

was changed to National-Louis University in recognition of the diversity of programs and the gift of a generous donor. The result of all of these changes and this growth was a diversification of programs and campuses that probably saved the school financially but certainly made clarity of purpose more difficult. The religious fervor with which every one of Elizabeth Harrison's graduates was expected to go out and change the world of young children could, at best, be one among many goals for the graduates of the school at the time of its centennial.³²

The National story was repeated with slightly different details in many other places. Lucy Wheelock's school in Boston became Wheelock College, an institution that has retained more of its traditional focus on preparing teachers and people in related child-centered fields than many others. Wheelock's longtime cross-town rival, Edith Lesley, started Miss Lesley's School, an institution that has now expanded into Lesley University, a very large multipurpose institution with campuses across the country offering a wide range of educational opportunities. In New York Maria Kraus-Boelte's school did not continue but Lucy Sprague Mitchell, a later convert to the kindergarten movement, also much influenced by Maria Montessori, launched Bank Street College, a school that also continued to offer a curriculum for educators in a range of fields. Whether multipurpose like National-Louis and Lesley or smaller and more closely focused on education like Wheelock and Bank Street, these schools are all degree-granting colleges that decades ago shed any tradition of shorter curricula for aspiring teachers who could not devote more than a year or two to preparation. Any study of the history of teacher preparation in the United States would ignore them at its peril.

Every Teacher a College Graduate

1920-1965

In June 1955, just as the baby boom was at its peak and schools were bursting at the seams and in desperate need of more qualified teachers, 50-year-old Thelma Pairsh applied for an elementary teaching position in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Those responsible for staffing the schools must have been delighted. Her transcript included an A.B. degree from the New Mexico Normal University, as well as advanced work at the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque and institutes in California. She had taught successfully in elementary schools in the small town of Carrizzo, New Mexico, for 13 years. And in response to questions that would never be asked a half-century later, she reported that she regularly attended a house of worship, had no noticeable defect in sight, hearing, speech, or body, was married, and weighed 140 pounds.

A further examination of Pairsh's application reveals other characteristics of many who taught in the schools of the United States at mid-20th century. As Thelma Zuber before her marriage, she had attended high school in Las Vegas, New Mexico, from 1922 to 1926. She then enrolled at the then New Mexico Normal University in Las Vegas in the fall of 1926 and studied full-time for the 1926-1927 academic year. She took courses on and off in 1928 and 1929, studied full-time again in 1931-1932, took a few courses at the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque between 1932 and 1936, and finally completed the required coursework for graduation, including an Introduction to Philosophy course and courses in Principles and Practices of Teaching and Methods of Teaching, in the spring semester of 1939. Thirteen years after she began, Zuber received her degree with a major in Education and minors in Social Sciences and Spanish. She was hardly alone in this checkered university career. Through the years of the Great Depression, many Americans moved in and out of college as they could afford to and as other opportunities opened or closed for them. Given the fact that New Mexico was also many years away from requiring a college degree for elementary teachers, the young Zuber could easily have taken the state examinations, gained her license, and taught school during

any of these years, although if she did she did not report it on her Albuquerque application.

The other interesting thing about Thelma Zuber's transcript is the fact that while she graduated from New Mexico Normal University in 1939, when the transcript was issued in 1942 the word *Normal* had a large black stamp across it, nearly blotting the word out. Above it, in large type, was the word *Highlands*. Following the rules of every registrar's office in the United States, everything else on the transcript was exactly as it had been at the time it was entered—the school had changed from percentage to a letter grading system and from a quarter to a semester system during her student years—but no effort was made to account for these changes on the transcript. But the name change of the university was a different matter. Already, a few months after the name had been changed, it was essential to blot out the word *normal* and replace it with the university's new and more respectable name. In this way, too, Thelma Zuber Pairsh's record reflected some of the major currents of the history of the preparation of teachers in the middle years of the 20th century.¹

NORMAL SCHOOLS BECOME TEACHERS COLLEGES

As we saw in chapter 7, across the nation, as normal schools sought college status, they also became teachers *colleges* rather than *schools* of any sort. Different places made the shift at different times and in different ways. Sometimes the normal school followed the 1923 American Association of Teachers' Colleges recommendations and took on the attributes of a college—requiring a high school diploma for admission and offering a 4-year baccalaureate program—and then changed their name. In other cases, the normal school made the name change first and then tried desperately to live up to the academic standards implied in the college name.

In 1932 the state of Massachusetts declared that beginning in 1933, all of the state normal schools would become state teachers colleges. This change had long been in the works, and for some of the normal schools, such as Bridgewater, it was overdue recognition of changes that had already come about. As a result, in the fall of 1933, students returned to the century-old campus at Bridgewater but to a new academic institution, Bridgewater State Teachers College. As early as 1894, Massachusetts, the state that had founded the first normal schools in 1839, declared that thereafter none of the normal schools could admit a student who did not hold a high school diploma even though some Massachusetts schools would allow exceptions for years. This was quite a step for a state that 60 years earlier had offered a 1-year normal curriculum to common school or elementary school graduates. In these 60 years the starting point for normal school study had moved from something approximating a 9th-grade level to a postsecondary level. But more change was soon to come.²

Some of the pressure that led to the requirement of a high school diploma for admission to normal school came indirectly from the high school leaders themselves. Many high school leaders preferred to hire only university graduates to teach in high schools. In 1890 the high school masters of Massachusetts (as that state called its male high school teachers) called a conference “to consider founding a training school for high school teachers which would accept only college graduates.” In that model, which was never implemented, high school teachers would earn a university degree and then add some postgraduate coursework in pedagogy at a new state institution to prepare for their lofty careers. It was a plan that would have offered both a high-level academic preparation for these teachers and, equally important to the high school masters, would have clearly differentiated high school teachers from their elementary sisters.

In 1915 Massachusetts high school masters began to study the growing movement toward junior high schools in some other states. They had reservations about the new kind of school, but most of all they worried about the need for additional “well-trained departmental teachers,” a need that they felt the normal schools certainly could not fill.³ At Bridgewater, the faculty responded quickly. Bridgewater had offered a small 4-year curriculum leading to a diploma for high school teachers since the latter part of the 19th century. Between 1918 and 1921, in response to the high school masters' study, the Bridgewater faculty also created a 4-year program for junior high school teachers. Chester R. Stacy, who led the effort at Bridgewater, was clear that “The four-year course should be entirely professional in its motive and those graduating from it should be granted a professional degree.” By casting its lot with the movement for postsecondary programs, Bridgewater meant to claim the turf of preparing junior and senior high school teachers—a constituency they were not going to cede to the universities—and at the same time raise the status of their own school to a full collegiate level.⁴

While the faculty was focused on the curriculum and on matters of professional status, others in Massachusetts were focused on consolidating state government. In 1909 the state board of education took over complete control of the normal schools. The various boards of visitors for the schools were abolished, and the schools now reported to the state commissioner of education. The board and the commissioner then worked to standardize the offerings at the various normal schools. They outlined a plan by which all normal schools would offer a 2-year post-high school course for teachers of the first six grades and three of them—Bridgewater, Fitchburg, and Salem—would offer a 3-year course for teachers in grades 7 through 9. Between 1917 and 1921 the 4-year course and the focus on high schools was temporarily dropped from all of the normal schools. Such a rationalized and specialized approach to the state's need for teachers would not last long.⁵

In 1918 a special legislative commission recommended establishing one “State Normal College with the power of granting degrees.” Rather than

establish a new school, however, it seemed more logical to elevate one of the normal schools. Politics made it hard to select just one school and in 1921, five were given degree-granting authority, if not the collegiate name. Bridgewater and Worcester were authorized to offer a 4-year course leading to a Bachelor of Education degree for elementary, junior high, and senior high teachers beginning in 1921 (changed to a Bachelor of Science in Education in 1929). Framingham and Salem Normal Schools were authorized to offer degrees in limited subject areas and the Normal Art School in Boston to grant the degree in art education. Individuals earning a 2- or 3-year diploma from any of the other state normal schools could complete their degree at one of the five offering degrees.

The program grew slowly, with 2 candidates for the degree at Bridgewater in 1922, 6 in 1923, up to 54 in 1929, 60 in 1930, and a total of 109 in 1933, the last normal school graduation. Only one new faculty member was added at Bridgewater to accommodate the new programs, keeping happy those concerned with the cost of state institutions but giving ammunition to the critics who saw the new programs as expansions in time more than in quality.

While Bridgewater and some of the other Massachusetts normal schools were expanding the length of their programs and offering degrees, they were also seeking to eliminate the shorter programs. The 2-year elementary course was abolished in 1929; thereafter the minimum program was a 3-year course for elementary teachers. After 1935 Bridgewater limited admissions to those seeking a 4-year baccalaureate degree, whether in elementary teaching or any other field. By the mid-1930s, then, Bridgewater had already taken on nearly all of the attributes of a college-level program in terms of admissions, length of its curriculum, and offering academic degrees. As a catalog from the 1940s noted, the name change to Bridgewater State Teachers College was really recognition that these changes had already taken place and that "the needed prestige and the privilege of granting the degree [is] now considered essential to graduates."⁶

In nearby Pennsylvania, Keystone State Normal School in Kutztown became Kutztown State Teachers College in 1928, 5 years earlier than Bridgewater, but the route from normal school to state teachers college was quite different in Kutztown's case. Where Massachusetts allowed some normal schools, especially Bridgewater and Worcester, to take on more and more of the attributes of a college and then changed the names of all of the schools by state action, Pennsylvania made the name changes first, reflecting hopes ahead of realities.

The differences in the two states were rooted in the differing origins of normal schools. Where Massachusetts had created three state-controlled and state-funded normal schools in 1839 and 1840, Pennsylvania's normal school legislation of 1857 was simply permissive. The bill that authorized the schools was seen as "a visionary project," and no state funds were involved. Normal schools in Pennsylvania would be private or local affairs with a state blessing.

In 1866 a group of citizens in Kutztown, in the heart of the German-speaking region of Pennsylvania, came together to create a school to prepare local youth to teach in German-speaking schools of their isolated part of the state. One Keystone principal estimated that in 1872 "two-thirds of the students had an inadequate knowledge of English." But this was not necessarily a problem. After all, "well-trained Pennsylvania German teachers did more effective work in teaching Pennsylvania German children than non-German teachers could."⁷

As they entered the 20th century, most of Pennsylvania's normal schools were still private schools offering something equivalent to a high school education for future teachers. At the normal school at Kutztown, most students took the 2-year elementary course, and this course did not require a high school diploma for admission. In 1909 the school's superintendent defended the policy, saying that "it will be apparent that Pennsylvania is not ready to impose a four-year high school training as a condition for entering the normal school." Indeed, he feared such a requirement, for in his judgment, "Wherever this policy has been adopted, the normal schools have become ladies' schools to a large extent, the young men going to professional and technical schools which they can enter with the same preparation," and he was determined to attract men as well as women, future teachers and many others. Keeping the admission standards low, he could maintain a more healthy tuition income. The unfortunate by-product was a low standard for Pennsylvania's teachers.⁸

In 1911 the state of Pennsylvania started a slow process of acquiring the private normal schools. In November 1917, just after the United States had entered World War I on the side of England, the state acquired the German-language-speaking school in Kutztown and it became the Kutztown State Normal School. German was quickly exorcised from the curriculum. Pennsylvania's new Superintendent of Public Instruction, Thomas E. Finegan, also moved to consolidate the programs and elevate the status of the normal schools. He saw one of the key problems he faced as "the low standards set for beginning teachers and the closely related problem of low salaries, short minimum terms, poorly enforced attendance laws, inadequate state appropriations to the public schools and normal schools, and provisional certificates issued by the county superintendents." Finegan not only diagnosed the problems, he pushed for rapid change. In 1921, the Pennsylvania legislature adopted his recommendations to increase the length of the school year, increase teacher salaries, and require a minimum of 2 years of study beyond high school for all new teachers. The reform legislation also moved control of teacher certification from the county superintendents, who were famous for granting waivers, to the state department of education. Finally, the legislation provided badly needed state funds for the support of the now state normal schools.⁹

Superintendent Finegan used the new authority and the new funds to standardize the offerings at the state normal schools. A high school diploma was

now expected for admission. Specialized programs were offered for future kindergarten, early elementary, more advanced elementary, junior high school, and rural teachers. While Massachusetts changed the name of all of its schools at one time, Pennsylvania reviewed each of the 14 schools separately. Kutztown received approval from the state council on education to make the name change in December 1926, and in May 1928 Kutztown State Teachers College awarded the first Bachelor of Science in elementary and junior high school teaching to four seniors.

Unfortunately for the new state teachers college, the change came with the onset of the Great Depression. Many in Pennsylvania argued against spending the money needed to offer future elementary teachers a 4-year college degree when a 2-year program had seemed sufficient in the past and colleges and universities had prepared the teachers for the high schools. One newspaper argued that “the Pennsylvania State Teachers Colleges were a product of the inflation of the 1920’s when they acquired their fancy names while expanding in the ‘grand manner.’” It would be a long time before Kutztown could reach the full potential that its new name seemed to indicate. As Karen Hallman has noted, “In Massachusetts the state normal schools had been granting degrees for eleven years before they changed their names. In Pennsylvania, the name change was one more change on top of many and it happened at a time when money was tight. . . . This transition did not come simply or quietly.”¹⁰

In the segregated South, there were both similarities and differences in the story. Alabama State College in Montgomery, a segregated school preparing African American teachers, claims a special place in American history for its own reasons. At close to midnight on December 1, 1955, Jo Ann Robinson, a member of the faculty, and a few of her friends met in her college office. They pretended that they were working late grading papers, but they were really there for a very different reason. That afternoon, Rosa Parks had been arrested for refusing to give up her seat on the city’s segregated buses. On that fateful night, Robinson and her colleagues drafted a leaflet that began:

Another Negro woman has been arrested and thrown into jail because she refused to get up out of her seat on the bus and give it to a white person. . . . Until we do something to stop these arrests, they will continue. . . . We are, therefore, asking every Negro to stay off the buses on Monday in protest of the arrest and trial.

And with that leaflet, the Montgomery bus boycott entered the nation’s history.¹¹

The school where Robinson and her colleagues worked traced its roots to the creation of Lincoln Normal School in Marion, Perry County, Alabama, in 1867. Just 2 years after the end of the Civil War, black leaders in this county started their own school for the preparation of teachers. Like many of the small elementary-level schools that emerged immediately after Emancipation, Lincoln Normal School was initially a product of local black initiative. A year later,

in 1868, the American Missionary Association took over the financing—and the management—of the school and sought further funds from the Freedman’s Bureau and the “colored people of Alabama.” In 1870, with Reconstruction still under way, the Alabama state legislature began support for the school. In 1871 Peyton Finley, the first black elected member of the State Board of Education, sought expanded state funding and petitioned the legislature to establish a “university for colored people,” and in 1873 the state established the State Normal School and University for the Education of Colored Teachers and Students on the condition that the Lincoln school turn its facilities over to the state. The trustees agreed, and in 1874 the school became the first state-supported school for African Americans in the United States. More state funding and a move to Montgomery, Alabama, came in 1887 when the school was transformed into Alabama Colored People’s University with a faculty of nine. At this point in history the distinctions between normal school, high school, college, and university were all still quite vague, in black and white schools. Nevertheless, the teacher education programs were, as in most universities, offered at the pre-college level.

In 1889 the school changed its name to the Normal School for Colored Students. On the eve of World War I it was one of only seven state normal schools serving African Americans in the South and the only one in the Deep South.¹² As chapter 6 has shown, the majority of African American teachers in the Jim Crow South were prepared at county training schools, missionary colleges, or institutes like Hampton and Tuskegee. But in Alabama there was a state normal school for blacks. John William Beverly, the school’s first black president, took office in 1915, and he and his successors restructured it as a full 4-year teacher preparation high school and then added a 2-year junior college. In 1928 the school expanded to a 4-year college and granted its first degrees in 1931; as the State Teachers College, it awarded its first master’s degree in 1943. Almost a decade before Robinson wrote her historic leaflet in the school’s offices, it had also followed a national pattern and had dropped its *teachers college* name in 1948, first becoming Alabama State College for Negroes and then, in 1954, Alabama State College. This school in Montgomery, Alabama, had evolved from a school offering at best a high school-level education for a handful of future elementary teachers, to a normal school offering at least some college-level work, to a collegiate-level degree-granting institution for teachers in less than a century.¹³

SNAPSHOT—STATE TEACHERS COLLEGES DURING THE 1930–1931 ACADEMIC YEAR

During the 1930–1931 academic year Esther Marion Nelson visited a total of 57 state teachers colleges offering 4-year collegiate-level teacher preparation

programs. The schools were in 27 different states and offered a cross-section of American teacher education from the San Diego and Santa Barbara State Colleges in California, to the Wisconsin State Teachers Colleges at Eau Claire, La Crosse, Milwaukee, Oshkosh, River Falls, and Superior, to four state teachers colleges in Pennsylvania, three in Tennessee, Alabama State Teachers College at Florence, Virginia State Teachers Colleges at East Radford, Farmville, and Fredericksburg, and the James Ormond Wilson Teachers College in Washington, D.C. What Nelson found was extraordinary variety.

While all of the 57 teachers colleges that she visited offered a 4-year program, she found that 80 percent of them also offered a 2-year program that met the standards for certification as an elementary teacher in that state. Indeed, of the 57 colleges, 46 offered a 2-year (or shorter) program leading to certification, 6 offered a 3-year program, and only 5 offered only the 4-year program. Clearly, while baccalaureate programs were available at nearly all teacher preparation schools by the 1930s, they were far from being the norm. Indeed, 2 years of study beyond high school remained much more popular for preparation for elementary teaching in most parts of the United States in spite of the more vaulted course offerings that were used by only a small minority of future elementary teachers.

Nelson also found great variety in the requirements for future teachers even within the 2-year and 4-year programs. She studied the requirements for student teaching and found such a great range that averages were almost meaningless. One college required only 60 hours of student teaching and another required 432 hours in its 2-year programs. The required hours of student teaching were generally more extended in the 4-year baccalaureate programs, but 10 percent required less than 120 hours while about half required more than 240 hours of student teaching at this level.¹⁴

Nelson also found much that bothered her in the teacher preparation programs. She praised teachers colleges for the effort to lengthen their elementary programs and to "make more nearly adequate provision for cultural background, well-rounded general education, the essential tools of learning, professionalization, technical skills, and a variety of social and physical activities." But she was not satisfied with the results. She noted that in "some teachers colleges many of the student-teachers had taken courses that were very restricted in outlook and narrow in scope; that were in no way related to the problems of modern life or to the current social trends . . ." Student teachers, she found, came to end of their preparation, in both 2- and 4-year programs, with inadequate general education and inadequate professional preparation. That the teachers colleges had failed to meet all of these challenges hardly made them unique in comparison to the more informal routes still in use by many in 1930.¹⁵

THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS

While Nelson was examining the curriculum of state teachers colleges around the nation, the U.S. government conducted the most exhaustive study of all aspects of teacher education ever done in this country. Ever since Abraham Flexner published his famous *Medical Education in the United States and Canada* in 1910, people frustrated with the quality of teacher education had called for a "Flexner report" in that field. In fact there have been many such reports, at least one a generation for the past century. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, which had published Flexner's original report, also sponsored *The Professional Preparation of Teachers for American Public Schools* in 1920, a report described in chapter 7 that focused on the state of Missouri but whose authors happily made national recommendations. In 1916 Abraham Flexner himself, along with Frank P. Bachman, published *Public Education in Maryland*, a study they had conducted that examined the preparation and work life of teachers in the schools of that state. Former Harvard president James Bryant Conant's *The Education of American Teachers* was, with Carnegie support, supposed to be the Flexner report of the 1960s. The list continues.¹⁶

In reality, however, the *National Survey of the Education of Teachers*, published as a series of six volumes by the federal government through the early 1930s, represented a far more thorough study of teacher education than Flexner's highly subjective though very influential 1910 study of medical education could possibly match. Early in the Great Depression, the 71st Congress authorized a study of "the qualifications of teachers in the public schools, the supply of available teachers, the facilities available and needed for teacher training, including courses of study and methods of teaching." The result was a 3-year study led by E. S. Evenden of Teachers College, Columbia. Those who call for a "Flexner Report on teacher preparation" need look no further than the *National Survey* for a report far more thorough if less opinionated than Flexner's more famous study of medical schools.¹⁷

The authors of this Depression-era study were fairly clear on what a reasonable standard of preparation for a teacher looked like. They acknowledged that standards had traditionally been low. "Even at the turn of the present century many States were admitting prospective teachers who had finished the eighth-grade work to 1- and 2-year courses in normal schools, the completion of which entitled them to some form of teacher certification. Less than a decade ago [that is, during the 1920s] half of the States, representing all sections of the country, were preparing teachers in secondary schools." But while in 1900 8th grade or 8th grade plus 1 or 2 years of high school-level study were considered sufficient for teaching and in the 1920s half the states still considered a high school-level normal program to be sufficient, by the 1930s these

authors wanted a higher standard. "Since the period immediately following the World War [World War I]," they wrote, "it has been generally accepted that the desirable minimum of educational preparation for elementary teachers was 2 years beyond the completion of high school while the desirable minimum for secondary teachers was 4 years of college work." This was the minimum that some schools happily exceeded with their baccalaureate degrees. On the other hand, it was a minimum that was not met by at least a quarter of the nation's teachers.

While in 1935 they could advocate for a standard of at least 2 years of true college-level, postsecondary education for elementary teachers and a baccalaureate degree for high school teachers, the authors of the Office of Education report understood that though progress had been made, there were still many teachers who needed much more preparation to meet this standard. The *National Survey of the Education of Teachers* found that in 1930 approximately half of the nation's elementary school teachers did have the 2 years of college minimum, another quarter had surpassed the standard, and another quarter (26.2%) had less than the minimally acceptable level of preparation. The quarter of the people in the teaching profession whom the study's authors deemed as underprepared—sometimes greatly underprepared—were also not evenly distributed around the nation. The urban-rural split remained especially serious. While both small-town and city teachers had more preparation, more than 60 percent of the teachers in what were called "open country" one- and two-teacher schools reported less than the 2 years of college-level preparation. But across all parts of the country and from big cities to the most rural schools, only one elementary teacher in eight had a college degree. For secondary teachers the numbers were more encouraging, although almost 40 percent of junior high school teachers and 12.9 percent of senior high school teachers still needed further study to complete their baccalaureate degrees.¹⁸

The authors of the *National Survey* offered a thoughtful reflection on the standard assumption that the Great Depression—which was fully under way as they wrote—allowed states to raise the standards for teaching, as people who lost jobs in other areas were attracted to the work. While they acknowledged that this was partly true, there were two problems with the conclusion. First, the success of teacher education programs, normal schools, municipal programs, and college and university departments had created an oversupply of teachers in the United States by the mid-1920s, well before the stock market crash and the beginnings of high unemployment in other fields that accompanied a national depression. And second, the report's authors bemoaned the fact that too often the usual response to an oversupply of teachers was not necessarily an increase in standards but rather "a lowering of salaries until some of the surplus teachers withdraw from the profession or the teacher market." This latter option was especially appealing to many cash-strapped cities and towns in the midst of the Depression, and the authors saw the danger that even in the midst of the worst economic times, the result could be that "the more

ambitious and able 'prospects' for the profession enter more promising fields of work." Much as they might speculate about that issue, other indicators of rising standards for new teachers were coming into sharp focus.

The evidence for an increase in the minimum standards for becoming a teacher between 1920 and 1930 was clear. In 1921, 30 of the 48 states had no definite requirement for teachers, while by 1926 that number had dropped to 15 and by 1930 to 12. On the other hand, in 1921 14 states had required simply a high school diploma in order to teach but in 1926 in only 6 states was this sufficient and in 1930 only in 5. At the highest level in 1921 no state required as much of 2 years of education beyond high school, the minimum education that the authors of the report wanted to see established, but in 1926 four states required at least 2 years beyond high school and in 1930 seven states required either 2 or 3 years beyond high school. The trend was clear, though at the time of report not a single state required a college degree for elementary teachers. The researchers also happily found that by 1930, 31 states had separate requirements for high school teaching and most of these states required a college degree for high school, while almost half, 21 states, required some specific combination of courses in an academic discipline and in education for high school teachers.¹⁹

One very valuable feature of the *National Survey* is the fact that an entire volume is devoted to "The Education of Negro Teachers." In prior reports, indeed in too many subsequent reports, the pattern of the 1920 Carnegie study of Missouri, which saw the education of African American teachers as "outside the scope of the report," remained the norm. The *National Survey* did not fall into the trap of surveying only white teachers. Its volume, written by Ambrose Caliver, Senior Specialist in the Education of Negroes in the U.S. Office of Education, is indeed a significant exception. In 1930 there were almost 12 million African Americans, about one-tenth of the nation's population, and 80 percent of these still lived in 16 southern states and the District of Columbia, with their children generally attending legally segregated public schools. The report began by noting the extraordinary educational gains achieved by African Americans in the previous 70 years. At the time of the Civil War not more than 5 to 10 percent of African Americans could read and write, but by 1930 illiteracy had been cut to 16 percent. In 1865 2 percent of newly freed slaves were in school, but in 1930, 78 percent of African Americans attended school for at least some period of time.

Beginning with these accomplishments, Caliver turned to the stark reality faced by African American students and their teachers in Jim Crow and Depression-era America. Comparing African American and European American teachers, the researchers found that in the segregated schools of the South some 22.5 percent of black teachers but only 5.7 percent of white teachers had a high school diploma or less. There was less discrepancy at the other end of the spectrum, where 20.7 percent of black teachers and only 25.7 percent of

white teachers had completed 3 or more years of college. Only 1.1 percent of black teachers and 1.9 percent of white teachers had attended graduate school, hardly a meaningful difference nor one that would impact the education of many students of any race. The greatest discrepancies in education were found in teachers in one- or two-room rural schools, called open country schools, where only 4.5 percent of the white teachers but 35.8 percent of the black teachers had a high school diploma or less. The report also examined the curricula of the county training schools, high schools, and colleges offering teacher preparation programs and found many wanting.

Far greater than the disparities in preparation were the differences in salaries, where, across the South, the report found that white teachers were paid more—much more—than black teachers. In Alabama the median annual salary for white women teachers was \$425 while the median for black teachers—females and males—was \$253.69. In Georgia the median white woman's salary was \$670, the median for blacks \$453.

In the end, the report recommended that "Teacher-preparing institutions for Negroes should raise their entrance requirements making them more selective," and "More uniformity should exist in curricula for the education of Negro teachers in the amount of work required, the courses prescribed, and their sequence, content and methods." The authors also recognized that if separate and equal was to be equal, then very far-reaching changes were needed across the educational spectrum, concluding:

Equalization of educational opportunity applies to all levels of education. Teacher-preparing facilities for Negroes cannot be equalized without first equalizing the elementary- and high-school facilities for Negroes. It is urgently recommended that all possible effort be made to hasten the improvement of education for Negroes at all levels.

While serious attention to implementing this obvious recommendation is impossible to find, the Caliver report is by far the most thorough study of African American teacher education prior to the civil rights era.²⁰

TEACHERS COLLEGES BECOME "JUST COLLEGES"

The state teachers colleges that virtually replaced all of the nation's normal schools in the 1920s were a relatively short-lived phenomenon in American higher education. In 1960 Bridgewater State Teachers College became Bridgewater State College. It had been Bridgewater Normal School for more than 90 years, but a state teachers college for only less than 30. In the same year, 1960, Kutztown changed its name to Kutztown State College and then in 1983 to Kutztown University of Pennsylvania, following the pattern of most of the Pennsylvania schools. Alabama school for African American teachers had more

name changes, though they pointed in the same direction. It had become the State Teachers College in 1929, the Alabama State College for Negroes in 1948, the Alabama State College in 1954, and finally Alabama State University in 1969. And earlier, in 1941, the New Mexico state legislature renamed the New Mexico Normal University the New Mexico Highlands University, an all-purpose university thriving today as one of the strongest multipurpose Latino campuses in the United States.

Between 1941 in New Mexico, 1948 in Alabama, and 1960 in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, each of these schools dropped the word *teachers* or *normal* from its name. By 1940 virtually the last normal school had become a state teachers college, and within 20 years another even more significant change had taken place as the last of the state teachers colleges took on various names as state colleges or regional state universities, indicating a shift from a more or less single-minded focus on teacher education to being a multipurpose university serving a wide range of students with many different programs, and far too often marginalizing teacher education as not only one among many parts of their mission but one that was far from the top of the priority list.²¹

While the move from state normal school to state teachers college was not without controversy, it was a change of status but not a change of direction. This was not surprising because in the 1920s many used the names *normal school* and *teachers college* interchangeably. As high schools became more widespread and normal schools were able to build on rather than duplicate their work, and as more students—even if not a majority—were willing to stay long enough at these now college-level institutions, it was not surprising that the schools sought the status they felt was their due and changed their name to *teachers college*.

Something quite different took place in the 1940s and 1950s. The move from teachers college to college was not just a logical extension of long-term developments. It was, on the contrary, a radical break with the past and a turn in a quite different direction. In 1920 the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching put its prestige behind a recommendation that "It should be considered as a fundamental principle that state-supported agencies for preparing teachers should devote themselves exclusively and without reserve to that task."²² The Carnegie reporters did not have a preference as to whether the institutions called themselves normal schools or teachers colleges as long as they met collegiate-level standards, but they were clear that they should not be diverted from the preparation of teachers by taking on other tasks.

While they challenged the normal schools to use the same standards to judge their work that were being used at the flagship state university in Missouri, William S. Learned and William C. Bagley were dismissive of the movement prevalent in normal schools to become all-purpose institutions for their region of the state. They noted the 1909 catalog of one that said, "It cannot be denied that the Normal School comes nearer the people than other schools and

may therefore be justly called the People's College," while another announced, "The Normal School has a larger mission in Southeast Missouri than that of a state college for teachers." Learned and Bagley disliked such talk and such plans. It was their conclusion that "institutions established by the state to prepare teachers as public servants for its schools should make that business their sole purpose and concern." Anything else was a dangerous diversion, and "no consideration whatever should divert such schools from their task." It was a clear conclusion and a losing proposition.²³

As strongly as many argued for a separate single-purpose institution for the preparation of teachers, such single-purpose schools virtually disappeared from the American scene in the decade after World War II. In 1935 the state of California, which had renamed its State Normal Schools State Teachers Colleges, changed the name yet again. Humboldt State Teachers College became Humboldt State College, San Jose State Teachers College became San Jose State College, and so on down the coast to San Diego, where the school's name was now San Diego State College. (A final rise in status came in 1972 when all of these schools became state universities, but by then their teacher preparation past had long been marginalized.) In this, as in many other things, where California led, the nation followed.

While California made the move in 1935, many other states waited until after World War II. Christine Ogren reported these changes. Arizona's old normal schools at Flagstaff and Tempe became Northern State College and Arizona State College, respectively, in 1945. In Texas different schools changed their names at different times. North State Teachers College in Denton and West State Teachers College in Canyon, both of which had been elevated from normal schools in 1923, became North State College and West State College in 1949, while Lyndon Johnson's alma mater, Southwest State Teachers College, became Southwest State College in 1959. North Carolina reflected great diversity as schools shifted in name between 1951 and 1967. One segregated white school, East Carolina State Teachers College in Greenville, became East Carolina College in 1951, while in Boone Appalachian State Teachers College became Appalachian State University only in 1967. Indiana, one of the last, changed the name of Ball State Teachers College to Ball State University and the State Teachers College in Terre Haute to Indiana State University in 1965. Indiana's eastern neighbor had been among the first to make the shift when Kent State Normal College had become Kent State College and Bowling Green State Normal College had become Bowling Green State College in 1929, and both were promoted to university status in 1935.²⁴

Between the 1920s when the movement began and 1965 when it was complete, however, something very substantial had happened in the preparation of American teachers. For 100 years large numbers of the elite of the nation's elementary teachers, and a good number of high school teachers, had been educated in institutions dedicated primarily, if not exclusively, to the prepa-

ration of educators. After 1965 virtually no future teachers received such an education. For better or worse, future teachers were now prepared in schools, colleges, or departments of education in large multipurpose colleges and universities. Whether the origin of these universities was as a normal school or a research university, after 1965 virtually nowhere was teacher education the prime mission of the schools that prepared the nation's teachers.

Looking at these changes in teacher education in 1990, John Goodlad wrote, "It was not uncommon for academic administrators to view the decline of teacher education on their campuses virtually as evidence of a rite of passage signifying a coming of age for their institutions."²⁵ Certainly the change in name from teachers college to just "college" or perhaps to a regional university represented a clear and deliberate decision by the college officials and the state legislatures that held not only their purse strings but often much greater control of their institutional directions, to reject the Carnegie recommendation and move toward being what many of them had already become—multipurpose institutions in which teacher preparation was but one of many aspects of the mission of the school. Almost without exception, teacher preparation suffered as a result.

The reason most commonly given for the shift from teachers college to multipurpose college was the impact of the post-World War II GI Bill that sent thousands of recent veterans back to college campuses in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Certainly the state colleges and regional universities welcomed these students and the federal tuition dollars that they brought with them, and opportunity in American society was vastly expanded for one segment of the population because of this federal program. But the dates of the changes would indicate that the reasons for the shift were far more complex than anything that could be explained by the GI Bill alone. William Learned and William C. Bagley published their report warning against such a movement in 1920. California and Ohio, among others, had changed the name and mission of their schools in the mid-1930s, long before a promise of new benefits for veterans was on anyone's mind. On the other hand, many other states—Indiana, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, among others—were changing institutional names and purposes long after the influx of war veterans was a distant memory. Much more was going on in American teacher education.

Karen Hallman has argued convincingly that the Soviet launch of Sputnik in 1957 and the subsequent National Defense Education Act of 1958 must be considered if one is to understand the shift in institutional names and public resources from preparing teachers to preparing a more diverse population, especially scientists and engineers as well as other cold warriors. Certainly if one looks at the expansion of programs in science and mathematics at the new Bridgewater State College or the programs in foreign languages at Kutztown State College, which established its modern languages department the year it became a full-scale college, there is ample evidence for such a conclusion.²⁶

In the end, however, David Riesman probably explained the change best, though he did not specifically attend to it. In his brilliant *Constraint and Variety in American Higher Education*, Riesman wrote of the “institutional homogenization” that was overtaking American higher education. The perhaps unintended result of a process that had begun in the early 1900s, as some leading universities and philanthropic agencies sought to raise standards and clarify terms for what it meant for a school to call itself a college or a university, as opposed to an academy, high school, or normal school, and to accredit those that truly fit the mold, had also set off a never-ending struggle by virtually all higher education institutions to not only meet the new standards but to do so in a way that would put them at the top of a new pecking order. At the time when Riesman wrote his book, when the process of shifting from teachers college to college was still under way, Riesman himself was clear that while the procession was long, at its lower end were such institutions as technical schools and teachers colleges, which he said were “colleges only by grace of semantic generosity.” No college wanted to retain that status. No president wanted to lead a school at the end of the procession. And no route to advancement seemed faster than jettisoning the much-maligned “teachers” part of the teachers college name. That it took until the middle of the 1960s to complete the process may be the only surprise.²⁷

A COLLEGE DEGREE BECOMES THE NORM

While the normal schools were becoming teachers colleges and the teachers colleges were dropping word “teachers” as quickly as possible, another parallel development was changing the options available to those who wanted to be teachers in the elementary and secondary schools of the United States. In the century between 1830 and 1930 the requirements for a teaching job had generally increased from completion of the level of school in which one wanted to teach, to some or all of a high school-level program, to 2 or 3 years beyond high school. As late as the early 1920s, when a post-World War I teacher shortage forced school districts to lower standards or, as Michael Sedlak put it, “to round up someone to sit in each classroom,” several surveys found that of the nation’s 600,000 teachers perhaps 30,000 or 5 percent had no schooling beyond 8th grade, while, perhaps even more troubling, some 300,000 or half of the nation’s teachers had no more than a high school education. Against this standard, the *National Survey* was reporting significant progress when its researchers found that in 1930 some three-quarters of the nation’s teachers had at least 2 years of education beyond high school. The selectivity that the Depression of the 1930s allowed school districts accounted for part of this difference from the days of the desperate shortage of teachers that the nation experienced in 1920. But standards had been rising rapidly through the decade

of the 1920s; states had taken a stronger role in setting minimum educational qualifications for all teachers; and equally important, a variety of programs in major universities, municipal colleges, and state teachers colleges were being revised to offer more opportunity to those who wanted more study.

Nevertheless, the *National Survey of the Education of Teachers* researchers who called for a floor of 2 years beyond college in 1930 would have been amazed to look ahead and learn that between 1930 and the late 1950s the standard moved from a goal of 2 years of college-level study prior to beginning a teaching career to an almost universal requirement across the United States, in urban and rural areas, and rich and poor states, that every teacher, virtually without exception, was expected to have a college degree. In 1937 five states already required a college degree for elementary teaching where none had done so in 1926. In 1940, 11 states required a college degree for elementary certification, by 1950 the number had risen to 21 or almost half of the then-48 states, and by 1964 46 of the 50 states required a bachelor’s degree of all new teachers. The high school standard had been set earlier, since in 1940 40 states already required a college degree for secondary teaching and by 1960 it was all 50 states. What would have pleased the authors of the *National Survey of the Education of Teachers* in the early 1930s—a preparation program that included high school and 2 years of college-level study—was by the 1950s far below the minimum requirement for licensure in any state of the union.²⁸

Michael W. Sedlak has traced one essential piece in the dramatic rise in the educational qualifications—as measured in years of schooling and academic degrees demanded—for a teaching position that occurred in nearly all parts of the United States in the 30 years prior to 1965. An understanding of these changes is essential to any meaningful analysis of the role of various programs for the preparation of teachers. In Sedlak’s story, “Up through the mid-nineteenth century, recruiting and hiring teachers was almost entirely a private, negotiated procedure which occurred between someone with authority to employ and pay a teacher, and someone willing to accept whatever instructional—and maintenance—responsibilities were wanted.” As a result, local school board representatives might give preference to a teacher who had studied for a shorter or longer period of time in a normal school, or a high school that offered a normal curriculum, they might prefer someone with experience or who had attended a teachers’ institute, but in the end they also might not care, might not be able to find someone who had met that standard, or might have a relative who needed a job.

After the mid-1800s states did begin to set *some* standards, most of all by creating county superintendents and vesting these officers with authority over granting teaching certificates and by instituting various forms of state examinations for teachers. As the case study of New Mexico’s certification examinations and standards will show, these state standards offered a fairly low minimum threshold for entry into the profession, but they did encourage some

level of study to meet at least the minimum—often through a teachers' institute—and they also offered some limited rewards—often in the form of a certificate that lasted longer or could be renewed more times without further study or examination—for those who met a higher threshold of preparation. Nevertheless, in this era, while completing high school, a normal school, or even a university program could yield one a higher-level certificate or prepare one more effectively for the state and local exams, there were certainly no minimally effective standards in terms of basic preparation in effect in most parts of the United States.

The situation started to change further in the 1920s as “the vast majority of states” began rejecting “examinations in favor of evidence of educational attainment for certification.” Such moves allowed states, for the first time, to start to enforce actual standards for a minimum educational preparation for teaching, be that minimum the high school diploma or some level of normal school or college study.

The U.S. Office of Education's Benjamin Frazier summarized the new consensus in 1938, writing that the “best interests of American childhood demand that certification of teachers be based on something more substantial than mere success in passing an examination.” By that time, few disagreed. According to Frazier's study, at the start of the school year in September 1937, 28 states certified teachers based solely on credits or credentials issued by academic institutions, while the remaining 20 states used some sort of mix of examinations and credentials. A few, such as Massachusetts, still left local school committees to make nearly all of the certification decisions, but by 1937 most states had taken on this responsibility.²⁹

This new level of state control of teacher certification was coming into force at the same time that the range of teacher preparation programs across the country was being narrowed. Thus Sedlak concluded,

The variety of institutions entitled to offer legitimate professional education gradually narrowed as collegiate-level programs eclipsed the two year normal schools as the dominant preparatory model . . . By the early 1930s, as a consequence, virtually all states required four years of college for secondary certification, and a rapidly growing number required it for elementary teachers as well.³⁰

The national norm that a college degree represented the minimum for any teaching job that reigned from the late 1950s onward was thus well launched as the only possible direction by the 1930s. If states could set the standard for every new teacher a local school or district wanted to hire, and by the 1930s nearly all of the states did that, it was easy enough for the states to raise the requirement to include a B.A. or B.S. degree, and by 1960 they were all well on their way to doing that also.

The state of New Mexico represents a useful case study of Sedlak's three stages, as it did for the interplay of teachers' institutes and certification examinations reported in chapter 4. States moved from complete local autonomy to some level of state oversight, primarily through state examinations, to minimum state educational requirements that eventually came to include a college degree. Each state also moved through the stages somewhat differently, and often the new requirements were phased in slowly even as older ones disappeared, sometimes even more slowly. Thus, while the national generalizations are useful, so is a look at the unique characteristics that can be found by more careful examination of a case study.

As we saw in chapter 4, New Mexico's first Superintendent of Public Instruction, Amando Chaves, moved quickly after his appointment in 1891 to begin to create a unified territorial system of education and to improve the standards for teachers in the territory, demanding that county superintendents conduct oral examinations and launching three normal schools, two within 2 years of his appointment.³¹

The next logical step came in 1898 when a new superintendent of public instruction proposed the creation of a board of territorial examiners so that the examination questions would not simply be left to the imagination of the county superintendents. Three years later, in 1901, the examination process had moved from oral examinations administered by the county superintendent to written examinations issued twice a year by the territorial board of education.³²

A first tentative step toward the final stage in Sedlak's schema came to New Mexico in 1905 when the territorial legislature gave the Board of Education authority to issue territorial teachers certificates, which were meant to be a cut above the county certificates earned by the examinations. Territorial certification required graduation from one of New Mexico's normal schools or holding a diploma from a normal school or a college in another part of the United States, a prize that they hoped would encourage immigration of qualified teachers to New Mexico. Here was an important beginning, if only a beginning, of a move from licensure by examination to licensure by academic credential. In January 1908 a total of 48 teachers held territorial certificates based on academic accomplishments, while 564 teachers, over 10 times as many, held county certificates based solely on examinations.³³ It would be a long time before the majority of New Mexican teachers would reach the higher standard.

In his annual report for Taos County for 1910, a report typical of many that came to the territorial board from the county superintendents, the Taos leader complained, “The teachers of the county are of excellent moral worth, but, unfortunately, many of them do not have proper school advantages and preparation for the teacher's work.” Complicating the work in Taos and most

of New Mexico was the need to find teachers who could communicate with students whose native language was Spanish.³⁴

In 1923 two changes in the certification laws were made. From then on all the certificates would be given by the state (New Mexico had become a state in 1912), even those based on examination scores, and not by the different counties. High school certification was also separated from elementary, and having all of its teachers be certified became a requirement for any high school seeking accreditation.

During the Great Depression, in June 1932, the state joined the list of states—more than half in the mid-1930s—that made certificates conditional on educational attainment, not examinations. The minimal certificate now required a high school diploma and 6 semester hours of college credit, while higher-level certificates required a high school diploma and 2 full years of college work—the minimum asked for by the *National Survey*. High school teachers needed at least 135 academic credits, essentially 3 years of college, and they needed a B.A. for the highest-level certificate.

Georgia Lusk, the long-serving state superintendent, proudly reported the changes that had come in the educational qualifications of New Mexico's teachers. In the 1924–1925 academic year, 909 of the state's 2,923 teachers, or 31 percent, had less than a high school diploma. In the 1931–1932 year that number had dropped to 293 out of 3,738 teachers, or 8 percent. On the other hand, in 1924–1925 only 12 percent of the state's teachers had been college graduates, while in 1931–1932 25 percent of the teachers had a college degree. The numbers would keep getting better. By 1934, 312 of the new certificates granted were high school certificates for college graduates, and the majority of the elementary certificates, 794 out of a total of 1,168, were of a grade that required at least 2 years of college. With more than half of its teachers having more than 2 years of college education, by 1932 New Mexico ranked quite well in terms of the national averages reported by the *National Survey of the Education of Teachers*.³⁵

World War II temporarily slowed the effort to raise the academic standards for teachers in New Mexico, as elsewhere. As late as the fall of 1940, standards were still rising. In that year all new teachers were required to have a minimum of 2 years of college training, and all high school teachers had to have a college degree. But the war created a new crisis-level shortage of teachers. A new certificate was created: "To meet the critical shortage of teachers during the biennium, War Emergency Certificates were issued on a temporary basis." At first, during the 1942–1943 year, War Emergency certificates required high school graduation and 30 semester hours (1 year) of college and a request from the school district. By the 1943–1944 year the rules were broadened in shortage areas. And in addition, Substitute and Permit certificates could be issued "when a regularly qualified teacher could not be found." In the war emergency, as in earlier emergencies of the beginning of the century, if a qualified teacher

could not be found, someone who could cover the classroom would be. In the face of a real shortage, those who hire teachers have always lowered the standards when all else failed. War Emergency certificates would continue to be issued in New Mexico well into the early 1950s. If only on a temporary basis, many of the stricter standards of the 1930s seemed to slip away for the wartime and immediate postwar era.³⁶

Nevertheless, a statewide review of the credentials of all teachers in New Mexico who were actually teaching, as opposed to those who were certified to teach, in 1948–1949 found that of 1,515 teachers, 693 held a B.A., 59 held an M.A., and 2 held a Ph.D., meaning that almost half of the teachers held a college degree. Of those who did not hold a degree, most had 3 years of college, and only 128 or 8 percent had less than 2 years of college. Reality was overtaking the rules in a way that gratified many, though the divide between more urban schools, where the B.A. was now the norm among elementary as well as high school teachers, and the isolated rural areas, where a college educated teacher was much less common, persisted well into the 1950s.³⁷

A final step in teacher certification came to New Mexico in 1956. As of July 1, 1956, a new set of regulations that had been formulated by the New Mexico Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards went into effect. For new teachers, the college degree was no longer optional but the only route to a teaching career. Teachers who held earlier certificates would be allowed to continue to renew them, but for new entrants college was *the* way. The Division of Teacher Certification that had begun in 1949 was also growing in strength. By the mid-1950s this office was no longer simply soliciting teachers' opinions and offering advice to the teacher preparation programs. The staff of the office saw certification as a state function and saw themselves as an essential link in the chain that also included accreditation of individual colleges and universities as the key to quality teachers. For the modern teacher or teacher educator, the regulations in place in New Mexico after 1956 would be familiar in terms of both the academic qualifications expected of individual teachers and in terms of the role of the state in assuring that all teachers met those qualifications in a way that the procedures of any earlier decade would not. After 1956 the "one best system" in which a college education was the only acceptable route to a teacher certificate was firmly in place. This was the norm for teacher preparation in the United States for the second half of the 20th century as it had not been before or might not be in the future.³⁸

It is important to remember that given the length of many professional careers, it takes decades before a requirement to *enter* the profession becomes universal *within* the profession. In the early 1960s, when every state had already required a college degree, most for a decade or more, 15 percent of the nation's teachers still did not hold a college degree. That number then dropped steadily for the next two decades. On the other hand, as a college degree became the minimum requirement, more and more teachers sought graduate degrees, in part to qualify for increasingly popular salary boosts based on such

degrees, and perhaps also to set themselves off from those who merely met the new professional minimum or to achieve higher levels of certification. Perhaps these teachers also simply wanted to improve the knowledge base for their practice of their profession. Table 10.1, adapted from a 1987 National Education Association report, summarizes the changes in education levels of teachers once a college degree became a requirement. (Note that the chart indicates the highest degree held. Thus, as more teachers earned graduate degrees, the percentage for whom the bachelor's was the minimum decreased even as the standards rose.)³⁹ Something very significant had happened to the educational standards for teachers. Although no state actually required a master's degree in order to begin teaching, by 1986 half of the nation's teachers held the degree. Even more significant, by 1986 less than one-half of 1 percent of the nation's teacher had not graduated from college.

Two significant trends had transformed the ways in which teachers were prepared in the decades between the late 1930s and the 1960s. On the one hand, not only the normal schools but also the teachers colleges had disappeared. With rare exceptions, the places where teachers were taught—to use John Goodlad's felicitous phrase—were in schools, colleges, and departments of education that existed within the context of much larger multipurpose colleges and universities. Whether those colleges and universities had emerged from a normal school past or had only recently added education to the curriculum mattered far less than the role of the teacher education program as one among many units of the institution of higher education. And during the same decades, virtually all of the states had moved to require a college degree for those who would enter teaching. The college degree was also becoming highly regulated. States had started adding requirements—a major in a subject and a certain number of professional courses for high school teachers—in the 1940s and by the 1950s had a state bureaucracy that worked with the colleges and universities making recommendations and, soon enough, adding requirements to the curriculum for teachers. The college degree that a teacher needed to have in the 1950s and beyond came from a unit of a larger university, but state education department standards governed the nature of that degree. It was a situation that easily led to a clash of cultures.

Table 10.1. Changes in Education Levels, 1961–1986

<i>Highest degree held</i>	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
Less than a bachelor's degree	14.6	7	2.9	0.9	0.4	0.3
Bachelor's degree	61.9	69.6	69.6	61.6	50.1	48.31
Master's degree or 6 years	23.1	23.2	27.1	37.1	49.3	50.7
Doctorate	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.7

A New Status Quo and Its Critics

1960–1985

Judy Logan spent her career as a high school teacher in San Francisco. She remembered her preparation vividly. By the time Logan began her formal preparation for teaching in 1965 the rules and the opportunities were different than they had been for previous generations of aspiring teachers. By the early 1960s when Logan was in college, the route to teaching—the only route—included a college degree, a reality that had not been the case in many states even a decade before.

Logan's interest in teaching began early. She remembered that although her parents had not attended college, "Somehow my parents conveyed to me that there was no question but that I would go to college and, in my mind, there was never a question that I would grow up to be a teacher." The inspiration for college came from her parents' ambition for a better life for their daughter. The daughter's inspiration for teaching came from experience. Logan was clear: "Since second grade, when I fell in love with the kindness of my instructor, Miss Miles, I had wanted to be a teacher." Even as a child, Logan also had a pretty clear sense of the options available to women in postwar Eisenhower America. "In the 1950s, this was the best career I could imagine for myself. Teaching was a traditional woman's profession at that time, but in my family it was still traditional for a woman to be a homemaker."

Logan attended San Francisco State College but did not take the education courses that the school offered, indeed, that it had been founded to offer. But there were other options. "After I graduated from San Francisco State in 1964," she wrote, "I worked for a year, then took a government loan and returned to State to get my teaching credential." Her graduate experience confirmed something that had been brewing for her.

While I always knew I wanted to be a teacher, it wasn't until I taught that I realized how right this was for me. I can't explain this. I was a potter who had discovered clay, a swimmer in water, a gardener with her hands in dirt.

She was a teacher for life.