BOYD H. BODE: HIS LIFE, WORK, AND COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY AND A DEMOCRATIC CURRICULUM

by

Sheila V. M. Toews

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

This study explores a significant contribution to democratic thought and practice in the field of curriculum by presenting the life and work of the American educator, Boyd H. Bode (1873-1953). Bode's own writings, including **Modern Educational Theories, Democracy as a Way of Life**, and **Progressive Education at the Crossroads**; articles, books, and dissertations written specifically about Bode; and archival materials obtained from the Ohio State Unversity are used to portray this influential teacher-scholar and critic as accurately as possible. A historical and philosophical context for Bode's ideas is developed through the use of appropriate sources. The study traces Bode's life from his early years in the American Midwest to his post secondary education in Iowa and at the Universities of Michigan and Cornell. It explores his academic career at the Universities of Wisconsin, Illinois, and Ohio State, during which time he abandoned idealism for pragmatism and philosophy for the philosophy of education. Bode's commitment to democracy and a democratic curriculum is emphasized through a focus on his writings, teachings, and mentorship of such individuals as Harold B. Alberty and Alan F. Griffin. His critiques of the educational trends of his era, including Progressive Education and Scientific Curriculum Making, are also considered. As Bode addressed complex questions that persist in the field of curriculum, this study concludes with a consideration of the current relevance of Bode's thinking on democracy and a democratic curriculum for educators in Canada, the United States, and even internationally.

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To my family in Europe and in Canada, particularly to my husband, Gurney, without whose encouragement I would not have begun graduate studies at the University of Manitoba. To our children, John and Catherine, both in appreciation for their patience and humor throughout the writing of this thesis and in the hope that their lives will be continually enriched by reflective thinking.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Canada is often considered to be one of the most admired and respected countries in the world. It is recognized for its qualities as a generally peaceable nation - both in its domestic and foreign affairs. It is also recognized as a country that generally provides a good standard of living, medicare, and free education for its citizens. It is recognized as a country that is tolerant, multicultural, and committed to democracy and is therefore a place that still is the destination of choice for many immigrants and refugees.

However, Canada is far from a utopian nation. It is very common today for the people of Canada to be described as "taxpayers" rather than as citizens. Their role is, to a great extent, powerless and passive and Canadian democracy is largely non-participatory. As the twentieth century draws to a close, many Canadians are being challenged by the demands of a fast paced and rapidly changing job market. The drive for a more efficient workplace, coupled with the increased emphasis on computerized technology, has led to disturbing levels of unemployment and job insecurity, especially for those who lack the training and knowledge to compete for skilled positions in highly competitive companies. Caught in the struggle to cope with the impact job loss has, or might soon have, on their finances and on their ability to provide for their children, many Canadians lack the will to be more involved in municipal, provincial, or federal politics. Understandably, the focus is frequently on individual survival and the

survival of the family unit. Interest in community concerns and issues often tends to be faint. There is often a sense that little can be accomplished anyway, so many community initiatives tend to be viewed as courageous, somewhat naive, and probably futile.

In 1984, Benjamin Barber, a professor at Rutgers University in the United States, presented us with a definition of "thin democracy" which can perhaps be used here as a rather apt description of Canadian democracy in the 1990s:

> What we have called "thin democracy," then, yields neither the pleasures of participation nor the fellowship of civic association, neither the autonomy and self-governance of continuous political activity nor the enlarging mutuality of shared public goods - of mutual deliberation, decision, and work. Oblivious to that essential human interdependency that underlies all political life, thin democracy politics is at best a politics of static interest, never a politics of transformation; a politics of bargaining and exchange, never a politics of invention and creation; and a politics that conceives of women and men at their worst (in order to protect them from themselves), never at their potential best (to help them become better than they are).[1]

Most Canadians would probably claim to be strong believers in democracy. Although there are many who would view "thin democracy" as the only realistic and acceptable form of democracy, others fear where non-participatory democracy is leading us and would like to work towards a more humane, cooperative society. The debate over democracy is not new; therefore, the literature available on the topic is extensive and potentially overwhelming for

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[1]Benjamin Barber, Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 24-25.

those beginning to explore democracy in more depth. One possible starting point for students wishing to develop a greater understanding of democracy and the potential for democratic education lies in the writings of those who not only wrote about democracy, but who also appear to have made the struggle for a more democratic social order a vital part of their everyday lives. One such person who was motivated by his belief in the potential of human beings to develop participatory communities and who dedicated his life's work to democracy and to democratic education was the American educator, Boyd H. Bode (1873-1953). Though not as well-known today outside the fields of curriculum studies and social foundations, Bode was a highly respected and influential teacher-scholar, educational philosopher, and critic in the first half of the twentieth century. In 1947, John Dewey recognized Bode's contributions to education in the following tribute:

> He has worked steadily in behalf of an education in which the spirit of a democratic human order would be so pervasive and so unified as to contribute to the advancement of a similar order in all the human relationship of American life.[2]

It might be said that what Bode had to say about democracy and democratic education in the first decades of this century bears little relevance or significance for those of us living in a very different place and time. Due to

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[2]"Conference on Philosophy of Education; Report of Meetings Held November 10, 1947, on the Occasion of the Presentation of the William Heard Kilpatrick Award to Dr. Boyd H. Bode," Teachers College Record XLIX (January, 1948): 267.

societal and economic pressures in Canada today, schools are being called upon to play increasingly complex and responsible roles in the communities that they serve. Not only are they being expected to respond effectively to the serious social issues and problems that confront many of the children in their care, they are also being expected to provide the facilities, resources, curricula and programs necessary to prepare children to compete in the rapidly changing, high tech job market of the 1990s. Therefore, when time is of the essence, why "waste" time studying the life and thought of Boyd H. Bode?

Such a focus on the immediacy of the problems confronting us today in education is understandable. However, it tends to be short sighted and to lead to inadequate or inappropriate programming. William Schubert was just one of a number of writers who addressed the dangers of ahistoricism in the study of curriculum. He emphasized the fact that in order to proceed in curriculum, it is essential to have an understanding of the context of the curriculum field and of the evolution of thinking in education. As a field of study, it may be comparatively new, "but as a basic human interest, its concerns are perennial."[3] By falling into the trap of ahistoricism, educators risk the repetition of past educational mistakes, the espousal of educational fads that are lacking in framework or substance, and the failure to develop authentic knowledge and understanding of the field. They risk failing in their attempt to fulfill their

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[3]William Schubert, Curriculum: Perspective, Paradigm, and Possibility (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1986), 54.

responsibilities to the children in their care. As Laurel N. Tanner commented:

> The curriculum field keeps recycling old educational models and treating them as new. It fails to learn from the past and consequently repeats its failures. Cyclical fads cause the profession to lose ground (Lawrence Cremin, 1973) when its greatest need is to benefit from its own vast store of thinking and experience.[4]

William Schubert, Laurel N. Tanner and H. Warren Button are just three of the writers who would recognize the value of researching the "thinking and experience" of individuals such as Boyd H. Bode. They would probably see the significance of his ideas as lying in the fact that he was one individual who addressed the perennial questions that confront education and educators. In H. Warren Button's words, "parts of the history of educational research should be biographical - biographies of men, biographies of ideas."[5]

Biographies have long been recognized as a way to give life to the history of any field of study as they serve to personalize the struggles, failures, achievements, and successes that have occurred in the lives of such people as world leaders, inventors, scientists, and composers. Those engaged in the study of a particular discipline are often fascinated by biographies of the lives and ideas of those who have preceded them because it is possible to relate to, to empathize with, or in some cases to recoil from them as fellow human beings.

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[4]Laurel N. Tanner, "Curriculum History and Educational Leadership,"Educational Leadership (Nov. 1983): 38.

[5]H. Warren Button, "Creating More Usable Pasts: History in the Study of Education, " Educational Researcher (May 1979) : 8.

Those who make curriculum their field of study are no exception. A beginning student of curriculum has only to open a text such as William Schubert's 1986 work, **Curriculum: Perspective, Paradigm, and Possibility**, and turn to the index of authors to realize the multiple perspectives that have contributed to the growth of thought in this particular discipline.[6] As the student becomes immersed in study, he/she often becomes increasingly aware of the connections that exist between his/her own expanding thinking on education and the thinking of a particular educational philosopher. The student begins to seek out works by and about that thinker and is thereby challenged to reflect and learn through his/her interactions with these readings.

This particular biographical study of the life and ideas of Boyd H. Bode originated in just such a connection. At the time that I first became interested in the work of Boyd H. Bode, my own varied teaching experiences had led me to be enthusiastic about the creativity and possibility inherent in curriculum. However, at the same time I was frustrated by the unfortunate reality of the often highly political pendulum of educational planning in the twentieth century that tended to swing back and forth monotonously between what John P. Wynne once described as " educational authoritarianism" and "educational laissez faire."[7] In Boyd H. Bode, I found an educational philosopher who seemed to

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[6]Schubert, 459-467.

[7] John P. Wynne, Philosophies of Education from the Standpoint of the Philosophy of Experimentalism (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947), 4-5.

exhibit both a similar enthusiasm and a similar frustration. As I attempted an in-depth exploration of my own thinking on education, I realized that there was much to learn from Bode who had already struggled long and hard to articulate his own philosophy of education. In the process, he had challenged and questioned not only his own ideas but also those of his contemporaries, revealed the limitations of many of the popular educational fads and trends that persisted in his era (and still tend to reappear today), and emphasized the need for a guiding theory that would help educators to foster the growth of democracy in both the schools and society.

The initial motivation for this study was, therefore, based on a desire to explore Bode's ideas in the hope of further crystalizing my own thinking on curriculum. However, as has already been indicated, the significance of this work rests on far more than my own personal interest. It is to be hoped that, as the study advances, the value of Bode's contribution to educational thought will become increasingly apparent. The following four questions have therefore been identified and will provide guidance and direction for both the research and writing of this study:

1. Who was Boyd H. Bode?
2. What was Bode's ideology in respect to democratic education?
3. In what way did Bode lay the groundwork for later work in curriculum?
4. What was/is the significance of Bode's thinking for educators?

Who was Boyd H. Bode?

When exploring the ideas of an educational theorist, it is both appropriate and necessary to provide a context for those ideas through developing a detailed profile of the man, the origins of his thinking, and his work. Therefore, a key question that will be addressed throughout this study is, "Who was Boyd H. Bode?" A review of the literature has revealed one major limitation for a study of this kind. Unfortunately, few of Bode's personal papers are extant. As Robert V. Bullough, Jr. noted, Bode's personal papers were apparently destroyed soon after his death in 1953.[8] However, in his own research on Bode, Bullough made use of Bode's correspondence with Max Otto, which is located in the Otto Collection in the archives of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.[9] Through the work by Bullough and other writers, including Norman De Jong, H.C. Sun, and Kenneth Winetrout, it is possible to gain insight into the character, personality, and background of Boyd H. Bode. A brief introduction to Bode's life and work is included here to provide a context for the rest of the literature review.

Boyd H. Bode was born in Ridott, Northern Illinois in 1873. He was one of eight children born to Gertrude and Hendrik Bode. Hendrik Bode, who "was a remarkable man in his own right," became a Christian Reformed minister when

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[8] Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education: Boyd H. Bode (Bayside, New York: General Hall, Inc., 1981), 8.

[9] Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., Harold B. Alberty and Boyd H. Bode: Pioneers in Curriculum Theory, Ph.D. diss., the Ohio State University, 1976 (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1977), 8.

Bode was eight, accepting his first ministry in 1881, when he became dominie of the First Christian Reformed Church in Wellsburg, Iowa. Most of Bode's elementary education took place at the school connected with the church. He became the prize pupil of his teacher, Henry Potgieter.[10]

Later, Bode lived with the Potgieter family in Steamboat Rock, Hardin Country, Iowa, while he attended high school. His parents allowed Bode, of all their children, to continue his education, despite the fear that their son would "fall into disbelief," and they do not appear to have suppressed some of his early thinking and reading:

> Even as a youth, Bode had questions that could silence an otherwise noisy church gathering. He recalled, for example, coming home one day and remarking in an off-handed way to his father that there might be something in evolution. The Reverend was liberal but not "that liberal" -- he "rushed out of the house, hitched up his horses, and drove all day, praying for his son's soul."[11]

Archival records from the Ohio State University indicate that Bode continued his studies at Penn College, completing a B.A. in 1896. He received a second B.A. from the University of Michigan in 1897, and received his Ph. D. from Cornell University in 1900.[12] Bode began his teaching career at the University of Wisconsin (1900-1909). H. C. Sun, one of a number of academics who counted Bode as both a mentor and friend, noted that these were significant years as

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[10]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 11-13.

[11]Ibid, 17.

[12]Biographical Files: Bode, Boyd Henry, March 29, 1953, the Ohio State University Archives, Columbus, Ohio.

Bode went through the "difficult and agonizing process" of reconstructing his own thinking. This resulted in the first of two major transitions in his life as he ultimately moved from "idealism and moral absolutism to pragmatism and an empirical morality."[13] In 1909, Bode moved to the University of Illinois where he spent the next twelve years and built a strong reputation as a teacher and scholar. In 1921, Bode made the second major transition in his professional life when he decided to leave philosophy for the philosophy of education. This was the year in which he was "lured" by Dean Arps to the Ohio State University to head the Department of Principles and Practice of Education. As Bode remarked: "I am tired of philosophy that makes no difference and I believe education is a field where I may do significant work."[14]

Bode indeed proceeded to make a major contribution to the development of a strong education department at the Ohio State University. He was an impressive and popular teacher. He seasoned his teaching with a ready wit and an infectious sense of humor, but he was very serious about his life's work:

> He did have a mission. The war with absolutes; the common man; the democratic society; the school that would serve each of these.[15]

This mission was to consume Bode for the rest of his life. Following his

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[13] H.C. Sun, Boyd H. Bode (1873-1953) and the Reform of American Education: Recollections and Correspondence (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Malloy Lithographing, Inc., 1977), 1.

[14] Ibid, 1-2.

[15] Kenneth Winetrout, " Boyd H. Bode: A Mission but no Blueprint," Teaching Education 2, no 2, 1988: 32-35.

retirement from Ohio State in 1944, Bode continued his involvement in education through teaching in universities in Egypt, Canada, and the United States. In fact, he was still working with graduate students from his home until shortly before his death in 1953 from cancer of the spine.

What was Bode's ideology in respect to democratic education?

Bode was the author of 160 books, reviews, and articles.[16] Bode's own writings reveal not only his ideas, but also much of his character and personality. An examination of his major works suggests an individual who was an insightful, serious, and reflective thinker. His thinking was often complex as he refused to shy away from the questions that challenged educators then and continue to challenge educators today. However, his writings were often seasoned with "folksy" humor and occasional biting sarcasm. This is particularly apparent in **Modern Educational Theories**, first published in 1927, in which Bode critiqued the theories of some of his notable contemporaries. These included William Heard Kilpatrick, David Snedden, W.W. Charters, and J.Franklin Bobbitt. Bode also adopted the role of educational critic in **Progressive Education at the Crossroads**, published in 1938. Other significant works by Bode included **Democracy as a Way of Life** (1937) and **How we Learn** (1940). A reading of Bode's own writings and of descriptions of Bode by his contemporaries quickly indicates that Bode had a independence of thought and a determination to

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[16]Ruth E. Seeger, Writings by and about Boyd H. Bode: A Bibliography (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1951) 1-12.

question both his own thinking and that of his contemporaries. This is sometimes overlooked in curriculum texts that briefly refer to him as "a Progressive educator" or as "a disciple of John Dewey." Dewey, who had great admiration for Bode, personally refuted the latter idea in the following:

> Bode has often been over-generous in what he said about the influence of some of my philosophical writings in aiding him to unite philosophy and education. However, it makes me proud and happy to feel that I have had even an indirect part in the work he has done. Nevertheless, strong as is my "will to believe," I have also to tell you that whatever came to him from any source came out different after it had passed through his mind with its unfailing instinct for clarity, his sense of humor, and his constant vision of where and how the ideas in question should and could enter the lifestream of human beings.[17]

Bode's writings make a significant contribution to the ongoing debate over democracy and democratic education. What is particularly compelling about Bode's writings is that he wrote at a very interesting, but frightening time in human history - the years between the two world wars, when communism and fascism were becoming powerful and persuasive forces in the world scene. He wrote with a sense of urgency, intensely troubled by the persistent weaknesses in "democratic" societies due to a lack of clarity and a confusion over what was actually meant by democracy.

In this study, Bode's thinking on democracy and democratic education may perhaps best be explored by returning to the four key concepts identified by Kenneth Winetrout - Bode's belief in the potential of "the common man"; his "war

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[17]"Conference on Philosophy of Education," 266-267.

with absolutes"; his concept of "the democratic society"; and the importance of "the school that would serve each of these."[18] Essentially, Bode believed that the potential of human kind had long been constrained through man's dependence on absolutes, which had served only to clip the wings of human thought. Bode's motivation for his hard fought "war on absolutes" was the need to free intelligence and thereby free the spirit of democracy. Democracy, to Bode, could be defined as "a social organization that aims to promote cooperation among its members and with other groups on the basis of mutual recognition of interests."[19] This organization was dynamic and not static. It was reflective of the reality of societal change.

Bode could not separate his thinking on democracy from his thinking on democratic education. He saw schools as playing a central role in social reconstruction if they could only be released from the confines placed on them by traditional and/or narrow conceptions of education. Central to Bode's thinking on education was his belief in the need for an "underlying social philosophy" that would permeate all aspects of school life and would foster the "freeing up" of intelligence - an essential element of democratic education. Bode's rigorous and comprehensive thinking on education can perhaps best be explored through a thorough examination of **Modern Educational Theories**. In this text, his

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[18]Winetrout, "Boyd H. Bode," 35.

[19]Boyd H. Bode, Modern Educational Theories , 5th ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), 13-14.

approach to education was humane, yet balanced. He did not resort to the excesses of many of the Progressive thinkers of his day, nor did he opt for simplistic solutions to educational issues. His thinking was relevant then and has relevance today as it provided a challenge to the dualism that has persisted in educational thinking throughout this century. As William Schubert remarked in 1986:

> In the debate between social behaviorists (with their adherence to measurement, precision, efficiency, and mechanical technique) and experientialists (with their child-centred, progressive, democratic, problem solving orientation), we find a monumental difference in perspective that plagues the curriculum field to this day and centres on two opposing notions of science. The social behaviorist seeks inquiry that controls others through highly generalized knowledge derived by credentialed experts, and the experientialist searches with others for insights about the consequences of daily courses of action on growth for all involved. Boyd Bode (1927) grasped this dichotomy by the horns and, using insightful wit, wrestled with its inconsistencies, criticized zealots in both camps, and emerged with a faith in democracy strengthened by philosophic and scientific inquiry.[20]

In what way did Bode lay the groundwork for later work in curriculum?

Robert V. Bullough Jr. observed that Bode was sometimes criticized for not tackling the practical application of his ideas.[21] However, it is apparent that Bode had a major influence on a number of individuals who did significant work in the area of curriculum. He appears to have realized both his own strengths and his own limitations and left it to others to apply democratic theory to curriculum construction. Notable in this respect was the work of Harold B. Alberty who

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[20]Schubert, 77.

[21]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 187.

"worked especially hard to translate the democratic theory into educational practice."[22] Bode's students also included Allan F. Griffin, who made a valued contribution to the area of social studies education. Bode's "curriculum" may therefore be explored in two ways. First, through researching its influence on the work of Alberty and Griffin, and secondly, through researching Bode's own approach to the classroom in his work in teacher education. Works by Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., H.C. Sun, Kenneth Winetrout, and Norman De Jong will all contribute to this aspect of the study. John Farley's dissertation on Allan F. Griffin will also be a valuable resource.

What was/is the significance of Bode's thinking for educators?

It is anticipated that the significance of Bode's thinking for educators will gradually emerge as this study advances. However, this question will also be directly addressed in the fifth chapter of the thesis as Bode's contributions to the ongoing debate over democracy and democratic education are addressed through summarizing and synthesizing his value as a teacher, mentor, educational philosopher and critic. Bode's contributions have been well documented in dissertations by such individuals as Daniel Duncan Blackwell (1973); Norman De Jong (1972); Frederick C. Neff (1950); Henry Eugene Stevens (1940); and Intissar Abdelal Younis Taha (1958). Critiques of Bode's work are also to be found in works by J.J. Chambliss (1964); J.L. Childs

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[22]Ibid., 190.

(1931,1956); and J. P. Wynne (1963). His contributions may also be examined in the context of histories of curriculum, notably Schubert's 1986 text, and through a study of such influential texts as Lawrence A. Cremin's **The Transformation of the School**. Such texts, in addition to the writings of Bode's contemporaries and students that were identified earlier, should all serve to provide a clear indication of Bode's significance in twentieth century educational thought and practice.

Design and Methodology

H. Warren Button, writing in 1979, observed that the history of education is often weakened by "the combination of high political zeal and sloppy historiography. Simply, the past is misrepresented."[23] Therefore, in a study of this type it is essential to ensure that the researcher adhere to the standards of historical method. As Rodney Skager and Carl Weinberg stated in 1971, "The educational historian must be bound by the rules of historical research just as is any other historian."[24] Therefore, an educational historian must strive to avoid many pitfalls that could hinder the progress of authentic research. These include the use of inadequate or inappropriate sources, the influence of personal bias, or the failure to consider an individual or event in the light of the context of the time.

In his 1991 contribution to Edmund C. Short's text, **Forms of Curriculum**

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[23]Button, 4.

[24] Rodney Skager and Carl Weinberg, Fundamentals of Educational Research: An Introductory Approach (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1971), 50.

Inquiry, O. L. Davis Jr. provided seven guidelines to assist those engaged in historical curriculum inquiry. These were authority, interpretation, significance, context, representativeness, perspective, and style.[25] For authority, any work of historical research must involve extensive and obvious use of historical sources that are recognizably authentic and valid. Primary source materials should be used as often as possible. Accurate and balanced analysis of all sources should provide "mindful interpretations of the curriculum story within the appropriate contexts." Through careful interpretation, the real significance of the subject of the research should emerge. Thus, in skillful research, significance is not only "asserted...it is also developed."[26]

It is very apparent that the first three guidelines all consider the importance of context. As previously stated, one of the major pitfalls in historical research is a failure to consider the contemporary context of the life of an individual of a particular event. To judge an event in the 1930s solely from the perspective of the 1990s results only in flawed and meaningless conclusions. To avoid this error of "presentism," Davis advised that "Curriculum ideas, practices, proposals, terms, and quotations [should be] embedded clearly in the social, intellectual, and educational history contexts of time and place."[27]

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[25]O. L. Davis Jr., " Historical inquiry: Telling real stories," in Forms of Curriculum Inquiry, ed. Edmund C. Short (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), 77-87.

[26]Ibid., 80.

[27]Ibid.

Careful collection, analysis and interpretation of source materials should enable the researcher to achieve a sense of representativeness. By representativeness, Davis meant that the researcher should aim to develop "a full sense of identity" by suppressing tendencies to oversimplification or stereotyping.[28] The researcher should also be aware of personal bias caused by a personal enthusiasm for the subject of study. Therefore, for accuracy of representation, he/she should strive to maintain a balanced view so that he/she does not over-romanticize the subject at hand.

The researcher's own perspective should consequently be as well informed and balanced as possible. He/she should also recognize that his/her own perspective does not exist in a vacuum. The value of multiple perspectives must be respected as "Multiple perspectives emphasize both continuity and change over time. Curriculum history is offered as a special human history with a chronology, rather than as an inevitable progression of events." Therefore, an awareness of one's own perspective as well as that of other researchers is required to help curriculum research to proceed authentically. Davis' final guideline concerned the researcher's own writing style. He advised researchers to strive for a well written curriculum narrative that encourages and maintains the reader's interest. "Readers and listeners should find the story stimulating and interesting, even compelling."[29]

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[28]Ibid.
[29]Ibid.

Ary, Cheser Jacobs, and Razavieh (1990) provided a succinct statement of the nature of historical research and its methodology:

> Historical research is the attempt to establish facts and arrive at conclusions concerning the past. The historian systematically and objectively locates, evaluates, and interprets evidence from which we can learn about the past. Based on the evidence gathered, conclusions are drawn regarding the past so as to increase our knowledge of how and why past events occurred and the process by which the past became the present. The hoped for result is increased understanding of the present and a more rational basis for making choices."[30]

This clearly indicates that historical research should utilize an emergent design, with the researcher developing and refining skills in inductive analysis. The four thematic questions about Boyd H. Bode which were identified earlier in this chapter will serve to narrow the focus of both the research for, and writing of, this study. As far as possible, the thinking and writing of Boyd H. Bode will provide the starting point in the preparation for each chapter of this thesis, so that his ideas will be conveyed as authentically as possible. The histories, dissertations, and texts already identified as secondary source materials will help to provide the context for Bode's ideas as well as to provide valuable commentaries on the extent of Bode's contributions to democratic thinking and democratic education.

One major limitation in historical research is that the researcher has no

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[30]D. Ary, L. Cheser Jacobs, and A. Razavieh, Introduction to Research in Education (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1990), 453.

control over what "records and artifacts survive."[31] As has already been stated, the fact that Boyd H. Bode's personal papers were destroyed soon after his death means that his researchers have lost the opportunity to gain insight into his life and work through a most significant source.[32] Another limitation is that the recurring emphasis in the field of education on the life and work of John Dewey has meant that the work of Dewey's contemporaries has often been overshadowed. Therefore, Bode's contribution to education is frequently not as well documented in histories of the era or commentaries on educational theories as a researcher would like. However, a number of dissertations on Boyd H. Bode currently in existence are valuable resources to aid this particular study. These dissertations also serve to demonstrate the variety and significance of their extensive source materials on Bode. Therefore, the two limitations outlined above should not impede the progress of this study.

A third limitation should be identified at this time. Due to the historical nature of this particular study, it is not possible to sustain inclusivity of language throughout, as many of the quotations will be drawn from a time in which masculine nouns and pronouns were used exclusively when general observations were made about people. It is to be hoped that the style of these quotations will be viewed as reflecting the writing conventions of a particular era. It would be both unfair and inappropriate to judge the style in the light of present

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[31]Ibid., 453.

[32]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 8.

day standards and conventions.

Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr. once remarked that "Few students of education are familiar with Bode."[33] It is to be hoped that this study will help to correct this omission and also provide a Canadian perspective on the life and work of Boyd H. Bode.

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[33]Ibid., 4.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EARLY LIFE OF BOYD H. BODE (1873-1900)

Boyd H. Bode was born in the midst of an era of dramatic growth and change in American history. The last forty years of the nineteenth century saw a renewed emphasis on westward expansion as immigration increased markedly and people sought opportunities to establish themselves on homesteads and farms and to utilize natural resources through mining initiatives. The growth of settlements and towns was fostered by the expansion of the railroad which provided the possibilities for trade, travel and communication with other centres. Manufacturing and business interests soon began to expand rapidly in response to new markets and new sources of raw materials with the result that Jefferson's dream of "a great agrarian democracy" began to be radically altered by the interests of such magnates as J. D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, and J. P. Morgan. Thus, "within two generations of Jefferson's death the value of American manufactured products was almost treble that of the agricultural, and the spokesmen of big business were appealing to his laissez-faire principles."[1]

The work of Professor William Graham Sumner of Yale University helped to allay some suspicions that the growth of business might be contrary to the American tradition. The social Darwinism he advocated in American society was

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[1] Samuel Eliot Morison, Henry Steele Commager, and William E. Leuchtenburg, The Growth of the American Republic: Volume Two (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1969), 50.

based on four "not wholly harmonious ingredients": a belief in limited government; a belief in the "sanctity of property"; a belief in the principle of "survival of the fittest"; and finally a belief in the duty of the rich both to continue to prosper and to become the decision makers for society. However, it did provide a rationale for those interested in large scale manufacturing and an expanding market place.[2]

It seemed an exciting time to be alive. It was a time when innovations in science and industry both amazed and fascinated the American people. The significance of the United States on the world stage increased rapidly, especially in the years after 1876 when the balance of trade shifted very much in its favor. The United States was soon in a position to become part of an "international trend toward imperialism," alongside such nations as Great Britain, France, and Japan. Motivated once more by its belief in manifest destiny, the United States adopted an expansionist stance outside its borders in the Caribbean and further afield in the Pacific and the Far East. The United States was becoming firmly established as a major world power.[3]

When Boyd H. Bode was, in his own words, "young and impressionable," he shared much of the excitement of the accomplishments of his era:

> When I was a pupil in the public schools and a student in college, I had frequent opportunity to read and to hear rhapsodies on the greatness of man. What was chiefly emphasized was man's control over

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[2]Ibid., 79.
[3]Ibid., 234-265.

> nature.... Every day brought its tale of wonders, and the future was rosy with the dawn of endless possibilities.[4]

In later life, Bode's youthful enthusiasms were to be tempered by his concerns over the darker consequences of the "control of nature" by human beings, and by his concerns over the inequalities and inconsistencies inherent in American democracy. However, as a young person living in small towns in the American Midwest, Bode was probably initially unaware of the serious social issues - such as overcrowded slum housing, poverty, hunger, and disease - that had developed as a result of the rapid growth of industry and business in such centres as New York and Chicago:

> The greatest of manufacturing nations, the United States permitted the exploitation of women and children and neglected the aged, the incompetent, and the infirm. Unemployment and child labor both persisted; machinery was marvellously efficient, but no other industrial nation confessed to so many industrial accidents. Wealth was gravitating rapidly into the hands of a small portion of the population, and the power of wealth threatened the political integrity of the Republic.[5]

Concern over these conditions gave rise both to trade unionism and to the beginnings of the Progressive Movement. The Movement's supporters advocated a stronger, more centralized form of government than before with "new standards of honesty in politics and in business" that would help to establish a more democratic and humane social order. Those who involved

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[4] Boyd H. Bode, Modern Educational Theories, 5th ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), 2-3.

[5] Morison, Commager, Leuchtenburg, 267.

themselves in the early work of the Movement included such individuals as Jane Addams, who established Hull House in Chicago in 1887, and Jacob Riis, whose 1890 publication **How the Other Half Lives** aroused significant interest and concern in the need for reform.[6]

Boyd H. Bode's early life was thus lived in an era both of great promise and of great anxiety. In many ways, it appears possible to recognize similar social and economic patterns in the present day. Writing in 1995, Alan Ryan, a political theorist at Princeton University, drew attention to the parallels that exist between North American life in the 1990s and life in the 1890s. He observed that today we share many of the same fears and anxieties about society as those who preceded us a century ago, remarking that "their anxieties about the collapse of religious faith, the horrors of inner-city destitution, the ineducability of the poor, and the instability of working-class employment were not *exactly* like our own, but they were *surprisingly* like our own."[7]

However, it is often only as adults that we tend to become aware of the complexities and inconsistencies that have developed, and are developing, in the larger society. As children we tend to be more aware of our immediate environment - our family and our own community. Therefore, a portrayal of Bode's early life would be very incomplete without a consideration of the culture

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[6]Ibid., 266-294.

[7]Alan Ryan, John Dewey and the High Tide of American Liberalism (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), 36.

of the family and community in which he was raised. One writer who would advocate this strongly would be Norman De Jong, for the central thesis in De Jong's 1972 dissertation was that Bode was strongly influenced throughout his life by the "total immersion in Calvinistic culture" that characterized his childhood.[8] This is not the place to explore the extent of this influence on Bode's later thinking. Here it is sufficient to acknowledge the importance of exploring the roots and early experiences of this man.

Bode's father, Hendrik, was born in Emden in Ostfriesland in Northwestern Germany. However, because of the Ostfriesens' close proximity to the Netherlands, they espoused a Calvinistic Protestantism rather than adhering to the Lutheran beliefs that prevailed in much of Germany. As staunch Calvinists they were opposed to a hierarchical form of governance for their church and preferred a more democratic approach. Therefore, the Ostfriesens and their Dutch neighbors resisted any efforts to establish state controls over religion. The Dutch Calvinists seceded from the state church in 1834 and their German neighbors also took a strong stand. As dissenters they were treated harshly. This, coupled with their concerns over economic instability, prompted them to consider emigration, and in 1854 the family of nine year old Hendrik Bode embarked at Bremerhaven for the long voyage to New Orleans. Once on

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[8] Norman De Jong, Boyd H. Bode: A Study of the Relationship between the Kingdom of God and Democracy, Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1972. (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1972), 5-6.

American soil, the new immigrant families travelled by steamer up the Mississippi River and "finally overland to a newly created Calvinistic settlement at German Valley, Illinois." There the Ostfriesen settlers adapted quite smoothly to their new lives. They were respected as hard working and trustworthy and, with the assistance of settlers who had preceded them, most became established as farmers.[9]

The Ostfriesens maintained the "cultural, linguistic, political, and especially ecclesiastical ties" with the Dutch secessionists who had moved to America in the 1840s and 1850s. Initially, the secessionists made an attempt to ally with the Eastern-based Reformed Church at Poughkeepsie, New York, but by 1864 the decision was made to establish their own identity as the Ware Hollandsche Gereformeerde Kerk - the True Dutch Reformed Church. In 1890 they changed the name of their church once more to become the Christian Reformed Church, the name it is known by today.[10]

Thus, Boyd H. Bode was born into a community in which a philosophy of "idealism and moral absolutism" was pivotal. God was Sovereign: the source of all truth, power, and authority. By recognizing the sin of Adam and by turning to the Scriptures in a spirit of repentance and faith, people would realize God's fellowship with mankind and the reality of God's kingdom. Church services emphasized sermons, reading from the scriptures, hymns, and repentance.

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[9]Ibid., 20-25.
[10]Ibid., 20, 30.

Obedience to God's word and a sense of militancy against the devil and his works were fostered. However, there was no belief that salvation could be earned through prayer or good works. Neither those who functioned as faithful ministers of the Reformed Church, nor devout individuals who were elected by the community to serve as elders, nor any others whose faith was sincere and genuine could anticipate eternal life with God. Salvation of an elect had already been decided by God- Calvin's concept of predestination - and no human action could change this reality because mankind has no control over its destiny.[11] Thus, "in their communities, in their churches, in their homes, and in their private schools the qualities of obedience and submission to authority were prized above almost all else."[12]

Hendrik and Gertrude Bode were "young and successful farmers" when their third child was born on October 4,1873 at Ridott, Northern Illinois. The birth of Boyd was particularly meaningful due to the death of their two year old son, Peter, just eleven days earlier. This sad occurance, coupled with their increasing awareness of Boyd's personality and abilities, made for a strong relationship between parents and son. Boyd "occupied a unique place in his parents' life and

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[11] Many sources exist in which the tenets of Calvinism are discussed. These include religious histories, such as John Dillenberger and Claude Welch's 1988 text, Protestant Christianity; histories that focus on the Christian Reformed Church, such as H. Zwaanstra's 1973 text, Reformed Thought and Experience in a New World; general histories, such as Crane Brinton, John B. Christopher, and Robert Lee Wolff's 1967 text, Modern Civilization; and De Jong's 1972 dissertation on Boyd H. Bode.

[12] De Jong, 122.

enjoyed a special relationship with his father."[13]

In 1875, Hendrik realized that the time was right to begin formal religious studies towards realizing his hope of becoming a "minister of the gospel." He therefore left Gertrude, Anna, and Boyd alone on the farm for the winter months while he went to Grand Rapids, Michigan, to spend time at a "literary and theological school." Two years later, the whole family moved there when Hendrik became a candidate for the ministry, and in 1881 he accepted the challenge of his appointment as dominie of the First Christian Reformed Church at Wellsburg, Iowa. It was a challenge because the community was divisive and troubled, but Hendrik "a peace-loving, totally devoted and unselfish man,...quickly set out to heal the wounds and bring together his parishioners." The community showed its appreciation for Hendrik's work six years later when it built "a new and beautiful parsonage" for their minister and his family.[14]

The move to Wellsburg appears to have marked the beginning of Boyd's formal schooling. He began at a local country school where he probably also began his education in English, but when he was ten a Christian school was opened by the church and Boyd, "who was a very serious, questioning youngster" quickly became the "prize pupil" of his teacher, Henry Potgieter.[15] An

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[13]Ibid., 35. Both De Jong and Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr. remark on this close relationship and also on the qualities and accomplishments of Hendrik Bode.

[14] De Jong, 37-38.

[15] Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr. (1981) observed that Henry Potgieter was Boyd Bode's first teacher. However, De Jong (1972) referred to two years spent in a country school prior to this. Although Boyd was learning to speak English at this time, Bullough,

interesting paradox which existed in Boyd's early life was that he had much more encouragement to think and question than many of his peers, despite the fact that he was the minister's son:

> Unlike many of his school friends, he had the advantage of a father and mother who were unusually liberal for their day. He also possessed a disposition that clearly was not constrained by cultural or ideational walls. It was Bode's minister father, Henry (Hendrik) who provided the first cracks in the cultural walls surrounding his son....Perhaps the best description of the nature of their relationship is the father's view of his son as "one to whom he could speak."[16]

This approach to their son's development appears reflective of an exceptional level of insight and respect for him as a human being. For Boyd did not appear to have the practical qualities that were usually respected in a hard working, farming community where, as Boyd later remarked, "laziness was a deadly sin." In addition to religious responsibilities, Hendrik and Gertrude Bode also cared for a family of "seven living children" and a 160 acre farm. However, their eldest son tended to shirk his duties on the farm "and spend an inordinate amount of time browsing through the newspapers in which lunch was wrapped for the farm workers."[17]

In 1889 sixteen year old Boyd left home for the first time to study at the Academy level at Yankton College in South Dakota. There he had the

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Jr. noted that the Church services were in Dutch, High German was used in the school, and Low German was used for everyday communication, 16.

[16]Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education:Boyd H. Bode (Bayside, New York: General Hall, Inc., 1981), 12.

[17] De Jong, 39-40.

opportunity to take courses in Latin, Greek and Algebra. His attachment to his family remained strong, however, as he hurried home during the year to be with them at the funeral of his sister, Anna, who had died in childbirth. "Already sensitized to human needs, Boyd grieved deeply and was said to have fainted at the funeral."[18] He returned to Yankton to complete his studies and then moved to Steamboat Rock, Hardin Country, Iowa in 1890 to live with the Potgieter family while he completed high school. During this time, he took advantage of Henry Potgieter's varied collection of books on religion, travel, history, and his copy of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to feed his need to read and study.[19]

In 1891, Boyd was back in Wellsburg and this is probably the time when he took on the task of teaching at "country school #3" a few miles west of the town. Many years later, in **Progressive Education at the Crossroads**, Bode was to reminisce about this experience and remark that teaching in that situation was straightforward and undemanding because he focused on the three R's and the real education of the children took place on the farm, at home, in the church, and in the community:

> The education going on outside of my school was in certain fundamental respects a beautiful, albeit unconscious, exemplification of Progressive doctrine. With respect to method, it relied on the familiar principle of learning by doing, and it practiced the doctrine that education is a form of present living.... The purpose of the process was to take children into full participation in the life of the community. The aim as we sometimes phrase it nowadays, was participation. In its

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[18]Ibid., 40.

[19]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 13.

purpose this education was both definite and effective.[20]

Bode recognized this observation as somewhat "nostalgic" and pointed out that such an approach to education served to perpetuate the status quo and not to recognize the potential of specific individuals "except that the bright boy was likely to be considered as possible material for a clergyman."[21] This rather wistful comment seems to reflect Bode's own perception of his youthful role in the community. Certainly, his close bond with his father and his own faith encouraged him to assist with Sunday School classes and with catechism in his teenage years. He also was later to ask for and make a public declaration of faith before the community in 1894 when he was 21.[22] However, though they probably hoped Boyd would eventually enter the ministry, Hendrik and Gertrude Bode seem to have allowed their son to seek an education at colleges and universities with no direct affiliation with Christian Reformed principles and beliefs.

In 1892, Hendrik and Gertrude Bode made the decision to move on "to new challenges" in Sioux County, Iowa where they could help in the adjustment and settlement of new Dutch settlers. In 1893, Boyd left home once again to return to Yankton College where he embarked on college level courses with "a very

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[20]Boyd H. Bode, Progressive Education At the Crossroads (1938; reprint, New York: Arno Press, Inc.,1971), 50.

[21]Ibid., 50-51.

[22]De Jong, 46.

thorough mixture of Latin, Greek, and mathematics."[23] In 1894, after another family move to Leighton, Iowa, Boyd moved on to William Penn College, which was run by the Society of Friends in nearby Oscaloosa. During the next two years, he was supported by his family while he was a weekly boarder, living in an attic room in the town. He graduated with a B.A. in 1896 and received a scholarship to further his studies at the University of Michigan.[24]

Letters written between Hendrik and Boyd at this time indicate the close relationship between them as well as Hendrik's increasing concern about the level of his son's faith. At Michigan, Boyd was beginning to take courses in Ethics and Philosophy, and was being exposed to ideas that often flew in the face of the beliefs in which he had been raised. In December of 1896, Hendrik wrote to caution his son against confusing the "beautiful science" of Ethics with the "Ethical Creed," whose proponents rejected the Scriptures, or interpreted them in a questionable manner. Hendrik advised Boyd to "Hold on to the literal inspiration of the Holy Scripture and keep - with the Bible in your hand - an eye on those Ethical Gentlemen... "[25]

This was in many ways a very stressful year for Boyd Bode. He felt ill prepared as he plunged into courses firmly grounded in a European tradition

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[23]Ibid., 43-44 and 279.

[24] Information about Boyd H. Bode's academic studies is to be found in archival material from Ohio State University as well as in the writings of Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr. and Norman De Jong.

[25] De Jong, 286.

very distant from his own experience, and which, he was later to realize were also distant from the American reality. However, Boyd continued to seek for knowledge outside the culture of his youth in whatever situation that was accessible to him. This rather lonely struggle for an education was to influence much of his later thinking:

> This continuous fight to enlarge his horizons through education is significant because it helps one to sense how meager were Bode's early opportunities to see the world outside his immediate community. During these difficult times, he developed something of an aversion to those who were unwilling to undertake the challenge he had accepted and were content to stay put in their closed worlds. These individuals angered him not just because they exhibited what he took to be a kind of cowardliness but because there was so much to be had if one would but go after it as he had done. He wanted to partake of this richness.[26]

Despite the difficulties he experienced at Michigan, Boyd completed the year successfully and received a second B.A. He was awarded another scholarship which enabled him to move to Ithaca, New York, to embark on doctoral work at Cornell University. By October of 1897, he was able to write to his parents that he was "doing well" and that his seven philosophy professors "do not go as far as they did at Ann Arbor - at least some professors do not." He wrote particularly about the professor with whom he was to work most closely, Charles Mellen Tyler, the Sage Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion. Tyler was a former Congregational minister, "by no means a Calvinist, but he is not

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[26]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 14.

abandoning religion as philosophers in principle seem to be inclined to do."[27]

Though Boyd formed friendships at Cornell - being particularly distressed by the sudden death of his closest friend in April of 1899 - he continued to engage his parents, particularly his father, in the ongoing discussion and exploration of ideas during his time at Cornell. However, he found little support for his evolving ideas in his family's community in Leighton, Iowa. In the summer of 1898, he was invited to teach Sunday School, but the content of his instruction quickly caused opposition and a petition was started to "conduct an investigation into the way the Sunday School was being taught." When Boyd returned to Cornell embittered by the whole experience, Hendrik Bode was left with the concern of a troubled community and with concern over his son's sense of dissatisfaction as he knew that his son had reacted to the hostility by temporarily stopping his attendance at church. Nonetheless, the bond between father and son remained strong, probably due to the fact that Hendrik felt as isolated as his son in many ways. In December of 1898, he ended one of his many letters to Boyd with the plaintive comment "I am again at times longing, that you are coming home, for I have no friends in the world with whom I can talk over everything."[28]

The strong relationship between father and son is perhaps most dramatically

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[27] Letter from Boyd Bode to his parents dated October 10, 1897, included in De Jong's 1972 dissertation. Archival records from Ohio State University indicate that in later life Bode described his religious affiliation as Congregationalist, rather than Christian Reformed. Possibly his connection with Charles Mellen Tyler influenced this affiliation.

[28] De Jong, 50-51.

indicated in the events of the last few days of his father's life. Hendrik, who had been diagnosed with cancer in October of 1899, travelled to Chicago in January of 1900:

> Waiting for him at the train station was his eldest son, who had come from Ithaca to offer whatever help he could. After two days of sightseeing in the city of stockyards and urban sprawl, Boyd admitted his rapidly ailing father to Presbyterian Hospital on January 12. Alone with his father for ten tortuous days, Boyd was asked to read Psalm 61 and the 21st chapter of Revelation repeatedly. One day before he died, Rev. Bode expressed the wish "that our dear God would cut off my life before Sunday so that I might spend Sunday in the Jerusalem that is above."[29]

With his father's death and with his own years of study drawing to a close, Boyd Bode was leaving his childhood and early adulthood behind him. He returned to Cornell where he completed work on his dissertation, which was entitled **The Principle of Gratia Gratum Faciens in the Ethics of Thomas Aquinas.**[30] The title of this dissertation alone reflects the fact that Bode was exploring Christian writings outside the tradition in which he had been raised. He proceeded to outline the thinking of Aquinas on the matter of God's grace, and in his critique questioned the Thomist reliance on faculty psychology, which he was later to describe as having "its origin in an antiquated metaphysics."[31] Bode also

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[29]Ibid., 52.

[30] Dr. Arthur Spring of St. Mary's College, Winona, Minnesota, has provided the following explanation of Aquinas's principle of Gratia Gratum Faciens. Essentially it represents God given grace working wonders in humans. God gives us the instruments to reason things out, and then grace is given. To use perhaps the most famous line in the writings of Aquinas, "Grace builds on nature." Telephone conversation, December 20, 1995.

[31] Boyd H. Bode, Modern Educational Theories, 186.

questioned the attempt by Aquinas and by his teacher, Albertus Magnus, to "Christianize Aristotle," which ultimately resulted in what Boyd perceived as a reduction of "the Christian doctrine to a mere appendix of Aristotelianism," when in fact the doctrine of Gratia carried to its logical conclusion "involves a sharp antithesis to Aristotle":

> In thus making Christianity appear as something superimposed from intellect he [Aquinas] naturally promoted the tendency, so strongly marked in the Church during later years, towards formalism in the shape of good works and outward submission to authority. It was especially against this tendency that the mighty voice of Luther was raised in protest.[32]

Luther was initially repelled by Aquinas's focus on Aristotle and his emphasis on reason, which Luther regarded "as mainly a source of stupendous mischief" as "unregenerate" man was "incapable of any good and disposed to all evil." Though Luther later modified his stance, his reaction evoked a widespread response, causing theology to withdraw into "retreat" and to threaten "to become as barren and abstract as in the days when it called forth the ridicule of John of Salisbury."[33] This observation marks one of the first times that Bode introduced one of the enduring themes of his later thinking - belief in the importance of opening ideas to discussion in order that knowledge might expand. This theme was very much an outcome of Boyd's own struggle for knowledge.

Boyd turned from Luther's reaction to present John Calvin's thinking on

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[32] Boyd H. Bode, "The Principle of Gratia Gratum Faciens in the Ethics of Thomas Aquinas" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1900. Ithaca, New York), 86-87.

[33] Ibid., 89.

Gratia. Calvin took a more moderate approach, believing that God's grace does have to exist in the world to "restrain its operations"; otherwise, the world would be thoroughly corrupt. God does not, therefore, permit an "absolute separation" between evil and good:

> Calvin distinguishes between common grace, which is extended to all mankind, and special grace (Gratia), which applies only to certain individuals preferred above the rest. But whether attributable to the one form of grace or to the other, "whatever good is in the human will is the work of pure grace."[34]

Boyd concluded that Calvin's interpretation of Gratia provided "the deepest implication involved in the doctrine of Gratia," as Calvin demonstrated that it is only through God's intervention that any goodness can exist in the world, and that "all men are in some sense the object of divine grace." [35]

Bode's dissertation reflects a combination of both the culture in which he had been raised, and the tradition of European philosophy that had shaped his higher education. In writing the dissertation, he had completed the requirements for graduation from Cornell, which "was a leading center for graduate study in America."[36] He was offered a position as an assistant in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Wisconsin.[37] It would appear that his life was falling smoothly into place and that his academic career was about to begin. For many perhaps, this stage of life would be viewed with relief, a sense of

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[34]Ibid., 89.
[35]Ibid.
[36]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 25.
[37]De Jong, 58.

accomplishment, and perhaps a touch of complacency. As the following chapter will demonstrate, this was far from the truth in the case of Boyd H. Bode. The early years of Bode's academic life were to be marked by an escalation of his struggles over his beliefs and his search for knowledge. This was ultimately to result in the first of two major transitions in his life - the shift from idealism to pragmatism by the time he was forty years old. Before examining this shift, it is important to examine the climate of thought which existed in America at the turn of the century, and which led many, including Boyd H. Bode, to undergo a major reconstruction of their thinking and of their approach to life.

CHAPTER THREE

THE TWO MAJOR TRANSITIONS IN BOYD H. BODE'S LIFE AND THOUGHT

(1900-1953)

> America has never, at any stage in her development, considered philosophy a mere game to be indulged in by men of leisure. Philosophy, like life, has been a practical affair. It is engaged in for important stakes, issuing in concrete results, in science, politics, and education."[1]

As America embarked on the passage of a new century, the progressive era was beginning to gain in force and momentum: "The temper of the time was liberal, experimental, and expansive."[2] However, the philosophical idealists, who had a well established standard of scholarship and who held dominant positions in academic circles throughout the country, felt confident to meet the challenges presented to them by rapid scientific advances. Central to idealism was the belief that the mind should be constantly striving for, and guided by, truths and absolutes. Therefore, they recognized scientific inquiry as "the mind's own work, the embodiment of one of its loftiest ideals."[3] However, they viewed those who focused solely on scientific method and who rejected the reality of universal truths with a decidedly critical eye. For by attending only to temporal matters, such thinkers were inhibiting knowledge and limiting the potential of the mind:

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[1]St. Elmo Nauman, Dictionary of American Philosophy (Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Company, 1974), 10.

[2]Arthur E. Murphy, "Philosophical Scholarship," in American Scholarship in the 20th. Century, ed. Merle Curti (New York: Russell and Russell, 1967), 168.

[3]Ibid, 174.

> The trouble with the agnostics, evolutionists, and empiricists who sought to limit knowledge to sequences of mere and mindless facts was not at all in what they claimed to know, which was usually informative and sometimes important. It was in what, ironically, they claimed not to know, that knowledge of phenomena is the work of a mind that is not itself a mere phenomenon and that, in consequence, behind the appearance of a world of matter and of evolution there stands the spiritual reality of the mind for which this world exists and whose rational structure is presupposed in every meaningful attempt to doubt or to deny it.[4]

But if American philosophy is indeed a practical affair, the inadequacies of idealism to address the changing needs and purposes of American society soon became apparent. The idealists spoke of an ultimate spiritual reality, which even they struggled to fully define, at a time when American attention focused on seeking a firmer understanding of their present reality. The climate was right for a philosophy that was more practical in its orientation. The climate was right for pragmatism.[5]

Writing in 1931, John Childs outlined four key features of American life that fostered the growth and acceptance of pragmatic thought. These were the absence of a rigid, hierarchical tradition; the challenges of life on the frontier; the real possibility for social democracy; and the impact of industrial development on American life.[6]

While it was true that many European religious and social traditions were

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[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., 177-178.

[6]John L. Childs, Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc.,1931), 18-41.

carried across the Atlantic by the early settlers, they were carried into an environment and experience vastly different from the culture and lifestyles then prevailing in Europe. Therefore, though influential, these traditions could not become as deeply entrenched in America and they were challenged and undermined by such significant events as the American Revolution. After 1783, much of the attention of the American people shifted from east to west. As Americans faced the challenges presented by frontier life, they had to learn to adapt to a very different reality presented by an "uncultivated environment." They learned from and through experience, utilizing their "creative intelligence."

This frontier experience, which provided unprecedented opportunities for individuals to own land and to take advantage of rich, natural resources, also provided the American people with grounds to believe in the possibility of a social democracy. They developed a sense of their own empowerment, which was reinforced by their increasing use of the inventive machines and tools of the Industrial age to tame the frontier. Yet the paradox of this age was that the very machines that allowed them to control a vast country also contributed to social and environmental changes which created new situations and uncertainties for the American people.[7]

Given this climate of change, opportunity, and insecurity, it is not surprising that pragmatism emerged in the late nineteenth century and has often been

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[7]Ibid., 18-41.

recognized as "the indigenous American philosophy." However, it would be erroneous to suggest that pragmatism emerged only out of the American experience and had no connection with prior theory or scholarship. It is very apparent that pragmatism was influenced by Greek philosophy, European thought, and British Empiricism, as well as by American thought and experience. An exploration of the ideas that contributed to the growth of pragmatic thought could be extensive; however, for present purposes, the observations of Osmon and Craver will serve to highlight some of the key influences that have taken place:

> The antecedents of the philosophy of pragmatism are many and varied, but there are some basic elements that are vitally important. These are induction, the importance of human experience, naturalistic humanism, and the relations between science and the culture of man.[8]

Thus, the pragmatists developed their ideas in part through reflecting on Francis Bacon's method of induction; on John Locke's emphasis on experience; on Jean Jacques Rousseau's influential thinking regarding the importance of the nature of child development and experience; on Auguste Comte's scientific study of society; and finally on the then highly controversial, yet compelling, writings of Charles Darwin.[9]

Despite the relevance of their ideas to the conditions prevailing in the United States, the first pragmatists found resistance to their ideas in philosophical

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[8]Howard A. Ozmon and Samuel M. Craver, Philosophical Foundations of Education (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1981), 81.

[9]Ibid., 81-88.

circles. Charles Saunders Peirce, William James, and their "philosophical mentor," Chauncey Wright, were unorthodox in their thought, largely because they were philosophers trained in science, rather than exclusively in philosophy or psychology. Therefore, they found it very difficult to find permanent academic positions. Wright, who had graduated from Harvard in 1852, had been a brilliant student of Benjamin Peirce, Professor of Mathematics. However, he was unable to establish an academic career for himself, largely because he was an agnostic, positivistic in orientation, and reclusive in temperament. His significance here is that his involvement in the Metaphysical Club at Harvard in the 1860s and 1870s helped to stimulate the early thinking of Charles Peirce and William James.[10]

Charles Peirce appeared to have many more opportunities to involve himself in academics than Chauncey Wright. He was well educated by his father, Benjamin, and enjoyed the scientific conversation that prevailed when visitors came to their home in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Later he was to receive the first Sc.B. degree in chemistry awarded by Harvard. His career involved work as a scientist for the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, which "tended to confirm his conviction that scientific inquiry was fundamentally communal in nature." [11] Despite his father's influence and, more importantly, his promise as a scholar, Peirce was only able to obtain limited work at Harvard. From 1879-

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[10]Daniel J. Wilson, Science, Community, and the Transformation of American Philosophy, 1860-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 12-39.

[11]Ibid., 21.

1884, he was appointed on a yearly basis to teach courses at Johns Hopkins University. There he emphasized and encouraged "the community of inquiry" by establishing a new Metaphysical Club and conversing with such individuals as Josiah Royce, John Dewey, and Thorstein Veblen. His work at Johns Hopkins was abruptly ended in 1884, perhaps in large part due to his difficult and temperamental personality. This also ended his academic career and he later died in reduced circumstances in Milford, Pennsylvania. As Daniel Wilson observed in 1990, "it is ironic...that the philosopher who so forcefully argued for the communal nature of scholarship should by the age of forty-five have been almost totally excluded from the scientific and academic communities of his time."[12]

William James also struggled to establish a career, but this was in large part due to the eclectic nature of his interests and thinking, which ranged from art, to science, to psychology, to philosophy. Like Peirce, he had also been raised by a father who enjoyed scholarship and who also enjoyed sharing and discussing ideas with those who came to his home. However, in the Henry James,Sr. household, the discussions were less focused on science and more wide ranging. Nonetheless, James, who was amiable and personable by nature, at first tried to please his father and qualified as a physician, graduating from Harvard in 1869. He appears to have had no intention of making medicine his

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[12]Ibid., 22.

career, as his own personal inclination was by that time much more towards psychology and philosophy. His first academic opportunity came in 1872 when Charles W. Eliot hired him as a physiology instructor at Harvard. James was able in subsequent years to move away from physiology to his own areas of interest and ultimately enjoyed "a distinguished academic career."[13]

The difficulties experienced by Charles Saunders Peirce and William James in gaining acceptance as scientist-philosophers were not experienced by the two other founders of pragmatism, John Dewey and George Herbert Mead. Dewey and Mead were not scientists. They came to philosophy through more usual channels and both were offered good opportunities to begin their academic careers at the University of Michigan in 1884 and 1891 respectively, and later continued to work together as colleagues at the University of Chicago.[14] These four thinkers each made a unique contribution to the development of pragmatic thought. However, it is possible to identify common themes in pragmatism that can be briefly summarized here: "(1) the reality of change, (2) the essentially social and biological nature of man, (3) the relativity of values, and (4) the use of critical intelligence."[15]

When present life seems difficult and unsettled, there is a strong tendency in

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[13] Wilson, 15-24.

[14] Daniel J. Wilson and Israel Scheffler are two of a number of authors who provide biographical information regarding Dewey and Mead.

[15] George F. Kneller, "The Relevance of Philosophy," in Foundations of Education, ed. George F. Kneller (New York: Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1971), 209.

human nature to look back at "better" times in the past with an idealistic and nostalgic eye. People may look back to a time when life appeared settled, ordered, and certain; to a time when life was guided by faith, truth, and tradition; to a time when the words of Robert Browning would be most apt, "God's in his heaven - All's right with the world."[16] The pragmatists challenged such a view of the past, or a similar level of complacency about the present. They suggested the removal of rose-tinted glasses and the adoption of a more realistic world view. They challenged their contemporaries to have the courage to recognize change as an inevitable part of human existence, and to accept that the uncertainty and instability of their present age was not unique, but rather indicative of the reality of "a contingent, hazardous, and wide-open rather than a finished, universe."[17]

Present circumstances were therefore best addressed in and through lived experience, centred on the here, the now, the concrete, and the practical. This did not mean that pragmatic thought was narrow and simplistic. It, in fact, addressed questions that were central to human life, such as, "What is this world going to be? What is life eventually to make of itself?"[18] The pragmatists believed that such questions were to be addressed through the intellectual

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[16]Robert Browning, Pippa Passes, Part 1.

[17]Maurice Baum, "Pragmatism," in American Philosophy, ed. Ralph B. Winn (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 166.

[18]William James, Pragmatism and The Meaning of Truth (1907, 1909; reprint, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978), 62.

growth and development of individuals, as well as in the interrelationships of human beings, with each other and with their environment.

Such questions were to be addressed, but never answered with a sense of permanence or finality, for in accepting the reality of change the pragmatists rejected absolutism. Truths, beliefs, and values were all relative, receiving credibility and acceptance only in the appropriateness of their application in particular circumstances or situations:

> Ideas are simply tools or instruments used to facilitate an organic reaction. Ideas are always in relation to those that entertain them and the desire to obtain certain effects. Nothing can be spoken of as absolutely good or absolutely bad. "Truth" is relative, in the same way that the good is relative. There is no absolute certainty for human life."[19]

In presenting the lack of certainty in human life and thought, the pragmatists placed a great deal of emphasis and reliance on the capacity of individuals to exercise "critical intelligence." It was crucial for individuals to learn to be active thinkers, as passive acceptance of the dictates of a thinking elite was inadequate to meet present need. The pragmatists were particularly impressed by the achievements in the sciences in the last three centuries, "amassing more reliable knowledge ...than had been gained during the preceding five thousand years of recorded history."[20] They proposed that the use of scientific method should be expanded to encompass all aspects of life, and believed that individuals were

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[19]John T. Wahlquist, The Philosophy of American Education (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1942), 80.

[20]Baum, 164.

capable of rising to the challenges that this presented:

> The founders of Pragmatism therefore proceeded to generalize the attitude and procedure of science to create a method of thinking which would be applicable to all fields of human activity and reflection. Thus the pragmatic method was born, which demands that all ideas, issues and problems be clarified operationally, or in terms of what practical differences in human experience action based upon adoption of one or another conception, or solution, would make.[21]

To the pragmatists, then, traditional models of schooling were seen to be inadequate - narrow proscribed curricula, rote learning, and methods of teaching that focused on the transmission of set knowledge would not prepare students to meet the challenges of real life. They advocated schools that would expand an individual's capacity to think. The pupil "must learn by doing, being enlightened continuously through his developing intelligence in a cooperative school situation."[22] Therefore, many of the founders of progressive schools in the early part of this century took their inspiration from the writings of the pragmatists, particularly the work of John Dewey.

In 1900, a 27 year old Boyd H. Bode arrived in Madison to begin work as an assistant in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Wisconsin. He brought with him his recently widowed mother, Gertrude, and two sisters, Gertrude and Ida, who lived with him for a year before his mother established a permanent home in Parkersburg, Iowa.[23] This was a stressful time for the

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[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid., 169.

[23]Norman De Jong, Boyd H. Bode: A Study of the Relationship between the Kingdom of God and Democracy, Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1972 (Ann Arbor,

"young, dissatisfied idealist" who had experienced many changes in his life in a few short months, and who was now expected to prove his worth as a philosopher. Yet, how to proceed? This was a person confused by the dualism of his early life. On the one hand, he had lived in pioneer towns, in which "experimentalist and democratic attitudes" were central to the ongoing survival of the community. On the other hand, "in morals and religion, Bode's 'home training was fundamentalist' in outlook and authoritarian in emphasis."[24] In terms of his education, Bode was becoming aware of the compelling nature of the writings of such individuals as Charles Darwin and the early pragmatists, yet his formal education had been dominated by courses that were traditional in content and idealistic in orientation. The one grudge Bode seems to have borne throughout his life was a strong resentment against his teachers for not helping him to come to terms with the dualism in American life, and for not helping him to find a way to reconstruct his thinking. In 1951, at the age of 77, Bode wrote to John L. Childs:

> Educationally speaking, what ails the modern man chiefly is, I think, the fact that his cultural heritage is a gosh awful mess of which he is unaware. This is what ailed me, and I think I am in this respect fairly representative. I got myself straightened out pretty well - I think so anyway - because I had extraordinary advantages. One was light teaching schedules in high grade universities. Another was that I could take years and years to "reconstruct" myself, which is an unbelievably slow process when a person does it on his own. I'll never

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UMI, 1972), 87.

[24]John L. Childs, American Pragmatism and Education (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1956), 248.

forgive my teachers for letting me flounder without the help to which I was entitled.[25]

Bode may have considered his teaching responsibilities light, but it appears that he actually carried a rather heavy load, at least in his first four years at Wisconsin.[26] At the time of his arrival, Wisconsin had a rather weak philosophy department, yet in the next nine years Bode built a strong reputation both at the University and among American philosophers.[27] He was a member of the Western Philosophical Association, and also the writer of articles in which he initially challenged the pragmatists and defended idealism. His reputation grew steadily for even at this early stage of his career, Bode did not hesitate to challenge the thinking of the prominent thinkers of the day, including "the eminent William James and John Dewey." By 1902, Bode was made an instructor in the philosophy department; by 1906, he was an assistant professor; and by 1907 he had declined an invitation to spend a year at Columbia teaching courses alongside Dewey.[28]

His career appeared to be proceeding successfully. However, these were very difficult years for Bode as he was struggling to clarify his own thinking. His

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[25]Childs, American Pragmatism, 249.

[26]Writing in 1972, Norman De Jong listed the following courses taught by Bode in this four year period: "general psychology, logic, history of modern science, and theories of evolution....two courses in modern epistemological theories....[and] in 1903 he added his first course in philosophy of education."

[27] Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education: Boyd H. Bode (Bayside, New York: General Hall, Inc., 1981), 39.

[28]De Jong, 58-59.

students were very aware of his inner conflicts.[29] In 1904, Bode was functioning as a "quiz master" in a Psychology course taught by Professor F.C. Sharp. Apparently, Sharp lectured in a rather traditional fashion and required the students to be able to memorize and recite the content of the course. Bode, on the other hand, went beyond the set text "to ask questions out of bounds," thereby encouraging discussion and debate. This unexpected strategy was initially somewhat stressful for the students; however, for one of the students, Max Otto, this unconventional approach encouraged him to get better acquainted with the young instructor and he soon discovered that Bode was struggling "to get a viewpoint of his own." In encouraging dialogue in his courses, Bode placed himself in a situation in which he could vocalize his own ideas and benefit from the reactions and questions of the students. However, Bode was, at times, unable to respond to the issues raised in the classroom because he lacked "a standing ground." On one occasion, "he thought himself into a momentary loss of consciousness":

> I've forgotten what we attributed to his near collapse but it wasn't a joke when it happened. For some reason we took credit for asking such sharp questions and urging such profound objections that we rendered him helpless for the time. I speak of this at length because it is symbolic of what was going on. Bode was working like the devil on the material that obsessed him in class because it was an aspect of getting his mind cleared up on where he stood, or slithered around, for it wasn't a stand - that was just the trouble - he didn't have a standing

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[29]The following anecdote is to be found in Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 24-25.

ground.[30]

This was the beginning of a friendship between Bode and Max Otto that continued for the rest of their lives. They were drawn together by similar backgrounds and similar philosophical concerns, growing "into pragmatism together." In fact, it was in a letter to Otto in 1913 that Bode finally declared himself a pragmatist.[31]

In those early years at Wisconsin, it is very apparent that Bode adopted an approach to scholarship that he refined throughout his academic career. The approach he espoused was very much that of the critic, of both his own ideas and those of his contemporaries. He would present and debate ideas in the form of "an intellectual give and take.... always in the interest of clarifying and testing out of ideas."[32] His criticism was always rigorous and focused. In his assessment of Bode as critic, De Jong used rather extreme vocabulary to describe Bode's relationships with those whose ideas he challenged. De Jong's text described him as waging "ideological warfare against the enemies of idealism," aiming "academic guns at Dewey," and carrying on a "running feud with the pragmatic

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[30]Max Otto, letter to H. Gordon Hullfish, July 2, 1957, quoted in Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education: Boyd H. Bode (Bayside, New York: General Hall, Inc, 1981), 24-25.

[31]Boyd H. Bode, letter to Max Otto, June 4, 1913, cited in Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., Harold B. Alberty and Boyd H. Bode: Pioneers in Curriculum Theory, Ph.D. diss., the Ohio State University, 1976 (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1977), 13.

[32]Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., Harold B. Alberty and Boyd H. Bode: Pioneers in Curriculum Theory, Ph.D. diss., the Ohio State University, 1976 (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1977), 27.

camp" in these early years. [33] This vocabulary appears rather ill chosen as it creates a picture of a rather bumptious, opinionated young man. The picture is contradicted by the appreciation of William James and John Dewey for Bode's examination of their ideas. James apparently considered Bode's criticisms so valuable that he kept a response journal to the "Bode objections."[34] De Jong himself quoted Dewey as appreciating Bode's "careful study" of his writings and his "gratitude for [his] adequate and sympathetic understanding and exposition of them."[35] Both James and Dewey appeared to respect the fact that Bode's purpose was to clarify ideas through the examination of the writings of others, and thereby make a strong contribution to scholarship.

In fact, it was partly through the recommendations of William James and John Dewey that Bode's name came to the attention of Arthur Daniels in 1909. Daniels, who was head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Illinois, was seeking a strong philosopher to join the faculty, and soon decided to try to entice Bode to leave Madison. Initially, Bode was not interested in the position. He was well established, enjoying his teaching, and writing his first book.[36] He had been married for six years by this time and his wife, Bernice,

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[33]De Jong, 59-60

[34] John L. Childs, "Boyd H. Bode and the Experimentalists," Teachers College Record LV (October, 1953), 1, cited in Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education: Boyd H. Bode (Bayside, New York: General Hall, Inc.), 27.

[35] Letter, John Dewey to Boyd Bode, May 11, 1911, quoted in Norman De Jong, Boyd H. Bode: A Study of the Relationship between the Kingdom of God and Democracy, Ph.D. diss., The University of Iowa, 1972, Ann Arbor, UMI, 1972), 62.

[36]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 39.

was expecting their second child. When the University of Wisconsin became aware of the offer from Illinois, Bode received a counter offer of a salary increase, immediate promotion to associate professor, and a full professorship by 1911.[37] The negotiations concluded when Illinois offered a salary of $3,000, a full professorship, and the opportunity to be acting head of department for the 1909-1910 academic year.[38] Bode accepted and prepared for the move to Illinois.

At Illinois, Bode was provided with the opportunity to "do something significant for philosophy" by expanding and strengthening teaching in that discipline. There was "considerable interest" from students and enrollment in Bode's classes tripled in the twelve years he spent at that university. It was common for Bode to instruct 600 students in one semester. In 1910, Bode published his first book, **An Outline of Logic**, which won favorable reviews and additional recognition for the author as a philosopher. However, as Bode was increasingly moving towards a pragmatic orientation, he was beginning to grow impatient with philosophy. He was losing interest in teaching courses in logic, which he later described as "horse sense made asinine," finding the work "mere drill" and unrewarding.[39]

Bode found ways to challenge his thinking by writing articles for a variety of

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[37]De Jong, 60.
[38]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 40.
[39]Ibid., 40-41.

journals, and by beginning to teach more courses in the area of the philosophy of education.[40] In 1916, Bode taught a graduate seminar with William Chandler Bagley and was soon working regularly in that department.[41] It is very probable that Bode obtained a copy of John Dewey's **Democracy in Education** in that same year. This was a publication that had a strong influence upon him, and one that he considered one of the best contributions to the philosophy of education.[42] In these years, Bode also demonstrated his support for pragmatism by suggesting a collaborative project which culminated in the 1917 publication of **Creative Intelligence: Essays in the Pragmatic Attitude** edited by John Dewey, and containing a lengthy chapter by Bode entitled "Consciousness and Psychology."[43]

It appears that Bode's thinking was now on firmer ground. He appears to have come to terms with the implications for his religious faith in his move away from idealism. In some ways, the death of his father had made the process

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[40]In her useful bibliography, Writings by and about Boyd H. Bode, Ruth E. Seeger lists over forty articles written by Bode in the years at Wisconsin and Illinois. An examination of selected articles from the years 1905-1913 reveals what De Jong has described as Bode's "progressively softened...attacks on pragmatism."(De Jong, 62.

[41]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 42.

[42]H. C. Sun, Boyd H. Bode (1873-1953) and the Reform of American Education: Recollections and Correspondence, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Malloy Lithographing, Inc., 1977), 64.
H.C. Sun was a student of Bode's in Greeley, Colorado, in 1944. He recalled Bernice Bode commenting "If you ask for a book to read on philosophy of education, get John Dewey's Democracy and Education. I don't know how many times I have heard this." Apparently, "A hearty laugh followed." Ibid, 64.

[43]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 74.

easier as, while his father was alive, Bode had been hesitant to hurt or offend the thinking of a man for whom he had so much love and respect.[44] Throughout his life, he was apparently also careful not to offend the religious beliefs of his mother and sisters, which remained more traditional and institutional than his own. As his daughter observed, "Father had his own definition of religion, one that certainly put the emphasis in a different place than in the typical church. It was 'a passionate devotion to a way of life.'"[45]

Bode may appear to have come to terms with the move away from his religious heritage; however, he encountered difficulties in these years at Illinois because of his ethnicity and his newly formed ideas. As the world was experiencing the turmoil of World War I, Bode was made uncomfortably aware of his roots as there was a lot of anti German sentiment. "Anything that sounded remotely German, including names like Bode, was suspect."[46] Bode was not overly concerned by the Council of Defense's limitations on the use of heritage languages as he believed in the responsibility of Americans to speak English in order to participate fully as citizens. However, he was troubled by reactionary attempts to limit free speech.[47] This was well demonstrated in his involvement in

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[44]In 1972, De Jong wrote to Eleanor Bode Browne asking about his religious beliefs. In reply, she apparently observed "I heard father say several times that if his father had lived it would have cramped my father's whole career." (De Jong, 104).

[45]Letter, Eleanor Bode Browne to Norman De Jong, February 8, 1972, quoted in De Jong, 86.

[46]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 15.

[47]Ibid.,16.

a rather difficult situation which occurred in 1918.

A young assistant of Bode, by the name of Carl Haessler, became involved with socialist groups on campus and was vocal in his opposition to the draft law that would involve many American citizens in a European war, despite Woodrow Wilson's initial promise to the contrary. Bode had little interest in politics, but he disliked extremism and indoctrination in any form. Therefore he did not support Haessler's acceptance of "socialist propaganda" and tried to help him to see that it was "incompatible" with his work as a philosopher. He also cautioned him to be more circumspect, but Haessler ignored his advice and lost his position at the University.[48]

Bode believed the dismissal to be unfair and went to Arthur Daniels to argue strongly for Haessler's right to freedom of speech and for his reinstatement in the Department. His appeal was rejected, and Bode found himself the object of disapproval and suspicion for his support of a young man who was later sentenced to twelve years imprisonment at Leavenworth for resisting the draft.[49] The situation at Illinois was increasingly confining for Bode:

> During the war, for example, Bode had considerable difficulty because of his German sounding name and his apparently contradictory "too liberal" point of view. He was regarded by many on campus at the University of Illinois with considerable suspicion which was only compounded by his rather unorthodox views on religion, his pragmatic philosophy, and his great popularity with students. He was not, for example, permitted to participated in activities connected with courses

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[48]Bullough, Jr., Democracy and Education, 21-22.
[49]Ibid.

then offered dealing with the "aims" of the war, an area in which he was conspicuously qualified to serve.[50]

In the 1920s, Dean George Arps of the College of Education at the Ohio State University began a systematic search for the key people in the country who would help him achieve his ambition of building "a college of national reputation" through establishing a faculty of diverse thinkers. It is significant that "the man he went after first was Bode."[51]The invitation to become head of the Department of Principles and Practices of Education at the Ohio State University was both welcome and timely for Boyd H. Bode and he moved to Columbus in 1921. The move to Ohio State is generally recognized as marking the second major "milestone" of Bode's life, the transition from philosophy to the philosophy of education. As Bode remarked, "I am tired of philosophy that makes no difference and I believe education is a field where it may do significant work."[52] Bode proceeded to do significant work of his own in the twenty three years he spent at Ohio State, and became a key figure in educational philosophy: "During those years his name was elevated in educational circles to stand on a level with those of William Heard Kilpatrick, George S. Counts, and Harold Rugg, all of

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[50]Ibid., 21.

[51]Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, quoted part of the letter William Chandler Bagley wrote to George Arps in support of Bode, "I am sure one of the best things you could do in developing the College of Education at Ohio State University is to secure the services of Professor Bode. He is a remarkable teacher - by far the most effective, I am sure, at the University of Illinois. He has this year over one thousand students in his classes....Professor Bode is keenly interested in the theory and principles of education.", 45.

[52]Sun, 1.

whom were one rung below the venerable John Dewey."[53]

In his years at Ohio State, Bode continued his work as philosopher, critic, and teacher-scholar. In all three areas of his professional life, he focused on the need for the clarification of thought and had no patience with narrow or simplistic approaches to education in particular and life in general. As an educational philosopher, Bode appeared very aware of the inadequacies of traditional models of education to prepare students for life in societies that had been shaken by the traumatic events of the "war to end all wars," that were being undermined by the economic hardships of the Depression era, and that were becoming uncomfortably aware that another catastrophic war was looming on the horizon. Bode's writings in these years revealed an increasingly powerful emphasis on the need to clarify understanding of the nature and meaning of democracy as a way of life. His writings on education emphasized the importance of the schools as having a vital role to play in this clarification as "the school is particularly the institution in which democracy becomes conscious of itself."[54]

In his quest for clarification, Bode continued to question and critique the ideas of others and earned the reputation of being a "gadfly" and a "brick thrower."[55] However, his intention always appears to have been to focus on "ideas not

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[53]De Jong, 65.

[54]Boyd H. Bode, Democracy as a Way of Life (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), xiii.

[55]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 100, 45.

personalities", which was well demonstrated in his relationship with W.W. Charters.[56]

It would be difficult to find two more different people than Boyd H. Bode and W.W. Charters. Bode lived "a life of the mind, of contemplation."[57] He focused on a philosophical vision and was content to leave the practical application of his ideas to others. Charters, on the other hand, was a man of action, a social behaviorist who was one of the key scientific curriculum makers in the 1920s and 1930s. He was the author of a major text **Curriculum Construction**, published in 1923, which emphasized the importance of "job analysis."[58] Charters had taught with Bode at Illinois, and had also spent a number of years at the Carnegie Institute of Technology before he came to join the faculty at Ohio State in 1928 as Director of the Bureau of Educational Research.[59]

In the 1920s, Bode made a "devastating attack" upon Charters' **Curriculum Construction** in both a course that he taught at Ohio State and in a text published in 1927, entitled **Modern Educational Theories**. It is to Charters' credit that he respected the purpose in Bode's critique, and though they "argued constantly," they apparently remained friends throughout their careers at the University, seeming to respect what could be learned through the expression of

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[56]Bullough, Jr., Harold B. Alberty and Boyd H. Bode, 28.

[57]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 20.

[58]William Schubert, Curriculum: Perspective, Paradigm, and Possibility (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1986), 76.

[59]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 45.

markedly different viewpoints.[60] Dean George Arps seems to have achieved his goal to lead a faculty of very different thinkers, and in the process appears to have created an interesting environment for learning in these years:

> The College of Education was a place of great excitement. Arps encouraged intellectual ferment by deliberately selecting individuals of differing psychological and philosophical positions to join his College. He felt "that any faculty in which there wasn't two or three good scraps going on was dead." Students were encouraged to take courses under professors of differing schools of thought, thereby the students' own positions were challenged and clarified.[61]

This climate appeared to suit Bode well. As a teacher, he remembered the frustrations of his own education, and was determined that his students should not be left to "flounder." At Ohio State he continued to encourage his students to question and to debate ideas, and he refined his skills as a teacher. He was determined to stimulate, guide and support the development of his students' thinking, and recognized the artistry of good teaching:

> The art of the teacher consists in knowing how to ask questions, how to suggest relevant facts, and how to present difficulties and suggest leads; and in appreciating the value, on occasion, of following up a false trail. The teacher's task is to furnish a maximum of stimulation and guidance, without hindering the pupil in the work of rebuilding his world.[62]

This was well demonstrated in Bode's treatment of Harold B. Alberty who was a student in Bode's "Modern Educational Theories" course in 1924. Alberty, an

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[60]Bullough, Jr., Harold B. Alberty and Boyd H. Bode, 28.

[61]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 14.

[62]Boyd H. Bode, Modern Educational Theories, 5th. ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), 217.

experienced school administrator, had used activity analysis in his own school planning and therefore considered Bode's attacks on Charters to be very unfair. Alberty stood his ground and challenged Bode's ideas, both in class and later in the final paper he wrote for the course. To Alberty's surprise, Bode responded by giving him an A on the paper and by inviting him to become his assistant. This marked the beginning of "the 20 year collaboration of these two remarkable intellects."[63]

W. W. Charters was not the only individual whose work Bode examined in these years. **Modern Educational Theories** also included examinations of the work of Edward Thorndike, J. Franklin Bobbitt, David Snedden, John Dewey and William Heard Kilpatrick. In the 1920s and 1930s, Bode was also interested in the potential of the Progressive Education Association, but concerned by its excesses. His ideas were highlighted in his 1938 text **Progressive Education at the Crossroads**. He advised Progressive educators to place less emphasis on the needs and interests of the individual. He also highlighted the importance of a"guiding principle" to help shape education and make it more purposeful; otherwise, any discussion of "needs", "growth", "freedom", and "interests" would be meaningless.

Bode continued to steer an independent path, but "his effort to help progressives clarify their position" popularized the view that Bode had aligned

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[63]Bullough, Jr., Harold B. Alberty and Boyd H. Bode, 111-112.

himself with the organization.[64] A more realistic perspective is provided in the opinion that only "by heaving bricks at it [did] Dr. Boyd H. Bode become Progressive Education's best known philosopher."[65] He did, however, involve himself in the Eight Year Study, which began in 1932 with the purpose of studying thirty schools and the effectiveness of their preparation of students for College. As a member of the "Directing Committee," he became particularly interested in helping the schools to clarify their sense of purpose, and "there is no question that Bode played a major role" in helping the Commission on the Relation of School and College to accept "that democracy could provide the central unifier for the curriculum of the thirty schools."[66]

In the 1930s, Bode became engaged in an ongoing debate on the connection between education and social reconstruction. The debate was stimulated in part by George Counts' well-known 1932 speech, "Dare Progressive Education Be Progressive?" and centred on the part that schools would play in social reconstruction. In many respects Bode agreed with George Counts, John Childs, and Norman Woelfel. However, he felt that they had identified goals for society that were too specific and therefore too controlling for social reconstruction to proceed authentically.[67]

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[64]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 119.

[65]Lillian Callif, "Bode's Salty Humor Leavens His Lectures to Students,"n.p.,n.p., n.d., n.pag. The Ohio State University Archives, Columbus, Ohio.

[66]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 132-134.

[67]Ibid., 203-208.

In these years, Bode also took the advantage of opportunities to travel and to teach at other universities. Perhaps his most interesting travels in these years included his visit to Europe in 1935 with a group of educators, including Frederick Redefer, the director of the Progressive Education Association. After attending a conference in Cheltenham, England, he and Redefer travelled in Germany and the USSR. It is also significant that Bode was also in Munich in 1936, where he wrote **Democracy as a Way of Life.**[68] This powerful piece was later to become Bode's "most popular book."[69]

After his retirement in 1944, Bode continued to take advantage of interesting opportunities to teach and to share his ideas. He taught at Greeley, Colorado in the summer of 1944. From 1944-45 he taught at the Moslem University of Cairo. He also taught in Florida and Tennessee in 1946, in Vancouver in 1947, and also in Hawaii at some time during these years. He had also planned to return to Germany in 1947 "with a group of educators under the auspices of the War Department. But the Department put an age limit on the civilians which ruled him out."[70]Throughout his retirement, Bode retained his interest in educational issues and enjoyed teaching graduate students from his Gainesville, Florida home until shortly before his death in 1953.

Former students of Bode, together with those who have made him the subject

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[68]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 135.
[69]De Jong, 71.
[70]Sun, 61.

of study in their research and publications, tend to present a picture of Bode as an affable, humorous individual, who was notoriously absent minded about the routine affairs of life, and who had few interests outside his work other than baseball and smoking. There is general admiration for Boyd H. Bode as a very decent and sincere person, with a strong belief in the potential of a democratic society.[71]

However, a portrayal of Bode would be incomplete without examining less favorable opinions of the man. In his 1976 dissertation, Norman De Jong described Bode as intolerant of ideas other than his own faith in democracy and as inconsistent in his own behavior. For example,

> He was inordinately kind to his own family, but merciless and unrelenting in his attacks on his academic enemies. He was forever insisting that indoctrination and imposition were categorically bad, but preached the gospel of democracy with the zeal and determination of a St. Paul. He was forever preaching the doctrines of sharing, cooperation, and the brotherhood of man, yet denied entrance to his own home to foreign students.[72]

Everett Kircher, a contemporary of Bode's at Ohio State, was De Jong's source for this opinion. Kircher had apparently refused to be Bode's "disciple" in the "pragmatic church" in the College of Education at Ohio State. This apparently "caused a fissure within the department which was not to heal for

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[71]This portrayal of Bode is to be found in the writings of such individuals as Kenneth Winetrout, Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., and H. C. Sun. It is also to be found, in part, in the writings of Norman De Jong.

[72]De Jong, 82.

years." [73] [74] As a popular and charismatic teacher, Bode definitely established a strong following for his democratic thinking at Ohio State and his writings do reflect the strength of his beliefs and his committed work to promote the need for a more democratic way of life.[75] However, central to Bode's belief in democracy was a belief that it would allow for an independence of thought. This was well-demonstrated in his respectful treatment of Harold B. Alberty's challenge to his ideas, as well as in his ongoing friendship with W.W. Charters.

The claim that Bode had barred his home to foreign students appears to be contradicted by other evidence that suggests a different point of view. The writings of H. C. Sun, who had just arrived from China when he met Bode in 1944, reflect a mutual respect and friendship that continued until shortly before Bode's death. In his recollections, Sun recalled visiting the Bodes at home, and being their guest at a luncheon.[76] The fact that Bode also enjoyed working with students in Cairo for a year after his retirement also suggests a different attitude from the one suggested by Kircher.[77]

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[73]De Jong, 74.

[74]Letters from Boyd H. Bode to Everett Kircher written in the 1940s suggest quite a strong friendship between them at that time. Bode was encouraging Kircher to return to Ohio State and was offering him the use of his home for the summer months.(Ohio State University Archives, Columbus, Ohio).

[75]Kenneth Winetrout. Introduction to Boyd H. Bode Memorial Lectures No.2. Columbus: the Ohio State University Press, 1974, 1-2.

[76]It is possible that Bernice Bode was not as sensitive to cultural differences, for apparently she referred to H.C. Sun and Fan, another graduate student, as "boys". Bode apparently pointed out her error "in a sort of disapproving tone." Sun, 55.

[77]Sun, 58-59.

Bode obviously had no opportunity to respond to the criticisms of Kircher and De Jong. However, he might have responded to the charge of inconsistency with the following observation, written in his characteristic style and, in fact, quoted by De Jong in his dissertation:

> Since life is a constant process of adjusting conflicting interests, it is to be expected that no one can live a perfectly consistent life, no matter by what standard he may be judged. The most devout saint has his season of backsliding, and the vilest sinner will, on occasion, rise to unexpected heights of virtue.[78] [79]

Bode was neither a devout saint nor a vile sinner. He was an intelligent human being who appears to have recognized his own limitations and to have had a determination to make the strongest contribution he could to the society of which he was a part. Bode's sincerity was recognized by his peers in 1947 when they "presented him with the William Heard Kilpatrick Award for significant contribution to the philosophy of education. Students, colleagues, and even those who had come under his scathing criticism paused to wish him well and to praise the 'prophet'." [80]

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[78]Boyd H. Bode, Fundamentals of Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), 67.

[79]De Jong, 85. De Jong uses this quotation from Bode in connection with Bode's struggle to clarify his own thinking.

[80]De Jong, 78-79.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION[1]

An examination of Boyd H. Bode's life and thought would be very incomplete without a detailed consideration of the issues that were central in importance to this man; for a key legacy of this philosopher is his thinking on democracy and democratic education. An examination of his writings and of the recollections of his contemporaries clearly demonstrates how committed he was to clarifying these concepts. It becomes very apparent that from the time he was a young boy growing up in the mid western states, he had struggled to free his own thinking from the restrictive framework placed on it by traditional beliefs and his rather claustrophobic existence in small rural communities. As a philosopher, teacher, and critic, he appears to have identified his primary responsibility to be to continue to emphasize the importance of clarity of thought, for himself, his students, and his associates. Only through such efforts was there any hope for any society to overcome the barriers that blocked the path to a democratic way of life, and Bode could identify many such barriers in American society.

As Kenneth Winetrout once observed, Bode had "a mission."[2]He singlemindedly threw all his energies into this mission, leaving very little of his

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[1]It should be noted that Bode tended to use the term "education" rather than "curriculum" in his writings. It is probable that if Bode were with us today, he would use the term "curriculum" more readily. Currently, in the field of curriculum theory, "curriculum" has a much deeper interpretation than it did in the 1920s and 1930s.

[2]Kenneth Winetrout, "Boyd H. Bode: A Mission but no Blueprint," Teaching Education 2, no.2, 1988: 32-35.

attention for the practical aspects of his every day life. It is therefore the intention of this chapter to explore Bode's mission in more detail, through an examination of his concept of "the democratic society"; his belief in the potential of "the common man"; his "war with absolutes"; and his vision of "the school that would serve each of these."[2]

In his writings on democracy, Boyd H. Bode recalled how the first settlers came to North America to realize their dreams of independence, freedom, and the opportunity to own and develop new lands. As a young boy and student living in Illinois, Iowa, South Dakota, Michigan, and New York State in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Bode spent his time among Americans who were excited by the belief that these dreams were becoming a reality. In addition to realizing personal dreams, many Americans were also excited by the rapid growth of the scientific and industrial skills required to harness both the immensity and the abundant resources of the North American continent. Bode, therefore, lived among people who dared to believe that they had finally learned to control nature.

However, in **Modern Educational Theories**, first published in 1927, Bode wrote of his awareness of an increasing uncertainty and a sense of

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[2]Winetrout, 35. The use of the term "the common man" would evoke a strong reaction in the 1990s, as it would appear to reflect gender bias. As was indicated in Chapter one of this thesis, such terminology was the norm in the early years of this century, and should therefore be considered in that context. It should be noted that throughout his writings on "the common man," Bode appears to have been addressing human nature in an inclusive and holistic sense.

"disillusionment" among many Americans. The first world war and its aftermath had had a sobering effect on many in the western world as they realized the dangers inherent in scientific experimentation and invention. Although the drive for "progress" did not abate, there was a growing realization among Americans that "It takes more than invention to make a people great."[3] However, in what sense could America be considered great? Was it too young and brash a country to have a true sense of tradition and identity? Bode thought not. He sincerely believed that America had "a great national tradition" - a democracy that was recognized in many parts of the world. From its early beginnings as a political democracy "for white men only," Bode believed that the concept of American democracy had "broadened and deepened" to encompass the rights of all "without regard to race, color, or previous condition of servitude."[4]

Although Bode recognized a widespread belief in, and respect for, American democracy, his major concern was that, if asked, many Americans would be unable to fully articulate precisely what they meant by the term democracy. Drawing in part from the words of St. Paul to the Corinthians, Bode observed:

> Our American citizen... sees at best as in a glass darkly and cannot report with precision on what he sees. This inability to define, however, is by no means incompatible with a deep conviction that democracy is something splendid and that the whole world must be made safe for it.[5]

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[3]Boyd H. Bode, Modern Educational Theories, 5th ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), 6.

[4]Ibid., 9.

[5]Ibid., 10.

Bode did not criticize his fellow citizens for their present confusion. As was demonstrated in previous chapters, he himself had struggled long and hard to come to terms with the contradictory influences in his own life and thought, and he respected the fact that many Americans were experiencing similar contradictions in their day to day lives. In a chapter entitled "The Meaning of Freedom," written in 1938, Bode made the following observation:

> Any number of Americans now living, for example, are the spiritual products, first of a predominantly rural and individualistic order of things, and later of a highly industrialized and centralized civilization. The effect is almost like that of being a denizen of two worlds at the same time. The differences in outlook have not had time to become assimilated and integrated. Our way of life has become a house divided against itself.[6]

Existing side by side in America were two very contradictory notions of the nature of society. On the one hand, there were those who believed very strongly in the rights of the individual to live his/her life without the oppression of excessive governmental interference. Such thinking was obviously deeply rooted in the events that had led the original settlers to leave Europe for the freedom of life in a new country. This was a freedom which had been won at great cost, and which would not be surrendered lightly. Therefore, this view of society espoused a "rugged individualism," with each person taking "sole charge of his own destiny." The role of government was strictly limited to the

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[6]Boyd H. Bode, "The Meaning of Freedom" in Educational Freedom and Democracy, eds. Harold B. Alberty and Boyd H. Bode (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1938), 5.

preservation of life and property, with no power to interfere in the affairs of individual citizens or with their property.[7]

On the other hand, there were those who believed equally strongly in the importance of a sense of community, first on a local and later a more national scale. They could point to the importance of the early settlements and towns in fostering the growth of the American nation. They believed that in a democratic society "the responsibility for what happens to the individual must be shared by the social order." Therefore, they accepted a more involved government as both necessary and inevitable as shared purposes were identified on a local, national and international scale. Governmental involvement was necessary to ensure "a more equitable distribution of the national income." Government involvement was also necessary to preserve "liberty and equality, not merely as absence of restraint, but as positive values which must somehow be achieved by governmental regulation." As America had become increasingly industrialized, it had also experienced labor struggles which had caused a rethinking of the very notion of property rights in the clashes "between capital and labor." An additional complication which affected both sides of the debate, was the fact that traditional Christianity, which had had such a marked influence on early American life, was being undermined by the rapid growth and influence of the sciences, which resulted in "the dividing line between the spiritual and the mundane...becoming

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[7]Ibid., 3-4.

increasingly hard to trace." Bode therefore posed the question "What, then, do we as a people really believe?" [8]

Bode accepted that it was difficult to find the answer to this question or to resolve the contradictions that he had highlighted in American democracy. He also recognized that these difficulties were increased by the fact that American society was constantly, and rapidly, undergoing change. However, he believed that these problems had to be addressed, and Americans had to expand and clarify what they meant by democracy; otherwise, they were risking losing even the imperfect and confused model of democracy which they currently espoused:

> There is no problem before the American people which even approximates in importance the problem of what democracy is to mean in our own day and generation....If democracy is eventually doomed to defeat, as many people believe, its downfall will be traceable more directly to its failure to keep its own meaning and purpose clear than to anything that may be done by its enemies from the outside.[9]

In the 1990s, this observation might appear somewhat extreme. However, it is important to consider the context of these words. Boyd H. Bode did most of his writing on democracy at a very interesting but frightening period of human history - the years between the two world wars. In addition to the articles he wrote during these years, Bode's **Modern Educational Theories** was printed five times between 1927 and 1937 and contained significant sections on

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[8]Ibid., 3-4.

[9] Boyd H. Bode, Democracy as A Way of Life (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), ix.

democracy and democratic education. In 1938, the year before the outbreak of war in Europe, Bode published three texts: **Progressive Education at the Crossroads**; the text he had written in Munich in 1936 entitled **Democracy as a Way of Life**; and the text he edited with his former student, Harold B. Alberty, **Educational Freedom and Democracy**. His final major publication **How We Learn**, published in 1940, also reflected his concern over the need for a more democratic society. Bode's writings conveyed a real sense of urgency and concern that added conviction to his argument. His writing was provocative as he contrasted the comprehensive designs of communism and nazism with the confusion he saw in democracy.

In communism, Bode recognized a distinctive way of life. To be a communist meant that all aspects of a person's existence were guided, influenced, and controlled by a clearly articulated ideology. To be a communist meant to accept a shared economy rather than a competitive, individualistic market system; to reject the class system in favor of a more equitable distribution of housing; to discard the trappings of traditional religion in favor of the power and influence of the sciences; to develop a sense of ethics that supported the needs and purposes of this new secular society; to recognize the reflections of this society in the world of art; and thus to recognize that life in a communist state required a level of commitment that went far beyond the political:

> Distinctively political meanings are encountered only when we come to the system of representation and the role of the communist party in the control of affairs. But these things all hang together. There is no

> compartmentalization. To know that a person is a communist, in the strict or party sense of the term, is to know a great deal about him. In contrast with our historical democracy, communism is a comprehensive or inclusive scheme for the organization of the whole of life.[10]

Bode recognized a similar organizational pattern in the other dominant political movement of the thirties, the national socialism of Hitler's Germany. A foundation of racial superiority, resting on a persuasive biological and theological premise, provided the motivation for the comprehensive development of a distinctive society, and the justification for all its future actions. Bode, unlike British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, recognized that appeasement would play no part in such a society's agenda. In **Democracy as a Way of Life**, Bode recognized the powerful motivations of such a society, and anticipated the extreme actions of Nazi Germany that were about to occur in the Second World War:

> Protection against contamination from other races becomes a solemn duty; the right of a race to expand and to conquer admits of no argument; and the cultivation of interests such as law, ethics, art and religion must all be guided by this idea of racial distinctiveness. In short, as in the case of communism, we find ourselves in the presence not of a limited political doctrine, but of an inclusive philosophy of life.[11]

Bode could recognize "a certain architectonic magnificence" in communism and nazism if they were viewed "with a coldly intellectual eye."[12] He saw both "isms" as providing their people with a meaning and a purpose in life. This in

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[10]Boyd H. Bode, Democracy as a Way of Life, 5.
[11]Ibid., 6.
[12]Ibid.

turn gave rise to a level of energy and commitment, particularly among young people, that was not to be found in a democratic society that focused too narrowly on the political. To Bode, a democratic society placed too much emphasis on equating harmony with the majority view, and tended to overlook the need to actively generate a shared philosophy. It bandied about terms such as freedom and equality, but failed to clearly define such terms. It prided itself on "the brotherhood of man," but failed to clarify its purposes, its organization, or its direction. Thus, it was easily undermined by the forceful agendas of special interest groups, and allowed itself to be dominated by "autonomous tyranny."[13]To Bode, it was imperative for democracy to overcome its confusions and be seen to signify "a way of life."[14]However, in defining what he meant by a way of life, Bode made clear his belief that the democratic way of life must, of necessity, emerge very differently from the integrated models recognized in communism and nazism. For these models depended very strongly on indoctrination for their control and influence and had developed systems of education and society that required their people to accept without question knowledge that was transmitted and imposed.

To further illustrate his point, and to continue to clarify what he meant by a democratic way of life, Bode turned his attention away from the extreme examples of communism and nazism, and proceeded to critique one of the

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[13]Boyd H. Bode, Democracy as a Way of Life, 9.
[14]Ibid., 15.

corner stones of American society and democracy, the local communities. These had traditionally been viewed as models of equality and freedom, where townspeople and local farmers shared similar beliefs which included a deep mistrust of centralized, national government, and involved a strong commitment to resolving difficulties and problems on a local level. However, these early communities were both controlled and controlling, though their controls were less offensive to the average American because they "were generated within the community itself and did not represent an authority reaching in from the outside."[15]Those who did not adhere to prevailing societal beliefs or behaviors often found themselves ostracized or disciplined in a fashion that was far from democratic. Those who were encouraged to leave, or who chose to leave, could journey in search of a more congenial community, or choose to live alone. This was the essence of the flawed model of early American democracy. Bode, who had spent his childhood in just such communities, was very clear about its limitations and about the prevailing absolutism which influenced so much of the thinking of these societies:

> it is not clear that this historic conception of democracy represents a real contribution to the world's thinking on the subject of social organization. It seems to boil down to the conclusion that a people living chiefly under rural conditions and not seriously threatened by foreign enemies can afford to take its dictatorship in small doses and in a great variety of forms.[16]

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[15]Ibid., 21.
[16]Ibid., 27.

The conception of democracy continued to be flawed when an increase in population, industrialization, and urbanization led to a reluctant acceptance of the need for some form of centralized government to facilitate the world of business and commerce. Again, Bode saw the American people refusing to recognize the implications of their actions. To Bode, the mistake people made was to adopt the "line of least resistance" and maintain "the fiction that the government functions merely as the guardians of our liberties and not as the interpreter of them."[17]This led to societal tensions and confusion which provided an ideal climate for special interest groups to flourish and to impose their own interpretations on the role and responsibilities of government in this situation. Thus the potential for a more democratic social order continued to be undermined.

Bode presented one way out of this harmful and difficult situation. He highlighted the need for a revised "conception of government and of democracy" in order that Americans might develop a shared sense of what they meant by democracy and thus have "a vital and guiding principle for the conduct of [their] national life."[18] With Americans continuing to struggle with their conceptions of freedom and equality, Bode proceeded to present his own interpretations. To Bode, freedom was not to be realized through conformity to an unchanging and fixed society. Freedom was also not to be achieved through the imposition of a

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[17]Boyd H. Bode, Democracy as a Way of Life, 31.
[18]Ibid., 33-34.

state approved, fixed social order. Nor was freedom to be found in a laissez-faire society that fostered a romanticized notion of the freedom of the individual. To Bode, the concept of freedom lay "near to the heart" of democracy. It involved the acceptance of a "frame of reference" or "way of life" that would help individuals to reflect on an intelligent course of action in response to a particular situation. However, a vital element of this way of life lay in its potential for change. The opportunity for the growth of intelligence is lost "the moment we insist or take for granted that this way of life must not be subjected to any change."[19]

In addition to the acceptance of change, Bode believed that it was also vital to recognize a "guiding principle" that would help individuals to develop "a wider sensitiveness to human values." To Bode, this "guiding principle" involved the recognition of "common interests," not in the narrow, restrictive sense of the static community, but in the sense of dynamic, expanding social relationships:

> ...if there is no absolute standard of judgement, then our judgements must be made in terms of participation in common interests, regardless of other considerations. Conduct on the part of communities or of individuals must be evaluated with reference to its effect on promoting common interests among men. Liberty grows as the area of common interests is widened. Democracy then becomes identified with this principle of relativity as contrasted with the absolutism of dictatorships. There is no middle ground.
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> From the standpoint of democracy the fact that a community is a community of interests and purposes is the most important thing about it.[20]

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[19]Ibid., 46.

[20]Ibid., 47-48.

Such a definition served to clarify the role of government. Bode believed that governments should exist to help sustain an atmosphere in which the "community of interests and purposes" may expand. Governments would thus help to establish "the mutual recognition of interests" in key areas of life, both in domestic and foreign affairs. For example, Bode suggested that the often acrimonious relationship between employers and employees in large organizations could be overcome through moving away from "conformity with a predetermined pattern" and focusing on exploring the possibilities for shared decision making. It is interesting that in this Bode appeared to be heralding a form of what in the last decades of the twentieth century has come to be called Total Quality Management.[21]

In examining Bode's thinking on the democratic society, it is readily apparent that his belief in the potential of "the common man" was paramount. All his thinking on democracy appears to have rested on this belief and does not appear to have been shaken by the events of his time. The horrors of these events seem only to have made Bode more determined to get his point across. Bode took advantage of the opportunity to do so when humanity was put "on trial" by the Alumni College Committee at the Ohio State University in 1941 - two years into the Second World War. The "case for the prosecution" was strong and predictable. It was presented in the following words by Howard L. Hamilton,

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[21]Boyd H. Bode, Democracy as a Way of Life, 58.

secretary of the College of Arts and Sciences:

> Man has shown himself to be entirely self-centred, completely greedy, ravenous in appetite, lustful beyond description, a liar, a cheat, an infidel and a murderer. For his various crimes, I shall ask that he receive his just deserts, that he be stripped of his perquisites, property, power, and knowledge and forced to return to the oblivion he has justly earned for himself.[22]

This view is certainly pessimistic and probably deliberately extreme to add vigor to the debate. Nonetheless, it is very understandable given the inhuman acts being perpetrated at the time. In his testimony at the trial, Bode chose not to espouse hopelessness and despair, but instead to restate his thesis that humanity had got itself into this mess, not because of its innate evil, but rather because it lacked a democratic system of values and was struggling in a state of confusion:

> A great deal of man's trouble arises from the fact... that he has available for his use a number of standards of moral values. If he had only one it would simplify things a great deal... We must decide, in some way, which moral standard we should adopt as our own... Democracy... is a system of moral values... just as binding as any other, but different from all others. Most people profess to believe in Democracy without knowing very clearly just what they do believe. ... We need a decision as to the nature and purpose of the moral life, an over-arching principle in the light of which we can deal with issues as they arise. One important reason for the present mess of things is the lack of clarity on this point.[23]

The morality that needed to be identified and clarified was "Morality as a human creation for the enrichment of associated living." Within such a society,

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[22]"Homo Sapiens Acquitted...," Ohio State University MONTHLY, July 1941, n.pag.

[23]Ibid., 26, 28.

people would enjoy "both security and maximum opportunity to share in all matters that are of common concern." Thus Bode defined liberty as something that was achievable here on earth through human interaction, not as something achievable through "appealing to a realm of transcendental truth."[24]

In these words, Bode demonstrated the tremendous faith that he held in the potential of human kind. He also demonstrated how far he had moved away from the Calvinistic teachings of his youth with their emphasis on predestination and their emphasis on a passive, unquestioning acceptance of God's word as presented by the ministers of the church and by the traditions of the community. Bode believed that human potential had been constrained for far too long through a dependence on the stability and consistency to be found in all forms of absolutism. Thus, much of the power of human thought had never had an opportunity to develop and contribute to the improvement of human life. Bode's motivation for his hard fought "war on absolutes" was the need to free intelligence and thereby free the spirit of democracy.

Bode's 1938 text, **Progressive Education at the Crossroads**, contained a powerful attack on absolutism. Bode began his attack by summarizing Plato's concept of the world "as a fleeting and distorted image or reflection of reality," totally dependent on the transcendental world of ideas and truth to "furnish us

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[24]Ibid., 28.

with standards."[25] In considering the powerful impact absolutism had had on societal relations down through the centuries, Bode remarked, "The creation of this transcendental world was at the same time one of the most brilliant achievements and one of the major tragedies of human civilization."[26]

In terms of aristocratic interests, it was indeed a "brilliant achievement" as it led to the development and acceptance of rigid class systems. It allowed for societies based on such concepts as feudalism and the divine right of kings. It was also a "major tragedy" as it also allowed for those in the lower echelons of society to be kept firmly in their places with no opportunity or right to question or challenge their "betters." As Bode observed, even when the lower orders began to challenge aristocratic or religious absolutes, they were only able to do so by countering traditional absolutes with new absolutes of their own. These absolutes were reflected in such expressions as "consent by the governed" and "the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Such expressions had come to be central to American democracy, but despite their fine intentions, Bode viewed them as "slogans," which could even be used to shape "new tyrannies." [27] As Bode had already well demonstrated in **Democracy as a Way of Life**, such slogans were ill defined, subject to interpretation and based on a confused understanding of the nature of democracy. For example,

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[25]Boyd H. Bode, Progressive Education at the Crossroads, (1938; reprint, New York: Arno Press, Inc., 1971), 21-22.

[26]Ibid., 22.

[27]Ibid., 37.

"the right of contract" had "frequently been interpreted so as to legalize injustices" rather than to sustain fair business practices for all.[28] Bode could not see any positive societal change resulting from replacing one absolute with another, even if it appeared to have surface benefits for those who had suffered from repression. By way of illustration, he referred to the harm caused to the Progressive movement through an over-emphasis on the "individualism and absolutism" of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who, according to Bode's interpretation,

> In his revolt against the tyrannies and brutalities of the social order of his day... made his appeal, not to the principle of democracy, but to the sacred and inviolable nature of the individual. Over against the absolutes of the social order he placed the alleged absolute of human nature. Education, in his view, must be conducted, not according to the behests of vested interests, which used the creed of absolutism to entrench themselves, but according to the nature of childhood. This latter meant, in effect, that the child should be permitted to grow up in his own way, without being subjected to "impositions" by others. Since man is created in the image of God, the best way to educate him is to permit this image to express itself according to its own inherent nature. All this comes close to saying that we should not educate at all.[29]

This trend in Progressive education greatly concerned Bode as he believed that Progressive education, of all the contemporary trends in education had the potential to make a difference if it could overcome its "waywardness" and become more conscious of its need to be grounded in a democratic theory of values.

Critics of Bode might counter his "war with absolutes" by claiming that he was

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[28]In giving this example, Bode cited Dewey and Tufts, Ethics, 503-507 as his source.

[29]Boyd H. Bode, Progressive Education at the Crossroads, 37-38.

promoting another absolute - democracy. However, Bode had obviously thought this through and was prepared to respond. Although he addressed this in **Progressive Education at the Crossroads**, his rationale is also well-stated in "The Meaning of Freedom" in **Educational Freedom and Democracy**. In the latter, Bode stated that, unlike schools in totalitarian societies, "A democratic school has no authority to require acceptance of the democratic ideal."[30] The schools must be respectful of the attitudes and values that students bring with them, but balance this with their responsibilities to widen their students' spheres of knowledge and interest through their programs. Bode concluded with the following observation:

> In a sense the whole course of civilization represents a struggle between established institutions and customs on the one hand and new interests or departures on the other. For us in the twentieth century, the issue is being focused on the question of democracy. The pupils in our schools are entitled to the insight that the supreme question for us is whether authority is to be derived from the democratic ideal or from somewhere else.[31]

It is very apparent through an examination of Bode's writings on democracy that he identified many flaws in American democracy and also in the education provided in American schools. He believed that the influence of absolutism was a key contributing factor in this situation because many Americans were caught in the paradoxical situation of still adhering to some of the aristocratic

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[30]Bode discusses the possibilities of absolutism and indoctrination in democratic societies on page 110 in Progressive Education at the Crossroads and on pages 14-15 in Educational Freedom and Democracy.

[31]Boyd H. Bode, "The Meaning of Freedom," 14.

assumptions and values that they liked to believe they had rejected in their move from Europe to the New World. His argument was powerfully demonstrated in his text **Modern Educational Theories**, first published in 1927. In this text, Bode argued that many of the so called "modern" theories developed by his contemporaries were "reactionary and not much more modern than Aristotle"[32] because they were linked too closely to traditional aims of education or were simply too narrow in focus to meet the challenges of American society in the 1920s and 1930s. For example, in addressing the influential scientific curriculum movement of the era, Bode expressed his concern that such initiatives only served to prepare for the status quo and lacked the substance of a guiding philosophy. Bode was thus highly critical of the work of J. Franklin Bobbitt, viewing it as narrow and simplistic. He was somewhat more tolerant of the thinking of W.W. Charters as he considered that Charters had recognized that activity analysis was only part of a larger whole.

Another example of Bode's concern is apparent in his discussion of the ideas of sociologist David Snedden. He viewed Snedden's belief that vocational education should be approached separately from cultural education as artificial and ineffective and as merely contributing to the perpetuation of an aristocratic model of education. As Bode observed:

> The pupil who devotes from seven to ten hours of the "heart of the day" to vocational studies and takes violin lessons in the evening

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[32]Boyd H. Bode, Modern Educational Theories, vi.

> illustrates, so far forth, Snedden's idea of a well-rounded man. This separation of vocation from culture is the fundamental issue between aristocracy and democracy. The curious thing about this sociological approach to education is that it takes no interest in the cultivation of social context.[33]

The "cultivation of social context" was an essential consideration for Bode if American society were to become more democratic. However, he considered progress in this area to be sadly lacking. He pointed out that, despite some reservations about the consequences of rapid scientific progress, Americans had come to understand the place of scientific inquiry in the modern world; it was now time to balance the emphasis placed on scientific progress with a similar emphasis on social inquiry.[34] He therefore saw schools as playing a central role in social reconstruction if they could only be released from the confines placed on them by traditional and/or narrow conceptions of education.

What, then, was Bode's conception of democratic education? Bode recognized that some progress had been made towards a more "social" form of education. As Dewey had described in his pamphlet, "The Educational Situation," elementary education had been expanded beyond the 3R's to include an increased respect for the interests of the individual. High School education was no longer limited to a study of the classics; it had been expanded to encompass the sciences, social sciences, modern languages, industrial arts, home economics, agriculture, and commercial subjects. However,

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[33]Ibid., 131.
[34]Ibid., 242-243.

> ...this enlargement of the curriculum did not give unity and continuity to the school system. It simply brought the classical ideal of culture in juxtaposition with the ideal of "practicality." Neither of these ideals expressed the spirit of the democratic movement. The development merely set the stage for the development of a new educational ideal.[35]

Essentially, Bode recognized problems in democratic education similar to those he had recognized in democracy - an enthusiasm for a "social education" undermined by an uncertainty over how this might be fully accomplished. This had led to "a variety of movements which have bred uncertainty and confusion and which make imperative the need of critical appraisal."[36] In critiquing contemporary trends in Progressive education and scientific curriculum making in **Modern Educational Theories**, Bode presented a case for a more comprehensive and balanced approach to education, which would be guided by a spirit of democracy and would prepare individuals to participate in, and contribute to, a changing society. However, Bode recognized that such an approach to education would be difficult to achieve as it would entail a consideration of "a variety of divergent and apparently conflicting tendencies" in education:

> There is, first of all, a dawning sense that education must be linked up with a program of social regeneration. Secondly, we have become sensitive to the inalienable right of childhood to achieve enrichment of experience. But this acknowledgement brings us face to face with a variety of divergent and apparently conflicting tendencies. We find ourselves assailed by various claims, all of which seem legitimate, but which have the appearance of mutual incompatibility. It is necessary

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[35]Ibid., 27.

[36]Boyd H. Bode, Modern Educational Theories, 33.

> to take into account such divergent considerations as the interests of childhood, the vocational needs of life, and the cultivation of the "purely intellectual interests" which come into play when we become absorbed in constructing a logical organization of subject matter.... These different values must be adjusted somehow. This problem of adjustment, it may be noted, is not a problem that concerns any of the sciences. It is a problem of a distinctive sort, since it deals primarily with values or the formation of a program and not with the discovery and verification of fact. It is a problem of educational theory or philosophy of education. [37]

By this, Bode meant that we need to respect, but not over-exaggerate the interests of childhood, as too great a focus on the psychological "easily results in neglect of logical organization" of subject matter. We need to realize that education is also a preparation for adult life, yet at the same time realize that there can be no fixed ends in a democratic form of education, as "an outstanding trait of modern life is precisely its fluidity." We also need to encourage children to recognize the richness inherent in learning from the past and in enjoying "the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake," while also helping them to see the applicability of such knowledge to the present situation.[38]

Thus Bode reflected on such difficult educational issues as the need to balance the interests of the individual with the requirements of a changing society; the need to balance the whims of the child with the expectations of the adult; the need to reconcile the cultural with the practical in educational programming; the need to harmonize the logical with the psychological in the

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[37]Boyd H. Bode, Modern Educational Theories, 38-39.
[38]Ibid., 36-37.

organization of subject matter; and the need to have teachers with the giftedness to free up the intelligence of the children in their care, while providing them with the knowledge and skills necessary to make a meaningful contribution to their society.

These are all issues in education that have persisted to the present day and which often arise in discussions on curriculum. Bode's own views on curriculum are frequently demonstrated in his critiques of the educational trends that existed in his era, including traditional models of education, scientific curriculum making, and progressive education. However, Bode's views are also revealed in such chapters as "Logical and Psychological Organization of Subject Matter" in **Modern Educational Theories**.

In this chapter, Bode presented the argument that the conflicting demands placed on education could be "reconciled and combined into a unified program" if more attention were paid to "the nature and function of what we sometimes call the 'logical organization of subject matter.'"[39] In stating this, Bode realized that such a suggestion would be unpopular with those who had reacted against the types of "abstract, lifeless" programs that had prevailed for too long in traditional models of education. The logical organization of subject matter, with its emphasis on arranging knowledge "in such a way as to show the relationship of premise and conclusion" had little direct applicability to the needs and interests

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[39]Ibid., 46.

of people in their day to day lives:

> As an extreme illustration, let us take the case of a man who is lost in the woods. Such a man is quite likely to develop a keen interest, for the time being in geography. He is much concerned to discover the location of the towns and rivers and the position of the North Star, but all the while his interest is confined within narrow limits. He is not concerned at all with the size of the Sahara or the location of the north magnetic pole. He cares only for those facts which will help him find his way back home....he requires, as we say, a practical knowledge of geography.[40]

Psychological organization of subject matter, on the other hand, was seen to have much more direct relevance to the practical. It lacked "the purely objective, detached, impersonal quality of 'pure' knowledge," and had the interests and inclinations of the individual as "its centre of reference."[41] If pure knowledge only had relevance for the researcher and specialist, why then impose such knowledge on students?

Though Bode could understand the motivations behind such criticisms of logical organization and recognize the reasons for the strong support given to the immediacy of psychological organization, he was concerned about an overreliance on the latter to the detriment of education. For example, when discussing the tendency towards courses in general science, presumably as an alternative to specialized courses, Bode cautioned educators that the good intentions of such a program could be ineffective if logical organization was ignored:

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[40]Bode, Modern Educational Theories, 48.
[41]Ibid., 52.

> ...if there is no guiding ideal of logical organization, a course in science which aims at breadth of view easily becomes a grab bag of miscellaneous information. It must "head in" somewhere, so as to give the pupils the power to think independently when confronted with new situations. The result is achieved if a "logical" organization of knowledge grows out of it.[42]

Thus, a consideration of the logical organization of subject matter in curriculum planning would encourage the individual to build on his/her present experience and to apply the knowledge gained in new situations. For example, a person who had been taught how to maintain a particular make of car would be unable to apply his/her skills to other types of vehicles without some general understanding of the principles of engine design, function, and operation.[43] The essence of Bode's thinking here is that both the psychological and the logical organization of subject matter are necessary. The first encourages interest, relevance, and motivation, while the second fosters the growth of intelligence, knowledge, and the ability to respond effectively in different situations.

In advocating a renewed attention to the logical organization of subject matter, Bode did not mean to suggest a return to a rigid curriculum. A key characteristic of a democratic society and of the school that would serve it should be the ability to change and evolve. How then could the content of the curriculum be identified? Bode saw the answer to this question to be found in an understanding of the underlying spirit of democracy:

> ...considerably more is required than just an attitude of amiability

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[42]Ibid., 55-56.
[43]Ibid., 56.

> toward others. The ideal of democracy calls for an active concern, as a dominating principle of conduct, in making our social organization an embodiment of the spirit of good will and cooperation. The first prerequisite for this is knowledge. It is necessary to have an appreciation of how other men live, by what circumstances their activities are conditioned, and how intricately the life of every person is bound up with the lives of others....any subject that is worthy of a place in the curriculum must contribute to the attitude which places upon men the responsibility for the continuous re-creation of the environment and of standards for conduct with reference to that respect for men with which we identify democracy.[44]

Therefore, the content of the curriculum would be appropriate provided that it fostered "the type of social insight that makes for a democracy."[45] The responsibility for the successful design and implementation of such a curriculum would obviously rest very heavily on the shoulders of the teachers in the school. In his own work in teacher education, Bode apparently saw his most vital contribution to democratic education in his work with students. For he worked tirelessly to help them to reconstruct their own thinking and to encourage them to see the potential in themselves, in their students, and in democratic schooling. He therefore encouraged them to clarify their own philosophies and to develop a respect for the philosophies of others. He encouraged them to be guided by a "spirit of good will and cooperation" and to always think in terms of the betterment of society. He encouraged them to operate on the basis of knowledge and in a spirit of openness and trust to actively seek ways to expand knowledge and find solutions to the injustices in society such as poverty, imposed

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[44]Bode, Modern Educational Theories, 68-69,70.
[45]Ibid., 69.

ignorance, disease, and exploitation.[46] As Bode commented in 1933:

> ...the kind of education which has been discussed here would doubtless carry people further apart in some respects ... [as] it would emphasize differences in points of view. The point is that it would also do much toward cultivating common understandings and purposes.... Real education humanizes men. It does so, however, not by moulding them into unthinking acceptance of preestablished patterns, but by stimulating them to a continuous reconstruction of their outlook on life.[47]

To achieve this, Bode realized that it was not enough merely to focus on the social program provided by the school or on a discussion of appropriate educational techniques or methods. Consideration of both of these was "bound up intimately with our conception of the nature of intelligence" and required a careful examination of "what psychology may have to say concerning this subject."[48] However, in reflecting on major trends in the history of psychology, Bode concluded that neither faculty training, nor Herbartism, nor behaviorism had provided us with an adequate theory of mind for democratic education.

Faculty training had been a central feature of liberal education. It had focused on the belief that a rigorous educational focus "on certain restricted subject matter" would help students to develop "faculties" which would then be easily transferable "to all sorts of situations and problems." This would suggest that it would result in an increased understanding and appreciation for the

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[46]Ibid., 68-70.

[47]Boyd H. Bode, in "The Confusion in Present-Day Education,"In The Educational Frontier, ed. William Heard Kilpatrick, (1933; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969), 3-31.

[48]Bode, Modern Educational Theories, 172.

concerns for others; for example, the concerns of people of a lower social class. Yet Bode concluded that faculty training had not fostered an understanding of the concerns and issues of "the common people"; rather it had increased the distance between classes, thereby adding "new difficulties to the realization of democratic aims."[49]

The focus of psychology had shifted away from faculty psychology to the Herbartian method.[50] Although this resulted in some changes in curriculum and teaching methodology, it focused on "the organizing or regimenting of 'ideas' or 'mental states'"; encouraged a didactic approach to pedagogy; and discouraged "problem solving and the cultivation of individual initiative." Therefore, in Bode's analysis, Herbartism did little to foster the liberation of intelligence and, in fact, sent "education off on the wrong track."[51]

Bode was also concerned by the powerful appeal of behaviorism, which downplayed the focus on "mind," "faculties," and Herbartian "ideas" and concentrated its attention on "man as an animal that adapts itself in various ways

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[49]Ibid., 173.

[50] William Schubert in his 1986 text, **Curriculum**, noted that Johann Freidrich Herbart (1776-1841) has been called "the father of both the science of education and of modern psychology." He summarizes the Herbartian method in the following: "Herbart's disciples developed five steps of method and propagated their use throughout the continent and the United States: (1) *preparation* or developing connections between what is known and what is about to be learned; (2) *presentation* or setting forth material to be learned in a manner that is psychologically sound for the learner; (3) *association* or developing analogies with prior learning; (4) *generalization* or moving from concrete instances to abstract principles; and (5) *application* or using the newly acquired knowledge as a basis from which to pursue more knowledge." 68.

[51]Bode, Modern Educational Theories, 174.

to its environment."[52] The focus of behaviorism was on stimulus and response, on habit formation, rather than on the development and exercise of intelligence. It appealed to those who sought definite, precise decisions about educational programming, but, as Bode observed, it did little to foster the realization of the potential of "the common man":

> A psychology which reduces all thinking to habit encourages teachers to put all the emphasis on the kind of readiness which springs from rote learning. In terms of curriculum making it emphasizes the selection and organization of material for the purpose of mechanical habit formation, to the neglect of selection and organization designed to promote thinking. Such a psychology is not an ally of democracy, but an enemy.[53]

Contrary to traditional and behavioristic thinking, Bode believed that we cannot separate mind from habit, as he could definitely recognize interdependence. He stated his belief that to view habit as a simplistic, automatic behavior is to ignore the fact that habits develop in varying contexts, in response to differing stimuli, and that human beings develop the ability to respond effectively in these different contexts. For example, we learn how to exhibit friendliness in many different ways, such as a helping hand, a smile, or a word of greeting.[54]

Bode therefore believed that what we call habits should in fact be called complexes that the mind continually reexamines, reworks, and reconsiders -

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[52]Ibid., 176.
[53]Ibid., 186.
[54]Ibid., 199.

dependent, therefore, on both analysis and synthesis. However, we should not expect the development of such complexes to happen solely by chance through random activities. Education helps provide for growth through providing students with purposeful opportunities to develop these complexes more systematically:

> Education is sometimes called a process of "growth," or a means of giving opportunity for self-expression. We get neither growth nor self-expression (which means the same thing) from random activities. To secure significant development it is necessary to make the activity that is being carried on an outlet for a variety of interests or tendencies. We may call this the building up of a new complex or a reinterpretation of the activity so as to give it new meanings.[55]

An examination of Bode's chapter on "Habit and Thinking" in **Modern Educational Theories** reveals that Bode was a proponent of what we would today call constructivist thinking, or guided inquiry.[56] He believed that much work still remained to be done to improve "our thinking about the nature of thinking," but his writings are full of the possibilities for education if we focused more fully on the potential of humanity. To conclude with a quotation from **Democracy as a Way of Life:**

> What the average man is capable of cannot be determined just by looking at him.... History proves merely that the common man was never given a chance to think, and then was blamed because he was unable to think....Democratic education is obliged to stake everything on a program for the liberation of intelligence. It need not, and must not, demand uniformity of belief. Pupils come to school with all kinds of backgrounds; it is hardly conceivable that they should all emerge with the same set of conclusions. It is not to such uniformity of conclusions, but to certain habits of thinking and feeling and acting

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[55]Bode, Modern Educational Theories, 200.
[56]Ibid., 193-219.

that democracy must look as its hope for the future.[57]

It is very apparent that Bode was a person who indeed offered us a sense of "mission" rather than a "blueprint" for educational change.[58] Bode was unabashedly an educational philosopher, who directed his energies towards trying to articulate his vision of democracy and democratic education and left it to others to work on the specific considerations of curriculum design. At this point, it is therefore both timely and appropriate to turn to an examination of Boyd H. Bode as a teacher, as a mentor, and as a contributor to educational thought in the twentieth century.

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[57]Bode, Democracy as a Way of Life, 105-106.
[58]Winetrout, 32.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BODE'S THINKING - THEN AND NOW

In preparing a thesis such as this, which focuses on the biographical study of Boyd H. Bode and his ideas, the writer is drawn to reflect anew on the levels of commitment and responsibility required of those involved in education, and also to reflect on the extent to which one particular educator can have such a wide ranging influence on the lives of others. Earlier chapters of this thesis have already provided an opportunity for the reader to reflect on the life, work and ideology of Boyd H. Bode. However, it is the purpose of this particular chapter to focus particularly on two research questions which, though they have certainly provided guidance and direction for both the research and writing of this study, have not, to this point, been fully addressed:

In what way did Bode lay the groundwork for later work in curriculum?

What was/is the significance of Bode's work for educators?

Therefore, this fifth chapter will be shaped in such a way that the extent of Bode's influence is carefully examined through assessing his contributions as teacher, as mentor, and as a contributor to educational thought in this century. However, prior to exploring each of these, it is perhaps important to begin by addressing the real issue of Bode's comparative obscurity in the 1990s.

To recall the words of Norman De Jong, in Bode's years at the Ohio State University, "his name was elevated in educational circles to stand on a level with those of William Heard Kilpatrick, George S. Counts, and Harold Rugg, all of

whom were one rung below the venerable John Dewey."[1] Thus, Bode can be seen to have had a prominence in educational circles in his era that was not sustained in subsequent years. To be one rung below Dewey, was and is certainly to be deserving of respect, for Dewey's contribution to American philosophy as a pragmatic thinker who had, and still has, great significance for educators, is extensively documented. Unfortunately, it places Bode very much in the position of an "also ran," and, in North American society, those who are in this position are usually forgotten. Bode has been largely forgotten, despite the fact that his own thinking reflected an independence of thought that added texture to pragmatic thinking on education and added vigor to educational debate.

However, the relative obscurity of Boyd H. Bode in the latter part of the 20th. Century is not solely due to the prominence of John Dewey. In his 1981 text on Bode, Robert Vernon Bullough Jr. identified a number of other reasons which may not be immediately apparent and which should be mentioned here.[2] These reasons can be summarized under two broad categories: firstly, the nature of Bode's personality, and secondly, the nature of the community in which he lived and worked.

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[1]Norman De Jong, Boyd H. Bode: A Study of the Relationship between the Kingdom of God and Democracy, Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1972 (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1972), 65. Previously quoted in Chapter 3.

[2]Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education: Boyd H. Bode (Bayside, New York: General Hall, Inc., 1981), 5-9.

Descriptions of Bode's personality by various writers portray him as notoriously absent minded in most aspects of his life, other than the aspect of life on which Bode was sharply focused - the world of ideas.[3] Given the nature of his personality, it is not surprising that this man who had little interest in his outward appearance also had no interest in the superficial aspects of education. Bode appears to have had little interest in self promotion, having no desire to be seen to be involved in the political manoeverings of national educational organizations. He also had no interest in fashionable, insubstantial "fads" or "bandwagons" that might have quickly raised him to prominence on a conference or workshop circuit. Rather, as Bullough stated, he used his energies "attempting to infuse reason into the bandwagons of his day....As a result he often found himself in the position of one 'crying in the wilderness.' [and] In education, critical efforts are seldom long remembered."[4] Thus, the "critical efforts" of this individual whose own ideas were too complex to "lend themselves to simplification or sloganization," and too well considered to lend themselves to extremism or notoriety, may have been too easily lost in the passage of time.[5]

Since his ideas were complex, they were also misinterpreted at times. Bode,

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[3]Bullough, Jr. himself describes a variety of incidents in Bode's life that reflect his absent mindedness about everyday concerns in his 1981 text on Bode. Another writer, Kenneth Winetrout, was a former student of Bode. Writing in 1974, Winetrout reminisced about the "dark suits he wore both summer and winter [which] were rumpled; *unpressed* would be an understatement. His dress was in the tradition of Samuel Johnson and Heywood Broun." 2.

[4]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 5.

[5]Ibid., 5-6.

as an independent thinker who "was a progressive critic of progressivism," found himself positioned between two extreme points of view, and "suspect to progressives and non-progressives alike."[6] For example, Bode's ideas were considered too progressive for the cultural climate in which he lived and worked. The negative reaction of his parents' community to the nature of Bode's thought as a young adult has already been documented in this study.[7] As he continued to develop and to refine his ideas, Bode also continued to live and work in the conservative mid western states of America. Even in the positive working environment of the College of Education at the Ohio State University, the reality for Bode was that it was still "an essentially conservative institution." His interactions outside the College of Education also led to "constant conflict with local religious organizations," no doubt offended by his unconventional attitudes and beliefs.[8]

While Bode's ideas were viewed as too progressive by some, ironically others, notably I. Keith Tyler, saw Bode's ideas as lagging behind the thinking of some of his contemporaries. As Bullough observed, "Tyler asserts that Bode's concern for the dualism or cleavage within the American culture - the cleavage between other-worldly views of life as carried in tradition and the developing

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[6]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 6.

[7] The tension that arouse between Boyd H. Bode and his father's congregation when Boyd taught Sunday School in Leighton, Iowa, in 1898 has been described in Chapter Two of this study.

[8]Bullough, Jr., Democracy in Education, 6-7.

"earth earthy" view of life promoted by science and pragmatic philosophy - was passe."[9] Nonetheless, as has already been noted, Bode was not interested in the fashionable nature of ideas, his focus was on the strength and validity of his thinking. "In this regard, he had great faith in the ultimate power of good ideas."[10]

Whatever the reasons for Bode's relative obscurity in the latter part of the twentieth century, the fact remains that this was an individual whose work is well deserving of our attention. In his own era, Bode was both well known and highly regarded. His writings and teaching had a powerful impact on the thought and work of his contemporaries. For example, Henry Eugene Stevens made the following observation in the dissertation he completed in 1940, the first of a number of dissertations on Boyd H. Bode:

> One cannot read extensively in the field of modern American educational theory without repeatedly encountering reference to the work of Boyd H. Bode. As certain observers have indicated, he appears to occupy a strategic position with regard to educational philosophy. A philosopher by training and temperament, he is, at the same time, a professional educator by choice and experience....His writings cover a period of more than twenty years, and he has, through these works, accomplished much to dispel the notion that "educators usually write parochially and always inarticulately". Besides possessing a certain effective suppleness, his presentations are enhanced by a compelling sincerity, the force of which the reader cannot soon fail to apprehend. As his reviewers have repeatedly pointed out, the direct, lucid and non-pedantic character of his efforts undoubtedly provides the student of educational theory with benefits that are often otherwise lacking.[11]

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[9]Ibid., 7-8.

[10]Ibid., 5.

[11]Henry Eugene Stevens, "The Educational Philosophy of Boyd H. Bode: An Analytical Study" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1940), ii-iii.

Bode's influence was, however, not merely in the area of his writings. Writing in 1956, John L. Childs recalled that Bode had exerted a powerful influence in the area of teaching as well as through his writings, stating that, "During his twenty-three years of teaching and writing at Ohio State University, Bode became one of the real molding influences in the life of American education."[12] This is sometimes overlooked when Bode is criticized for his failure to address theory into practice in the area of curriculum planning and design. As J. J. Chambliss pointed out, everything Bode stood for was contrary to any notion of one "single plan offered for all times and all places." Rather, Chambliss saw Bode as challenging educators,

> to develop different working forms, not as final plans, but as scaffolding that can be added to and then torn down as the building goes on. The guiding notion behind such plans is that no single form of a curriculum guarantees good consequences. Rather, if taken in the spirit of Bode's philosophy of education, many forms are potentially capable of functioning in a learning process which is a genuine reconstruction of experience,,,,education, in the broader sense of being at one with living itself, should be a lifelong process for the common man in a democratic way of life.[13]

In his 1975 dissertation on Boyd H. Bode, Blackwell reiterated Chambliss's observations that Bode had no wish to propose "any particular plan," and concluded that "his neglect of specifics was intentional."[14] Instead Bode focused

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[12]John L. Childs, American Pragmatism and Education (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1956), 253.

[13]J. J. Chambliss, Boyd H. Bode's Philosophy of Education (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1963), 90.

[14]Daniel Duncan Blackwell, Bode on Education and Democracy, Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1973 (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1974), 249.

on a vital educational stage before planning could begin to happen, the theoretical education of teachers. Bode believed that without a thorough preparation of teachers, through helping them come to a deeper awareness of the dualisms inherent in American life, and through helping them to come to a fuller understanding about the nature of democracy, any program intended to benefit children would be far from adequate. Childs discussed this issue, concluding that,

> Bode became deeply interested in the education of teachers. As he conceived it, "a theory of education is at bottom a theory regarding the nature of man and his place in the universe," and he became increasingly convinced that the best way to develop the new intellectual and moral orientation would be to confront those who were preparing to teach the young with the implications of ...[the]... deep cleavage in American life and thought.[15]

Earlier in this study, the writings of such individuals as Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., H.C. Sun, Norman De Jong, and Kenneth Winetrout were used to demonstrate Bode's growth as a teacher and thinker.[16] From his rather hesitant beginnings as a young teaching assistant unsure of his own philosophical position, Bode apparently developed into a master teacher.[17] Throughout his career, Bode's popularity as a teacher appears to have rested on his ability to engage students by challenging them to think and by encouraging their

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[15]Childs, American Pragmatism and Education, 252.

[16]A composite sketch of Bode's career in teaching has been provided in Chapter 3.

[17]This progression is well described in Bullough's dissertation (1976) and in his book on Bode (1981).

involvement in discussion through his animated and often entertaining classroom style.

In his recollections of Bode, Kenneth Winetrout provided vivid descriptions of the strategies Bode used in the classroom.[18] He recalled how Bode, the avowed pragmatist, adapted Socratic dialogue to suit his classroom interactions. The difference being that "in Bode there would be no pre-existence to tap and surely no pre-ordained truths at the end of the process."[19] Bode's desire to "slay absolutes" obviously precluded both of these. However, Winetrout did detect "an inherent contradiction" in the strategies Bode employed in the classroom:

> The terms "democracy," "democratic process," and other variations on the democracy theme were central to Bode's thinking about educational matters. But there was an inherent contradiction. I can still recall vividly how one day he spent virtually the entire class period in a merciless Socratic dalliance with a young woman student who thought there might be some good reasons for believing in the soul and God. Bode was given to dialogue in the classroom, although more often it was not exactly an I-Thou dialogue but rather one between master and pupil. Yet for all of this, he was a good man, a kindly professor, a brilliant thinker. He had a way with language, it was charming, delightful, and incisive.[20]

This desire of Bode to retain a level of control over the development of a classroom dialogue was also noted by another former student, Paul Gump, who recalled a situation in which Bode had asked, "What is Mind?" Gump apparently

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[18] Winetrout addressed this in two articles, the first being his introduction to the Boyd H. Bode Memorial Lectures No. 2, published by the Ohio State University in 1974. The second being "Boyd H. Bode: A Mission but no Blueprint," published in Teaching Education 2, no. 2 in 1988.

[19] Winetrout, "Boyd H. Bode: A Mission but no Blueprint," 32.

[20] Winetrout, "Introduction," 2.

was already familiar with Bode's thinking on this question and offered "an answer, a good answer, his answer! But nothing much was done with it since Bode wanted to arrive at this somewhere later on in the quarter."[21] This is, perhaps, somewhat understandable given Bode's background in logic and also his determination to lead students to clarify their thinking on democracy.

Bode's interactions with students seem to have been humane and respectful. H. C. Sun, as a graduate student newly arrived from China in 1944, wrote at some length about the warmth in Bode's welcome of him and about their subsequent friendship which lasted until Bode's death in 1953.[22] In speaking of Bode's classroom style in his retirement years, H. C. Sun recalled that,

> Usually his class went on in the manner of an exchange of ideas and thoughts involving the students and the instructor, punctuated by arguments and laughter. His friendly attitude, touch of modesty, and sense of humor certainly encouraged students to participate actively. To me, who had just come from China and had been accustomed to the tradition of "the teacher talks and students listen," the scene was indeed extraordinary."[23]

Another student who had a similar impression of Bode was Sadek H.

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[21]Letter, Paul Gump to John Farley, n.d., quoted in John Robert Farley, The Life and Thought of Alan Griffin: Exemplar of Reflection. Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1978 (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1979), 137.

[22]H.C. Sun , Boyd H. Bode (1873-1953) and the Reform of American Education: Recollections and Correspondence (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Malloy Lithographing, Inc., 1977).

It is notable that H. C. Sun was already familiar with Bode's writings prior to his arrival in the United States. He stated that "The name of Bode was familiar to the students of education and to the faculties of the teacher training institutions in China. I had read his Fundamentals of Education and Modern Educational Theories, translated into Chinese by Meng Hsien-cheng." 46.

[23]Ibid., 48.

Samaan, who was in Bode's classes at the Graduate Institute of Cairo in 1944-45.[24] In the course of his recollections, Samaan addressed Bode's respect for those students whose ideas differed markedly from his own:

> The differences did not disturb Dr. Bode in the least; it rather stimulated him. He respected those who differed and was willing at times to concede points of strength in their arguments. His primary aim, it seemed, was not to destroy but to build. And he was a master builder. He was concerned with bringing to a focus points of common agreement among the participants which sometimes the heat of discussion tended to obscure.[25]

Bode's respect for difference was of long standing. For example, his gracious response to Harold B. Alberty's challenge to his ideas in Bode's "Modern Educational Theories" course in 1924 has already been described in an earlier chapter.[26] Bode also demonstrated a willingness to learn from his students. This was clearly apparent on the day in 1941 when a gifted student named Alan F. Griffin attended his oral examinations prior to completing his Ph.D. The committee, chaired by Bode, had apparently prepared some "deep and penetrating questions" to which Griffin responded adroitly. However, one particular question did cause Griffin to pause, but then he proceeded to respond to it with "a lengthy dissertation." Apparently, when "Griffin looked to Bode for a reaction, asking if his response was acceptable, Bode replied, "I don't know. I

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[24]Sadek H. Samaan, "Boyd Henry Bode in Egypt," School and Society LXXVIII (Sept. 1953): 87-89.

[25]Ibid., 88.

[26]See Chapter Three.

was looking for the answer."[27]

The proceeding examples have been included here to provide a clear indication of Bode's qualities as a teacher. Former students, ranging from Kenneth Winetrout to Sadek Samaan, all appear to present similar vignettes reflective of Bode's engaging personality in the classroom. Bode's qualities can perhaps be summarized most succinctly in the words of his long time colleague at Ohio State University, H. Gordon Hullfish, who described Bode as "having the method of Socrates mellowed by the greatness of a Lincoln."[28]

To some of these students, however, Bode functioned as much more than a teacher. He was also a mentor, helping others in their preparation to establish themselves on their own distinct paths as academics. At this point in time, it is appropriate to focus on two of Bode's students whose learning experiences with him left a marked impression on their thinking. Chronologically, the first of these was Harold B. Alberty, whose work in curriculum design significantly demonstrates a practical application of Bode's ideas. The second was Alan F. Griffin, who refined Bode's skills of Socratic dialogue and made a noteworthy case for the inclusion of reflective inquiry in social studies education. A brief description of the work of both Alberty and Griffin is included here to highlight the impact of Bode's thinking on later developments in education.

When Harold B. Alberty accepted a position as an assistant in Bode's

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[27]Dr. Robert Haws, quoted in Farley, 63.
[28]H. Gordon Hullfish, quoted in Blackwell, 14.

department at the Ohio State University in 1924, he brought with him the skills and knowledge developed in his fifteen years as a teacher, principal, and school superintendent in the state of Ohio. In his years as an academic, Alberty continued to make a strong contribution to education on both the local and national levels.[29] This included his involvement in numerous educational associations, such as the Progressive Education Association, and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. From 1936-38, Alberty served as Curriculum Associate on the Eight Year Study.[30]

The Eight Year Study traced the progress of high school students in thirty schools as they moved through their programs of study in both "traditional" and "experimental" schools and later at the University level. The findings were significant:

> On a multitude of measures, ranging from academic to personal and social adjustment and accomplishment, students from the experimental schools equaled or excelled students from the control group of traditional high school students, except in the foreign language area...
> One is forced to conclude that students from the progressive schools learned something more important, for example, how to direct their own learning, a greater love for learning, problem solving, a sense of meaning and direction in their own lives, personal responsibility, resourcefulness.[31]

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[29]Two of Alberty's own students were Paul R. Klohr and William Van Til.

[30]This information is to be found in "Personnel Data concerning Harold Alberty, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio." Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr. included this document in the appendix of his 1976 dissertation, 249-256.

[31]William Schubert, Curriculum: Perspective, Paradigm, and Possibility (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1986), 81.

Involvement in this study as Curriculum Associate must have provided Alberty with a fascinating opportunity to apply many of his ideas. As Bullough, Jr. recalled, "In the Eight Year Study Alberty's unique talent for the uniting of theory and practice brought him national recognition."[32] If it was Bode who functioned as "the major spokesman for the necessity of schools to embody the democratic ideal in their organization and practice...it was Alberty who helped each of the schools translate this ideal into school practice."[33]

A similar situation can be identified in the establishment of the Ohio State University School. Boyd H. Bode did not see himself taking an active part in planning for the school, preferring to leave the practical aspects of curriculum design to those better suited to the task.[34] In the words of Ralph Tyler, Bode "preferred to act as critic."[35] Alberty proved himself to be very suited to this task, becoming the second director of the school in 1938. He worked closely with teachers to help them develop their ideas, his work reflecting the same emphasis on the role of teachers in democratic education as that held by Bode. As Bullough, Jr. stated it,

In Alberty's work with the Ohio State University School, he involved the

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[32]Robert Vernon Bullough, Jr., Harold B. Alberty and Boyd H. Bode: Pioneers in Curriculum Theory, Ph.D. diss., the Ohio State University, 1976 (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1977), 135.

[33]Ibid., 139.

[34]Hugh Laughlin, once said of Bode's attitude to curriculum design, "He'd almost dismiss it by saying to Harold, 'Harold, that's your business, not mine.'" Laughlin's words are quoted in Bullough, Jr., Harold B. Alberty and Boyd H. Bode, 76.

[35]Ralph Tyler, quoted in Bullough, Jr.,Harold B. Alberty and Boyd H. Bode, 76.

> entire faculty, through action research, in the study of how children develop. He also, as a teacher and consultant, worked with large numbers of teachers to help them clarify their social philosophies. He also helped school faculties do the same. In these ways, Alberty stands as an excellent example of this aspect of good teaching as Bode conceives of it.[36]

It is very apparent that Alberty was a firm believer in working "with schools in terms of their objectives and purposes."[37] This is well demonstrated in his writings, which are reflective of his commitment to democratic education and which provide teachers and administrators with assistance in curriculum design, without imposing one "single plan offered for all time and all places."[38] In fact, Alberty's work on resource units was apparently the subject of some criticism because he did not provide "a tightly-organized sequence to be followed."[39]

Though Alberty published many articles in the course of his long career, he is perhaps best known for his text, **Reorganizing the High School Curriculum**, which was "adopted by perhaps over 100 different colleges and universities throughout America as a basic curriculum text."[40] In this text, Alberty outlined his thinking on a central consideration in the area of curriculum design, the core curriculum.

The fact that Harold B. Alberty is perhaps best known for his involvement with

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[36]Bullough, Harold B. Alberty and Boyd H. Bode, 79.

[37]Ibid., 233.

[38]J.J Chambliss, author of Boyd H. Bode's Philosophy of Education, would have seen Alberty's respect for the decisions made by individual schools as very reflective of Bode's philosophy.

[39]Bullough, Jr., Harold B. Alberty and Boyd H. Bode, 166.

[40]Ibid., 231.

the core curriculum might, at first, appear as an involvement very disconnected from the thinking of Boyd H. Bode. This confusion is due to the fact that we tend to define "core curriculum" very differently in the latter part of the twentieth century. As Schubert stated in 1986, "core has a totally different meaning today; it now refers to a basic set of required courses in a program after which students many select electives."[41] This is not the approach to core curriculum taken by Harold and Elsie Alberty, joint authors of the third edition of this text.[42] Alberty and Alberty began their discussion by stating that "core" may be used to describe "various types of organization, but...that, in the interests of clarity, *it is necessary to distinguish between various types of core programs.*"[43]

In **Reorganizing the High-School Curriculum**, five distinct types of core programs in general education were identified.[44] **Type-one core, based upon separate subjects** is typical of the strong tendency in high school programming which persists today as it consists of "*various required subjects...taught separately* with few, if any, attempts to show relationships between or among the various required courses."[45]

Type-two core, based upon correlation of two or more subjects

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[41]Schubert, 236.

[42]Reorganizing the High School Curriculum was originally written by Harold B. Alberty and published in 1947, and again in 1953. In the 1962 edition, Harold B. Alberty and Elsie J. Alberty were joint authors.

[43]Harold B. Alberty and Elsie J. Alberty, Reorganizing the High-School Curriculum, 3rd.ed.(New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), 204.

[44]Ibid., 204-230.

[45]Ibid., 205.

represents a moderate attempt to help students make connections, for example, between the events of a particular historical era and the representative literature of that time. The teachers involved in such programming may identify an "overarching theme" which will help them identify common concepts which will be incorporated into their planning. "The essence of this type of organization is a planned program for showing the relatedness of knowledge, but the subjects which are correlated are usually taught separately in single periods."[46]

Type-three core, based upon the fusion of two or more subjects goes beyond correlation to "fusion." In type-three core, "Subject lines are obliterated or at least blurred and a new scope and sequence involving the subjects unified is developed." The school timetable is blocked off to allow "one broadly trained teacher, who may or may not draw upon subject-matter specialists to deal with the more technical phases of the unit or theme." It is important to note that the type-three core rarely incorporates all subjects. In practice, some subject areas, particularly mathematics and science continue to be addressed separately. Despite the differences among the three types of core programs identified so far, all may be seen to share a common element: the starting point for each is in the content of the individual subject areas.[47]

Type-four core based upon common problems, needs, and interests of adolescents within a framework of problem areas, breaks "sharply with the

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[46]Alberty and Alberty, 207-208.
[47]Ibid., 209-217.

subject-centred program of general education." Its starting point is not in subject matter, rather it begins with "problem areas" which "represent categories in which most adolescents have persistent problems and needs." Subject matter in the type-four core curriculum is included on the basis of its relevance to the issues being examined. "No preconceived bodies of subject matter are set up to be "covered." If particular subject matter is needed to achieve the goals set up, it will come in - otherwise, it is left out."[48]

Problem areas may be identified through a variety of data collection strategies. For example, the following description of appropriate data collection strategies was provided by Fairmont Heights High School in regard to their Junior High curriculum: "Many different devices were used in gathering the data, such as (1) community studies, (2) results of standardized tests, (3) interest inventories, (4) conferences, and (5) survey of the literature pertinent to adolescent growth and development." It should be noted, however, that once they had identified key problem areas, such as "School Living" and "Conservation of Natural Resources," and sequenced them according to grade level, the school remained flexible to the possibility that teachers might need to adjust the core curriculum in the day to day realities of the school program. The school therefore stated this freedom to effect change "*if problems arise of such significance that the teacher and students feel that they should be dealt with at*

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[48]Ibid., 216-217.

once."[49]

It was in the type-four core that Alberty and Alberty recognized the most potential for democratic living, considering it "the most promising curriculum design for transforming general education in the high school into a program suited to the challenging times." They recognized many strengths in its design, seeing it as allowing students to see the relevance of their learning in their lives, and fostering the development of individual and group problem solving skills. They also saw it as encouraging students to respect difference, identify common interests, and to engage in the planning process with their teachers. Again, they saw it as encouraging teachers to work collaboratively and to utilize what we would today call a constructivist approach to learning, "the core, with its emphasis upon broad comprehensive units of work and vital problems of living stresses the organismic approach. Transfer of training takes place through the enrichment of meanings and their use in a wide variety of life situations."[50] In essence, what Alberty and Alberty admired in the use of the type four core curriculum is that it provides an opportunity for schools to become the places where students can go to carry on a democratic "way of life."

Type-five core, based on teacher-student planned activities without reference to any formal structure is perhaps best defined as representative of

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[49]Description provided by Fairmont Heights High School quoted in Alberty and Alberty, 218.

[50]Alberty and Alberty, 220-223.

the extreme wing of progressive thought in education.[51] It "satisfies those educators who emphasize almost exclusively 'group processes' in education and hold that any predetermined curricular pattern violates the dynamic nature of the individual and of learning. On the other hand, it is far too tenuous and opportunistic to satisfy most teachers, administrators, and communities."[52] In this assessment of the type-five program, Alberty and Alberty appear to share the same concerns that Bode had about laissez-faire approaches to education.

Alberty and Alberty saw greater potential for a successful general school program utilizing the flexible, yet effective, model of the type-four core. At the same time, they realized that the general core curriculum should only address one-third to two-thirds of the high school curriculum. An additional factor needing consideration was that separate timetabling might be needed for such courses as physical education.[53] Another factor needing to be incorporated into effective junior high and high school programming was that of specialized education, and one should complement the other:

> General education and specialized education are two interrelated facets of a good program of high-school education. They are not, as is sometimes believed, at war with each other. Democratic education is equally concerned with both facets. The survival of our democracy depends upon the development of citizens who have common understandings, common ways of behaving, and common outlooks on life. *But democratic education also recognizes that the strength of a democracy lies in the cultivation of the uniqueness of each citizen.* It is

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[51]Ibid., 223.
[52]Ibid., 225.
[53]Ibid., 217.

only when the cultivated talents of each individual are utilized for the common good that democracy functions at its best.[54]

Specialist programming in education therefore should include the provision of electives which offer students more scope in particular areas of study and interest. These courses include such possibilities as Latin-American history in social studies, the study of a particular language, and specialized vocational courses. Alberty and Alberty did not advocate specialized high schools, but saw both general core programs and specialist programming operating within the comprehensive high school model.

The work of Alberty and Alberty is interesting as it reflects the possibility for a program of democratic education in the spirit of the philosophy popularized by Boyd H. Bode. Alberty and Alberty concluded their text with the following considerations of the possible effects of a democratic school program. Considerations which could, indeed, have also been written by Boyd H. Bode:

> Such living and working together under the guidance of a democratic philosophy of education should have a threefold effect. *First*, it should be the means of making the school an integral part of the life of the community instead of an institution apart from the vital current of living. *Second*, it should transform the school into a place where students come to get help in the solving of their problems instead of a place where "lessons" are learned. *Third*, it should raise teaching to the level of a profession with unlimited possibilities for personal growth..."[55]

Alan F. Griffin certainly saw unlimited possibilities for personal growth through

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[54]Alberty and Alberty, 235.
[55]Ibid., 504.

the inclusion of reflective inquiry in social studies education, dedicating thirty two years of his life to his work in this area at the Ohio State University. In his 1978 dissertation on this "exemplar of reflection," John Farley provided a fine portrayal of the life and thought of a fascinating individual. A brief sketch of Alan F. Griffin, drawn from Farley's dissertation, can therefore be provided here.

Alan F. Griffin joined the Ohio State University in 1932 as a graduate student. He soon began to seek out courses taught by challenging professors, notably Boyd H. Bode, H. Gordon Hullfish, Harold B. Alberty and Edwin Pahlow, who apparently enjoyed the "brilliance, eagerness, and wit" of this exceptional student.[56] Due to his strong interest in social studies education, Griffin's 1942 dissertation was entitled, **A Philosophical Approach to the Subject Matter Preparation of Teachers of History**, and was apparently "one of the most significant statements of the implications of reflection for the teaching of History and Social Studies which has ever been written."[57] In October of the same year, Griffin became an assistant professor of education in the area of social studies upon the retirement of Edwin Pahlow. He "was now beginning to emerge within the ranks of the education faculty as a bright, amiable individual, somewhat unorthodox, but undoubtedly a brilliant teacher. He began to develop as an individual in his own right, especially upon the retirement of Bode in May of

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[56]Farley, 57.
[57]Ibid., 66.

1944."[58]

It is very apparent that Griffin's philosophy of education was very similar to that of Boyd H. Bode, and it is clear that Bode's influence on the development of Griffin's thinking "was profound."[59] Both were skillful teachers, and both utilized Socratic method with a democratic "twist"; however, there were some essential differences. Where Bode focused very closely on fostering a logical, in depth discussion of the matter at hand, Griffin saw that "the learning task was not so much presented as it was drawn out from the interests of the students through his 'midwifery.' For Griffin, the key to successful teaching lay in the teacher's ability to 'create a situation screaming for an explanation, an intellectual itch that demands to be scratched.' "[60]

As Griffin took Socratic method as his starting point, it should be briefly stated here. Drawing from the writings of Ronald T. Hyman, Farley defined Socratic method as a strategy in which "the teacher (1) gets one to make an initial proposition; (2) leads the student to doubt that proposition; (3) leads him to admit that he, in fact, does not know the proposition to be true; and (4) leads him in the formulation of a correct proposition."[61]

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[58]Ibid., 67.

[59]Farley stated that " In virtually every case it was Bode who was identified by those whom the writer interviewed, as the one who most influenced Griffin in the formation of his educational ideas." 136-137.

[60]Farley, 128. The rather pithy observation included in this quotation from Farley was made to him by Dr. M. Eugene Gilliom.

[61]Farley cited Ronald T. Hyman's 1974 text, Ways of Teaching, as his source of information here.

The outcome of the use of such a strategy is to encourage a student to discover "meaning" by questioning, rethinking, and restating ideas, all in the context of "alternative ideas."[62] As has already been stated, the "discovery of meaning" is interpreted very differently depending on the teacher's philosophical orientation. While an idealist is very concerned with heightening his/her students' awareness of an unchanging realm of ideals, Griffin saw "the discovery of meaning" as "closely tied to Democracy as a social philosophy and to experimentalism as a way of conducting one's life." Griffin, thus "adopted the dialectic as a teaching strategy but adapted it to his own social and educational philosophy."[63]

Griffin was fully aware of the potential of reflective inquiry, recognizing it as revolving "around a state of doubt and the act of searching in an effort to resolve that doubt."[64] However, he did not, by any means, expect that teachers should follow a proscribed sequence and compartmentalize reflective thinking into a few neat steps. Rather, he remained cognizant of the reality of teaching, which is well demonstrated in the following observations about high school teaching, for example:

> The teacher in the secondary school must be satisfied to stimulate and promote a much lower level of reflection that is described in the analysis of a complete act of thought. Indeed, he must be satisfied to inject any degree of reflection at any level, into the ongoing experience

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[62]Again, Farley cited Hyman as the source of his ideas.
[63]Farley, 121.
[64]Ibid., 243.

of his students.[65]

This did not mean that Griffin had low expectations of students; instead he recognized that there were unquestioned or unexplored assumptions in American life that were deeply rooted in the acculturation of students. He saw the role of teachers, in part, to help students to identify and focus on such social tenets as "what's good for business is good for the country" or "the statement 'the poor ye have with ye always' which "ranged God on the side of those who shrug their shoulders at widespread poverty."[66] He believed that students should be encouraged to rethink such beliefs and assumptions, re-evaluate them, and restate them. However, Griffin did not naively assume that encouraging students to develop levels of competence in reflective inquiry would automatically lead to attitudinal change. Instead, he hoped that students would develop an increased awareness of their belief systems and become more "open" and "willing to subject them to public scrutiny."[67]

To Griffin, therefore, reflective inquiry was "the method of determining truth in a democracy."[68] In considering the implications of reflective inquiry in the area of history, he obviously rejected the rote and passive learning of dates and facts, which were disconnected from the students' own interests or experiences. Instead, he believed that history had a significance if it was used in reflective

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[65]Griffin, quoted in Farley, 246.
[66]Griffin, quoted in Farley, 248.
[67]Farley, 250.
[68]Ibid., 251.

inquiry to "shed light on the quandries of our life today."[69] Like Alberty, therefore, Griffin believed that history "could only be 'educative' to the degree that it was brought to bear on a problem and was utilized in both the formulation of and achievement of ends, the heart of the process of personal reconstruction. Beyond this requirement, no subject matter was sacred."[70] Farley included Griffin's example of a dialogue between a teacher and his/her students in which the teacher used an event in history to "springboard" the students into a discussion of the real problems posed by the event. In engaging the students in a dialogue, the teacher encouraged them to question, to hypothesize, and to think deeply about the event in question.[71]

While Griffin was promoting reflective inquiry in the post war years, he did not always enjoy an audience that was responsive to his ideas. His classes included many G.I.'s who saw education not "as a way of life, but as a passport to a better one."[72] In terms of progressive initiatives in education, "the death of Dewey in 1952 and Bode a year later seemed to symbolize, for many, the end of an era."[73] Similarly, educators found themselves "in a glass house," the subject of pointed criticism in the post Sputnik years of the late 1950s.[74] Yet this is not to say that Griffin did not have an impact. A number of Griffin's students apparently

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[69]Griffin, quoted in Farley, 269.
[70]Farley, 269.
[71]Ibid., 269-271.
[72]Ibid.,73.
[73]Ibid.,86.
[74]Ibid., 96-98.

"attempted to elaborate upon and extend the implications of his thinking concerning reflective inquiry and the social studies."[75]

Griffin's death was untimely, as he died in 1964 at the age of fifty six. His legacy has been obscured in part due to his lack of extensive writing in the form of conventional journal articles and texts.[76] Griffin preferred a more eclectic approach to writing, preparing everything from radio scripts to plays, pamphlets and encyclopedia entries. Griffin's first love was obviously teaching. As John Farley observed, "What Alan Griffin did best was to teach and to inspire others to follow his example."[77] If Boyd H. Bode had been able to witness the course of his former student's career, he would have respected his level of commitment to democratic education.

In examining the work of Harold B. Alberty and Alan F. Griffin, it is possible to identify common themes in their work which are also central to the thinking of Boyd H. Bode. All three shared a view of democracy as "a way of life," and saw education as the key to helping people to develop the skills, understandings, and abilities to contribute to the society in which they live. All, therefore, shared a belief that the potential they recognized in human nature could be tapped if a strong emphasis was placed both on the professional development of teachers,

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[75]Farley mentions Robert E. Jewett, M. Eugene Gilliom, Maurice Hunt, Lawrence Metcalf, and Peter Martorella. It is also interesting to note that Lawrence Stenhouse expressed an ongoing interest in Griffin's ideas that began with a visit to Ohio State University in the 1970s. 295-298.

[76]Farley, 293.

[77]Ibid., 302.

and on the importance of their role in democratic classrooms. However, each of the three made a particular contribution to democratic education: Bode in his work as a teacher-scholar and critic, Alberty in his ability to link theory with practice, and Griffin in his emphasis on the skillful use of reflective inquiry in social studies education.

Bode thus had significance in his role as a teacher and mentor. However, as has already been discussed in previous chapters, his influence was felt beyond the campuses of Wisconsin, Illinois, and Ohio State. He was recognized in his era for his contributions as an educational thinker through his frequently overlapping roles of writer and critic. As he explored the work of such individuals as William James, John Dewey, William Heard Kilpatrick, David Snedden, W.W. Charters, and J. Franklin Bobbitt, he usually did so in a manner intended not to offend, but to promote reflective thinking in those he critiqued, in his general readers, and, always, in himself. In the words of Daniel Blackwell, "one did not have to attend Bode's classes to be a student of his. Many who had never seen him were educated by him through his numerous books and articles, for he had an extensive reading audience in this country and abroad."[78]

The reactions of educators to Bode's ideas can be found in a variety of sources, such as book reviews, journal articles, and dissertations. As no examination of the thinking of a particular educational thinker should be limited to

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[78]Blackwell, 228.

positive appraisals, an interesting starting point is with the 1940 dissertation written by Henry Eugene Stevens who included some of the "contrary opinions" of Bode's less enthusiastic critics in his study. He identified six writers who appeared "especially dissident" with the purpose of focusing on "the major criticisms that have been forthcoming" provided by Norman Woelfel, M. V. O'Shea, Carter V. Good, Paul Hanna, Homer P. Rainey, and John L. Childs.[79]

Some common themes are identifiable in all six critiques. Essentially, these writers saw Boyd H. Bode as out of step with current thinking in education, full of ideas, but too impractical to have anything of great significance to offer to improve educational programs. They saw him as keen to cling to outmoded psychology, emphasizing introspection for himself and for others. In the words of Carter V. Good,

> ...it may be that a philosopher is supposed to perform somewhat the same service for education that the minister does for his congregation: he sits somewhat apart from the crowd, points out shortcomings, admonishes evil-doers, exhorts all to do right, then leaves the group much on its own resources in discovering working plans and effective modes of procedure.[80]

Another writer who saw Bode in this light, to some extent, was Herman H. Horne, who, in his 1927 review of **Modern Educational Theories**, saw Bode essentially as being "more critical than constructive," ably discussing a number of current theories but not providing his reader with "a constructive modern theory of the

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[79]Stevens, 130.

[80]Carter V. Good, quoted in Stevens, 133.

author's own."[81] However, this text appears to have endured. Lawrence Cremin commented favorably on it in his own 1961 text, **The Transformation of the School**, describing it as a "brilliant critique of progressive pedagogy in the twenties."[82] In his forward to H.C. Sun's 1977 text, William Fisher referred to it as "a book to which I frequently refer.... I am sufficiently bold to suggest that if more educators made reference to this sort of work (as Lawrence Cremin has succinctly stated the matter) we would spend less time "reinventing the pedagogical wheel."[83] Then in 1986, William Schubert described it as being, "as contemporary as it was when written in its insightful, often witty, criticisms of fads and movements in curriculum and educational psychology." What comes through all of these evaluations, whether positive or negative, is a clear association of Bode with the role of critic.

Another contemporary of Bode who was impatient with his apparent rhetoric and failure to contribute to educational planning was Theodore Brameld. In 1939, he prepared a review of another of Bode's key texts, **Progressive Education at the Crossroads**, remarking that:

> When we search for what he himself offers as a program or a gospel, we find that in the last analysis it usually dissolves in glorification of the

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[81]Herman H. Horne, "Review of Modern Educational Theories," School and Society, XXVI (October, 1927): 427-428.

[82]Lawrence Cremin, The Transformation of the School (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 222.

[83]William H. Fisher, forward to Boyd H. Bode (1873-1953) and the Reform of American Education: Recollections and Correspondence, by H. C. Sun (Ann Arbor: Malloy Lithographing, Inc., 1977), vi.

> common man's right to disavow all absolutes. Indeed, precisely this distinguishes the "controlling ideal" of democracy from social ideals of every other kind; it is continuously growing, changing, widening, sharing, relative, flexible - a teeter-totter of the individual and social. But, somehow, it is never really grown; never stabilized; never, despite plentiful assertions to the contrary, either individual or social in its basic frame of reference; never sufficiently certain of its ends to stir deep loyalty to a vision of America's tomorrow.[84]

Boyd H. Bode would have been one of the first to agree with his critics that he did not provide a specific program or model for educators to follow, but then, as was previously discussed, Bode did not see this as his area of expertise. However, Bode, who "could dazzle with the force of his logic"[85] might have taken more exception to critics who perceived his ideas as seemingly empty rhetoric. He would not have been alone in this reaction, for as Arthur G. Wirth once commented, "For several decades there was widespread agreement that no basic issue in educational theory had been sufficiently thought through until the voice of Professor Bode had been heard."[86] In 1969, C. A. Bowers described Bode as "an influential interpreter of progressive education at Ohio State University."[87] Lawrence Cremin also commented on Bode's level of perception in regard to progressive education, describing Bode as "prophetic" in his assertion that "if...[it] persists in a one-sided absorption in the individual pupil, it will be

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[84]Theodore Brameld, 1937, quoted in Chambliss, 36.

[85]Farley, 137.

[86]Arthur G. Wirth, preface to Boyd H. Bode's Philosophy of Education, by J.J. Chambliss (Columbus, Ohio: the Ohio State University Press, 1963), vii.

[87]C.A. Bowers, The Progressive Educator and the Depression: The Radical Years (New York: Random House, Inc., 1969), 14.

circumnavigated and left behind."[88]

It is very apparent that Boyd H. Bode was generally recognized as one of "the recognized leaders in educational theory" in his era.[89] Bode's recognition by his peers is also to be recognized in the awards and honorary degrees he received in the course of his life. The University of Michigan awarded Bode an honorary degree in 1932. This was followed by another from the Ohio State University in 1948, and Bode was similarly honored by the University of Florida in 1953, when his daughter, Eleanor Bode Browne attended the ceremony on his behalf.[90]

When he retired from the Ohio State University in 1944, he was honored with "a new kind of tribute...afternoon and evening conferences in his honor titled "Democracy and Education."[91] Upon his retirement, the University also appointed Bode Professor Emeritus. This was an honor that he once commented on in his customary, self deprecating manner, remarking that "Emeriti, like youngsters in their first childhood should be seen and not heard."[92] However, the University did not appear to want to forget Bode. An annual "Bode Lecture Series" was held from 1946-1965 with the purpose of providing "a forum

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[88] Bode quoted in Cremin, 327.

[89]John P. Wynne described Bode and William Heard Kilpatrick as the leaders in the "second generation of experimentalists." John P. Wynne, Theories of Education (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 260.

[90]Biographical sketch: Boyd H. Bode. The Ohio State University Bureau of Public Relations, 3-4-53. The Ohio State University Archives, Columbus, Ohio.

[91]"TRIBUTE TO BODE, Conference in his honor,"Ohio State University MONTHLY (July 1944): 6. The Ohio State University Archives, Columbus, Ohio.

[92]Ohio State University MONTHLY (November 1947): 4. The Ohio State University Archives, Columbus, Ohio.

where current ideas that bear on the reconstruction of American educational institutions could be analyzed and appraised....[a] tribute...for a man whose aim was to combine intellectual values with humanitarian concerns."[93] A new series of lectures entitled the" Boyd H. Bode Memorial Lectures" was established in 1972.[94] The final honor that should be mentioned in this context was the presentation of the William H. Kilpatrick Award for Distinguished Service in Philosophy of Education at the Conference on Philosophy of Education in 1947. Those who spoke at this conference included Bode himself, John Dewey, and William Heard Kilpatrick. In recalling this event, George S. Counts commented as follows:

> Among the speakers were the three most distinguished American students of the philosophy of education now living. Friends and admirers of these men had come from near and far to hear them and to honor one of them. The thought may have passed through the minds of many of those present that they would probably never again hear these three giants of educational thought - Dewey, Kilpatrick, and Bode -speak from the same platform.[95]

In this quotation, two things can be identified. First, the significance of Boyd H. Bode, and secondly, the sadness felt by many of those present as they witnessed the end of an era.

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[93]P.L. Smith, foreword to Jane R. Martin, Choice Chance and Curriculum (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1975), 5.

[94]P.L. Smith, foreword to Choice, Chance and Curriculum, 5.

[95]George S. Counts, "A Memorable Occasion" Conference on Philosophy of Education; Report of Meetings Held November 10, 1947, on the Occasion of the Presentation of the William Heard Kilpatrick Award to Dr. Boyd H. Bode," Teachers College Record, XLIX (January, 1948), 265.

When I first encountered the writings of Boyd H. Bode in a "Perspectives on Curriculum" course in the Fall of 1992, I was immediately drawn to his ideas. His frustration with laissez-faire or authoritarian trends in education mirrored my own. His enthusiasm over the possibilities inherent in the field of education was an enthusiasm I shared. Where we differed was in the fact that Bode had a clearly articulated philosophy of education while I did not. I came to realize that if I were to continue to work in the area of curriculum, I would have to address the lack of clarity in my own philosophy. Therefore, a key motivation for this thesis was the opportunity it provided for reflective inquiry. Consequently, the impact of Bode's thinking on the articulation of my own thought has been considerable.

Simply stated, I have come to the realization that I have an eclectic approach to curriculum that is deeply rooted in a democratic philosophy of education. Like Boyd H. Bode, I prefer to believe in the potential of human beings, yet I agree with him that there is much in our societal structures and traditions that has served to suppress the potential both to think and to learn. Like Boyd H. Bode, I believe in a more democratic approach to education than generally exists: an approach that is respectful of individual difference, while seeking to expand student awareness of an expanding sphere of common interests. Like Boyd H. Bode, I believe in a democratic way of life, and recognize the inadequacies of educational programs in which democracy is taught rather than experienced. I also recognize the inadequacies of societies in which democracy is assumed but undermined or misconstrued in a myriad of ways.

This opportunity to reflect on my own philosophy of education has given added meaning to my role as an educator. Unlike Bode, and perhaps more like Harold B. Alberty and Alan F. Griffin, I have a strong interest in the possibilities inherent in curriculum design and development. I can now understand why in recent years I have been drawn to affirmative action initiatives, creative yet effective programming, and a variety of challenging teaching situations. Most have offered the potential for growth, both for students and for myself as an educator.

However, as was stated in the introduction of this thesis, the underlying motivation for my research was not limited to my own personal interest in Boyd H. Bode. I also hoped that a biographical study of this man and his ideas would serve to demonstrate how much we can still learn from the thinking of some of the educational thinkers who have unfortunately been allowed to fade from view in recent years. It is always interesting to reflect on the manner in which a person from a different era might respond to a present day situation. In the 1980s, Kenneth Winetrout did exactly this in relation to Boyd H. Bode:

> Let us now imagine that Boyd H. Bode is again living with us in these 1980's. In no time at all he would be turning his intellectual guns on William Bennett. A salvo would be fired off at Allan Bloom, author of *The Closing of the American Mind*. As Bode once took up a position on the Harvard Report, so today he would be in the thick of this battle of the books, this required reading list at Stanford and elsewhere. In our 1980's, Bode would not lack for targets.
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> He would be disappointed in how little we have done for the common man. He would agonize: Why haven't our schools become more humane institutions? Bode would be kept busy.

> In spite of all he would not ask with George Counts: Dare the schools build a new social order? Rather, Bode would ask: Dare - can - the schools bring into being the thinking individual, the democratic common man?[96]

How, then, would Bode react to the 1990s? How would he perceive our democratic society? Our "common man"? Our "war with absolutes"? Our vision of "the school that would serve each of these?"[97] In both Canada and the United States, he would see us still viewing democracy "as in a glass darkly." He would see us as continuing to rely on our enthusiasm for democracy, while also continuing to be confused by what exactly we mean in our use of this term. If he were to focus particularly on the Canadian situation, he would see us allowing successive national and provincial governments to develop agendas based on an interpretation of "democracy" driven by business interests rather than the interests of human kind, whether or not that government went by the name of "Progressive Conservative" or "Liberal." Bode might ask us to reflect on the implications of this for our democratic way of life. As Daniel Blackwell once observed,

> ...what Bode could see clearly was the basic discrepancy between the organization and methods of the business world on one hand and the requirements of our democracy on the other. If we as citizens accept this at face value, then we must ask which is the more important, the operation of the nation's business or the cultivation of a sound democracy?...For Bode one of the serious problems here is that the general public becomes oblivious to these situations, which cause

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[96]Winetrout, "Boyd H. Bode: A Mission But No Blueprint," 35.
[97]Ibid., 35.

cleavages in our culture which eventually become intolerable.[98]

In the 1990s, we are very focused on the former, rather than the latter. We appear to be accepting of the fact that the general population of Canada is constantly spoken of as "taxpayers" rather than as "citizens." We tolerate this, because the high taxation we endure, and the almighty deficit which is constantly held over our heads like the sword of Damocles, are both real issues that concern us. These are issues that affect our lives in many ways in the 1990s, as we are persuaded to accept our new roles in a "flexible workforce," as "contingency workers" and "downsized employees." We subscribe to the belief that it is unreasonable to expect salary raises, despite the fact that the cost of living continues to increase, and despite the fact that the machines of big business and banking continue to generate huge profits. We are encouraged to view such vital areas of our lives as education and health care as costly and inefficient. Meanwhile, we watch the weakening social safety net, and trust that if we lose our balance in the area of employment, education, or health, we will not see ourselves fall through its holes to land heavily on the sawdust below.

It is understandable that so much of our energy is expended in focusing on these issues. However, in the process, we are tending to ignore deeper issues: our prevailing confusions over the nature of democracy, coupled with our inability to see the potential that lies in our "democratic society." We tend to overlook the

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[98]Blackwell, 152-153.

point that if we would focus more on identifying and articulating a shared philosophy, it would help us better address our social and economic issues in the context of a more democratic "way of life."

One reason for our prevailing confusions over the nature of democracy lies in the fact that the dualisms Bode perceived in society in his time still persist in North America today. As was described in Chapter Four of this study, Bode saw two very conflicting notions of the nature of society. On the one hand he identified a strong societal belief in the importance of the individual coupled with a suspicion of anything other than a very limited form of government. On the other hand, Bode identified a similarly strong belief in the need to care for the interests of both ourselves and others through emphasizing the importance of a sense of community on both the local level and in terms of the nature of government on a national scale. If Bode were alive today, he would see these two conflicting notions reflected in what has come to be known as the Liberal-Communitarian Debate. It is, very probably, a debate in which Bode would wish to become actively involved.[99] What Bode would appreciate in this debate is that the very nature of democracy is still being questioned and explored. He would be interested in examining the growing body of literature that contains fresh perspectives on the issue, and includes interpretations that were missing in his

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[99]Ken Osborne provided an interesting overview of the Liberal-Communitarian debate in his article, "Education and Citizenship: The debate renewed," The Manitoba Social Science Teacher 21, no. 1 (September 1994): 13-24.

era, such as a feminist viewpoint.[100]

If the debate over democracy can be seen to persist into the present day, so too can the debate over education. Bode would be an active education critic in the 1990s, probably expressing a positive interest in programming designed to foster cooperative learning, group decision making, and problem solving. He would also appreciate alternative classroom models, provided that they avoided the pitfalls that he had identified in the progressive education initiatives in his own era.

He would have serious concerns in some areas, however. He would wonder at the persistence of some teachers and administrators in clinging on to the exclusive use of traditional, teacher centred models of subject matter instruction at the high school level. He might remind us that to persist in this desire to control the thinking of adolescents, we lose opportunities to encourage them to think and to learn how to develop more responsible roles in society.

Similarly, he would be concerned about other efforts to exert control. The power and influence of special interest groups was demonstrated clearly in the 1994 text, **Class Warfare: The Assault on Canada's Schools.**[101] In its exploration of the efforts of "big business" and the "religious right" to exert control in the schools, we are reminded of Bode's warning back in 1937 of the real

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[100]Osborne's article provides a useful list of references as a starting point for a literature review.

[101]Maude Barlow and Heather-Jane Robertson, Class Warfare: The Assault on Canada's Schools (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1994).

impact on our society if we permit special interest groups to win control by default.[102]To Bode, this would prevent us from widening our "area of common interests," and serve only to hinder our growth towards a democratic society.

It was once said of Boyd H. Bode that "he went after the issues where victories do not come easily."[103] Certainly, the questions he had about life were complex and difficult; reflective of the perennial questions that have long beset human beings. At the same time, he had "unlimited faith in human intelligence,"[104] and in our potential to make life better for ourselves. If he had been able to read the definition of "thin democracy" prepared by Benjamin Barber in 1984, he would have shared Barber's concerns with a view of democracy that "conceives of women and men at their worst (in order to protect them from themselves)."[105] This perception of humanity would have been unacceptable to Bode, as he would have seen it as an attempt to perpetuate the status quo, and as an attempt to limit any possibility for growth as a democratic society.

For Bode, the starting point for democracy was, of necessity, in a more positive perception of humanity: in Barber's words, one that "conceives of women and men...at their potential best (to help them become better than they

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[102]Boyd H. Bode, Democracy as a Way of Life (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), 32.

[103]Winetrout, "Introduction," 3.

[104]Chambliss, 8.

[105]Benjamin Barber, Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 25.

are)."[106] Bode's central belief about human nature was that if we could only learn to allow ourselves to think, and to think deeply, then we could begin to move further towards a clear understanding of the nature of a strongly democratic society. This was the essence of Bode's message, this was Bode's life's work, and this is Bode's significance for us today.

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[106]Ibid.,25.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of the findings of the study

This study has examined the life and work of Boyd H. Bode. It has also explored the high level of his commitment to democracy and democratic education. It has also served to examine the significance of Bode's life and thought, both in the first half of this century and for those currently working as educators in North America in the 1990s. The findings of this study will be briefly addressed here.

Boyd H. Bode (1873-1953) was an individual who lived and worked in the American Midwest for most of his life. He was the son of German settlers who had come to America seeking religious freedom. He grew up in communities that emphasized a Calvinistic faith, and his father became a Christian Reformed minister. His parents, especially his father, encouraged their son's education, but as he matured, they were concerned by the fact that he began to question the faith in which he had been raised.

Bode received his post secondary education at William Penn College, in Oscaloosa, Iowa; the University of Michigan; and Cornell University. Increasingly, Bode was struggling with ideas, but this was largely on his own rather than in consultation with a particular advisor or professor. When Bode left Cornell with a Ph. D. in 1900, he began work at the University of Wisconsin in the Department of Philosophy. Here, he began his teaching career from the rather awkward standpoint of one who was hired to teach philosophy without a

clearly articulated philosophy of his own. In the first nine years of his career as an academic, Bode engaged himself in the examination of the thinking of the first pragmatists, notably William James and John Dewey. His critiques began by challenging their ideas, but gradually moved towards acceptance. It was, in large part, through his consideration of their ideas that Bode eventually came to clarify his own philosophical position. By 1913, he had accepted a pragmatic philosophy, and this was to shape his thinking for the rest of his life.

Bode's willingness to explore ideas and to share that exploration with others helped him to become both a popular and skillful teacher and a respected contributor to the academic journals of his era. By 1911, he had been encouraged to move to the University of Illinois, where his work contributed to the development of a strong and popular Department of Philosophy. However, Bode began to grow restless in his discipline. He began to seek out ways to demonstrate the value of philosophy in everyday life. He began to accept opportunities to teach courses in the philosophy of education, and also continued to write in order to share his evolving ideas.

In 1921, Bode was offered a position at the Ohio State University. The opportunity to work in the area of philosophy of education was just the challenge he needed. He responded to the challenge impressively, and in the twenty three years he spent at Ohio State, he raised the status of the philosophy of education to a high level. In reviewing the reflections of those who studied or worked with Boyd H. Bode at Ohio State, it may be seen that his impact on the University was

never forgotten. In his work in teacher education, he encouraged the thinking of many educators who had heard of Bode by reputation, came to his classes, and later took his ideas into their own classrooms at both the school and university level.

Bode's role as a mentor was impressive. At Ohio State he taught, and later worked with Harold B. Alberty, who was strongly influenced by his ideas and made his own noteworthy contribution to classroom practice in his work in such areas as the Eight Year Study and the core curriculum. Alberty's own students later included Paul R. Klohr and William Van Til.

Another interesting student of Bode was Alan F. Griffin, whose career focus was on the value of reflective inquiry in social studies education. Griffin's own students later included Robert E. Jewett, M. Eugene Gilliom, Maurice Hunt, Lawrence Metcalf, and Peter Martorella.[1] After Bode's retirement, his contribution to the thinking on democracy and democratic education at Ohio State was perpetuated through conferences and series of lectures.

In retirement, Bode continued to sustain his commitment to democratic education by accepting opportunities to teach at universities in the United States, Canada, and Egypt. He continued his involvement in teaching until shortly before his death in 1953 at the age of 79.

Alongside his commitment to teacher education, Bode continued his role as a

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[1]John Farley, The Life and Thought of Alan Griffin: Exemplar of Reflection, Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1978 (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1979), 295-298.

writer and critic throughout his life. Bode always sustained his independence of thought and for this he was well respected by his peers. His commentaries on pragmatism, the progressive education movement, current theories in education, and on democracy and democratic education, were recognized for their valued contribution to contemporary debate. He explored the ideas of many thinkers and educators, including William James, John Dewey, William Heard Kilpatrick, W.W. Charters, Edward Thorndike, J. Franklin Bobbitt - all of whom are well recognized in the literature on the history of curriculum. As Daniel Blackwell once observed, Bode's "books and articles on education made him perhaps one of the most widely-read educators of the thirties and forties."[2]

The respect accorded Boyd H. Bode in his lifetime was demonstrated in the honors bestowed on him both in the course of his working life and in his retirement, which have been detailed in Chapter Five of this study. Boyd H. Bode was honored, in part for his teaching, mentorship, and contributions to educational debate in his time. He was also honored for his ongoing commitment to the cause of democracy. For, as Philip L. Smith wrote in 1974, Bode was "tireless in his efforts to secure a more democratic social order."[3]

A statement on Bode's thinking on democracy and democratic education is best placed at the end of this summary of the findings of the study. The reason

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[2]Daniel Duncan Blackwell, Bode on Education and Democracy, Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1973 (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1974), 8.

[3]Phillip L. Smith, forward to Choice, Chance and Curriculum: Boyd H. Bode Memorial Lectures, by Jane R. Martin (Columbus: The Ohio State University, 1974).

for this is that, while Bode would have rather modestly accepted an examination of himself as a teacher, mentor, and critic, he would have wanted such a summary to end with his thinking on democracy and democratic education. In coming to an understanding of the personality of this man, it is very apparent that it would have been his thinking, his ideas, that Bode would have wanted to live on, rather than the more personal memories.

Boyd H. Bode lived through a turbulent period of human history. Though his early life was spent in smaller American communities, he became aware of the impact of the rapid technological progress which characterized the era. The rapid changes experienced by Americans at the turn of the century made it a time of mixed emotions: excitement at the inventions and mechanization, coupled with fear over the impact such progress had on their lives and their attitudes.

Bode also knew the impact that the First World War had on people. He lived through the Depression years. He also watched, with apprehension, the rise of fascism and communism in Europe, and knew that another major world catastrophe was waiting to happen. The Great War had not been, as had been fervently hoped, "the war to end all wars."

Bode viewed this very much as a time to preserve the spirit of democracy in American society. The spirit was there, but it was weakened by a widespread confusion over the nature of democracy and thus an inability to clearly define the meaning of the term. Bode realized that the confusion he recognized in society

was understandable. As "the spiritual products, first of a predominantly rural and individualized order of things, and later of a highly industrialized and centralized civilization," people were experiencing a sensation "of being a denizen of two worlds at the same time."[4] This led to conflicting notions of democracy and government. Should government be limited in nature, or should it be extensively involved in the activities of the nation? What was really meant by such terms as "freedom" and "equality"?

As a pragmatist, Bode advised acceptance of the dynamic, changing nature of society. For this reason, he challenged people to accept the potential in humanity, and to free intelligence from the confines placed on it through rigid belief structures, as reflected in religious and social absolutism. Essentially, Bode believed that if people allowed themselves to think freely and deeply through learning how to reflect, then they would be better prepared to respond to the reality of societal change. Freedom was to be in acceptance of a democratic way of life, that rested on respect for individual difference, as well as on an increased awareness and understanding of interests that are, and may be, shared in common.

Bode believed that the school had a central role to play in the clarification of democracy as a way of life, seeing the school as "particularly the institution in

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[4]Boyd H. Bode, "The Meaning of Freedom" in Educational Freedom and Democracy, eds. Harold B. Alberty and Boyd H. Bode (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1938), 5.

which democracy becomes conscious of itself."[5] In speaking of the need to free intelligence, Bode did not mean that thinking should proceed in a piecemeal or haphazard fashion. Rather, Bode saw schools as the places where students could go to learn how to carry on a democratic way of life. Bode did not address the specifics of such education; however, two of his students whose work was discussed in this study did address particular strategies. Harold B. Alberty explored the possibilities of a type four core curriculum in both theory and practice, while Alan F. Griffin promoted the use of reflective inquiry strategies in the area of social studies education.

Bode's advice concerning democratic education was more general. He explored the need for approaches to education that would be comprehensive yet balanced. He favored a comprehensive model of education because he believed that schools must, of necessity address "a variety of divergent and apparently conflicting tendencies in education" in relation to student interest, "the vocational needs of life," and the encouragement of "purely intellectual interests."[6] Many contemporary models of education concerned Bode because of their tendency to focus predominantly on one narrow aspect of education. For example, the work of the scientific curriculum makers tended to focus too specifically on the vocational needs of life. Bode saw their ideas as contributing

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[5]Boyd H. Bode, Democracy as a Way of Life (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), 94-95.

[6]Boyd H. Bode, Modern Educational Theories, 5th. ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), 38.

to perspectives on education, but in his critiques of their ideas he cautioned them about their narrowness of view.

Bode also believed in a balanced approach to education that would be respectful of both the psychological organization and the logical organization of subject matter. He believed that the psychological organization of subject matter could be identified in activities to encourage student interest, to highlight relevance, and to thereby motivate learning. The logical organization of subject matter was to be recognized in activities designed to foster the growth of intelligence, knowledge, and the ability to problem solve.

It has been said of Boyd H. Bode that his favorite expression was, "the baby is thrown out with the bath water."[7] In considering a comprehensive and balanced approach to education, Bode encouraged the use of teaching approaches and content, new and old, provided that they respected the changing, evolving nature of society, and fostered the democratic way of life.

It was in his realization of the significance of the school in a changing society that Bode recognized the importance of strong and effective teacher education programs to prepare those who would teach others. In his work at Ohio State and elsewhere, Bode realized this was where he could make a contribution in terms of encouraging teachers to question, to think, and to reflect deeply on the nature of democracy and democratic education. To conclude with the

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[7]Kenneth Winetrout, introduction to Boyd H. Bode Memorial Lectures No. 2, (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, 1974), 2.

observations of Winetrout which helped to shape the exploration of Bode's ideas:

> One hot summer day, and summer days can be hot and steamy in Columbus, Ohio, Bode passed several of us students on the steps of Arps Hall, on the way up to his office after having met his class: He turned to us, made a body language gesture to the heat and said, "I guess I'll just have to let the world save itself." Said in jest, a response to the discomfiture of the day; yet in a way it was a suggestion that he did have a mission. The war with absolutes; the common man; the democratic society; the school that would serve each of these. That was his mission then; that is his message to us today.[8]

Recommendations for further study

1. A major purpose underlying this study has been to demonstrate how much can be learned from focusing on the life and work of one educational thinker. Biographical studies can add interest to educational research, and they also serve to remind us of the striking contributions that can be made by one educator in the course of his/her lifetime. These contributions may include classroom teaching, mentorships, writings, critical appraisals of the work of others, and involvement in debate on educational or societal issues on a local, provincial, or national level.

   Biographical studies also provide a means of tracing the genealogy of educational thought. Those who are concerned by the tendency towards ahistoricism in the field of education which has resulted in a

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[8]Kenneth Winetrout, "Boyd H. Bode: A Mission But No Blueprint,"Teaching Education 2, no. 2, (1988): 35.

devaluing of many of the ideas that preceded our generation, see the potential in biographical studies to explore how the thinking of certain individuals can be traced not only through attention to their lives and work, but also through attention to the work and ideas of those who studied with them. To return to the words of H. Warren Button, "parts of the history of educational research should be biographical - biographies of men, biographies of ideas."[9]

2. Bode's thinking on democracy and democratic education has been a major focus of this study. A conscious decision was made not to overextend the study by attempting an in depth exploration of Bode's writings on the learning process. These include his first major piece of writing as a pragmatist, an article entitled "Consciousness and Psychology," published in a text compiled by John Dewey in 1917, **Creative Intelligence: Essays in the Pragmatic Attitude.** His writings in this area also include his 1940 text, **How We Learn.** This would make an interesting study.
3. Much has been written on the life and work of John Dewey. Less has been written on the life and work of Boyd H. Bode. This study has placed a strong emphasis on Bode and has not attempted a comparison/contrast with the thinking of John Dewey. A dissertation

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[9]H. Warren Button, "Creating More Usable Pasts: History in the Study of Education," Educational Researcher (May 1979) : 8.

exists which discussed the ideas of both thinkers, Frederick Neff's 1950 study entitled "A Pragmatic Interpretation of Freedom and its Meaning for Education: A study of the Writings of John Dewey and Boyd H. Bode."[10] Neff's work focused predominantly on the similarities in the thinking of both men. Two possibilities for further study may be identified here.

One might take the form of a comparison/contrast study of their life and work. The second might take a rather different direction. John Dewey was a more prolific writer than Boyd H. Bode, but his writing style tended to be more obtuse, leaving his ideas open to misinterpretation:

> The unclarity of his educational views leaves room for excesses: the reduction of work to mere play; the reduction of moral training to mere manipulation; the reduction of vocational education to job training for the untalented. The vagueness of his view of "the great community" leaves us wondering whether his view of participatory democracy is that of the student insurgents of the 1960s or that of the Quaker meetinghouse and anyway not sure we can run a country of 280 million on either basis.[11]

The consequences of the misinterpretations of the writings of John Dewey are to be found in some extremes of child centred education,

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[10]Frederick C. Neff, "A Pragmatic Interpretation of Freedom and its Meaning for Education: A Study of the Writings of John Dewey and Boyd H. Bode" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1950).

[11]Alan Ryan, John Dewey and the High Tide of American Liberalism (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1995), 367.

for example. An alternative study in which the thinking of other key thinkers from that era is examined, would be interesting and would provide an opportunity to highlight and compare the ideas articulated by such individuals as Boyd H. Bode, George Counts, William Heard Kilpatrick, and Harold Rugg. Such a study would help to provide a more balanced and more complete orientation to the Progressive era than is to be found in the current tendency to limit attention to the life and work of John Dewey.

4. This study was intended to provide a starting point for those interested in reading about democracy and democratic education. This study was limited to the thinking of one individual on democracy and democratic education: the thinking of Boyd H. Bode. The scope for additional studies on democracy and democratic education is extensive; however, given Bode's preoccupation with the conflicting perceptions of democracy in North America, and realizing that these persist in the present day, a study that explores the Liberal-Communitarian Debate and its implications for education would be informative. As Osborne stated in 1994,

> The last few years have seen an outpouring of books and articles on citizenship and democracy, though, surprisingly, little of it seems to have entered educational debate. With few exceptions, political theorists have ignored the educational implications of their arguments. For their part, educationalists have ignored political

theory.[12]

Osborne's own 1991 text, entitled **Teaching for Democratic Citizenship**, would also be of interest in a study of this nature.[13]

5. This study examined the growth of pragmatic thought in the United States in the late nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century. It examined common elements in the thought of four key pragmatists, Charles Peirce, William James, John Dewey, and George Herbert Mead. It explored the difficult transition made by Boyd H. Bode out of idealism and into pragmatism. It discussed the implications of this philosophical shift for Bode's thinking on democracy and democratic education. It also examined the work of two of Bode's students, Harold B. Alberty and Alan F. Griffin, that reflected their understanding of the changing nature of society. What this study did not do, however, was attempt to compare and contrast pragmatism with the neo-pragmatism that emerged in the 1980's in the writings of Richard Rorty.[14] How might Bode have commented on the linguistic emphasis of neo pragmatism? How might he have responded to the claim that,

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[12]Ken Osborne, "Education and Citizenship: The debate renewed" The Manitoba Social Science Teacher 21, no.1 (Sept.1994): 15-16.

[13]Ken Osborne, Teaching for Democratic Citizenship (Toronto: Our Schools / Ourselves Education Foundation, 1991).

[14]John Patrick Diggins, The Promise of Pragmatism: Modernism and the Crisis of Knowledge and Authority (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994),11.

> Pragmatism never meant to provide "foundations" on which to ground knowledge...but simply ways of thinking, talking, and writing about specific situations that are not so much known as described. Rhetoric, conversation, narration, and discourse are presently offered by the neo pragmatist as a means of coping in the modern world."[15]

6. When the significance of Bode's thought in the present day was considered in Chapter Five, a conscious decision was made not to attempt to comment on it in the light of the extensive writings on postmodernism. This would have been beyond the scope of this present study, would have detracted from its overall intent, and would have required the writer of this study to undertake an entirely new direction in terms of a literature review. However, for those interested in exploring this perspective, the work of Pauline Marie Rosenau might provide a good starting point. As she commented in 1992,

> Post-modernism haunts social science today. In a number of respects, some plausible and some preposterous, post-modern approaches dispute the underlying assumptions of mainstream social science and its research product over the last three decades.[16]

7. Bode's faith in the potential of "the common man" would be viewed by some as too unrealistic. In the media dominated 1990s, children and teenagers are bombarded with the noise and images of advertising, videos, movies, and music. They are also often enthusiastic viewers

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[15]Diggins, 3.

[16]Pauline Marie Rosenau, Post-Modernism and the Social Sciences: Insights, Inroads, and Intrusions (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 3.

of school based "sitcoms" in which the "popular" students evade opportunities to learn and "studious" characters are negatively portrayed. Where is there time, interest, or opportunity to learn to be reflective and deep thinkers? How would Bode respond to the powerful reality of popular culture? How would he respond to James Twitchell's observation that "show business has replaced religion as the opiate of the masses?"[17]

Concluding statement

Boyd H. Bode's work in the field of the philosophy of education reflected his desire to see education strengthened by the contributions of reflective classroom teachers who would guide their students in a democratic process of human thought and human interactions: the democratic "way of life." In Bode's words,

> The school, therefore, is clearly under the obligation to show that democracy is a way of life which breaks sharply with the past. It must not merely practice democracy but must develop the doctrine so as to make it serviceable as an intellectual basis for the organization of life. To achieve this end it must utilize the concept of democracy so as to secure continuity of program, which up to the present has been so conspicuously lacking in the progressive movement. The idea of democracy, consequently, cannot be disposed of by dealing with it in a separate course and at some fixed point in the curriculum. Just as the reconstruction of patterns or outlooks is a constant concern throughout the school program, so the meaning of democracy as a way of life must be developed progressively and interwoven with everything else, but without sacrifice of clarity. The school is, *par excellence*, the institution to which a democratic society is entitled to look for clarification of the meaning of democracy. In other words, the school

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[17]James B. Twitchell, Carnival Culture: The Trashing of Taste in America. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 259.

is particularly the institution in which democracy becomes conscious of itself.[18]

The strongest challenge directed against thinkers like Bode was and is that they were and are too unrealistic: overemphasizing the potential of human intelligence and human nature. On the other hand, what are our options? If we refuse to examine potential, or view it as something quite limited, how can we ethically remain in the field of education?

For the purposes of this study, perhaps the strongest rebuttal of this common criticism is to be found in the example of Boyd H. Bode himself. This was an individual who began his life in a community structured in such a way as to stifle thought. He grew up in a culture bound by absolutes, a culture that expected unquestioning acceptance of beliefs, assumptions and traditions, a culture in which he had little opportunity to read anything other than the limited resources presented to him at school and little opportunity for dialogue with others. Even his father, who demonstrated a greater degree of openness of thought, still frequently expressed his fears as his son's thought began to develop away from the tradition in which he had been raised.

Bode's struggle even to begin to realize his potential was lengthy, stressful, and lonely. His one life long resentment appears to have been that he received so little assistance from his teachers.[19] Bode's own determination led him to

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[18]Boyd H. Bode, Democracy as a Way of Life, 94-95.

[19]Childs, American Pragmatism and Education (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1956) 249.

expand his perceptions, develop a greater level of understanding, and to dedicate his life's work to exploring and encouraging the potential of others. Bode would have agreed with Taha's observation:

> When the school comes to be recognized as the very crucible of freedom, as a means of testing in practice the findings of science and those ideas which seem socially most beneficial to communal living, then it will have begun to emerge as the chief agency for social progress.[20]

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[20]Intissar Abdelal Younis Taha, Pragmatism and the Concept of Freedom in the Writings of Boyd H. Bode, William H. Kilpatrick, and Max C. Otto, Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1958 (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1959), 225.

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