The Evolution of Teacher Certification and the Qualifications to Teach in Four States, 1890-1930

by

Paul G. Perrault

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Jeffrey E. Mirel, Chair
Professor Maris A. Vinovskis
Associate Professor Robert B. Bain
Processor Roger D. Goddard, Texas A & M University

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I dedicate this dissertation to my wife, Lori—whose patience and faith in me has been the greatest motivator in my work.

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In writing this dissertation, I have been blessed by a number of individuals who have influenced my thinking and contributed intellectually to my work. To all of these people, I am deeply grateful for the encouragement, support and critiques which helped me shape this dissertation.

I am especially thankful to all of the libraries that helped me collect my data. In particular, I am thankful to the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan and the Monroe C. Gutman Library at Harvard University for making their collections accessible to me in my work. I am especially thankful to Karen Jania at the Bentley who first showed me how to navigate the collections, assisted me in locating resources that were missing, and discussed other records and materials that were relevant to my research. I am equally indebted to Edward Copenhagen at the Gutman for helping me locate materials for three states in the matter of days, copying more than a thousand pages in the same period so that I could take the materials with me, and treating me like I was a student or researcher at Harvard. I am also deeply grateful for all the assistance given to me by Marija Freeland at the Hatcher Graduate Library at the University of Michigan. In the past five years, Marija answered more questions than I can remember, and without her assistance I would still be looking for resources today.

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supported me in this work through suggestions for research design, ideas on where to track down data, and in reading countless drafts both of individual chapters and the dissertation as a whole. It is because of Jeff's encouragement and guidance that I am able to add to our understanding of the history of teacher certification. I am truly grateful that Jeff never wavered in his belief in this project or my work.

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Abstract

The period between 1890 and 1930 witnessed a dramatic change in state policies for certifying and training teachers in public elementary and, high schools. During this period, educational professionals who favored centralized control of education used their growing influence to reform teacher certification and the qualifications required to teach. At the same time, a series of demographic and economic trends also influenced efforts to make certification follow specific state standards.

Despite the current debate about teacher certification, the history of the teacher qualifications has not been fully explored. This dissertation adds to the understanding of this development by examining the evolution of teacher certification from primarily a function of local government with minimal requirements to that of a state action requiring both a specified amount of subject matter and pedagogical knowledge. This study investigates how economic trends, demographic changes, and efforts to professionalize education influenced these qualifications between 1890 and 1930.

This dissertation examines how these factors influenced teacher certification and qualifications in four states: Michigan, Massachusetts, Oregon, and Virginia. Using state superintendent and board of education reports from the four states, reports of the U.S. Commissioner of Education, the *Biennial Survey of Education*; reports issued by the U.S. Office of Education on the status of teacher certification, and dissertations from the case study states, this dissertation constructs a new, detailed narrative of the evolution of teacher certification and qualifications in the U.S. in this period.

A key finding from this study is that the unprecedented growth of high school enrollments and graduation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries played a particularly important role in the shaping the nature and content of teacher certification. High schools aided efforts to create stronger standards for teacher certification in both the supply and demand side of the equation. For example, high schools not only provided better educated candidates for teacher certification thus helping state educational leaders to raise the bar in terms of the qualifications demanded of prospective teachers but also created a wide range of new teaching positions due to the expansion of high school curricula between 1890 and 1930.

Chapter I

Introduction

More than a century and a half ago, Michigan's first Superintendent of Public Instruction, John D. Pierce, outlined the necessity of having good teachers who were properly trained:

> The most perfect organization of the entire school system of schools, in all the varied departments of instruction, must fail of securing the desired results without a sufficient number of competent teachers. . . . . Without competent teachers, the most perfect system of external organizations must be powerless—must certainly fail of accomplishing its object. The truth is, education is to be regarded as a science and art; it is a science, for it has its distinct subject, its distinct object, and is governed by its own peculiar laws; and has, like the other sciences, its corresponding art—the art of teaching. Hence results the profession of teachers; the most numerous of any in the country. But how little understood is either the science or the art! And how little esteemed is the profession of teacher! And how is it to be understood without study? And if teaching is an art, how can it successfully be practiced without suitable preparation?
>
> It is utterly impossible to elevate the schools and make them what they ought to be and must be, to meet the first demands of all the classes of the community, without elevating the rank and character of teachers.[1]

This mid-nineteenth century quote outlines one of the greatest struggles in American public education: How do we elevate the rank and character of teaching when, as a "profession," it is often held in low esteem. In the more than one hundred and fifty years since Pierce penned this quote, educators and the states have struggled with this question. Over time educational professionals and state governments have tried to answer it by

[1] George Leroy Jackson, *The Development of State Control of Public Instruction in Michigan* (Lansing, MI: Michigan Historical Commission, 1926), 38-39.

requiring increased subject matter knowledge and pedagogical training. Yet, even when educational leaders succeed in creating some level of standardization of teacher training, outside influences such as population booms and busts, depressions, wars, and demographic shifts have influenced the development and evolution of teacher qualifications. This dissertation examines how economic trends, demographic shifts, and efforts to professionalize education influenced the types of qualifications required of teachers between 1890 and 1930.[2] This study examines how increasing school enrollments, increased demand for teachers, and rural migration to urban areas impacted state laws and regulations for teacher certification. In addition, this dissertation examines the process of teacher professionalization by analyzing the types of state agencies that issued certificates, the knowledge required to teach, routes to certification and minimum prerequisites from 1890 -1930.

My study seeks to fill an important gap in the historical literature about the development of teacher certification. In 2006, historian John Rury argued "with all the attention to teacher preparation over the years, it is quite surprising that more historical scholarship has not been devoted to this issue."[3] Given how important the issue of teacher certification has become, understanding how we arrived at the kind of system we now have is crucial to assessing what remains valuable in the traditional system and what needs to be changed.

In this dissertation, I argue that the growth of high schools and the development of a powerful group of educational professionals, "administrative progressives" strongly impacted the structure of teacher training and the qualifications to teach. In the 1910s

[2] Occasionally I refer to early nineteenth century developments when relevant.
[3] John L. Rury, "The Curious Status of the History of Education: A Parallel Perspective," *History of Education Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (2006): 592.

and the 1920s, administrative progressives led this charge calling for increased training of teachers and centralization of educational authority, thereby removing control of teacher certification from local officials and placing it firmly in the hands of professional state administrators. At the same time high school enrollments began to dramatically increase. This development was key to raising teacher qualifications. As high school enrollment increased, so did graduation rates. As a result administrative progressives raised the minimum requirements for a teaching degree to include high school graduation along with a minimum amount of pedagogical training. This trend continued throughout the 1920s. In the Great Depression, it became much more common for prospective teachers to have a bachelor's degree in order to teach. In other words centralizers made a great deal of progress in getting their agenda for standardizing teacher training and increasing the academic/pedagogical qualifications to teach. This was not true in all states, as the case studies show, but this was clearly the trend nationwide.

Historical Context

Teaching and the necessary qualifications for good instruction have been disputed in the United States for over a century and a half. Plagued by a relatively weak status and state control, teaching failed to develop as an independent self-controlled "profession."[4] Unlike medicine and law, teaching lacks a clear body of knowledge that every teacher should know. Moreover unlike most other professions, teachers are denied the responsibility to control entry into the profession. In other words since the nineteenth century, determining what good teacher training should be has rested in the hands of local

[4] Sociologist Magali S. Larson defines a profession as an "occupation with special power and prestige . . . in which society grants rewards because professions have special competence in esoteric bodies of knowledge linked to central needs and values of the social system." For purposes of my research I use Larson's definition of a profession when discussing education. Magali Sarfatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977), x.

school board members, state officials, state legislators, and college and university professors not practicing teachers.

During the nineteenth century, attempts by educators to standardize the criteria for what qualified teachers should know were overshadowed by debates about who should control teacher certification. Across the country, local communities and to a lesser degree state governments determined the qualifications teachers needed to have. Early state constitutions and/or state legislatures vested local township officials with the power to examine, certify, and supervise teachers with relatively little oversight by state officials.

By the late 1890s, educational leaders across the country began a slow but deliberate process of "professionalizing" education. By professionalization, I argue that these educational leaders meant: 1) Centralized control of teacher certification training and qualifications; 2) Development of a tiered structure with teachers on the bottom, administrators in the middle, and professors, deans and schools and colleges of education, and some state education leaders (e.g. state superintendents) on the top; 3) Specific levels of training; and 4) Development of structured teacher education curriculum. State superintendents of public instruction across the country sought, through legislative authority, to centralize as many functions of education including teacher certification, training, and qualifications as possible. Such efforts were aided by and at times thwarted by important political, social, and economic factors.

Between 1890 and 1930, two major factors affecting efforts to the professionalization of teaching and the qualifications for teaching were demographic shifts and economic trends. During this period, national school enrollments experienced

unprecedented growth. In 1890, public school enrollment in grades first through twelfth was a little more than thirteen million students, while in 1921 it had ballooned to more than twenty-three million.[5] As enrollments grew, so did the number of years children spent in school. As high schools became more common, their attendance rates soared. Naturally, as school enrollments increased so did the demand for teachers. Yet, normal schools and colleges and universities lacked the ability to train enough teachers for the overwhelming demand. As a consequence, state educational leaders frequently were forced to continue the practice of issuing certificates based on an examination, which in some cases only required a small amount of professional training.[6]

Population movements also influenced how states and local communities dealt with the issue of teacher qualifications. At the beginning of the twentieth century, as both the U.S. population and school enrollments increased, the number of people living in rural communities decreased. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, rural communities had wielded enormous power in maintaining control over their schools and in particular in teacher certification. However by the beginning of the twentieth century, their power waned as urban areas grew. With shrinking school enrollments and diminished political clout, state legislatures and state educational leaders consolidated schools. While local communities often fought centralized efforts, they also frequently found themselves in need of increased financial assistance from the state to maintain their

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[5] Susan B. Carter, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to the Present*, Millennial ed., 5 vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[6] Katherine M Cook, "State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates," in *U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1921, no. 22*, ed. Department of the Interior (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1921), Katherine M. Cook, "State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates," in *U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1927, no 19*, ed. Department of the Interior (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1927).

elementary schools and/or to operate high schools.[7] Ultimately, these trends forced many rural school systems to consolidate.

Amid these social and economic changes, this period also witnessed the rise of a new breed of educational leaders, "administrative progressives." Unlike earlier educational leaders, which included college presidents and faculty across a range of academic disciplines, David Tyack argues that administrative progressives mainly included faculty from education colleges and schools, city and county superintendents, state education officials, officers in state associations, and U.S. Bureau of Education staffers.[8] Their mission was to reshape public schools according to the "canons of business efficiency and scientific expertise."[9]

One of the key factors that united administrative progressives was to some degree a shared common ideology and platform. Administrative progressives "put great faith" in structural reforms including centralization of school authority and a shift to the "corporate model." In big cities, for example, they believed in replacing elected ward based school boards with small, business oriented school boards either elected from the city at-large or appointed by the mayor. These new, smaller boards invariably hired administrative progressives (i.e., usually graduates of the new, powerful schools and colleges of education) to run the schools on a business or corporate model that increased

[7] T. Steffes, "A New Education for a Modern Age: National Reform, State Building, and the Transformation of American Schooling, 1890-1933" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 2007).
[8] David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974). While Tyack first discussed "administrative progressives" in *The One Best System,* he more clearly defined who made up the group in his work with Elizabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue,*
[9] David B. Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 106.

bureaucracy and promoted "scientifically" based programs that promised greater efficiency.[10]

Using their influence with state legislatures, administrative progressives gradually centralized educational authority transferring increasingly more power to state superintendents of public instruction and/or state boards of education. With increased authority, state educational leaders pushed for greater standardization in teacher training. They increased requirements for teaching certificates, expanded the duration and influence of teaching institutions, and began to set minimum professional requirements.[11]

Based on my examination of these data, I argue teacher qualifications grew out of tensions caused by demographic shifts, economic trends and efforts to professionalize education during the late nineteenth and twentieth century. Instead of defining what every teacher should know, creating a standard curriculum, and outlining the necessary training to satisfy these requirements, teaching and the requirements to be a teacher have often times been shaped by the economic and demographic challenges facing the United States. The interplay of these professional efforts and outside factors produced a system of teacher education that was quite unlike that of other professions.

Departure from Previous Literature

Other scholars have analyzed teacher certification and teacher qualifications during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. David Angus, for example, briefly but insightfully discussed the preparation of teachers around a cluster of questions that examined who should issue certificates, what the requirements for a certificate should include, and what training was required. Christopher Lucas summarized the development

[10] Tyack, *The One Best System*, 167-68.
[11] Ibid.

of teacher education and the preparation of teachers through the twentieth century as context for a larger discussion on contemporary issues such as structural changes in training, national accreditation, and possibilities in the future. James Fraser examined how teachers were prepared across a range of institutions from early academies to normal schools and colleges and universities. Fraser also notes influences such as high school growth, but his analysis only raises this development without a detailed examination. While these scholars mention political, economic and social factors, they fail to address in depth how they impacted the overall evolution of teacher qualifications. Furthermore, their analyses largely are concentrated at the national level focusing more on national trends without case analysis that provide some insight on regional or state differences.[12]

Given that the existing literature only briefly touches on demographics and economics, no scholarship exists that examines these factors over time and how they influenced the professionalization of education. In addition, no study has undertaken an examination of the factors that influenced the certification and qualifications of teachers on the state and regional level over time. As a result, this leaves a major gap in the history of the evolution of teacher qualifications. This dissertation aims to fill that gap.

My research reveals that demographics, economics and the quest to professionalize education by state administrative leaders played a major role in the evolution of teacher qualifications. Supply of teachers played an important piece of this equation. When teachers were in short supply, such as the period surrounding World War I, teacher qualifications stayed constant or in some instances were downgraded with the issuance of special or emergency certificates. In contrast when there was an

[12] David L. Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good: A Brief History of Teacher Certification* (Washington DC: Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, 2001), James W. Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers: A History* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2007).

oversupply of teachers, as in the case of the Great Depression, qualifications to teach were raised by adding more academic and professional requirements.

While the issue of supply and demand of teachers seems to be the most dominant theme in my research, high school growth was almost as equally important. First, as high school enrollments grew at unprecedented rates, more students stayed in school longer. As high school attendance grew so did high school graduation (however not at the same rate as high school attendance). This development created a new baseline requirement for state educational leaders to demand a change in requirements to teach. By the 1920s, high school graduation was becoming a norm in many states for a certificate to teach. Second, as high school curriculums expanded, demand for teachers with a more specialized background correspondingly increased. This in turn raised the bar for certification of many high school teachers.

Another critical factor to the development of teacher qualifications in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the centralized authority and increased power of state educational authority. Prior to 1898, only three states operated state systems of certification where the state set all the rules and issued all the certificates. By 1921, this total had jumped to twenty-six states and by 1937 forty-one did so. With centralized authority came increased academic and professional requirements, more standardization of examinations and grading, and a multiplicity of teaching certificates. In addition to these developments, there were also increases in the number of teachers attending and graduating from normal schools or colleges and universities.

The last factor that I explore is state funding. In two of four case states, Michigan and Massachusetts, I found that state educational funding began to influence local control

in this period. In both states their legislatures began supplementing rural communities with funds to support the operation of public high schools. In Massachusetts, in particular, this came with a price. As a condition for state aid, the legislature required that all teachers in the school had to be state certified. This is important as it demonstrates one avenue in which local communities exchanged local control for state aid, which later becomes a common theme in the 1930s and 1940s.

Focus of Dissertation & Research Questions

This dissertation provides a study of the development of teacher qualifications during the nineteenth century through the early 1930s. I analyze the key influences that drove state certification laws, and how they shifted between 1890 and the 1920s. In particular, I examine how demographic shifts, economic challenges and the professionalization of education contributed to the evolution of teacher qualifications.

In order to analyze how the above factors influenced the evolution of teacher qualifications, this dissertation also examines how the knowledge required of teachers, the routes to certification and the minimum requirements for teaching evolved during the nineteenth and early twentieth century in four case states (Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon and Virginia). This type of design allows me to make comparisons between national and state level trends from four states from four different regions.

The following set of research questions guide my study:

1. To what degree did demographic changes, economic changes, variability in state funding, and efforts by administrative progressives shape the development of teacher qualifications and teacher certification in the late 19th and 20th century?

2. How did teacher qualifications differ in four states from four geographic regions in the United States?

3. How did the knowledge required of teachers, the routes to certification, and the minimum requirements for teaching evolve over time, both nationally and in the four states?

4. How did the evolution of teacher training institutions influence the requirements to teach, and how were those changes in training influenced by broader developments and/or economic changes?

Question one serves as the driving force of my larger study, while questions two through four contextualize how these factors played out in four different states as well as how they shaped the knowledge required of teachers and the ways in which they were taught. I examine how changes in population, increases in enrollment, public school funding and the development of a more professionalized field of teaching set the stage for increasing requirements for teaching during the nineteenth century to the end of the 1920s.

Selection of States

To answer my research questions I chose Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon and Virginia because they allow for a wide comparison of the evolution of teacher training qualifications from four very different regions of the country. Moreover, all of these states had characteristics that made them good choices for analysis. For example, Massachusetts was one of the leading states in developing public schools, and it was the first state to have a state normal school; Michigan had the first permanent chair of pedagogy at the University of Michigan; Virginia provided insight into the South, and how it faced the challenges of segregation; while Oregon provided the opportunity to examine how a newer state in regards to teacher certification used the experiences of other states in shaping its own education system. In addition to the unique characteristics discussed above, I also chose my four case study states because they all had variation in

population growth, types of industry, rural or urban makeup and in the development of education in their states.

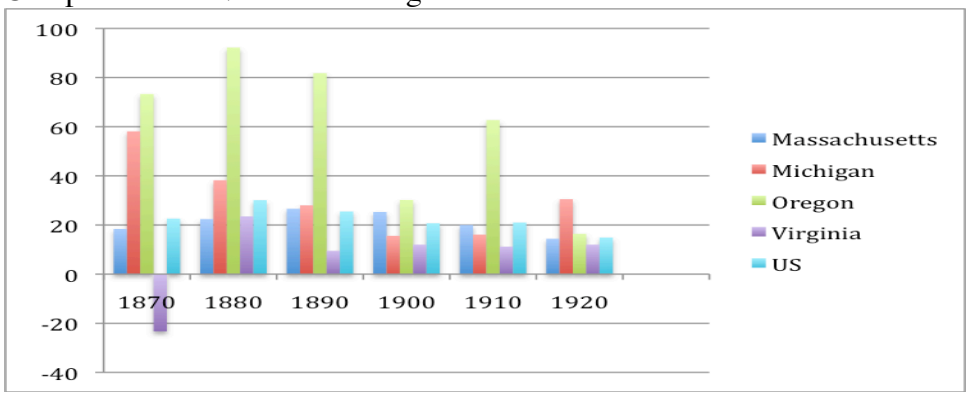
Between the 1860s and 1920 all of the case study states had growth in total population. Yet while total population increased, individual state percentage increases in growth varied greatly when compared with the national average. As Table 1.1 shows, Oregon had the largest percentage increases in population from the 1870s until 1910 when it begins to stabilize in comparison to the other case states. In Michigan, percentage increases were especially large from the 1860s through the 1880s. These trends eventually stabilized by 1920 when the percentage increase in population was twice that of the national average. In Massachusetts, the percentage increase in population closely mirrored the national average with small decreases in some decades and small increases in others. In Virginia, we see the opposite end of the spectrum as the percentage increase in population was less than the national average for each decade from 1860 through 1920. Although, it is important to note that the large decrease in population between 1860 and 1870 was the result of West Virginia becoming an independent state in 1863.

Table 1.1: Percentage Increases in Population within Each Case Study State Compared with National Average Increase

	Massachusetts	Michigan	Oregon	Virginia	U.S.
	Percent Increase within State	Percent Increase within State	Percent Increase within State	Percent Increase within State	National Average Percentage Increase
1870	18.4	58.1	73.3	-23.3	22.6
1880	22.4	38.2	92.2	23.5	30.1
1890	26.6	28.0	81.8	9.5	25.5
1900	25.3	15.6	30.2	12.0	20.7
1910	20.0	16.1	62.7	11.2	21.0
1920	14.4	30.5	16.4	12.0	14.9

(Source: Fourteenth Census: State Compendiums for Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon & Virginia)

Figure 1.1: Percentage Increases in Population within Each Case Study State Compared with National Average Increase



(Source: Fourteenth Census: State Compendiums for Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon & Virginia)

Another key characteristic that varied among the four case study states was industry. In much of the nineteenth century, agriculture was the primary industry in all the states I consider. But this began to change when states, particularly in the northeast began to industrialize. In Massachusetts, for example, industrialization had a major impact on the state's work force.

Between 1850 and 1880, manufacturing flourished with three quarters of the Massachusetts's workforce either working in industry or supportive industry jobs.[13] By 1880, roughly 42 percent of the labor force was in manufacturing, compared with 10 percent in agriculture.[14] Forty years later in 1920, the disparity between agriculture and manufacturing occupations was even starker. In 1920, roughly 4.6 percent of the male labor force worked in agriculture, forestry, or animal husbandry compared with 55 percent in manufacturing and mechanical industries.[15]

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[13] Richard D. Brown and Jack Tager, *Massachusetts: A Concise History*, Rev. and expanded ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 201.
[14] Ibid., 202.
[15] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: State Compendium: Massachusetts. Statistics of Populations, Occupations, Agriculture, Irrigation, Drainage, Manufactures, and Mines and Quarries for the State, Counties, and Cities*, ed. Bureau of the Census (Washington DC: 1924), 62-63.

In the other three case study states, manufacturing and industry also provided a change in context for educational developments. In Michigan, for example, agriculture and mining were the two chief industries during the nineteenth century. But this changed rapidly in the late nineteenth century and by 1920, there were only 280,000 males working in agriculture compared with more than a half a million working in manufacturing and mechanical industries.[16] Like Michigan, Oregon also had a shift in leading industries during the late nineteenth century. By 1920, 33 percent of male inhabitants in the state worked in agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry compared with 30 percent in manufacturing, and mechanical industries.[17] Of the four case study states, Virginia was the only one that continued to rely on agriculture as its leading industry. In 1920, 42 percent of males in the workforce worked in agriculture, forestry or animal husbandry compared with 25 percent in manufacturing and mechanical industries.[18]

Closely connected with population and industry was the rural or urban nature of the state. Typically, states that had large populations had larger urban populations. Across the four case study states, this held true. At the end of the nineteenth century, Massachusetts was the second most densely populated state after Rhode Island. This density stayed consistent throughout the early twentieth century, because the state's increase in population closely mirrored the national average each decade. By 1920,

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[16] _____, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: State Compendium: Michigan. Statistics of Populations, Occupations, Agriculture, Irrigation, Drainage, Manufactures, and Mines and Quarries for the State, Counties, and Cities*, ed. Bureau of the Census (Washington DC: 1924), 65-66.
[17] _____, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: State Compendium: Oregon. Statistics of Populations, Occupations, Agriculture, Irrigation, Drainage, Manufactures, and Mines and Quarries for the State, Counties, and Cities*, ed. Bureau of the Census (Washington DC: 1924), 39-40.
[18] _____, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: State Compendium: Virginia. Statistics of Populations, Occupations, Agriculture, Irrigation, Drainage, Manufactures, and Mines and Quarries for the State, Counties, and Cities*, ed. Bureau of the Census (Washington DC: 1924), 24.

roughly 95 percent of Massachusetts's population lived in urban areas.[19] In Michigan, population density between rural and urban areas shifted greatly in the decades preceding the state's largest population gain. As a result, there is a complete reversal in urban and rural populations in the first two decades of the twentieth century. For example in 1900, 60.7 percent of all inhabitants in Michigan lived in rural communities. By 1920, the percentage of Michigan inhabitants living in rural areas had declined to 38.9 percent.[20] Oregon had similar results. In 1900, 68 percent of Oregon's population lived in rural areas while in 1920 the percentages of inhabitants living in rural or urban areas were nearly evenly split.[21] Of the four case study states, Virginia was the only one that still had a larger rural population at the end of the second decade of the twentieth century. In 1920, roughly 71 percent of the inhabitants lived in rural areas in the state.[22]

Together the characteristics discussed above helped to shape four very different states, that as we will see in the following chapters, took very different approaches to education, schooling, teacher training and in the requirements needed in order to teach. Yet, despite these differences, all of these states eventually settled on a roughly similar structure for teacher training requiring a bachelor's degree with a specified amount of academic and pedagogical knowledge. It is the aim of this dissertation to analyze how the qualifications to teach evolved towards this standard during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

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[19] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Massachusetts, 18.*
[20] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Michigan,* 30.
[21] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, Oregon, 22.
[22] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Virginia*, 24. Another interesting note is that in the two most industrialized states for this study, Michigan and Massachusetts there is also a decrease in total numbers of inhabitants living in rural areas between 1910 and 1920.

Sources of Data

Much of my data collection focused on an analysis of primary-source materials in state superintendent reports from Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia. I collected yearly reports for Michigan at the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan. For the other states, I relied on a special collection housed at the Monroe C. Gutman Library at Harvard University. In reconstructing the development of teacher certification and qualifications, I examined each state's yearly reports looking for evidence of how economic, political, and social factors influenced the push for professionalization of teaching. Analyzing this material allowed me to develop a four state comparison of how teacher qualifications evolved while also shaping my view of national trends affecting education. These materials have been rarely used for understanding the history of teacher certification.

In addition to the collections above, I also examined federal reports issued by the Department of the Interior. In particular, I examined *Reports of the Commissioner of Education made to the Secretary of the Interior* for the years 1880 – 1916; the *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States* 1916 – 1930; and a series of five national reports issued by the U.S. Office of Education on the status of teacher certification from the late 1890s through the 1950s. These reports provided crucial data on a wealth of information both nationally and at the state level. I used these data to identify and analyze a series of demographic and economic factors at the state, regional, and national level. In particular these reports provided me with yearly to biennial totals for the number of students attending public schools, the number of teachers in elementary and

secondary schools, and total expenditures for public education. In addition, these reports also provided a backdrop of how federal officials or administrators in the U.S. Office of Education viewed developments in teacher qualifications and training.

In addition to state and federal reports, I also examined a number of secondary sources. In this realm, one of the main sources of data that I reviewed was dissertations. Since much of this work was historical, I reviewed dissertations about teacher certification and teacher training not only to understand actual developments or changes in the law, but also to understand the context for these changes. Therefore, when possible, I examined relevant dissertations from as many states as possible for this time period as well as from the case study states. In addition to dissertations, I also examined literature from such fields as sociology, history and law to draw a more complete picture of what factors influenced the evolution of teaching requirements. I argue that socio-political context during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had a major influence on the efforts to centralize and standardize teacher training. Understanding the nature of how and why these developments took place is important as new challenges to education today question the importance of schools of education and formal training in teacher education.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 2 focuses on the political, social and economic factors that are associated with the evolution of teacher qualifications in the late nineteenth century up to 1920. I discuss how key influences such as population booms, high school growth and World War I all influenced the certification of teachers and the qualifications demanded of them. In addition, I also discuss the political context for changes in the power structure for

controlling teacher certification at the end of the 1800s; and how these developments opened the door for administrative educational officials in states to usurp local authority.

This chapter focuses on the creation of a more centralized system of teacher certification where state officials, either through the legislature or state departments of education set the rules for the knowledge required of teachers and the minimum amount of professional training required to teach. Together, with the outside influences above, this chapter examines how teacher qualifications and the professionalization of teaching evolved between 1890 - 1920.

Chapter 3 focuses on what teacher certification entailed during the later nineteenth century through the end of the 1920s. I discuss the knowledge required of teachers, the routes to certification and the minimum prerequisites required for teaching during this period. This chapter focuses on the broad requirements for becoming a teacher. In particular, I discuss how the knowledge required of teachers evolved from having good morals to also include proficiency in subject matter and pedagogy. This chapter also examines the routes to certification, and how they evolved between 1890 - 1920. In particular, I examine the four main routes to certification during this period including examination, high school graduation, normal school training, and college/university training or education. Finally, in this chapter I examine how knowledge required of teachers, the routes to certification and the minimum prerequisites to teach differed among the four case study states.

Chapter 4 focuses on the continued evolution of the requirements to teach during the 1920s. I analyze how population increases, increased high school attendance, and the end of teacher shortages caused by World War I began to influence the requirements to

teach. In particular, I examine how these factors influenced the ability of administrative state educational officials to increase the requirements to teach. This chapter also examines the continued evolution of the knowledge required of teachers, the routes to certification and the minimum prerequisites required of teachers. In particular, this chapter examines the standardization of teacher training and the elimination of certification through examinations or simply through high school graduation. This chapter also examines the extent to which these changes influenced the types of certificates granted to individuals among the four case study states. In particular, I examine whether there was an increase in the number of certificates granted to college or normal school gradates compared to lower grade certificates based upon lesser academic and professional requirements.

Chapter 5 summarizes the evolution of teacher qualifications from the nineteenth century through the beginning of the 1930s and the start of the Great Depression. In this chapter, I identify the themes as well as the recurring tensions that characterized the development of teacher qualifications during this period. In particular, I discuss how outside influences and the drive to professionalize teaching and teacher training interacted with each other. These developments are important, because they set the foundation for many of the requirements for teaching today. Moreover, I also discuss how these themes continued from the 1930s through the mid 1960s and how they are still relevant today.

Chapter II

The Development of Public Education in Four States, 1890 - 1920

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, the Progressive era signaled the start of a new period in teacher education. Prior to the early twentieth century, most teachers received a certificate to teach after passing poorly constructed oral or written examinations. By the 1920s, most new teachers began teaching with at least a minimum amount of professional training or knowledge. These developments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were momentous and demonstrated a real shift in moving the qualifications demanded of teachers away from local school officials to more centralized authority led by state administrative educational leaders. These developments revolutionized school authority changing not only the qualifications required to teach but also all facets of education.

In the past, a number of historians including Willard Elsbree, David Angus, Christine Ogren, and James Frazier, have argued, correctly I believe, that the 1890s through the 1920s was a pivotal period in the shaping of teacher training. Each has added to the larger understanding of teacher training and qualifications with their own analysis of a range of factors. For example Ogren, analyzed the evolution of normal schools, while Angus focused more on what teacher training was and how it developed nationally. Yet, all of these historians only briefly touched on the larger social, economic, and political factors that were influencing teacher training during this period. It is my aim to

add to this shared understanding by examining how these types of factors influenced the qualifications required of teachers during this period.

This chapter examines how teacher qualifications developed and evolved during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with a primary emphasis on the years between 1890 and 1920. I began my discussion first with a review of how the professionalization of education influenced the qualifications demanded of teachers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In particular, I analyze who controlled the certification and licensing of teachers and what agencies were in place to issue certificates at the national level. I then examine how these developments played out in the four case study states: Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon and Virginia. This state-by-state analysis provides for a rich detailed picture of how educational developments evolved in different parts of the United States.

In addition, to the discussion of who controlled teacher certification and what agencies issued certificates I also review the larger political context and demographic and economic factors that influenced the United States at the turn of the twentieth century. First, this section examines how education and teacher certification evolved from primarily a local responsibility to ultimately a state function. Second, I examine how a number of demographic influences and shifts led to a series of compromises in the requirements for teaching. In particular, I address how differences between rural and urban education, the feminization of elementary education and teacher demand, and the experiences of World War I all influenced the type of requirements educational leaders could require. Third, I describe how economic challenges during this period allowed for dramatic changes in the way teachers were prepared. In particular, I analyze how

population increases, growing school enrollments, and the explosion of high school attendance all played a part in the professionalization of teacher training.

Between 1890 and 1920, the U.S. population grew at an unprecedented rate. As the population grew, the country faced new economic and social challenges that began to change the political climate in the country. With new urban areas growing and old ones expanding, the strength and influence that rural communities once had over a range of state polices including education began to weaken. As a result of this shift in power, state legislators often expanded social and economic policies that extended into realms that were once under the exclusive domain of local authority.

At the same time that the country was experiencing substantial growth in population, the makeup and structure of education began to change. At the heart of these changes was the growth of a new breed of state educational administrators who sought to centralize authority over most facets of education, including teacher certification. During much of the nineteenth century, educational professionals who wanted to centralize authority had little success. But this changed towards the end of the century, when new political and economic challenges began influencing decisions by state legislatures. As a result, control over certification and licensing of teachers shifted remarkably fast during the early twentieth century out of the hands of local officials.

Once state educational leaders such as superintendents of public instruction or state boards of education gained control of teacher certification and licensing, they quickly acted to increase the qualifications demanded of teachers. Yet, these administrators were often limited first by the amount of education that most people had and second by other competing forms of employment. Between 1890 and 1920, the

massive growth in high school attendance along with increasing graduation rates allowed state educational leaders to raise scholarship requirements for a certificate and began the process of requiring at least a minimal amount of professional training. These attempts to increase requirements were often limited or stymied by teacher shortages such as those caused by World War I. Such experiences forced state educational leaders who favored centralized efforts to compromise their goals in order to meet economic and demographic realties.

Despite such compromises, in many ways, the period from 1890 through 1920 was one of the most important periods in shaping the evolution of teacher qualifications. Between 1890 and 1920 the requirements for teaching evolved from a purely local to a larger state concern. This would be one of the first major transformations in both education and more importantly the requirements required for teaching. As we will see in Chapters 3 and 4, many of the factors and influences of this period would have long lasting impacts on the evolution of teacher training.

Professionalization of Education

In order to understand how teacher qualifications evolved it is important to understand how the governance and power structure over teacher certification developed. For most of the nineteenth century most states delegated authority to issue a certificate to teach to local district, township or county officials who had wide discretion in determining the qualifications of teachers. But this began to change in the late nineteenth century as the expansion and growth of educational leadership at the city, county and state levels altered who held the authority to issue certificates to teach. Between 1890 and 1920, a new breed of administrative leaders comprised of city and county

superintendents, state education officials such as state superintendents of public instruction, and faculty in education schools began to collaborate on educational reform. This group of educational leaders, which David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot called "administrative progressives" gradually gained authority over public education laying the foundation for most teacher training and certification programs in the United States today. Within a thirty year period, administrative progressives used their influence to persuade state legislatures and state agencies to "professionalize" teaching through a series of initiatives that centralized authority over certification, increased scholarship requirements and minimum prerequisites, and began the process of standardizing teacher training institutions.[23]

As noted in the introductory chapter to this dissertation, I examine the professionalization of teacher training using Larson's definition of a profession, namely that it is an "occupation with special power and prestige . . . in which society grants rewards because professions have special competence in esoteric bodies of knowledge linked to central needs and values of the social system."[24] Between 1890 and 1920 state legislatures and state education agencies began the process of transforming teaching into a profession by defining the "esoteric" knowledge and training required to be a qualified teacher. For local communities, this loss in power to certify and set requirements for teachers signaled the beginning of a dramatic shift in control over schools. While local communities would continue to wield considerable influence over their schools, beginning in the late 1890s, the power to train and certify the schools' teachers increasingly shifted to educational professionals and state bureaucracies.

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[23] Tyack and Hansot, *Managers of Virtue*.
[24] Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism*, x.

Specifically, between 1890 and 1920, state legislatures and state departments of education: 1) centralized certification authority at the state level in more than half the states in the union; 2) developed both academic and professional requirements for the lowest grade certificate in the states; 3) eliminated certification examinations; 4) developed a process for the specialization of teachers (i.e. elementary, secondary, music, etc.); and 5) increased overall academic requirements for all new teachers.

In an effort to track this transformation of teacher qualifications, the U.S. Bureau of Education commissioned reports to study state laws and regulations concerning teacher certification during this period. The first of these reports was published in 1899. Three additional reports followed during this period (1905, 1911, 1921). While the first two reports were rudimentary, the later two reports from 1911 and 1921 provide rich data on teacher training through 1920.[25]

In evaluating the certification and professional training requirements of the states, it is important to address the wide array of differences in how states determined their requirements. In a 1927 U.S. Bureau of Education report, Katherine Cook summed up these differences nicely. "There is no homogeneity among the States, either in the names used or in their significance; nor are any principles followed which control the naming of certificates. Acquaintance with the names and provision of certificates in one State is of little assistance in interpreting those of other States. A first-grade certificate in one state

[25] United States Commissioner of Education, "Legal Provisions of Various States relating to Teachers' Examinations and Certificates," *Report for the Year, 1897-98* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899). William R. Jackson, "The Present Status of the Certification of Teachers in the United States," *Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Education for the Year 1903* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1905). Harlan Updegraff, *Teachers' Certificates Issued under General State Laws and Regulations,* U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1911 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1911). Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921).

may be the equivalent of a college diploma or life license in another so far as qualifications demanded for or validity of the certificate granted is concerned."[26]

Because of this lack of consistency in the definitions of what compromised state certification requirements and training required for qualified teachers during the nineteenth and twentieth century, researchers were forced to separate the data into broad categories. In order to provide a more complete picture of these national certification data, I group the evolution of teacher certification efforts in three main questions: 1) who controlled teacher training and which agencies issued certificates? 2) what knowledge was required of teachers and what academic requirements were necessary for teaching? and 3) what were the minimum prerequisites for teaching? For each of these categories, I analyze developments both nationally and across the four case study states: Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia.

While this section analyzes data from 1890 - 1920, I also revisit teacher training throughout the nineteenth century. In particular, examination of the mid-to-late nineteenth century trends will make it easier to understand early developments in the control of teacher training, and the institutions that were in place to train teachers. Moreover, providing an overview of the early nineteenth century can also help to establish what knowledge was deemed important for teachers to know and understand. It is during this early period that the first stages in developing a body of esoteric knowledge occurred.

[26] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927).

Control of Licensing & Certification

The nineteenth century proved to be the pinnacle of power for local school districts and townships in controlling the licensing and certification of teachers. At the beginning of the century, most teachers received their first and sometimes only certificate to teach after passing an oral exam with a local district board member. Unlike teacher examinations today, these early tests often focused on attributes other than subject matter or pedagogical knowledge, and mainly concentrated on an individual's moral character and ability to maintain order in the classroom.[27] Since education was primarily viewed as a local matter, a majority of states certified teachers at the district, township, or county level. More importantly, neither the local nor state systems provided safeguards against incompetent teachers, with incompetence in this case defined as lack of knowledge of subject matter or the lack of ability to teach effectively.[28]

In the mid-1800s, many states began the process of centralizing authority over teacher certification in order to reduce the influence of local township officials. By 1860, state officials had persuaded a number of state legislatures to enact a variety of measures aimed at improving the qualifications of teachers including the demand for formal written examinations. Nevertheless, many other state legislatures continued to leave authority for certification and supervision of teachers in the hands of local officials. To counter this problem, educational leaders who favored centralization of authority urged their states to create new positions that would have greater oversight over the local schools. In

[27] Willard Slingerland Elsbree, *The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy* (New York,: American Book Co., 1939), 179.
[28] Ibid., 178.

order to satisfy both local constituents and educational leaders, many state legislatures compromised by creating the office of county superintendent.[29]

County superintendents had daunting tasks. Although their duties varied from state to state, their essential tasks were to 1) keep records of the number of school children in districts and townships and report the figures to the state superintendent, 2) apportion the county and state funds among the schools according to population, 3) lay out the boundaries of school districts, and 4) change these boundaries when necessary.[30] In places that certified teachers locally, the township or county superintendents often wrote and graded certification examinations with little direction from the state.[31]

In the 1830s to the 1890s some leading educational reformers created institutional teacher certification in various parts of the United States. For example, in Massachusetts in 1839, Horace Mann opened the country's first state normal school, and soon after normal schools began appearing throughout the rest of the northern United States. These schools were designed to train teachers how to teach while also providing prospective teachers with broad academic content knowledge.[32] In addition to normal school certification, beginning in the 1870s, chairs of education were created on some university campuses to instruct undergraduates in the "art and science of teaching;" and by the end of the century, both normal schools and universities were poised to train a growing number of teachers for their respective states. In some states, graduates from these institutions were granted teaching certificates upon completion of their program which allowed them to teach with no other requirements. Other states required candidates to

[29] Wayne Edison Fuller, *The Old Country School: The Story of Rural Education in the Middle West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
[30] Ibid., 133.
[31] Ibid., 134.
[32] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 116.

take a state or county examination in addition to the normal training.[33] By the end of the nineteenth century, twenty-eight states issued certificates to graduates of normal schools or universities without an examination. Moreover, some states issued certificates to any college graduate even without any formal pedagogical training.[34] These decisions by state legislatures led to early debates among educational professionals concerning the importance of pedagogical knowledge in determining teacher quality.

Overall, however, in most states local officials still had enormous power in examining and certifying teachers. In 1898, thirty-nine states provided for certification at the county/township level with the local agency grading examinations and issuing certificates. Only three states, New York, Rhode Island, and Arizona required that all new teaching certificates be issued by state authorities.[35]

Agencies Which Issued Certificates:

At the beginning of the twentieth century, large numbers of local communities continued to maintain the power to issue certificates to teachers. However, new educational leaders in state agencies, normal schools, and university departments began the process of centralizing control of teacher certification through state departments of education or through state statutes, which provided for institutional certification for normal schools, colleges, and universities.

As discussed previously, in the nineteenth century, states vested authority to grant teaching certificates under three groups, the state, county, and/or local authorities which included districts, towns, counties or cities. In 1911, Harlan Updegraff, Specialist in School Administration for the U.S. Bureau of Education published a report on teachers'

[33] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 5.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., 3.

certificates issued under state laws. Updegraff classified the distribution of certifying powers among these three groups into five distinct systems of administrative organization: state system, state-county system, state-county local system, state-local system, and the county system.[36] A decade later, Katherine Cook also from the U.S. Bureau of Education restructured and more clearly defined these classifications under the following five categories:

1.) State Systems, in which all certificates were issued by state authorities and the state retains control over the whole matter of teacher certification.

2.) State-controlled systems, in which the state and county authorities may issue certificates, but the authority governing the issue (including giving questions and examining papers) is retained by the state officials. County authorities merely issue certificates.

3.) Semi-State systems, in which the state exercises some but not complete control. The state department makes the regulations and gives the questions for examination, but local authorities examine the papers and issue certificates.

4.) State-county systems, in which both state and county authorities issue some certificates and govern all or important regulations formulating questions, for example, under which they are granted.

5.) State-local systems, as in Massachusetts, in which full power of certification is given to the township school committees. The state department issues certificates limited in number and type.[37]

As Table 2.1 shows (below), local communities dominated teacher certification and licensing in the late nineteenth century. In 1898, thirty-seven out of forty-one states granted local communities the power to issue certificates. Of these thirty-seven states, more than half (nineteen) granted exclusive power to issue certificates to local communities while eighteen states provided for certification by both state authority and

[36] Harlan Updegraff, "Teachers' Certificates Issued under General State Laws and Regulations," (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1911).
[37] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921), 13.

counties. Only three states, New York, Rhode Island, and Arizona (albeit a territory until 1912) required all new certificates to be issued by state authorities.[38]

Table 2.1: Number of States by Type of State Systems of Certification (1898-1921)

	1898	1903	1911	1921
State System (State issued Certificate)	3	5	15	26
State-Controlled (State conducted exams and counties issued some certificates with state setting rules)	1	*	2	7
Semi-State Systems (State set rules, prepares questions, county grades exams and issues certificates)	17	*	18	10
State-County System (Both state and county issue certificates, county has additional control over some certificates)	18	*	7	3
State-Local System (Full Local Control)	2	2	2	2

(Source: Katherine Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers Certificates*, U.S. Office of Education, 1927)

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, a number of state governments began centralizing the power to grant teaching certificates by stripping the power to certify from local communities and giving it to state agencies. From 1898 – 1911, the number of states requiring that all certificates be granted at the state level quintupled from three in 1898 to fifteen in 1911. As can be seen in Table 2.1, the number of states under the state-county system dropped from a high of eighteen in 1898 to seven by 1911. By the early 1920s, more than half the states granted authority to issue all certificates to state education agencies or state boards of education. In 1921, twenty-six of forty-eight states operated under state systems. Moreover, of the fifteen states that provided local communities and counties with some authority to issue certificates in

[38] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921), Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good.*

1921, only five provided local agencies with certification power equal or greater to that of the state authorities.[39]

Regional trends of the agencies that certify teachers presented themselves more fully between 1910 – 1920. In 1911, Updegraff reported that the tendency for certificates to be issued locally was most dominate in New England states.[40] Indeed, in 1911 four of the six states, which provided for certification at the local level, were from New England. Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts all issued certificates locally. In the Mid-Atlantic region, Delaware alone issued all certificates at the county level. In contrast, states west of the Mississippi were much more likely to operate under a system where state officials issued certificates. Twelve of seventeen state systems which issued certificates at the state level, were west of the Mississippi, of those twelve; seven were located in the West, (Wyoming, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon).[41]

The most plausible explanation of differences between states east and west of the Mississippi seems to center on when the states were established. In the early nineteenth century, states east of the Mississippi, especially in New England, pioneered the creation of free, public education combined with local control over schools. In these states, local officials were in charge of all aspects of education from curriculum to the certification of teachers. In contrast, many states west of the Mississippi revised their constitutions in the post civil war years that reshaped the governance structure over many aspects of education. In these states, educational leaders who favored centralized control of schools

[39] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates,* (1921*),* Updegraff*, Teachers' Certificates Issued under General State Laws and Regulations,* (1911*).*
[40] Updegraff*, Teachers' Certificates Issued under General State Laws and Regulations* (1911).
[41] Ibid.

drafted state constitutions and laws establishing state level teacher certification.[42] These new systems of teacher certification became models for national educational leaders. As the number of new states operating under state systems of certification increased, advocates for centralization in older states called for the consolidation of teacher certification and qualifications powers.

By 1921, the trend in centralization of authority had greatly reduced the number of local agencies issuing certificates. In only two states, Massachusetts and Connecticut were local agencies maintaining the power to issue certificates. Nevertheless, in pockets of the South and the Midwest, local control still played a key role in certification. In the South, such states as South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Texas operated under a semi-state system in which teachers were certified by county authorities who graded exams and issued certificates while the state designed the regulations and provided exams. A handful of Midwestern states also operated under the semi-state system such as Michigan and Ohio. In other states such as Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, state governments distributed power to issue certificates among state, county, township, and city officials, all of whom had the power to govern specific regulations, issue certificates, and formulate questions.[43] I now turn to an analysis of how state systems of certification emerged in the four case study states.

[42] For example, Nevada achieved statehood in 1864, Washington in 1889, Wyoming and Idaho in 1890, Utah in 1896, and Arizona in 1912.
[43] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921), 13.

Michigan

The early nineteenth century marked the beginning of organized common school education in Michigan. In 1835, the state added its first provisions for education to the state Constitution. Under Article X, local communities were empowered to create primary districts. These districts were managed by township and school district officers elected by "white male resident taxpayers twenty-one years of age and over."[44] Under this system, township officials controlled all aspects of education in their districts. They examined prospective teachers, granted certificates, and supervised teachers and schools. State oversight was virtually nonexistent. The only state agent in place was the superintendent of public instruction who was appointed by the governor. However, the superintendent's powers were limited to providing blank forms for reports, and issuing an annual report on the schools of the state.[45]

Over time, a series of state superintendents and other advocates of centralization urged the legislature to provide more oversight over local township officials. In 1867, the legislature heeded these calls and created the position of county superintendent. Under the new Michigan law, local officials no longer controlled the certification and examination of teachers; but instead this power was transferred to the county superintendent. State Superintendent of Public Instruction Oramel Hosford argued that the new legislation was a giant step forward in improving the qualifications of teachers in local schools. He believed that county superintendents would be better trained to examine teachers, meaning that better qualified teachers would be in the classroom.

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[44] Charles R. Starring and James O. Knauss, *The Michigan Search for Educational Standards* (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1969), 3.
[45] Ibid.

Rural communities and local township officials, on the other hand, were outraged with this infringement of local control.[46]

In the early 1870s, tensions between rural communities and state education officials grew worse. Some rural constituents argued that "county superintendents cost too much money, had too much power, and were trying to cover too much territory to be effective." Using this argument, advocates for local control persuaded the legislature to eliminate the position in 1875; thereby returning power of supervision and examination back to township superintendents and the township boards of school inspectors.[47] Writing in 1875, Superintendent Daniel B. Briggs argued that there was a feeling prevailing in Michigan "that abhors centralization and resents outside interference."[48]

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, struggles over who controlled and supervised the qualifications of teachers continued to dominate debates about educational policy. From 1875-1881, state superintendents continually used their Annual Reports as a weapon to attack township superintendents for allowing poorly qualified teachers to enter the classroom. As a consequence of these reports, in 1881, the state legislature took a small step in reducing the influence of township officials by requiring a county board of examiners to certify teachers. Under this system, the chairmen of the township school inspectors were charged with selecting three members to sit on a county board of examiners, one of which would serve as secretary. The county board would then examine and certify all teachers in the county while township superintendents were left

[46] Fuller, *The Old Country School*, 138.
[47] *Forty-First Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan with Accompanying Documents for the Year 1877*, (Lansing: 1878), xxiv.
[48] Fuller, *The Old County School.*

with the power to supervise the schools.[49] Unfortunately for advocates of centralization, this system still vested poorly qualified local officials with a great deal of power in certifying teachers. However, this system was more favorable to those supporting local control as it gave both central agents and local officials a stake in the hiring and supervision of teachers.

In shifting power to county-wide examiners, state education officials were hoping to gain more uniformity in examinations. These actions also began to gradually reduce the influence of local township officials in determining the qualifications of teachers. Writing in 1881, Superintendent Cochran argued that "examinations by a county board will secure a more uniform standard in the certificating of teachers, since this board is a perpetual body."[50] Moreover, he argued that the new system of certification would help eliminate yearly changes in certification that often accompanied changes in local officials. By 1882, county-wide examinations were being held throughout the state. Despite this development, Cochran recognized that the reforms would take a lot of time before they planted deep roots; "while keeping the improvement of teachers, and consequently of schools, ever in view, let us remember that permanent reforms move slowly, and that success is best which is attained by gradual growth."[51]

Despite its promising beginning, the 1881 law vesting certification power to a county board of examiners failed to address a number of problems: First, the lack of uniformity in examinations between counties; second, the supervision of schools by county officials remained fairly arbitrary. In 1887, the Michigan legislature passed

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[49] Starring and Knauss, *The Michigan Search for Educational Standards*, 70-71.
[50] Ibid.
[51] *Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan with Accompanying Documents for the Year 1881*, (Lansing: 1882), vii.

Public Act No. 266, which amended numerous sections of previous education laws, but most importantly it revisited those sections regarding teacher examinations and the supervision of schools. Under the new law, the state superintendent was charged with preparing and providing all examination questions while the county board of examiners conducted the exams.[52]

Under Public Act No. 266, the state legislature also transferred the duty of visiting and supervising district schools from the chairmen of the boards of township school inspectors to the secretaries of the boards of county examiners. In each county, the secretary was chosen by members of the county board and the probate court judge.[53] Previous state superintendents argued that the township system of supervision had been for several years regarded as a virtual failure.[54] Often teachers were either supervised by an unqualified township board member or were not supervised at all. Under the new system, the secretary of the county boards could identify teachers who needed assistance and urge more training for them. Or it could identify teachers who should not be in the classroom at all. Writing in 1885 prior to the new law, Superintendent Theodore Nelson argued that:

> It is quite impossible to frame a system of examination that shall provide against imposition, incapacity and failure. The intellectual powers of the candidate may be proved, the morals and manners in a fair degree ascertained; yet there may be some capital fault – some fatal defect which eluded the scrutiny of the wisest and most experienced Examining Board. That is why supervision is needed for teachers.[55]

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[52] *Public Acts and Joint Concurrent Resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Michigan*, No. 266 (Thorp-Godfrey 1887)
[53] Ibid.
[54] *Forty-Eighth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan, 1886*, (Lansing: 1887).
[55] *Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan, 1885*, (Lansing: 1886), xii.

Future state superintendents and secretaries of county boards found that the law did not provide enough authority to be effective.[56] County board members were often poorly trained themselves and lacked the knowledge and experience to ensure that teachers were high caliber. In 1891, the Michigan legislature attempted to rectify this problem by creating the position of county commissioner.[57] Unlike the secretaries of the county boards of examiners, county commissioners were directly elected by the public for a term of two years. Moreover, commissioners were required to "be a graduate of the literary department of some reputable college, university, or normal school, or hold a state teachers' certificate, or have held a first-grade certificate within the past two years, or have held the office of county commissioner under the act." [58]

Between 1887 and 1920, Michigan continued to operate under a semi-state system of agency control. Local officials no longer dominated examinations, certification, and supervision of teachers. Instead the state legislature implemented a plan that distributed power to define the qualifications of teachers among state, county, and local officials. The state superintendent of public instruction prepared and supplied uniform examination questions to county boards of examiners. In turn, the county boards, which were selected by township superintendents, administered and graded the exams of all prospective teachers. Finally, an elected county commissioner supervised the work of the county board of examiners, teachers, and the schools themselves. While the legislature took initial steps to increase the professional requirements demanded for teachers certificates, state and county officials continued to split the authority to issue certificates. These

[56] Starring and Knauss, *The Michigan Search for Educational Standards*.
[57] Fuller, *The Old Country School*, 153. Wayne Fuller comments that the Michigan legislature dared not to call them superintendents and instead opted to call them commissioners because of earlier battles.
[58] Starring and Knauss, *The Michigan Search for Educational Standards*, 108.

battles between local and state officials were typical at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, but not all states struggled for control of certification as much as in Michigan. Virginia is a good example of that process.

Virginia

While Virginia's rich heritage in education dates back to Thomas Jefferson, much of its system of education developed after the Civil War. In 1868, a group of reconstructionist delegates met at the constitutional convention to formulate a plan for readmission to the union. Understanding that the state faced serious challenges with a large population of illiterate African Americans, the delegates developed a system of free public schools intended to serve both blacks and whites.[59]

Prior to the Civil War, education in Virginia was overwhelmingly a local affair. However under the state's post Civil War constitution, the state was charged with maintaining a system of free public schools open to all races. Under the state constitution, the General Assembly was directed to elect a superintendent of public instruction, whose duties included the submission of a plan that outlined a system for public education. In addition, the General Assembly was also charged with organizing a state school board empowered to appoint county superintendents and to regulate public schools.[60] Unlike states in the north, Virginia had countywide school districts, not township or village schools. In 1870, Congress readmitted Virginia into the union, but required that "The Constitution of Virginia shall never be so amended

[59] John R. McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in the Commonwealth of Virginia" (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1987), 27.
[60] Ibid., 28.

or changed to deprive any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the school rights and privileges secured by the Constitution of the said state."[61]

In 1870, the legislature adopted a plan by the state's first Superintendent of Public Instruction William Ruffner creating a semi-state system of certification. Under this plan the legislature created multiple positions including a: State Board of Education (comprised of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Governor, and State Attorney general), the Superintendent of Public Instruction, county superintendents, and district school trustees who were charged with enforcing state directives.

Under Virginia's new system of education, state officials wielded great influence over teacher qualifications. The General Assembly directed the state board of education to appoint both county superintendents and local district trustees. County superintendents examined candidates applying to teach and granted certificates while the district school trustees enforced school laws and hired teachers.[62] However, both county and local officials were obligated to follow directives from the state superintendent of public instruction. For example, county superintendents were "to examine persons applying for licenses to teach . . . to grant them certificates of limited duration . . . in accordance with the direction from the superintendent of public instruction."[63] This was an important difference between Virginia and many other states which often gave minimal supervisory authority to state superintendents.

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[61] Ibid., 27.
[62] Ibid., 29.
[63] Ibid., 30.

Although the superintendent of public instruction had powers over county superintendents, they often provided great discretion to county and district officials. For example, in late 1870, Superintendent Ruffner issued the following directive to county superintendents:

> Your separate part of the work is simple, the examining and commission of teachers . . . For the present, each of you must fix his own standard of proficiency . . . you will have to adopt some rule which will simply secure an abundance of teachers for the public schools. . . For the present, all teachers' certificates must expire in one year.[64]

Between 1870 and 1904, the state of Virginia continued to operate under this bifurcated system of teacher certification with shared responsibility for determining the qualifications of teachers. Yet by the beginning of the twentieth century, some educators were dissatisfied with the results of this type of administration. In his dissertation on the history of teacher training in Virginia, John McCraw Jr. outlined four primary concerns identified by advocates of centralized certification:

(1) There were some 118 different standards for examining and issuing certificates to teachers in the State, because there were some 118 local school divisions.
(2) The different certificates issued had different meaning from school district to school district, for example, the first grade certificate was the highest certificate in some counties while it was the second highest in others.
(3) Some superintendents were rigid, while others were lenient in their grading of teacher examination. Some answers to the examinations were open to subjectivity, e.g. essay questions.
(4) Some superintendents were very careful in renewing and extending certificates while others paid very little attention to the requirement of renewing certificates.[65]

In 1904, after repeated requests from succeeding state superintendents of pubic instruction, the General Assembly authorized the state board of education to create a state board of examiners with the authority to examine teachers and inspect

[64] McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in Virginia", 31.
[65] Ibid., 60.

the schools throughout the state. Under the new law, Virginia evolved into a state system of teacher certification. Certificates were no longer issued on a county-by-county basis and instead all power was centralized into the hands of the state board of examiners. Under this system, the board of examiners was charged with creating a better method of conducting exams, a more uniform and accurate plan of grading the answer papers of teacher applicants, and a more equitable scheme of granting licenses.[66]

Between 1905 and 1911, the state board of examiners attempted to centralize certification while simultaneously increasing the qualifications for teachers. In 1905 the board of examiners outlined five different routes to certification including a professional certificate for normal school graduates, a collegiate certificate to college or university graduates, and three certificates based on examination and professional training.[67] Over the next six years, the board of examiners expanded the number of specialties by creating more clearly defined certificates. For instance, the Board granted special certificates to kindergarten teachers and one-year teaching certificates to students who completed normal training in rural high schools.[68] In addition, the board of examiners added a fourth tier certificate (a lower status certificate) to African American candidates who scored lower on their certification examinations.[69] State educational leaders added this additional certificate as a response to low performance by African Americans. By creating a lower class certificate with weaker requirements, state leaders it made it

[66] Ibid.
[67] *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia, School Year 1907-1908 and 1908-1909*, (Richmond: 1910).
[68] McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in Virginia" 60-76.
[69] Ibid., 73.

possible for more African American teachers to be legally certified, but it also highlighted the unequal educational quality for blacks under the system in Virginia.

While the state board of examiners attempted to strengthen the qualifications of teachers, local superintendents and teachers often fought to eliminate them. McCraw identified numerous reasons for opposition. Local superintendents felt that their power and authority had been diminished; teachers who failed the new examinations and/or received lower ranked certificates challenged the fairness of the system; and finally politicians viewed the board as a liability due to increasing costs.[70] By 1908, opponents to the board of examiners pushed resolutions to eliminate it in the General Assembly, however these measures failed in 1908 and again in 1910. Nevertheless, in May 1911 the state board of education passed a resolution to eliminate the board of examiners.[71]

With the abolition of the state board of examiners, the power to issue certificates to teachers shifted to the superintendent of public instruction until a new plan was devised. In 1912, the state board of education created a new board of examiners under the Department of Instruction to assist in the issuing of certificates. Between 1912 and 1917, the new board of examiners implemented a multi-level system of certification for teachers applying for certification through examination. Under this system local superintendents graded all examinations. Following this process, the local superintendents then sent the graded examinations to the Department of Public Instruction, which would grade the papers a second time. Under this system board

[70] Ibid., 79-80.
[71] Ibid.

members believed that they could reduce careless and lax examination procedures of some local superintendents.[72]

In 1917 the state board of education once again abolished the state board of examiners. As before, opponents of the board of examiners had criticized the its work in large part due to it increasing bureaucracy and the growing number of types of certificates issued. In 1917, the power to certify was transferred to the State Department of Education. In the same year, the state department reduced the number of types of certificates from thirty-eight to seven.[73] In addition, by 1920 state educational leaders had begun to categorize certificates by type of school (high school and elementary). Clearly, by 1920, Virginia was operating under a state system of certification and had been for sixteen years.

Many of the nineteenth century developments in the Virginia system of teacher certification can be attributed to the Civil War. As discussed previously, the new state constitution written after the war made explicit demands on state leaders in regards to education. This created a very state centered system of education allowing state educational leaders to usurp power over teacher certification. This was not typical of what was going on in other regions since only the formerly Confederate states had to be readmitted to the union. Nevertheless, other states created systems of education based upon what their state leaders had observed in other states. Oregon is a good example of this process.

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[72] Ibid., 96.
[73] *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia with Accompanying Documents, 1917-1918*, (Richmond: 1919).

Oregon

Unlike in Massachusetts, Michigan, and Virginia state leaders in Oregon had the luxury of evaluating other state systems of education before implementing their own in 1849. At that time, Oregon was a rural state with a daunting geography that would challenge educational leaders seeking to centralize the system. Moreover, unlike Michigan and Massachusetts, which in 1890, both had more than 400,000 students, and Virginia which had more than 300,000 students, Oregon had less than 100,000 (see population tables above). Rural education was the norm. Because of the remoteness and isolation of communities, the territorial legislature granted authority to examine and certify teachers to county officials.[74]

Like other states, Oregon's early teacher certification laws were created to insure localized control. Nevertheless, when the territorial legislature first met in 1849; they opted to place the power to certify and examine teachers into the hands of county officials rather than local school boards.[75] Four years later, the territorial legislature amended the law granting the power to issue certificates to county superintendents. The 1853 law stated:

[74] Harry V. Matthew, "A History of the Qualification of Teachers in Oregon: 1849 - 1932" (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 1932).
[75] Ibid., 8.

> It shall be the duty of the superintendent to examine all persons who wish to become teachers in his county; he shall examine them in orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar and geography; and if he be of the opinion that the person examined is competent to teach said branches, and that he or she is of good moral character, he shall give such a person a certificate, certifying that he or she is qualified to teach a common school in said county; such certificate shall be good for one year and only may be revoked sooner by the superintendent for good cause.[76]

Between 1849 and 1872, Oregon operated purely on the county system of teacher certification. The state legislature vested all authority for granting teachers certificates to county officials. Until 1872, the only state education official was the state superintendent of public instruction. In addition, the position remained largely a title since the acting governor actually served as the state superintendent. With no functioning state department of education, county authority dictated the qualifications demanded of teachers.[77]

In 1872, the state legislature restructured education in Oregon creating a semi-state system of teacher certification. Under the law of 1872, two major developments occurred. First, the position of state superintendent of public instruction became a stand alone elected position. Second, the legislature provided for a series of diplomas and certificates issued through the Department of Education valid throughout the entire state. While county superintendents would continue to issues certificates locally, the State Department of Education and the state superintendent of public instruction determined the rules and regulations for county certificates.[78]

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[76] Ibid., 13.
[77] Ibid., 6-10.
[78] Ibid., 22-40.

Between 1872 and 1911, both state and county officials faced considerable tension due to shared responsibility for teacher certification. In the early years of this period, few teachers took state examinations instead opting for county certification. State certification was much more demanding. Not only were teachers required to pass all of the subjects tested in county examinations; but they were also tested in algebra, bookkeeping, physiology, theory and practice of teaching, and constitution and school laws of the state of Oregon. Nevertheless, as the later discussion about types of certificates issued will show state officials such as the superintendent of public instruction continued to press for increased state level certification.[79]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the growing influence of educational leaders calling for the centralization began to influence western states including Oregon. In late 1910, a collection of state superintendents of public instruction from western states held a conference in Salt Lake City, Utah to discuss education among their region. At the conference many of the state superintendents from these states adopted measures requiring both higher standards for teacher certification and increased control over education policy by centralizing educational authority in their states. In Oregon, increased control meant a shift from a semi-state system of certification to a state controlled system.[80]

During the winter of 1910 and 1911, the state superintendent of public instruction, college presidents of Oregon, leaders from the State Teachers Association, and other education committees met before the legislature to discuss resolutions agreed upon at the conference, which were further developed by stakeholders from each group. In 1911, the

[79] Ibid., 24.
[80] *Nineteenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon, 1913*, (Salem: 1911).

state legislature enacted legislation transforming Oregon from a semi-state system of certification into a full state system of certification. In the Biennial report issued in 1911, Superintendent Alderman summarized the new law as follows:

> This act provided that all teachers certificates to be issued by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in order that a teacher will not have to take an examination every time he crosses the county line. It also provides that certificates may be issued to graduates of standard normal's and to graduates of standard colleges and universities. It also provides that a four-year high school may have a teacher training class and graduates from this course are entitled to one-year state certificates. The bill for this act was drawn after a conference of the following different boards: A convention of the Superintendents of Public Instruction which was held at Salt Lake City in November, 1910[81]

In 1911, Oregon joined a growing class of states that centralized teacher certification at the state level. At that time, less than a third of the states had state systems of certification in place. County certificates were no longer granted while institutional training in normal schools, colleges, and universities all were elevated to a higher level of status. Although Oregon like many states was shifting towards a state dominated system of teacher certification with centralized authority not all states did so. Massachusetts provides an excellent example of how one state maintained a decentralized system of teacher certification not only in the late nineteenth but continuing onward into the twentieth century.

Massachusetts

While Michigan, Virginia, and Oregon all had a system of teacher certification with varying levels of state control, Massachusetts epitomized a structure based almost exclusively around local authority. In the nineteenth and most of the first half of the twentieth century, the state legislature empowered local school committees "to ascertain

[81] Ibid. Matthew, "A History of the Qualification of Teachers in Oregon: 1849 - 1932", 105.

by personal examination the qualifications of candidates for teaching and their capacity for the government of schools."[82] Thus the state legislature placed exclusive authority over teacher qualifications in the hands of local school committees.

Beyond the qualifications required for teaching, the state legislature also left most other education requirements to localities. Writing in 1905, the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education George H. Martin summed up the education policy of the state as follows:

> Massachusetts has no state system of education nor any approach to one. In this respect it is unique among the States. As people look at it this is its glory or its shame. There is no State university, no prescribed course of study, elementary or secondary, no State system of text-books, no State superintendent of public instruction, *no state certification of teachers*, no appellate jurisdiction outside of the ordinary courts of law. (emphasis added).[83]

With practically no state education policies established by law, a majority of schooling decisions were left to local school boards. In addition, while the Massachusetts General Assembly at times set minimum requirements, it often failed to fix penalties for violations of school codes by local districts.[84] As noted by the Secretary of the Board of Education, this was in marked contrast to "elaborate" school codes existing in other states, and especially with the three other case study states of Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia.[85]

While Massachusetts certainly demonstrated a state committed to local control, the legislature slowly began taking steps in the late 1890s to increase the influence of the state board of education. In 1891, for example, the legislature enacted a statute allowing

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[82] United States Commissioner of Education, "Legal Provisions of Various States Relating to Teachers' Examinations and Certificates," (Washington: DC: Government Printing Office, 1899), 1673.
[83] *Sixty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Education: Together with the Sixty-Eighth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board, Massachusetts: 1903-1904*, (Boston: 1905), 70.(emphasis added)
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.

local school boards to use state normal certificates in lieu of an examination.[86] However as discussed later, the legislature left it up to districts whether to apply those certificate standards to local certification. In short, local school boards retained ultimate power over certification. This was atypical when compare with the other case study states as there is no mention in any state superintendent reports or in the certification laws that local districts could choose not to honor institutional certificates.

State certification for teaching was practically nonexistent in Massachusetts between 1890 and 1920. However, in 1894, the state legislature attempted to create a dual system of teacher certification when it passed a new state law. Under Chapter 329 of the Acts of 1894, the state legislature provided the state board of education with the power to test candidates for teaching positions in the public schools of the Commonwealth, testing both their professional and scholastic ability. The state board would then award one of two teaching certificates, probationary or permanent, based on the number of years that a candidate had previously taught. A state teaching certificate was valid in the public schools and, as with the institutional certification, could be used in lieu of a local examination.[87]

Yet, the 1894 act for state certification and examinations never fulfilled its promise. In the Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education 1901, the board reported that the law had failed to improve education quality largely because the legislature had only apportioned a sum of $500 yearly to examine and certify teachers. In addition, as with normal school certification, local districts were under no obligation to

[86] *Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education: Together with the Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board, Massachusetts: 1889-1890*, (Boston: 1891), 207.
[87] *Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education: Together with the Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board, Massachusetts: 1899-1900*, (Boston: 1901).

accept the state certificate.[88] Consequently, local school committees retained the authority to examine and certify their teachers.

The first real intrusion of state authority on local certification took place at the high school level. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Massachusetts like many states witnessed substantial increases in high school enrollments. While state law only required towns of 500 or more families to maintain a high school, many smaller communities also did so.[89] Yet, the costs of maintaining secondary schools often created a tremendous burden for rural communities. Unlike elementary schools where the early grades often provided the same curriculum for all students, high schools began developing into institutions with expanded courses of study.[90] Not only were high school teachers expected to prepare students who wanted to further their education with college training, but they also were confronted with new and increasing demands of courses in agriculture, manual arts, music, drawing, and so forth.[91] Obviously increased demands in specialization of high school teachers brought increased costs to pay these teachers who had invested a larger amount of time in their own education.

In large urban areas, the cost of maintaining high schools was spread out over a broader range of people than in smaller communities. In 1910, for example the Secretary of the Board of Education reported that from eighty to eighty-five percent of the Commonwealth lived in cities and towns of more than 8,000. However, the other fifteen to twenty percent of the population who lived in rural areas struggled to attract able and

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[88] Ibid., 28-30.
[89] *Eighty-First Annual Report of the Board of Education, Massachusetts: 1918*, (Boston: 1918), 40.
[90] Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise*, 42-47. For example, Angus and Mirel report that at the end of the nineteenth century a movement for manual training in high schools had developed. Soon after in the early twentieth century, educational leaders began expanding curriculums to include vocational training courses such as bookkeeping and commercial law. By the 1930s, Angus and Mirel report that many high schools had a wide selection of vocational courses. Ibid., 53.
[91] *Eighty-First Annual Report (Massachusetts): 1918*.

experienced teachers. In order to keep their small high schools, some rural communities turned to the state for financial assistance. In 1910, the State Board of Massachusetts supplemented the costs of forty-four rural high schools with a subsidy of $500 to each school. In return the schools were required to maintain courses "fit for colleges, technical institutes, and normal schools within the Commonwealth."[92] While these requirements were only mandatory for state-aided high schools, the board used their report to publically appeal to the state legislature for a standardized set of requirements for all high schools.

In 1911, soon after calls by the secretary of the board education for state high school certification standards, the Massachusetts state legislature defined the conditions of teachers in state-aided high schools. Under Chapter 375 of the Acts of 1911, all teachers in state-aided high schools were required to hold state certificates with identified majors and minors. While the board initially argued for instruction by teachers in subjects as credited majors or minors, they opted not to hold teachers to this standard until enough time was provided to colleges and high schools to adjust themselves to the certification requirements. In addition to subject matter training, the new certification law also required a certain amount of professional training beginning January 1, 1913. Thus certification of teachers in state-aided high schools provided the first real opportunity for state oversight of teacher certification.[93]

Nevertheless, by 1920, state oversight in Massachusetts had changed only modestly. Most teachers still received their certificate from local school boards that had almost complete authority in determining one's fitness to teach. In only two main areas

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[92] *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education, Massachusetts: 1912*, (Boston: 1912).
[93] Ibid.

did the state move to state level certification. First, the legislature advanced towards state-wide certification for superintendents of the union schools requiring a two staged approach in which a preliminary certificate was issued followed by a permanent certificate after three years of subsequent work.[94] Second, the legislature implemented the state level certificate for teachers in state-aided high schools (discussed above).[95] In short, Massachusetts continued to operate a very decentralized system of teacher certification at the start of the 1920s. But as will be discussed later in Chapter 3, this doesn't necessarily mean that its teachers had less training than in other states.

Political Context & Emergence of "Administrative Progressives"

In order to understand how ideas about the definition of a qualified teacher changed between 1890 and 1920, it is important to place them in the political context of mid-to-late nineteenth century America. During this period, historian Robert Wiebe argued that most Americans lived in relatively small "island communities."[96] These communities treasured the idea of local autonomy. Community leaders and citizens believed that effective sovereignty and the ability to manage local affairs should not fall to outsiders. They distrusted state intruders and fought intensely to maintain control of all community functions including the education of their children.[97]

Thus, when some educational leaders such as the administrative progressives began pushing for centralized authority in education, the response by many local

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[94] Union schools were early precursors to high schools. Two or more districts would often unite for the benefit of older students. In Massachusetts, for example Horace Mann reported that by forming a union district that more advanced students could be taught by a male teacher. Horace Mann, *Common Schools: Tenth Annual Report of the First Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education* (Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, 1849).
[95] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921), 94.
[96] Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), xii.
[97] Ibid.

communities was vigorous opposition.[98] This was most evident in Midwestern states. For example, in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, when state educational leaders tried to persuade smaller communities to consolidate local districts to township districts, small districts aggressively fought against consolidation. As a result, educational professionals seeking centralization of school authority sought, as historian Wayne Fuller observed, to "wage war on small independent districts."[99] For example, in 1900 after years of centralization battles in Michigan, the superintendent of public instruction declared:

> He [the farmer] attends the farmers' picnic, the meetings of the farmers' club and the grange, listen to the speeches of agricultural-political quacks, and then signs a petition to the legislature protesting against centralization of the school management. He is told that he must oppose the idea of making the district larger, for it would be the 'entering-wedge for the adoption of the township unit system.' He is exhorted to beware of centralization, for that it would be a blow to the 'little red school house' for which his orator has such reverence. The school must be kept 'near the people,' and therefore he often votes for the most ignorant man in the district as school officer, and opposes every movement to bring the school up to the standard of the one his children are attending in a village five or six miles distant.[100]

This distrust in centralized authority plagued state centralizers throughout most of the nineteenth century. As state education agencies or state boards of education pushed to reform and define teacher quality, local communities often pushed back in order to certify and supervise their own teachers. For much of the late nineteenth century, neither local

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[98] Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), Carl F. Kaestle and Maris Vinovskis, *Education and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*.

[99] Fuller, *The Old Country School*, 131.

[100] *Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan with Accompanying Documents for the Year of 1900*, (Lansing: 1901), 7.

communities nor developing state level educators were willing to compromise on this issue.

Yet with the growing urbanization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the influence of "island communities" began to wane. In this era the U.S. had already taken giant strides in shifting from a country based on farming to an industrial society dependent on interactions across a wide range of communities. With these shifts, Wiebe argues that people increasingly felt the influence of forces on their lives were outside their control.[101] Most often these new forces were related to "giant corporations" which were quickly changing Americans way of life. Unlike earlier influences that had developed within the community, these new forces affected the lives of workers and their families from a distance.[102] As a result, Wiebe suggests that as local communities increasingly felt a great loss of control in their daily lives, and consequently, that they were more willing to look to state and federal governments to neutralize these forces.[103]

Prior to this period, rural communities had been successful in minimizing legislative activity by state governments. At that time, state legislatures were not typically used as "instruments for the discussion and adoptions of general policies" but instead were places where individual legislators strove to protect the benefits of their community.[104] But as the country industrialized, new fears developed over immigration, the growing disparity between wealth and poverty, social effects of industrialism, and the welfare of children.[105] From these fears, many people began to call for state action to

[101] Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 44-46.
[102] Ibid., 46-47.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 9.
[105] David B. Tyack, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education, 1785-1954* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 112.

protect traditional values of hard work, self-help, honesty, and efficiency.[106] To achieve these demands, during what historians have called the Progressive era, state and federal legislatures began adopting a wide range of political, economic, and social reforms many of which influenced education.[107]

Although state governments were more apt to adopt a wide range of reforms between 1890 and 1920, they did not attack every issue equally. In some areas like education, state governments often moved slowly or incrementally. This was very different when compared with other areas such as transportation where states took early control in the twentieth century.[108] Education was different. During most of the nineteenth century, most states rested policy decisions with local communities. Moreover, even when state legislatures did pass sweeping education laws, they often failed to provide adequate enforcement measures or supervision. As a result, state authority and supervision of schools in the nineteenth century was minimal.[109]

The reason that state governments moved slowly on education can probably be attributed to the fact most state constitutions had delegated the power over education to smaller divisions of local government such as townships or districts.[110] Prior to the Civil War some states such as Massachusetts, Michigan, and Oregon had created state level oversight with superintendents of public instruction or in the case of Massachusetts, a secretary of the state board of education, but their roles were severely limited often with little to no real power over local school units. This trend continued throughout the late

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[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Maris A. Vinovskis, "Gubernatorial Leadership and American K-12 Education Reform," in *A Legacy of Innovation: Governors and Public Policy*, ed. Ethan G. Sribnick (Philadeplhia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 185.
[109] Tyack and Hansot, *Managers of Virtue*, 190.
[110] Vinovskis, "Gubernatorial Leadership," 186.

nineteenth and early twentieth century. Indeed, as David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot report "in most places the state superintendent exercised little power….[and] were figureheads who collected statistics, dispersed funds, and relayed messages from the legislature and state board, with little opportunity for initiative or leadership."[111]

Yet while centralized authority over schools by state superintendents was still relatively weak during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, things were changing as state power and control increased through both legislative and state judicial actions. In the early 1890s', for example, one of the first ways that schools were influenced by state legislature was compulsory education laws. In the late nineteenth century, many state legislatures began expanding the reach of education by increasing the number of years that children had to stay in school.[112] In Massachusetts, the General Assembly took this one step further by requiring parents to send their children to a public school, "approved" private or parochial school, or an institution that would provide other equivalent instruction. In 1893, however, a man named Frank Roberts went to state court after he was charged with sending his eleven year old daughter to a private school that the local school board had refused to approve. The court supported Roberts reasoning that the statute was only meant to police deviant parents who neglected their children's education altogether.[113] According to the court, the Commonwealth held the authority to ensure that all children were educated but lacked the authority to dictate the content of that education.[114] As noted by historian Tracy Steffes, this ruling was in line with similar

[111] Tyack and Hansot, *Managers of Virtue*, 190.
[112] Steffes, "A New Education for a Modern Age", 421-28.
[113] Ibid.
[114] *Commonwealth v. Roberts, 34 N.E. 402 (1893)*

cases in other states which restricted the power of state authority over state governments.[115]

Although the court in Massachusetts limited the power of the state over education matters, Steffes argues that early compulsory schools' law became the roots of "expansive state police over education which transformed compulsory *attendance* to compulsory *education*.[116] She argues that early courts decided that parents had a legal duty to send their children to school, but the courts made these decisions narrowly, focusing simply on the duty to educate and not on the nature of the education to be provided.[117] According to Steffes, this changed in the early twentieth century as courts bought into the theory that education laws fell under the preview of the state's police powers which allowed the states to exercise authority in order to protect the health, safety, and welfare of the public.[118]

One primary reason that state courts were more willing to expand the state's authority in education was because many state legislators expressly built their arguments on the provision of education in state constitutions. Thus, at the state level, courts were more willing to deem education a fundamental right, something that was missing from the U.S. Constitution. Armed with this authority and with an expansive view of state courts, legislators were able to expand state control over education. This often angered local authorities or parents who argued for local control, but as Steffes notes by the beginning of the early twentieth century, courts rejected local control arguments

[115] Steffes, "A New Education for a Modern Age".
[116] Ibid., 421.
[117] Ibid., 424.
[118] Ibid.

"affirming that schooling was a state function and that the state legislature had nearly unlimited authority to govern the schools or alter arrangements as it saw fit."[119]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the state courts decided a number of other cases dealing with new state regulations and policies concerning schools and their relationship to the states.[120] From state wide textbook policies to school consolidation laws, state courts expanded the role of state legislatures to increase control over school. In Michigan, the state Supreme Court took this a step further in 1902 in the case of *Attorney General ex. Rel Kies v. Lowrey*. In that case, the Court held that schools were "governmental agencies" which are "public property, held and used for the purposes of the state."[121] This decision was not unique to Michigan and in numerous cases that followed in other states, courts rejected claims by local officials who defended local control. Steffes provides a nice collection of these types of challenges where courts rejected local claims in "challenges to school consolidation, alteration of school district boundaries, the allocation of assets and liabilities, county and state taxation, municipal control over school finance or property, and a host of other expansions of state regulation into areas once controlled by localities."[122]

During this same period of time, state and federal legislatures were also more apt to adopt a wide range of new political, economic and social policies. Moreover, state courts were more willing to uphold the power of the state governments. As historian David Angus argued in this era two new factors influenced changes in the control of education and in teacher training: changes in the makeup and structure of the education

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[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid., 447.
[121] *Attorney General ex rel. Kies et al v. Lowrey et al*., 92 N.W. 289 (1902).
[122] Steffes, "A New Education for a Modern Age", 447.

profession, and changes in the political climate which made some legislators more responsive to ideas coming from professional interest groups. As Angus noted, the "key" to the first development was in the rapid expansion of small collegiate departments of education offering undergraduate and graduate degrees in multiple areas of specialization, including school administration.[123] As these schools developed, the new "gatekeeping credential" for membership in education administration became the graduate degree.[124]

As university training and specialization increased, educational leadership shifted away from college presidents and faculty in various disciplines to faculty in education schools (many of whom trained at elite universities like Colombia, Chicago, Michigan and Stanford), city and county superintendents, state education officials such as state superintendents of public instruction, and U.S. Bureau of Education staffers.[125] As noted earlier Tyack and Hansot labeled this group of leaders "administrative progressives" or members of the "educational trust."[126] According to Tyack and Hansot, administrative progressives pursued two goals: to transform the American educational system so that it was more efficiently integrated with the vast economic changes sweeping the country; to transform the system of school governance so that education policy would be based on the scientific expertise which only they had and would be buffered from the gritty local politics which often reflected the values of rural communities or urban ethnic voting blocs.[127]

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[123] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 12.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., 13.
[126] Tyack and Hansot, *Managers of Virtue*, 106.
[127] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, Tyack and Hansot, *Managers of Virtue*.

While administrative progressives pursued numerous initiatives, one of their key goals was to transform teacher qualifications and certification. Angus provides us with a good summary of this:

> Administrative progressives never wavered from the view that a higher quality, more professional teaching corps could only be produced by requiring more and more training in colleges of education or the collegiate normal schools; that their claim to scientific, arcane knowledge should be legitimized by issuing increasingly specialized certificates based on longer and longer periods of former training; that control of entry should rest with the profession itself; that eliminating the local certificate (and the examination on which it was often based) was key; that state certification laws should be written only in broad strokes, leaving the details to a state bureaucracy controlled by their members.[128]

During the late nineteenth century, administrative progressives were much more successful in urban areas than in rural ones. Using their influence, they shaped education policy through state legislatures and city charters. But in rural areas, administrative progressives faced stiff challenges. Angus writes that members of the "trust" often wrote about the "rural school problem" and how its evils could only be eliminated through district consolidation and the elimination of the one room school-house.[129] Between 1890 and 1920, state superintendent reports from Michigan, Oregon, Virginia, and the Secretary of the Board of Massachusetts all addressed the problems of rural schools with increased calls for standardization, supervision, and consolidation. While rural communities remained politically strong for most of the nineteenth century, demographic shifts during the early twentieth century began to weaken their influence.

[128] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 15.
[129] Ibid., 14.

The Rural Challenge

While both urban and rural systems of education coexisted independently in the nineteenth century, new developments by the early twentieth century such as increased demand for high schools, lack of funds through local taxation, and rural migration to urban areas provided state educational leaders and advocates of centralization with the opportunity to restructure rural schools. As Steffes argues "it was in rural school reform, rather than in the advance of progressive cities, that crucial issues of state and local control were negotiated because it was the 'lagging' rural schools that were the target of most state aid and supervision."[130]

For much of the nineteenth century rural school boards, parents, students, and teachers celebrated the success of their schools. These schools symbolized ideal of self sufficiency, which as Steffes notes became "a powerful symbol of American's relentless mobility, community-building, and localized democratic self government."[131] Indeed, Jonathan Zimmerman notes that the little red schoolhouse "invoked classic themes of liberty and self-rule," becoming a bucolic image for rural life.[132] Nevertheless, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the celebration of rural schools and policies allowing for local control increasingly were questioned by state administrative educators who favored centralization and some members of rural communities who began to identify wide disparities between rural schools and their urban counterparts.[133]

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[130] Steffes, "A New Education for a Modern Age".
[131] Ibid., 136.
[132] Jonathan Zimmerman, *Small Wonder: The Little Red Schoolhouse in History and Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 59.
[133] Steffes, "A New Education for a Modern Age".

At the same time administrative progressives began creating a new "efficient" system of education; rural communities suffered a massive decline in student enrollments.[134] For example, in his work on country schools, Wayne Fuller reports that between 1906 and 1916 the percentage of Wisconsin children in one-room schoolhouses dropped from 50 to 36 percent. Similarly in Indiana, enrollment in one-room schoolhouses dropped dramatically. The mass exodus from the farm was a national phenomenon.[135] This was evident in all four of the case study states, although Massachusetts started urbanizing much earlier than the other three cases.

As the growing divide between the quality of rural and urban schools widened, urban-focused leaders looked at ways to strengthen rural schools. For example in 1895, the National Education Association appointed a Committee of Twelve which reported on the status of rural schools in the United States. Comprised of leading educators including state superintendents, college professors such as education professor B.A. Hinsdale from the University of Michigan, and the U.S Commissioner of Education, the committee called for significant reforms in the rural schools emphasizing "expanding professional training and supervision of teachers, embracing wider aims and curriculum of the new education including extension work and nature study, consolidating small schools, and enlarging the administrative unit from the district to the township or county for the organization, finance, and supervision of rural school."[136]

Despite these NEA efforts, advocates for localized control continued to take a hard line regarding authority of their schools. For example, in Michigan during the late

[134] While percentage decreases in total population for rural areas was the norm, in some states there was also decreases in absolute numbers of people living in rural communities. Michigan is a prime example. Between 1910 and 1920 for example the total number of people living in rural communities fell.
[135] Fuller, *The Old Country School*, 219.
[136] Steffes, "A New Education for a Modern Age", 140.

1870s and early 1880s, rural communities battled both state legislatures and state education officials over the creation of county superintendents who had the power to certify teachers rather than township superintendents. Rural legislators eventually forced the repeal of the county superintendent act. Nevertheless, encouraged by a growing trend of centralized control, the state superintendent of public instruction pushed back in the 1890s eventually getting the state legislature to add new oversight including the creation of the position of county commissioner who had the authority to certify teachers and oversee township superintendents.[137]

Despite rural efforts to maintain control of their schools, new challenges developed in the late nineteenth century when high school enrollments began to grow. In the last quarter of the century, high school enrollments roughly doubled each decade while the number of courses of study steadily increased. As high schools "matured", they evolved from institutions primarily aimed at providing a college preparatory curriculum to include new courses focused on business, professional, and vocational pursuits.[138] A prime example of this is the development of manual training, which some educational professionals argued "allowed public schools to train young people for a broader range of occupations."[139] Other examples included such courses as classes in electricity, metal work, dance, theater arts, hygiene, and in rural areas classes in the care of farm animals, farm machinery, botany, etc.[140]

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[137] Starring and Knauss, *The Michigan Search for Educational Standards*.
[138] David L. Angus and Jeffrey Mirel, *The Failed Promise of the American High School, 1890-1995* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999), 7.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Claudia Dale Goldin and Lawrence F. Katz, *The Race between Education and Technology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 235.

As the new high school curriculums expanded, rural communities often found themselves at a disadvantage. With only modest budgets for education, rural communities were often unable to hire enough qualified teachers to teach the growing number of courses of study. As a result, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Steffes argues that "farmers and farmers' advocates, particularly in the Northeast and Midwest, began to clamor for the expansion of educational facilities in the countryside, and were receptive to these calls to 'equalize' education."[141] To assist in this equalization, farmers in the Northeast and Midwest pressured state governments to assist with legislation that would provide aid in paying the costs of rural high schools or allowing their students to enroll in neighboring high schools.[142]

As rural communities increasingly turned to state legislatures and state education agencies for financial assistance, they gradually lost the autonomy that defined them during the nineteenth century. As progressive educational leaders gained support for rural school reforms, they quickly pushed for increased power for state education agencies to oversee changes. In 1898, only three state education agencies or state boards of education set rules, conducted exams, and issued a majority of certificates to teachers. By 1911, seventeen state agencies controlled certification and by 1921 twenty-six did so.[143]

Reflecting national trends, all four states that I examined devoted a great deal of attention to issues of rural schooling. Across all four states, educational leaders stressed the importance of improving the quality of teachers in the rural schools. Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia all followed the path of centralization and standardization of

[141] Steffes, "A New Education for a Modern Age", 142.
[142] Ibid., 143.
[143] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921).

teaching certificates. In 1911, Oregon issued all of its certificates at the state level. Between 1890 and 1920, both Michigan and Virginia tightened their certification laws by vesting power to set rules for certification with state agencies and for conducting certification exams. Only Massachusetts continued to operate under a local system, which allowed local school boards to both examine and certify teachers. Nevertheless, during this era the Massachusetts Board of Education began to effect changes more subtly by subsiding rural schools and in particular rural high schools.[144]

While Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia took varying routes to teacher certification, all four states had educational leaders who pushed for the consolidation of schools. In Michigan, a series of state superintendents of public instruction argued that consolidation of districts into townships was necessary to provide rural areas with high schools. Yet, the long-standing battles between rural communities and educators who favored centralization still hampered consolidation efforts. Writing in 1900, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Delos Fall argued that farmers would rather double-tax themselves than support consolidation efforts.

> The tax-paying farmer, admitting that his home school does not meet the demands of his sons and daughter, pays his school tax grudgingly and straightaway sends his young people to the nearest high school, thus taxing himself again to pay the tuition[145]

Similarly, the Board of Education in Massachusetts argued that consolidation of school districts was needed to ensure a quality education for rural children. Writing in 1905, Board member Greveille Fletcher held that through consolidation "better wages can be paid for teaching, special instructors of music and drawing employed, and more

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[144] Ibid.
[145] *Superintendent Report for Michigan (1900)*, 6-7.

superintendents of schools secured."[146] In addition, Fletcher argued that consolidation made it possible for every student to attend a high school with state assistance from the school fund. He noted: "The small high schools receiving State aid have increased in number and efficiency. The opportunity of adding to a good common school education the advantage of a high school course is now possible, without large expense, to every pupil in the state."[147]

In both Virginia and Oregon, state legislatures took additional steps to consolidate schools. For example, the general assembly in Virginia required that all schools have an average of twenty pupils per term in the school. [148] In Oregon, state leaders pushed for consolidation when possible, but also dealt with geographic restraints that often made consolidation impossible. As late as 1921, the Oregon State Superintendent of Public Instruction argued that "While in many quarters it is being urged that rural one-room schools must give way to consolidated schools, those who know Oregon realize how utterly impractical is such a plan. Every proposed consolidation in Oregon is a problem of its own into which may enter a far larger number of factors . . . A natural division, such as a mountain valley in which there are a few pupils, can be joined to another valley several miles away, separated by a mountain barrier and reached by a winding, precipitous mountain trail or road . . . . Oregon will have always the rural one-room school."[149]

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[146] *Sixty-Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education, Massachusetts: 1904-1905*, (Boston: 1906), 272.
[147] Ibid., 273.
[148] *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia, School Year 1899-1900 and 1900-101*, (Richmond: 1901), xxviii.
[149] *Twenty-Fourth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon, 1920*, (Salem: 1920), 8-9.

At the beginning of the 1920s, the problems of rural education continued to be a dominant theme in improving the quality of education and teachers for administrative progressives. With increasing enrollments in high schools and evolving curricula such as college preparation, vocational training and manual training; a new sense of urgency to strengthen both the quality of rural schools and their teachers captured the attention of both educational leaders and people living in small communities. Yet, the problems with rural schools were only one piece of larger economic and demographic shifts shaping education policy.

Economics and Demographics

During the late nineteenth century, a major characteristic of U.S. public schools was their autonomy. With the exception of major cities, which served larger amounts of students, most districts served only a small number of children.[150] Centralization of school authority was practically nonexistent with the U.S. school system comprised of tens of thousands of autonomous school districts virtually all of which were fiscally independent.[151] While state departments of education were in place, state legislatures often limited their power to distributing school funds and other bureaucratic record-keeping functions.

Much of the reason for early decentralized control of schools stemmed from the way they were funded. Prior to the late nineteenth century, almost all schools were funded locally. Federal funding of schools was practically non-existent except for proceeds from the sale of one section in each township once it was surveyed. This

[150] Goldin and Katz, *The Race between Education and Technology*, 132.
[151] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, Fuller, *The Old Country School*, Christopher J. Lucas, *Teacher Education in America: Reform Agendas for the 21st Century*, 1st ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), Steffes, "A New Education for a Modern Age".

process originated with the passage of the Land Ordinance Act of 1785 under the Articles of Confederation. In this arrangement, the land ceded to the federal government by the original thirteen states were divided into townships, six miles square, each consisting of thirty-six square mile sections. The federal government provided each township with one section of land in which the proceeds from its sale would assist in financing local schools. In 1787, the Confederation Congress extended this to new states developing in the Midwest when it adopted the Northwest Ordinance where one section was sold to finance the schools. This process continued until 1850. After that time two sections were than provided to fund education except in the Southwest where four sections were allotted because of the low values of the land.[152] Throughout the nineteenth century, the federal government continued to encourage the expansion of education with continued land grants to states to fund colleges.[153] However, federal intervention into primary or secondary education generally took the form of a gift. States and schools got land and money to expand and encourage education, but were under no obligation to follow any rules or regulations. While we see a small percentage of federal assistance in education in 1917, total revenues for public elementary and secondary education did not exceed two percent until after World War II.[154]

State funding of local schools was also limited. Prior to the late nineteenth century, many school districts funded their schools primarily through local taxation. Since local townships funded their own schools, early state legislatures vested local township officials with the power to examine, certify, and supervise teachers with relatively no oversight by state officials. Yet by the end of the nineteenth century, a

[152] Goldin and Katz, *The Race between Education and Technology*.
[153] Ibid., 139.
[154] Carter, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 2-480.

majority of states were contributing to education funds. Surprisingly, given the dramatic population growth of this era, state contributions to education dipped from the 1890s through the late 1920s. Indeed as late as 1921, state governments only paid roughly sixteen percent of the cost of public education. However, as Table 2.2 shows, state contributions began to increase by 1931, a development which will play a major role in later chapters.[155]

Table 2.2: Percentage of Revenues for Public Schools Based on Local, State and Federal Governments

	1890	1900	1910	1921	1931
Local	78.7	81.9	82.9	83.5	79.7
State	21.3	18.1	17.1	16.3	19.9
Federal	-	-	-	.2	.4

(Source: Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to Present, 2-480).

While state contributions totaled less than twenty percent of total expenditures between 1890 and 1920, total revenues contributed by the states increasingly grew. As can be seen by Table 2.3, the cost of operating schools during this period greatly increased. While total school expenditures grew significantly for all four case study states, Oregon's expenditures in particular nearly doubled each decade between 1890 and 1910, and then tripled between 1910 and 1920. In the same period, Virginia's total school expenditures also tripled, while in Massachusetts and Michigan they doubled. Even with a modest contribution by the state of 16 percent (the national average), it is apparent that state treasuries were investing large sums of money in public education.

[155] Ibid.

Table 2.3: Total Expenditures for Education by Decade in Four States: Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia

	1890	1900	1910	1920
Massachusetts	8,280,062	13,826,243	19,407,255	40,909,000
Michigan	5,446,416	7,297,691	14,690,964	47,684,000
Oregon	880,369	1,594,420	3,635,516	9,908,000
Virginia	1,557,347	1,989,238	4,393,562	12,975,000

(Source: U.S. Census & Statistical Abstracts of the United States for the years 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920)

Between 1890 and 1920, a major factor affecting changes related to teacher professionalization and the qualifications for teaching was in the increase in the numbers of students attending school. As Table 2.4 shows, total public school enrollments in 1890 were roughly thirteen million students. Within four decades, the number of students attending public school more than doubled to more than twenty-six million students in 1931. Nevertheless, the growth in public schooling was uneven with attendance slowing in elementary grades, a fact that stymied educators efforts to create a new profession in teaching.[156]

Table 2.4: Nationwide Public School Enrollment for Grades K-8 and 9-12 (1890 – 1930)

	1890	1900	1910	1921	1931
K-8	12,830,000	15,161,000	17,050,000	20,366,000	21,135,000
9-12	212,000	542,000	985,000	2,873,000	5,140,000
Total Enrollment	13,050,000	15,703,000	18,035,000	23,239,000	26,275,000

(Source: Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to Present, 2-399).

While overall increases in elementary attendance were impressive between 1890 and 1920, they cannot compare to the total number of high school students attending high school which rose sharply. Prior to the early twentieth century, public high school attendance rates in most parts of the county were extremely low. In 1900 only .7 percent of the U.S population was enrolled in high school and that percentage had doubled in the

[156] Ibid., 2-399.

last decade.[157] As Historian Edward Krug noted in his work on the shaping of American high schools, "It was a rare thing to go to high school."[158] This was often the case even in places where public high schools were available. But was this the case in all states?

In his work on school reform in mid-nineteenth century, Michael Katz argues that attendance rates in Massachusetts's high schools prior to the 1890s were low. To support his conclusion, Katz used local school reports from 1860 to randomly sample 10 percent of high schools in the state. From this sample, Katz found that as a whole less than 20 percent of the "estimated eligible" children went to high school.[159] In addition, he reported that in towns the size of 1,000 – 3,000 that 28 percent of the eligible attended; 15 percent in medium sized towns (6,000 – 8,000), and only 8 percent in cities of more than 14,000. While these numbers were much higher than the national average, Katz argued that his findings "support[ed] the general finding that high schools were minority institutions probably attended mainly by middle class children."[160]

Despite the prevailing opinion that few children attended high school prior to the twentieth century, historian Maris Vinovskis argues that scholars may have *underestimated* early attendance rates. In support of his argument, Vinovskis analyzed high school attendance rates from Newburyport, Massachusetts. But unlike other historians, he did not rely solely on aggregate annual local high school attendance data. Instead he used individual-level information on high school attendance and matched the information to a computerized file of the 13,439 residents in Newburyport. He then used

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[157] Edward A. Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).
[158] Ibid., 11.
[159] Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts*, Reflective History Series (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001), 39.
[160] Ibid.

this procedure on all Essex county cities and towns with high schools in 1860-61 to estimate the likelihood of children ever attending high school.[161]

In the town of Newburyport, Vinovskis identified 818 students who enrolled in one of the town's three high schools between 1857 – 1860. Of that number, 699 students were matched to census data or 85.5 percent of the sample. Using the population of children between the ages of eleven to sixteen, Vinovskis was able to calculate that 31.9 percent of all children between eleven and sixteen were enrolled in one of the high schools in 1860.[162] In addition, by using the census data Vinovskis was able to confirm previous findings that children whose parents were native-born, more affluent, and in more prestigious and remunerative occupations were more likely to be enrolled in a high school. However, he also identified evidence that was contrary to Katz's findings that almost no children from working class parents attended high school. In Vinovskis' sample, one of every six children of unskilled fathers attended one of the three high schools with roughly 20 percent of that number graduating.[163]

Since these findings were inconsistent with other historians, Vinovskis expanded his research to all of Essex county. Fourteen of the thirty-four communities in the county had high schools, and Vinovskis relied on local school reports to gather his data. Unfortunately, as noted by Vinovskis, these reports did not distinguish between the total number of pupils attending high school in a particular session, and the total number of students ever attending high school during the entire year. To counter this, he took the data from the five communities in the county that did make this distinction and found that

[161] Maris Vinovskis, *Education, Society, and Economic Opportunity: A Historical Perspective on Persistent Issues* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995).
[162] Ibid., 144-45.
[163] Ibid., 145.

an average increase of approximately 25 percent was necessary to convert the highest semester enrollment into the total number of different students ever."[164]

Like the results from Newburyport, the results from the Essex county analysis showed that a much larger percentage of children attended high school in the antebellum period. In 1860, approximately 14.6 percent of all children in the county attended high school at some time. This number increased roughly 5 percent to 19.2 percent for communities in the county that had a public high school. As Vinovskis argues, "a sizeable minority of children in antebellum communities with high schools received at least some instruction" in Essex.[165]

Regardless of the available data on actual high school attendance after the Civil War, there is no doubt during the 1890s to the 1920s there was an increasing influx of students into public high schools nation wide. For example, in the first decade of this period alone public high school attendance more than doubled from 212,000 in 1890 to more than a half million in 1900 (See Table 2.4 above). While this jump alone in total high school attendance is astonishing, there also was an increase in the total population attending high school. Indeed, between the percentage of the population attending high school between 1890 and 1900 nearly doubled. The U.S. Commissioner of Education, noted the importance of such growth during this decade reporting that "the rate of the

[164] Vinovskis, *Education, Society, and Economic Opportunity*.
[165] Ibid., 150-51. Despite the different results offered by Katz and Vinovskis concerning high school attendance during the antebellum period, both historians demonstrate that at least in Massachusetts that high school enrollment was greater than the national average at a much earlier time in history. As a result of these findings, the prevailing notion that few children attended high school before the Progressive Era needs to be reexamined. Future analyses need to examine how accurate state estimates of high school attendance were prior to the 1880s. From these analyses, there lies the potential to identify a clearer picture of how high school growth influenced education and teacher qualifications across the regions

increase of secondary students has been more rapid than the rate of increase in population."[166]

Similar to the national trend as a whole, there were large increases in the total number of students attending high schools across geographic divisions and in the four case study states. As Table 2.5 shows, we see at a minimum the doubling of the total number of students attending high school across all five regions of the United States as identified by the Commissioner of Education. [167] However, we see the tripling of students attending high school in the South Atlantic division; more than quadrupling in the Western division, and quintupling times the number of students in the South Central division.

Table 2.5: Public High School Enrollments Across Five Divisions (1890 – 1920)

	1890	**1900**	**1910**	**1920**
North Atlantic division	77,642	169,405	286,130	583,784
South Atlantic division	9,203	27,013	58,952	196,022
South Central division	8,818	39,669	85,573	318,496
North Central division	100,646	254,816	396,549	782,834
Western division	6,654	28,348	87,857	317,232

(Source: Reports of the Commissioner of Education, 1890, 1900, 1910, & Statistical Survey of Education 1920[168]

Reflecting national and regional trends, all of the case study states reported large increases in the total number of students attending high school between 1890 and 1900. In Massachusetts, there was a 47 percent increase in the number of students attending

[166] Commissioner of Education, "Report for the Year 1899-1900," (Washington DC: Bureau of Education, 1900), 2119.

[167] Between 1890 and 1920 the five divisions contained the following states: North Atlantic included Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania; South Atlantic included: Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida; South Central included: Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma; North Central included: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas; Western included: Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, California.

[168] Commissioner of Education, "Report for the Year 1889-1890," (Washington DC: Bureau of Education, 1890), ———, "Report for the Year 1899-1900.", ———, "Report for the Year 1909-1910," (Washington DC: Bureau of Education, 1910), Florence Dubois, "Statistical Survey of Education," ed. Department of the Interior (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1923).

high school; a 53 percent increase in Virginia; a 54 percent increase in Michigan; and a 68 percent increase in Oregon. In both Massachusetts and Michigan, the increases in the number of students attending high school mirrored regional trends, while in both Oregon and Virginia growth in total enrollment of students in high schools was less than the overall growth for the region. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the 1890s marked the beginning of the high school as a mass institution on the national scale.

Table 2.6: Public High School Enrollments by Case Study State (1890 – 1920)

	1890	**1900**	**1910**	**1920**
Massachusetts	19,125	35,914	54,817	93,378
Michigan	13,172	28,811	39,984	84,438
Oregon	606	1,916	8,914	25,250
Virginia	2,059	4,390	11,567	30,919

(Source: Reports of the Commissioner of Education, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920).

In the early twentieth century, the increasing enrollments that began during the 1890s intensified. In 1900, a little more than a half million students attended public high school. Within two decades, the number of high school students increased to roughly three million. In 1890, high school students accounted for less than two percent of the total enrollment; while in 1921 they accounted for nearly fourteen percent of all children in public schools. These massive enrollment challenges forced educational leaders and teacher training institutions to accommodate to the escalating demand for high school teachers.[169]

While high school enrollments grew at an accelerated rate, they did not grow uniformly across all five geographic divisions in the United States. In the North Atlantic and North Central divisions, total high school enrollment tripled from 1900 – 1920 compared with the national average of quadrupling. In contrast, total high school

[169] Carter, *Historical Statistics of the United States*.

enrollments grew by more than seven times in the South Atlantic, eight times in the South Central, and by more than ten times in the Western division. Much of the reason for this variation is most likely due to population growth in the five regions. Both the North Atlantic and North Central regions had much larger populations in 1890 than the other three regions. In addition, they also had significantly higher numbers of students attending high school earlier than the other three regions. For example in 1890, 88 percent of public high school students were either from the North Atlantic or North Central division; 82 percent in 1900, 75 percent in 1910, and 63 percent in 1920. Thus as populations increased in other regions so did the percentages of students enrolled in the high schools of those respective regions.[170]

As with both the national and regional trends in general, all four of the case study states had substantial growth in the total number of students attending high school each year during the first two decades of the twentieth century. While Massachusetts had roughly 36,000 students attending high school in 1900, by 1910 there was roughly 55,000 students attending public high school; only ten years later, total secondary enrollment ballooned to more than 93,000. Quite similar to the growth in Massachusetts was the large increase in attendance in Michigan. In 1900, Michigan had a little over 28,000 students attending public high school. This total grew moderately in 1910 to around 40,000 but surged between 1910 and 1920 to nearly 85,000. For both states the overall growth in high school enrollment was large. The total number of students attending high school in Massachusetts in 1920 was nearly five times what is was in 1890. In Michigan the total had multiplied more than six times.[171]

[170] See Table 2.4.
[171] See Table 2.5.

While the growth in the number of students attending public high school in Massachusetts and Michigan was massive, the growth in attendance in the other two case study states was even more impressive. For example, in Oregon there were fewer than one thousand students in public high schools in 1890. But by 1910, the state reported a little less than 9,000 public high students and by 1920 nearly 25,000. Thus by 1920, the number of public high school students in Oregon was more than forty-one times what it had been in 1890. Virginia showed a similar pattern. In 1890, the state reported only a little more than two thousand high school students. By 1920, the total number of public high school students had reached 30,000 in the state; an increase of more than fifteen times the number in 1890.[172]

At the same time that secondary enrollments were experiencing large gains, the number of elementary aged students in schools began to stabilize. As a result, secondary enrollment rates increasingly grew and captured a larger percentage of each of the four case study state's school population during this period. As can be seen by Table 2.7, all four states more than doubled the number of secondary aged students attending school between 1900 and 1920. In 1900, the percentage of secondary aged students enrolled in classes for all four case study states was less than 25 percent of the student population. For example, 15 percent of the student population in Massachusetts, 16 percent in Michigan, 22 percent in Oregon, and 22 percent in Virginia were comprised of high school aged students. Over the next two decades, the percentage of each state's student population in high school grades increased. By 1920, 27 percent of students in

[172] See Table 2.6.

Massachusetts, 27 percent in Michigan, 33 percent in Oregon, and 29 percent in Virginia were of high school age.

Table 2.7: School Enrollments by Age Group for Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon and Virginia (1900 – 1920)

	1900		**1910**		**1920**	
	5 – 14	***15 -20***	***6 – 14***	***15-20***	***7-13***	***14-20***
Massachusetts	384,355	70,064	479,429	105,600	464,752	168,282
Michigan	381,565	74,223	431,701	108,032	453,652	172,513
Oregon	63,586	18,652	86,354	30,664	94,312	47,301
Virginia	230,774	66,530	301,007	91,492	324,292	135,745

Source: U.S. Census & Statistical Abstracts of the United States for the years 1900, 1910, 1920. Prior to 1900, U.S. Census documents did not break attendance down by age or categories suitable with comparisons for the years 1900 – 1920. In addition, age categories changed each decade as can bee seen by the tables. Elementary, middle school, and high school designations developed much later.

Considering the substantial increases in high school attendance between 1890 and 1920, it naturally follows that students increasingly spent more time in school during this period. Claudia Goldin and Lawrence Katz report that for the native born population born between 1876 and 1951, there was a substantial increase in the number of years spent in school.[173] Overall, Goldin and Katz identified an increase of 6.2 years of schooling between 1900 and 1975 or .82 years per decade. More importantly, they report that the increase was continuous and unbroken between 1880 and 1940.[174]

Naturally, as more students attended high school for a longer period of time, two primary questions developed 1) who should set the curriculum, and 2) what should a high school curriculum entail? While high school curriculum decisions were decided by locally elected boards of education for much of the nineteenth century, by the 1870s this began to change. During this period David Angus and Jeffrey Mirel argue that two trends in high school curriculum developed in the later half of the nineteenth century. The first

[173] In order to measure educational advancement, Goldin and Katz measured educational attainment by birth cohort for Americans born in the United States from 1876 to 1975 to gain a measure of what the U.S. educational system produced. They then added foreign-born workers and weighted by cohort size, age, and labor force status to obtain human capital stock, 42.
[174] Goldin and Katz, *The Race between Education and Technology*, 40-41.

trend called for an increase in manual training. According to Angus and Mirel, this movement was only moderately successful in establishing manual training high schools, manual training courses in existing high schools and some grammar schools in cities around the country. One reason for this slow growth was that, "educational 'professionals'" were split on whether the movement was worthwhile.[175]

The second movement that Angus and Mirel discuss was the degree to which college and university admissions policies helped shape curriculum practices in high schools. Indeed, Angus and Mirel note that "many historians" have argued that this dominance developed in the late and early twentieth century.[176] However, Angus and Mirel found that the evidence pointed to the contrary. Their argument can be confirmed by analyzing national data kept by the Bureau of Education. Between 1890 and 1910 the Bureau tracked the type of training high school students had. As Table 2.8 shows, 1890 had the highest percentage of students preparing for collegiate training after high school, with 14.4 percent of students in public high schools in 1890 in college preparatory curricula compared with 10.8 percent in 1900 and 5.6 percent in 1910. Thus, with a smaller percentage of students preparing to go to college as the twentieth century progressed, it seems unlikely that colleges and universities were playing a large role in high school curriculums during this period.[177]

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[175] Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise*, David L. Angus and Jeffrey E. Mirel, "Presidents, Professors, and Lay Boards of Education: The Struggle for Influence over the American High School, 1860-1910," in *A Faithful Mirror: Reflections on the College Board and Education in America*, ed. Michael C. Johanek (New York: College Board, 2001).
[176] Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise.*
[177] Ibid.

Table 2.8: Percentages of Students in College Preparation Programs (1890 – 1910)

	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910
In college prep of classical course	7.38	7.53	6.02	5.15	3.08
In college prep of scientific course	7.06	6.22	4.80	4.31	2.49
Total in college prep	14.44	13.75	10.82	9.46*	5.57

(Source: Reports of the Commissioner of Education, 1890, 1900, 1910).
* Total Reported Incorrectly on Report

Instead what developed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a battle to determine high school curricula. One of the first groups that attempted this feat was The Committee of Ten. Appointed by the an elite group within the National Educational Association (NEA), the committee was comprised of university presidents and faculty members, the U.S. Commissioner of Education, two private high school headmasters, and one public high school principal. The NEA charged the Committee of Ten with reporting on the uniformity of high school programs and the requirements for admissions to college. In addition, the committee also had nine subcommittees which made recommendations on the teaching of nine subject areas: Latin; Greek; English; modern languages; mathematics; physics, astronomy and chemistry; natural history (biology, including botany, zoology, and physiology); history, civil government, and political economy; and geography (physical geography, geology, and meteorology).[178]

While I discuss The Committee of Ten in more detail in chapter 4, the crux of the report centered on three principles: First, the committee recommended that for every subject being taught in secondary schools that it should be "taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil" as long as the pupil wishes to study the topic regardless of

[178] Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise.*

whether or not they planned on attending college.[179] Second, that elective study would be organized by the high schools into courses of study, and then students would select the course of study they wished to pursue. Third and finally, that if high schools followed the first two principles that every college and university should accept the school's arrangement as adequate for admission to at least one of its degree programs.[180]

While the Committee of Ten was organized to encourage uniformity of high school programs and the requirements for college admission, critics were quick to misrepresent it as elitist.[181] As Herbert Kliebard reported, critics tried to distort the recommendations of the committee claiming it had argued that what was fit for college was fit for life.[182] However, the Committee of Ten was keenly aware that most boys and girls were not going to pursue college and university training. Indeed, they even noted this fact in their report calling for a liberal arts secondary school "programme" for all students in high school regardless of class background.[183]

The Committee of Ten was not charged with developing a coordinated high school curriculum for all children. But, as argued by Angus and Mirel its report was, "the first clarion call for the high school curriculum to be designed by career educators."[184] Despite the Committee of Ten Report, the question of who should design a high school curriculum and who should control the content of secondary education was still undecided. During the late 1890s, at the same time that critics were attacking the work of the Committee of Ten, a new group was vying for authority over educational

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[179] Angus and Mirel, "Presidents, Professors, and Lay Boards of Education", 21-22.
[180] Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise*, 9.
[181] Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 14-15.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise*, 9, Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum.*
[184] Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise*, 10.

matters. Comprised of an alliance of big city superintendents, high school principals, and professors of education, Angus and Mirel argue that this group "attempted to wrest control over secondary school affairs from the college presidents and liberal arts faculty members who had dominated the Committee of Ten."[185] While this group sought to influence secondary curriculum choices, this was only a small piece of a larger plan to take over all education matters to this new group of educational professionals. In order to accomplish this goal, educational professionals sought to professionalize teacher training and certification.

Since high school enrollments were growing at an unprecedented rate during the early twentieth century, one of the most practical ways to increase professional requirements was to require high school graduation as a minimum requirement for the lowest grade teaching certificate in the various states. In the late nineteenth century, this option would have been nearly impossible as only a small percentage of students attended high school, and only 95,000 students graduated in 1900. However, by 1920 the number of high school graduates in the country more than tripled to a little more than 300,000.[186] With high school graduation rising and elementary enrollment beginning to slow, state legislatures and state boards of educations turned to high school graduation as the minimum prerequisite for the lowest grade teaching certificate. In 1911, only one state (Indiana) required high school graduation for the lowest grade certificate, by 1920 eleven states did so.[187] As we will see in chapter 4, the requirement of a high school diploma greatly accelerated throughout the 1920s.

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[185] Ibid., 11.
[186] Carter, *Historical Statistics of the United States*.
[187] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921), 12.

In addition to making high school a prerequisite for teaching, many states turned to high school normal departments to train elementary teachers. By 1920, twenty-one states had established teacher-training classes or normal training work in high schools as a route to teacher certification for at least one certificate in the state. This type of training was especially popular in the Midwest and in the Plains states but less so in the South, Southwest, or Northeast. While this type of training guaranteed increased scholastic and pedagogical knowledge, it also provided beginning teachers with an opportunity to teach early on in life with the hope of creating more career oriented teachers.[188] But bans on married women teachers undercut the long term careers for most women.[189]

Across the four case study states, the importance of high schools played a major role in the standardization of teacher certification in the early twentieth century. Three of these states Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia all utilized high schools to train teachers and increase the professional requirements required of teachers. Massachusetts on the other hand provides a unique story. While high school enrollments grew, state laws and regulations continued to leave all certification requirements to local school districts. However, the one exception was in state-aided high schools. Beginning in 1911, the Massachusetts state legislature, for the first time, mandated state certification for all teachers in state-aided high schools.[190] While the bulk of teachers were still certified locally, the desire to operate local high schools provided educational leaders, who favored centralization, with the opportunity to limit local authority. This became

[188] Ibid.
[189] Patricia Anne Carter, *"Everybody's Paid but the Teacher": The Teaching Profession and the Women's Movement*, Reflective History Series (New York: Teachers College Press, 2002), 108.
[190] *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education, Massachusetts: 1912*, 113.

possible as local districts turned to their state government for additional funding to support their high schools.

Increasing Demand for Teachers and the Feminization of Teaching

While increasing enrollments, types of schooling, and the ways in which education was funded influenced the nature of qualifications required of teachers so did the enormous demand for new instructors. In his work on the history of schools and colleges of education, David Labaree argues that "the biggest single problem facing American school officials in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had nothing to do with curriculum or pedagogy."[191] Rather Labaree declared, "the persisting challenge was to find a way to build enough classrooms for all students …and to *fill these classrooms with teachers* (emphasis added)."[192]

The demand for teachers increased significantly throughout the nineteenth century, first because of population growth and second because states began expanding educational opportunities for most children. Naturally as both time spent in school and enrollments increased for both elementary and secondary schools, so did demand for new teachers. In 1890, there were roughly 368,000 teachers across grades K-12. Ten years later the number increased to roughly 432,000 new teachers, and by 1920 there were nearly twice as many teachers as there was in 1890. This trend continued and by 1931, there were nearly 900,000 teachers in the United States (See Table 2.9 below).

Table 2.9: Classroom Teachers by Gender by Thousands (1890 – 1930)

Thousand	**1890**	**1900**	**1910**	**1921**	**1931**
Female	245	306	534	605	718
Male	123	126	110	118	154
Total	368	432	534	723	872

(Source: Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to Present, 2-412 – 2-413).

[191] David F. Labaree, *The Trouble with Ed Schools* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 20.
[192] Ibid.

With growing demand for teachers in both elementary and high school grades due to increasing enrollments and massive increases in the cost of education, school administrators turned to women as the main source of elementary instructors. Since the mid-nineteenth century, women had been teaching elementary schools in large numbers. Educational professionals and political leaders believed that women teachers would be right for the job because of their "sound intellectual and moral training."[193] Indeed, Carl Kaestle points out that responsibility for educating and nurturing children was a principal argument in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century for increasing girls' access to schools.[194]

With a growing belief that women needed to be educated in part to help educate other children**,** female enrollment in schools continued to grow in every region of the country except in New England where women had achieved parity with men in the pre-Civil War era. In his work on female education in the antebellum period, Maris Vinovskis reports that by 1860 males and females attending school between the ages five and nineteen were only a few percentage points apart. Moreover, Vinovskis reports that 63 percent of white males between five and nineteen were attending school in 1860 compared to 58 percent of white females.[195] For free blacks, the percentage of males and females attending school were strikingly lower, 19 percent for males and 18 percent for women.[196]

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[193] Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 27.
[194] Ibid., 28.
[195] Maris Vinovskis and Richard M Bernard, "Beyond Catharine Beecher: Female Education in the Antebellum Period," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 3, no. 4 (1978): 861.
[196] Ibid.

With increased education, a growing national population, and the spread of industrialism single women had more employment opportunities in the form of elementary teaching positions. Christopher Lucas argues that between the 1830s to the 1860s "women were considered best fitted to teach young children in the lower grades."[197] Most often during this period, women who became elementary teachers had only a rudimentary education themselves. Their male counterparts tended to be better prepared and they often took high school jobs. This gender divide continued beyond elementary and secondary teaching positions. In education, large numbers of men moved beyond secondary teaching careers into positions as principals and/or superintendents. As Lucas notes, "the result was an almost exclusive monopoly of educational leadership roles by men."[198]

For districts and states, the need to have women teach younger students was both a practical and economic necessity. First, the number of male teachers willing to teach elementary classes dropped greatly as enrollments rose and as men took better paying jobs often in the manufacturing sector. Second, since most states and districts had only modest sources of revenue to pay for schools, it became imperative to hire women as teachers since they were compelled to work for a half or even a third of the pay of their male counterparts.[199]

While women played an important role as teachers during the nineteenth century, their importance to the profession grew through the twentieth century. As Table 2.10 shows, women accounted for a majority of teaching positions across all four of case study states. Moreover, while the number of female teachers increased in each decade for all

[197] Lucas, *Teacher Education in America*, 14.
[198] Ibid., 15.
[199] Ibid., 13.

four states, there was a corresponding decrease in the number of male teachers. This is especially true for the four case study states, where women greatly outnumbered men as teachers in the public schools.[200]

Table 2.10: Number of Male and Female Teachers in Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia (1890 – 1920)

	1890		**1900**		**1910**		**1920**	
	Female	***Male***	***Female***	***Male***	***Female***	***Male***	***Female***	***Male***
Massachusetts	11,129	2,222	12,379	1,176	13,752	1,341	17,449	1,636
Michigan	13,196	4,306	12,684	3,240	15,178	2,585	21,513	2,789
Oregon	1,618	1,276	3,742	2,678	3,590	863	6,784	994
Virginia	5,200	3,679	6,138	2,810	8,013	2,080	12,719	1,552

Source: U.S. Census & Statistical Abstracts of the United States for the years 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920

Yet even with increasing enrollments, supply and demand for teachers fluctuated between 1890 and 1920. Between 1890 and 1915, the increase of students attending school forced a majority of states to hire teachers based on an examination with minimal or no professional training. As Michael Sedlak points out, with "a general teacher shortage, combined with wildly fluctuating and inconsistent prerequisite qualifications," virtually every prospective teacher was guaranteed a job.[201] Yet, even in times of high demand, many states slowly began the process of centralizing authority over teacher certification and in increasing the qualifications to teach. But following the beginning of World War I in 1914, educators pushing for increased teacher training faced real dilemmas as both men and women left teaching for jobs in the defense industry. In response state legislators and state educational leaders often had to resort to special certificates, which bypassed state requirements that called for increased requirements.[202]

[200] See Table 2.9 from Collections of the U.S. Census.
[201] Michael W. Sedlak, "Let Us Go Buy a School Master: Historical Perspectives on the Hiring of Teachers in the United States, 1750-1980," in *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work*, ed. Donald R. Warren (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 262.
[202] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921), 12.

World War I

While the period from 1890 – 1920 can be characterized as one with intense growth and increased teacher training requirements, economic developments during World War I created serious challenges to educational leaders across the country. As I discuss in the next few pages, by the time the United States officially entered the war in 1917, teachers were leaving their classrooms in droves. While some teachers left to enlist in the military, others switched occupations for more profitable work in manufacturing. While teaching forces were being depleted, school enrollments continued to increase especially at the high school level. As Table 2.11 shows, high school enrollments grew from a little less than 1.5 million in 1915 to 2.2 million in 1919. This represented an overall increase of nearly thirty percent in only four years.

Table 2.11: Nationwide Public School Enrollments (1915 – 1919)

	K-8	**9-12**
1915	18,896,000	1,456,000
1917	18,920,000	1,934,000
1919	19,378,000	2,200,000

(Source: Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to Present, 2-398.)

With growing demand for teachers to serve these rising enrollments, state legislatures and state boards of education had to find ways to get new teachers in the classroom. Since most states had increased the qualifications for certification between 1890 and 1915, their only real option was to issue special/emergency certificates to fill the vacant positions. Beginning in 1917 and into the early 1920s, the number of emergency certificates issued across the states grew substantially.[203] As a result, educational policies calling for increased minimum requirements and more defined

[203] Ibid.

curricula for elementary and high school teachers became impractical. To this end, World War I undercut the push for better-trained teachers.

In comparing the four case study states with national trends, the loss in teachers due to the war clearly put pressure on educational leaders to find new instructors. About a year after the U.S. officially entered World War I, the Secretary of the Board of Education in Massachusetts reported that the high demand for teachers was costing both the state and counties more money to pay qualified instructors.

> Many of the younger teachers, both men and women, have left to enter the national service. So great is the dearth of teachers caused by the exodus that practically no women teachers were available during the middle of the year at a salary less than $700.[204]

While states such as Massachusetts turned to higher salaries to attract teachers, many states were forced to turn to the lowest grade certificates or emergency certificates to fill the increasing demands. These certificates often required the least amount of training and professional background but often were limited in duration and in the number of types in which they could be renewed. During this period Michigan, Oregon and Virginia all had increases in these types of certificates. For example, in Oregon for the school year of 1919-1920, county superintendents reported issuing 800 emergency certificates.[205] In Michigan, the number of third grade certificates (the lowest grade certificate issued by county officials) decreased during the early part of World War I but increased when the U.S. officially entered the war (See Table 2.12 below). And in Virginia, the number of local/emergency certificates issued jumped dramatically in 1918; one year after the U.S. entered the war (See Table 2.13 below). However, one

[204] *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education, Massachusetts: 1912*, 38.
[205] *Oregon School Reports 1920*, 12.

interesting note is that the number of emergency/local certificates for blacks in Virginia remained relatively constant.

Table 2.12: Total Number of Third Grade Certificates Issued in Michigan 1914-1919

Year	**1914**	**1915**	**1916**	**1917**	**1918**	**1919**
Number of Certificates Issued	2,915	2,760	2,096	1,975	2,245	2,459

(Source: Annual Reports of the Michigan Superintendent of Public Instruction for the years 1914-1919)

Table 2.13: Total Number of Emergency/Local Certificates Issued in Virginia 1915-1919

1915		**1916**		**1917**		**1918**		**1919**	
White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
295	454	142	368	293	429	1041	281	1,451	367

(Source: Annual Superintendent Reports in Virginia for the years 1915-1919)

In addition to the loss of teachers due to the war industry, some states faced lower enrollments in teacher training institutions such as normal schools, and colleges and universities. For example, the Massachusetts state normal schools enrolled more than 2,900 students in 1916; in 1919 the total had decreased to a little over 2000.[206] Indeed, the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board argued in his annual report that: the number of students in colleges and normal schools preparing for the teaching profession has rapidly decreased because of the better financial remuneration offered in other lines of work.[207]

Michigan faced similar challenges. For example, in 1918-1919, the Superintendent of Public Instruction argued that the "urgency of war work and the general attractiveness of the war work along commercial lines had turned many persons away from the teaching."[208] In industrial cities like Detroit, teaching was hit particularly hard due to large salaries offered for war related jobs. For example between 1914 – 1919

[206] *Annual Report of the Department of Education for the Year Ending in 1921*, (Boston: 1922), 22.
[207] *Eighty-First Annual Report (Massachusetts): 1918*, 38.
[208] *Eighty-Second Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan with Accompanying Documents for the Year 1918*, (Lansing: 1919), 10.

metal and chemical workers received wage increases of more than 100 percent, while Detroit schoolteachers received wage increases of less than 50 percent. As a result, the city of Detroit began to face teacher shortages as early as 1917. Three years later, Detroit City Superintendent Frank Cody reported that twice as many teachers had resigned in the last six months, as had done the previous year. Cody noted that the reason for their leaving was simple, their "desire to enter more lucrative employment."[209]

While state educators at all levels, local and state were plagued with real, serious challenges in training teachers, some administrative progressives continued to push for increasing qualifications. Nevertheless, in response to shortages, they also had to turn to quick fixes such as emergency certificates, which threatened gains in a professional direction. Yet even in crisis mode, administrative progressives limited the length of time that the emergency certificates were valid. Once the market for teachers began to stabilize in the 1920s, state and national leaders would again turn their attention to teacher training requirements. Chapter four shows how the 1920s were an important decade for increased professional training requirements and the cementing of a state controlled system of certifying teachers for elementary and high school teaching.

Summary and Conclusions

By the early 1920s, administrative progressives and other advocates of centralized control had significantly altered the power structure of teacher certification in the United States. Between 1890 and 1920, educators who favored centralization successfully pushed for broad changes in education including rural consolidation, the structuring of schools around elementary, middle, and high schools grades, centralization of educational

[209] Jeffrey Mirel, *The Rise and Fall of an Urban School System: Detroit, 1907-81* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 56.

authority, and increased teacher training. However, they faced a grim reality of massive enrollments, moderate support of education by state governments, and better job opportunities other than teaching. As a result they often had to compromise their ambitious goals with the realities of the marketplace.

Yet, even with outside factors influencing the rate at which education began to professionalize, there still was incredible growth in the qualifications demanded of teachers. Much of the reason for increasing requirements grew out of the transfer of authority of teacher certification and licensure. In 1898, for example, only three states operated under state systems of certification where the state conducted all the rules, set all the regulations, and issued all the certificates. However, by 1921, a total of twenty-six of forty-eight did so. As a result, state administrative officials slowly began to increase the requirements for certificates to teach increasing both the amount of scholarly and pedagogical requirements.

One of the major factors that influenced the ability of educators to centralize certification authority was in the growth in the number of students attending school, and in particular high school. In 1890, public school enrollment was a little more than thirteen million students; by 1921 it had increased to more than twenty-three million. While much of this growth was due to population increases, a larger proportion can be attributed to students attending school longer. In 1890, roughly 200,000 students attended high school, while nearly three million did so by 1921. This unprecedented growth in high school attendance is important because it meant that more people were receiving more than a primary or elementary education. As a result, state governments,

often lobbied by administrative progressives could slowly make high school graduation the new standard as a minimum qualification for a certificate to teach.

At the same time that school enrollments soared, there were major demographic changes as well. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, rural communities began losing population as more people migrated to urban areas for greater opportunities afforded through industrialization. As rural communities shrank, educational leaders such as state superintendents pushed for school consolidation. For most of the nineteenth century, local communities were able to fend off state interference in local education. However as the population in rural areas declined, these areas lost political power in state legislatures, and dependence on state financial support increased, especially in maintaining local high schools. In order to receive support, some states had to relinquish complete autonomy. An example of this was required state certification for state-aided high schools in Massachusetts.

Yet while increasing enrollments and changing demographics were important in the change in governance over teacher certification, a key factor seems to be the change in educational leadership. As administrative progressives gained authority over education there was a slow, albeit deliberate process of transferring authority for teacher certification to state officials. At the same time administrative progressives also pushed for increased academic and pedagogical requirements for a certificate to teach during a period when increasing enrollments and a loss of teachers due to the war effort meant that almost anyone could enter the classroom as a teacher. This movement seems to have been set by beliefs held by administrative progressives that centralized control of certification and increased academic and pedagogical training would lead to better-

trained teachers. This set of beliefs characterized many of the actions of administrative progressives not only between 1890 and 1920 but also into the 1930s. However, what is less than clear is what evidence administrative progressives were using to back up this assumption or whether they simply pushed forward with their agenda based on their beliefs.

In the next chapter, I analyze how the political, economic and demographic factors played out in practice. To do this, I continue my exploration of the qualifications demanded of teachers both at the national level and across the four case study states. In particular, I analyze the knowledge required, routes to certification, and the minimum scholarship requirements for a certificate to teach during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As with most facets of teacher training and education at this time, there was very little standardization among the states.

Chapter III

Knowledge, Routes and Requirement: Teacher Certification, 1890-1920

As we saw in Chapter 2, numerous factors such as demographic shifts, economic challenges, and the campaign to professionalize education all influenced the extent to which teacher qualifications changed between 1890 and 1920. While these factors influenced the rate at which such requirements could grow, the general trend during this period was to demand increased amounts of both subject matter and pedagogical knowledge. As these requirements grew, so did the influence of teacher training institutions. Between 1890 – 1920 some college education became standard for most high school teachers, while an increasing number of states began to require a minimal amount of normal school training for elementary grades. Still across all levels of schooling, the degree to which these requirements were followed depended on the availability of qualified teachers.

As noted in Chapter 2, I argue that the period from 1890 – 1920 was a pivotal era in the history and development of teacher qualifications and training. Key factors such as demographics and economics, centralization of school authority, and the increase in both elementary and high school enrollments all influenced the requirements that professional educators demanded for certification. During this period, all of these factors impacted the knowledge required of teachers, the minimum professional requirements needed to teach, the types of certificates available, and the length of time that a certificate was

valid. In addition, state governments increased requirements when there were teacher surpluses, while they would reduce them during shortages.

In order to understand the evolution of teacher qualifications, this chapter traces what teacher education was and the knowledge required of teachers between 1890 - 1920. I begin my discussion by first describing the knowledge required for teaching. In particular, I address how teacher qualifications evolved from mainly questions about morality to requirements focusing on subject matter knowledge and pedagogical knowledge. Second, I analyze the primary routes to teaching during this period. At this time there were four main routes to a teaching certificate including: an examination, high school graduation, normal school training, or collegiate training. Third, I describe how minimum professional requirements grew across the states beginning first with the requirement of a specified amount of professional training and second by requiring a high school diploma. I conclude each of these sections by examining how the four case study states: Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia all evolved around teacher training and the knowledge required of teachers.

I argue that factors such as centralization of school authority and the professionalization of educational training influenced requirements to teach, but I also found increases in high school enrollments and teacher shortages caused by World War I as the two most influential impacts on training requirements. As high school enrollment and graduation rates increased, so did the minimum professional requirements demanded by state educational authorities. These requirements tended to increase over time unless there were major teacher shortages. An example of this would be the exodus of teachers during World War I. During such times, state educational leaders were forced to slow or

even halt increasing requirements, however these developments were only temporary as state officials created emergency or lower grade certificates that were limited in duration.

In many ways the developments between 1890 and 1920 help us understand the ways in which teacher education and qualifications changed at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. Prior to this period, the amount of knowledge and qualifications demanded of teachers were minimal at best. This changed between 1890 – 1920 as state governments garnered greater authority over teacher education and training. As the power to determine the qualifications demanded of teachers shifted from local to state authorities, we began to see the development of a more nuanced system of teacher qualifications requiring at least a minimal amount of subject matter and pedagogical knowledge. These changes led to increased professionalization of education. In this context I continue to define professionalization as: 1) Centralized control of teacher certification training and qualifications; 2) Development of a tiered structure with teachers on the bottom, administrators in the middle, and professors, deans and schools and colleges of education on the top; 3) Specific levels of training; and 4) Development of structured teacher education curriculum.

Knowledge Required of Teachers

At the same time that state officials, educators, and local communities battled for control over schools; these same groups struggled to identify the knowledge required of teachers. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the knowledge required of teachers in the United States was minimal. But over time state legislators, along with state educators, outlined a system of required knowledge that closely resembles requirements today. In 1840, Horace Mann led efforts to outline the qualifications required of good

teachers in his Fourth Annual Report. According to Mann, all good teachers needed: 1) knowledge of common school studies, 2) aptness to teach, 3) the ability to manage, govern, and discipline a classroom, 4) good behavior, and 5) good morals.[210] Throughout the nineteenth century, educational leaders and state legislators condensed and codified Mann's ideas into three main knowledge requirements: moral based reasoning, proficiency in general academic subjects, and pedagogical education and training. However, as noted in Chapter 2, the power to certify and supervise teachers to insure they had these qualifications was often left to local officials who often were most concerned about having orderly classrooms.[211]

Knowledge of the Bible and good moral character was to be the most widely cited qualification for teachers for much of the nineteenth century. However, most states gradually began shifting authority for licensing teachers away from "ecclesiastical to civil authorities" while calling for greater subject matter knowledge.[212] Although early certification requirements shifted control away from local ministers, the power over certification still resided with local officials who often had close ties to local churches. Because of this, local and state certification requirements contained much of the "moral" rhetoric from the earlier era. For example, in 1852, Michigan continued to leave the certification of teachers to the judgment of local examiners; but required examiners to disqualify a candidate for "immoral habits generally, notwithstanding" a teacher's ability in the classroom.[213]

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[210] Horace Mann and Massachusetts. Board of Education., *The Republic and the School; the Education of Free Men* (New York,: Teachers College, 1957), 44-53.
[211] Edward Eggleston, *The Hoosier School-Master; a Novel*, American Century Series (New York,: Sagamore Press, 1957).
[212] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 4.
[213] *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan*, (Lansing: 1852), 411.

Nevertheless, by the mid-nineteenth century, most states also began requiring teachers to have a basic level of academic knowledge to teach. In 1834, for example, Pennsylvania became one of the first states to identify specific subjects for teachers to master requiring competency in reading, writing, and arithmetic or the three R's.[214] Seven years later, New York revised its statutes to require teachers to pass an examination in spelling, arithmetic, geography, history and English grammar to receive a certificate. Other states followed suit at a varied pace and required differing amounts of content knowledge. For example, Michigan did not require testing in specific subjects until 1867.[215]

Over the course of the nineteenth century, as educational leaders gained more state power, state educators and state legislatures also began to mandate a third criteria to teach: pedagogical knowledge. For classroom teachers, this meant having a basic understanding of the history and art of teaching. In 1867, the Pennsylvania legislature became the first to require "professional knowledge" in the art of teaching.[216] However most prospective teachers had no place where they could learn this type of knowledge, and few superintendents tested candidates on the subject. In 1881, the Michigan legislature also mandated that prospective teachers be competent in "the theory and art of teaching", but like other states it had relatively few teacher training institutions to properly train the huge number of teachers needed throughout the state.[217]

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[214] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921), 12.
[215] In 1867, Michigan required candidates to be tested in the following subjects: orthography, reading, writing, grammar, geography, and arithmetic. Ibid. *Thirty-First Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan*, (Lansing: 1867).
[216] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921*), 11.*
[217] Michigan Public Acts, No. 164 sec. 4 (W.S. George & Co. 1881), 195.

Nevertheless, state superintendents and early education professors began calling for teachers to be trained in the art of teaching. As noted earlier, Horace Mann had argued that a major qualification for any teacher was knowledge of the "art of teaching" which focused on "aptness to teach."[218] Mann argued that "the ability to acquire, and the ability to impart [knowledge], are wholly different talents." For Mann, having subject matter knowledge could only take a teacher so far. In order for teachers to be truly effective in the classroom, they had to embrace a "knowledge of methods and processes. . . to accomplish the object at which they aim."[219] Interestingly, Mann identified the art of teaching as second on his list of qualifications of teachers, superseded only by knowledge of common school studies but before school management, good behavior, and morality.

Unfortunately, many state legislatures and politicians did not build on Mann's ideas and thus did not enact laws requiring pedagogical knowledge as a prerequisite for teaching. Instead, by the end of the nineteenth century, many state legislatures authorized universities to grant teaching certificates to "any university graduate wanting to receive one and the certificates were often valid for elementary or secondary education."[220] This policy is an early indication of what would eventually develop as a full-fledged battle over the primacy of pedagogy or subject matter knowledge in determining a highly qualified teacher. However, it is important to note that the failure of state legislatures to act did not necessarily mean that politicians disagreed with educational leaders who called for pedagogical knowledge. As Labaree notes, there was tremendous demand for teachers in the classroom. If every state legislature had required an applicant to pass an

[218] Mann and Massachusetts. Board of Education., *The Republic and the School*, 46.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 6.

examination in pedagogical knowledge, there would not have been enough teachers to fill the classrooms; leaving huge numbers of students without any education.[221]

Scholarship Requirements for Teaching Certificates & Routes to Training

At the turn of the twentieth century, most states and localities granted certificates to teach under two primary forms: certificates based on an examination or certificates based on credentials from developing teacher training programs. As discussed in Chapter 2, certificates granted on the basis of examination were the most common avenue to certification during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. While certificates to teach were differentiated by numerous factors such as the venue it was granted in (i.e. city, county, or state) states began to identify the worth of certificates with factors such as scholarship, experience, and professional training.

In 1911, Harlan Updegraff from the United States Bureau of Education (USBE) undertook the first comprehensive evaluation of scholarship and experience requirements for teachers. He outlined three different kinds of scholarship requirements: (1) completion of hours, studies, or courses in educational institutions—high schools, training schools, summer schools, county institutes, State normal schools, and colleges and universities, (2) Examinations in certain school or college studies or subjects, and (3) possession of a prior certificate.[222]

To better understand the scholarship and professional requirements demanded of teachers between 1890 and 1920, Updegraff created categories by primary requirement for certification. They include:

[221] Labaree, *The Trouble with Ed Schools*.
[222] Updegraff, *Teachers' Certificates Issued under General State Laws and Regulations (*1911).

Certificates based primarily upon examination
Certificates based primarily on completion of courses in normal schools
Certificates based primarily on graduation from college
Certificates based primarily upon graduation from high schools[223]

In examining the scholarship requirements across multiple states, it is important to note that the requirements were less than uniform. Between 1890 and 1921, the U.S. Bureau of Education, then under the Department of the Interior, commissioned four reports addressing state laws and regulations governing teachers' certificates. However, only the 1911 and 1921 reports followed a similar outline of analyzing certificates based on the categories listed above. In addition, as Katherine Cook in her 1921 report noted, comparisons across states had serious limitations. Courses were measured by length of time and examinations by subjects given. Unfortunately, this varied configuration forces researchers to count and categorize courses and subjects across localities, universities, states, and regions as if they were equal in quality. In addition to these issues, normal schools and universities often were less than clear in differentiating among certificates granted to students who had completed courses at the college level and those granted to students who did not comply with the usual requirement of the completion of high school. In high school certification, some states issued certificates upon the completion of four years of high school with an additional year of professional training, while other states varied in the amount of high school and professional training needed.[224]

While vast differences existed across states in certification, the four categories of examination, high school training, normal school training, and college graduation provide a good template for the development of modern day teacher qualifications. To better

[223] Ibid.
[224] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921), 22-23.

understand how these types of certification shaped the requirements for good teaching, I first analyze each of these categories nationally. I also analyze these categories using the four case study states. However, for some of the categories of certification the data was sparse. Because of the limited data, I combined state analysis of normal school and college graduation into one category (institutional training) for the state analysis. In addition, state analysis of high school certification is discussed in one broad section.

Certificates to teach based primarily on examination

During the early twentieth century, the most common route to a teaching position was through an examination. According to the USBE reports from 1890 – 1910 examinations far outnumbered other avenues to teaching, yet over time, state legislatures gradually increased the scholarship and professional training required of new teachers. Between 1900 and the end of World War I, scholarship requirements continued to grow as examinations became more of a prerequisite rather than a dominant qualification. Nevertheless, while normal schools and universities battled for control over the future of teacher training, many teachers who taught between 1890 and 1920 had little more than a primary education and some secondary training.[225]

While examinations continued to be the most common avenue to teaching during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, states' legislatures took measures to increase the efficiency and fairness of examinations. First, many state legislatures reduced the direct control that counties and local districts had over examinations. Between 1898 and 1921 the number of states that allowed for local control over examinations greatly diminished (see Chapter 2). For example, under the semi-state system the state was charged with creating the exam, but local authorities were charged

[225] See generally, U.S. Bureau of Education Reports: 1898, 1911, 1921.

with grading examinations. Overall, there was more than a 40 percent decrease in the number of states operating under this system between 1898 and 1921. In addition, there was an 83 percent decrease in the number of states which allowed for both state and county examinations under the state-county system. In 1898, eighteen states operated under the state-county system sharing this responsibility, but by 1921 only three states did so.[226]

State legislatures also attempted to increase the quality of teachers by increasing the number of both subject-matter and professional subjects on examinations. Most examinations consisted of a range of four different subject areas:

> *Traditional elementary school subjects:* Reading; writing, orthography, punctuation; language, composition; grammar; arithmetic, mental and written; number work; geography; United States history, elementary civics, local history; physiology, hygiene, nature and effects of alcohol, stimulants and narcotics.
>
> *Newer elementary school subjects:* Drawing; music; nature study; agriculture; manual training; household arts, domestic science, etc.; physical training; current events.
>
> *Higher Subjects (secondary and higher schools):* Rhetoric, literature, algebra, geometry, languages, history, physics, chemistry, biology, economics, and such other branches as compose the standard high school and college curricula, and also cataloging and use of school libraries.
>
> *Professional subjects:* Philosophy of education, history of education, psychology, school administration, theory and practice, methods, school law and State manuals, and such other professional subjects as may be named.[227]

By 1911, many states subdivided certificates and the subjects tested on examinations by a series of grades, most typically first, second, and third. Generally, the higher the grade of certificate, the higher the scholarship and professional training

[226] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921).
[227] Ibid., 23.

requirements were.[228] In addition, higher-grade certificates were typically valid for longer duration. For example, a third grade certificate might be valid for one year while a first grade certificate might be valid for two to five years. In comparing the average lowest and highest grade requirements across forty-eight states, it is clear that states tested applicants on roughly the same amount of traditional elementary subjects (i.e. geography and U. S. history) and new elementary subjects such as manual training and physical training regardless of certificate grade. In the areas of higher (secondary) subjects and professional training, states overwhelmingly required greater mastery for teachers vying for the highest grade certificate. For example, in higher subjects, such as chemistry, biology, and algebra, states on average required more than nine times the number of subjects for higher grade certificates than lower grade certificates. On average for professional subjects, states required a little more than one professional subject compared with less than one for lower grades.[229]

As late as the 1920s, certification by examination remained the most common route to teaching; but gradually state legislatures through lobbying efforts of administrative progressives began requiring a combination of examination and increased professional training. Cook reported that in 1919, Vermont was the only state that required a combination of academic and professional training for every certificate. Connecticut, on the other hand, was the only state that granted certificates based solely on

[228] For example, In Michigan in 1909 a third grade county certificate (the lowest grade) required an applicant to successfully pass in examination in multiple subjects, required no previous experience and was valid for one year. In contrast, a second grade county certificate required a candidate to successfully pass an examination that included all of the subjects on the third grade exam, as well as two of the following subjects: General history, botany, physics, and algebra. In addition, the state legislature also required seven months of experience. Second grade certificates were valid for three years.
[229] Updegraff, *Teachers' Certificates Issued under State Laws and Regulations (*1911), 191.

examination.[230] Unfortunately a comparison between the number of subjects required in 1911 and 1921 is problematic, as data from five of the forty-eight states was incomplete. Nevertheless, Cook argued that boosting minimum requirements such as high school graduation and increased professional training were gradually reducing the number of certificates based solely on examination.[231] Since examinations played such an important role in certification throughout the nineteenth century, I now describe how they evolved in the four case study states. Here I began my state analysis with Virginia, followed by Michigan, Oregon, and Massachusetts.

Virginia

In Virginia the certification and training of teachers developed primarily after the Civil War. Prior to the war, the General Assembly had created a very decentralized system of primary schooling maintained by local officials at the county level. Under this system, county officials were in charge of all aspects of education from deciding whether or not to have a school to deciding the qualifications for teachers. With few teacher-training institutions, most teachers during this period had little more than a primary education.[232]

At the conclusion of the Civil War, state leaders were practically left with a blank tablet in regards to teacher training. During the war, the number of teachers being trained had greatly deteriorated while most schools had stopped operating completely. Only nine counties and three cities in the state were operating schools at the conclusion of the war. When combined with the massive numbers of free blacks now residing in the state, it was

[230] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921), 19.
[231] Ibid.
[232] McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in Virginia".

clear that state leaders faced a daunting task in educating children.[233] To remedy this, Congress required the Virginia legislature to introduce a plan for free public education as a condition for readmission to the Union. In 1870 the superintendent of public instruction for Virginia introduced a plan for free schooling, which was subsequently passed by the legislature. Under this plan Virginia created countywide districts that were administered by a board of education, a superintendent of public instruction, county superintendents, and local school trustees.[234] In addition, to a plan for free schooling the new school code also created a structure for teacher certification and training.

At the beginning of the 1870s, Virginia's requirements for teaching certificates were minimal while demand for teachers was high. Under the education laws passed in the 1870s, the General Assembly granted the power to issue certificates to the county superintendents while the state board of education (comprised of the superintendent of public instruction, governor and attorney general) was charged with appointing and removing officials. In addition, the legislature also provided the state superintendent with the power to issue directives to both county and district officials.[235]

In 1870, the Commonwealth's first post Civil War State Superintendent of Public Instruction William H. Ruffner issued his first directive to county superintendents regarding their duties in certifying teachers:

> Your separate part of the work is simple, the examining and commissioning of teachers . . . for the present, each of you must fix his own standard of proficiency . . . you will have to adopt some rule which will simply secure an abundance of teachers for the public schools.[236]

[233] Ibid., 26-30
[234] Ibid., 29-30.
[235] Ibid., 26-28.
[236] Ibid., 31.

By the mid 1870s county superintendents began pressing the state board of education to expand certification by creating multiple certificates based on level of knowledge and practice. Under the laws of 1870, county superintendents were only authorized to certify teachers for one year. Four years later, acting upon recommendations from county superintendents, the state board of education authorized a bifurcated system of graded certificates; a first grade certificate was valid for two years while a second grade certificate was valid for one year. Both certificates were based on a combination of examination score and teaching experience. In addition, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Ruffner called for increased knowledge in pedagogy. He stressed that new teachers should continually read educational literature and directed county superintendents to issue second grade certificates to teachers who were not spending time increasing their pedagogical knowledge.[237]

During the 1880s, state educational leaders expanded the types of certificates available to teachers at both ends of the spectrum. At the one end, the state superintendent of public instruction and the state board wanted teachers to have increased scholastic and pedagogical knowledge and successful teaching experience. An example of this was the first valid state-wide certificate, the professional certificate. In order to obtain a professional certificate, candidates had to pass a state examination (not county) and to have successfully taught for two years in the state.[238] However, at the other end of the spectrum, state educators continued to confront growing enrollments with less than adequate teacher training institutions. Indeed, the first state normal school in Virginia wasn't even authorized until 1884. To alleviate the demands for new teachers, the state

[237] Ibid., 34.
[238] Ibid., 54.

board of education increased the length of time that county certificates were valid while simultaneously raising the number of years that they could be renewed. Moreover, the General Assembly also created a third-grade certificate to address pressing needs for counties. While these certificates were only valid for a short duration and were not renewable, third grade certificates played a vital role in filling classrooms at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century (See Tables 3.1 and 3.2 below).

By 1890, the new State Superintendent of Public Instruction John E. Massey had two priorities for education in the state of Virginia: 1) To centralize authority in teacher certification and 2) strengthen the professional relationship between teacher education agencies and schools. Between 1890 and 1898, Massey took a number of steps to centralize certification authority at the state level. Under his influence, the General Assembly created a state department of education, and the state board of education created a uniform set of teacher examinations and a system to grade exams for county examinations. In addition, the legislature also reduced the number of years that county certificates were valid to three years for a first grade certificate with eligibility for an additional two-year renewal, two years for second-grade certificates with no renewal, and one year for third grade certificates with no renewal.[239]

Besides centralizing authority for county certification, State Superintendent Massey also called for in increase in state certificates. He argued that state certificates "will give a vigorous impulse to a larger academic and professional attainments and a more distinctive character to teaching *as a profession*."[240] In 1892, the state board of education expanded on state-level certification with a life diploma, a certificate that

[239] *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia, School Year 1891-1892 and 1892-1893*, (Richmond: 1893), xxxiv.
[240] Ibid., xxxvi. (emphasis original).

would allow a successful candidate to teach for life without taking other examinations. Candidates for life diplomas were required to pass the regular state examination to show mastery in orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar geography, history of the Unites States, general history, algebra, physiology, civil government, Virginia school laws, elementary physics, and the practice of teaching, which were required for a professional certificate along with an additional eight subjects.[241] In addition, the state board of education also required all candidates to demonstrate two years of successful teaching. Heeding Massey's call for increased centralization, the state board of education also increased the length of time that professional certificates were valid.[242]

In the 1890s while state superintendents and the state board of education took steps to increase professional requirements; their biggest challenges were local examinations for county certification. County examinations were not standard, were graded locally, and failed to meet the increasing requirements that the State Board of Education demanded. Writing in 1895, Superintendent Massey reported that county examinations "were not sufficiently comprehensive—that they are too elementary."[243] Instead he urged the General Assembly to allow for the creation of a state board of examiners charged with the duty of preparing uniform examinations for county certificates and for State Certificates with also supervisory authority over the grading of exams.[244] After years of agitation by state superintendents, the General Assembly authorized the state board of education to create a state board of examiners in 1904.[245]

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[241] Ibid., xxxiv. McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in Virginia", 50-51.
[242] Ibid
[243] *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia, School Year 1893-1894 and 1894-1895*, (Richmond: 1895), xliv.
[244] Ibid.
[245] McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in Virginia", 59.

Between 1905 and 1911, the State Board of Examiners actively took steps to standardize certification while simultaneously attempting to raise professional requirements. To do this the board of examiners called for uniform examinations to be held by local superintendents and increased subject matter knowledge. In addition, in 1909, the board of examiners began requiring all teachers who wished to renew/extend their certificates to complete a reading course. In order to renew county certificates, the state board of examiners required teachers to pass an examination from the reading course.[246] Finally, the board of examiners required teachers in high schools to be examined in every branch that they intended to teach unless they majored in the subject in college.[247]

Although the state board of examiners took giant strides in increasing standards for certification, they faced major challenges with black teachers. At this time modest literacy, poor teaching, and a lack of teacher training institutions plagued African Americans. As a result, blacks scored lower on examinations meaning that they were only entitled to the lowest grade certificate or no certificate at all. To counter this, the board of examiners created a fourth grade certificate, good for two years and nonrenewable. Under this certificate, a teacher candidate need only score an average of fifty on an examination with a score of at least forty in every area tested. While the requirements for this exam were much lower than the other three grades, state educators hoped that through teaching experience and reading courses that black teachers would advance in certification grades.[248]

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[246] Ibid., 73.
[247] Ibid., 63-64.
[248] Ibid.

By 1910, state officials in Virginia had structured a system of certification that promoted increased scholarship and professional training. Nevertheless, a large number of teachers still had meager amounts of scholastic or pedagogical knowledge. As can be seen below, roughly 33 percent of white teachers held second-grade, third-grade, or emergency certificates. African Americans faired worse as nearly half of all black teachers held lower grade certificates. This meant that a majority of teachers in Virginia had very little pedagogical training or knowledge.[249]

Table 3.1: Type and Number of Certificates Granted in Virginia (1910)

Types of Certificate Granted	1910	
	Whites	African Americans
Collegiate or professional or special certificates of life diplomas	1,481	339
First Grade or High School	3,846	885
Second Grade	1,702	436
Third Grade	413	358
Emergency	610	373
Fourth Grade	NR	NR

(Source: Virginia School Reports 1910)

By 1911, the state board of examiners and the state board of education had created a four-tiered system of certification based on training in college, normal schools, high schools, or through county examinations. However, the vast number of certificates at each tier of training seemed to undermine attempts for the state educational leaders to standardize certification. In 1911, the state board of education provided a total of nineteen different teaching certificates each varying in length of duration. By this time state educational leaders had already begun the process of elevating the status of universities and normal schools. Certificates at these institutions were valid for longer

[249] *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia, School Year 1909-1910 and 1910-1911*, (Richmond: 1913).

periods of times and could be renewed for a greater number of years. In addition, the state board of education and the state board of examiners also began the process of certifying teachers by type of school and/or grade. For example, the state had three certificates geared toward different divisions of elementary school, kindergarten, primary grades, and grammar grades.[250]

Between 1911 and 1920, state educational leaders struggled to create a consistent and coherent system of teacher certification. In 1912, the General Assembly called for a resolution to shrink the number of classes of certificates to four, however that motion failed. Instead, the state board of education and the newly formed Department of Public Instruction continued to create additional classes of certificates until the number reached a peek of thirty-eight in 1917. In the same year, under the leadership of a new superintendent of public instruction, the state board of education consolidated the number of certificates in the state to seven.[251]

Between 1917 and 1920, state educational leaders in Virginia standardized the certification process in the state while simultaneously raising the bar for professional training. Only two grades of certificates provided for certification through means of an examination, first and second. Both first and second grade certificate holders were limited to teaching in elementary schools. Second grade certificates were valid for two years and could be renewed only one time for an additional two years. First grade certificates were valid for five years and could be renewed for an additional five years if the teacher read at least five books from the state reading course and attended summer

[250] Updegraff, *Teachers' Certificates Issued under General State Laws and Regulations (*1911).
[251] McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in Virginia", 86-99.

school for at least 30 days.[252] Nevertheless, in 1919 a shortage in teachers brought about by World War I forced the legislature to adopt measures, which revived local certificates. These certificates were only valid for one year and could only be issued when the supply of teachers were exhausted.[253]

Yet, even with increased scholarship and pedagogical requirements, the state board of education still issued a large proportion of certificates to prospective teachers based on an examination or through an emergency certificate. Indeed in 1920, roughly forty-seven percent of certified teachers held certificates of first grade or lower. These certificates required little professional training beyond high school and instead required candidates to pass an examination.[254] In contrast, fifty-three percent of newly certified teachers held certificates with a specified amount of normal or collegiate training.[255] Comparisons by race were even more telling. In 1920, sixty-two percent of new certificates to whites, and seventy-five percent issued to African Americans were first grade or lower.[256] Thus African Americans were more likely to be the least trained and have the lowest grade of certificate to teach.

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[252] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921).
[253] *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia with Accompanying Documents, 1918-1919, 1919-1920*, (Richmond: 1921).
[254] First and Second grade certificates were issued to candidates who successfully passed the state examination or who successfully completed the First or Second Grade summer normal course.
[255] In 1920 the Collegiate Professional, Collegiate, Special, Normal Professional, and the Elementary Professional certificates all required either a specified amount of collegiate or normal training.
[256] *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia 1918-1919, 1919-1920*, 110.

Table 3.2: Type and Number of Certificates granted in Virginia from Most Demanding to Least (1920)

Types of Certificate Granted	1920	
	Whites	African Americans
Collegiate Professional	55	8
Collegiate	268	12
Special	648	41
Normal Professional	363	41
Elementary Professional	431	142
First	600	100
Provisional First	697*	67
Second	556	182
Provisional Second	6	108**
Local Permits	996	299
Totals	4620	1000

(Source Virginia School Reports 1920)
*In 1920, the State Board of Education deemed it advisable to issue a Provisional First Grade certificate to those graduates of accredited high school who had completed the first part of an elementary profession course. Prior to this year with a Second grade certificate had been issued.
**In 1920, upon the recommendation of the Supervisor of Colored Schools a division of the second grade examination was permitted and a Provisional Second grade certificate granted.

Michigan

Like nearly every other state, early teacher certification in Michigan had been primarily a local function. While institutional training developed first in the states' normal schools and then at the University of Michigan and other colleges, the power to certify remained overwhelmingly in the hands of local officials. In the 1870s the state legislature first attempted to centralize to some degree local certification taking responsibilities away from township officials and giving them to county superintendents. However, rural communities fought against any centralized authority, often noting the great expense and increased inefficiencies of such positions. By the mid 1870s, the state legislature abolished the county superintendents leaving the power to certify teachers to township superintendents and the faculty of the Michigan State Normal School.[257]

[257] Starring and Knauss, *The Michigan Search for Educational Standards*, 73.

Between 1875 and 1881, the legislature authorized township superintendents to grant three types of certificates. A first-grade certificate was granted to teachers who had successfully taught for at least one year and was valid in the township given for two years. Second grade certificates were valid for one year in a township and were issued to beginning teachers. A third-grade certificate was valid for a specific district for only six months. In most cases, third grade certificates tended to act more as an emergency certificate for districts that needed to fill vacant positions.[258]

With control of certification tightly in the hands of township officials, state superintendents of public instruction, and other advocates of centralization continued to badger the legislature for state-level certificates and increased authority of townships. In 1879, the legislature provided the state board of education with the power to grant state-wide certificates. However, early state examinations were extremely rigorous requiring at least thirty months of successful teaching experience and the passage of an examination in twenty-two specified subjects.[259] In 1881, the legislature created a county board of examiners charged with maintaining certification. Nevertheless, examinations differed by county which meant that even with greater supervision, teacher qualifications differed greatly throughout the state. In 1887, the state legislature once again heeded calls by state educational leaders by requiring all new teachers to take a uniform examination prepared by the superintendent of public instruction. However as with many previous educational laws, the legislature only moved incrementally. While county boards of examiners issued a uniform exam to all candidates across the state, each county graded their own examinations. Thus while the trend was clearly pointing

[258] Ibid., 73.
[259] Ibid., 25.

towards more uniformity, the legislature took very small steps in centralizing authority.[260] Nevertheless, those in favor of centralization such as the administrative progressives continuously looked to chip away power from local schools.

Between 1890 and 1920 certification through examination continued to be the most attractive avenue to teaching in Michigan. While the legislature and the state board continued to adapt and change the level of knowledge or professional training required for teachers, the types and duration of county certificates changed very little. Indeed by 1920, county boards of examiners were still issuing three grades of certificates. The major change in these certificates was in their length of service. In 1875, the legislature doubled the amount of time in which all three grades of certificates were valid. For example, first-grade certificates were valid for four years; second grade certificates for two years; and third-grade certificates were valid for one year. Both first and second grade certificates were renewable upon the passage of subsequent examinations while third grade certificate renewals were limited to three.[261]

State certificates were also an option for teachers between 1890 and 1920. Besides being valid in every school in the state, they were also valid for life. However state certificates required both an extraordinary amount of both subject matter knowledge and pedagogical knowledge, and also required a minimum of two years teaching experience. For example, the scholarship requirements for a State Life Certificate in 1920 included: Orthography, reading, penmanship, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, grammar. Geography, United States history, general history, civil government, theory and art of teaching, physics, physiology and hygiene, botany, rhetoric, general literature, and

[260] Ibid., 75.
[261] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921).

any 3 of the following: Latin, French, geology, zoology, and chemistry. Consequently, the number of teachers attempting state certification was minimal since county supervision offered an easier route to teaching.[262]

Between 1890 and 1920 county exams remained a prominent means to certification. In 1900, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction reported that county commissioners had granted 6,859 certificates; however more than 4,700 were of the lowest grade (third). With nearly 16,000 teachers in 1900, this meant that at least forty-three percent of the states teachers received their certificate through examination.[263] Ten years later in 1910, the number of teachers in Michigan increased to 18,000. However the number of certificates granted by county commissioners declined to 4,529, with 2,850 at the lowest grade.[264] Much of this can be attributed to the increase in normal school and college and university certification. As these institutions increased the number of graduates each year, a smaller amount of teachers were granted licenses to teach through examination. By 1915, the growth in professionally trained teachers allowed state educational leaders to push for increased training. In the same year, the state legislature mandated six weeks of professional training for all new teachers.[265]

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[262] Ibid.
[263] *Superintendent Report for Michigan (1900)*, 212.
[264] *Seventy-Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan with Accompanying Documents for the Year 1909 - 1910*, (Lansing: 1910), 196.
[265] *Eightieth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan, 1916-1917*, (Lansing: 1917), 117.

Oregon

Like Virginia and Michigan, Oregon also built a system of certification around examinations. Prior to 1890, certification had largely been a county function. After Congress established Oregon as a territory in 1849, the first territorial legislature established county certification in which a board of school examiners, appointed by the district courts, would examine all prospective teachers. Nevertheless, the board of school examiners was short lived; and in 1854, the territorial legislature abolished the board transferring all power to certify teachers to county superintendents. The knowledge required of teachers was minimal including: reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, and geography, with the additional requirement of good moral character. Between 1849 and 1854 the legislature established only one grade of certificate valid only in the county it was issued for an unspecified amount of time. Ten years later in 1864, the state legislature approved two grades of certificates valid in the counties. For students who scored exceptionally well on their examination, the county superintendent could issue a certificate to a teacher valid for the entire term of the county superintendent. For candidates who scored lower on their examination, the county superintendent was empowered to issue a certificate good for one quarter of teaching.[266]

During the late 1860s and early 1870s, state educational leaders began calling for certificates that were valid for longer periods of time and across county lines. Up until this time, certification was entirely a local affair. However in 1872, the state legislature took an active role in creating a state board of education consisting of the governor, secretary of state, and an elected superintendent of public instruction. In addition, the

[266] Matthew, "A History of the Qualification of Teachers in Oregon", 16.

state legislature provided for a series of certificates valid throughout the state which included the:

- State Life Diploma – good for the holder in any public school in the state unless revoked for unprofessional conduct.
- State Diploma – valid in any school in the state for six years.
- State First Grade Certificate – good in any county for a period of two years.
- State Second Grade Certificate – good in any county for six months.

Under the state board of education, a board of examination was charged with setting the requirements for the new state certificates and in doing so attempted to raise the professional qualifications of all teachers. The state board of education demanded both an increase in the amount of subject matter required to pass an examination and a specified amount of successful teaching. However, the greater requirements required of the state certificates had a negative effect. Instead of applying for state certificates, most teachers continued to seek county certification. Indeed, ten years after the state board of education outlined the new certificates only thirty life diplomas, sixteen state diplomas, thirty-eight first grade state certificates, and two second grade state certificates had been issued.[267]

By the mid 1880s, tensions between state and county officials were coming to a head. The state superintendents of public instruction grew frustrated over incompetent county officials who either failed to adequately examine teachers or bypassed the certification laws completely. One example of this involved the third-grade certificate. Under Oregon law, the legislature only provided for two classes of county certificates, first and second-grade. Yet in 1872, for example, seven counties reported issuing a third-grade certificate with passing marks as low as 40 percent on exams. County superintendents created these certificates to meet the growing demand for teachers in the

[267] Ibid., 25.

state. While other certificates were available, there were not enough qualified teachers in the counties to score high enough to obtain a first or second-grade certificate, let alone the developing state certificates. Both the state superintendent of public instruction and the state board of education were against the creation of the third-grade certificates. Nevertheless, county superintendents continued to push for the lower grade certificates to meet the demands of their schools; and in 1887 the state legislature met this demand.[268]

While county superintendents gained a temporary victory with third grade certificates, state officials and other professionals seeking centralization gained the upper hand by pressing the legislature to develop limitations on the number of times a teacher could obtain a county certificate. [269] In 1889, the legislature limited the number of times a teacher could obtain each county certificate to one. A new teacher could receive a third-grade certificate for one year, a second-grade certificate for two years, and a first-grade certificate for three years. After six years, teachers were required to obtain a state certificate. Each certificate was only valid in the county where it was issued and could not be transferred to another county in the state. While county superintendents pressed the state board of education to make county certificates transferable, the board refused noting that state certificates already provided such relief.[270] Instead state officials argued that more teachers should be certified through state examinations. Writing in 1895, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction held: "State certificates and State diploma's should be largely increased, and liberal legislation should be enacted for this more than anything else . . . The real teacher, the professional teacher, is a vital force in every

[268] Ibid., 71 -73.
[269] Ibid., 80-81.
[270] Ibid., 88.

community. He is the principal factor in every public school system, and, it is hoped that wise and advanced legislation will be enacted in advancing his profession."[271]

Through 1910 Oregon continued to operate on a semi-state system with minimum changes to the types of certificates issued. However, as discussed above, the state legislature completely changed the qualifications and certifications of teachers when it created a state-controlled system of certification. County certificates were eliminated except for temporary county certificates, which could only be issued once. Between 1911 and 1920 there were four classes of certificates relying on examinations. The one year certificate, a five year certificate which required an examination and successful teaching of twelve months or greater, the Life certificate with a lengthier examination and successful teaching of sixty months or greater, and a primary certificate valid for grades one through three in the elementary schools.[272] Although state officials and the state legislature increased the qualifications for teaching between 1890 and 1920, certification through examination continued to be a major source of teachers in Oregon. In 1890, for example, Oregon had roughly 2,500 teachers. Of that total 727 teachers held first-grade certificates, 747 held second-grade, and 560 teachers held third grade certificates.[273] Thus 80 percent of all teachers in 1890 were certified after passing an examination. By 1920, the number of teachers in Oregon had grown to 7,700. Of this number 1, 469 teachers held certificates through normal school graduation, 953 through college or

[271] *Eleventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon (1895)*, (Salem: 1895), 154.
[272] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921).
[273] *Ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon (1891)*, (Salem: 1891).

university degree, and 536 through special certificates. This meant that nearly 4,000 or 62 percent of teachers still received a certificate to teach through an examination.[274]

Massachusetts

Massachusetts was an outlier in these developments. While many states had numerous types of certificates offered by state and local agencies, Massachusetts did not except for the teachers in state-aided high schools (discussed below). For example in 1920, Indiana had a total of thirty-one certificates compared to only six for Massachusetts.[275] Between 1890 and 1920 the dominant certificate in Massachusetts was the local certificate. Local school board committees tested an applicant's capacity for teaching and for governing a school. Writing in 1891, the Board of Education described the duties of the school committee in regards to the selection of an examination process for teachers.

> The committees are to find such teachers by examination. The most satisfactory examination will be made by observing a teacher at his work. If this cannot be done, the candidate may be examined by questions, which shall test his ability to teach the branches of learning to be pursued in the schools, also his ability to organize and control a school. Before a teacher is employed, the committee should be thoroughly satisfied that he has god moral character, and that he has a good method of teaching morals to his pupils.[276]

During this period, Massachusetts operated under a decentralized system of teacher certification. While the state legislature and the board of education laid out very broad rules, they left almost complete authority to local committees.

Between 1890 and 1900 members of the board of education took initial steps to professionalize teacher qualifications by pressing the state legislature to pass laws for

[274] *Oregon School Reports 1920*, 24.
[275] Ibid.
[276] *Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education: Massachusetts, 1889-1890*, 208.

institutional certification and through means of a state examination. As noted previously, the legislature provided for both types of certificates in 1891 for normal school graduation, and in 1894 through state examination. Nevertheless, the legislature stopped short of centralizing authority under these laws because it provided local committees with the power to accept or reject these types of certificates.[277]

Although Massachusetts was a state heavily committed to local control, other factors may have influenced the state legislature's decision to allow school committees to determine the qualifications of teachers. One primary factor may have been normal training. In the late nineteenth century, state educational leaders rapidly expanded the number of normal schools in the state to ten. As a result attendance greatly expanded, primarily among young women. As more and more women turned to normal training, the percentage of teachers with such training greatly increased. By 1890, roughly 35 percent of teachers in the state had attended a normal school.[278] Ten years later in 1900, the state board of education reported that more than 6,000 teachers (45 percent of the teaching force) had received normal school training. And by 1920, more than 26,000 teachers had graduated from normal schools.[279] With such high numbers of teachers receiving normal training, neither the board nor the state legislature probably felt a pressing need to centralize authority.

In the early twentieth century the state legislature continued to take extremely small steps in centralizing teacher certification authority. By 1920, the state only required a state level certificate for teachers in state-aided high schools. Instead, local

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[277] See Generally Board of Education Reports, Massachusetts 1892, 1895.
[278] *Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education: Massachusetts, 1889-1890*, 68.
[279] *The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1921*, (Boston: 1921), 147.

school committees certified teachers through examination or through the acceptance of credentials from normal schools or colleges and universities. The board of education confirms this in their 1919 report: "Teachers in other [not State-aided] high schools and teachers in elementary schools are not required to hold State certificates. Applicants were usually issued certificates on credentials without examinations."[280] Yet, even with a highly decentralized system of teacher certification, a majority of teachers in Massachusetts had received some professional training by 1920. I now examine how institutional training (normal schools or colleges/universities) expanded both nationally and in the case study states.

Certificates to teach based primarily on normal school training (Institutional Training)

During the nineteenth century, formal training for teachers developed slowly in the United States. Until the middle of the century, the only formal teacher training in most states took place in private or state-subsidized academies and seminaries which offered a few basic teacher preparation courses.[281] As the population in the United States grew and free public education expanded, demand for teachers and teacher training institutions increased. In the second half of the nineteenth century, new forms of teacher training developed and teacher training institutions evolved into normal schools and "chairs of pedagogy" or teacher departments in colleges and universities.[282]

In his work on the history of teacher certification, David Angus argued that these various forms of teacher education were strongly influenced by the constituencies they

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[280] *Eighty-First Annual Report (Massachusetts): 1918*, 84.
[281] Ibid., 5. For a review of academies see generally, Theodore R. Sizer, *Horace's Compromise: The Dilemma of the American High School: The First Report from a Study of High Schools, Co-Sponsored by the National Association of Secondary School Principals and the Commission on Educational Issues of the National Association of Independent Schools* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984).
[282] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, Lucas, *Teacher Education in America*.

served. Angus identified two main groups concerned with teacher education. The first consisted of thousands of one teacher schools serving children in small districts and largely controlled by their farmer parents, and second those which served teachers in mainly urban areas, were large multi-classroom schools offering 'graded' instruction controlled by elected or appointed boards of education.[283]

The differences in educational needs between rural and urban schools played out in the training institutions available for prospective teachers. Andrew J. Rotherham and Sara Mead argue that the differences between urban and rural communities created several different modes of teacher preparation because of varying "educational needs, resources, and labor market conditions."[284] Rural towns and villages often had difficulty in staffing their schools with teachers who were qualified to teach. Moreover, local officials often awarded positions to family members or friends who frequently knew little more than the students. Urban areas in contrast had more resources and this attracted better-qualified teachers. Because of these dual patterns of education, rural and urban areas selected and certified teachers differently, which created an imbalance in terms of time and quality in the training of rural and urban teachers.[285]

Not surprisingly two very different systems of teacher education grew out of the great difference between rural and urban areas. In rural communities, county superintendents held short teacher-training institutes to provide teachers with "a minimal level of additional academic education and practical teaching instructions for rural school

[283] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 4.
[284] Andrew J. Rotherham and Sara Mead, "The History and Politics of State Teacher Licensure and Certification," in *A Qualified Teacher in Every Classroom: Appraising Old Answers and New Ideas* (Cambridge: Harvard education press, 2004), 19.
[285] Ibid.

teachers."[286] These institutes usually took place in the summer and lasted a few days to a month in an effort to provide both working and future teachers with the skills deemed necessary for them to succeed in their classroom. Across the country, state superintendents began holding teacher institutes to train teachers for rural one-room schools houses in the mid 1840s. By the 1870s, county superintendents employed institutes as the primary form of teacher training for teachers in these areas.[287] Indeed, teacher institutes dominated teacher training in most rural areas throughout the nineteenth century. In 1886, for example, the United States Commissioner on Education reported that there had been 2,003 institutes in the preceding year with an attendance of 138, 946 participants.[288] But institutes were only a band-aid approach. They resulted in rural schools often having teachers who knew relatively little subject matter past the primary school requirements and often had little to no practice teaching experience in the classroom.

In contrast, urban schools tended to "have more resources and offered higher teacher salaries, more stable employment and better working conditions" than their rural counterpart.[289] Thus, they could demand more in terms of educational credentials of these teachers. In addition, urban districts had the funds and numbers to create institutions to train teachers for their schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century, urban school leaders introduced "normal" courses, which were often taught in the city's high school. Students who passed these courses received a certificate to teach the elementary grades in the city. This approach benefited both the students and the

[286] Ibid.
[287] Fuller, *The Old Country School*, 170.
[288] Elsbree, *The American Teacher*, 361.
[289] Rotherham & Mead, *Back to the Future*, 19.

schools, because it provided pre-service training for prospective teachers, and gave jobs to graduates who were needed to staff the elementary schools. Also, as Rotherham and Mead point out, urban districts benefited by having the power to "control teacher quality of their teachers and, by restricting and expanding enrollment in these programs, to adjust the supply of teachers in response to labor-market conditions."[290]

Gradually "normal" courses became the province of "normal schools". By the 1870s, normal schools were a growing site for teacher preparation due in large part to their single mission of educating prospective teachers. At the heart of their mission were new ideas about pedagogy. As Geraldine Clifford and James Guthrie found, normal schools combined "raw experience and methodical training" gained through a series of one or more terms at the school along with apprenticeships in classrooms.[291] In these institutions, students strengthened both their competency in basic subjects taught in the primary schools and learned about methods, classroom managements, and the theory and art of teaching.[292] Moreover, normal schools often had training or model schools where students spent part of their day teaching primary school subjects. This provided students with the opportunity to experiment with the knowledge they were learning in the classroom, while providing instructors with the opportunity to supervise student teachers before they went off into the field.[293]

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, normal schools became a "dominant force" in teacher education.[294] Christine Ogren argues that the number of

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[290] Ibid., 20.
[291] Geraldine Jonçich Clifford and James W. Guthrie, *Ed School: A Brief for Professional Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 57.
[292] Ibid.
[293] Christine A. Ogren, *The American State Normal School: An Instrument of Great Good* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2005), 40.
[294] Ibid., 57.

normal schools nearly doubled in the 1870s from thirty-five to a total of sixty-nine by the end of 1879.[295] By 1890, there were roughly 135 public normal schools with a combined enrollment of more than 27,000 students.[296] At the beginning of the twentieth century the number of normals had slightly decreased to 127, but enrollments had grown to more than 47,000 students.[297] Still, while it is true that normal school enrollments continued to increase through the early twentieth century it is important to note that Ogren found a large number of their graduates did not become teachers.[298] Nevertheless, many normal graduates did go into teaching and a majority of states created certificates around normal training.

Throughout the early twentieth century, certification based primarily on completion of courses in normal schools was geared to those teaching in elementary grades. In 1911, a large majority of states, thirty-four of forty eight or 71 percent granted certificates to successful candidates to teach with two years of normal school courses, combined with four previous years of high school experience. Ten states, four from the North Atlantic region, required students to complete more than a two-year normal course. However, thirty of the forty-eight states did not require any certificates that demanded more than a two year normal school course. The critical factor here seems to be that a great majority of those teachers were only qualified to teach in elementary or primary grades.[299]

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[295] Ibid.
[296] Lucas, *Teacher Education in America*, 53.
[297] Ibid., 54.
[298] Ogren, *The American State Normal School*.
[299] Updegraff, *Teachers' Certificates Issued under General State Laws and Regulations (*1911).

Certification based primarily on graduation from college with a bachelors degree (Institutional Training)

At the same time that normal schools were developing, a new form of teacher training institution appeared on university campuses. In the late nineteenth century, universities began their foray into teacher education by creating "chairs of pedagogy."[300] Typically the chairs acted as single faculty "departments" that taught a course or two in the "science and art" of teaching to university students who might want to teach after graduation.[301] The University of Michigan pioneered this approach when it created the first permanent chair in 1879.[302] These chairs were particularly important in Midwestern universities, because they would later evolve into schools and colleges of education in the early twentieth century.[303] Although university training did not dominate the manner in which many teachers were prepared in the nineteenth century, they did supply a growing number of high schools in the country with secondary teachers. Furthermore, university training also set the pattern for certifying and educating all students by the first third of the twentieth century.

Once established, education departments grew steadily on university campuses. In 1890, a little over a quarter (114 out of 400) U.S. colleges and universities offered courses for teachers, while a dozen had collegiate-grade departments of education.[304] Just over forty years later in 1933, there were more than 100 colleges or schools of education in the United States. A majority of the schools and colleges offered graduate

[300] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 6.
[301] Ibid.,, 6.
[302] Starring and Knauss, *The Michigan Search for Educational Standards*, 67. However, Michigan began experimenting with teacher preparations and curriculum as early as 1859. Mucher, "Subject Matter and Method", 5.
[303] Ibid.
[304] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 17.

degrees while the number of different courses offered grew from forty in 1890 to several hundred in the 1930s.[305]

Much of the reason for the expansion and development of collegiate educational training grew out of leadership from administrative progressives. As mentioned in Chapter 2, administrative progressives were comprised of faculty from schools of education, city and state superintendents, and U.S. Bureau of Education staffers. Using their influence with state legislatures and State Boards of Education, administrative progressives gradually increased the requirements demanded of teachers. Since it would have been impossible and impractical to force all teachers to have college education at this time, administrative progressives sought to elevate the status of certification through a bachelor's degree. Most often this was accomplished with a certificate to teach upon graduation or with certificates that were valid for much longer periods of time including ones for life.

In the early twentieth century certification by means of a bachelors degree had already planted deep roots in a number of states. Indeed, by 1911 only nine states, Maine, Massachusetts, Delaware, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas did not require a bachelors degree as a qualification for any certificate within the state.[306] Instead the variance between states with certificates for college graduates most heavily focused on the amount of educational or professional study courses required together with the degree.[307]

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[305] Ibid., 25.
[306] Updegraff notes that in some of these states that diplomas of certain educational institutions may be valid as certificates but no provisions regarding these certificates were found in the school laws.
[307] Updegraff, *Teachers' Certificates Issued under General State Laws and Regulations (*1911).

An examination of the amount of professional educational study required for degrees associated with college graduation yields a wide spectrum of training. In 1911, the amount of professional educational training required of college graduates ranged from a low of none to a high of two years. As can be seen by Table 3.3 (below), ten states did not have any requirements for professional training of college graduates in order to teach. New England states were most likely to be in this grouping including: New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut. Nevertheless, seven other states from the Mid-Atlantic, the South, and also the Midwest provided certificates to teach without any professional training at the collegiate level.

Table 3.3: Summary of Certification Requirements for College Graduates 1911

State does not have college graduation as a qualification for certification. **(n = 10)**	State does have college graduation as a qualification but does not require professional study **(n = 10)**	State does have college graduation as a qualification but issues both certificates which do and do not require professional study **(n=10)**	State does have college graduation as a qualification and also requires a minimal amount of professional study **(n=18)**
Maine, Massachusetts, Delaware, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas	New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri	Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Texas, Oklahoma, Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington	Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Washington, Iowa, South Dakota, Kansas, Montana, Oregon, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Utah, Idaho, Nevada, Colorado, Wyoming, Maryland, Oklahoma, Arizona, Rhode Island, California, Kentucky, Ohio

(Source: Harlan Updegraff, *Teachers' Certificates Issued Under General State Laws and Regulations, 1911)*

In the 1920s the number of states requiring professional training for college graduates continued to grow. In response, the number of colleges in the United States offering professional training and the number of educational courses offered increased dramatically. In 1920, there were more than four hundred colleges offering courses in

educational history, procedure, and administration.[308] In 1928, Elbridge Grover analyzed college and university bulletins and concluded that there were thirty-seven categories of educational subjects found in the four hundred plus colleges and universities he examined. Of these subjects, he found that seven were included in more than one hundred colleges and universities with history of education courses identified more than three hundred times.[309] The other courses most widely taught included: Educational Psychology, Principles of Education, Secondary Education, Educational Administration, Practice Teaching, and General Methods. As colleges and universities expanded the number of courses offered in education, state legislatures and state education agencies reacted by increasing the amount of professional training required not only for college graduates but for all teachers. Interestingly, it is important to note that a variation of the courses above still form the core of teacher education in colleges and universities today. I now examine how institutional training developed in the four case study states. Since the first state normal school originated in Massachusetts I began my analysis there, followed by Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia.

Massachusetts

Between 1890 and 1920 institutional certification in Massachusetts developed very differently than most of the rest of the United States. While a large majority of state legislatures began to create state-wide certificates for graduates of normal schools and universities, the Massachusetts state legislature opted to 1) allow local school committees

[308] Elbridge C. Grover, "The Status of Education as an Academic Subject in American Colleges," *Educational Research Bulletin* 7, no. 1 (1928).
[309] Ibid.

to determine whether or not to accept normal diplomas in lieu of an examination, or 2) provide for institutional certification in state-aided high schools.[310]

The earliest form of institutional certification in Massachusetts developed in 1891. In that year, the state legislature enacted Chapter 159 of the Acts of 1891. Under this act the legislature provided that "The diplomas granted by the state normal schools of this Commonwealth to the graduates of such schools may be accepted by the school committees of towns and cities in lieu of personal examination."[311] However, as can be seen by the plain language of the statute, a diploma from a state normal school did not necessarily entitle one to a certificate to teach. Instead, local school committees retained the authority to grant certificates; but now had the power to decide to grant them based on normal school diploma status.

Between 1890 and 1920 local school committees of towns and cities continued to retain authority in determining whether to accept a state normal school diploma in lieu of a personal examination. While no clear record exists as to the extent that schools officials actually accepted diplomas as a type of quasi-certification the large number of teachers who were teaching with normal training would suggest that many local officials probably did so. As mentioned earlier, roughly thirty-five percent of teachers in the state in 1890 had received normal school training. Ten years later this number jumped to forty-five percent, and by 1920 more than 26,000 teachers had graduated from the state's normal school.[312] With such large numbers of teachers having normal school training, it seems plausible that many local school officials would accept this training or diplomas that the teachers were fit to teach.

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[310] *Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education: Massachusetts, 1889-1890*, 207.
[311] Ibid.
[312] *The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1921*, 147.

During the early twentieth century the state legislature created a second form of institutional certification geared towards state assisted high school. State certification in state-aided high schools developed as smaller communities requested financial resources to maintain their schools. Under the laws of the state, high schools in towns of less than 500 people were entitled to $500 in state funding. This was a major development in Massachusetts, using state money to change local policy, especially because school functions had remained local in the state while nationally they were not. In order to receive the high school supplement, the legislature required all teachers in state-aided high schools to hold state certificates. In addition, under Chapter 375 of the laws of 1911, the state legislature authorized the state board of education to determine the requirements for state certification. One year later, the board adopted a plan of certification, defining the classes of certificates and the conditions on which they were to be granted. The two primary routes that the state board of education identified were through a bachelor's degree or normal school diploma.[313]

For certification for state-aided high schools, the board of education only required a "Diploma from an approved normal school," but it was incredibly meticulous in its requirement for teachers from colleges or universities. In 1912 it required:

[313] *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education, Massachusetts: 1912*, 113.

(a) Possession of a Bachelor's degree, granted by a college maintaining standards at least equal to those of colleges in Massachusetts empowered to grant such a degree.
(b) Evidence of preparation in at least two subjects, each representing not less than three year-hours of work. Such subjects, to be hereafter called "majors," are those to which the candidate expects to devote particular attention in his work as a teacher.
(c) Evidence of preparation in at least two subjects, each representing not less than one and one half hour year-hours of work. Such subjects are to be called hereafter "minors." Majors and minors are to be selected from the following list"—English; history; French; German; Latin; Greek; mathematics; agriculture; biology; botany; chemistry; physical geography; physiology; physics.[314]

Between 1912 and 1919 the state board of education granted 2,116 certificates for teachers in state-aided high schools. With only a little more than 4,000 high school teachers, there was the potential for more than half of all the state's high school teachers to be certified by the board of education. Unfortunately, the state board of education did not keep records of the percentage of teachers who taught yearly with a state certificate.[315]

Combined, quasi-certification through a normal school diploma and state certification for state-aided high schools were the only types of institutional certification in Massachusetts from 1890 – 1920. The two primary reasons that state legislators opted for local control instead of centralized authority was because of the state's rich heritage in allowing local officials to manage their schools, and the growing number of teachers in classrooms with state normal training. Indeed, the large number of teachers already receiving normal training may have helped to keep a decentralized system of certification. Nevertheless, by 1917, members of the state board of education began to

[314] Ibid.
[315] *Eighty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Education, Massachusetts: 1919*, (Boston: 1920), 65.

urge the legislature to adopt a more nuanced system of teacher certification.[316] Indeed, in its 1917 Annual Report, the Board argued that: "There is, however, a singular disregard in the Massachusetts statutes of the professional requirements made of teachers in practically all of the other States. It cannot escape notice that a state which affords protection against incompetence in the widest possible range of occupations, including both the professions and trades, still makes practically no restrictions as to those who are to be given responsibility in the training of children."[317]

Michigan

Like Massachusetts, the state of Michigan was a leader in the early adoption of normal schools. On March 28, 1849 the Michigan legislature approved the creation of the first normal school west of the Allegheny Mountains with the exclusive purpose of "instruction of persons, both male and female, in the art of teaching, and in the various branches that pertain to a good common school education; also to give instruction in the mechanic arts; in the arts of husbandry and agricultural chemistry; in the fundamental laws of the United States; and in what regards the rights and duties of citizens."[318] While the main purpose of the school was to enhance the training of teachers, it also provided state educators with their first opportunity to exert control over state funded educational institutions because the superintendent of public instruction had supervisory authority over the normal school. As importantly, this act by the state legislature was the first instance of providing real supervisory power to a state representative rather than a township official.

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[316] See Generally, Massachusetts School Reports 1905 – 1920.
[317] *Eightieth Annual Report of the Board of Education, Massachusetts: 1917*, (Boston: 1917), 28.
[318] *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Michigan, 1853*, (Lansing: 1853), 51.

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, normal schools in Michigan played an increasingly important role in the professionalization of education. While state and local officials battled for control for power over schools and teachers, normal schools acted as a building block to professionalize education and remove it from the political control of state and local officials. First, it provided the opportunity for state education leaders to further professionalize education, and second it slowly chipped away the power of local officials to determine teacher qualifications. In 1875 after the legislature eliminated the position of county superintendent, the Michigan State Normal School in Ypsilanti was the only real viable method of gaining certification in the state other than through township superintendents. In 1884, the legislature permitted the State Normal to grant five-year certificates to graduates of its three year program while graduates of the four year program received life certificates.[319]

Michigan did not create an additional state normal school until the 1890s. Between 1890 and 1903 Michigan opened three additional normal schools in Mt. Pleasant, Marquette, and Kalamazoo.[320] Yet between 1890 and 1920, the state normals began to develop programs to serve a number of schools in the state. By 1910, the state legislature had created a series of four certificates all which could be issued to graduates of any of the state normal schools (including the Michigan State Normal School now the State Normal College). Under the first certificate, a teacher could teach in any school in the state for life upon two years' normal course work after four years of high school or four years of courses after the tenth grade. A second certificate was only valid in rural schools, had duration of five years and was granted upon the completion of two years of

[319] Starring and Knauss, *The Michigan Search for Educational Standards*, 78.
[320] Ogren, *The American State Normal School*.

normal work in advance of elementary rural courses. The other two certificates were also only valid in rural or graded schools for a shorter duration with fewer requirements. By 1920, normal school certificates had been consolidated into one certificate good for life and were granted upon the completion of advanced course of study in a "Michigan State normal school which required not less than four years for its completion and not less than two years work in advance of the high school."[321]

By the late nineteenth century, normal schools in Michigan were not the only institutions looking to professionalize education. As mentioned previously, in 1879, regents at the University of Michigan (UM) authorized the creation of a "Chair in the Science and Art of Teaching" to instruct students in pedagogics and school administration.[322] Unlike the state normal school in Ypsilanti which primarily focused its attention on elementary instruction and more practical coursework, teacher education at UM focused on high school instruction along with more theoretical coursework. Indeed James Angell, then President of the University of Michigan, argued that it was the purpose of a Chair of Pedagogy "to help students determine 'the principles which should govern' teaching, not instructional method as techniques, rules, or precepts."[323]

At UM, William Payne, the first Chair of Pedagogy argued that the principles underlying successful teaching could be broken down into two elements – "matter and method."[324] In determining the importance of subject matter, Payne argued "Scholarship is the very basis of a teacher's education, and there is nothing in his outfit that can be

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[321] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921), 94.
[322] Steven Mucher, "Subject Matter and Method in the Preparation of High School Teachers: Pedagogy and Teacher Education at the University of Michigan, 1871-1921" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2003), 115.
[323] Ibid. 116.
[324] Quote taken from Mucher, "Subject Matter and Method", 105.

sustained for it, neither method, nor school-room devices, nor talent even, for culture is a position as well as power."[325] Since knowledge of subject matter was learned in the college of Literature, Science, and Arts (LS&A), Payne devoted much of his early efforts on designing a curriculum built around pedagogical knowledge. As early as 1880, students seeking a Teachers Diploma from the university were required to complete either a practical or a historical, philosophical, and critical course in pedagogy.[326] By 1882, Payne subdivided the courses into: Practical, Theoretical and Critical, School Supervision, and Seminary. Five years later, when Payne resigned, three additional courses had been added including: The Historical Development of Educational Systems and Methods, The Comparative Study of Educational Systems, and History of Education. Despite this "proliferation" in pedagogical courses, historian Steven Mucher points out that only one course in pedagogy was required to earn a Teachers Diploma.[327]

As the University of Michigan and other colleges in the state broadened the study of education, the state legislature created a new series of institutional certificates. In 1891, UM became an early leader in both the state and nation, when the state legislature provided the faculty of the college of LS&A with the authority to grant life certificates to graduates who had done work in the science and art of teaching.[328] In 1893, the legislature expanded institutional certification to other colleges in the state; however unlike the provisions created for UM, these were more limited. Under this law the State Board of Education was authorized to grant four certificates to graduates of incorporated

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[325] Ibid., 128.
[326] Ibid., 121. In the practical course students focused on "embracing school supervision, grading, courses of study, examinations, the art of instructing and governing, school architecture, school hygiene, school law, etc." In contrast, the historical, philosophical, and critical course students embraced the "history of education, the comparison and criticism of the system in different countries, the outlines of educational science, the science of teaching, and a critical discussion of theories and methods." Ibid.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Starring and Knauss, *The Michigan Search for Educational Standards*, 113.

colleges who had taken a course in the science and art of teaching for five and half hours for two college semesters. At the completion of three years of successful teaching, the State Board of Education would then issue the teacher a life certificate.[329] At the beginning of 1920, the requirements for certification from UM and incorporated colleges were identical to the 1891 and 1893 laws which granted authority the faculty of the department of literature, science, and art with the authority to grant life certificates to those who had done work in the science and art of teaching. The only new changes in institutional certification from these institutions were in the development of special certificates for teaching in domestic science and art, manual training, commercial training, physical training, and drawing.

In all, between 1890 and 1920 state educational leaders in Michigan drastically changed the way that teachers were trained. The number of State normal schools quadrupled from one before 1890 to four by 1920. In addition, the University of Michigan and other colleges in the state had increased the number of graduates receiving teaching certificates. Unfortunately, the manner in which state superintendents reported the numbers of teachers certified through normal schools and colleges or universities varied greatly. In some reports, the state superintendent supplied the types and numbers of certificates in the narrative; in some through statistical tables, and in some reports the number of teachers certified were not reported. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence that the numbers of teachers with professional training was increasing. For example, in 1910 the state superintendent reported that state board of education granted 1,097 certificates to graduates of State normals, and thirty-two certificates to college graduates. In

[329] Ibid,, 114.

addition, the Regents at the University of Michigan granted an additional 122 certificates to students who had completed work in the science and arts of teaching.[330]

Oregon

While examinations were the predominant form of teacher certification in the late nineteenth century, in the early 1880s, states such as Oregon began to experiment with institutional certification from teacher training institutions. In 1882, the Oregon state legislature enacted its first institutional certificate. Under the act the legislature provided for a State Diploma to graduates of the state normal schools, who had completed a prescribed course of study and who also passed an examination approved by the state board of education. In addition, a holder of a State Diploma from a state normal school would later be granted a State Life Diploma after six years of successful teaching.[331]

By the early 1890s, the state legislature expanded institutional certification by providing for State Diplomas to graduates of colleges and universities chartered or incorporated under the laws of the Oregon. As with normal school certification, graduates were required to pursue a regular course of study and pass an examination associated with the program.[332] While some educators hailed the work as an advance in professionalization, others challenged the quality of the training programs and their effectiveness in training teachers.[333]

In Oregon, two of the most outspoken groups of critics were county superintendents and teachers who received their certificate through examination. Both criticized much of the training in the normal schools and colleges and universities. In his

[330] *Seventy-Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Michigan*, 27.
[331] Matthew, "A History of the Qualification of Teachers in Oregon", 26.
[332] Ibid., 33-34.
[333] Ibid.

work on the history of certification in Oregon, Harry Matthew outlines numerous criticisms from these groups. First, critics of normal or college certification argued that these institutions were offering short easy courses to attract students; professors conducted easy examinations in order to demonstrate competency; and that the state superintendent turned a blind eye to these policies in order to collect on diploma fees.[334]

In 1899, after more than eight years of battles, the state legislature discontinued institutional certification based on program completion and institutional testing. Instead, the legislature required that all new graduates of normal schools, colleges and universities had to pass a state examination in order to receive the State Certificate. While gaining a diploma did not necessarily entitle one to a certificate, the legislature did allow the diploma to count towards the experience requirements for State Certificates.[335]

While critics of institutional training in Oregon certainly appeared to have had criticisms, national trends indicated that normals, colleges, and universities were slowly turning education into a profession with these institutions acting as gatekeepers. In 1910, when Oregon's state superintendent of public instruction met with other educational professionals in Salt Lake City, the group looked primarily at ways to create centralized state authority and also at increasing the professional nature of teaching by requiring a minimum amount of professional training. Normals, colleges, and universities became the models for this plan. Yet, earlier battles over institutional certification helped to ensure more safeguards and professional training. While graduates were no longer required to take the state examination, teacher training institutions were required to demonstrate student competency in teaching. Normal schools, colleges, and universities

[334] Matthew, "A History of the Qualification of Teachers in Oregon", 26, *Eighth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Oregon*, (Salem: 1888).
[335] Matthew, "A History of the Qualification of Teachers in Oregon", 52.

in the state were required to be accredited, credit hours were increased, and minimum amounts of professional training were required of all graduates. For example, in order to teach in high schools in Oregon, one would have to complete 120 semester hours work in an accredited college or university, of which at least fifteen hours had to be in education.[336] By 1920, Oregon had three levels of certificates for normal graduates and collegiate graduates based on graduation and length of successful teaching.

By 1920, institutional training had grown more prominent but the number of teachers with institutional certificates remained low. For example, in 1919, of the roughly 6,400 teachers 1,253 were graduates of normal schools, while 887 had graduated from colleges or universities. This means that less than a third of Oregon's teachers had graduated from a normal school or college or university. Instead most teachers were high school graduates who had about one or two years of college or normal training (see Table 3.4 below).[337]

Table 3.4: Level of Education of Teachers in Oregon (1919)

Number of teachers completing eighth grade only	79
Number of teachers completing 1 year high school work only	88
Number of teachers completing 2 years high school work only	171
Number of teachers completing 3 years high school work only	247
Number of teachers completing 4 years high school work only	1,793
Number of teachers completing 1 year college or university work only	272
Number of teachers completing 2 year college or university work only	293
Number of teachers completing 3 year college or university work only	170
Number of teachers completing 4 year college or university work only	878
Number of teachers completing 1 year normal school work only	633
Number of teachers completing 2 year normal school work only	1,289
TOTALS	5,913

(Source: Oregon School Reports 1920)

[336] Ibid., 106.
[337] *Oregon School Reports 1920*, 24.

Virginia

In Virginia, institutional certification developed more slowly but once established became the most prominent form of certification. The biggest obstacle during the late nineteenth century for Virginia was that there were no state normal schools until the General Assembly created one on March 7, 1884.[338] Up until that point the only real normal training available was in some high schools, county institutes, private normal schools, and in limited form in the colleges and universities with developing departments of education.[339]

After the General Assembly created the first state normal school, institutional training slowly made its way into the certification regulations. Between 1884 and 1901 the state board of education incorporated normal training as a prerequisite for some certificates but stopped short of granting a certificate based solely on graduation. By the beginning of the twentieth century, both the state normal school and state colleges and universities had structured teacher training programs comparable to those of states in the Northeast and Midwest. As teacher training institutions grew, the state board of education reacted by creating two forms of institutional certificates: 1) State Normal awarded upon the completion of normal training, valid for five years and renewable for five years; and 2) Collegiate certificate awarded to college graduates valid for ten years and renewable for ten years.[340]

Between 1901 and 1906 the importance of institutional certification grew as state educational leaders pushed for a state supported system of high schools overwhelmingly

[338] McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in the Virginia", 44.
[339] Ibid.
[340] United States Commissioner of Education, "Legal Provisions of Various States Relating to Teachers' Examinations."

for white students. In the nineteenth century, high schools were organized and supported locally leaving a great deal of authority to school boards. By the beginning of the twentieth century, a series of state superintendent's had urged the General Assembly to create a system of unified high schools supported by the state. In 1904, the General Assembly entertained a bill creating a state-wide system of public high school, however the bill was defeated. Nevertheless advocates of a state system persisted; and two years later in 1906, the General Assembly organized them.[341]

With the creation of a state system of public high schools, the legislature had a major opportunity not only to increase the education of whites but also blacks who often had the fewest opportunities for an education and attended worst schools. But like much of the South, the establishment of public high schools in Virginia excluded most blacks. Instead almost all high schools in Virginia between 1890 – 1920 served white students. In 1890, prior to the establishment of a public high school system in the state, less than one percent (.19) of blacks between the ages of 15 - 19 attended a high school compared to 4.6 percent of whites. In 1910, four years after the creation of a public high school system in Virginia, only 4.1 percent of black students between the ages of 15 – 19 attended high school compared with 9.9 percent of whites. This trend continued, and by 1933-1934 still only 21 percent of blacks attended high school compared with 55 percent for whites. This large difference in the percentages of blacks and whites attending high school was common throughout South.[342]

Despite the relative unequal system of high schools for whites and blacks the creation of a system of public high schools did allow the state board of education to

[341] McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in Virginia", 64.
[342] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 186-236.

increase teacher certification standards, albeit generally more for whites. Unlike earlier systems which allowed holders of most certificates to teach in any school, the development of a state system of high schools created the first real split between elementary and secondary education. The state board of education used this opportunity to outline which certificates were valid at the elementary level and which were valid for all schools. In 1906, the state board of education outlined three certificates required for high school teaching, first-grade, professional or collegiate.[343] However, the expediency with which both the General Assembly and state board of education acted created a crisis since many teachers in the high schools did not hold the proper certification. In order to meet the demand, the state board of examiners issued emergency certificates so that local superintendents could fill positions.[344]

By 1910 the importance of institutional certification in Virginia was unquestioned. The state board of education had created six separate certificates for teachers who had been educated either in colleges and universities or normal schools. Graduates of colleges and universities were allowed to teach in any school in the state, and their certificates were valid for as long as twelve years without having to be renewed. Normal school graduates also faired well. Upon graduation, the state issued certificates to normal grades for a period of seven to ten years. Like college graduates, normal graduates could teach in any school in the state and were not required to take examinations. In contrast, holders of graded certificates (through examinations) held their certificates for one to five years and had shorter renewal periods. While teachers holding first or second grade certificates could teach in any school, holders of third grade

[343] McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in Virginia", 68.
[344] Ibid., 65.

certificates could teach in high schools only if there was a shortage of teachers holding first and second grade certificates.[345]

Between 1910 and 1920 the State Board of Education continued to push for the increased teacher training. By 1920, the State Board of Education reduced the number of teaching certificates to a total of eight with more than half of the certificates geared towards candidates that had a minimal level of advanced training in a college, university, and/or normal school. Two certificates were issued on the basis of examination, one was issued for special subjects, and one final certificate was issued locally when there was a lack in other certified teachers. By far the most striking point from these regulations is that clearly were moving towards a system that required normal school or college training. Thus, even in a period of teacher shortages stemming from World War I, the State Board continued to push initiatives that increased the amount of training for both high school and elementary teachers.[346]

Yet while the State Board of Education took steps to increase the academic and professional standards for a certificate to teach, the unequal treatment of blacks by the state legislature led to a widening of the gap in education and professional training of blacks compared to whites. To counter this, educational leaders in the state often looked to quick fixes. For example, in 1912 the Superintendent of Public Instruction for Virginia reported that he had "begun to establish teacher training departments in all colored high schools having two years or more of high school work."[347] Yet, as late as 1918 other than county training schools, and the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, there were no

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[345] Updegraff, *Teachers' Certificates Issued under General State Laws and Regulations (*1911).
[346] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921).
[347] *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia, School Year 1909-1910 and 1910-1911*, 21.

public training agencies in the state for black teachers. Indeed, the Superintendent report for 1917-1918 noted that "it is an undisputable fact that there are hundreds of colored teachers at work in Virginia schools [today] who have never taken as much as one year of genuine high school work or anything pretending to give even an element of teacher training."[348]

While state educational leaders pushed for normal school and college or university training, the numbers of teachers who graduated from these institutions remained relatively low. In 1920, Virginia had more than 14,000 teachers. Yet, less than 3,000 of new teachers graduated from a normal school or college or university. With too few normals or colleges to train teachers, state leaders first sought to require institutional training in high schools.

Table 3.5: Graduates of Normal Schools and Colleges/Universities in Virginia 1920

	1920
Number of graduates University of Virginia	36
Number of graduates William and Mary College	83
Number graduates Farmville Normal	748
Number graduates Harrisonburg Normal	252
Number graduates Fredericksburg Normal	158
Number graduates Normal	120
Number graduates Virginia Military Institute	3
Number graduates Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute	369
Number graduates Hampton Institute	165
Number of graduates of any other college or university in Virginia	659
Number of graduates in colleges, universities or normals out of Virginia	404
Totals	2,997

(Source: Virginia School Reports 1920)

Certification to teach based primarily on high school graduation

In the nineteenth century, high schools became a major source of teacher training first as a source for early normal training and second as the diploma became a

[348] *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia with Accompanying Documents, 1917-1918*, 53.

prerequisite qualification for teachers. While early historians of secondary education pay very little attention to teacher training in high schools, James Fraser argues that they "seriously understate the role of the 19th century high school as a teacher preparation institution.[349] While "hard numbers" across states are difficult to ascertain, Fraser argues that "there is good reason to believe that high schools prepared, in total, more teachers for the United States than all of the nation's normal's schools," especially in the early 20th century.[350] For example in 1912, a report from the U.S. Bureau of Education showed that 711 high schools in the United States offered training courses for teachers with 2,103 boys and 12,577 girls enrolled in the teacher preparation curriculum.[351]

By 1911, certification based primarily upon graduation from high school was present in nearly a quarter of the states. Updegraff reported in that year that eleven states issued certificates based on high school graduation.[352] Nevertheless, other states such as Michigan and Missouri provided for county normal schools which could also issue certificates to graduates. Updegraff also argued that the early twentieth century marked the beginning of high school graduation as a requirement for any certificate. Indiana was the first state to demand high school graduation as a requirement in 1907, and soon after other states started requiring a minimal amount of high school work for a certificate to teach.[353]

During the early twentieth century, certification based primarily upon high school graduation continued to grow as a primary form of training through the early 1920s.

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[349] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 81.
[350] Ibid., 83.
[351] Ibid.
[352] The eleven states include: Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, Iowa, North Dakota, Kansas, New Mexico, Utah, Oregon.
[353] Updegraff, *Teachers Certificates Issued Under General State Laws,* 1911.

Whereas, Updegraff reported that eleven states issued certificates based on graduation in 1911, Katherine Cook reported that twenty-five states did so by 1921.[354] Of the twenty-five states that issued certificates based primarily on graduation from high school, nineteen required professional training courses beyond the high school level. Nevertheless, such training varied from state to state with little cohesion. For example, Minnesota required students to have a minimum grade of 75 percent in subjects in their high school training; Idaho required six weeks of professional training; and North Dakota prescribed one hourly class daily for two years.[355]

With growing demand for elementary teachers, state legislatures and state education agencies turned to high schools to train teachers. By 1920, twenty-one states had established teacher-training classes or normal training classes in their high schools. According to Cook, the normal courses were either "part of the regular high-schools courses or [constituted a] year's work in addition to four years of high school."[356] While normal school training started out in more urban areas, by the twentieth century they were expanding to rural communities. Fraser reports that between 1910 and 1925, twenty-four states launched rural high school programs intended to prepare rural high school teachers. In some states, such as Kansas, students studied common branches or elementary subjects but did not have any "hands-on" professional training or in-class experiences. While in other states, such as Minnesota, students were required to spend from 120-180 hours observing and apprenticing by practice teaching.[357]

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[354] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921).
[355] Ibid., 222.
[356] Ibid., The States that recognized normal training in high schools as fulfilling the requirements for one or more certificates included: Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, Wyoming, Oklahoma, Vermont, Ohio, Nevada, Oregon, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Virginia, Arkansas, and West Virginia.
[357] Frazer, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 89.

Nevertheless, while the number of states that issued certificates based primarily on high school graduation more than doubled from 1911 – 1921, the most important thing to note is that high school graduation was growing more as a prerequisite than as a qualification; especially for teacher training institutions such as normal schools, colleges, and universities. By 1920, many state legislatures were already awarding certificates to college and university graduates that were good for longer periods of time, and/or valid to teach higher grades (junior high school or high school). As a result, the minimum prerequisites for teaching expanded between 1890 – 1920.

Minimum Prerequisites for Certificates Between 1890 – 1920

In the beginning of the twentieth century, few states imposed minimum prerequisites for teaching certificates and even fewer states were equipped to require much more than an elementary education for teaching. Indeed in the 1898 report on the legal provisions of the various states relating to teachers examinations and certificates, it was notes that "it may be stated that testimonials of good moral character are universally required; where experience in teaching is prerequisite, it is successful teaching."[358] Nevertheless, between 1900 and 1920, many states began increasing both scholarship and professional requirements for teaching. One of the first minimum prerequisites growing out of this call for increased knowledge was a high school diploma. By 1920, eighteen states required, at a minimum, a high school diploma for their lowest grade certificate based on examination.[359]

Between 1900 and 1921 educational professionals began planting the first seeds for raising minimum standards for teachers. In 1921, Katherine Cook reported that states

[358] United States Commissioner of Education, "Legal Provisions of Various States Relating to Teachers' Examinations."
[359] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921).

had begun to move towards the establishment of both academic and professional prerequisites for the lowest-grade certificates granted. This meant that they moved away from systems of examination as the sole method for teaching certificates, and towards the tendency for degree specialization for subjects such as art, agricultures, and home economics.[360] Yet, only four states required high school graduation with additional professional training for the lowest grade of certificate. Instead, thirty of forty-eight states had no definite scholarship or professional requirements, while fourteen states only required high school graduation as a minimum prerequisite.[361]

In 1920, the minimum amount of scholarship and professional training required in the case study states varied by type of certificate. In comparing the minimum amount of scholarship requirements for the lowest grade certificate, there is a split among the four states. In both Virginia and Massachusetts, neither the state legislatures nor the state agencies required any educational prerequisites other than examination. In contrast, in both Oregon and Michigan, the state legislatures required both graduation from a four-year high school and a minimum amount of professional training. For example, in 1915, the Michigan legislature required all teachers, except those who had taught for five months, to have a minimum of six weeks of professional training or six months of college study. Five years later, the Michigan legislature eliminated examinations as a basis for certification and instead required all teachers to have a year's worth of professional training beyond high school graduation.[362]

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[360] Ibid., 11.
[361] Ibid.
[362] Donald W. Disbrow, *Schools for an Urban Society* (Lansing,: Michigan Historical Commission, 1968), 19.

The biggest differences in the amount of professional training required of teachers were found in certificates issued to college and normal school graduates. All four states had a different standard for the amount of professional training required of college graduates. In Michigan, the state legislature required five and one half hours for one academic year; the Virginia State Board of Education required that fifteen percent of all courses were in education; Oregon set no minimum amount of professional training for college graduates; and Massachusetts required (a) 3 year-hours in 2 educational subjects, or (b) 30 hours in 1 subject in summer school, or (c) normal school diploma but only in State-aided high schools.[363]

As with college graduates each of the four case study states had different professional requirements for normal school graduates. In Michigan, the state legislature required a range of coursework from one to two years of normal training beyond four years of high school. For example, the legislature required one and one-sixth years of normal school training to teach in rural schools, while requiring two years of coursework to teach in any school. Oregon required two years of normal school coursework to teach in either elementary or high schools; the Virginia State Board of Education required one year of normal coursework for elementary schools, and two years for high schools; Massachusetts only required a diploma from a state normal school, but again this was only required in state-aided high schools.[364]

As a result, minimum prerequisites to teach were still extremely low across the country by the beginning of the 1920s. Yet, the case state analysis seems to demonstrate

[363] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921). It is important to note that professional requirements in Massachusetts only applied to state-aided high schools. All other teaching certificates were issued at the local level at their discretion.
[364] Ibid.

all four of the cases were moving towards requiring both a high school diploma and a specified amount of professional training after high school for a certificate to teach. These efforts began early in the teens, but were thwarted by the teacher shortages from World War I. As we will see in Chapter 4, the stabilization of the teacher market would have an effect on raising the qualifications required of teachers in the 1930s for educational leaders such as the administrative progressives.

Summary & Conclusions

By the end of the 1920s, the qualifications demanded of teachers had changed radically from the late half of the nineteenth century. As the power to determine the qualifications to teach shifted away from local to state authority, the knowledge and training required for a certificate increased. With increased requirements came new demands on teacher training institutions to provide both the knowledge required to teach along with student teaching. Naturally, as these institutions expanded their training programs alternative methods to certification gradually were eliminated. Thus by the end of the 1910s, we began to see the elimination of certification through examination or high school graduation.

As we saw both in Chapter 1 and in this chapter a key factor that influenced the evolution of teacher qualifications was the massive growth in high school attendance. Prior to the late nineteenth century high school attendance was relatively low nationwide and graduation rates were even lower. This meant that the minimum requirements to teach had to be set low in order to fill elementary classrooms with teachers, especially since teacher salaries were poor. But this changed between 1890 and 1920. As high school attendance increased, administrative progressives sought to raise the qualifications

to teach, first by requiring high school graduation and second through professional training.

With an increasing number of high school graduates and later normal or college graduates, state educational leaders were able to successfully mount a campaign to increase the overall qualifications to teach. For example they expanded the minimum qualifications to teach by increasing both subject matter and pedagogical knowledge requirements. At the same time state educational leaders also raised the minimum professional requirements for a teaching certificate. In the nineteenth century, scholarship requirements for teaching were practically nonexistent. However by 1920, eighteen states required at least four years of secondary training for a certificate to teach for their lowest grade certificate, four of which required additional professional training either in a normal school or college or university.

As the qualifications for a teaching certificate increased, the ways in which teachers were trained evolved. Between 1890 – 1920 there were four primary routes to a teaching certificate, through: an examination, high school graduation/training, normal school training, or collegiate training. Throughout the early part of the twentieth century, certification through means of an examination was the most prevalent way to a teaching position. However, this began to change by the early 1920a as state educational leaders increased both subject matter and pedagogical knowledge requirements. As this happened, the number of new teachers issued a certificate by means of an examination decreased while those issued certificates to teach with college or normal school training increased. This pattern was consistent throughout the first two decades of the twentieth

century except for the late teens when all states faced teacher shortages because of World War I.

Across the four case study states, many of the same national trends played out during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. By 1920, Michigan and Oregon required graduation from a four-year high school and a specified amount of professional training for all new teachers. In contrast, neither Virginia nor Massachusetts required any other prerequisites other than the passage of an examination. However, like national trends in general, all four case study states had increasing numbers of new teachers trained in either normal schools or colleges and universities.

As we will see in the next chapter, the 1920s proved to be a pivotal decade in the evolution of teacher qualifications. While enrollments placed heavy burdens on states to fill classrooms, teacher shortages caused by World War I began to dissipate by the early 1920s. At the same time, educational professionals tightened their hold on teacher training calling for increased number of years of schooling. As a result, certification by means of an examination slowly was eliminated from many states as well as certification through high school normal training. Thus the 1920s really signals the realization of a shift to have all teachers complete a bachelors degree as a prerequisite for teaching.

Chapter IV

The Changing Nature of Teacher Training and Certification, 1920 – 1930

Between 1890 - 1920, the qualifications demanded of teachers changed radically from the nineteenth century. The minimal qualifications from that period based on one's morals and the passage of an oral or written examination had given way to more formalized training requirements that included at least a minimal amount of subject matter knowledge, some level of pedagogical knowledge, and in some cases training in practice schools. Together, these requirements became the core foundation for a certificate to teach. These changes in the early twentieth century were dramatic and represented a shift in educational power as local communities gradually lost control over the qualifications demanded of teachers and administrative leaders such as the administrative progressives gained this power.

Previous historians such as David Angus, David Labaree, and James Fraser have argued, correctly that this expanding administrative control and increasing institutional requirements were shaped by a variety of factors. In their analysis of these effects, these historians do include the 1920s as part of the "Progressive era." Yet, they do not examine teacher training and qualification developments in this decade as they were shaped by the changing political and social climate. As a result, they do not acknowledge just how significant the 1920s were in the overall advancement of professional training and the qualifications to teach.

I argue that the 1920s were a pivotal period in the development of teacher qualifications and training. As my earlier chapters have shown, demographics and economics, centralization of school authority, and the development of high schools were key factors in the evolution of teacher training qualifications in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Between 1920 and 1930, these factors continued to play out as both control of teacher training and overall functions of schooling shifted to state authority. At the same time high school enrollments continued to increase dramatically. With growing enrollments and more students staying in schools longer, school administrators expanded curricula adding more programs for students and creating new courses of study geared towards students who did not want to take college preparatory courses. As high school enrollments increased so did graduation rates. As a result, normal schools increased entrance requirements, moving away from remedial coursework and focusing more on pedagogical and subject matter training.[365] These shifts led to normal schools becoming teachers colleges, which in turn were precursors to many state universities.

This chapter traces how teacher qualifications developed and evolved between 1920 and 1930. I begin my discussion by describing how educational reformists, administrative progressives, reshaped teacher certification and the control and authority behind it. Second, I return to my discussion of the influence of high schools on teacher training. In particular, I address how growing high school enrollments impacted demand for teachers as well as the types of institutions in existence to train teachers. In addition, I also analyze how changes in high school curriculums created a new level of certification

[365] Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise.*

for teachers that required specific subject matter preparation. Third, I describe how the growth of high schools led to dramatic changes in institutional training of teachers. Specifically, I discuss the evolution of normal schools into teachers colleges and the new influence of universities in training both teachers and educational administrators. In particular, I analyze how the education program evolved at the University of Michigan from a department in the early twentieth century to a full-fledged School of Education by the early 1920s. I conclude this chapter by examining how these trends played out more separately in my four case study states: Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia. Here I examine how the requirements for certification changed following World War I and prior to the start of the Great Depression.

While I argue that factors such as centralization of school authority and increases in high school enrollments influenced the qualifications demanded for teaching, I also argue that one of the casualties from this period was the end of interdepartmental cooperation between departments of education and other largely disciplined based programs within the university. At the University of Michigan for example, this played out as faculty from the College of Literature, Science, and Arts (LS&A) removed themselves from the responsibility of accredidating high schools and working with education faculty on subject matter preparation. Yet, the LS&A faculty were only partially at fault. Equally at fault were educational professionals and administrators who tended to downplay the importance of subject matter and focused primary attention on education coursework.[366]

[366] Mucher, "Subject Matter and Method."

In many ways the 1920s were one of the most important decades in defining how the qualifications required of teachers evolved. As far as public education was concerned, the 1920s were a period of important change, but not change dictated by war or other national crisis. Educational leaders used this time well and consequently by the beginning of the Great Depression, a majority of the states had created state systems of teacher certification, and most states began requiring a minimal amount of professional knowledge. In addition to these changes, normal schools began their transformation into teachers colleges while university departments of education began evolving into schools or colleges of education.

Centralization of School Authority & Continued Progressivism

In the early twentieth century one of the most important factors that influenced the qualifications demanded of teachers was the centralization of school authority. Throughout the Progressive era, which educationally continued well into the 1920s, a new breed of professional educators altered the way public education operated in the United States. This new group of reformists, who David Tyack called "administrative progressives", sought to remove politics from the schools and instead instituted a system fostered by efficiency and scientific expertise.[367] As discussed in previous chapters, administrative progressives were unlike earlier educational leaders, which included college presidents and faculty across a range of academic disciplines, consisting instead mainly of faculty from education colleges and schools, city and county superintendents, state education officials, officers in state associations, and U.S. Bureau of Education staffers. In order to accomplish their goals, administrative progressives attempted to

[367] Tyack, *The One Best System*

shape education through two decisive means. First, they sought to centralize authority in school governance by consolidating the power over schools into the hands of professional educators. Second, they sought control over the qualifications for teaching, removing authority for certification from local officials and redistributing this power to state level administrators.[368]

At the turn of the century, administrative progressives turned to school governance as the major way to reform education policy. Yet, as noted earlier in the two previous chapters, two main systems of education were in place in this era: rural and urban. In rural areas, administrative progressives found schools starved for funds, using out of date curricula in classes that were taught by unqualified teachers. As a remedy, administrative progressives pushed for consolidation of school districts to transfer more power into the hands of professionally trained county superintendents. These new administrators would standardize curricula, increase training and requirements for teachers and administrators, and increase financial support from the state.[369]

In urban areas, as David Tyack, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavot report administrative progressives found schools to be "equally chaotic."[370] As with rural education, administrative progressives argued that lay people had too much power over affairs of the school. In urban areas, most schools were controlled by large ward-based school boards that regularly meddled with the day-to day operations of the school. Moreover, according to Tyack et al in many large cities "patronage and graft were rife

[368] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 13-15.
[369] Tyack, James, and Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education*, Elwood P. Cubberly, *Rural Life in Education: A Study of the Rural-School Problem as a Phase of the Rural-Life Problem* (Boston: 1914).
[370] Tyack, James, and Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education*.

and made a mockery of meritocracy in the appointment of teachers and other staff."[371] To combat these evils, administrative progressives called for drastic structural reforms including centralization of school authority and the corporate model.[372] To achieve these ends, administrative progressive sought to "take politics out of the schools."[373]

Taking the politics out of schools was an impressive strategy for administrative progressives who continuously sought to demonstrate that their campaigns were nonpolitical. Common school leaders in the nineteenth century also sought to promote their institutions as non-partisan and administrative progressives tried to do something similar in the twentieth century. But unlike earlier reformers, Tyack et al argue that administrative progressives added a new dimension to their campaign during the Progressive era: "the neutral authority of science, the claims of expertise."[374] Unlike politicians or local school leaders, these new reformists claimed that under their leadership, all decisions would be decided based on what would benefit children and society most. In addition these decisions would be shaped by scientific expert knowledge.[375] One clear example of this being the differentiation of schooling between elementary and secondary level grades.

Nevertheless, while administrative progressives supposedly championed neutral authority, they clearly used the political system and political power to accomplish their goals. In order to do this, they sought political allies at the local and state levels and to a small extent at the federal level. Typically business and professional elites aligned with administrative progressives because their corporate model of change aligned with the

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[371] Ibid., 111.
[372] Tyack, *The One Best System*, 167.
[373] Ibid.
[374] Tyack, James, and Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education*, 112.
[375] Ibid.

goals and objectives of these groups. In addition to these people, a range of other groups with resources and power joined forces with the administrative progressives.[376]

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, administrative progressives and their allies persuaded states to alter much of the legal framework governing public education.[377] State legislatures, through new laws and constitutions, revised charters to cities, eliminating "antiquated" ward school boards and instead establishing power in smaller centralized school boards. State legislatures passed new laws encouraging rural consolidation, and they also enacted new legislation meant to encourage districts to add courses in vocational education in their high schools. These latter efforts were encouraged by the United States Congress which passed the Smith-Hughes vocational education act, which provided federal funding to states that adopted a particular model of training for work.[378]

All of these changes and developments in school law during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century followed a concrete plan. Indeed, Tyack et al argue that the administrative progressives had distinct ideas about what shape new state laws would take.

> Ideally, state constitutions should establish the general principles upon which public education was based; statutes governing schools should be pruned and organized into a systematic education code; and state legislatures should standardize schools according to the plans of professional educators. Local administrators then should be free to establish administrative regulations on matters peculiar to the individual district.[379]

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[376] Tyack, *The One Best System*, 129-40, Tyack and Hansot, *Managers of Virtue*.
[377] Tyack, James, and Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education*, 114.
[378] Ibid.
[379] Ibid., 115.

Once state legislatures enacted these new mandates, the importance of producing properly trained principals, superintendents, and other administrators increased as these people would be the officials in charge of making sure the new policies and procedures were enforced in districts and schools.[380]

Another important area that education reformers turned to was the training and qualifications of teachers. During this period, educators and educational reformers sought to improve both the status and pay of teaching by raising the minimum state-mandated standards for teacher certification. As discussed earlier the end of the nineteenth century, state requirements for teaching were minimal at best. In a majority of states, teachers were required to pass a "cursory" examination and guarantee an affirmation of good moral character. This was especially true in rural districts where previously practically anyone could be hired to be a teacher.[381] Nevertheless, by the end of the 1920s administrative progressives were quite successful in raising the minimum qualifications for teachers. In a majority of states, all teachers were required to complete a minimal amount of professional training. Moreover, many state legislatures had also introduced the process of categorizing teachers by level of school. Thus reformers created new types of certificates that allowed a candidate to teach only elementary grades, or only junior high or high school grades, or some combination of the three groupings.[382]

While administrative progressives were enormously successful during the 1910s, they faced new challenges between the 1920s and the beginning of the Great Depression.

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[380] Ibid., 108 - 15.
[381] David B. Tyack, *Turning Points in American Educational History* (Waltham, MA: Blaisdell, 1967), 412-13.
[382] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927).

After World War I, American political ideology shifted away from progressive reforms to that of a much more conservative approach. A prime example of this was in the election of Warren Harding. Unlike Woodrow Wilson who championed progressive programs and initiatives and international cooperation, Harding was an isolationist who believed that the federal government should encourage in most areas of public policy a laissez-faire policy.[383]

Like the executive branch, the legislative branch also began to take a very conservative path. Beginning in the early 1920s, Congress quickly reduced both income and inheritance taxes while virtually ending immigration. In the early 1920s, a new wave of post-war immigrants had begun to flood the United States. This resurgence of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe fueled a very strong anti-immigrant movement. As a result Congress passed two laws, one in 1921 and a more stringent one in 1924 severely limiting the total number of immigrants allowed from these parts of Europe to immigrate to the United States yearly. Moreover, Congress set a quota whereby the number of immigrants allowed into the U.S. from any one foreign country was to be two percent of the number of foreign-born Americans of such nationality based on the 1890 census. The result of this legislation was a legal limit or ban in some cases on immigration from eastern and southern Europe.[384]

As the country shifted to a more conservative ideology after World War I, administrative progressives were greatly concerned that state legislatures and state

[383] Ray A. Billington, "The Origins of Middle Western Isolationism," *Political Science Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (1945).
[384] Jeffrey Mirel, *Patriotic Pluralism: Americanization Education and European Immigrants* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010).

education officials might backslide in education policy.[385] These concerns were intensified by, for example, the large number of teacher shortages that developed during World War I and carried over into the early 1920s which led to hiring less qualified teachers. Nevertheless, the "nonpolitical" strategy that administrative progressives had advanced during the early twentieth century seemed to have minimized these challenges. At the federal level, Congress continued to maintain the very modest percentage of funding it supplied to the states. (See Table 4.1 below).[386] At the same time a growing number of states continued to increase the minimum requirements for teacher certification. For example, as late as 1921, thirty states still had no definitive prior schooling requirement for an initial certificate; however by 1930 this number was down to just twelve states.[387]

This chapter provides an overview of these developments nationally and in the four case states. Overall in this period new state statutes specified how teachers were certified, how teachers could be hired and fired, and often times identified what grades or classes teachers could teach. In addition, state legislatures also created new categories of certification for principals, superintendents, counselors, school psychologists, and teachers of special subjects.[388]

Table 4.1: Percentage of Revenues for Public Schools Based on Local, State and Federal Governments

	1890	**1900**	**1910**	**1921**	**1931**
Local	78.7	81.9	82.9	83.5	79.7
State	21.3	18.1	17.1	16.3	19.9
Federal	-	-	-	.2	.4

(Source: Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to Present, 2-480).

[385] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 15.
[386] Carter, *Historical Statistics of the United States*.
[387] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*.
[388] Tyack, James, and Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education*.

Although much of the success of administrative progressives was due in large part to strong leadership and the development of a new breed of educational leaders, a great deal of their success was dependent on other factors as well. In the next section I analyze the extent to which the growth of high schools influenced teacher qualifications. As we will see, both high school enrollments and a growing high school curriculum strongly influenced education policy. These changes forced educators to establish new standards and qualifications for a growing body of specialized teachers. Central to these new standards and qualifications were teacher training institutions. Between 1920 and 1930, these institutions took their first major steps in evolving into the teacher training institutions that we see today.

High School Growth and Evolving Curriculums

In his work on teacher training, James Fraser argues "If there was one institution that had the greatest impact on the transformation of American teacher preparation in the teens and twenties of the 20th century, it was the phenomenal growth of the American high school."[389] Between 1920 and 1930, high school enrollment rates in the United States continued to rise at an unprecedented rate. In 1910 roughly a million students attended public high school, a number which grew to more than two million in 1920 and surpassed five million by 1931.[390] This increase was so rapid that by 1930 roughly half of all high school-age youth were in high schools.[391]

Finding enough teachers to meet the overwhelming growth of secondary education posed a major challenge.[392] As high school attendance rates soared, so did the

[389] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 147.
[390] Carter, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 2-400.
[391] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*.
[392] Lucas, *Teacher Education in America*, 49.

number of teachers required to instruct these new students. In 1889, the first year that the federal government kept statistics on the number of secondary teachers, there were roughly 9,000; ten years later this figure more than doubled to more than 20,000; and by 1931 there were more than 230,000 public secondary teachers in the United States.[393] With such amazing growth in secondary education, the major challenges that emerged was not only where to find teachers but also what these teachers would teach.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, two competing ideals for a high school curriculum emerged. The first was led by an elite group of individuals on the National Council of Education. In 1892, this group organized a committee comprised mainly of university presidents to prepare a report on the relationship between high school programs and college admissions.[394] Referred to as the Committee of Ten, members of this group strongly advocated that all high school students should follow a similar academic course of study with a rich foundation in core subjects such as English, science, and mathematics.[395]

While advocates of the *Committee of Ten Report* argued that it was elitist and for students intending to go to college, by the early twentieth century, David Angus and Jeffrey Mirel argue that "a deepening alliance of big city superintendents, high school principals, and professors of education within universities attempted to wrest control over secondary school affairs from the college presidents and liberal arts faculty members who had dominated the Committee of Ten."[396]

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[393] Carter, *Historical Statistics of the United States*.
[394] The subcommittees was comprised of ten members, however only one of the member was currently serving a position in a public high school.
[395] Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise*, 11.
[396] Ibid.

In the early twentieth century, these new educational professionals sought to create a high school curriculum that differentiated course takings by course of study. Instead of forcing all students to take an academic course of study, they sought to increase vocational and commercial training as well as specialties like art and music. By 1918, these educational reformers codified their ideas on high school education in a report called the C*ardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. Unlike the *Committee of Ten Report* which focused on subject matter as a basis for high school curriculum development, the *Cardinal Principles* focused on seven objectives of secondary education including: Health, Command of fundamental processes, Worthy home-membership, Vocation, Citizenship, Worthy use of leisure, and Ethical Character.[397]

By 1920, the combination of increased enrollments and expanding curriculums had forced state governments and teacher training institutions to reanalyze what qualifications were needed for high school teaching. By this time high schools had become more multidimensional. While they continued to prepare students for college, they now focused new attention on vocational education, general studies, and commercial training. As a result, the number of teachers needed with specialized or more advanced training greatly increased. These developments fostered a revolution in teacher training requirements to meet these new curricular demands.[398]

To understand how high school curriculums and course offerings evolved over time, Angus and Mirel tracked the development of curricular differentiation. In the period from 1890 – 1930, they focused their attention on Grand Rapids, Michigan and compared their findings with national data. Angus and Mirel selected Grand Rapids

[397] Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, (Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1918).
[398] Goldin and Katz, *The Race between Education and Technology*, 195-205.

because the city boasted of a "nationally renowned, innovative school system particularly in the areas of vocational education and vocational guidance."[399]

A major finding in Angus and Mirel's analysis was the changes in the high school curriculum in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Between 1900 and 1913, the Grand Rapids high schools placed a major emphasis on academic subjects. During this time students were assigned a "course of study" in which most of the coursework was specified. At this time, the typical high school student took 3 years of English, 2.5 years of math and science, 2 years of history and foreign language, and 1 year each of commercial subjects and art (drawing).[400] This curriculum typified the largely academic course of study at the turn of the century, providing students with an array of courses that could lead them to the university.

By 1920, school leaders in Grand Rapids had drastically altered program requirements for high school graduation. These changes included a reduction in the number of academic courses required for graduation along with a simultaneous increase in the number of nonacademic courses. According to Angus and Mirel, the new requirements clearly downgraded the importance of academic subjects. For example, history requirements were reduced from 2 years to 1, mathematics from 2.5 to 2 and science from 2.5 to 1. As a result of these changes, enrollments in mathematics, foreign language and art decreased.[401] In contrast enrollments in commercial courses rose, remained even in industrial arts, and nearly tripled in domestic arts.[402]

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[399] Angus and Mirel, *The Failed Promise*.
[400] Ibid., 33.
[401] Ibid., 34.
[402] Ibid.

Yet surprisingly between 1920 and 1930, efforts by progressive reformers in Grand Rapids and around the country to reduce the amount of time spent on academic subjects and instead concentrate more attention on commercial and vocational training was less successful than these reformers hoped. Indeed, Angus and Mirel reported that the great majority of students did not flock to vocational training. Instead, in Grand Rapids their analysis revealed that there was a modest increase in the average number of semesters taken in English and modest decreases in math, and social studies. For example, in 1900 the mean number of semesters taken in English were 6.1 compared to 7.0 in 1930; in math 5.4 in 1900 compared with 4.7 in 1930. In contrast, the mean number of number of semesters in commercial courses was 1.6 in 1900 and 3.0 in 1930 while the number of semesters spent in industrial arts courses increased from 0 in 1900 to 1 in 1930.[403] These trends also played out nationally. For example in 1910, the percentage of all high school students in an academic course of study was 76.3 percent, by 1923-24 total percentage had only dropped to 72.5 percent. In contrast, the percentage of all high school students in a commercial course of study in 1910 was 10.7 percent; by 1923-24 this total had only marginally increased to 13.5 percent.[404]

Despite only marginal increases in the amount of time that students spent in commercial or vocational courses, the data clearly demonstrate that there must have been growing demand for teachers to instruct these courses. In analyzing the number of different course titles by subject field, Angus and Mirel classified English, foreign language, mathematics, science, and social studies as academic courses. All other courses including commercial, industrial arts, home economics, trade and industry, etc.

[403] Ibid., 213.
[404] Ibid., 46.

were classified as nonacademic courses. In Grand Rapids high schools in 1900, there were 26 academic course offerings compared with 4 nonacademic course offerings. By 1930, there were 36 different academic course titles and 50 nonacademic course titles. With such a large increase in both academic and nonacademic subjects, educational leaders in Michigan and across the country were forced to reevaluate certification for high school teachers.[405]

Towards the end of the 1920s, educational reformers focused their attention on two main trends in secondary education. The first was on grade level certification while the second was on subject matter certification. Under grade level certification, state governments created certificates that allowed a candidate to teach certain grades. In many instances, these certificates were used to separate certification based upon junior high grades and high school grades. For example, California and Connecticut issued junior high school certificates to teach grades seventh to ninth. Other examples included: Nevada, a certificate for junior high school grades which required special training for teaching in grades assigned; and New Mexico which issued a certificates good in junior high schools and in one, two, and three year high schools.[406]

The second primary tendency for high school certification towards the end of the 1920s was a requirement for subject matter certification. In the 1927 Department of Interiors' report on state laws and regulations governing teacher certification, a total of fourteen states provided certificates for teaching certain academic subjects. They included Alabama, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts (state aided high schools), Montana, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee, Utah, and

[405] Ibid.
[406] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927), 23.

Virginia. In addition, in Florida and in a few other states certificates for selected groups of high school subjects were issued.[407] Combined with growing requirements for grade-level certification, these developments created a system that required a highly organized form of teacher training institutions.

By 1930, teacher-training institutions had begun to change radically to meet both the demands of expanding high school curriculums and new state requirements. While normal schools and universities were changing in this era, the growth in high school enrollments particularly affected the structure of the normal schools. David Angus identifies three main effects from this overwhelming growth and how it influenced normal schools: "it made high school completion a reasonable requirement for normal-school entrance: it relieved the normal schools of providing elementary or high school level instruction: and it impelled them to move into the area of training high school teachers when universities had pushed the standard for certification for high school teaching toward the bachelor's degree."[408] In the next section, I explore the extent to which these effects impacted normal schools followed by a discussion of college/university training.

Normal Schools and Their Evolution into Colleges and Universities

As we saw in Chapters 2 and 3, throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, normal schools played an increasingly important role in the evolution of teacher training. Created with the primary purpose of training well educated teachers who could teach elementary aged children, normal schools helped shape the nature and structure of teacher education today. At the heart of this structure was a focus on two key elements,

[407] Ibid.
[408] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 16.

the strengthening of academic skills, and practical student teaching experience which provided teachers with both experience and insight into pedagogy prior to entering their own classrooms.

Unfortunately for their proponents, normal schools never seemed to live up to the high expectations that their founders had envisioned. One major problem with normal schools is that they never were able to educate and train enough teachers. Even in their "heyday" normal schools fell far short in the number of teachers they needed to train to fill classrooms.[409] For example at the end of the nineteenth century, for the 1896 – 1897 academic year, there were more than 403,000 teachers in the United States. During that same year, the U.S. Commissioner of Education reported that there were only 8,188 graduates of normal schools and 3,067 graduates of private academies. Given that the Commissioner expected there to be roughly 50,000 new teaching jobs the following year, the result would have been that no more than one in five would be filled with a normal or private school graduate.[410]

A second major criticism that plagued normal schools was their low standards. Critics specifically attacked low admission requirements and minimal program requirements for these schools. David Labaree argues that low admissions requirements developed during the mid-nineteenth century largely because normal school leaders tried to meet the growing demand for teachers instead of trying to prepare the best and most knowledgeable educators.[411] As a result, nineteenth century admissions policies were relatively modest. Despite growing high school enrollments and graduation rates, the percentage of normal schools that required a high school diploma were few. For

[409] Ogren, *The American State Normal School*.
[410] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 131.
[411] Labaree, *The Trouble with Ed Schools*, 23.

example, in 1905 only 14 percent of a sample of fifty-one normal schools required a high-school diploma. Ten years later the percentage had increased to only 22 percent.[412]

Along with low admission standards, normal schools also faced heavy criticism for weak program requirements. James Fraser notes that normal schools could offer a "1, 2, 3, 4, or occasionally a 5 year program."[413] This led to inconsistency in training and weakened the overall curricula because there was no standardization. In 1920, sixty-nine of the one hundred sixty-six normal school schools and teachers colleges offered a 4-year course, while one hundred thirty-six offered a 2-year course.[414] Yet, a majority of students left for teaching jobs before ever completing either the two or four year course. As a result few students ever completed the more advanced curriculum.[415]

During the early twentieth century many of the complaints with normal education, as well as criticism of teacher education in general, were brought to a head by a series of six volumes published by the Federal government entitled the *National Survey of the Education of Teachers*.[416] One of the earliest of these reports analyzed state and city normal schools in Missouri. In 1914, Governor Elliott W. Major of Missouri requested that the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching survey the state's institutions and programs for teacher education. The Carnegie Foundation accepted the assignment; but instead of focusing on the broad task of teacher education, decided to limit its inquiry to Missouri's state and city normal schools.[417] In evaluating the state and

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[412] Lucas, *Teacher Education in America: Reform Agendas for the 21st Century*, 54.
[413] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 115.
[414] Ogren, *The American State Normal School*, 86-90.
[415] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 181.
[416] Ibid.
[417] Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 166.

city normal schools, the commission further narrowed its analysis by hiring a selected group of education professionals to analyze the normal schools.[418]

The findings from the Missouri report were consistent with many of the negative sentiments expressed by critics of normal schools during the early twentieth century. The chief defect that the committee identified was that Missouri normal schools undermined the professional status of the state's elementary teachers. The committee pointed out that the normal curriculum focused minimally on the training of teachers. For example, the first-year course was geared towards the training of teachers of the ungraded rural schools; the second-year course focused on fitting graduates to take charge of primary and grammar schools; the third-year course was to prepare teachers for high school teaching; and the fourth-year course was geared towards training teachers for administrative positions. Not only was the actual amount of training for teaching minimal, but it was also relegated to the lowest position on the educational ladder.[419] Meaning that most teachers could get by with a year or less training.

Based upon reports like the one in Missouri and growing dissatisfaction with normal schools, some early educational leaders sought to restructure them completely. One of the first major steps in this process was to eliminate the word "normal" from these schools. In 1908, the Department of Normal Schools of the National Education Association (NEA) took this first step when it outlined a policy statement which recommended that "Good as the word 'normal' is, it should be dropped from the name of these schools and they should be called Teachers [sic] Colleges."[420] Eleven years later in 1919, the National Council of State Normal School Presidents and Principals appointed a

[418] Ibid.
[419] Ibid., 166-167.
[420] Lucas, *Teacher Education in America*.

committee on Standards and Surveys to further evaluate normal schools.[421] This committee, now part of the renamed American Association of Teachers Colleges, recommended the end of non-collegiate programs and instead called for normals to offer only college-level programs.[422]

As a result of recommendations by the NEA, the National Council of State Normal School Presidents and Principals, and other professional educators normal schools began the transformation of normal schools into state colleges. But as Christopher Lucas notes, sorting out the details of which schools would become colleges and thus transform themselves into four-year institutions was no easy task.[423] Some normal schools quietly closed up shop either due to a lack of support or because they lacked sufficient resources to make the transformation into a college. Other normals slowly transitioned first into state teachers colleges and later into regional state universities. This process happened very quickly. In 1900, there were 127 public normal schools, sixty-nine in 1920, and no more than fifty in 1933.[424]

While the call for increased standardization of normal training obviously played an important role in this evolution, one of the most important factors that influenced this change was the growing number of high school students, and more importantly the growing number of high school graduates. The previous section argues high school attendance exploded during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century from 212,000 high school students in 1890 to 2,873,000 in 1920. As attendance rates increased so did graduation rates. While graduation rates were extremely low in 1890 (8.6 percent), by

[421] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 126.
[422] Ibid.
[423] Lucas, *Teacher Education in America*, 55.
[424] Ibid., 54. Ogren, *The American State Normal School*.

1920 there had been modest gains to 16.3 percent. This trend continued throughout the 1920s and by 1931 roughly 30 percent of seventeen year olds graduated from high school.[425]

As high school graduation rates increased, state legislatures and normal school leaders gradually began the process of requiring a high school diploma for admission. While few normal schools required a high school diploma in the nineteenth century, by 1920 a total of thirty-eight teachers colleges, formerly normal schools, all required a high school diploma for admission. This trend continued through the 1920s and by the end of the 1930s a high school diploma had become a prerequisite at all teachers colleges.[426]

By the beginning of the Great Depression, the interplay of both calls for increased professionalization and a growing population of high school graduates had a major impact on the evolution of normal schools. These schools would transition away from being remedial institutions (i.e. offering high school level courses) into "people's" colleges which would be more accessible than the larger state universities. While it would take time for many of these schools to develop into full-fledged colleges, this evolution would also change the nature of teacher training. Armed with the ability to offer baccalaureate degrees, teachers colleges eventually would find themselves in direct competition with universities. As a result of these changes David Angus noted "normal schools were impelled….into the area of training high school teachers at a time when universities had pushed the standard for certification for high school teaching toward the bachelor's degree level."[427]

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[425] Carter, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 2-422.
[426] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927).
[427] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 16.

While administrative progressives pushed for standardized reforms in normal schools, universities struggled to define the purpose of departments of education and their developing schools and colleges of education. Like normal schools, university departments of education faced numerous criticisms about the professional nature of teaching and pedagogy. At times they struggled to define their own niche, and how this would play out in the training of teachers. In order to understand how universities adapted to changes during the 1920s, I now examine how their programs evolved during this decade. In particular, I also look to developments at the University of Michigan to guide this discussion.

University Training - A Quest for Legitimacy

While education departments or schools of education were rare in the nineteenth century, they blossomed quickly in the early twentieth century. In 1890, only about a dozen colleges or universities had collegiate-level departments of education; but by 1933, there were more than one hundred university affiliated colleges or schools of education.[428]

Yet, unlike many other departments on campuses, schools of education suffered from a lack of legitimacy. Critics argued that the field of education lacked a real foundation of study. In order to address critiques about the "scientific nature" of education, early educationists struggled to define a research base for the study of pedagogy. Thinkers such as G. Stanley Hall argued for educational research to be tied into psychology;[429] John Dewey called for controlled experiments and a shift in thinking from rationalism to empiricism; and Edward Thorndike called for a more "scientific"

[428] Ibid.
[429] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*.

approach focusing on quantification and controlled experimentation.[430] Despite these efforts many universities, schools of education continued to be looked at suspiciously. Some critics thought schools of education lacked scientific rigor and failed to live up to expectations set forth by other professions, while other critics debated whether education was a profession at all. To counter these claims, many schools of education sought to professionalize education by placing primary focus on graduate studies. By doing this some universities eliminated undergraduate education programs completely and instead focused on masters or doctoral studies. As a result, some schools of education became disconnected from practical research and training.[431]

The unfortunate result of the disconnect between classroom teaching and the study of education was that it signaled the end of collaborative relationships not only between departments of education and teachers in the field but also between other departments within the university. At some universities, education professors initially worked directly with other professors (subject matter specialists) and high school teachers in the field. One such place was the University of Michigan (UM) which devised a system that had faculty members in the College of Literature, Science and the Arts (LS&A), a chair of pedagogy in that college, and high school teachers working together collaboratively to accredidate high schools. While this plan was far from perfect it did work for several decades. But in the 1910s and 1920s this system gradually disappeared.[432] To understand how these challenges impacted teacher training at the university level, I now examine developments at the University of Michigan during the

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[430] Lucas, *Teacher Education in America*, 64-67.
[431] Clifford and Guthrie, *Ed School: A Brief for Professional Education*, 47.
[432] Marc A. VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling: Linking Secondary and Higher Education, 1870-1910*, 1st ed., Secondary Education in a Changing World (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In particular, I examine how UM developed a system of high school accreditation involving the state's high school teachers, the chair of pedagogy, and the faculty under LS&A.

University of Michigan

In 1870, the University of Michigan adopted what would become a path breaking system of high school accreditation. Under this system labeled as the "Diploma Plan" graduates of approved or accredited high schools were eligible for admission into UM based on their high school diplomas rather than their performance on an entrance examination.[433] Henry Frieze, president of the university at the time that this plan was adopted, believed that a system of inspection would improve both the secondary schools of the state and the university enrollments by creating a system of education that fit seamlessly together.[434]

One year later in 1871, James Angell, became the president of the University of Michigan. Like his predecessor, Angell believed that education in the state would best be served through cooperative arrangements between the university and secondary schools. To achieve these ends, Marc VanOverbeke argues that Angell called for clear distinctions to be drawn. At the top, universities were to deal with higher branches of study, while secondary schools underneath were to prepare students to be able to take on the more advanced work that colleges and universities were hoping to offer. While his greatest focus was on secondary schools, Angell encouraged "all teachers, from the lowest

[433] Ibid., 37.
[434] Ibid.

elementary levels to the university professors, to see themselves as 'parts of one unified system' working to provide a strong education for all students in the state."[435]

The glue that united the schools in the state and the university was the Diploma Plan. In the early years of its existence, the structure of the plan was relatively simple. During the 1870s, high school inspectors typically consisted of two or three LS&A faculty members who traveled together at the request of school boards to accredit high schools.[436] These faculty members would attend lectures and recitations, evaluate teacher performances, meet with superintendents and principals, in some cases quiz students on particular subjects or have them recite passages from leading Greek or Latin texts.[437] One of the members would then write a report at the end of the visit that was kept at the UM so that the faculty could track an individual school's progress. If the school satisfied the committee's inspection, a letter drafted by the Committee on Diploma Schools and signed by President Angell was sent to the school's superintendent.[438] Students from accredited high schools could thereafter attend UM without taking an entrance exam.

Not surprisingly, diploma status became a widely sought after credential. Once established, the number of high schools that sought accreditation increased yearly. These demands grew larger as the university expanded its inspection policy not only to private schools and academies but to secondary schools outside the state including such places as New York, California, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.[439] These visits

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[435] VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling,* 39. Citing James Burrill Angell, "The Reminiscences of James Burrill Angell," Longmans, Green, and co.; Mucher, "Subject Matter and Method in the Preparation of High School Teachers: Pedagogy and Teacher Education at the University of Michigan, 1871-1921".
[436] Mucher, "Subject Matter and Method," 79.
[437] VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling*, 40.
[438] Mucher, "Subject Matter and Method," 79.
[439] VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling*, 41.

placed heavy burdens on university faculty forcing them to budget their own time for research and teaching.[440]

Despite the growing demands on the LS&A faculty, Steven Mucher reports that most professors during the late nineteenth century still preferred the inspection method rather than a system of examination. Indeed in the 1892 *University Record*, one professor reported "there is no sentiment whatever at this University, at least none that ever makes itself heard, in favor of a return to the old method."[441] Instead what developed was an interconnected system of university inspections that allowed university faculty members to directly interact with teachers. This type of system was one of the first attempts to wed subject matter knowledge with teaching. The educational potential of this plan was great. As one university professor observed, the teachers "look to the visits of the examiner with interest, as occasions for comparing notes, rectifying errors, discussing policies and methods, and receiving fresh stimulation."[442]

Between 1871 and the first few years of the twentieth century, the University of Michigan and secondary schools vying for diploma status continued to work collaboratively to create a unified system of education. Understanding that teachers would play a pivotal role in this effort, Angell helped to create a "Chair in the Science and Art of Teaching" to instruct UM students who might become high school teaches in pedagogics and school administration. William Payne, who served as the first Chair of Pedagogy, argued that successful teaching was comprised of two elements, "[subject] matter and method." Moreover, Payne stressed the overall importance of subject matter

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[440] Ibid.
[441] Mucher, "Subject Matter and Method." Citing the University Record, 1892.
[442] Burke A. Hinsdale, "The Diploma System of Admission to the University of Michigan," in *Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools* (1896), 55.

knowledge noting that nothing could sustain an absence of it, not even method. As a result of this, Payne worked collaboratively with LS&A instructors during his tenure, stressing the importance of subject matter knowledge combined with modest coursework in pedagogy.[443]

Despite a strong commitment to an interconnected system of education at the University of Michigan, dramatic new changes during the early twentieth century began to crack the foundation that Angell had helped to shape. Two primary changes disrupted the Diploma Plan. The first major issue was the growing number of high schools seeking diploma status. By 1895, UM had 152 diploma schools and was receiving additional requests from other high schools each year. As a result, LS&A faculty were spending more time traveling to schools. By 1899, this pressure finally reached a breaking point when faculty demanded that Angell create a special examiner to inspect the diploma schools rather than LS&A professors. This change in policy abruptly weakened a direct connection between LS&A faculty and secondary teachers. As Steven Mucher notes, "while some prominent professors continued to make inspection visits, the majority of faculty members in LS&A recused themselves from this duty."[444]

The second major factor that influenced teacher education at the University of Michigan was a change in thinking about the importance of pedagogy, as opposed to subject matter. The key figure in this change was Alan Whitney. Hired as the first UM High School Inspector in 1899, Whitney played a pivotal role in these developments. Whitney successfully changed the Department of Education in LS&A into the School of Education (SOE) at UM. Noted for his political savvy, Whitney was quickly able to

[443] Mucher, "Subject Matter and Method."
[444] Ibid., 217.

elevate himself to "become the *de facto* chair of what was in reality a 'department' of pedagogy' by 1903.[445] But unlike his predecessors, Whitney felt that his department should leave LS&A. He argued that teacher education should be independent of other departments and that pedagogy should play a more prominent role in the training of secondary teachers than it had in the past.[446]

During his years at UM from 1903 to 1929, Whitney was highly successful in transforming the purpose of teacher education at UM. In his first two years as *de facto* chair, Whitney worked successfully to consolidate authority for granting teaching certificates to his department. In 1905, Whitney made the first "whole-scale" changes to curriculum titles and required coursed in the SOE. Education students were expected to complete two courses "Principles of Education and "Introduction to the Philosophy of Education" replacing two original pedagogy courses.[447] At the same time, he also increased the number of pedagogical electives required for a certificate. Finally between 1910 and 1921, Whitney successfully lobbied officials to create a stand-alone School of Education complete with a training school. In less than twenty years, Whitney had transformed teacher education at UM.[448]

While the transformation and creation of the School of Education at UM is unique, I argue that the broad trend it represented in teacher education was typical of the early twentieth century. As colleges and schools of education increased during this period, they sought to elevate their own status by focusing on both the theory of education and pedagogy as a stand alone area of study separate from subject matter. As a

[445] Ibid., 230.
[446] Ibid.
[447] Ibid., 237.
[448] Ibid., 230-250.

consequence, other departments and schools within the university became divorced from teacher training. No longer intertwined, subject matter knowledge and pedagogy became their own independent requirements of preparing new teachers.[449]

The second major casualty in the creation of the SOE was that it ended collaboration between teachers and the school of education faculty. Under the original diploma plan, high school teachers and the UM chair of pedagogy had direct access to one another. This provided teachers with a direct link to new research and ideas developing in education. At the same time, this system also allowed university professors to influence secondary instruction. Together these attributes had the potential of creating a seamless system of education.

In the end, centralization of teacher certification, growing attendance and graduation rates in high schools, the transition of normal schools into teachers colleges, and the evolution of university departments and colleges of education all influenced the way states certified teachers and the qualifications they required. As high school attendance and graduation rates increased, state administrative leaders reacted by increasing the professional and academic requirements for a certificate to teach. Moreover, as high school attendance and graduation rates increased, the need for normal schools to teach remedial coursework decreased thus allowing normal school to transition to teachers colleges that only accepted high school graduates. At the same time, leaders at university affiliated schools or colleges of education sought to elevate and standardize the practice of teaching. Yet, as a result this drive to legitimize education often severed relationships among other departments within the university, thus divorcing pedagogy

[449] Labaree, *The Trouble with Ed Schools*.

from subject matter. In order to understand how these factors influenced the qualifications of teachers, I now turn to an analysis of certification trends both nationally and across the four case study states of Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon and Virginia. In particular, I analyze the types of certification systems in place (i.e. local, county, or states system), the minimum prerequisites for the lowest grade certificate, and the types of certificates available. For each of these categories, I examine both national trends and developments in the case study states. Moreover, for each case study state, I examine the extent to which professional requirements increased during the 1920s.

National & Case Study Trends During the 1920s

As discussed in previous sections, one of the most important influences on teacher training during the early twentieth century was the large increase in the number of students attending school. Between 1921 and 1931, both elementary and high school enrollments increased but at an uneven rate. As Table 4.2 shows, national K-8 enrollments remained relatively stable between 1920 and 1930. In contrast, national high school enrollments nearly doubled from a little more than two and a half million in 1921 to more than five million in 1931.

Table 4.2: Nationwide Public School Enrollment for Grades K-8 and 9-12 (1890 – 1931)

	1890	**1900**	**1910**	**1921**	**1931**
K-8	12,830,000	15,161,000	17,050,000	20,366,000	21,135,000
9-12	212,000	542,000	985,000	2,873,000	5,140,000
Total Enrollment	13,050,000	15,703,000	18,035,000	23,239,000	26,275,000

(Source: Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to Present, 2-399).

Reflecting national trends Michigan, Massachusetts, Oregon, and Virginia displayed similar patterns in school enrollments. Between 1920 and 1930, total

enrollment greatly increased. However, as Table 4.3 shows, growth in the number of students in elementary grades was far less than that of students in high school grades. In addition to differences between elementary and high school growth by age level, there were also differences in high school growth between the case study states. In Massachusetts the percentage increase in growth between 1920 and 1930 was 77 percent, in Oregon 89 percent, and 92 percent in Michigan. High school growth for the same period of time in Virginia more than doubled with a 139 percent increase (See Table 4.4 below).

Table 4.3: School Enrollments by Age Group for Massachusetts, Michigan, Oregon and Virginia (1910 – 1930)

	1910		**1920**		**1930**	
	6 – 14	***15-20***	***7-13***	***14-20***	***7-13***	***14 – 20***
Massachusetts	479,429	105,600	464,752	168,282	536,798	231,679
Michigan	431,701	108,032	453,652	172,513	658,381	317,141
Oregon	86,354	30,664	94,312	47,301	113,949	72, 021
Virginia	301,007	91,492	324,292	135,745	354,467	161,627

Source: U.S. Census & Statistical Abstracts of the United States for the years 1900, 1910, 1920,1930. Prior to 1900, U.S. Census documents did not break attendance down by age or categories suitable with comparisons for the years 1900 – 1920. In addition, age categories changed each decade as can bee seen by the tables. Elementary, middle school, and high school designations developed much later.

Table 4.4: Public High School Enrollments by Case Study State (1890 – 1920)

	1890	**1900**	**1910**	**1920**	**1930**
Massachusetts	19,125	35,914	54,817	93,378	165,408
Michigan	13,172	28,811	39,984	84,438	161,795
Oregon	606	1,916	8,914	25,250	47,687
Virginia	2,059	4,390	11,567	30,919	74,027

(Source: Reports of the Commissioner of Education, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920 and Statistical Abstracts 1940).

At the same time that high school enrollments were increasing, a growing number of state governments were moving towards centralized systems of teacher certification. As discussed in chapters one and two, the beginning of the twentieth century signaled a major change in centralization authority over teacher qualifications in the United States. Prior to this period, the power to certify and examine teachers had largely been left to local authorities, who often were unqualified to judge a candidate's ability to teach. Over

time with the emergence of educational leaders such as the administrative progressives, the power relegated to local officials was redistributed to trained educational administrators. As a result, local school boards lost the power to designate the qualifications demanded of their teachers.

While the transition from local to state control was not without controversy, much of the "war" for control of certification was won by administrative progressives by the beginning of the Great Depression. The primary way to view this change is to examine the types of systems of certification in place during the early twentieth century. As described in detail in chapter 2, five main systems of certification existed during this period. They included the state-system, state-controlled, semi-state, state-county, and state-local systems (See Appendix A for full descriptions). The state-system and the state-controlled system were the most centralized systems of teacher certification. Under these systems, state leaders set the rules and governed the distribution of teacher certificates with local officials having minimal to no control. Semi-state systems fell in the middle of the spectrum. Under this type of system, state authorities set the rules and regulations while local authorities examined the papers and issued certificates. In contrast, state-county and state-local authorities were the least centralized. Under each of these systems, either county or local officials were charged with setting regulations and issuing certificates.[450]

Between 1900 and 1920, a number of state governments began centralizing the power to grant teaching certificates by stripping the power to certify from local communities and giving it to state agencies. From 1898 – 1911, the number of states

[450] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921), 13. VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling*.

requiring all certificates to be granted at the state level quintupled from three in 1898 to fifteen in 1911. As Table 4.5 shows, the number of states under the state-county system dropped from a high of eighteen in 1898 to seven by 1911. By the early 1920s, more than half the states granted authority to issue all certificates to state education agencies or state boards of education. In 1921, twenty-six of forty-eight states operated under state systems. Moreover, of the fifteen states that provided local communities and counties with some authority to issue certificates in 1921, only five provided local agencies with certification power equal or greater to that of the state authorities.[451]

By the late 1920s, the overwhelming majority of states had made the switch to state dominated systems of teacher certification. While there were twenty-six state systems of certification in 1921, there were thirty-six by the end of 1926. When combined with the four states which operated under a state-controlled system, we see that forty out of forty-eight states operated under systems where state officials had centralized authority over certification. Of the eights states that did not operate under state dominated systems, five states, Arkansas, Kansas, and Mississippi, Ohio, and Oklahoma issued certificates at the county level while the state set rules and prepared questions; two states California and Wisconsin retained the power to prepare exams and issue certificates at the county level; and only one state, Massachusetts continued to allow for local certification through township officials. Thus regional differences in control of certification had all but disappeared except for the states of Arkansas, Kansas, and Oklahoma.[452]

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[451] Ibid.
[452] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927).VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling*.

Table 4.5: Number of States by Type of State Systems of Certification (1898-1926)

	1898	1903	1911	1921	1926
State System (State issued Certificate)	3	5	15	26	36
State-Controlled (State conducted exams and counties issued some certificates with state setting rules)	1	*	2	7	4
Semi-State Systems (State set rules, prepares questions, county grades exams and issues certificates)	17	*	18	10	5
State-County System (Both state and county issue certificates, county has additional control over some certificates)	18	*	7	3	2
State-Local System (Full Local Control)	2	2	2	2	1

(Source: Katherine Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers Certificates*, U.S. Office of Education, 1927)

In the case study states, centralization remained relatively stable in the 1920s. In 1904 Virginia evolved to a state system of certification, while Oregon did so in 1911. The primary difference between Michigan and Oregon and Virginia being that county boards of education could issue certificates on credentials issued by the state.[453] In contrast, Massachusetts continued to operate under a decentralized system of certification. By the end of the 1920s, Massachusetts was the only state that still vested the power to certify teachers with local township authorities. Local control of teacher certification persisted throughout the 1920s despite repeated calls by the Massachusetts Commissioner of Education for minimal standards and increased centralization. However, as we will see in a later section, despite this lack in centralization;

[453] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927), 18.

Massachusetts boasted some of the highest numbers of teachers who had advanced training.[454]

While increases in centralized systems of certification were important in the evolution of teacher qualifications, this change was not enough to overhaul the system. Instead it took a combination of increased centralized authority with a growing high school population to raise the qualifications to teach. To understand how these developments influenced teacher qualifications, I now examine the extent to which state educational leaders set and/or increased minimum scholarship requirements to teach during the 1920s.

Minimum Scholarship Prerequisites

Between 1920 and 1930 a majority of states in the United States enacted new legislation increasing the minimum scholarship prerequisites for all teachers who had no previous teaching experience. Prior to this time, minimum scholarship requirements were practically non-existent. In 1921, thirty states had no definite scholarship requirement; fourteen states required at least four years of secondary school; and four states required high school graduation along with some professional course work. In contrast, just five years later, thirty-three states required at least four years of secondary school, twenty-seven of which required at least a high school diploma (See Table 4.6 below).[455] While the amount of professional training varied greatly between states, the important thing to note is that during the 1920s, high school graduation and a minimum

[454] *The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1927*, (Boston: 1927), 7.
[455] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927).

amount of professional training beyond high school, developed as the new standard for incoming teachers.

While minimum standards increased overall, changes varied by region and state. As Table 4.6 shows, between 1921 and the end of 1926, four states Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Utah, and Washington set their minimum requirement for the lowest grade certificate issued to inexperienced teachers as graduation from a standard normal school, or equivalent training of two years beyond high-school graduation.

In nine states, legislatures set the minimum scholarship prerequisites for beginning teachers as high school graduation plus an additional one-year of professional training. These states included Arizona, Indiana, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Vermont.

In fourteen states, legislatures or state boards of education required at least high school graduation and some amount of professional training. These state included: Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Iowa, Louisiana, Maryland, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, North Carolina, North Dakota, Rhode Island, and Virginia. The actual amount of training beyond high school graduation varied considerably. For example, Colorado required twenty-two and one half quarter hours, Nevada ten semester units, and New Jersey required three summer school courses of six weeks each. So confusing were the differences in the amount of professional training required that Katherine Cook, the author of the 1927 report notes that it was practically impossible to standardize the amount of time that each state required.[456]

[456] Ibid., 9-15.

A total of six states required a minimum of at least the completion of high school. In California, Illinois, Maine, and Missouri the minimum requirement to teach for beginning teachers was a high school diploma. While in two states, South Dakota and Wyoming, graduation from a normal training high school or other high school in which approved professional courses are offered were set as the minimum standard.

In the other fifteen states, there were no definite scholarship prerequisites. In these states, certificates were issued to candidates who received satisfactory grades on examinations.[457] These states included: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas, and West Virginia.[458] As can be seen by this list, the South was overrepresented with a large majority of its states having no set minimum scholarship requirements. While I have no data as proof, it appears that many of the southern states may have strayed away from setting minimum requirements because they knew that they would be unable meet them for the large populations of African Americans.

Table 4.6: Scholarship Prerequisites for Certificating Teachers without Experience

Minimum Scholarship Prerequisites	Number of States in 1921	Number of States in 1926
High-school graduation and two year's training of higher grade	0	4
High-school graduation and professional training, one year of higher grade	0	9
High-school graduation and some professional training, but less than one year	4	14
Four years secondary school (may or may not include professional courses)	14	6
No definite scholarship requirement	30	15

[457] This was the case is all states but Massachusetts which did not have prescribed prerequisites.
[458] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927).

Reflecting national trends, three out of four of the case study states increased their minimum scholarship requirements to teach. Prior to the 1920s, both Michigan and Oregon required at least a high school diploma for the lowest grade certificate, while neither Virginia nor Massachusetts set any legal minimum scholarship requirements to teach. By the early to mid 1920s, this rapidly changed as all of the case study states except for Massachusetts, required not only a high school diploma but also a minimum amount of professional training.[459]

Of the four case study states, Michigan was the first to set both high school graduation and a defined amount of professional training as a minimum standard. In 1915, the state legislature required at least six weeks of postsecondary training or six months of college study for the lowest grade certificate. Six years later, the legislature proactively increased the minimum standards for teaching, requiring as of September 1925, that all new teachers complete at least one-year professional work beyond high school. This standard continued until the education codes in the state were revised in 1936.[460]

Like Michigan, Oregon also was an early leader in setting minimum scholarship requirements to teach. Prior to 1920, Oregon set high school graduation as a minimum requirement for the lowest grade certificate to teach. This standard continued until the mid- 1920s, when like Michigan, the Oregon state legislature increased the minimum requirements to include at least one year of additional training beyond high school for teachers without prior experience. However, this standard was short lived because state educational leaders continually pushed for increased requirements. By 1927, the

[459] Ibid.
[460] Disbrow, *Schools for an Urban Society*, 19.

legislature amended the minimum standards, thereby requiring after January 1, 1931 at least sixty weeks in a standard normal school in order to qualify for an examination for the lowest grade of certificate; after, January 1, 1933 the state required all new teachers to complete a full two-year course in a standard normal school. As a result, certificates through examinations were set to cease as of 1933.[461]

While Michigan and Oregon were early pioneers in setting minimum scholarship requirements to teach, Virginia was not. At the beginning of the 1920s, Virginia like a majority of southern states did not require a high school diploma to teach for its lowest grade certificate. At that time the legislature only required a prospective teacher to have completed at least two years of schooling beyond the grade they intended to teach. This resulted in high numbers of teachers with the lowest grades of certificates. State educational leaders despised these types of certificates, often noting that they were counterproductive in increasing the professional nature of teaching in the state. Unfortunately for these leaders, teacher shortages made these types of certificates a necessity.[462]

Despite the slow start to set minimum professional requirements, the Virginia state board of education and the state legislature moved quickly to bring the state in line with national trends in the 1920s. In 1922 the state board of education set graduation from an accredited high school as a minimum scholarship standard for all certificates.[463] Three years later in 1925, the Board also required a minimum amount of professional training. In that year, the Board required all new teachers to complete nine hours of

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[461] *Twenty-Ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon, 1931*, (Salem: 1931), 80-82.
[462] McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in Virginia", 99-102.
[463] Ibid., 111.

work in general education and one hour of physical education. This resulted in the state's first shift away from certificates based on examination to a system based on institutional training.[464] Only three years later, the Board took steps which would eliminate examinations altogether. In 1928, the Board revised the minimum requirements for both elementary and high school certificates.[465] For high schools, the Board required as of September 1929 that the minimum qualification for all high school teachers working in an accredited high school was graduation from a four year college; and for elementary grade certificates, beginning in 1931 the board required at least one year of professional training at a college or normal school. These changes would present difficult challenges for the state board of education since the state was in desperate need of African American teachers. Therefore the board of education continued the issuance of the Provisional Elementary Certificate to African Americans which only required graduation from an accredited high school and completion of three hours' work in a teacher training institution.[466] As we will see in later sections, the lack in teacher training institutions for African American teachers often forced state leaders to set these lower standards for black teachers.

Like Virginia, Massachusetts also did not set minimum scholarship requirements for its teachers at the beginning of the 1920s. As noted previously, while Massachusetts had one of the earliest systems of education in the country; it also had the most decentralized system of teacher certification. As a result, the state legislature left this important policy to local township officials. Nevertheless, throughout the 1920s, state

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[464] Ibid.
[465] *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia with Accompanying Documents, School Year 1927-1928*, (Richmond: 1928), 22.
[466] Ibid.

educational leaders, such as the commissioner of education, continued to call for a state defined minimum set of educational requirements for public school teachers. Hoping to persuade the legislature to enact minimal requirements the commissioner reported that during 1923 there "were within the Commonwealth 2,229 public school teachers with less then the generally accepted minimum standard of qualifications, namely, two years of normal school or college training."[467] Despite these calls, the only minimum requirements set by state General Assembly were the ones set for state-aided high schools. While one might think that this would lead to higher numbers of poorly trained teachers, as we will see in the next section, this was not the case.

In sum, both the minimum amount of scholarship and professional requirements required of teachers changed radically during the 1920s. While a majority of states had no defined set of minimum standards prior to the twenties, by the end of the decade many states did so. As professional requirements changed so did the types of certificates being issued. I now analyze how the types of certificates issued by states changed during the 1920s. In addition, I also analyze how increases in professional requirements influenced the number and types of certificates issued in the case study states.

Types of Certificates & Trends in Certification

In the 1920s one of the most dramatic changes in teacher certification practices was in the consolidation of the various paths to certification. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there were four primary routes to obtaining a teaching certificate: through an examination, high school normal training, normal school training, and through collegiate training. By 1920 all four of these paths to teacher training were

[467] *The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1923*, (Boston: 1923), 5.

still in existence, but over time state legislatures and professional educators had slowly began to reduce the ability of new teachers to get teaching certificates without a certain amount of professional training beyond high school.[468]

As professional training increased, administrative progressives looked to eliminate certification by examination and high school training. As early as 1920, professional educators sought to eliminate examinations as the sole basis for a teaching certificate. Professional educators, now led by the increasingly powerful administrative progressives, "were uniformly opposed to certification examinations."[469] They only viewed examinations as a means to fill vacant teaching positions with people who had modest training and/or talent. As a result, professional educators pushed state legislatures and state boards of education to require additional prerequisites beyond passing an examination or when possible to eliminate examinations entirely. In 1919, Vermont became the first state to eliminate examinations altogether and instead offer certificates solely on the basis of professional training. Many other states moved much slower, especially in places with large rural populations. As late as 1937, only twenty-eight states had eliminated examination as a basis for certification.[470]

Along with a decline in certification through examination, there was also a decline in certification through secondary training. Indeed, Katherine Cook, in her 1927 report on state laws and teacher certification identified two tendencies connected with these types of certificates:

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[468] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1921), Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927).
[469] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 19.
[470] Ibid.

- Discontinuance of recognition of professional training on the secondary level by substitution of minimum requirements to be met through credits in higher institutions, generally State teachers' colleges and normal schools or institutions with equivalent standards;

- continuance of recognition of courses in connection with secondary schools but on the graduate level; that is one year in addition to four years of high-school work.[471]

In 1919, a total of twenty-one states issued certificates to candidates who had completed teacher-training coursework in secondary schools. By 1927, only eight states continued this practice. For the other thirteen states the trend was clear, state legislatures and state boards of education wanted at least one year of additional professional training beyond that which was taught in secondary schools.[472]

As routes to certification through examinations and high school training decreased, the number of certificates available through normal school or collegiate training multiplied yearly. By the end of the 1920s, a series of four new types of certificates had emerged. They included: certificates for teaching kindergarten and primary grades; certificates for teaching high schools; certificates for teaching special subjects; and certificates for administration and supervision.[473]

Not surprisingly, as David Angus notes, the earliest differentiation to emerge was between elementary and high school grades.[474] Prior to the early twentieth century, most states issued blanket certificates, which would allow the holder to teach in any school at any level. But starting in the early part of the twentieth century, professional educators slowly began shifting requirements to fit grade level. At first the tendency was to grant

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[471] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927), 26.
[472] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good.*
[473] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927), 19-23.
[474] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 19.

blanket certificates for teachers who satisfied requirements for high school teaching. Thus these candidates could teach any grade while those with less training were restricted to elementary grades. But as early as the beginning of the 1920s, some states such as Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Kentucky, North Carolina and Utah began making the shift to include specific coursework for elementary certificates.[475]

Besides the distinctions made for grade level teaching, many states also issued certificates for "special" subjects. Today we would probably think of these subjects as classes such as math, science, or English. But in the early twentieth century that was not the case. At that time special subjects included "newer" school subjects of that time such as "music, art, physical training, manual training, [and] home economics."[476] By 1927, a total of forty-five states issued certificates based on these special subjects. While it is important to note that states began shifting to a system of certification that focused on subject matter, it is equally important to note that many of these states required this type of certification for special subjects, because it was a requirement to receive funding for vocational education courses under the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917.[477] This marks the earliest beginnings of federal influence on state teacher certification regulations.

In sum, the decade between 1920 and 1930 was one of major reform. Across a majority of states, the power to certify teachers had been removed from local or county authority and shifted into the hands of state leaders such as state superintendents of public instruction. Using their new powers, these administrative leaders gradually increased the requirements to obtain a teaching license. They increased the amount of professional training required of all new teachers while they slowly minimized the effects of

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[475] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927), 23.
[476] Ibid.
[477] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 20.

antiquated policies such as teacher examinations. I now turn to my four case study states to see how these trends in teacher certification played out.

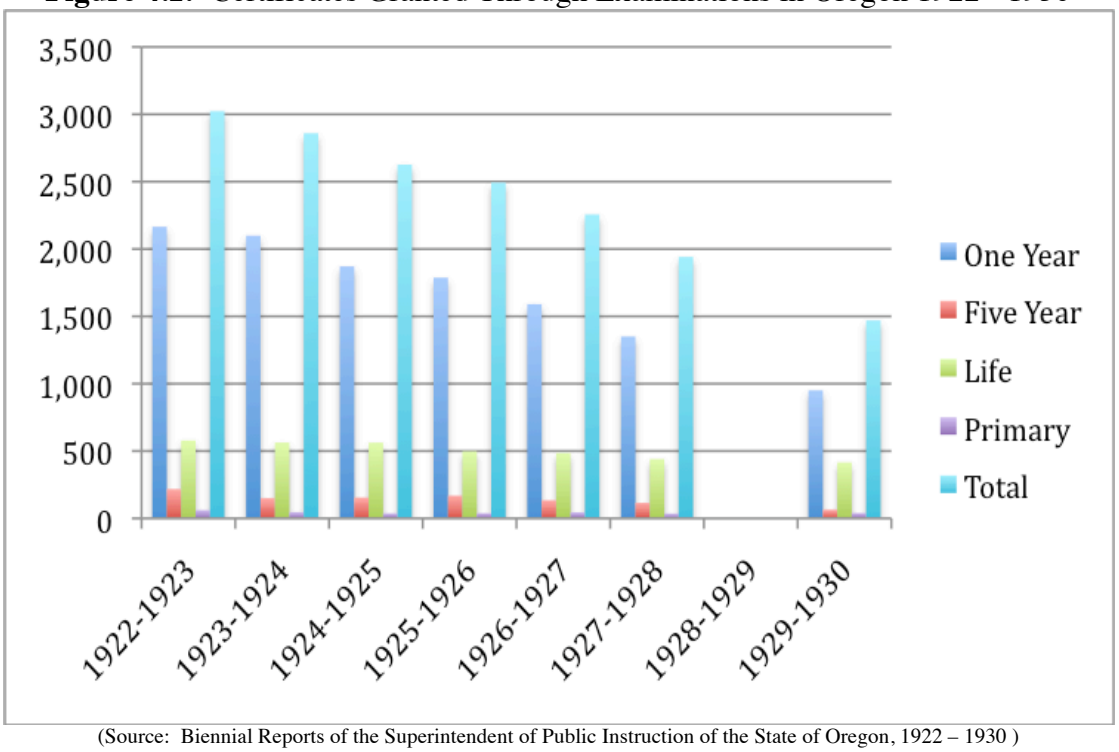
Oregon

Between 1920 and 1930, the Oregon state legislature continued to offer a variety of routes to certification. During this time, candidates could obtain a certificate to teach by passing an examination, through the completion of a high school training course, normal school training, or college graduation. The length and validity of each certificate depended on the amount of professional training completed by each candidate. The more advanced training an individual had, the greater the duration of time that the certificate was valid. During the early part of the decade the state legislature made few changes in the requirements for teaching certificates. However, by the mid-to-late 1920s this changed once the World War I induced teacher shortages began to stabilize.

By the end of the 1920s, Oregon offered seven different types of certificates with the two fastest routes to certification being though an examination or by completing a high school normal training program (See Appendix B). These two routes offered state leaders a quick fix to teacher shortages caused by both World War I and the remoteness of many of the small rural towns in the state. However, by the mid-1920s, teacher shortages lessened while the number of teachers with advanced training increased. As a result the number of teachers entering the workforce thorough means of an examination or high school normal training decreased. As Figure 4.1 and Table 4.7 show the number of teachers in the workforce through means of an examination greatly declined from the beginning of the 1920s through 1930. While Oregon certified more than 3,000 teachers

in 1922-23 by means of an examination; less than half that number would be certified in that way in 1930.[478]

Figure 4.1: Certificates Granted Through Examinations in Oregon 1922 - 1930



(Source: Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon, 1922 – 1930)
(No data available for the 1928-1929 year)

Table 4.7: Number of Teachers Certified Through Means of Examination in Oregon Across Types of Certificates for the Years 1922 - 1930

	One Year	Five Year	Life	Primary	Total
1922-1923	2,165	218	578	62	3,023
1923-1924	2,099	150	563	47	2,859
1924-1925	1,871	155	562	38	2,626
1925-1926	1,787	169	498	39	2,493
1926-1927	1,591	134	485	46	2,256
1927-1928	1,350	115	440	36	1,941
1928-1929	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
1929-1930	950	65	415	40	1,470

(Source: Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon, 1922 - 1930).

As certification by examination declined, so did certification through high school training. As Table 4.8 shows, between 1921 and 1928, Oregon high schools trained from

[478] *Superintendent of Public Report of Oregon, 1931*, *Twenty-Fifth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon, 1923*, (Salem: 1923).

6.4 percent to a high of 10.3 percent of all teachers of the state's workforce.[479] Yet, by the mid-decade, there is a yearly decrease in both the number of graduates of these programs and total percentage of the workforce, which they represent. While there is no clear evidence as to why these numbers began to drop during the mid-decade, one argument would be that there were already enough teachers being trained in the normal schools and colleges. This argument seems plausible because in 1927 the state legislature increased the minimum amount of professional training required for a new certificate, and it also declared that teacher training in high schools would no longer meet the requirements for certification.[480]

Table 4.8: Number of One-Year Certificates Issued to Graduates of Teacher Training Courses in High Schools in Oregon from 1921 to 1928.

	Number of Certificates Granted	Total Number of Elementary Certificates in the State	Percent of Elementary Teachers with a One-Year Certificate from High School Training
1921-1922	487	5416	9.0
1922-1923	560	5417	10.3
1923-1924	519	5556	9.3
1924-1925	538	5511	9.6
1925-1926	496	5750	8.6
1926-1927	358	5789	6.2
1927-1928	375	5633	6.4

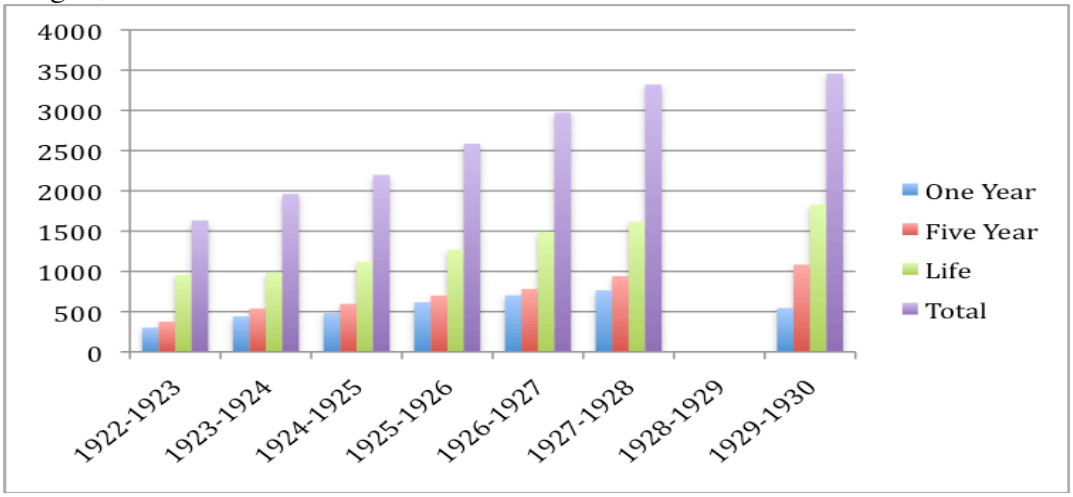
(Source: Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon & also in Harry Matthew, A History of Teachers in Oregon)

As high school normal training and examinations waned, the amount of certificates issued to normal and college graduates correspondingly began to increase. As Figure 4.2 and Table 4.9 show, each year between 1922 and 1930, there was an increase in the number of teachers in the state who had completed normal school training. For example, for the school year 1922-23 there were a total of 1,633 normal school graduates

[479] Matthew, "A History of the Qualification of Teachers in Oregon", 119.
[480] Ibid. *Twenty-Seventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon, 1927*, (Salem: 1927).

serving as teachers in the state; by 1930 this number would more than double to 3,458. This same trend was found with college and university graduates but to a slightly lesser extent. For the 1922-1923 school year, there were 1,361 college or university graduates teaching; by 1930 there were nearly 2,000 (See Table 4.10 below).

Figure 4.2: Total Number of Teachers Serving with Normal School Training in Oregon,1922 - 1930



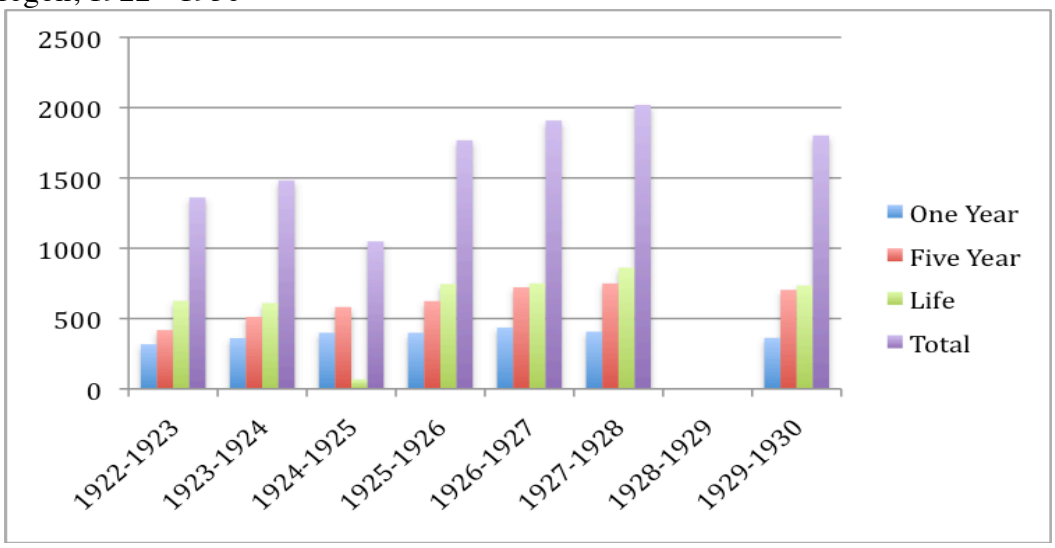
(Source: Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon, 1922 - 1930).
(No data available for the 1928-1929 year)

Table 4.9: Total Number of Teachers Serving with Normal School Training in Oregon, 1922- 1930

	One Year	Five Year	Life	Total
1922-1923	302	375	956	1,633
1923-1924	441	539	982	1,962
1924-1925	482	597	1,119	2,198
1925-1926	616	701	1,269	2,586
1926-1927	703	782	1,488	2,973
1927-1928	764	940	1,617	3,321
1928-1929	NR	NR	NR	NR
1929-1930	543	1,083	1,832	3,458

(Source: Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon, 1922 - 1930).

Figure 4.3: Total Number of Teachers by Graduation from College or University in Oregon, 1922 - 1930



(Source: Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon, 1922 - 1930).
(No data available for the 1928-1929 year)

Table 4.10: Total Number of Teachers by Graduation from College or University in Oregon, 1922- 1930

	One Year	Five Year	Life	Total
1922-1923	317	418	626	1,361
1923-1924	361	512	610	1,483
1924-1925	399	582	68	1,049
1925-1926	399	624	745	1,768
1926-1927	436	722	750	1,908
1927-1928	407	750	862	2,019
1928-1929	NR	NR	NR	NR
1929-1930	363	704	735	1,802

(Source: Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Oregon, 1922 - 1930).

Overall, the 1920s trends in Oregon signaled a strong shift to the higher collegiate standards for teacher certification. In this decade, state leaders phased out certification through means of an examination and high school normal training courses. At the same time, they increased the amount of professional training required of all teachers thus making normal school or college or university graduation a new standard. Since all of these changes took place prior to the start of the Great Depression, it appears that the increase in qualifications to teach, at least in Oregon, was strongly connected around

efforts to professionalize education. While these efforts began as early as the late teens, it took the increased stability of the teacher market after World War I along with increases in high school enrollment to drive these changes.

Virginia

As in many other states, the Virginia legislature took numerous steps to increase professional training and qualifications for teachers in the 1920s. During this decade the legislature abandoned examinations as a means to certification, increased professional training requirements, and eliminated some of the lowest grade certificates. Yet despite these increases in professional requirements, there were stark differences in the education of black and white teachers. While professional requirements increased for both groups, the grim reality at the beginning of the Great Depression was that most black teachers had far less training than their white counterparts. As a result, black schools were forced to employ more teachers who had comparatively less training.[481]

During the early twentieth century, state educational leaders in Virginia wanted to increase minimum professional requirements supposedly for both black and white teachers; but the reality of their situation was bleak. At this time, the state was confronted with teacher shortages due to World War I, too few rural teachers (which also hit black educators especially hard), and as discussed in earlier sections the slower development of public high schools. Because of theses challenges, the minimum requirements for most certificates stayed stable prior to the beginning of the 1920s. But by the mid-twenties, some of the effects of these problems began to fade. Teachers shortages caused by the war vanished and high school growth continued to climb since

[481] See Generally Tables 4.11 – 4.13 below.

the state legislature organized a system for public high schools in 1906. As a result, the state board of education sought to increase the quality of their schools. In 1928, hoping to understand more fully the current state of teachers, the Board commissioned a study of its high school teachers. One of the most intriguing findings from this report was that most certificates were granted to teachers who were college graduates; however a majority of these teachers had never taken any education courses.[482]

As a result of the report, the state board of education increased the minimum professional standards of white teachers, but allowed for lesser standards for black teachers. To do this the Board passed two new regulations, one for elementary teachers and one for secondary teachers. Under the new elementary regulations, all white teachers were required to complete "one year of professional training of college or normal school" beginning in 1931. In comparison black elementary teachers could be certified if they graduated from an accredited high school and completed three college session hours. In addition, these lower grade elementary certificates for blacks (Provisional Elementary Certificate) were valid only for one year but could be renewed annually if the teacher was making progress towards the standard of one year of professional training.[483] Secondary teachers were already required to complete a minimum amount of professional training, but now the Board increased their minimum amount of professional training to the completion of a baccalaureate degree from a standard four-year college.[484] Yet, unlike the exceptions made between black and white elementary teachers none are mentioned

[482] McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in Virginia"
[483] *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia with Accompanying Documents, School Year 1927-1928*, 22.
[484] McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in Virginia", 119.

for high school teachers. Much of this probably stemmed from the fact that there were enough black teachers with this requirement for the few black high schools in the state.[485]

The second way that state educational leaders sought to improve the professional requirements of teachers in the 1920s was through consolidation of lower grade certificates. At the beginning of the decade, the state board of education issued a total of seven different primary types of certificates. Of these seven types of certificates, the two lowest, the second and third grade, were the two most often found in disfavor of state educational leaders such as the superintendent of public instruction. State educational leaders continuously sought to reduce the number of these certificates, because they required the least amount of professional training; and because they seemed to attract a higher number of transient teachers.[486] But these consolidation efforts did not always play out equally, as exceptions were made for black teachers with the state board of education providing for lower grade certificates specifically for black teachers. For example, the state continued to provide Provisional Elementary Certificates (discussed above) for black elementary teachers, which required less professional training after graduation from high school.

While state educational leaders were successfully able to eliminate third-grade certificates early in the decade, they were forced to continue second-grade certificates until the mid 1920s. By that time, in 1926, the state board of education was finally able to eliminate the second-grade certificate as a route to certification, however, this change only applied to white teachers (See Appendix C for certificates issued in 1927). For black teachers, the Board was continued issuing second-grade certificates because of high

[485] *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia with Accompanying Documents, School Year 1926-1927*, (Richmond: 1927).
[486] McCraw, "The Legal History of Teacher Certification in Virginia."

demand for black teachers and the relatively low numbers of blacks who had advanced education in the state during this time.[487] As a result the educational gap between black and white teachers in the state widened.[488]

Although state educational leaders had taken giant strides in increasing the professional training of white teachers in the 1920s, two major problems still confronted these leaders at the beginning of the Great Depression. The first major issue was the problem of differences in training between county and city teachers. In 1930, there were 12,568 teachers employed in county schools. Of that number 1,889, or 15 percent had certificates based on college graduation; 3,552 or 28 percent held certificates based on two years of college or normal school instruction; 4,613 or 37 percent held certificates based on at least one year of college training; and 2,514 or 20 held certificates issued on less than one year's college or normal school work. [489]

In contrast, city schools employed 4,186 teachers in 1930. Of that number 1, 196 or 28 percent held certificates based on college graduate; 2,213 or 53 percent held certificates based on two years of college or normal school work; six hundred seventy-five or 16 percent held certificates based on one year of college instruction; and one hundred and one or 2 percent held certificates based on high school graduation and less than one year's college or normal school instruction. As these numbers clearly indicate, city schools were much more likely to have teachers with advanced subject matter and professional training. For example, more than 81 percent of city teachers had at least two

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[487] Ibid., 115. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*.
[488] In addition to the reduction in third and second grade certificates, the State Board of Education also abolished the Elementary Certificate in 1930. This certificate had been granted upon the completion of one year's work in a teacher training institution. While the actual regulation to abolish these certificates was passed in 1930, these certificates were allowed to continue until the end of 1931.
[489] *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia with Accompanying Documents, School Year 1929-1930*, (Richmond: 1930), 74.

years of college or normal school work compared to forty-three percent in county schools.[490]

The second more glaring issue for state educational leaders in Virginia was the low levels of education for black teachers. As Tables 4.11 – 4.13 show, black teachers consistently had lower amounts of professional training. In 1930, the state superintendent reported that there were 3,770 black teachers. Of that number, 259 or just 7 percent had graduated from college; 869 or 23 percent had two years of college; 1,119 or 30 percent had one-year of college; and 1,523 or 40 percent had less than one year of college. These numbers show a complete reversal from the trend of white teachers during the same year. At that time there were 12,984 white teachers. Of that number, 2,826 or 22 percent were college graduates; 4,896 or 37 percent had two years of college or normal school training, 4, 149 or 32 percent had one year of college training; and 1,093 or 9 percent had less than one year of college or normal school training.[491] These comparisons are more glaring when compared with the types of certificates issued to blacks and whites during this period. As Table 4.11 shows, whites overwhelmingly had higher numbers of professional certificates while blacks had higher numbers of mid to low level certificates.

[490] Ibid.
[491] *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia with Accompanying Documents, School Year 1929-1930.*

Table 4.11: Number of Certificates Held By Race and Type of Certificate in Virginia from 1921 - 1925

	1921 – 1922		1922 – 1923		1923 – 1924		1924 – 1925	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
Collegiate Professional	109	7	138	3	192	7	262	19
Collegiate	374	17	354	22	358	22	560	8
Normal Professional	600	65	637	62	724	104	791	106
Special	926	64	917	71	1,029	102	992	77
Elementary	657	233	860	205	767	103	622	126
First Grade	992	190	1,005	245	868	181	1,023	142
Provisional First	1,132	98	1,028	84	1,303	102	1,120	119
Second Grade	703	468	456	238	369	206	272	139
Provisional Second	92	7	482	227	86	117	71	118
Local Permits	558	392	211	290	216	395	138 4	401

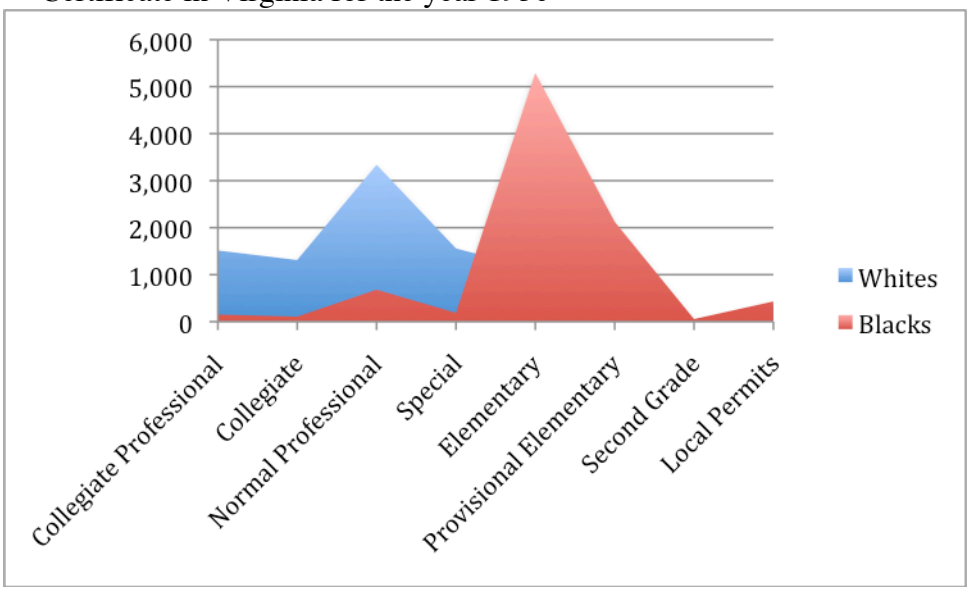
(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia 1921 – 1925)

Table 4.12: Number of Certificates Held By Race and Type of Certificate in Virginia from 1927 - 1930

	1927 – 1928		1928 – 1929		1929 – 1930	
	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks
Collegiate Professional	541	81	522	63	767	81
Collegiate	548	45	506	44	510	60
Normal Professional	736	149	721	135	702	135
Special	749	94	574	60	327	59
Elementary	915	150	962	128	905	149
Provisional Elementary	585	280	276	234	61	295
Second Grade	---------	117	---------	3	NR	NR
Local Permits	41	284	24	276	47	293

(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia 1927 – 1930)

Figure 4.4: Number of Certificates Held By Race and Type of Certificate in Virginia for the year 1930



(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia 1930. Compare with Table 4.13 (below))

Table 4.13: Number of Certificates Held By Race and Type of Certificate in Virginia for the year 1930

	Collegiate Professional	Collegiate	Normal Professional	Special	Elem.	Provisional Elementary	Second Grade	Local Permits
Whites	1,515	1,311	3,338	1,558	1,119	1,130	44	348
Blacks	152	107	682	187	5,288	2,125	55	432

(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia 1930)

Between 1920 and 1930, state educational leaders had taken giant leaps in increasing the professional qualifications demanded of teachers. Like many states, it eliminated examinations as a basis for certification, consolidated the number of lower grade certificates, and increased the minimum amount of professional training required of all teachers. Yet, unlike the other three case study states, Virginia faced a considerable challenge in how to train African American teachers. In response, state educational leaders sought to increase county normal training. But this was more of a band-aid approach rather than a means for systematic change. As a result, any progress that the state may have made in the area of improving teacher qualifications for blacks was

deflated by the state's system of de jure segregation and the separate and unequal support for black teachers and schools.

Michigan

Like Oregon and Virginia, the Michigan legislature drastically altered certification in the state during the 1920s. During this period, the legislature increased the professional requirements to teach, consolidated the types of certificates available, and eliminated examinations as a route to teacher certification. In addition, the legislature also consolidated the authority for issuing certificates. While numerous groups, including county normal boards, county boards of school examiners, etc., could issue certificates at the beginning of the 1920s, by the early 1930s this power had been reduced to just four agencies: the state board, the state superintendent, the county normal boards, and the University of Michigan's board of regents.[492]

During the 1920s, one of the major reasons for the shift in certification requirements was the increase in the amount of professional training required of new teachers. At the beginning of the 1920s, the state legislature required a minimum of six weeks of professional training or six months of college training for the lowest grade certificate. This changed in 1921 when the legislature amended the education laws to require at least one year of professional training starting in September of 1925. With this change, the options for gaining professional training became quite limited. To satisfy this requirement, more students were forced to either attend state normal schools (which officially became state colleges by statute in 1927[493]) or other colleges and universities.[494]

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[492] Disbrow, *Schools for an Urban Society*, 19.
[493] *Eighty-Ninth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan with Accompanying Documents for the Year of 1926 - 1927*, (Lansing: 1927), 87.
[494] Disbrow, *Schools for an Urban Society*, 17.

At the same time, many colleges and universities began to increase their program requirements.

With an increase in professional requirements, there was also a corresponding consolidation of teaching certificates. The first group of certificates that were affected was those by means of an examination. In 1921, the state legislature eliminated examinations where at the same time it increased the amount of professional training required of new teachers. As a result, examinations ceased to play a role in new teacher certification. The second change affected county certificates. By 1929, as the numbers of college and university trained teachers increased, the legislature consolidated the number of county certificates. At that time all three grades of county certificates were replaced with first and second grade state certificates valid for three years and good in all counties and all types of schools. County normal certificates were still renewable, but candidates were required to drop them for first grade state certificates. Finally, no city certificates were issued after September 1929.[495]

With increased requirements, the most obvious question is how did these changes impact the qualifications of teachers in the state? Overall, the increase in requirements during the 1920s raised the amount of professional training of teachers while simultaneously forcing them to meet new state, rather than county requirements. As Table 4.14 shows, we see yearly increases in the number of teachers holding higher-grade certificates throughout the 1920s. For example, in 1920 there were 6,633 State life certificates compared to more than 10,000 county certificates. Ten years later, in 1930, there was a complete reversal with there being nearly six times the number of State Life

[495] Ibid, 20-21.

certificates compared to county certificates. Yet, despite these changes, increases in professional qualifications did not happen equally between rural and urban schools.

Table 4.14: Number of Teachers Holding Various Classes of Certificates in Michigan from 1920 -1930

Number of teachers holding	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
State life certificates	6,633	12,670	15,775	14,123	15,603	12,600	13,831	14,408	17,476	16,160	18,688
State limited certificates	725	759	676	641	951	787	797	836	898	1,725	2,168
County Certificates	10,114	6,993	7,619	7,577	7,615	7,527	6,086	4526	4,314	3,394	3,115
Special or emergency certificates	3,096	1,019	767	558	542	588	151	NR	NR	NR	NR
Number granted city certificates	1,764	3,190	1,252	2,825	1,819	1,115	962	789	2,277	1,862	291
County Normal certificates	NA	1,790	1434	1,434	1,755	1,864	1,814	2,153	2,672	2,740	2,688

(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Michigan, 1920 – 1930

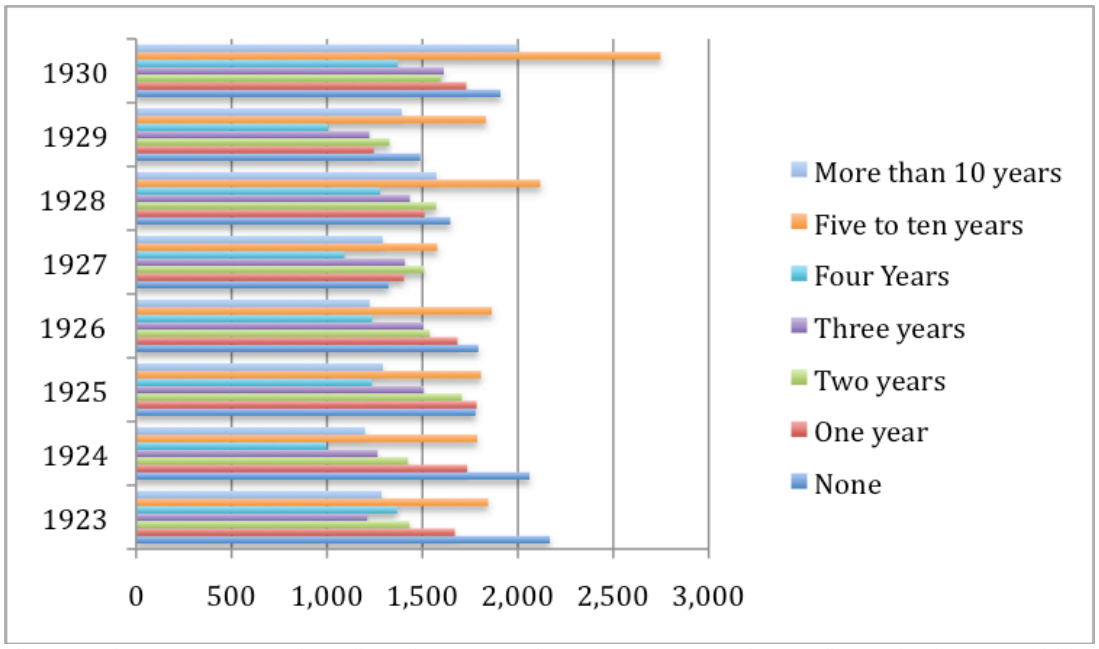
The biggest discrepancies in teacher qualifications were found between county and city schools. While both showed increases in the number of more highly qualified teachers, city schools were more likely to have teachers with higher grade certificates and who had more years of experience in teaching (See Tables 4.15 – 4.16 and Figures 4.5 & 4.6 below for comparisons). Moreover, their teachers were more likely to have graduated from normal schools or colleges or universities (See Appendix E). In contrast, county teachers were much more likely to have the lowest grade certificate. As Figure 4.7 and Table 4.17 show, between 1923 – 1929 second and third grade certificates were the most common type granted to county teachers. Since these certificates usually required the least amount of training, teachers had less to lose by leaving teaching for other career aspirations. As a result they left teaching, which helps to explain why county teachers had fewer years of experience than their counterparts in the city.

Table 4.15: Number of County Teachers by Years of Experience in Teaching From 1923 - 1930

	None	One year	Two years	Three years	Four Years	Five to ten years	More than 10 years
1923	2,168	1,670	1,432	1,211	1,368	1,845	1,286
1924	2,061	1,735	1,424	1,265	997	1,787	1,199
1925	1,778	1,784	1,707	1,507	1,234	1,807	1,293
1926	1,793	1,684	1,538	1,504	1,235	1,864	1,223
1927	1,322	1,403	1,509	1,409	1,091	1,578	1,292
1928	1,646	1,511	1,572	1,434	1,278	2,118	1,573
1929	1,489	1,245	1,327	1,222	1,005	1,833	1,392
1930	1,909	1,730	1,595	1,612	1,370	2,748	1,997

(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Michigan, 1923 – 1930)

Figure 4.5: Number of County Teachers by Years of Experience in Teaching From 1923 - 1930



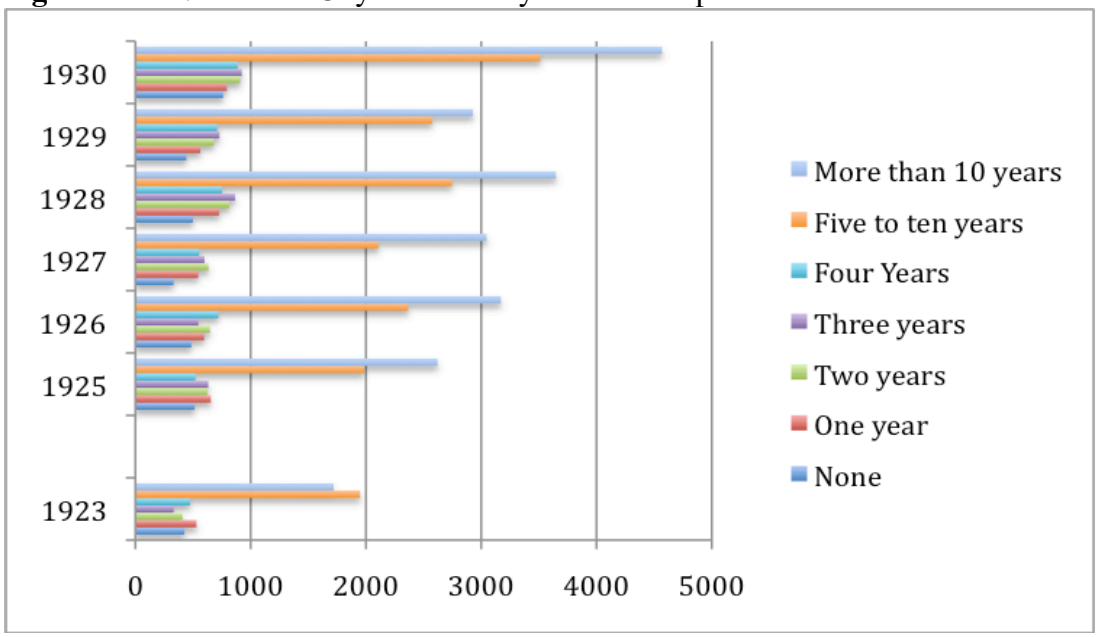
(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Michigan, 1923 – 1930)

Table 4.16: Number of City Teachers by Years of Experience from 1923 - 1930

	None	One year	Two years	Three years	Four Years	Five to ten years	More than 10 years
1923	425	530	409	331	474	1,950	1,719
1924	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
1925	514	654	624	632	520	1,985	2,621
1926	485	596	647	546	719	2,366	3,170
1927	331	545	634	599	553	2,108	3,046
1928	499	727	814	865	751	2,746	3,648
1929	442	563	680	728	709	2,575	2,928
1930	760	793	907	923	887	3,512	4,568

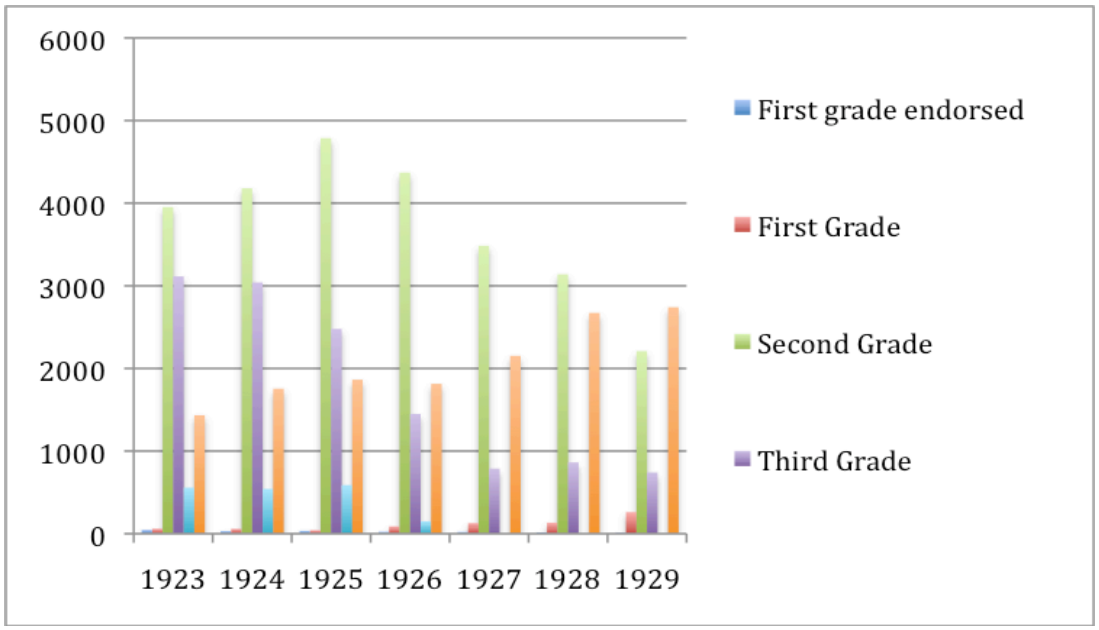
(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Michigan, 1923 – 1930)

Figure 4.6: Number of City Teachers by Years of Experience from 1923 - 1930



(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Michigan, 1923 – 1930)

Figure 4.7: Number of County Teachers Holding Various Classes of Certificates from 1923 - 1930



(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Michigan, 1923 – 1930)

Table 4.17: Number of County Teachers Holding Various Classes of Certificates in Michigan from 1923 - 1929

	First grade endorsed	First Grade	Second Grade	Third Grade	Special or emergency	Number holding county normal training class certificates
1923	48	62	3,953	3,114	558	1,434
1924	32	60	4,180	3,040	542	1,755
1925	35	43	4,787	2,478	588	1,864
1926	25	89	4,370	1,449	151	1,814
1927	23	129	3,485	788	NR	2,153
1928	17	134	3,139	863	NR	2,672
1929	13	262	2,209	741	NR	2,740

(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Michigan, 1923 – 1929)

While real differences between county and city school teachers existed, the decade between 1920 and 1930 shows that state administrative progressive leaders in Michigan were very successful in raising the collegiate requirements of all teachers. They increased minimum standards for all teachers and slowly began to increase the amount of time that teachers were staying in their positions. This effort grew because of a strong centralized effort to control teacher certification by administrative progressives. We now turn to Massachusetts which had a very decentralized system of teacher certification.

Massachusetts

Unlike the other three case study states, relatively little changed in Massachusetts with the types of certificates offered or issued by state or local authorities. Other than state certification for state aided high schools and for special subjects such as agriculture; commercial subjects; art; home economics; manual arts; music; and physical training all

certificates were issued locally at the discretion of the local school committee.[496] Yet despite having such a decentralized system of teacher certification, state records indicate that Massachusetts teachers were highly trained.

During the 1920s a majority of all teachers in Massachusetts had advanced professional training. In 1920, the commissioner of education reported that 85.9 percent of all teachers in the state were graduates of college, normal schools, or city training schools; by 1927 this percentage had increased to 87.4 percent.[497] While these changes were more dramatic in more highly populated areas, they also took place in rural areas. For example, in the 1931 Annual Report of the Department of Education, the commissioner reported that 78 percent of teachers in one-room schools were graduates of colleges or normal schools. [498] This represented a dramatic increase from 1923 when less than half of all teachers in these schools had college or normal training.[499]

The primary reason for such high numbers of teachers with advanced training in Massachusetts grew from the large numbers of students training at the state's ten normal schools. At the conclusion of World War I, normal school attendance increased and by 1923 it surpassed the 3,000 mark. As attendance increased so did graduation rates. As Table 4.18 shows, by 1924, Massachusetts state normal schools were graduating more than a thousand students annually. Since the number of new teachers needed each year was much lower than this we see large yearly gains in the percentage of teachers with advanced training. Moreover, this growth was spread over both elementary and

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[496] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927). In addition, the number of state-aided high schools at this time remained small. In 1930, there were only a total of 35 state-aided high schools. *The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1931*, (Boston: 1931).
[497] *The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1927*, 7.
[498] *The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1931*, 8.
[499] Ibid.

secondary grades and across rural and urban populations. (To see yearly growth please see Tables 1 – 6 in Appendix F).

Surprisingly, the number of normal school trained teachers in Massachusetts challenges some of the arguments advanced by administrative progressives during the early twentieth century. Despite a lack in centralization of teacher qualifications, Massachusetts still had high numbers of teachers with advanced training in their schools. This seems to demonstrate that it was still possible to increase both subject matter and professional training without strong state oversight.

Table 4.18: Normal School Enrollments Across Massachusetts's Ten State Normal Schools From 1921 - 1930

	Men	Women	Total		GRADUATES
1921	176	1,969	2,145		754
1922	219	2,324	2,534		821 (16)*
1923	NR	NR	3,172		932
1924	235	2,987	3,231		1,151 (58)*
1925	277	3,145	3,422		1,134 (115)*
1926	288	3,171	3,559		1,146 (151)*
1927	290	3,327	3,617		1,189 (184)*
1928	274	3,218	3,492		1,069 (192)*
1929	291	2,957	3,250		1,033 (451)*
1930	283	2,661	2,944		702 (240)*

(Source: The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1921 – 1930) *Graduates who received degrees. Others diplomas

Conclusions

By the end of the 1920s, the professional qualifications demanded of teachers had changed radically from the nineteenth century. The minimal qualifications from that period of moral character and the passage of an oral or written examination had given way to more formalized training requirements of at least a minimal amount of subject matter knowledge, some level of pedagogical knowledge, and in some cases training in

practice schools. Together, these requirements became the core foundation for a certificate to teach.

While the evolution of teacher educational qualifications evolved slowly over time, the 1920s proved to be a significant decade in this development. A major factor that led to this evolution was the rapid increase in the centralization of state systems of teacher certification. Under the leadership of "administrative progressives" control of certification shifted from local township, district or county officials to state leaders who had been trained at leading universities. As state educational leaders wrestled control away from local officials, they also sought to increase the professional requirements of teachers. Yet despite calls for increased professional requirements, most changes moved slowly because of economic and demographic factors outside the control of administrative progressives.

In the early part of the twentieth century the two primary factors that influenced the rate at which administrative progressives could centralize and standardize teacher qualifications were World War I and the growth of high schools. Between 1915 and the early 1920s, the war caused teacher shortages across the country. As a result, increases in professional training stalled and in many states professional educators were forced to accept emergency certificates or create temporary lower grade certificates to fill classrooms. However, these challenges were not permanent and by the early 1920s, states were able to reduce or eliminate lower grades of certification.

At the same time that teacher shortages were disappearing, high school enrollments around the country were increasing. While these enrollments began increasing as early as 1890, they impacted teacher training slowly because of outside

factors such as World War I. By the early 1920s, this changed rapidly as teacher shortages disappeared and the number of students graduating from high school began to increase. As a result of these developments, administrative progressives increased the minimum requirements for teaching to that of a high school diploma plus a specified amount of professional training.

While state educational leaders increased both the scholarship and professional requirements for teaching, normal schools and universities reacted by expanding requirements for training. At normal schools, increases in high school attendance allowed officials to increase minimum standards for entrance to that of a high school diploma. As their requirements increased, they no longer focused on remedial, secondary education and instead evolved into teachers colleges. This pushed these institutions into competition with other colleges and universities for the training of high school teachers, as well as elementary teachers. As a result, the basis for a teaching certificate shifted away from a minimum amount of professional training to the requirement of a bachelor's degree.

At the same time, university departments or newly formed schools of education struggled to define themselves as professional schools. At the University of Michigan, for example, this struggle led to an end of collaborative relationships between the School of Education and other departments or colleges within the university in the area of high school accreditation. This break caused a disconnect between teachers in the field, leaders in subject matter (LS&A professors), and professors of education or pedagogics. This split between subject matter and method has challenged education and teaching to this day.

While numerous factors influenced teacher training during the 1920s, their combined influence radically changed the way teachers were trained and the qualifications demanded of them in order to teach. By the beginning of the Great Depression, national trends show that the overwhelming majority of states had shifted to state systems of certification, whereby the state set the rules for certification and issued individual certificates. At the same time, state leaders also increased the minimum amount of professional training required of teachers. While only four states required a minimal amount of collegiate or normal training at the beginning of the twenties, more than half had done so by the first third of the decade. These changes allowed state leaders to consolidate the routes to certification thereby eliminating or reducing examinations and high school normal training. As a result, a college or university baccalaureate degree slowly became the new standard for a teaching certificate.

Across the four case study states, many of the same national trends played out over the 1920s. By the early 1930s Michigan, Oregon, and Virginia all operated under state dominated systems of teacher certification, required at least a high school diploma and a minimum amount of professional training for the lowest grade certificate, and eliminated/reduced the overwhelming number of certificates granted upon examinations in the proceeding decade. In contrast, Massachusetts continued to operate under a decentralized system of teacher certification setting standards only for state-aided high schools or a select few special subjects as required for federal funding mandates. Yet, despite these differences Massachusetts had extremely high percentages of college and normal school trained teachers in both rural and city schools.

While there is no doubt that the qualifications for a teaching certificate were raised in the 1920s, the real challenge for educators at the beginning of the Great Depression was to improve the quality of teaching in their states. As we saw across the case study states, two main disparities existed in teacher training at the beginning of the 1930s, differences between county and city schoolteachers and differences in Virginia between white and black teachers.

Chapter V

Conclusions

By the beginning of the 1930s, the requirements for teacher certification looked quite different than they had for most of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Long gone were most teachers without any professional training who only had to demonstrate good moral character and pass an oral or written examination. Instead by the 1930s, most states required a minimum amount of both academic knowledge and pedagogical training in order to receive a teaching certificate. Moreover, in the 1930s, many states demanded that prospective teachers have at least some collegiate or normal school work in order to teach.

While this study has explored the evolution of professional teacher qualifications and certification, it has also identified some enduring themes that influenced the development of education in general but teacher certification specifically. I argue that three major themes have continuously presented themselves around issues of teacher certification. All these are still relevant today. First, educational funding played a significant role in the control of teacher certification and the policy decisions around what defines a qualified teacher. This was evident in the period from 1890 – 1930 as local communities, especially those in more rural areas, began turning to state governments for increased financial assistance to operate their schools. By the early 1930s, increased state assistance had moved beyond poorer rural communities to all schools in the states, a trend that continued until the mid 1980s when the percentage of

state revenues spent on education began to stay relatively stable with state and local communities sharing the amount of money equally. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, educational control was further complicated as the federal government began taking its first major steps in educational funding, and by the late 1960s the federal government was supplying about 8 percent of school district budgets.[500]

Second, was the constant struggle to standardize education and to define it as a profession. From the early nineteenth century to present day, professional educators have had to continuously battle a number of outside stakeholders to control teacher education. Often times this struggle has led to a series of compromises, giving multiple players including local communities, state governments, state education agencies, and schools and colleges of education some level of authority in educational matters.

Third, the supply and demand of qualified teachers has continuously influenced the nature of teacher certification and qualifications that can be required of teachers. This was not only true in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but it has reemerged today as schools struggle to staff their classrooms with highly qualified teachers, especially in math and science.

While all three of the themes that I have identified are relevant today, most of my research beyond this dissertation ends by the mid 1960s. I have extended my discussion through the mid 1960s more thoroughly in the first theme, because it is during this period when we see major shifts by both state governments and Congress in the percentage of revenues spent on public education.

[500] Carter, *Historical Statistics of the United States*.

Increased State and Federal Aid to Education and its Impact on Teacher Qualifications

In the development of teacher training and qualifications, one of the most consistent themes is the degree to which educational policy is connected to where the money is coming from. Prior to the beginning of the Great Depression, most local communities supplied the lion's share of the cost of public education through local taxation. As a result, state authority over educational matters was often limited or moved incrementally because local communities could veto state demands without some financial consequences.[501] But this changed, beginning in the Depression era as local schools turned to state governments for increasing amounts of school funding. As state legislatures increased their financial support for public elementary and secondary education, they simultaneously increased the state's role in education policies, including teacher certification and licensure. This led to increased centralization of school authority and resulted in greater state control over teacher certification and the qualifications to teach.

The Great Depression marked the turning point of this move towards greater state support and power over local districts. During this period many local school districts became insolvent as local tax revenues diminished. This forced local governments to ask state legislatures for increased funding to operate their schools. In Michigan, for example, public school officials called for the introduction of a state sales tax to supplement the cost of public education. Despite considerable opposition, mainly from

[501] For example, in 1929, state governments on average only provided for roughly 16 percent of revenues for public elementary and secondary schools.

business and manufacturing groups, in 1935 the Michigan legislature passed a school aid tax package that drew revenues from sales, chain stores, and liquor sales. [502]

Similar developments took place in many other states, so much so, that by 1940, state governments had increased their share in funding for public education by roughly 50 percent from what it had been in 1929. Indeed, as early as 1945 state governments were footing the bill for roughly 40 percent of the costs of public schools (See Table 1, Appendix G). Feeling that they were losing power over their schools, many local parties raised challenges in both state and federal courts across a range of issues from teacher selection to boundary and district reorganization.[503] Yet, at the same time, historian Tracy Steffes argues that local communities, especially in rural areas, continued to request increased state funding.[504]

With local communities starved for funds, educational leaders who favored centralized control successfully lobbied legislators to increase state supervisory and policy-making authority over local schools. In the early twentieth century, administrative progressives had begun this process when they persuaded state legislatures to revise or even pass new school codes that mandated patterns of administrative organization, new curricular programs, the apportionment of school funds, transportation rules, and healthy and sanitary requirements.[505] But now armed with the fact that state dollars were supplementing the costs of education to a considerable degree, state educational leaders pushed to control all aspects of education including teacher certification which had been a key factor in centralizing education.

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[502] Mirel, *Rise and Fall*, 125-29.
[503] Tyack, James, and Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education*.
[504] Steffes, "A New Education for a Modern Age", 143.
[505] Tyack, James, and Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education*, 115.

Like the administrative progressives did in the teens and 1920s, state educational leaders in the 1930s sought to tighten their grip on teacher certification, first by gaining state authority in more states, and second by increasing the qualifications to teach. By the end of the 1920s, it was clear that state control of teacher certification would become the law of the land. In 1921, for example, thirty-three states operated under a state system of certification or a state-controlled system, where state leaders held the primary responsibility for issuing certificates. By 1926 this total increased to forty states and by 1937, forty-four out of forty-eight states operated under state dominated systems of teacher certification.[506] As a result, local authority over what constituted a qualified teacher diminished while state authority increased. Indeed, only Massachusetts continued to operate a state-local system at the start of the 1940s, leaving it as a clear outlier in teacher certification authority.

These trends coincided with moves towards greater professionalization of teacher training. Between 1930 and the 1950s the shift in requiring all teachers to hold a bachelor's degree took root and flourished. Prior to this period, states and/or local districts granted certificates to teachers upon the successful completion of an examination, through high school normal training, normal school training, or through collegiate training. But by the early 1920s, administrative progressives had begun to successfully eliminate or at least reduce the amount of time an individual could teach by passing an examination or through high school normal training. As a result, this forced

[506] Benjamin W. Frazier, *Development of State Programs for the Certification of Teachers*, U.S. Office of Education (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1938), 16.

most new teachers to enroll in a specified number of professional courses or to graduate from a normal school or college or university.[507]

At the same time that state legislatures and state educational leaders were reducing the routes to certification through examinations and/or high school normal training, normal schools and college universities were undergoing their own transformations. As we saw in Chapter 3, the 1920s marked a major shift for normal schools as many transitioned into state teachers colleges. At that time, the distinction between a normal school and a teachers college was practically indistinguishable. But this changed in the 1920s as high school enrollments grew and increasing numbers of students were more willing to stay enrolled in teachers colleges.[508] All combined, the changes in institutional status from normal school to college, along with increased enrollments, allowed school administrators to slowly transition normal schools to four-year programs.[509]

When normal schools transitioned into teachers colleges, some educational leaders argued that these institutions should only focus on training teachers. However, this argument was short lived and found little support across the country as most teachers colleges added programs besides teacher preparation long before the end of World War II. As a result, teachers colleges evolved once again with many dropping the title "teachers" from their name. For example, Central State Teachers College, became Central Michigan College and later Central Michigan University. In some states, such as California, the process started in the mid 1930s, while in most states the name "teachers" was dropped between the end of World War II and the early 1960s. This continued the

[507] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*.
[508] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 185.
[509] Ibid, Lucas, *Teacher Education in America*.

long tradition of normals being a people's college offering opportunities beyond teaching.[510]

At the same time, between 1930 and 1950 as teachers colleges evolved into state colleges and later into regional universities, the minimum amount of education beyond high school quickly increased to the completion of a bachelor's degree. As we saw in Chapter 3, the early 1920s suffered through a shortage in teachers who wanted to teach because of World War I. As a result, some districts were forced to actually lower standards or provide for emergency or temporary certification. This changed quickly by 1930 as teacher shortages brought on by World War I disappeared and administrative progressives lobbied state legislatures to increase teacher qualifications requirements themselves or shift that authority to state education agencies. Indeed, as James Fraser notes, by 1930 the *National Survey of the Education of Teachers* reported "some three-quarters of the nation's teachers had at least 2 years of education beyond high school."[511] In 1937, five states required a four-year college degree for elementary certification.[512] This trend continued into 1940 when nine states required a bachelor's degree for a certificate to teach, but this process slowed during World War II as the nation once again faced shortages brought upon by war.[513] After the war, the trend to require a bachelor's degree picked up speed; and by 1950 twenty-one states were requiring a B.A. to teach elementary grades. [514] This trend continued throughout the 1950s despite the large

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[510] For a more thorough look at the evolution of particular normal schools see *The American State Normal School* by Christine Ogren. In her appendix she has compiled a lengthy list of normals organized by state. She then shows how the names of these schools changed throughout the early and mid twentieth century.
[511] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 188.
[512] It is important to note that high school requirements were in place much earlier. By 1960 all fifty states required a bachelors degree to teach high school.
[513] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, 21.
[514] Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 189.

increases in elementary enrollments following the war. By 1964, forty-six states required a bachelor's degree to teach any grade.[515]

While increased state funding was important in the evolution of teacher training and qualifications in the 1930s and 1940s, a new stakeholder, the federal government began impacting education in the late 1950s and 1960s. Prior to the late 1950s, federal funding for support of public elementary and secondary education had been sparse. Indeed, in 1945 the percentage of revenue that the federal government supplied to the states for public elementary and secondary education was only 1.4 percent (See Appendix G). But after the war, things began to change. In 1946 Congress passed the George-Barden Act, which focused on agricultural, industrial and home economic training for rural high schools students. This act doubled the percentage of revenue provided by the federal government to the states from less than 1.5 percent to nearly 3.0, still minute compared with the larger costs of public education.

But by the mid-1950s, education was becoming a national concern. For example, at a White House Conference on Education in 1955, Vice President Richard M. Nixon declared, "our national security has a tremendous stake in our educational system."[516] Likewise Congress had debated a major education bill in 1950 that had the support of President Truman. The bill passed in the Senate but stalled in the House Education and Labor Committee primarily because members of the committee feared that the bill would lead to federal control over public schools.[517]

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[515] Ibid.
[516] Quote found in Peter B. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics: Lessons from the Sputnik Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 23.
[517] Ibid., 24.

In 1957, fears over federal control of public schools weakened somewhat when the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik I* into space. Fearing that the United States was falling behind the Soviets in mathematics and science, legislators moved swiftly to create the federal government's first comprehensive education bill. In September 1958, President Dwight Eisenhower signed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) into law. The law authorized expenditures of more than $1 billion for a wide range of reforms, but more importantly it tied the federal government to public education.[518]

With the launch of *Sputnik* and the passage of NDEA, the federal government as well as policy makers quickly sought to strengthen both curriculum and teaching in public schools. Due to concerns about *Sputnik*, foreign language, mathematics, and science became a primary focus. After the passage of NDEA, the National Science Foundation provided support for such programs such as the School Mathematics Study Group and new high school programs in chemistry. NDEA also got scholars to focus on science teaching in elementary and middle school grades.[519]

Inspired by NDEA, some discipline based scholars called for a complete overhaul of the public school curriculum. Many reformers such as Jerrold Zacharias and Arthur Bestor argued that K-12 teachers did their jobs poorly because they were exposed to "professional educators" in schools and colleges of education who lacked the substantive knowledge to inform teaching methods. What was missing, according to these reformers, was the participation of discipline based scholars who could bring their research expertise to classrooms.[520] As noted in Chapter 4, schisms between discipline-based and educationalists professors dated back to the early twentieth century when schools or

[518] Ibid.
[519] Ibid., 24-30.
[520] Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics: Lessons from the Sputnik Era*, 28.

departments of education sought to establish their legitimacy by seeking their own independence.[521]

Despite federal support for new teacher education initiatives, there did not seem to be major changes in the way teachers were trained. In the early 1960s, most states required teachers to have a bachelor's degree as well as a specified amount of professional training in education schools. What was lacking was a direct connection between academic subjects and pedagogy. While reformers like Zacharias and Bestor called for this connection, state governments and state education agencies and colleges of liberal arts were slow to adopt these measures. Instead, some state governments took federal dollars and increased the size of their state educational agencies thereby creating a more bureaucratized system of education in the states.[522]

For state educational leaders, the support of education through the federal government presented a dilemma. Their predecessors, administrative progressives, had rallied to centralize educational authority and to standardize teacher training and certification. They had successfully improved the curricula for prospective teachers. But now federal policy makers were encouraging these leaders to restructure education more dramatically. These new reformers sought to mix academic expertise with pedagogy so that teachers would have more than just a modest understanding of teaching methods. Moreover, the new reformers sought to improve student learning in order to effectively compete with other countries. For state educational leaders during this period,

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[521] A clear example of this can be seen in the development of the School of Education at the University of Michigan, discussed in Chapter 4.

[522] Arthur Eugene Bestor, Clarence J. Karier, and Foster McMurray, *Educational Wastelands: The Retreat from Learning in Our Public Schools*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

this meant that they may have had to relinquish a certain amount of state and professional control, something they had worked so tirelessly to obtain for more than a half-century.

In sum, educational funding to a large extent has played a role in education, and more specifically teacher training and qualifications. In the 1930s and 1940s, state educational leaders who favored centralized control successfully garnered control over teacher certification in practically every state. Moreover, they continually pushed to make a B.A. a minimum requirement to teach, a task that proved to be successful as forty-six states required one to teach in grades K-12 by 1964. In addition to state governments, Congress also began influencing education and teacher training in the late 1950s and 1960s. Growing out of fears that the U.S was falling behind the Soviets in areas such as math, science, and foreign language, Congress specifically targeted money to states to improve student proficiency in these areas. As a result, scholars and educators began to reevaluate a wide array of education policies, including the training of teachers.

Struggles to Professionalize Education

In the struggle to define the qualifications needed for teaching, a second enduring themes focuses on the professional nature of teacher education. At the center of this theme, three important concerns have long played an important role in the evolution of teacher training and in determining the qualifications needed to teach: who controls teacher training and certification, what knowledge is required for good teaching, and what should teacher training entail. In the more than one hundred and seventy years since Horace Mann helped establish the first state normal school in Massachusetts, these questions continue to be debated not only in colleges and schools of education but also by

state and federal policy makers. As a consequence, teaching continues to fail to establish itself as a self-controlled "profession".

One of the most critical factors that has influenced the development of teacher education and certification is the struggle between advocates of local control and proponents of centralized "professional" control of education. From this country's earliest beginnings, local communities have played an important role in the creation of our system of public education. In the late eighteenth and most of the nineteenth century, local communities dominated all aspects of education. They opened the schools, hired the teachers, set the curricula, and most importantly they funded the schools primarily with local tax dollars. State oversight was virtually nonexistent; and even when in place, its authority was severely limited.[523]

Yet, while local control of schools ruled in most states, by the mid-to-late nineteenth century some educational leaders and state policy makers began challenging local dominance of education. Noting that many schools were providing very poor educational programs often taught by poorly educated teachers, these leaders challenged the idea of local autonomy stressing the need to have a well educated citizenry not only for the good of the community but also for the good of the state. The idea of state intervention did not go over well with most rural communities, and supporters of local control often fought attempts by early centralizers to garner any authority over their schools. Prime examples of this are the battles that took place in Michigan between local communities who wanted teachers supervised by township officials and centralizers who advocated for county supervision.[524]

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[523] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*, Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*.
[524] Disbrow, *Schools for an Urban Society*, Fuller, *The Old Country School*.

In this battle over control of education between local communities and state officials, one early key area of concern was the certification of teachers. Initially, most state legislatures delegated the authority for teacher certification to local communities that would examine prospective teachers to ascertain whether they fit community standards which may or may not have had any concern about whether the teachers knew much about subject matter or how to teach. But by the end of the nineteenth century, educational professionals, (i.e. administrative progressives), saw local control as a threat to efforts to standardize teacher qualifications in order to promote better teacher training or instruction.[525] As a result, these reformers lobbied state governments to transfer authority over certification to state education officials who could promote a more efficient and effective system of teacher certification. Their efforts were largely successful; and by the 1950s, practically every state operated a state controlled system of certification.[526]

While control over certification has remained relatively stable in the hands of state officials since the 1950s, questions about the nature of and requirements for certification have not. In the nineteenth century, state, county, township, or district examinations were the most frequent avenue to obtain a certificate to teach. These examinations tested both an applicants' academic knowledge and later their understanding of pedagogy (albeit in both cases often to a modest degree). But by the

[525] Tyack, James, and Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education*.
[526] Frazier, *Development of State Programs for the Certification of Teachers*, Benjamin W. Frazier, *Summary of Teacher Certification Requirements, 1946*, U.S. Office of Education (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1946).

early twentieth century, this reliance on examinations was declining with the rapid development of normal schools and schools or colleges of education.[527]

As the number of normal schools and colleges and schools of education increased, the ability of state educational leaders to require professional coursework in pedagogy also expanded. In the 1920s and 1930s, in particular, administrative progressives lobbied state legislatures and/or state education agencies to increase the amount of pedagogical coursework required to obtain a certificate. These developments elevated the status and power of normal schools and colleges and schools of education in regards to the training of teachers. Increasingly, these institutions became the only avenues to teacher certification[528]

Yet from their onset, normals and schools or colleges of education struggled to demonstrate their legitimacy. Critics thought schools of education lacked scientific rigor and failed to meet expectations set up for other professions. Consequently, education departments at research universities looked for ways to gain legitimacy by focusing more on research than on teachers for classroom work.[529] The University of Michigan provides a prime example of this. After years of struggle, in 1921, Allen S. Whitney finally convinced university officials to elevate the department of education (housed in UM's College of Literature, Science and Arts) to a full School of Education. Whitney relished the freedom from academic control, stating that the school could now "develop its work in accordance with its own standard and ideals."[530] However, growing out of this quest for legitimacy, schools and colleges of education gradually distanced themselves from

[527] Angus, *Professionalism and the Public Good*.
[528] Lucas, *Teacher Education in America*.
[529] Clifford and Guthrie, *Ed School: A Brief for Professional Education*.
[530] Quote cited in Fraser, *Preparing America's Teachers*, 142.

other disciplines and concentrated their efforts on pedagogical issues, but not on how to improve the quality of teaching in the liberal arts.[531] While academic coursework was a prerequisite for a certificate, once prospective teachers got to "ed schools" they found the course of study often unrelated to how prospective teachers could effectively teach liberal arts subjects. This gap between subject matter experts and pedagogical experts continues to this day.

Questions about the nature of teaching as a "profession" and the professionalization of education as a whole continue to be debated today, specifically in light of No Child Left Behind (NCLB), which has signaled greater involvement by the federal government in defining the qualifications of teachers. Under NCLB, the federal government mandated that all teachers must be "highly qualified" by 2006. According to the law, teachers are deemed to be highly qualified if they meet three essential criteria: 1) Having a bachelor's degree; 2) Obtaining full state teacher certification or licensure; and (3) Demonstrating competency in the subject areas they teach. [532] Despite the problems of defining what "highly qualified" means, NCLB raised questions about the importance of pedagogy and the knowledge required in order to teach.

While NCLB clearly calls for competency in subject matter, the law does not mandate that all teachers must graduate with a degree in teacher education. Instead under NCLB, the federal government allows the states to establish the criteria under its policies for obtaining a full state teacher certificate or license without attending schools or colleges of education. As a result, the door opened for new alternative certification programs. One current program that has become increasingly popular is Teach for

[531] Mucher, "Subject Matter and Method".
[532] *No Child Left Behinds Act of 2001*, Public Law 107-110, U.S. Statutes at Large.

America (TFA), which seems to demonstrate that good teachers need a lot of subject matter knowledge but only a modest amount of methods or other pedagogical courses.[533] Similarly, with the primary focus of NCLB on academic competency, questions over the usefulness of pedagogical courses continue to be raised in training teachers for the twenty-first century. Questions about how teachers should be trained, which once seemed impervious to criticism, now have become powerful and are increasingly gaining traction.

Supply and Demand Limitations on Teacher Qualifications

The third enduring theme that has repeatedly influenced the qualifications required of teachers has been teacher supply and demand. In the last century, two main factors have figured into this trend, changing school enrollments and national challenges (e.g. depressions and wars). Between 1900 and 1950, school enrollments grew unevenly, a fact that plagued educator's efforts to turn education into a bona fide profession. For example, from 1930 through 1945, elementary attendance rates decreased while secondary attendance simultaneously increased (except for 1943-1945). These changes in enrollment created greater demand for new secondary teachers, while demand for elementary teachers stayed relatively constant or in some cases actually decreased. Yet, outside influences such as Word War II often undermined supply and demand. For example, during the war, the need for certified elementary teachers actually increased even though attendance decreased because many female teacher left for better paying jobs in wartime industries. These shifts in both the number of teachers available to teach and the number of students attending elementary or secondary school often forced state

[533] Paul T. Decker, Daniel P. Mayer, and Steven Glazerman, "The Effects of Teach for America on Students: Findings from a National Evaluation," (Mathematica Policy Research, Inc., 2004).

legislatures and state education agencies to strengthen and then relax requirements for qualified teachers in a short period of time.

One prime example of state agencies facing outside influences that impacted teacher certification was the baby boom. After years of relatively stable growth in elementary populations, the end of World War II brought massive increases in the number of births primarily because service men had returned home and also because the U.S. economy had rebounded from the depression. This drastic increase in population had a profound effect on teacher certification. Unable, to staff classrooms with enough qualified teachers through normal certification, state administrators were forced to revert to emergency certification. Unfortunately for the teaching profession, this series of yo-yo like experiences in teacher supply and demand slowed progress in creating a uniform level of standards.[534]

Today similar supply and demand issues challenge the ability of educational professionals to provide enough qualified teachers in many schools and or districts. In particular, math and science teacher shortages continue to plague U.S. schools. In February 2009, for example, the *Dallas News* reported that a study done at the University of Texas, Austin, found that the state's shortage of teachers in math and science had actually worsened in the past year. Moreover, the Texas researchers stated "The students in most need of the most well-qualified teachers were found to be the least likely to have access to such teachers." As a result of these kinds of problems, many states have had to turn to alternative forms of certification for such teachers. But these efforts may not be the answer either. The University of Texas report also indicated that prospective teachers

[534] Steven Porter, *Wisdom's Passing: The Decline of American Public Education in the Post-World War Ii Era and What We Can Really Do About It*, 1st ed. (New York, N.Y.: Barclay House, 1989), William L. O'Neill, *American High: The Years of Confidence, 1945-1960* (New York: Free Press, 1986).

from alternative certification programs had lower passing rates on certification examinations than graduates of teacher preparation programs.[535]

Today, the current shortage of teachers in math and science is often the result of factors other than the number and quality of teachers being produced by teacher training institutions. In a recent report published by The Consortium for Policy Research in Education, Richard Ingersoll and David Perda argued that despite contemporary beliefs that shortages in math and science are a result of increases in teacher retirement and student enrollment, they appear to be a result in early departure from teaching for reasons such as better job opportunities and career dissatisfaction.[536] These same problems plagued schools in the World War I and World War II years.

In short, the qualifications required of teachers are still dependent on the supply and demand of teachers in the workforce and the ability of teachers to make their field a profession are often still undermined by events outside of their control.

Implications for Policy Makers

In the nineteenth century, one of the main justifications for the development of teacher certification was that it provided a safeguard against poorly educated people who lacked subject matter knowledge from entering the classroom. During the early to mid-nineteenth century, early advocates of centralized control felt that through centralization teachers could be hired not because of who they knew or how they could handle the older boys in a classroom, but instead for their subject matter knowledge and, as Horace Mann

[535] Terrence Stutz, "Texas Teacher Shortage in Math, Science Worsens," *The Dallas Morning News* February 10, 2009.
[536] Richard M. Ingersoll and David Perda, "The Mathematics and Science Teacher Shortage: Fact and Myth," (Consortium for Policy Research in Education, 2009).

put it, "aptness to teach."[537] Along with subject matter knowledge, around the late 1870s, leading educational scholars at universities such as UM began expanding the type of knowledge Mann had called for to include pedagogical knowledge in teacher training. Unlike subject matter knowledge, which focused on particular disciplines, pedagogical knowledge focused on the art and methods of teaching. Together, along with a specified amount of practice teaching, these requirements became the core to teacher training and for a certificate to teach.

Yet, the question of whether teacher certification has increased the quality of teaching remains unsettled. Today the issue is not whether teachers are literate but rather if they have mastered subject matter and can covey that material through methods learned at teacher training institutions. In order to understand whether teacher certification has increased the quality of teachers, and by quality here I mean improved student learning or student achievement, would take a variety of studies. If data are available, historical studies could analyze student achievement in schools with teachers certified through examination compared with those with university or normal school training. While more contemporary studies could compare student achievement from teachers who graduated with a bachelor's degree from an ed school with those who received a certificate to teach through an alternative program. However, even after analyses like these, we may still not know exactly what attributes make a good teacher.

In the mid to late nineteenth century, one's moral character and mastery of some subject matter was key to teacher certification. However, by the early 1920s, some educational leaders in universities minimized the importance of subject matter work in

[537] Mann and Massachusetts. Board of Education., *The Republic and the School.*

order to elevate pedagogy (not necessarily based on content as the key focus of schools and colleges of education). This was evident at UM during the 1910s and 1920s. As a consequence teachers, and teacher training institutions lost the connectivity between subject matter and pedagogy.

In the 1960s, when Congress greatly increased involvement in K-12 education; there was a call to reunite discipline matter and teacher training methodology. But in the years following the passage of the National Defense Education Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the core of teacher training has stayed relatively stable. In order to obtain a certificate to teach, most states still require a bachelor's degree along with a specific amount of pedagogical coursework such as educational psychology, foundations, and a methods course geared towards a major or minor. Yet, still relatively few students are exposed to a collaborative environment that promotes interrelated training between professionals in the disciplines and professionals in the art of teaching. This has created two major problems. First, many teachers still only receive a generalized presentation of methods without a strong foundation in how to teach subject matter. Second, the current system of teacher training and licensure makes it difficult for those who only have academic expertise to gain access to teaching methods that could make them better teachers.

The battle over how to train teachers remains largely unsettled. Critics have attacked colleges and schools of education for their lack of academic rigor, the poor quality of their graduates, and for their exposure to "professional educators" who only have a vague understanding of how methods and content interact in the classroom. Indeed a common complaint of a number of first year teachers is that they often feel that

they have not been given instruction on classroom management or "how to teach."[538] Given the widespread criticism of schools and colleges of education, the great question now is whether these institutions can change as quickly and as innovatively as necessary for them to survive. The next decade may witness the most crucial challenge to schools and colleges of education in their history

[538] Elizabeth Green, "Building a Better Teacher," *The New York Times* March 2, 2010.

Appendix A:

Types of State Systems of Certification

- State Systems, in which all certificates were issued by state authorities and the state retains control over the whole matter of teacher certification.

- State-controlled systems, in which the state and county authorities may issue certificates, but the authority governing the issue (including giving questions and examining papers) is retained by the state officials. County authorities merely issue certificates.

- Semi-State systems, in which the state exercises some but not complete control. The state department makes the regulations and gives the questions for examination, but local authorities examine the papers and issue certificates.

- State-county systems, in which both state and county authorities issue some certificates and govern all or important regulations formulating questions, for example, under which they are granted.

- State-local systems, as in Massachusetts, in which full power of certification is given to the township school committees. The state department issues certificates limited in number and type.[539]

[539] Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers' Certificates* (1927), 13.

Appendix B:

Types and Requirements for Teacher Certification in Oregon, 1927

Life Certificate	(1) 5-year state certificate, based upon graduation from standard college or university. (2) 5-year state certificate, based upon graduation from standard normal school. (3) 5-year state certificate, based upon graduation from standard college or university and examination. (4) 36 weeks normal training beyond 12th grade and examination with average grade of 85 per cent and no grade below 7 per cent
5-year State	(1) 1-year State certificate based upon graduation from standard college or university. (2) 1-year State certificate, based upon graduation from standard normal school. (3) 1-year State certificate, based upon graduation from nonstandard college or university and examination (4) Same as (4) above
5-year primary State	Same as (4) above and, in addition, write a thesis on an educational subject selected from list prepared by superintendent of public instruction
1-year State	(1) Graduation from standard college or university with completion of 120 semester hours, including 15 semester hours in education. (2) Graduation from standard normal school. (3) Graduation from nonstandard college or university with completion of 120 semester hours beyond 12th grade, and examination with general average of not less than 85 percent and no grade below 70 percent in any 10 of the subjects. (4) 36 weeks normal school training beyond 12th grade and examination with average grade of 75 percent and no grade below 60 percent.
Special Certificates: Library, music, agriculture, art, manual training, penmanship, kindergarten, domestic science, domestic art, stenography and typewriting, bookkeeping, physical culture, Latin and German	(1) Graduation from a 4-year course in standard vocational or professional school, requiring for entrance completion of a standard 4-year secondary school course. (2) Completion of 3 years of work in an institution of higher learning, including 15 semester hours in the dept. of education, and examination.

Certificate of completion of 1-year elementary course of the Oregon normal schools	Completion of the 1-year elementary course of Oregon Normal School at Monmouth or Southern Oregon Normal School at Ashland.
Temporary county certificate	Issued to holder of certificate valid in any other State upon evidence of good character and teaching success or upon a written examination equivalent to that required for a 1-year State certificate, except in Oregon school law.

(Source: Katherine Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers Certificates*, U.S. Office of Education, 1927)

Appendix C:

Types and Requirements for Teacher Certification in Virginia, 1927

Collegiate Professional certificate	Baccalaureate degree from standard university, teachers' college. Arts college, or technical college, including prescribed work in physical education, general education and in each subject applicant proposes to teach
Collegiate certificate	Baccalaureate degree from standard university, teachers' college. Arts college, or technical college, including prescribed work in physical education, school hygiene, and subjects applicant proposes to teach.
Special certificate (junior collegiate): Commercial branches, home economics, history and social science, English, French, German, Latin, Spanish, manual arts, mathematics, music, physical education, science, trade and industrial subjects	Completion of 2-years' work in a standard college or graduation from a junior college, provided credits aggregate 30 college-session hours' work in education and special subjects applicant proposed to teach.
Normal Professional certificate	Completion of prescribed 2-year course of study, with a minimum of 30 college-session hours in a standard normal school or teachers' college requiring for admission graduation from a standard public or private high school or passing of college entrance examinations.
Elementary certificate	Graduation from a standard public or private high school or passing of standard college entrance examinations or completion of requirements for first-grade certificate ad a minimum of 1 year's work in college or normal school.
First-grade certificate	Completion of 10 college-session hours of work (two-thirds of the work required for elementary certificate) provided at least 6 session-hours' credit in education is presented.
Provisional First-grade certificate	Completion of 5 college-session hours of work (one-thirds of the work required for elementary certificate) provided at least 3 session-hours' credit in education is presented.
1-year manual training certificate	High school graduation or equivalent

Second-grade certificate (Black teachers only)	Graduation from a county training school offering high-school work and maintaining departments for training colored teachers; credit for completion of a course in school hygiene, including physical inspection of school children required.
Local permit (licensed when supply of licensed teachers is insufficient).	At least the equivalent of 2-years high-school work; any teacher who has formerly held the equivalent of a first-grade certificate or better may have same received for 1 year.

(Source: Katherine Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers Certificates*, U.S. Office of Education, 1927)

Appendix D:

Types and Requirements for Teacher Certification in Michigan, 1927

Certificate of graduation from University of Michigan.	Graduation from the University of Michigan with degree, having completed prescribed work in education
Certificate of graduation from State normal schools.	Graduation from prescribed 4-year course in State normal school..
Certificate of graduation from other colleges or universities A. Limited	Graduation with degree from approved college or university requiring same preparatory work as University of Michigan, with at least 11 semester hours approved work in education. ----------Same----------
Certificate of graduation from city normal-training schools.	Graduation from approved normal-training school maintained in cities of 250,000 or more population comprising single school districts.
Life certificate based on examination	Examination in all subjects required
Life certificate upon endorsement A. Limited	State teacher's life certificate of another State, granted upon examination, normal-school diploma or certificate, or other State life certificate, based upon credentials equivalent to those required for Michigan life certificates, may be endorsed by the State Board of Education. Graduation from State normal school of another State with qualifications equivalent to requirements for Michigan life certificate.
Special certificates in music, domestic science and art, manual training, commercial branches, physical training, or drawing	Completion of at least 2 years above 4-year high school course in the University of Michigan or any State normal school or other approved college.
Special certificates in music	Completion of at least 2 years in music under private instructor and examination satisfactory to musical director of any State normal school in Michigan

Kindergarten certificate	Graduation from a kindergarten-training school having an approved of a least 2 years and a teacher's certificate or diploma from a reputable college or 4-year high school course
Certificate to teach agriculture and the related sciences	Completion of the required 4-year course in Michigan Agricultural College and at least one half year's course in pedagogics
Rural certificate	Graduation from the prescribed 2-year course in a State normal school, including not less than 20 weeks' of professional training
Certificate of graduation from junior collegiate departments (which may be established in school districts having 25,000 population or more) to teach special subjects as physical education, music, art, home economics, commercial branches.	Completion of 2-years college work beyond a 4-year high school course in a junior collegiate amounting to at least 60 hours with professional training same as that required for certificate of graduation from other colleges and universities
County certificates: A. First grade B. Second grade C. Third grade	 Completion of an approved 4-year high school course and 1 2/3 years of professional training Completion of an approved 4-year high school course and 1 1/3 years of professional training Completion of an approved 4-year high school course and 1 year of professional training
Certificate of graduation from county normal training class	Graduation from a county-normal training class (1 year above high school training)

(Source: Katherine Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers Certificates*, U.S. Office of Education, 1927)

Appendix E:

Number and Types of Certificates Held in Michigan by County or City Designation, 1923 - 1930

Table 1: Number of County Teachers Holding Normal School Certificates From Michigan and Other States from 1923 - 1930

	Number holding normal school certificates from Michigan		Number holding normal school certificates from other states	
	Life	Limited	Life	Limited
1923	3,325	460	148	10
1924	2,506	517	77	28
1925	3,655	656	182	49
1926	4,096	674	207	46
1927	4,792	741	203	59
1928	5,068	784	281	67
1929	4,866	531	270	35
1930	6,311	575	438	68

(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Michigan, 1923 – 1930)

Table 2: Number of County Teachers Holding Certificates from the University of Michigan, 1923 - 1930

	Number holding certificates from the University of Michigan
1923	395
1924	201
1925	287
1926	335
1927	320
1928	192
1929	288
1930	307

(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Michigan, 1923 – 193

Table 3: Number of City Teachers Holding Normal Certificates from State Normal Schools, 1923 - 1930

	Number holding normal school certificates from Michigan	
	Life	Limited
1923	5,925	146
1925	5,276	82
1926	5,577	77
1927	5,334	36
1928	6,607	47
1929	6,639	62
1930	7,575	15

Table 4: Number of City Teachers Holding Certificates From the University of Michigan and Other Michigan Colleges from 1923 -1930

	Number holding certificates from the University of Michigan	Number holding certificates from Michigan colleges
1923	997	1,372
1925	734	994
1926	726	950
1927	752	NR
1928	1,422	NR
1929	1,000	
1930	964	NR

(Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Michigan, 1923 – 1930)

Appendix F:

Number and Types of Certificates Held in Massachusetts for Elementary and Secondary Grades by City/Town Designation

Table 1: Number and Types of Certificates Held for Cities (Group I) for Elementary Grades (1921 – 1927)

					Secondary School With Professional Training For					
	Both College and normal school	College, but not of normal school	Normal School, but not of college	City training school only	1 Year Only	2 Years Only	3 Years Only	4 or more Years	Secondary School Only	Not graduate of secondary school
1921	104	317	7,762	1,286	189	220	53	69	656	96
1922	100	331	7,874	1,489	390	226	52	33	498	67
1923	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
1924	164	428	8,636	1,347	398	258	63	66	458	61
1927	182	650	9,339	1,235	405	233	75	68	389	70

(Source: The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1921 – 1927)

Table 2: Number and Types of Certificates Held for Cities (Group I) for Secondary Grades (1921 – 1927)

					Secondary School With Professional Training For					
	Both College and normal school	College, but not of normal school	Normal School, but not of college	City training school only	1 Year Only	2 Years Only	3 Years Only	4 or more Years	Secondary School Only	Not graduate of secondary school
1921	110	1,618	422	79	36	50	31	33	150	31
1922	111	1,864	472	81	116	52	35	48	87	21
1923	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
1924	171	2,133	481	80	126	62	32	69	72	14
1927	212	2,397	536	89	135	67	38	60	72	35

Table 3: Number and Types of Certificates Held for Towns of more than 5000 (Group II) for Elementary Grades (1921 – 1927)

					Secondary School With Professional Training For					
	Both College and normal school	College, but not of normal school	Normal School, but not of college	City training school only	1 Year Only	2 Years Only	3 Years Only	4 or more Years	Secondary School Only	Not graduate of secondary school
1921	15	107	2,382	172	163	77	19	17	313	25
1922	9	137	2,438	170	185	111	32	23	297	22
1923	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
1924	16	151	2,495	186	182	112	30	32	274	26
1927	30	227	3,037	169	177	133	38	61	231	24

(Source: The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1921 – 1927)

Table 4: Number and Types of Certificates Held for Towns of more than 5000 (Group II) for High School Grades (1921 – 1927)

					Secondary School With Professional Training For					
	Both College and normal school	College, but not of normal school	Normal School, but not of college	City training school only	1 Year Only	2 Years Only	3 Years Only	4 or more Years	Secondary School Only	Not graduate of secondary school
1921	22	662	165	12	33	28	16	21	16	2
1922	18	703	178	23	35	23	22	23	15	1
1923	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
1924	21	801	224	13	31	35	13	22	15	2
1927	37	968	238	9	40	44	19	16	17	5

(Source: The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1921 – 1927)

Table 5: Number and Types of Certificates Held for Towns of less than 5000 maintaining high schools (Group III) for Elementary Grades (1921 – 1927)

					Secondary School With Professional Training For					
	Both College and normal school	College, but not of normal school	Normal School, but not of college	City training school only	1 Year Only	2 Years Only	3 Years Only	4 or more Years	Secondary School Only	Not graduate of secondary school
1921	3	21	822	41	57	40	5	22	273	20
1922	2	24	377	15	77	34	6	3	273	32
1923	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
1924	3	39	845	40	129	57	8	17	237	14
1927	3	45	932	24	95	35	10	23	173	11

(Source: The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1921 – 1927)

Table 6: Number and Types of Certificates Held for Towns of less than 5000 maintaining high schools (Group III) for High School Grades (1921 – 1927)

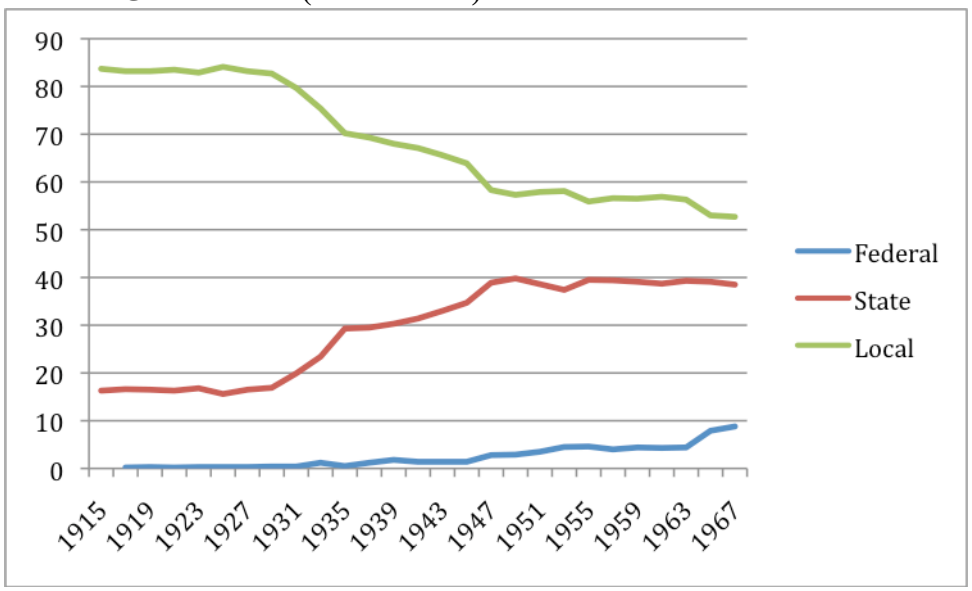
					Secondary School With Professional Training For					
	Both College and normal school	College, but not of normal school	Normal School, but not of college	City training school only	1 Year Only	2 Years Only	3 Years Only	4 or more Years	Secondary School Only	Not graduate of secondary school
1921	13	361	52	9	15	22	8	4	8	NR
1922	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
1923	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
1924	17	408	76	4	13	23	5	1	6	NR
1927	8	454	78	3	7	17	8	3	3	NR

(Source: The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1921 – 192

Appendix G:

Percentage of Revenues for Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, by Level of Government (1915 – 1967)

Figure 1: Percentage of Revenues for Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, by Level of Government (1915 – 1967)



(Source: Historical Statistics of the United States: Millennial Edition (2-480)

Table 1: Percentage of Revenues for Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, by Level of Government (1915 – 1967)

	Federal	State	Local
1915		16.3	83.7
1917	.2	16.6	83.2
1919	.3	16.5	83.2
1921	.2	16.3	83.5
1923	.3	16.8	82.9
1925	.3	15.6	84.1
1927	.3	16.5	83.2
1929	.4	16.9	82.7
1931	.4	19.9	79.7
1933	1.2	23.4	75.4
1935	.5	29.3	70.2
1937	1.2	29.5	69.3

1939	1.8	30.3	68.0
1941	1.4	31.4	67.1
1943	1.4	33	65.6
1945	1.4	34.7	63.9
1947	2.8	38.9	58.3
1949	2.9	39.8	57.3
1951	3.5	38.6	57.9
1953	4.5	37.4	58.1
1955	4.6	39.5	55.9
1957	4.0	39.4	56.6
1959	4.4	39.1	56.5
1961	4.3	38.7	56.9
1963	4.4	39.3	56.3
1965	7.9	39.1	53
1967	8.8	38.5	52.7

(Source: Historical Statistics of the United States: Millennial Edition

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