As a general rule there is a higher sense of moral obligation *and more honesty, fidelity and regard for the interests of employers, among the intelligent than among the ignorant laborers.*⁹⁸

Wickersham saw Boutwell's position as:

. . . doubtless all true; *but it seems to have been written rather from the standpoint of the employers than the employed.* He might have added that education enables working men to earn higher wages, to fill positions of

more responsibility, to become owners and managers of property and above all to think and act for themselves.⁹⁹

His belief in the efficacy of education as a tool with which to root out poverty and aid social mobility is apparent in the statement above. Wickersham's outlook was similar in 1878 and is evidenced in his comparison of the roles of public schools in Europe and America. He stated that if the efficiency of a public school system could be judged by its ability to assist in upward mobility, the European systems he had observed, while on tour, were failures. Wickersham saw the European elementary schools as being of questionable value to the working class. "Of what avail, for example, is a little reading and writing to the millions of peasant women and girls who are compelled to do most of the work of the fields, as well as that of the house, to carry heavy loads, to drag heavy carts—to make themselves in good part beasts of burden," he said.¹⁰⁰

Although Wickersham admired the effective administration structures of European systems he was less impressed by what he surmised were their undemocratic purposes. Well organized public schools in the hands of despotic governments would "make obedient subjects, good soldiers, efficient machines; but when so used, an American cannot be expected to look upon it with much favor."¹⁰¹

While on tour in 1878 Wickersham had also visited several normal schools. Those that he described in his report were the normal schools or Lehrer-Seminars of Prussia. His overall account of teacher training in Prussia was positive.¹⁰² Although he does not infer that continental teacher training is superior to that in America, he does mention the greater emphasis on courses in "pedagogy, or the science of teaching," in the Prussian schools of education.¹⁰³

In the *Annual Report* of 1874, Wickersham had devoted some space to the earliest history of technical education in Pennsylvania. Noting that William Penn had instructed the Provisional Council of 1683 to make education in a trade or skill mandatory, he praised Penn's forthrightness in recommending technical education to ward off poverty and idleness.¹⁰⁴ The Centennial of 1876 had increased his interest in technical education.¹⁰⁵ The tour of 1878 had given him an opportunity for further study of this portion of the curriculum. He had perceived before he left for his tour that "he had most to learn from Europe on the question of industrial education;"¹⁰⁶ therefore, he made the most of every opportunity while overseas to procure information on technical education. He made stopovers at polytechnical schools in Zurich, Munich, Vienna, Prague, Dresden, Berlin, and Paris. These institutions were excellent, according to Wickersham and he pointed out that "we have not institutions of the kind in America that will compare, in any respect, with the great schools to which I have referred."¹⁰⁷

He was strongly attracted by the museums and schools of industrial arts

of both Britain and the continent and reported to the legislature on the number and kind of exhibits at the Edinburgh museum. In order to point out that some nations went further than mere formal school instruction in industrial arts he quoted an unnamed source, who is reported to have said that "with well stored museums, easy of access at all times, the workman can use his eyes to the greatest advantage in perfecting his technical education."¹⁰⁸

Wickersham found special trade schools to be profusely scattered throughout Europe. It must have been an eye opener for the legislators who read his *Annual Report* of 1878 to find that there were fifty special trade schools in little Belgium, over one hundred in tiny Switzerland and the rather astounding number of fifteen hundred in Germany. One thousand special trade schools were reported to be in operation in both France and Austria as well. These institutions were extremely specialized in that each was devoted to producing skilled workers for one trade. The school at Ghent, Belgium, for example, produced weavers only and the school at Besaucon, France was for watch-makers.¹⁰⁹

It was, however, the general apprenticeship schools to which Wickersham devoted the most space in the report, perhaps because he thought that they would be the type of school of most value in America. The schools were, as the name implies, more general in their aim than the special trade schools. As Wickersham noted the intent of these institutions was:

. . . to prepare their pupils for any one of several mechanical employments which they may prefer. They may be properly called workshop schools, for they are provided with both schoolrooms and workshops, and instruct their pupils in the various branches of intellectual education, as well as train them in different kinds of handiwork.¹¹⁰

The Artisan's School of Rotterdam was described in some detail. Wickersham then, no doubt for emphasis, repeated what he had said in his 1876 *Annual Report* "that boys who are occupied one-half the day with books in the school, and the remaining half-day with tools in the shops, make about as rapid intellectual progress as those of equal ability who spend the whole day in study and recitation."¹¹¹

Technical education in the elementary schools of Europe also fascinated Wickersham. He observed that there was a good deal of interest among educational leaders in the United States regarding technical education at the elementary school level. Pestalozzi and others were listed as European proponents of such an addition to the curriculum.¹¹²

In Europe the elementary industrial departments, as Wickersham called them, were set up primarily for girls. Such subjects as sewing, clothes-making, budgeting, housekeeping, food preservation, and cooking were taught in them. Although the instruction was very simple at the beginning, the girls learned by mastering several levels of difficulty until they were finally making clothing for dolls.¹¹³ Boys in the elementary schools also worked at developing some

technical skills in horticulture and mechanics.¹¹⁴

A description of technical schools recently established in France completed Wickersham's discussion of European education. Two schools, the Municipal School of Apprentices, Boulevard de la Villette, established in 1873 and the more recent, School of Apprentices de la Rue Tournefort, which had its genesis in 1876, had attracted Wickersham's attention. Of the two, he chose the school on the Boulevard de la Villette for description in his *Annual Report*.¹¹⁵

The object of the school, he said, "is to prepare intelligent and skillful workmen."¹¹⁶ These institutions were a part of the public school system in France and accepted students from elementary schools who were between thirteen and sixteen years old. After acceptance, the young apprentices began a three-year course of study. The divisions of the curriculum and their administration interested Wickersham to the degree that he spelled it out for the legislators, ostensibly to demonstrate what could be done with state backing:

The pupils are formed into three corresponding divisions. The day comprehends six hours of shop work and five hours of school work for the first two sections, and eight hours of shop work and three hours of school work for the third or most advanced seating. The two kinds of exercises are separated by rest for eating and recreation. *The instruction is gratuitous, as are also the materials and tools used in work.*¹¹⁷

The successful efforts of European nations in technical education were, Wickersham felt, not directly transplantable to the United States. However, with some modifications to allow for the differing political and social systems in America, we would gain ideas from the European experience on industrial education: "It is acknowledged on all hands that we must do something in this direction, and I trust we may be wise enough to use the experience of foreign countries as a lamp to guide our own efforts," he said.¹¹⁸

Additional writings on European countries also resulted from Wickersham's trip. After his return from Europe, he published a series of articles entitled "Over the Sea: Letters from the Editor" in the *Pennsylvania School Journal*.¹¹⁹ Most articles contained little or nothing about the educational systems Wickersham viewed in Europe, but they are entertaining and well written as travel literature. The teachers of the period much have enjoyed them as vicarious experiences of Europe, a portion of the world it was unlikely they would see on the salaries of the day. The series does include some descriptive examples of European education.

Among the samples obtainable from the series is that of his description of the schools of Munich, Germany. After briefly describing the University of Munich and the Polytechnical School of that city, he wrote instructively of the public schools. "The public schools of Munich," he noted, "are considered equal to the best in Germany."¹²⁰ In Munich he found three gymnasia, four Latin schools, several primary schools, and a woman's college. Unfortunately, none of them were in session while he was in Munich, but he was able to

look over the buildings, grounds, and equipment. Other institutions in Munich which Wickersham saw were schools of art, music, agriculture, commerce, education, veterinary medicine, military science, and government. The last of these impressed him the most and he wrote: "Bavaria is a little country of 5,000,000 people; the United States is a great country with 50,000,000 people and soon to have 100,000,000; *and yet we have not begun to think that our young men need special instruction in the practical duties a government may impose upon its citizens.*"¹²¹

Wickersham's final attempt to instruct the legislature on the advantages of borrowing some aspects of European education for Pennsylvania's schools came in his *Annual Report* of 1880.¹²² The points pursued are similar to those he made in the 1876 and 1878 *Annual Reports*.¹²³ Once again he tried to get the legislature to learn from Europe.

The impact of the Centennial and the tour on Wickersham's educational ideas is most pronounced in his view of the role of the state in educational matters. He had recommended state support of secondary education, normal schools, colleges, and moral education in his writings prior to 1876. In 1878 he argued that the state should extend its responsibility to include technical education which he saw as an aid to social mobility.¹²⁴ It apparently had not occurred to Wickersham that technical education might, in fact, prevent social mobility by educating people for a specific role in life, a role it would be difficult to use as a vehicle to ascend to a higher socioeconomic class. Nevertheless, it was from his work at the Centennial and from his personal look at European schools, on his tour, that he had acquired the ammunition to make recommendations on technical education with some forcefulness. His work in comparative education may not be momentous by today's standards, but when it is considered that he did the work from 1876 through 1878 it appears that he used the tools at hand quite well. Comparative studies, prior to the advent of sophisticated quantitative techniques in recent years, were, like Wickersham's work, generally either descriptive or historic or both.¹²⁵

Other American educators had delved into comparative education prior to Wickersham's tour of 1878. The most widely distributed of the early accounts of European education was that of Calvin Stowe of Ohio's Lane Theological Seminary.¹²⁶ Stowe's Report, published in 1836, was followed by discussions of European education in reports by Horace Mann in 1843¹²⁷ and Henry Barnard in 1854.¹²⁸ In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, writings on foreign education increase significantly. These writings and interpretations were used by Americans primarily to determine what "they should borrow, adopt, or adapt from Europe."¹²⁹

Wickersham, untrained in comparative education though he was, managed to, at least, publicize foreign educational practices in the *Annual Reports* and the *Pennsylvania School Journal*. No changes in the school code occurred as a result of these writings, but they serve as examples of his continued work

to educate teachers, administrators, and legislators in the possibilities of education and as thoughtful attempts to remind them that the responsibility of the state should include educational activities beyond the traditional three R's.¹³⁰

Endnotes

1. A. L. Byerly, "In Memoriam," *Pennsylvania School Journal* (September 1891): 136-37.
2. Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania*, p. 582. James P. Wickersham was a county Superintendent, a Normal School (Millersville) Principal, a Pennsylvania Superintendent of Public Instruction 1866-81, a Minister to Denmark and wrote over 100 articles and three books on schools during his career.
3. *Ibid.* See also James P. Wickersham, "Visit of the Japanese," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 20 (May 1872): 354-55.
4. Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania*, p. 574.
5. "How Schoolmasters Are Made in Germany," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 20 (July 1871): 182.
6. J. W. Hoyt, "Education in Prussia," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 20 (July 1871): 5.
7. Anna Randall Diehl, "The Swedish School System," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 20 (January 1872): 204.
8. James P. Wickersham, "Bismarck's Latest Triumph," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 20 (May 1872): 352-53.
9. James P. Wickersham, "The German Schools: A New View," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 21 (August 1872): 54.
10. James P. Wickersham, "National Education in Ireland," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 21 (November 1872): 160-61. The schools referred to were national in name only. The system since its inception in 1830 had been dominated by the British Crown and the Church of England. The Forster Education Act of 1870 aided the Irish schools, but the Church of England, although disestablished in Ireland, still had the most schools and thus received the most aid. See David Harris Willson, *A History of England* (Hinsdale, Ill.: The Dryden Press, Inc., 1972), pp. 633-43.
11. James P. Wickersham, "China Sending Students," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 21 (February 1872): 263.
12. James P. Wickersham, "The Swiss Schools," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 23 (August 1874): 54-55.
13. James P. Wickersham, "Schools in Germany," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 23 (February 1875): 254-55. Wickersham in this article described the system and listed its defects which he saw as: (1) its autocratic nature, (2) the inequality of women, (3) the class/caste dominance of the higher schools, (4) Lutheran sectarianism in state schools, and (5) tuition charges in a state system.
14. James P. Wickersham, "Editorial Department," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 24 (July 1875): 21.
15. James P. Wickersham, "American Education at the Vienna Exposition," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 21 (January 1873): 216-17.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. James P. Wickersham, "Education at the Vienna Exposition," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 22 (January 1874): 223-25.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.
21. James P. Wickersham, "Editorial Department," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 22 (March 1874): 296-97.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 297 (Italics mine.)

23. National Education Association, *Proceedings of the Department of Superintendence at Washington, D.C.*, 1875 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875), p. 66.

24. *Ibid.* Wickersham here is asking for the appointment of General John Eaton, the then United States Commissioner of Education.

25. *Ibid.*

26. For a complete discussion of the preparations made by Pennsylvanians for Centennial Exhibit, see my article "Pennsylvania's Educational Exhibit at the Centennial of 1876" in the *Pa. Social Studies Journal* XXV Spring, 1986, pp. 23-31.

27. *Pennsylvania Superintendent of Public Instruction's Report*, 1876. (Harrisburg: State Printer, 1876), pp. xiii-xv. Hereinafter designated as *PSPIR*.

28. Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania*, pp. 581-82.

29. *PSPIR*, 1876, p. xix.

30. *Ibid.*, p. xx.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*, p. xliii. (Italics mine.)

34. *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

35. *Ibid.*, p. xliii. (Italics mine.)

36. *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

37. *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.* p. xxiv.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, p. xliii.

44. *Ibid.*, p. xlv. There were nine state normal schools in Pennsylvania in 1876. Five more were to be established by 1920. There were ten in operation by the conclusion of Wickersham's term as Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1881. See Sack, *History of Higher Education in Pennsylvania*, pp. 528-39.

45. *PSPIR*, 1876, p. xxv.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*, p. xlv.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

52. *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.

53. *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

54. *Ibid.*, p. xlv.

55. *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

56. *Ibid.*

57. *Ibid.*, p. xlv.

58. *Ibid.* pp. xxix, xxx.

59. *Ibid.*, p. xxx. (Italics mine.)

60. *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, 15 February 1867.

61. *Pennsylvania Superintendent of Common Schools Report*, (Harrisburg: State Printer, 1872), pp. xxix-xxx. Hereinafter designated as *PSCSR*.

The office of Pennsylvania's superintendent of schools was entitled Superintendent of Common Schools until 1875. Reports prior to that date are designated herein as *PSCSR*. After that date the office was entitled Superintendent of Public Instruction. Reports from the latter period are designated herein as *PSPIR*.

62. *PSCSR*, 1874, p. xxvii and *PSPIR*, 1875, pp. xxiv-xxvi.

63. *PSPIR*, 1876, p. xxx.

64. *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. xxxiii-xxxvi.

66. *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

67. *PSPIR*, 1875, p. xxiv.

68. *PSPIR*, 1876, p. xxxvi. The work of Victor Della Vos, director of the Moscow Imperial Technical School and his method of the teaching of mechanical arts are discussed in: Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. 24-27.

69. *PSPIR*, 1876, p. xlv. (Italics mine.)

70. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*, pp. 26-34. Cremin interpreted the role of business in promoting technical education as a self-serving one, the idea being to free business from the union regulation of apprenticeships. For another interpretation which sees the businessmen hoping to gain skilled workers from technical education rather than as an attempt to keep the poor in their place, see Robert L. Church, *Education in the United States* (New York: The Free Press, 1976), pp. 223-24.

71. *PSPIR*, 1876, p. xlv.

72. *Ibid.*

73. Pennsylvania, *Laws* (1881), Act 32, secs. 1-2.

74. *PSPIR*, 1880, pp. xxii-xxiii.

75. Pennsylvania, *Laws* (1911), Public School Act, sec. 2032.

76. *PSPIR*, 1876, pp. xlv-xlvi.

77. James P. Wickersham, "Pedagogics Abroad," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 26 (July 1877): 3-5. There were fifteen articles on Education in various European countries that were serialized under the general title "Pedagogics Abroad." The series ran in the *Pennsylvania School Journal* from July 1877 through October 1878.

78. Rev. Dr. Legge, "Education in China," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 26 (July 1877): 4-5.

79. Wickersham, *A History of Education in Pennsylvania*, p. 655.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 581.

81. *PSPIR*, 1878, p. xviii.

82. *Ibid.*, p. xix.

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*, pp. xix, xx.

86. *Ibid.*, p. xx.

87. *Ibid.*

88. *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

89. *PSPIR*, 1878, p. xxii. For some reason, clear only to Wickersham, he appears to equate moral and religious instruction. He had written in the *Annual Report* of 1875 that one should not confuse moral education with religious education. See *PSPIR*, 1875, p. xxvii.

90. This is a vastly different look at Pennsylvania's school buildings than that reported by Wickersham in the *Annual Report* of 1876 wherein he notes most of Pennsylvania's school buildings were a disgrace. *PSPIR*, 1878, p. xlii. (Italics mine.)

91. In the 1876 *Annual Report* Wickersham wrote that the Belgian and Swedish Schools contained

furniture chosen by experts while Pennsylvania had to rely on the judgment of local boards. See above. He was less impressed, apparently, by the furniture in other nations.

92. This defense of American texts did not appear in Wickersham's answer to Buisson's strong criticism of them. He scolded teachers and administrators concerning some of the materials sent to the Centennial Exposition of 1876. (See PA. *Social Studies Journal* Vol. XV, "Pennsylvania's Educational Exhibit of 1876".)

93. *PSPIR*, 1878, pp. xxiii-xxiv. (Italics mine.)

94. For a discussion of the success literature of the period including the work of Horatio Alger and William H. McGuffey's readers, see Henry J. Perkinson, *The Imperfect Panacea: American Faith in Education, 1865-1965* (New York: Random House, 1968), pp. 106-14.

95. Michael B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy and the Schools, The Illusion of Educational Change in America* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. xvi.

96. Perkinson, *The Imperfect Panacea: American Faith in Education, 1865-1965*.

97. *PSCSR*, 1874, p. xxvii. Early labor organizations as a factor in American society, the attendant strikes, the temporary halt of labor's gains as a result of the panic of 1873 and the railway strikes and violence of 1877 are well covered in Norman J. Ware, *The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895* (New York: Appleton, 1929) and Gerald Grob, *Workers and Utopia: A Study of the Ideological Conflict in the American Labor Movement, 1865-1900* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1961).

98. *PSCSR*, 1874, pp. xxvii-xxviii. (Italics mine.)

99. *Ibid.*, p. xxviii. (Italics mine.)

100. *PSPIR*, 1878, p. xxiv.

101. *Ibid.*

102. *Ibid.*, pp. xxiv, xxv.

103. *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

104. *PSCSR*, 1874, p. xxix.

105. *PSPIR*, 1876, p. xxx.

106. *PSPIR*, 1878, p. xxv.

107. *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

108. *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.

109. *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

110. *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

111. *Ibid.*, p. xxx. See also *PSPIR*, 1876, p. xxxv.

112. *Ibid.*

113. *Ibid.*, pp. xxx, xxxi. The curriculum appears to be similar to the one Rousseau designed for Sophie who would exist only for Emile. See Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Emile*, trans. and ed. William Boyd, Classics in Education No. 10 (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1966), pp. 130-51.

114. *PSPIR*, 1878, p. xxx.

115. *Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

116. *Ibid.*

117. *Ibid.*, p. xxxii. (Italics mine.)

118. *Ibid.*

119. The series included 33 articles commencing in Volume 27, August 1878 and running through Volume 30, June 1882.

120. James P. Wickersham, "Over the Sea: Letters from the Editor, Munich," *Pennsylvania School Journal* 20 (June 1880): 38.

121. *Ibid.* (Italics mine.)

122. *PSPIR, 1880*, pp. xxiv-xxviii.

123. *PSPIR, 1876*, pp. xix-xxxvi, and *PSPIR, 1878*, pp. xviii-xxxii.

124. Wickersham's view of the role of the state in this matter is similar to that of more recent students of education and society who would further include elaborate guidance procedures to direct students toward the first step upward. See James B. Conant and Francis T. Spaulding, *Education for a Classless Society*, Harvard Graduate School of Education, Occasional Pamphlet, No. 4 (Cambridge: Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1940), pp. 13-16.

125. Edmund J. King, *Education and Development in Western Europe* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969), pp. x, xi. For an argument in favor of the newer social scientific approach see Harold J. Noah and Max A. Eckstein, *Toward a Science of Comparative Education* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1969), pp. xii-xi.

126. Calvin E. Stowe, "Moral and Religious Lessons from European Schools," in Stewart Fraser and William Brickman, eds., *A History of International and Comparative Education* (Glenview, Ill." Scott, Foresman and Co., 1968), pp. 104-22.

127. *Seventh Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education Together with the Seventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board* (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1844), pp. 21-170.

128. Henry Barnard, *National Education in Europe* (Hartford: Case, Tiffany, and Co., 1854). This work includes Barnard's writings on his two European tours as well as Stowe's *Report of 1837*, Alexander Bache's *Report to Girard College in 1839*, Mann's *Report* and the writings of Joseph Kay of Oxford University on European education.

129. Fraser and Brickman, *A History of International and Comparative Education*, p. 25.

130. Interest in technical education appears to have increased after the Centennial, but successful efforts to introduce it into the secondary curriculum do not occur until after 1881. See James Mulhern, *A History of Secondary Education in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: By the Author, 1933), pp. 533-38.