

JOHN W. BOYER

CHARLES H. JUDD,
AN EMPIRE OF TESTING,
AND THE “SCIENCE
OF EDUCATION”

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO





Charles H. Judd, the Charles F. Grey Distinguished Service Professor of Education at the University of Chicago, director of the School of Education, head of the department of Education (1909–1938), and chairman of the department of Psychology (1920–1925).

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The College began this academic year with slightly more than 6,800 students. Our first-year class of 1,728 students plus fifteen transfer students is marked by talent, creativity, and ambition with respect to their academic work and countless areas of engagement outside the curriculum. These students bring a driving curiosity, aptitude, and diversity of perspectives to the scholarly life of our campus, along with deep commitments and expertise in other domains of activity. They also represent a stronger and more diverse College than any other past class. The College selected the Class of 2023 from an extraordinary pool of more than 34,600 applications, of which we were able to admit a historic low of just 6.2 percent. An unprecedented yield rate of 81 percent, indicating the percentage of these students who accepted offers of admission, underscores the strong appeal of our liberal arts education today. A remarkable number of the most talented and enterprising high school students are looking to the University of Chicago as their school of choice, and it is especially gratifying to see that, as the College becomes more selective, it also becomes more diverse. This fall, the College community will include historic highs in the percentages of students who identify as African American

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and Hispanic/Latino, along with a good percentage of international students, representing 117 countries. These numbers only gesture toward the dynamic conversations and ideas taking shape in our classrooms and residential commons and toward the fruitful alignment of our applicants and students with the singular resources for scholarly and personal growth that the University of Chicago has to offer. The eagerness of our students to participate in the enterprise of learning indicates that the academic year just underway will be stimulating and rewarding.¹

These admissions data are one of several ways to measure the achievements of our students. They raise the complex question of how we can describe and measure the quality of a liberal arts education at the University of Chicago. How we settle that question, and even how and why we raise it to begin with, is a matter of intense internal debate as well as public debate, for it addresses a central component of our institutional mission. Not surprisingly the subject of educational measurement and quality at Chicago has a fascinating history, and it is a history that bears upon the general identity of our University.

Because our students at all levels are here to be educated, it is as educators, as teachers, that we must account for what we do. Even as a research university we are still essentially an educational enterprise, training our students from first-year to advanced-graduate students in the intellectual virtues of careful and thoughtful, yet also daring and courageous, inquiry. And as we teach our students, they teach us, because they challenge us to maintain the high standards that we advocate. Over its history, the University community has made determined efforts not only to under-

1. I wish to thank Daniel Koehler, Nicholas Huzsvai, Robert Porwoll, Stephen Raudenbush, and Lisa Rosen for their assistance in the preparation of this report. The archival materials cited in this report are located in the Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library, and the College Archive.

stand itself as a teaching institution, but to provide local and national leadership in the many professional and institutional domains in which teaching plays a central role in American public culture. The educational mission is thus a powerful and pervasive influence at the University.

Yet education as a discipline occupies no special professional space at Chicago as defined by credentialism or formal training programs. In 1996, arousing considerable controversy, University authorities closed our Department of Education, arguing that the department was no longer worthy of the scholarly standards and aspirations of Chicago. Yet in recent decades higher education has seen a renewed national interest in assessment and curricular design. These trends have manifested themselves on our campus as well, even though we lack a central depository of theoretical expertise in educational matters. The work of our Center for Teaching commendably supports our instructors in every program of study in the College and the graduate divisions, but the staff of this office is quite small compared to teaching centers at our peer universities. The center needs not only more professional resources for this work, but also to be anchored more firmly in the academic enterprise of the College and divisions.

Hence, we have a state of affairs where practices of educational innovation continue to play a significant role in the everyday operations of the University, but without the armature of a department or school of education, without graduate training programs in education such as we had up to the 1990s, and without a center for teaching having the fulsome resources needed to provide extensive services in instructional technology, assessment, and faculty and graduate-student teaching development. At the same time, the University does not lack institutional partnerships and commitments in extrinsic educational ventures. For example, this year the University announced that the faculty of the School of Social

Service Administration will take intellectual and managerial responsibility for the operations of the University's Charter Schools and for the Urban Education Institute.² Given that development, I thought it might be of interest to the faculty to discuss some salient issues related to the history of the study and practice of education at the University.

Last year was the 120th anniversary of the publication of John Dewey's celebrated book on *The School and Society*, which argued for a student-centered curriculum and became a hallmark of progressive education.³ Dewey is still associated in heroic terms with the University, and with the Laboratory School, and more than occasional references to his plans and his distinctive contributions can be encountered in our local culture. In fact, I remember that when I was interviewed by the review committee deliberating on the fate of the Department of Education in 1996 one of my colleagues on the committee mentioned to me, matter-of-factly, that Dewey was the founder of our traditions of educational research at Chicago. At the time, I did not think much about this claim, but subsequently, it intrigued me and I had a sense that the story might in fact be more complicated than that simple assertion. John Dewey joined the faculty in 1894 and did have a substantial institutional as well as intellectual impact. Dewey left Chicago in 1904, however, after a dispute with Harper over the administration of the Laboratory School. Five years later, in 1909, Charles H. Judd was appointed to succeed Dewey, and Judd remained at Chicago until 1938, dominating the field

2. The school is now the Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice. See Elyssa Cherney, "Historic Gift of \$75 Million Will Go to University of Chicago Social Work School from Crown Family," *Chicago Tribune*, January 27, 2021.

3. John Dewey, *The School and Society: Being Three Lectures*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1900).



of education here and nationally for almost thirty years. The argument that I will make today is that, for better or worse, our traditions of educational research for much of the century were not Dewey's but rather Judd's. Although Dewey's public notoriety seems obvious today, what I will characterize as Judd's empire was much more enduring.

How did these two men differ? Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, the former dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, has written a helpful and insightful comparison of these two Chicago leaders, which affords a good place to begin.⁴ Judd was appointed to Chicago by James R. Angell, himself a distinguished psychologist who would later become president of Yale University. Judd had an enormous ambition to integrate modern social psychological research in the study and practice of education.⁵ He was also convinced that specialized courses in modern educational administration must be stressed, since he believed that school leaders had to demonstrate strong business-managerial techniques and capacities, as opposed to Dewey's view of administrators as being teachers who moved into management on a temporary basis.⁶ Judd would later argue that "the most notable advance in the line of professionalization of the staff of educational institutions has come through the general

4. Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, "The Plural Worlds of Educational Research," *History of Education Quarterly* (1989): 185–214; and idem, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 66–70.

5. On Judd, see especially Frank N. Freeman, "Reflections on the Personality and Professional Leadership of Charles Hubbard Judd," *Elementary School Journal* 47 (1947): 266–70; and Ralph W. Tyler, "Charles Hubbard Judd: As I Came to Know Him," *Teaching Education* 1 (1987): 19–24.

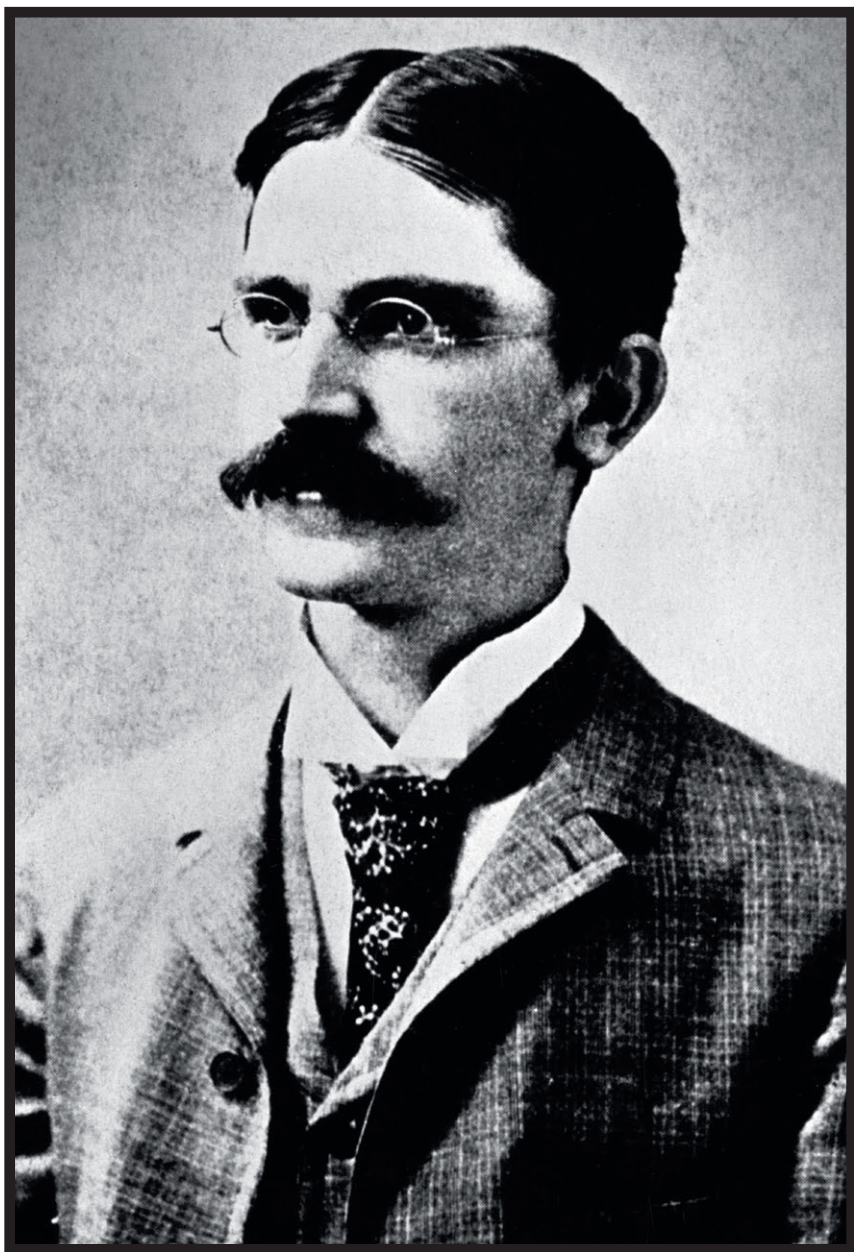
6. Charles H. Judd, "A Curriculum for School Administrators," *School and Society* 7 (1918): 637–40.

recognition within and without the group of professional educators of the necessity of expert equipment on the part of administrative officers of school and institutions of higher education. The whole group of expert administrators has come into being since 1833.... Today [this expert administration] is recognized in all progressive school systems, as it is in progressive industrial and business organizations, that expert leadership is indispensable."⁷ For Judd teachers were important functionaries in student success, but only in the context of schools as institutions defined by enlightened methods of expert administration and new forms of prescribed curricular organization. Singular creativity and experimentation wrought by individual teachers was less compelling for Judd, and he implicitly rejected suggestions that teachers had a role in effecting the social transformation of society.⁸

Having little interest in philosophy or formal social theory, Judd aimed to create a science of education based on measurement and testing and to establish a large graduate program to spread such scientific viewpoints in the form of new curricular studies, new testing methodologies, and massive quantitatively structured school surveys to be conducted across the nation on all levels of instruction. Expertise in the service of the professionalization of education was the hallmark of Judd's approach. Judd was also more culturally conservative in accepting existing social stratification patterns. As Lagemann puts the issue, "Dewey and Judd diverged completely on the nature of the child.... Whereas Dewey believed that children were naturally active and best able to learn when

7. Charles H. Judd, "A Century of Progress in Education," *Phi Delta Kappan* 16 (1933): 53.

8. Charles H. Judd, "Programs of Social Studies for the Schools of the United States," *Elementary School Journal* 33 (1932): 17–24.



*John Dewey, head of the department of Philosophy and Psychology at the
University of Chicago (1894–1904).*

the natural interests were tapped, Judd believed that children had few, if any, 'personal needs' other than obedience to adults.... Within Judd's conception of child psychology, the important issues for educational research could be studied in the university psychology laboratory and then transmitted to teachers. One did not need to engage in continuous and individualized observation of children, as was necessary within Dewey's conception of educational research." As Lagemann also notes, "Not concerned as Dewey had been with the significance of education as a means of social renewal and social change, Judd ... saw education as a technique for matching individuals to existing social and economic roles."⁹ Quantitatively informed educational research would produce sizable bodies of new expert knowledge that administrators might transmit to teachers to enhance individual student learning and to advance the operational efficiency of the schools as institutions within the existing socioeconomic order. Judd was not interested in the more subjective, participant-observer strategies for teaching and learning advocated by Dewey. As Douglas Scates has argued, Judd "had respect for the learning of German schoolchildren and would tell of seeing a child cry when he was called on and could not answer. His comment was that he had never seen an American child take his unpreparedness that seriously. Such attitudes left little room for acceptance of the seemingly laissez-faire views of Dewey. In Judd's thinking, children were to learn, not when they cared to, but when they were supposed to."¹⁰

Woodie T. White, a scholar of the history of the Department of Education at Chicago, has offered a similar juxtaposition. White insists that

9. Lagemann, "The Plural Worlds," 205, 212.

10. Douglas E. Scates, "Judd and the Scientific Study of Education," *School Review* 75 (1967): 2–28, here 11.

Judd and Dewey had very different assumptions about the study of education. Despite Dewey's investment in its scientific study, every pedagogical issue had its philosophical dimension. Philosophy and science were intimately linked. For Dewey philosophy was a way of establishing the basic questions to be answered scientifically or inductively. Judd's educational science was more strictly empirical, or so he thought. For Judd any connection between philosophy and the scientific study of education only retarded the development of the latter.... Education had to compensate for its inferior position among other academic disciplines by demonstrating its absolutely scientific character.

Once Judd was installed in the leadership of education at Chicago, according to White, "the spirit of Dewey was dead. The belief that education is a process related to larger issues of social change no longer found its expression in any of the important work being done at Chicago. Vestiges of Dewey and Colonel Parker were designated as out of date, unscientific, and inefficient. Judd gave Dewey little credit for any substantive scientific work."¹¹

Charles Judd is now a somewhat forgotten figure, but in his time he was a giant in the field of educational research and planning. As I hope to show, Judd's work casts a long and tenacious shadow that influenced the University for many decades. More specifically, Judd's vision for the study of education (within the structure of the University) was robustly successful in the first half of the twentieth century, amid the changing priorities and planning objectives of six different presidential administrations: Harper, Judson, Burton, Mason, Hutchins, and even Kimpton.

11. Woodie Thomas White, "The Study of Education at the University of Chicago, 1892–1958" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1977), 131, 135.

Dewey's vision of education—as deeply integrated with other disciplines, in particular philosophy, in pursuing the development of the autonomous self—fit in well with the more flexible, interdisciplinary habits of the young University in the final years of the nineteenth century, and, ironically, it seems more compelling in light of the emergence of trends in interdisciplinary social science research relating to education in the decades since 1980. Judd, in contrast, had a more circumscribed view of education as a distinct discipline with its own methodologies that could and should be studied empirically. As a site of scholarly research defined by strong departments with clear jurisdictional boundaries, the University in the first half of the twentieth century was a fertile place, bubbling with innovative experiments, and Judd and his colleagues had a virtual monopoly on the study of education on all instructional levels. Three facets of Judd's and his colleagues' work, all of which have continued relevance to the state of education in the University today, will help to clarify their role in our history.

THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT



When Charles Judd arrived at the University in 1909 he found himself in a unique structural context. The University had created a Department of Pedagogy in 1895 that was joined administratively, in a twin status, to the Department of Philosophy, both chaired by John Dewey. Dewey had only agreed to come to Chicago from Michigan to chair Philosophy on the condition that Harper create a curricular and research space for the study of education as well.¹² (Within Philosophy was also included the study of psychology.) After 1895 Dewey urged that Pedagogy be more organically linked to Philosophy, so the name was changed to the Department of Education in 1900, and in 1901 Education and Philosophy merged into one department. Dewey was influential in recruiting the philosopher and later sociologist George Herbert Mead and the young psychologist James Angell from Michigan to Chicago as well. In 1897 Dewey began to offer his course, the Philosophy of Education, which became a seminal course in the curriculum of the department.

Arguing that the theoretical work of education needed a local laboratory to test new methods, Dewey also created a small experimental elementary school in January 1896, which opened with sixteen children and two teachers. Within six years the school—the newly named Laboratory School—had 140 students and twenty-three teachers. In

12. On Dewey, see Arthur G. Wirth, *John Dewey as Educator: His Design for Work in Education, 1894–1904* (New York: John Wiley, 1966); Neil Coughlan, *Young John Dewey: An Essay in American Intellectual History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975); and Robert B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).



School children at the University of Chicago Laboratory School, undated.



contrast to Judd's emphasis on administration and a top-down managerial approach, Dewey viewed his philosophical and psychological theories as providing a framework to encourage the creative work of teachers in the classroom, and conversely, that the experience of teachers should inform the evolution of theory. The science of education demanded that all those involved in the life of the schools—children, teachers, and administrators—play active, interacting roles, focused on a clear appreciation of the social development of the child.¹³ Modern urban industrial society was fracturing, isolating, and dividing; one central mission of the schools should be to restore moral and intellectual unity to the children and encourage feelings of community. As White has suggested, "Dewey's concern with the schools and the study of education grew out of a desire to extend the influence of the university over society rather than an interest in promoting the concerns of an education profession."¹⁴

Dewey's *School and Society* originated from three lectures that he presented to the parents of children in the Laboratory School. It established an ideological framework for the new school, with Dewey insisting that it was the duty of such a school to encourage a sense of membership in and service to the community on the basis of self-knowledge, self-expression, and effective problem-solving, in addition to teaching basic skills. Dewey reframed the logic of the school, not as a site of technical preparation or for stimulating passive children into activity, but as an extension of the life of the child, who is already active and interested at home. The purpose of the school was to channel and

13. John Dewey, "The Relation of Theory to Practice in Education," in *The Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education* (Bloomington, IL: Public School, 1904), 9–30.

14. White, "The Study of Education," 42.

use those activities for educational functions: "[The child] is already running over, spilling over, with activities of all kinds. He is not a purely latent being whom the adult has to approach with great caution and skill in order gradually to draw out some hidden germ of activity. The child is already intensely active, and the question of education is the question of taking hold of his activities, of giving them direction. Through direction, through organized use, they tend toward valuable results, instead of scattering or being left to merely impulsive expression."¹⁵ The role of the teachers was not to be trained technicians but rather, in Arthur Wirth's formulation, professionals who were "sensitive to the conditions that could either foster or thwart ... growth in their students" and who were thus "permanent students of education."¹⁶ As Dewey put in 1904, "unless a teacher is such a student [of education], he may continue to improve in the mechanics of school management, but he cannot grow as a teacher, an inspirer and director of soul-life."¹⁷ Based on these principles the new school was highly successful on pedagogical grounds, but underlying operational issues plagued its early years, with Dewey demanding more subsidies and other resources and Harper and the trustees refusing to go along.

The study of education on the University level was amplified by a decision of Anita McCormick Blaine in 1901 to give the University an endowment of \$1 million to create a new school of education, on the basis of the transfer of a rival institution, the Chicago Institute, headed by Colonel Francis W. Parker, to the University. The Chicago Institute was

15. Dewey, *School and Society*, 53–54.

16. Wirth, *John Dewey as Educator*, 54.

17. Dewey, "The Relation of Theory to Practice," 15.



a normal school to train elementary school teachers along with an experimental elementary school that had been founded in 1898 by Parker with the financial support of Blaine. It employed a staff of thirty teachers. Harper secured Blaine's and Parker's agreement to transfer the Chicago Institute from its North Side home to Hyde Park in April 1901, creating in its place a new College of Education at the University of Chicago. The University in turn agreed to construct a new building on the north side of the Midway to house all of its educational programs. Construction on this building (Blaine Hall) was launched in June 1901, with John D. Rockefeller in attendance, and the building opened in the spring of 1904.

Tensions soon emerged when Harper sought to combine Dewey's laboratory school with the elementary school attached to the ex-Chicago Institute, with Dewey mobilizing the advocacy of local citizens to prevent the merger. Harper relented, and for a year the University found itself operating two schools, but Parker's sudden death in March 1902 ended the awkwardness. Dewey was now appointed the director of a new School of Education, a kind of holding company for the pedagogical work of the Department of Education, the College of Education (the former normal school), and the Laboratory School, which was the result of the merger of Dewey's and Parker's rival schools.¹⁸ In 1903 the University also established a baccalaureate degree in education (the EdB), to be given after two years of senior college study. The College of Education was thus put on parallel status with other senior colleges as a unit in which junior and senior undergraduate students would gain training as university-educated elementary teachers. In contrast, students

18. Robert L. McCaul, "Dewey, Harper, and the University of Chicago, April 1902–May 1903," in *John Dewey: Master Educator*, ed. William W. Brickman and Stanley Lerner (New York: Atherton Press, 1966), 49–50.

wishing to teach on the high school level were expected to secure a disciplinary AB, PhB, or SB, along with a professional certificate that demonstrated their fitness to be teachers.¹⁹

In 1903–4 personal and governance issues emerged about the leadership of the newly combined elementary school, specifically the deeply contested role (and, from the perspective of many colleagues, administratively incompetent performance) of Dewey's spouse, Alice Dewey, as principal of the University's elementary school. These and other long-standing frustrations had damaged Dewey's relationship with and his faith in President Harper. In return Harper had a growing sense that Dewey himself was an unsteady and unreliable manager who was not able to run a complex school, a perception that led Dewey to resign from the University of Chicago in the spring of 1904.²⁰ He would spend the rest of his distinguished career at Columbia University in New York City.

After a long search, Charles H. Judd was appointed as Dewey's successor in 1909. Judd was an educational psychologist at Yale University whose intellectual worldview had been shaped by his studies in experimental psychology with Wilhelm Wundt at the University of Leipzig, who supervised Judd's 1896 dissertation on tactual space perception.²¹ In contrast to Dewey, who was greatly influenced by William James's

19. Charles Judd insisted that the EdB be abolished in 1910 and that Education only offer more conventional academic degrees.

20. The most comprehensive account is Michael Knoll, "John Dewey as Administrator: The Inglorious End of the Laboratory School in Chicago," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 47 (2015): 203–52. But see also Robert L. McCaul, "Dewey and the University of Chicago," *School and Society* 89 (1961): 152–57, 179–83, 202–6.

21. See Scates, "Judd and the Scientific Study of Education," 14–15.



functionalism, Judd was inspired by Wundt's stimulus-response psychology, which eventually contributed to behaviorist theory in the 1920s and 1930s.²² Judd's first book, *Genetic Psychology for Teachers* (1903), was heavily indebted to Wundt's structuralist paradigms and postulated that scholars could discover and shape higher mental processes and, in the case of the education of children, assist teachers in helping their students actively adapt to their environments.²³ Judd would serve as the chair of the Department of Education at Chicago until 1938, becoming one of the most powerful academic politicians within the University community of his generation.

Under Judd, the University's financial and organizational commitment to the study and research of education in the decades after 1904 far exceeded Dewey's hopes or expectations. Furthermore, the directions taken ended up very much in opposition to many of Dewey's ideas. Judd's more specialized and compartmentalized vision for the study of education involved major structural changes. As a first step to creating a more powerful professional domain, Judd persuaded the University in

22. See Judd's comparison of James and Wundt in his "Radical Empiricism and Wundt's Philosophy," *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods* 2 (1905): 169–76. Judd later wrote that "I have often commented on the fact that James seems to have had very little interest in social psychology and very little interest in the psychology of language. James evidently suffered in this respect from one of the blindnesses of human nature. American psychology has followed James rather than Wundt. In my judgement this has been a grave misfortune and one that the future will have to remedy." "Charles H. Judd," in *A History of Psychology in Autobiography*, ed. Carl Murchison, vol. 2 (Worcester, MA: Clark University Press, 1932), 219–20.

23. Harold B. Dunkel, "Judd's Debt to Wundt," *School Review* 85 (1977): 535–51; Alanson A. Van Fleet, "Charles Judd's Psychology of Schooling," *Elementary School Journal* 76 (1976): 455–63.

1909 to separate Education from Philosophy and thus give it the status of an independent department. Judd argued that

the establishment of a Department of Education does not mark a breach in these earlier intimate relations, but rather gives to educational problems that specialized attention which render it easier to bring together in more useful form all relevant contributions from philosophy, psychology, and other sciences, notably sociology and biology. At the same time the change in university organization marks the recognition of the necessity of specialized scientific study of educational problems. The science of education uses statistical methods and experimental methods in studying the efficiency of school courses and school organization of all grades.²⁴

Hence, Judd wanted the Department of Education's independent mission and prestige to come to the fore and to have its own identity apart from Philosophy. It was part of the lore of his early reforms that Judd cancelled the Philosophy of Education course taught by George Herbert Mead after Dewey's resignation and instead inserted a new course on the Principles of Education, not wanting the word "philosophy" to appear in the curricular program of his new department.²⁵ And it was quite natural that when the University created the divisional structure

24. Charles H. Judd, "The School of Education," in *The President's Report: July 1909–July 1910* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1911), 68.

25. White, "The Study of Education," 139. His former student George Counts later remembered that Judd "didn't want any philosophy in [the] School of Education." Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, "Prophecy or Profession? George S. Counts and the Social Study of Education," *American Journal of Education* 100 (1992): 141.

in 1929 Judd insisted that Education become a full, independent member of the new Division of the Social Sciences.

Judd was also not interested in running a teachers' college for undergraduate students. He wrote to Henry Holmes, the inaugural dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Education, in 1926 that "there is undoubtedly the duty to perform certain service functions. One of these in our own case the training of those students in the College of Arts, Literature, and Science who are preparing to become teachers. Personally have no interest in this group.... It is quite certain that this ought never to be a major function of our own institution and I do not believe that this is a suitable function for the Harvard Department.... Our plan in this institution is to put all our resources that we can secure in about 150 graduate students."²⁶ Rather than training elementary school teachers, Judd was convinced that Chicago's greatest impact would be in the scientific study of education, mainly on the graduate level, and (to a lesser extent) in providing experienced secondary school teachers further additional training in their respective disciplinary fields. He argued that the function of teacher preparation should be distributed among the various disciplinary departments, to be supervised by a committee on the preparation of teachers, but primarily on the graduate level. When the University approached the Rockefeller boards in 1929 for a grant of \$1 million to create a new building for education, Judd used the planning process for the new building as a way of pushing forward on the abolition of the College of Education. One of Judd's supporters and former students, Guy T. Buswell, said, "I should favor abandoning the College of Education as promptly as can be done, dealing with students at this level in the College of Arts, Literature, and Science ... my chief concern

26. White, "The Study of Education," 221.

would be that we avoid becoming a glorified teachers college but instead become a graduate department true to the traditions of scientific research which are presumed to characterize a graduate school."²⁷ Similarly, Herbert Morrison insisted that "our function in the American scheme of affairs should be that of affording opportunities for study of the highest and most fundamental type to people who will be or already are: university professors of education, school executives, special staff officers and workers".²⁸ Judd's capacious vision for advanced empirical research fit well with trends in external funding in the 1920s and 1930s. Large foundations were investing in major social issues, and they valued and supported scholars who spoke a defined language of professionalization and who focused on specialized research agendas.

The College of Education of 1901 was thus dissolved in the spring of 1931.²⁹ Two years later the supervisory School of Education was also abolished, making the department the all-powerful entity in the pursuit of advanced research in education. In 1933 the Board of Trustees transferred jurisdiction for the preparation of teachers from the Department of Education to a new administrative committee.³⁰ This deliberate gulf between the department and undergraduate education would come to have fateful and negative consequences fifty years later, as we will see

27. Guy Thomas Buswell, "Fundamental Policies," [1930], box 14, folder 13, Charles Hubbard Judd Papers, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. Unless specified as being in the College Archive, all archival materials cited in this report are located in Special Collections.

28. H. C. Morrison, "Problems Relating New Building," [1929], box 14, folder 8, Judd Papers.

29. Gray to the Faculty, August 1930, box 14, folder 14, Judd Papers.

30. See Board Minutes, 13 April 1933, box 73, folder 9, Office of the President, Hutchins Administration.



below. William Rainey Harper had viewed the College of Education not so much as a place for training new, highly qualified elementary school teachers with the spirit of the university, but as an institution that would allow already employed teachers in the Chicago Public School system the chance to take additional college-level work. Even before the acquisition of the Parker school, in 1898 Harper had already constituted an undergraduate teacher's college, to be called the College for Teachers, which had as its primary audience current primary school and secondary school teachers in Chicago who had attended a normal school but who lacked a university degree. Its first classes were held downtown, in the Fine Arts Building, in the late afternoons and evenings, and on Saturdays.³¹ Hence, Harper's major interest was adult education and enrichment courses for already employed teachers in Chicago, and had he lived, Harper would have found Judd's strategic decision that the University should not train newly minted teachers to be congenial. Certainly by the mid 1920s Judd's research-only strategy found the approval of the central administration. In 1925 President Ernest DeWitt Burton presented the mission of the School of Education as encompassing primary and secondary research, but also to "extend its studies to the college field in co-operation with the faculty of the colleges" and to move aggressively into graduate education. Burton insisted that "from its earliest days the school has attained distinction for its scientific study of education from every angle—methods of instruction, curricula, and school administration." Burton was especially proud that "the School attracts during the Summer Quarter a great number of school superintendents and principals, in addition to still larger numbers of public school teachers, from the entire Mississippi Valley and during the other

31. *The President's Report: July 1892–July 1902* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1903), 147–51.

Quarters there is to be found here the largest group of graduate students in education to be found in any institution west of the Alleghenies.”³² After 1933 these responsibilities fell solely to the department.

During Judd’s tenure the Department of Education thus became a leading force in what has been called the “scientific movement in education”: the articulation of scientific management theories, the creation of protocols for the quantitative measurement and testing of achievement, and the design of large-scale surveys of school curricula and administration. Scientific surveys of schools and colleges were much in vogue in the 1920s, reflecting a contemporary belief in the power of scientific management theories to create more efficient labor practices and in the transferability of such ideas from the world of business to the multiple worlds of education.³³ Between 1910 and 1933, no less than 500 surveys were undertaken of US colleges and universities, and if one adds to that number the surveys of public school systems on the primary and secondary level, the number would easily jump to the thousands. As Nelson and Watras have observed about the “phenomenal growth” of such surveys, “the movement fed on itself. To ensure the public would continue to support more schools, more surveys were conducted. This required more

32. Ernest DeWitt Burton, “The University of Chicago. Its Needs, Its Immediate and of the Future. Its Plans to Meet These Needs. A Memorandum for the Information of Trustees of the University,” 14 July 1924, box 60, folder 12, Office of the President, Harper, Judson, Burton Administrations.

33. See Raymond E. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces that Have Shaped the Administration of the Public Schools* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962); Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987); Richard Nelson and Joseph Watras, “The Scientific Movement: American Education and the Emergence of the Technological Society,” *Journal of Thought* 16 (1981): 49–71.

experts, which called for more specialized training. As the bulk of information became greater, surveys of surveys were needed.”³⁴ The faculty of the Department of Education under Judd’s leadership were particularly active in the school survey and measurement movement, given that the University’s quarter system gave faculty members the flexibility to do this kind of educational consulting, and the additional income that was easily generated by this work made such consultations highly lucrative.³⁵ Judd also became a national leader in tertiary college-level evaluation and accreditation systems and a key leader and advisor in the North Central Association for university accreditation. Leadership in surveys also brought the Chicago faculty into close collaborations with local school administrators around the nation, and reinforced their sense that a primary mission of Chicago was to assist top school leaders in refining their professional duties and enhancing their administrative expertise over that of teachers and community members.

Judd himself published *Introduction to the Scientific Study of Education* in 1918, which served as a kind of manifesto for this movement. He insisted that

the science of education aims to collect by all available methods full information with regard to the origin, development, and present form of school practices and also full information with regard to social needs. It aims to subject present practices to rigid tests

34. Ibid., 63.

35. White, “The Study of Education,” 196, 200–201; Charles H. Judd, “Contributions of School Surveys,” in the *Thirty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (Bloomington, IL: Public School, 1938), 9–20.

and comparisons and to analyze all procedure in the school by experimental methods and by observation. It aims to secure complete and definite records of all that the school attempts and accomplishes. The results of school work are to be evaluated by rigid methods of comparison and analysis. To direct studies of the school the science of education must add full studies of the social life of which the school is a part and of the individual nature which is to be trained and molded through the educational processes. In the light of such studies the science of education is to suggest such enlargements and modifications of school practices as seem likely to promote the evolution of the educational system.³⁶

Judd's ambitions for the study of education also meant that the department itself would have to command the full respect and equal standing of a regular social science disciplinary area, marked by its devotion to efficacious research. Judd wrote in 1926 that

the relation of the science of education to the graduate schools will not be finally adjusted until our colleagues in other departments are convinced that we have a right to belong to the academic circle. Board of trustees may legislate as expedience or legacies dictate. We may gain positions through the requirements of standardizing agencies or by virtue of the influx of students, but all of these additions to our influence will not make us respectable unless we can show that we are like our fellow-workers competent to take

36. Charles Hubbard Judd, *Introduction to the Scientific Study of Education* (Boston: Ginn, 1918), 305–6.

and hold our place with others who formulate human knowledge and possess methods of critically refining this knowledge.³⁷

In the fall of 1928, Charles Judd was offered a well-endowed professorship at the Teachers College of Columbia University. To keep Judd at Chicago, Frederic Woodward, who had become acting president upon Max Mason's resignation in May 1928, persuaded the Board of Trustees in mid-December 1928 to agree to a substantial increase in the Department of Education's resources.³⁸ There followed a successful appeal to the General Education Board in the fall of 1929 for a gift of \$1.5 million to enable advanced research in education, a remarkable gift to a single Chicago department, taking place at a time when research and foundation funding for the social sciences in general was also expanding rapidly. The position paper that Judd submitted to Woodward to explain his expectations outlined an expansive (and expensive) plan for his department: not only did Judd want a new research building, more research assistants, better faculty salary support, and more discretionary research funds, but he also urged that Chicago expand the ranks of its Education faculty to include specialists in the "study of pre-school children, study of defective children, study

37. Charles H. Judd, "The Relationship of the School of Education to Graduate Schools of Arts and Sciences," 12 November 1926, p. 16, box 23, folder 8, Judd Papers.

38. The handwritten notes of Woodward's presentation to the board are filed in box 20, folder 6, Office of the President, Mason Administration. Judd also subsequently received one of the newly created distinguished service professorships, which enabled Woodward to increase his salary from \$8,000 to \$10,000 a year. See Woodward to Judd, 29 October 1929, box 285, folder 5, Office of the President, Hutchins Administration.

of college administration, study of general school administration, and study of higher mental processes.”³⁹

The department soon fulfilled these claims and expectations. Graduate enrollments were healthy and strong: during the eighteen years between 1911 and 1929 the department awarded 860 master’s degrees and ninety-one doctorates, which represented almost 20 percent of all master’s degrees and 5 percent of all doctorates in the University.⁴⁰ Judd refused to countenance the creation of special practitioner degrees, and unlike other peers, Chicago thus never came to have an EdD program or even a departmentally based master’s in teaching degree. Given that Judd had de facto control over all hiring in the department for almost thirty years, he was able to shape its intellectual profile according to his tastes. He also went to great lengths to maintain the department’s monopoly over the study of education within the whole of the University, a state of affairs that would prove impossible to sustain after World War II. White notes that “no other university school of education so greatly reflected the vision of one single man.”⁴¹ He was able to recruit an outstanding group of scholar-researchers in various fields of education, including Henry C. Morrison, William S. Gray, and Floyd W. Reeves. Morrison

39. See Judd to Woodward, memorandum, n.d., box 20, folder 8, Office of the President, Mason Administration. Judd submitted a second and similar memo to Hutchins. See Judd to Hutchins, 1 October 1929, *ibid.* Judd’s negotiations came at a time when the department had lost several senior faculty members to other institutions, which raised fears that Chicago might no longer be competitive in faculty salaries.

40. Floyd W. Reeves and John Dale Russell, *Admission and Retention of University Students*, vol. 5 of *The University of Chicago Survey* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1933), 183–84.

41. White, “The Study of Education,” 138.

was professor of school administration (1919–37) and superintendent of the Laboratory Schools (1919–28), who invented the Morrison Method, which focused on the idea of mastery of learning via progression through systematic units and which led to the individualized instructional ideals of the 1970s and 1980s. Gray worked at Chicago from 1916 to 1945 and was an authority in reading assessment, reading achievement, and adult literacy. Gray was the author of the Dick and Jane series, served as dean of the College of Education (1917–30), and directed the Committee on Teacher Preparation (1933–45). Reeves was an expert in school and university management who became a national authority in administration and a regular consultant for state and federal government agencies on school organization. Reeves led the massive University of Chicago self-study in the early 1930s, an iconic symbol of Judd's determination that Chicago should set a public standard for all other universities, as well as give the new president (Hutchins) a pragmatic example of the power and efficacy of modern scientific research by educationalists for the rest of the University. Published in twelve volumes in 1933 and encompassing 3,157 pages, the Chicago survey was perhaps the single most ambitious undertaking of its kind before World War II.⁴²

Gray's Committee on Teacher Preparation is of particular interest since it may be seen as the earliest antecedent to today's Center for Teaching. The idea behind the committee was straightforward: rather than training undergraduates to be teachers in an education school, why not train more advanced students in MA programs in a particular discipline and then provide a set of resources to help the individual departments prepare these same students who wished to have careers teaching secondary school in those disciplines. Gray argued that "general

42. Floyd W. Reeves et al., *The University of Chicago Survey*, 12 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933).

responsibility for the organization and direction of programs for teachers is now assumed by the University as a whole, and responsibility for the preparation of teachers in special subjects or fields is vested in designated divisions and departments."⁴³ Each division thus was responsible for providing a set of special courses to assist students seeking MA degrees to become competent in their discipline but also in the techniques and methods of secondary school and junior college teaching. Unfortunately, in spite of Gray's ambitions, his committee ended up doing little more than dictating formal course options to the individual departments, with faculty members eventually believing that the committee was "useless and ineffective."⁴⁴ The committee became dormant after 1945, although its original rationale would bear reconsideration in today's University. For example, our current Center for Teaching, which has no organic organizational ties with the College or the departments, might be more closely integrated with the day-to-day work of the College and graduate divisions, giving us a set of programs that would help prepare our BA and graduate students for various teaching opportunities beyond teaching in our own College.

Judd recruited many other influential faculty, such as Ralph W. Tyler, Frank N. Freeman, John Franklin Bobbitt, William C. Reavis, G. T. Bushwell, and Leonard Koos. All shared with Judd a hard-nosed commitment to quantitative evaluation and research accountability, in addition to an interest in policy formation. For example, Bobbitt's famous attempt to adapt Taylorist scientific management principles in the design of school curricula and school administration was deeply

43. "The Preparation of Teachers at the University of Chicago," 25 April 1939, box 167, folder 7, Office of the President, Hutchins Administration.

44. White, "The Study of Education," 496.

sympathetic with Judd's larger vision of top-down institutional leadership and the belief that administrators needed very different skills and significantly more authority than classroom teachers.⁴⁵ Among the many themes of Judd's work were the importance of disciplined and independent institutional leadership by school leaders and the effective, scientifically determined use of time and effort by teachers. Given that many urban and rural school systems in America in the 1920s and 1930s were political cesspools, subject to patronage hiring and nepotism, he wrote that "there should be increased emphasis on expert, professional leadership. This leadership should be protected by law in the exercise of its functions. It should be both qualified and disposed to make systematic scientific studies of educational procedures and should direct the activities of the schools on the basis of the findings of such studies."⁴⁶

Judd was concerned to improve the status of the teacher in American life, but on top-down terms that militated against teachers as wholly independent or at least equal partners in running the schools. Judd was a cautious opponent of unionization for teachers, but he believed that forces of scientific training might align to strengthen the work of classroom teachers at time when public attitudes about the profession of teaching were not altogether positive. Yet Judd did have cause for some optimism because of the growing aura of research-based professionalism that began to be attached to teaching in the first third of the twentieth century. To the extent that teaching became an integral part of a new "science of education" with greater accountability and public legitimacy, Judd was confident that attitudes toward teaching would improve

45. Lagemann, *An Elusive Science*, 107.

46. Charles H. Judd, *Education and Social Progress* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1934), 150–51.

significantly. Judd also believed that a rising tide of professional expectations, in the form of research training and other modes of observable, merit-based credentialism, was bound to increase the prestige of teaching. The teacher of the future would be akin to a practical scientist: just as science was bound to improve the lot of mankind, the educator as scientist would garner new and renewed respect by deploying scientifically proven methods on students that were bound to help.⁴⁷

At the same, Judd and his colleagues were deeply unsympathetic to women and minorities seeking careers in higher education administration and felt that the proper role for women was teaching. As Reeves and Russell have shown, 76 percent of all master's degrees and almost all doctorates in Education between 1911 and 1929 were awarded to men, ratios far different from the general University population.⁴⁸ The evident sexism of the department under Judd's leadership in discouraging women from seeking careers in educational administration was bound to manifest itself in other areas of activity, as we will see in Judd's conflicts with labor unions led by women.

47. "No one will make any statements until he has factual evidence to support what he says. No one will leave children to wander aimlessly and without the best help that can be supplied. We will imitate nature; nature is orderly and systematic." Charles H. Judd, "The Training of Teachers for a Progressive Educational Program," *Elementary School Journal* 75 (1975): 84.

48. Reeves and Russell, *Admission and Retention of University Students*, 183–84; White, "The Study of Education," 167–71; John W. Boyer, *The Organization of the College and the Divisions in the 1920s and 1930s*, vol. 8 of *Occasional Papers on Higher Education* (Chicago: College of the University of Chicago, 2001), 28–36.

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second major setting where Judd and his colleagues had a significant impact was the College and the arts and sciences at the University. Judd played a central role in persuading the trustees to implement the recommendations of the efficiency expert Leonard Ayres, who provided a design for the restructuring of the University in 1930–31 from the more horizontal units of the existing schools and faculties to the vertical administrative units of the future graduate divisions and the College.⁴⁹ Ayres was initially recruited as a consultant for the University of Chicago Survey in the early 1930s organized by Floyd Reeves. Judd, along with his colleagues and former students, John Franklin Bobbitt, William Gray, and George Counts, had participated in a large survey of the Cleveland Public Schools that Ayres had directed in 1915–16, so it is likely that the idea of using Ayres came from Judd himself. Judd was especially interested in making Chicago a national laboratory for the study of school and university administration: “The colleges of the University of Chicago and the general administrative organization of the University constitute a laboratory for the solution of the problems of higher education. If proper investigators were provided to make extended studies in the field of higher education, there can be no doubt that benefit would accrue to

49. Leonard P. Ayres, “Some Aspects of the Financial Organization and Administration of the University of Chicago: A Report Prepared by Leonard P. Ayres, and Presented May 10, 1930,” reprinted as an appendix in Floyd W. Reeves, Frederick J. Kelly, John Dale Russell, and George A. Works, *The Organization and Administration of the University*, vol. 2 of *The University of Chicago Survey* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), 134–42.

the University of Chicago and to all the colleges in this region.”⁵⁰ The current organization of the University of Chicago, which avoids a comprehensive arts and sciences governance structure in favor of a more decentralized cluster of administrative units that encourage both scholarly and pedagogical flexibility and localized budgetary accountability, is thus owing to the “scientific” survey work of Charles Judd and his colleagues.

Judd was also an active participant in conversations about graduate education launched by Robert Maynard Hutchins in 1929, and with his typical bluntness and lack of empathy for what he believed to be wrong-headed views, he critiqued both the structure of US graduate training and the graduate students entering doctoral programs. Judd argued admiringly that in Germany individuals who received PhDs might be hired as assistant teachers but were not properly considered to be regular faculty members until they had completed a major research project and had already assembled a record of successful teaching. No one became a regular faculty member in Germany who had not proven himself on both fronts, but in the United States faculty positions were given to “immature and untried men” who were “rushed into positions where intellectual leadership is expected, and because of narrow specialization and pressure to attempt the teaching of many subjects, these immature men fail, and their students come to graduate schools without scholarly equipment.” Judd was also deeply critical of the quality of many of the graduate students admitted to the University of Chicago, arguing that “many of our graduate students are wholly incompetent to carry on high

50. Judd to Woodward, mid-December 1928, box 20, folder 8, Office of the President, Mason Administration. Judd submitted a second and similar memo to Robert Hutchins. See Judd to Hutchins, 1 October 1929, *ibid*.

grade work. I am clear that we should use our resources as soon as it is at all possible to do so to select drastically from those who apply for admission to the graduate school.”⁵¹ Such bluntness and evident preference for professional hierarchies intimidated his colleagues and reinforced the image of a man who may have been intellectually formidable, but who was also ruthlessly inflexible.

But Judd’s most important impact on the University came during the Hutchins era. Judd aided Chauncey Boucher, dean of the College, in creating the New Plan and the new Core curriculum, which, in turn, gave several of Judd’s colleagues the chance to create a massive agency to provide testing and evaluation for the new Core curriculum. That is, Judd supported Chauncey Boucher’s plans to create a Core curriculum in the late 1920s, but he was also instrumental in affixing to that curriculum a wholly separate and quite powerful mechanism for testing, evaluation, and quantitative assessment. For along with the five new interdisciplinary courses that defined the new program in general education came a totally new system of grading and credit allocation. Henceforth, students would not receive quarterly course grades, and courses themselves ceased to count for the graduation requirement. Instead, each student would be obligated to sit for a six-hour “comprehensive” examination that would test his or her knowledge of the fields covered in the survey courses. These examinations would be developed by a set of full-time professionals, trained in psychological and educational methods, and organized in a new Board of Examinations, who would attend the lectures given by the faculty in the survey courses and develop both the structure of the exams and sets of questions included

51. Judd to Hutchins, 12 December 1929, box 96, folder 2, Office of the President, Hutchins Administration.

on the exams, working in consultation with faculty teaching the courses. The examiners would also grade the exams. The board was headed by a new university examiner, also drawn from the world of education and psychology, and the University Statutes were revised to give the board an official University-wide legal status.

Beginning in World War I, the Department of Education under Judd had been active in showing the usefulness of standardized testing to improve government services and businesses, as well as schools. Now these principles could be applied to our own undergraduate curriculum. The leader of the new Board of Examinations from 1931 to 1938 was Louis L. Thurstone of the Department of Psychology. If Boucher was the original architect of the idea of comprehensive exams in place of course credits, in the critical work of implementation he was influenced by the ideas of Thurstone. A student of James Angell and Charles Judd who had received his PhD in psychology at Chicago in 1917, Thurstone was a distinguished psychometrician who pioneered fundamental contributions in the analysis of intelligence and aptitude testing in the 1930s and 1940s. Thurstone reported in a subsequent autobiographical statement:

When it was proposed to introduce comprehensive examinations for the determination of grades, I wrote a memorandum to Dean [George] Works [a professor in the Department of Education hired by Judd in 1930, who was also serving as university dean of students], in which I suggested certain principles that should be adopted in writing those examinations. I was asked if I would help start the new examination procedure as chief examiner for the College.... I proposed some new principles to be used in the construction of College examinations, and these were accepted. One principle was that examinations should become the public

property as soon as they had been given. The purpose of this system was to eliminate bootlegging of examinations in fraternity houses and elsewhere. One of the consequences was that a new examination had to be written each time, and here several novel ideas were introduced. No question was used in a comprehensive examination if the instructors did not know the answer. If the instructors started to argue about the answer to a question, it was either eliminated or revised until the instructors agreed about the answer. The identity of the student was not known by the person who assigned the grades. The grades were determined by the distribution of scores before the identities of the students were known. Some Departments objected that new examinations could not be written each time that a course was given. Our response was that if a new examination could not be written at the end of each course, then there was no justification for the course.⁵²

Unfortunately, the self-confident style of Thurstone's rhetoric betrayed what might easily be viewed as a kind of haughtiness toward the teachers of the new survey courses, and as we will see below, this became an acute political problem in the new system over time. The Board of Examinations began as a modest affair, and in its initial staffing drew heavily on younger men who were either graduate students or postdocs from the

52. "L. L. Thurstone," entry in *A History of Psychology in Autobiography*, ed. Edwin G. Boring et al., vol. 4 (Worcester, MA: American Psychological Association, 1952), 318. Dael Wolfle later remembered that Thurstone "took particular pride" in his establishment of the Board of Examinations. See his tribute in "Louis Leon Thurstone: 1887–1955," *American Journal of Psychology* 69 (1956): 131; as well as Dorothy Adkins Wood, *Louis Leon Thurstone: Creative Thinker, Dedicated Teacher, Eminent Psychologist* (Chapel Hill, NC: publisher not identified, 1962).

Department of Education. Thurstone also began to develop research protocols based on the huge amount of data that the examinations generated about student performance.⁵³

When Thurstone resigned from the position of chief examiner of the Board of Examinations in 1938, he was replaced with a young educational psychologist from Ohio State University, Ralph W. Tyler, another former doctoral student of Charles Judd, who was appointed as a professor in the Department of Education and who served as examiner from 1939 to 1950. Tyler was the leader of a national study on the preparation of high school work for college success: the Eight-Year Study (1933–43) and the Cooperative Study in General Education (1939–45). He focused on the development of standardized evaluation and achievement tests, syllabi construction, and other measurable vehicles to evaluate educational experimentation and teaching objectives in the participating schools.⁵⁴ Tyler was thus a strong and articulate defender of the centralized examination system. In a statement from February 1950 giving detailed overview of the eleven different steps taken in the construction of the comprehensive examinations, Tyler portrayed the examination system as widely accepted and approved by faculty in the College (which

53. Details of the methodology used in creating the comprehensive examinations can be found in *Manual of Examination Methods by the Technical Staff, The Board of Examinations*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Bookstore, 1937). See also Louis L. Thurstone, *The Reliability and Validity of Tests: Derivation and Interpretation of Fundamental Formulae Concerned with Reliability and Validity of Tests and Illustrative Problems* (Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards, 1931).

54. W. M. Aiken, *The Story of the Eight-Year Study with Conclusions and Recommendations* (New York: Harper, 1942); White, "The Study of Education," 422–24; and for a critique, William F. Pinar, "The Eight-Year Study: An Essay Review of *Stories of the Eight-Year Study: Reexamining Secondary Education in America*," *Curriculum Inquiry* 40 (2010): 295–316.

was, in fact, not the case). Tyler justified the system of comprehensive testing on several grounds: degrees were granted on the basis of demonstrated and proven competence as opposed to time served or teacher's sympathies; tests were developed by independent staff to free teachers from "apple polishing relations" with students, to "encourage learning outside of class," and to "encourage the development of tests that are not restricted to particular materials and illustrations used by an individual instructor but require broader understanding by the student"; the system discouraged piecemeal learning by developing units larger than a single course; tests were described, constructed, and scheduled to encourage learning at the student's optimum rate; the comps would "provide a clear definition of the meaning of a degree." In contrast to the course credit system, which only justified the degree by the assemblage of specific courses, the comprehensive examination system "should be built to test for clearly defined competencies."⁵⁵

By the late 1940s, the examiner's office was preparing entrance tests, scholarship tests, placement tests, advisory examinations, comprehensive examinations, and various other evaluation tests. Entrance tests were required of all applicants to the College, including a psychological test, a test of reading comprehension, and a test of writing skills, all meant to "give a good prediction of the candidate's degree of success in the academic work of the College."⁵⁶ Thus, by the early 1950s, the examiner's office had become a veritable empire of testing. By 1950 Robert Woellner, an official involved in the testing program, could brag that

55. Ralph W. Tyler, "The Construction and Use of Examinations in the College of the University of Chicago: A Statement by the University Examiner," 9 February 1950, pp. 2–3, box 99, College Archive, University of Chicago.

56. Ibid.

the University of Chicago uses standardized tests to a greater extent than any other institution of higher education in the country. Students are admitted, classified, counseled, evaluated in foreign language reading ability for advanced degrees, given scholarships, and awarded baccalaureate degrees upon the basis of standard tests. Except for standardized tests used in some aspects of the counseling of students, the tests used are devised, in the main, by the Board of Examinations of the University.⁵⁷

Yet the empire of testing launched in the 1930s in the spirit of the science of education led to severe tensions. These tensions were already present in the late 1930s when Charles Judd denounced a critique of Robert Hutchins that was written by an associate professor in economics, Harry Gideonse, one of the early Core instructors, as being partisan, unscientific, and refusing to acknowledge the need for more "experimentation."⁵⁸ Gideonse's essay on the "Integration of the Social Sciences and the Quest for Certainty" defended the original Social Science Core of the early 1930s against Robert Hutchins' polemical advocacy to insert more metaphysics and Great Books into the curriculum.⁵⁹ Judd ignored that political reality and wrote to Gideonse that

57. Robert C. Woellner, "Administration of Tests, January through December 1951," box 108, folder 11, Kimpton Administration.

58. Harry D. Gideonse, "Integration of the Social Sciences and the Quest for Certainty," *Social Studies* 27 (1936): 363–72.

59. See John W. Boyer, *A Twentieth-Century Cosmos: The New Plan and the Origins of General Education at Chicago*, vol. 16 of *Occasional Papers on Higher Education* (Chicago: College of the University of Chicago, 2016), 110–23.

I am accustomed to thinking of discussions of the curriculum as objective rather than partisan. I have never been able to understand how some of you who are students of society ignore so completely the social elements which enter into university and school organizations. I think I could understand how a chemist or physicist would be oblivious to the fact that there are other people in the world who have to be persuaded before a program of studies can be put into operation, but I cannot understand how a student of society can be so utterly intolerant as some of our colleagues seem to be.⁶⁰

Such noble, “scientific” language was stirring but completely ignored the political dynamics of the situation, in which many faculty believed that Hutchins, with Judd’s help, was trying to undercut their right to design a curriculum based on their own scholarly perspectives. Gideonse defended his right to do so, responding that “to me and my colleagues [your] letter was disconcerting evidence of the extent to which even people on our own campus can put forward opinions and statements of fact about the work of their colleagues that have no more relation to reality than the views of some critics of higher education outside the universities.”⁶¹ In turn, one of Judd’s colleagues, William C. Reavis, resorted to ad hominem slurs, suggesting that Gideonse’s protests were typical of a man “of Gideonse’s type” with “a chip on his shoulder.”⁶² Judd’s and Reavis’s interventions against the young economist, who was widely admired by many senior faculty in the Division of the Social Science for

60. Judd to Gideonse, 22 October 1936, box 11, folder 18, Judd Papers.

61. Gideonse to Judd, 20 November 1936, box 72, folder 7, Office of the President, Hutchins Administration.

62. Reavis to Judd, box 11, folder 18, Judd Papers.

his courage in publicly opposing Hutchins, revealed a growing gap between their worldview and those of their colleagues beyond Education, with many senior social scientists still sympathetic to the philosophical pragmatism that John Dewey had espoused.⁶³ Dewey may have been irrelevant for Judd, but his name was still to be reckoned in some faculty circles in the 1930s.

The dustup over Gideonse's rebellion against Hutchins also made sense in that Judd disliked the idea of the College engaging in specialized, vocationally oriented training of teachers. Given that Judd wanted the University to focus on graduate education and high-level administration of education, he saw the College as a site where his and his colleagues' scientific theories could be formally applied, not a place where the faculty had the freedom, as they saw fit, to educate students to work in the world. This had a natural alignment with Hutchins's rhetoric of rigorous anti-vocationalism and the design of a curriculum that prevented departments from designing general-education curricula based upon their own scholarly expertise. The Gideonse wing (perhaps influenced by John Dewey, who by this time had also emerged as an intellectual opponent of Robert Hutchins) thought that educational standards and methods should be variable, flexible, and highly subjective, that they should be based on accumulation of new social science and humanistic scholarship (and not expertise drawn from Judd's Department of Education), and most importantly, that they should have a direct and immediate relevance to the creation of effective citizenship in a modern democracy.

63. Amy Apfel Kass, "Radical Conservatives for Liberal Education" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1973), 113–16; Richard J. Storr, *Harper's University: The Beginnings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 296–306.

Indeed, Dewey's critiques of Hutchins's *The Higher Learning in America*, published in *Social Frontier* in 1936 and 1937, have considerable intellectual affinity with Gideonse's own diatribes.⁶⁴

Beginning in the early 1940s, criticism of the comprehensive system and the examiner's office developed by Judd's students and advisees became a constant refrain among the College faculty. Anticipating many of the complaints that would emerge over the course of the late 1940s, Walter H. C. Laves, the chair of the Social Sciences staff, denounced the system in 1941, arguing that the original rationale for this system—to separate the teacher and the examiner completely, so that the student would not feel that he was working “for the professor” but rather to master the subject matter of the course—may have been plausible in theory, but that the practice left much to be desired. Further, the construction of the comprehensive exams required enormous time, and most faculty felt they were not competent to participate in the theoretical discussions that lay behind the system. Faculty often had to reject the questions developed by the examiners as inappropriate, and this too took a great deal of time. Laves also believed that the office cost too much money for what it accomplished: “It is too obvious that expenditure of somewhat similar amounts as are now spent in the examiner's office, on

64. John Dewey, “Rationality in Education”; “President Hutchins' Proposals to Remake Higher Education”; and “The Higher Learning in America,” *Social Frontier*, December 1936, 71–73, January 1937, 103–4, and March 1937, 167–69. For the debate itself, see James Scott Johnston, “The Dewey-Hutchins Debate: A Dispute over Moral Teleology,” *Educational Theory* 61 (2011): 1–16; Lisa Heldke, “Robert Maynard Hutchins, John Dewey, and the Nature of the Liberal Arts,” *Cresset* 59 (2005): 8–13; and Thomas Ehrlich, “Dewey versus Hutchins: The Next Round,” in *Education and Democracy: Reimagining Liberal Learning in America*, ed. Robert Orrill (New York: College Board, 1997), 225–62.

examination questions drafted by our own staff, would produce more abundant returns. The examiners must be first of all experts in subject matter, and only secondarily adept at testing. The present procedure is wasteful of University funds."⁶⁵ The criticisms that emerged here paralleled those raised against Judd's focus on investigating educational processes like reading and writing in controlled laboratory-like conditions, as opposed to engaging these issues in what White has called "the dynamics of classroom life." Just as Judd believed that there was little to be gained from Dewey-like qualitative observations of classroom learning processes, the Core teachers at Chicago came to see Tyler's testing examiners as having no particular interest in the peculiarities and subjective dynamics of what they were doing in their classrooms.⁶⁶

The growing tensions between the faculty and the office can be best illustrated by the work of Benjamin Bloom, an educational psychologist who worked as a junior colleague with Ralph W. Tyler (his PhD supervisor) in the examiner's office in the 1940s and who succeeded Tyler as university examiner in 1953. Having received his PhD in education from the University of Chicago in 1942, Bloom was a young scholar at the time, not the famous educational psychologist of later years, but his investigations of techniques of discussion-based teaching were part of an ambitious cluster of research activities that were to have an important impact on his later scholarly reputation.⁶⁷ Eager to examine and develop

65. Laves's report is contained in Brumbaugh to Hutchins, 13 March 1941, pp. 5–7, 9–10, box 8, folder 2, College Archive.

66. White, "The Study of Education," 185.

67. See Bloom's statement, "Changing Conceptions of Examining: An Extract Describing Personality Research," in *Minutes of the Council of the University Senate, 1954–1955* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1955), 285–88.

formal procedures for analyzing the new prominence of discussion in the Core courses, Bloom proposed to F. Champion Ward, dean of the College, in 1947 at a cost of \$1,500 that he undertake a scientific study of discussion techniques.⁶⁸ Bloom believed that it was essential to examine teaching by discussion in order to determine the extent to which this instructional method was capable of attaining the educational ends that the College had established. Bloom proposed a study based on a four-part scheme for understanding the nature of discussion teaching, focusing on what Bloom called the lecturette method, the recitation method, the group-conversation method, and the group-discussion method. Bloom's working hypothesis was that many teachers made use of some or all four of these methods in their teaching, depending upon the needs and goals of the course in question.⁶⁹

The project was an excellent example of the examiner's office trying to develop new scientific research in strategies of teaching. Based on a series of in-class participant observations, Bloom and several other collaborators put together a pamphlet entitled "Teaching by Discussion in the College Program" (1947).⁷⁰ Yet when Ward distributed copies to his colleagues and asked whether Bloom's essay should be published, he received a clutch of highly negative, even incendiary letters. Joseph J. Schwab of Biology critiqued Bloom for his seeming indifference about the subject matter that was actually being taught: "The notion of the existence of potentialities in students and their realization through the practice of arts in discussion is, however, an extremely primitive and

68. Bloom to Ward, 25 August 1947, box 4, folder 6, College Archive.

69. Benjamin Bloom, "A Proposed Exploratory Investigation of Discussion Techniques," August 1947, *ibid.*

70. Filed in box 15, folder 6, College Archive.

inadequate statement of a problem or an aim of education." Herman Meyer of Mathematics denounced Bloom's work as badly written and having a "pseudo-scientific procedure" and added that "all disavowals notwithstanding, the booklet tends to give College faculty people the impression that 'discussion' has ceased to be a means subject to criticism and adaptation, and has become another dogma about the College." Russell Thomas from Humanities found that the pamphlet "does a great deal of talking down to a public many of whose members have already considered these problems. My most serious criticism is that in its present form, it tends to reduce the problem of how to conduct good class discussion to formula." And Alfred Putnam of Mathematics averred: "What had seemed an inquiry on *how* teaching by discussion is instrumental to the purposes of the College appears rather to be a statement that it *is*. The professed objectivity is largely illusory. This is not to say that the authors could not demonstrate their thesis, but that they have not done so."⁷¹

Bloom's noble goal had backfired. Bloom thought that he was offering a helpful mirror of new forms of teaching in the College, but those who looked in the mirror did not like the image that he was offering of them. Although Ward eventually released Bloom's booklet in paperback form in 1949, it was evident that many College faculty did not want to be intellectually bounded by educational theories developed in the Department of Education and in the examiner's office about which they had low regard.⁷²

71. Faculty letters to Ward, October, 1949, *ibid*.

72. Joseph Axelrod et al., *Teaching by Discussion in the College Program: Report of a Study Made by Five Members of the Faculty of the College of the University of Chicago, 1947-8* (Chicago: College of the University of Chicago, 1949).

The issue of the continuing existence of the examiner's office finally came to a head in early 1955. In November 1954 Chancellor Lawrence Kimpton, who soon after his appointment as the University's chief executive emerged as a trenchant critic of the all general-education curriculum of the Hutchins College, decided to appoint a committee of divisional and College representatives to recommend what to do with the Board of Examinations. Perhaps not by accident, the committee was dominated by faculty who were generally unsympathetic with the comprehensive examination system as run and managed by Tyler's office. The outcome of the committee's recommendation was that on April 19, 1955, the Council of the Senate voted that the Board of Examinations would be abolished in its status as an independent University office defined in the Statutes and would instead become a smaller committee chaired by the University dean of students.⁷³ The position of university examiner was left formally existent, but in fact the examiner now became a minor official reporting to the dean of students. Soon, faculty were no longer given permanent appointments in the examiner's office, and its budget declined from year to year. The examiner's office survived as a paper placeholder into the 1960s, with the function of administering foreign language exams to graduate students in departments where such exams were a requirement. But even here their work was not without frictions, with individual language departments sometimes second-guessing their testing and evaluation methods.⁷⁴

73. See *Minutes of the Council of the University Senate, 1954–1955*, 316.

74. See the long and convoluted memo of David Williams to Dean of the Humanities Napier Wilt, seeking to justify his staff's testing procedures in German against the will of the German Department. Memorandum, 26 June 1962, box 139, folder 3, Office of the President, Beadle Administration.

Once the centrally chartered Board of Examinations was out of the way, a serious degradation of mandatory comprehensives was bound to follow, since the legislation passed in April 1955 gave full authority back to the College to design whatever forms of testing it found suitable. Slowly, the comprehensive system thus was hollowed out from within. As new courses were created in the College in the late 1950s, many opted out of the comprehensives in favor of traditional quarterly tests and grades. Many faculty now began to administer quarterly exams, which became the general norm after 1960, and the College ceased to engage in systematic evaluations of instructional outcomes altogether.

The era of comprehensive testing was over, and scientific evaluation of teaching in the spirit of Charles Judd was over as well.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE CITY

The third feature I want to consider involves the impact of Judd and his colleagues on the city and the world. They undertook a number of public-service projects relating to educational administration, teaching effectiveness, and the organization of the schools. As noted above, one of the earliest interventions was Judd's participation in the Cleveland Survey in 1915–16. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s he and other senior members of the Department of Education were active in professional associations, government consulting, and various other civic-service roles, either in school districts or as spokespersons for larger public issues on the municipal and state levels. Inevitably this brought them into contact with municipal and state politics, and Judd himself became entangled in 1927 and 1928 in a remarkable dispute in Chicago over the fate of a reformist school superintendent, William McAndrew, that revealed how complex these interventions might become.⁷⁵

Chicago had a rocky history of firing and otherwise abusing the administrative leaders of its school system who were intent on instituting

75. On McAndrew and Chicago, see Arthur Norman Tarvardian, "Battle Over the Chicago Schools: The Superintendency of William McAndrew" (PhD diss., Loyola University, 1992), 128–222; Mary J. Herrick, *The Chicago Schools: A Social and Political History* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1971), 144–61, 163–75; George S. Counts, *School and Society in Chicago* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1928), 71–84, 98–10, 274–84; David John Hogan, *Class and Reform: School and Society in Chicago, 1880–1930* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 185–86, 211–14; Kate Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher: The Life and Leadership of Margaret Haley* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 190–98.

serious curricular and managerial reforms. William Rainey Harper had served for two years in 1896–98 as a member of the board of Chicago's public schools and then as the chairman of a reform commission in 1899 to propose new governance practices for the schools, and he had generated enmity by his strong efforts to depoliticize and professionalize the schools.⁷⁶ The general structure of Harper's report from 1899, replete as it was with expert testimonies from Harper's fellow presidential school reformer, Nicholas Murray Butler (in New York), and other university-trained authorities, conveyed a kind of otherworldly utopianism, as if Progressive rationality, scholarly knowledge, and administrative expertise could sweep away both human nature and Chicago-style patronage politics. When Harper argued that only the "best forces of the community" should find representation on the new school board, there were many cynics in the huge metropolis of 1,900 who automatically associated "best" with "wealthiest," giving the report a timocratic tinge despite Harper's intentions to the contrary.⁷⁷ As John Pennoyer has observed, the report also had a powerful totalizing image, privileging

76. See John C. Pennoyer, "The Harper Report of 1899: Administrative Progressivism and the Chicago Public Schools" (PhD diss., University of Denver, 1978); and Marjorie Murphy, "From Artisan to Semi-Professional: White Collar Unionism among Chicago Public School Teachers, 1870–1930" (PhD diss., University of California at Davis, 1981).

77. See Pennoyer, "The Harper Report of 1899," esp. 255–71; Murphy, "From Artisan to Semi-Professional," 34–54; Hogan, *Class and Reform*, 197; Steven J. Diner, *A City and Its Universities: Public Policy in Chicago, 1892–1919* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 81–86; Robert L. Reid, "The Professionalization of Public School Teachers: The Chicago Experience, 1895–1920" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1968), 44–57; and Julia Wrigley, *Class Politics and Public Schools: Chicago 1900–1950* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1982), 92–104.

the city as a whole and working against the autonomy of individual neighborhoods and ethnic groups.⁷⁸ The anti-elitist criticisms leveled against Harper—that he was only interested in trying to “take over” the public schools for the advantage of the University and the wealthy elites of the city—would dog other University leaders in the coming generations as they offered advice about restructuring the schools along more progressive models.

McAndrew, the school reformer who would be at the center of the dispute in 1927, was born in 1863 in Ypsilanti, Michigan, and educated at the University of Michigan. After working at Hyde Park High School as a principal for two years (1889–91), he left for New York City, where he held various administrative positions, eventually becoming associate superintendent of the New York public schools (1914–24). McAndrew was a reformist leader who championed Frederick W. Taylor’s efficiency schemes for scientific management. He believed that the purpose of the schools was “to produce a human, social unit, trained in accordance with his capabilities to the nearest approach to complete social efficiency possible in the time allotted.”⁷⁹ The citizens of the city, and especially those who paid taxes, including large corporations, were the “stockholders” who needed to be satisfied with the teachers’ output.

McAndrew was also an autocratic personality who thought that many of the teachers working in Chicago were inadequate if not outright incompetent. McAndrew agreed to come to Chicago on the assumption that the system was ready for very significant structural reforms that would free it of political patronage and curb the power of small groups

78. See Pennoyer, “The Harper Report of 1899,” 90–92.

79. McAndrew, “The Principal,” quoted in Tarvardian, “Battle Over the Chicago Schools,” 125.

of influential administrators and teachers who would oppose productive changes. He believed that the members of the search committee wanted him to come to Chicago to "clean things up," by which he meant that he believed that they wanted a strong, enlightened leader and were prepared to follow his suggestions and plan—that is, that the board existed to carry out the superintendent's policies, not the reverse.⁸⁰ When McAndrew arrived in Chicago in 1924 he found

no records of the achievement of the schools. Newspapers, businessmen, and others were protesting that the children could neither spell, write legibly, nor do accurate computation. With what help I could get I tested the achievements of eighth grade children in simple addition (no time limit), penmanship, etc. with the results characterized by the members of the Board of Education as appalling. By setting and discussing standards with the principals and by subsequent achievement tests, by bulletining the schools with the highest records, and by announcing that my nomination for promotional positions, high-school principalships, district superintendencies, etc., would be based on the achievements of the schools in designated lines of instruction I have seen the reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, advance to what various visiting superintendents have called a phenomenal point, while we have guarded against over stimulation, have kept down home work, and insisted on merely intelligent diagnosis and teaching. The group which is in opposition to me do not wish the products of their instruction tested by me. Yet, our State Constitution requires me

80. See his original 1923 list of desiderata in McAndrew to Judd, 12 April 1927, box 16, folder 10, Judd Papers.

to maintain a 'thorough and efficient' common school education and naturally I want to know (and in this I am considering also fairness to the principals to be judged by actual facts) how thorough and how efficient instruction is.⁸¹

To deal with this state of affairs McAndrew initiated a number of reforms, some that were purely educational and some that infringed upon the political patronage systems that undergirded employment in the school system. Political patronage was a chronic problem in Chicago schools—William Rainey Harper had denounced these practices in the late 1890s—and they remained a point of anathema for future reformers as well. Harper's Educational Commission of the City of Chicago had called for depoliticization of the school system and the creation of a strong professional bureaucracy and superintendent to run the system, and McAndrew seemed to fulfill these reformist roles perfectly.⁸²

McAndrew adamantly rejected any political intrusions on his hiring and firing decisions and on his authority to establish new system-wide administrative and pedagogical policies. He instituted a series of reforms, including a professional research bureau to gather regular statistical data on learning performance, mandatory standardized testing, junior high schools, new governance systems that reduced the power of the teachers' councils that met in the schools, a reduction in paid holidays, in-class teacher observations and the use of ratings to evaluate teachers, and time checks for all employees in the school system (with teachers having to sign in four times each day). McAndrew also solicited the assistance of

81. McAndrew to Judd, 16 February 1927, *ibid.*

82. *Report of the Educational Commission of the City of Chicago*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1900).

Judd and his colleagues in investigating changes to the curriculum of the public schools, an effort that Judd gladly accepted. McAndrew saw the principal of each school as having strong authoritarian powers, with teachers expected to go along. McAndrew's emphasis on efficiency and top-down administrative authority reflected and was influenced by Judd's theories, and it was not surprising that the two men became close allies.⁸³

Many of McAndrew's reforms ran afoul of the 12,000 teachers employed in the school system, who viewed him as autocratic, unwilling to consult or listen, and willing to accept the stratification of children based on socioeconomic class. Many teachers believed that standardized testing schemes could lead to the segregation of poor students from the rich, and they also asserted that the creation of junior high schools might be targeted toward less affluent neighborhoods to deal with student overcrowding by providing working-class youth with only two years of additional schooling beyond eighth grade. Large numbers of teachers, particularly the thousands of women elementary teachers trained in normal schools who formed the majority of the teachers' union, resented the prospective salary differentials that would favor the better-educated teachers in the higher grades of the junior and regular high schools.⁸⁴ In response, McAndrew conveyed little sympathy, seeing the protesting teachers as *de facto* allies of the political patronage bosses and as unable to see their own real professional interests and the interests of the students in their care. The teachers' council meetings on school time

83. This affinity was apparent in McAndrew's review of Judd's *Psychology of High School Subjects* in *School Review* 23 (1916): 497–500, which admired Judd's progressive, Taylorist-inspired perspective and his reliance on quantitative measurement to improve learning.

84. Counts, *School and Society in Chicago*, 89–93.

amounted, in his mind, to an “invisible empire” in the schools, “a weird system, a selfish system, doing everything to indicate a selfish purpose and demanding the right to govern the schools.”⁸⁵ For McAndrew, allowing teachers to meet as corporate groups on school time was a total waste of valuable resources, whereas for the union teachers these meetings were symbols of self-respect and empowerment. Tellingly, the idea of self-governing councils of teachers went back to the leadership of Ella Flagg Young, a former University of Chicago doctoral student and the superintendent of schools in Chicago (1909–15), who was a protégé of John Dewey.⁸⁶

McAndrew thus met ferocious opposition from both principals and teachers for his desire to install system-wide testing, his holding teachers publicly accountable for their performance, his support for the junior high schools, and his abolition of the right of the teachers’ councils to meet on school time. Labor leaders accused McAndrew of pandering to wealthy capitalist business interests who wanted a quiet, sullen, and conformist workforce. Of course, these canards preceded McAndrew, and they have an uncanny resemblance to some of the current rhetoric surrounding the public schools in our time as well.

McAndrew was also critical of the behavior of the municipal School Board. He complained that

the lack of a strong desire and intent of the Board to secure and maintain good service has been its attitude from the arrival of the

85. Quoted in Tarvardian, “Battle Over the Chicago Schools,” 189.

86. Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, “Experimenting with Education: John Dewey and Ella Flagg Young at the University of Chicago,” *American Journal of Education* 104 (1996): 174–75.

present Superintendent as, according to all accounts, it was for the preceding thirty years. A strong chairman of the [Board's] Committee on School Administration, a strong [Board] president, untainted with the fallacy that schools should be run for the [union] federations, or for sloppy sympathy with incompetents, or for the personal popularity of Board members with teachers and principals or superintendent, is the immediate need. No construction measure for stiffening the teaching gets support from the majority of the Board.... This is not due to crookedness. They mean well but their conception of the function of a school trustee is that of the superintendent of a Sunday School.⁸⁷

In 1928 George S. Counts, a former student of Charles Judd, who was a professor at the Teachers College at Columbia University, published an account of the controversy that described a city polarized by McAndrew:

[He] generated an enormous amount of hostility and precipitated a fight of the most violent and partisan character; and in both cases the alignment of forces was much the same. Ranged on the side of the opposition were a large fraction of the teaching staff, many ordinary citizens, and the solid cohorts of organized labor. Ranged on the other side were the members of the supervisory and administrative staffs, the business interests, the professional people, and the educated classes generally.⁸⁸

The daily press was largely on the side of McAndrew.

87. McAndrew to Judd, 12 April 1927, box 16, folder 10, Judd Papers.

88. Counts, *School and Society in Chicago*, 81.



Judd was a close correspondent of McAndrew throughout the controversy, urging McAndrew to stay the course: "I want to urge you to take every possible measure to prevent the political attack from succeeding in dislodging you from the office which you hold and in which you have rendered conspicuous service both to the city and to the country."⁸⁹ Judd had long believed that a professional administrative elite should run the schools on the basis of scientific principles and that community input should be limited. As early as 1918 he wrote that "the community cannot decide what seven-year-old children shall study. The community cannot decide what ought to be done with a disorderly pupil." Rather, he insisted that "the whole community must be shown by the scientific methods that the school is a complex social institution and that its conduct, like the conduct of every other social institution, requires constant study and expert supervision. In this movement of opening the eyes of the community to the needs and nature of education, the school personnel must be leaders, but their methods must be impersonal and exact."⁹⁰

Judd was particularly supportive of McAndrew's testing program, writing to him that

I feel sure that the objections raised to the testing program are not valid. It has been the experience of every school system which has inaugurated a vigorous testing program that the teachers gain much from the information which is collected by this method. The most progressive school systems of the country are the ones which have carried on the testing programs most vigorously.

89. Judd to McAndrew, 25 August 1927, box 16, folder 10, Judd Papers.

90. Judd, *Introduction to the Scientific Study of Education*, 3, 63.

Principals soon come to see that assistance from a trained group of research people is not to be classified as outside interference but is rather the most useful type of cooperation. I feel very certain that you could do nothing more advantageous for the schools of Chicago than to carry forward vigorously the program of testing which has been inaugurated in recent years.⁹¹

This quote is all the more fascinating in Judd's studied refusal to comment on the obvious political baggage that the program generated. Judd acted like a true Progressive rationalist in viewing educational reform as a matter for scientific professionals, to be implemented against the will of ignorant or otherwise uninformed teachers. Judd was also a strong supporter of the idea of junior high schools.⁹²

McAndrew was grateful for Judd's interventions, responding that "the essential question is: are the schools functioning? Should the retention of school officers depend on service or on the opportunity to distribute political plums?... We may be downed in the present context but the harder it is to down us now, the easier it will be for future administrators to bring this city to the dissociation of municipal politics from the maintenance of an educational system founded entirely on state sanction, deriving its duties from the State Legislature and not from a city hall."⁹³

91. Judd to McAndrew, 18 February 1927, box 16, folder 10, Judd Papers.

92. Charles H. Judd, "The Junior High School," *School Review* 24 (1916): 249–60.

93. McAndrew to Judd, 14 June 1927, box 16, folder 10, Judd Papers.



The situation turned drastically against McAndrew as a result of the mayoral election of April 1927. The corrupt former mayor, Big Bill Thompson, used McAndrew as a cudgel to attack sitting mayor, William Dever. Drawing on his habit of concocting fulminous anti-British tirades, Thompson launched a ludicrous attack, accusing McAndrew of being a “stool pigeon of King George” and promised to throw him out of a job. The “ultra-patriotic” Thompson also accused Chicago faculty members Charles E. Merriam and Charles H. Judd of having influenced the appointment of McAndrew, who in turn was accused of having allowed pro-British propaganda to infiltrate the history curriculum of the public schools, thus diminishing the standing of non-British ethnic groups in Chicago. This was sheer jingoism, crude, irrational, and glaringly tasteless—and it worked brilliantly. Crucially, Thompson was endorsed by the Chicago Teachers Federation led by Margaret Haley against Dever. Thompson crushed Dever in the election by over 80,000 votes.

Upon taking office Thompson was soon able to gain control of a majority of the School Board. As the protests unfolded many on the board decided that “cleaning things up” in the schools was less important than clearing themselves out of the zone of controversy and pleasing the new mayor. Hence the new pro-Thompson majority decided to file spurious charges against McAndrew, accusing him both of insubordination and a lack of patriotism for using pro-British materials in the school curriculum. Now in control of the board, the Thompson appointees summoned McAndrew to a hearing that was tantamount to an administrative trial. On September 17, 1927, the board charged McAndrew formally with allowing the schools to promote the propaganda of the English-Speaking Union. McAndrew was said to be in league with Merriam and Judd to “destroy the love of America in the hearts of children by encouraging

teachers to attend special classes at Chicago University [*sic*] at which a textbook was used which pictured George Washington as a rebel and a great disloyalist."⁹⁴

Judd was outraged by these political manipulations and in August 1927 mounted a defense fund on behalf of McAndrew, writing that "we have constituted ourselves as an informal committee to give McAndrew the moral and financial support necessary to carry the case into the courts if necessary. Some of the best citizens of Chicago have taken steps to the same end."⁹⁵

Judd's views were summarized in an editorial published in the *School Review* in March 1928, to the effect that "Superintendent McAndrew has performed a great public service by patiently waiting for the politicians to expose the weakness of their theory that the schools are a part of the spoils system and that the interests of the schools can be subordinated to those of a partisan political machine."⁹⁶

McAndrew thought that the trial was a "farce and vaudeville." After three months of sitting in the hearings, he eventually decided that he had had enough, and left Chicago for Europe. McAndrew later wrote to Judd that "I had [it on] the best of authority that 5 weeks would be the limit a man could hold the superintendency if conducting it on the merit, non-political system. I held for 185 weeks. 185 minus 5 = 180 weeks over the prediction. I'm more than satisfied. My recollection of those days is brightened by high spots of your generous and splendid aid. God bless you. You are the rare type of happy warrior that I should

94. Tarvardian, "Battle Over the Chicago Schools," 218.

95. Circular letter, 10 August 1927, box 13, folder 8, Judd Papers.

96. "Tampering with the Jury," *School Review* 36 (1928): 165.

wish myself to be.”⁹⁷ The trial continued in his absence, and in March 1928 McAndrew was formally terminated; a Cook County judge later overturned this decision, and he did receive substantial back pay in a settlement.

The trial was the subject of a searing evaluation by the American political commentator Walter Lippmann, comparing the McAndrew’s trial to the Scopes trial and raising troubling issues of how enlightened educators were to behave in the face of corrupt political majorities put in power by fundamentalist voters. Or, as Lippmann put the issue more starkly, “there is no longer a sufficient like-mindedness in most American communities to insure an easy harmony between the teachers and the mass of their fellow citizens.”⁹⁸ Although he did not draw this conclusion openly, Lippmann may have been suggesting that in having to rely on Thompson’s demagoguery and anti-intellectualism to protect their corporate rights, the school teachers of Chicago had made a pact with the devil in the form of insidious fundamentalism that respected little of what they themselves claimed to stand for.

Judd’s political stance alienated him from the Thompson political machine, a characteristic experience for many Chicago reformers, most prominently Professor Merriam, the Chicago reformer who had come close to defeating Carter Harrison Jr. in the mayoral election of 1911. This distance from machine politics gave the University’s researchers a sturdy independence, but it also inevitably constrained their influence on the actual work of the schools. In the case of Judd, by supporting McAndrew’s reforms, he was seen as opposing the social and professional

97. McAndrew to Judd, 13 August 1928, box 11, folder 6, Judd Papers.

98. Walter Lippmann, *American Inquisitors* (New Brunswick: NJ: Transaction, 1993; New York: Macmillan, 1928), 25.

interests of the thousands of teachers organized in the Chicago Teachers Federation led by Margaret A. Haley. Haley viewed Judd as an enemy of the teachers who behaved as a "ventriloquist" and a carpetbagger for powerful forces averse to teachers' rights.⁹⁹ Judd had a productive relationship with William J. Bogan, who succeeded McAndrew as superintendent, so he continued to exercise a certain, behind-the-scenes influence in the administrative management of the schools, but the controversy exemplified the dangers of scholars meddling in political crises in contexts in which issues of professional hierarchies, gender equity, and social rights were key variables. Later biographers of Haley have presented a rather mixed portrait of her leadership style, finding that she was as authoritarian and as capricious as McAndrew, but the fact remained that Judd's "science of education" was often seen to be alien and irrelevant to the real professional concerns of the teachers and their everyday work in the schools, as opposed to his functioning as a high-level adviser to the administrative elites of the city.¹⁰⁰ One should also note that Judd and McAndrew's theories about keeping control of the schools in bureaucratic/technocratic hands are in sharp contrast to the theories of social trust that would come to underlie the University's Charter Schools and Urban Education Institute in the 1990s, which emphasize local/community control and community engagement, with much less interest in technocratic solutions.

99. Robert L. McCaul, "Charles Hubbard Judd, February 1873–July 1946," *Education at Chicago*, Spring 1973, 12; Margaret A. Haley, *Battleground: The Autobiography of Margaret A. Haley*, ed. Robert L. Reid (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 209–26.

100. Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher*, 198.

CONCLUSION



Charles Judd retired in 1938, and while his students and successors in the 1940s and 1950s broadened the research agendas of the Department of Education, the faculty did little to connect to the real world experienced by the teachers in the schools. Moreover, in the College the empire of testing was soon to run aground. By the later 1950s the faculty of the College repudiated the system of extensive outcomes and assessment of teaching installed by Judd's lieutenants and colleagues in the mid 1930s. The *fronde* against Judd's protégé, Benjamin Bloom, was all the more deeply ironic, since, at the very time that other arts and sciences departments were inserting themselves back into the College, the arts and sciences faculty now decided to evict the Department of Education—in its testing component—from the College.

Seeking to close the gap that had emerged between the University and the public schools, Chancellor Kimpton pushed the University in 1958 to reestablish a Graduate School of Education with Ford Foundation support for the training of teachers, but this effort failed to gain traction with the faculty of the Department of Education, most of whom still wanted nothing to do with teacher training. As external subsidies from the foundation world ran out, the (new) school was abolished in 1976.¹⁰¹ Over the course of the 1970s and 1980s the Department of Education became more and more isolated, undertaking little or no undergraduate teaching, and was more subject to competition from faculty with excellent scholarly credentials who wished to study major social developmental issues in the world of the schools and education more broadly, especially in the Committee on Human Development and the Departments of

101. White, "The Study of Education," 507–10, 519.

Psychology, Sociology, and Economics. Particularly damaging was the fact that over the course of the 1970s and 1980s several key faculty in Education shifted their professional loyalties to Human Development and to Psychology. The lock on the study of education that Judd had imposed before World War II proved unsustainable. Other local universities in the Chicago area also emerged as plausible and more affordable competitors for the department's MA programs. In these decades, the history of the Department of Education itself was thus an increasingly unhappy and unpromising one, which lacked strong and enlightened leadership, a plausible student base, and a clear sense of public mission. The University abolished it in 1996. The fall from grace—or to be more accurate, the department's devolution from one of the strongest and most influential units in the University to one of the weakest—was truly stunning.

Yet this was not the end of the University's engagement in formal systematic research in education or in participation in local schools. In 1998 the University created a system of charter schools in North Kenwood–Oakland and eventually Woodlawn. The origins of the new interventions lay in the work of Anthony S. Bryk and colleagues in the Center for School Improvement and a parallel organization, the Consortium on Chicago School Research, agencies that developed outside of the purview of the old Department of Education. The center was organized in 1989 in the wake of major reforms in public school governance in Chicago that created local school councils and gave them the power to hire and dismiss principals (and, in 1995, transferred responsibility for the public school system to the mayor, Richard M. Daley).¹⁰²

102. "A Proposal to Establish a Center for School Improvement: A Collaboration between the Department of Education, University of Chicago, Department of Research and Evaluation, Chicago Public Schools, and National College of Education," June 14, 1989; and "A Two-Year Proposal to the Chicago Community



Bryk believed that Chicago would make a fascinating and comprehensive laboratory for investigating what was wrong and right in current school policies and for designing new interventions based on detailed survey research and statistical analysis that might significantly improve the educational outcomes and achievements of pupils in public primary and secondary schools.¹⁰³ The initial proposals for the center envisioned it as a place where public school principals and administrators, teachers, university faculty (from the Department of Education), and research practitioners could discuss common problems and formulate strategies to strengthen instruction in primary grades in reading, writing, and mathematics. One of the center's driving principles was that local practitioners should direct reform rather than distant bureaucrats or theoreticians. Among the key concepts that originated from this research were Bryk and Barbara Schneider's theory of social trust as an element of collective action in schools.¹⁰⁴ The goal of creating social trust not only defined the charter school project itself but also the broader dynamics of university-neighborhood relations in North Kenwood and Oakland.

"Trust to Support the Center for School Improvement," October, 1992, provided to the author by Anthony Bryk.

103. See Anthony S. Bryk and Penny B. Sebring, "Informing Reform: The Work of the Consortium on Chicago School Research," August, 2000, College Archive; Anthony S. Bryk, Penny B. Sebring, David Kerbow, Sharon Rollow, and John Q. Easton, *Charting Chicago School Reform: Democratic Localism as a Lever for Change* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998); Penny B. Sebring and Anthony S. Bryk, *School Leadership and the Bottom Line in Chicago* (Chicago: Consortium on Chicago School Research, February 2000); and Melissa Roderick, John Q. Easton, and Penny B. Sebring, *The Consortium on Chicago School Research: A New Model for the Role of Research in Supporting Urban School Reform* (Chicago: Consortium on Chicago School Research, 2009).

104. Anthony S. Bryk and Barbara Schneider, *Social Trust: A Moral Resource for School Improvement* (Chicago: Center for School Improvement, June 1996).

Toward that end, the center sponsored workshops, summer institutes, and professional development programs for public school staff in selected schools in Chicago, particularly school principals, who played key roles in implementing the new administrative structure. The center was also focused on early childhood literacy, teaching the youngest students to learn from reading and to express their own ideas creatively in language.¹⁰⁵

The Consortium on Chicago School Research, meanwhile, looked for ways to break through the boundaries that separated researchers and educators in the hope that more "place-based" research integrated into local schools would lead to more effective policy outcomes.¹⁰⁶ The scholars associated with the center and the consortium published many empirical studies, culminating in the important book, *Organizing Schools for Improvement: Lessons from Chicago*, in 2010.¹⁰⁷

The opening of the first charter school in 1998 emerged as an initiative by the center to create a professional development school for its work in Chicago.¹⁰⁸ Supported with an initial \$300,000 subsidy from the University, the school aimed to develop a curriculum that had literacy

105. The center was interested in larger structural issues involving fostering teacher professionalism and the improvement of operations of local schools as well, with the ultimate goal of having school leaders and teachers create stronger partnerships between home, family, and school and "foster conditions for a more humane social life." See "A Proposal to Establish a Center for School Improvement."

106. Bryk and Sebring, "Informing Reform," 52.

107. Anthony S. Bryk, Penny B. Sebring, Elaine Allensworth, Stuart Luppescu, and John Q. Easton, *Organizing Schools for Improvement: Lessons from Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

108. See the "Proposal for Center for School Improvement/North Kenwood Charter School, October 6, 1997," 28, provided to the author by Anthony Bryk. The school started with pupils in prekindergarten, kindergarten, and the first through fifth grades, eventually expanding into a preK–8 primary school.



Marvin Hoffman, founding director, North Kenwood/Oakland Charter School, June 8, 2012.

as its cornerstone. North Kenwood/Oakland, the first K–8 charter school, was housed in the vacant Shakespeare Elementary School at 1119 E. 46th Street and opened in August 1998. The school gained immediate traction in the community and soon saw impressive success in indicators of student performance. By 2003 it was clear not only that additional campuses would respond to strong public demand in the community but that to realize its full ambitions the Center for Chicago School Improvement would need a high school. Hence, between 2005 and 2008, three other charter school campuses were added with a total annual enrollment of more than 1,700 low-income students.¹⁰⁹

109. The Donoghue Campus at 707 E. 37th Street opened in September 2005, the Woodlawn High School at 6420 S. University Avenue in September 2006, and the Woodson Middle School at 4414 S. Evans Avenue opened in September 2008. Most recently, the charter high school moved into a new building at 6300 S. University Avenue in January 2018.

The success of the University's charter schools led to a second initiative in 2004, the Urban Teacher Education Program (UTEP), for training young teachers working in urban primary and secondary schools.¹¹⁰ An eight-quarter program, UTEP arose from the New Teacher Network, another venture of the Center for Chicago School Improvement, to provide pragmatic mentoring for new, inexperienced teachers working in inner-city schools. UTEP generated a record of placement success, with almost 90 percent (as of 2014) of its graduates still teaching in the Chicago Public Schools. In 2008 the University created the Urban Education Institute (UEI), a new governing and administrative apparatus to coordinate and administer UTEP, the charter schools, and the Consortium on Chicago School Research. UEI collaborates closely with a new multidisciplinary faculty, the Committee on Education, created in 2006 under the leadership of Stephen W. Raudenbush. UEI signaled the reemergence of the University of Chicago as a national force in educational research.

Most recently, UEI has been transferred to the jurisdiction of the faculty of the School of Social Service Administration, which will correct a major design flaw in the original UEI/Charter School project from the late 1990s. While the activities of these programs were and are admirable, they operated without strong involvement from the regular Chicago faculty. Now, SSA will be able to fashion new relationships to the public schools, to other educational institutions, and to our local

110. Unlike traditional teacher training programs, UTEP provided students with hands-on training in the University's charter schools while they were still pursuing coursework toward their degrees. The two-year program encompassed the senior year of college, additional postgraduate study, and requisite field training as interns in two Chicago public schools, at the end of which students received an MAT degree from the Graham School of Continuing Liberal and Professional Studies and K-9 or 9-12 certification from the State of Illinois.

neighborhoods via the integration of UEI into the SSA's governance systems and its faculty-defined scholarly culture.

Beyond enhancing the educational success of many hundreds of young students, the charter schools enabled the University to begin to develop relationships with community groups in North Kenwood–Oakland and in Woodlawn, which slowly mushroomed into interactions on other policy areas of mutual concern. The College's new admission programs, No Barriers and Empower, are also part of the University's new involvement with advancing the education of students from the community in direct and immediate ways.

The commitment to graduate-level educational research that Judd had championed also survived and even thrived in the absence of the Department of Education, re-forming in 2006 under an interdisciplinary model that resonates strongly with the faculty culture of the Division of the Social Sciences and the connections to practice afforded by the programs coordinated under UEI. With funding from the US Institute of Education Services, the Committee on Education, chaired by Raudenbush, has brought together faculty with appointments in multiple departments to pursue the training of doctoral students and the stimulation of field-leading research. As of fall 2019, the Committee on Education has supervised sixty doctoral degrees in Sociology, Psychology, Economics, Comparative Human Development, Public Policy, and other disciplines and sponsored the weekly nationally regarded Chicago Education Workshop, where faculty and scholars from across the country present and consider cutting-edge inquiry about the field of education. In 2019–20, the disengagement of educational research from the College that had begun under Judd was reengaged by the committee with the launch of a new undergraduate minor in Education and Society and the creation of a new MA certificate program of the same name. By contrast

to Judd, the committee has viewed education as a shared field of inquiry that profits from many disciplinary approaches, including those of practitioners, in the training of future scholars. It has even returned to the foundational departure that separated Dewey from Judd in the history of educational study at the University of Chicago by exploring opportunities for the integration of scholarly research with the judgments of expert practitioners.¹¹¹

The University's work in public education and school research over the 1990s and 2000s also helped to strengthen its relationship to Chicago's city government and civic community more broadly, which still regard public education as a major policy concern. As Bryk explained,

Conceptually, I always thought that the work we were doing tapped into the deep history of the University of Chicago; this great university arising on the shores of Lake Michigan amidst the problems of urbanization, industrialization and immigration. The problems of this emergent metropolis were grist for the development of much of the social sciences at the University and fueled the University emergence as the premier institution in multiple social science disciplines. Over time however, these field connections atrophied and the disciplines became more inward looking. So our work in education returned to the taproot of the University itself.¹¹²

111. Elizabeth McGhee Hassrick, Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Lisa Rosen, ed., "Producing Knowledge for School Improvement," in *The Ambitious Elementary School: Its Conception, Design, and Implications for Educational Quality* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2017).

112. Anthony S. Bryk, email message to author, November 11, 2013.



In all of these new ventures, the University has moved beyond a conception of its mission as the purveyor of objective, standardized evaluation mechanisms, organizational surveys, and testing programs to an acknowledgement that theory must be connected to and learn from practice; that technocratic efficiency alone is no substitute for social trust; that successful public education is a phenomenon involving the recognition of many complex forms and stages of social, cultural, and familial development; that effective teaching must take cognizance of the social-constructivist realities in which student learning and cognitive development is embedded; that active, inquiry-based learning is a fully legitimate and effective mode of individual pedagogical progress; and that providing fulsome professional resources and collaborative mentoring programs for teachers is as important as objective work in measuring and evaluating the schools as formal organizations.

In this sense, we might suggest that after decades of living in the spirit of Charles Judd, we have finally begun to return to the *Geist* of John Dewey.

Let me conclude by thanking you, as educators, for your extraordinary dedication to our students. I wish all of you a stimulating and productive academic year. ❖

P H O T O C R E D I T S

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