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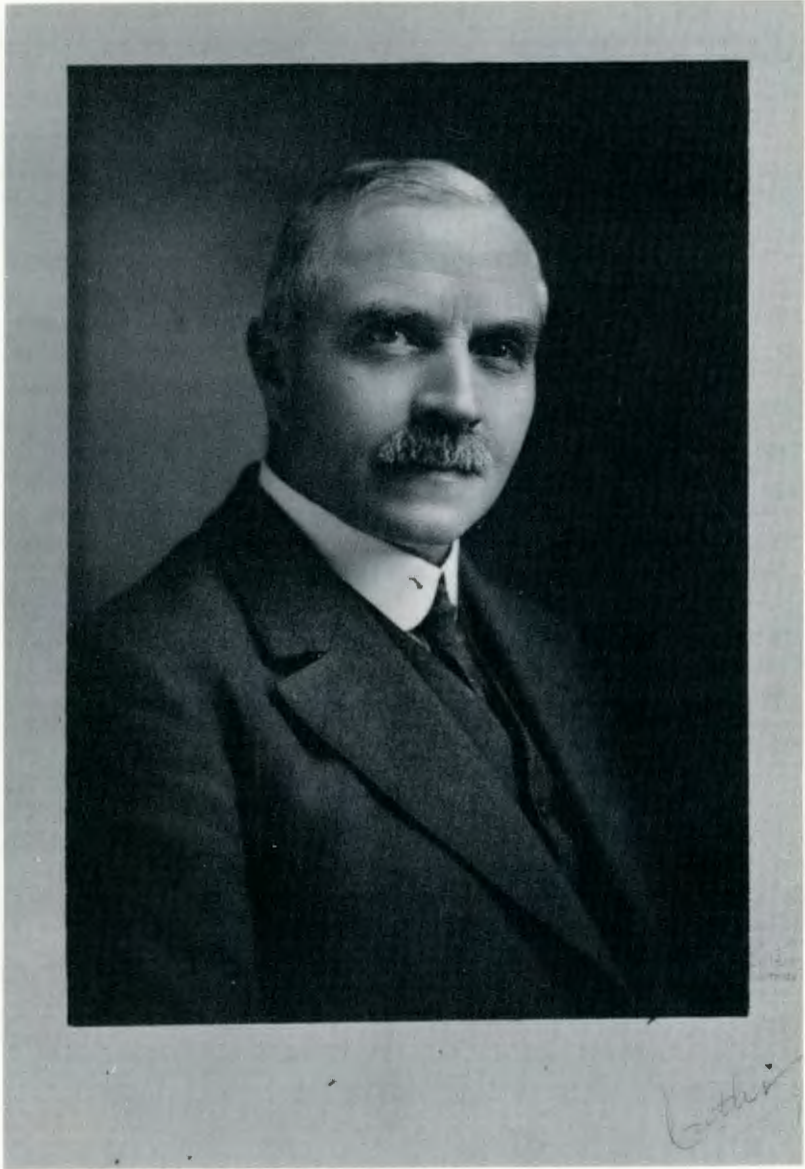
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Mason S. Stone
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Mason S. Stone and Progressivism in Vermont Public Education, 1892–1916

Mason S. Stone spearheaded broad education reforms at the turn of the century. . . . With his election as state superintendent, the dramatic changes toward a more progressive, centralized state educational system began.

By MICHELE A. CROSS

During the summer of 1890, Orleans County teachers attended a special four-week summer institute at Barton Landing (now Orleans). The conference was significant in two ways: it was the first state-funded summer school for teachers held in Vermont, and the materials these teachers previewed were progressive new primers written by Chelsea, Massachusetts, school superintendent E. H. Davis. The primers followed an innovative format based on the “rational” or “thought” method, and their enthusiastic adoption that summer led to the immediate replacement by both Orleans and Franklin counties of their “alphabet” method primers, then in use by 80 percent of beginning students in Vermont’s rural schools.¹

The Orleans County school supervisor who initiated these changes in 1890 was Mason Sereno Stone. Born in Waterbury Center, Vermont, on December 14, 1859, Stone was educated in the public schools and seminary at Waterbury Center and at People’s Academy in Morrisville. After graduating from the classics department of the University of Vermont in 1883, he served successively as principal of Williston Academy, Bristol High School, and People’s Academy, then assumed duties as Orleans County school supervisor in 1889. He held this position for two years.²

In 1891 Stone was appointed chief of the educational division of the

Indian Bureau in Washington, D.C. He declined the position, however, and accepted instead the office of superintendent of schools for the district of Easthampton, Massachusetts. A year later he resigned that post to become superintendent of education for the state of Vermont.³

Stone belonged to an emerging breed of “progressive” educators in Vermont. John Dewey (1859–1952) is the name most people associate with the progressive education movement. Dewey was also born and raised in rural Vermont, where he was “educated as much by the industrial and agricultural chores of the small-town household as . . . by the local school.”⁴ Dewey advocated the value of discipline and character building involved in rural life.⁵ He insisted that schools be transformed to deal with the transformations in society. Each school must become an “embryonic community life,” participating in all types of activities that reflect real life in the larger society.⁶

Within the school system, Dewey called for more centralization, management by experts, and the use of efficient and scientific organizational methods. In the classroom, he advocated a curriculum based on real life in a changing society, with provisions for specialized education to suit certain groups or classes of students. Not only would Dewey’s “embryonic community” reflect life, it would also improve life by making it “worthy, lovely and harmonious.”⁷

Stone embraced this philosophy. He believed that education should improve the child’s intellectual nature, leading to the ability to think clearly, reason closely, and judge rightly. Education should also improve the child’s moral nature, fostering a “benevolent” disposition and a sense of right and wrong. Finally, education should improve the child’s “effectuating” nature, resulting in “intelligent and copious production” and wise consumption.⁸

Why did John Dewey, Mason Stone, and other progressives of that time argue that schools had to change? Radical social and economic changes were occurring in the United States as more and more people moved from rural to urban areas. In 1870 close to one-fourth of the U.S. population lived in cities. By 1890 that figure had risen to one-third, and by 1920 more than half the country’s population would live in cities. Reformers were further concerned that social and economic institutions were too large and the individual was becoming insignificant. The impersonality of big business and industrialization dwarfed the needs of the common citizen.⁹

An awakening of social conscience took place at the turn of the century. This awakening was sparked by the belief that the road to a better life for those suffering from poverty, squalor, and disease was neither charity nor revolution but education. Education would work hand in

hand with politics to realize the necessary reforms. New institutional forms—civic commissions, charity associations, church leagues, reform societies, and social settlements—were created to initiate and implement these social changes.¹⁰ Motives of compassion and social justice were also accompanied by fear. Many worried about the spread of anarchism and discontent and turned to reform as a way to protect their comfortable life-style.¹¹

The demands were as varied as the reformers. Businessmen and labor unions believed that factories could no longer adequately prepare young workers for careers in the trades and insisted that schools offer the training traditionally received through apprenticeships. Settlement workers and municipal reformers, concerned about the effects of broken homes and working parents, urged school instruction in domestic science, manual arts, and child care, knowledge once passed down through the family. Patriots, alarmed at the rising tide of immigrants, called for Americanization programs on health, citizenship, and family living, along with reading, writing, and arithmetic.¹² And agrarian reformers pressed for new training in “country life” to instill in rural youngsters a sense of the pleasures of farming and to discourage them from moving to the city.¹³ The common implication behind all these cries for reform was that school was a potential agent for the “uplifting of society.”¹⁴ According to reformers, educational functions that used to be carried out by the family, church, shop, and neighborhood were no longer being performed. Somehow they had to be continued, and schools could best take them over.¹⁵

As Horace Eaton and John Sullivan Adams had served as leaders in earlier periods of education reform in Vermont, so Mason S. Stone spearheaded broad education reforms at the turn of the century.¹⁶ Stone served as state superintendent of education from 1892 to 1916, except for a five-year period (1901–1905) when the U.S. government sent him to set up a school system in the Philippines. With his election as state superintendent, the dramatic changes toward a more progressive, centralized state educational system began.¹⁷

Stone was active in the Republican party, nationally as well as in Vermont, and he used his political connections to promote his reform agenda, delighting in the political maneuvering that went with the office of superintendent.¹⁸ He took pride in knowing each of Vermont’s 246 legislators personally and almost always had a majority of them favorably disposed toward his proposals.¹⁹

Stone initiated his reforms on two fronts: organization and finances. He saw the lack of both skilled administration and adequate financial support at the local level as a major problem in the state education sys-

tem and believed only careful supervision at state expense could resolve the inequities. Asserting that "the chief essential is the teacher; that the chief object is the child; and that the chief aim is social and civic righteousness," he knew that the success of his proposals depended on sufficient funds. Concerned for the "army of 90,000 children" of school age in Vermont, Stone claimed, "It is far better to sacrifice money to save children than to sacrifice children to save money."²⁰

Stone's first major organizational achievement was the authorization of state-mandated town school systems, thereby abolishing the district school system that had been in place for 110 years. The 1892 law made the town the basic unit governing educational matters. "After the date on which this act shall take effect," the law stated, "each town in this State shall constitute a single district for school purposes, and the divisions of the town into school districts heretofore existing, shall no longer exist, except for the settlement of their pecuniary affairs."²¹

Vermont's district schools had been under increasing pressure as industrialism and immigration caused the shift of rural population to urban centers. This shift, coupled with the advocacy of reform by state-level progressives, finally resulted in the changes that Vermont's neighboring states had already established: Massachusetts had abolished the district system in 1882; New Hampshire had established the town system in 1885 and mandated it in 1892; Maine had followed in 1893; Rhode Island and Connecticut allowed permissive districts to exist side by side with town systems because these states were urban enough to enact school consolidation without administrative reorganization.²² In 1894 the Vermont legislature beat back a final effort to restore the district system.²³

In his 1896 report Stone analyzed the early success of the new town system. During the final three-year period (1891-1893) under district schools, the number of schools of six pupils or fewer had climbed from 104 to 171. In the three years following adoption of the town system (1894-1896), the number of low-population schools fell to seventy-six.²⁴

In a second major organizational drive, Stone proposed the combination of towns into union supervisory school units. In his 1906 report Stone complained about the lack of state supervision of local education conditions. "For years," he insisted, "those interested in the State's welfare have recommended a better system of local supervision by combination of towns. All the educational bodies of the State have urged it, the Grange has advocated it, and other New England states have adopted it, and Vermont thus far has failed to take proper action."²⁵ Stone was aware that small rural towns could not afford to maintain adequate school supervision on their own, and so he proposed that county supervisors

be reestablished as superior officers to local superintendents and that towns be allowed to combine into larger districts, as they had in New Hampshire in 1897.²⁶

In 1906 the legislature allowed two or more neighboring towns together having no fewer than thirty and no more than seventy schools to form a union and employ a superintendent, with half of the superintendent's salary to be rebated by the state on a percentage of the towns' Grand Lists. In July 1907 twenty supervisory unions were formed, mainly in the state's most densely populated areas. Eight individual towns, cities, and incorporated school districts hired full-time superintendents; and five towns (Barre, Burlington, Rutland, Rockingham, and St. Johnsbury) already had enough schools to be legally recognized as unions in themselves.²⁷

In 1908 the legislature reduced the number of schools needed for forming union districts to between twenty and fifty; at the same time it raised the state rebate for union superintendent salaries. Each union superintendent had the power to work with teachers and pupils, advise boards on teacher employment, and prescribe books and supplies.²⁸ Stone considered it "better wisdom to pay a good price, get good ability and assign a large territory for the purpose of introducing the system, than to pay a mediocre salary and get a mediocre man to whom only a small area can be assigned."²⁹

Not only did Stone effect organizational change, he also increased Vermont's financial support of public schools. Stone's predecessor, Edward F. Palmer, state superintendent from 1888 to 1892, was able in 1890 to procure passage of the first state tax to aid schools in Vermont. The Vermont legislature imposed a levy of five cents on the Grand List, to be distributed by a formula to the existing school districts in the state. Towns receiving state aid were to divide the revenue equally among the town districts. The tax was levied as one way to assist rural towns whose populations had depleted to the point where they could no longer afford to sustain their schools. The measure had another important effect: it dampened resistance to school consolidation proposals because fewer districts per town meant more state aid to each district and less expense for maintaining and staffing almost empty school buildings.³⁰

Under Stone's administration, the state school tax went up to eight cents in 1894. Legislative support for this action came from the state dairymen's association, which had caused passage of the 1892 Highway Act mandating that every town elect a road commissioner and levy a twenty-cent road tax on the Grand List. The state also passed a bill authorizing a five-cent highway tax to be redistributed by the state from wealthier to poorer communities. Road and school taxes were the only

state claims upon the Grand List and were widely celebrated as “steps in the direction of true democracy,” as poorer communities “had a right to equality in school burdens.”³¹

State aid to schools gradually expanded in other ways during the first decade of the twentieth century. Stone saw the closure of small schools and the increased need to transport schoolchildren as the inevitable results of the steady decrease of population in rural towns.³² In his 1894 report Stone observed that New England alone had lost 62 percent of its rural population from 1850 to 1890. In Vermont 186 out of 243 towns (77 percent) lost population during those same years.³³ Therefore, in 1906, the state set aside \$20,000 for state reimbursement to towns for elementary transportation, based on a town’s proportionate expense of transportation to total expenses of education.³⁴

In addition to organizational and financial reforms, Stone worked for changes that would have a direct impact on Vermont classrooms, teachers, and students. Reforms Stone proposed in his legislative packages included standardized school curriculum, statewide free textbook legislation, expansion of the legal school age and the length of the school year, state-mandated high school, and renovation and maintenance of schoolhouses.

Stone hoped to bring about the gradual standardization of the school curriculum. In 1892 the legislature mandated that one or more graded schools in each town teach college preparatory courses for advanced pupils.³⁵ The state, still sensitive to the question of local control, merely suggested a course of study that represented a broad listing of subject areas. By 1896 the state issued a curriculum intended to prepare pupils for admission to institutions of higher learning; this course of study was more specifically organized, covered the work of nine years of schooling, and was meant for the general guidance of teachers. In 1900 Vermont issued a mandatory, uniform course of study.³⁶

To ensure that schools had adequate materials, the legislature in 1894 passed a statewide law stipulating that the districts furnish textbooks for those subjects required to be taught in the schools.³⁷ Stone later remarked that following passage of this bill, “the various publishing houses threw their agents into the State and deluged school boards with samples of text books.” The law was permissive for high schools until 1914, when they, too, were required to supply free textbooks to resident students.³⁸

In 1894 the state lengthened the term of compulsory attendance from between eight and fourteen years to between eight and fifteen. The school year was gradually extended from twenty weeks (1888), to twenty-six weeks (1894), and then to twenty-eight weeks (1904).³⁹

During Stone's administration the state expanded and redefined the role of the high school. In 1894 the term *high school* became incorporated into the laws of the state of Vermont as relating to "advanced instruction" for pupils who had completed elementary and grammar grades. The law mandated that any town with a population of 2,500 or more and with no town academy was obligated to maintain a high school. It further specified a high school course of study focusing on college preparation.⁴⁰ Towns still funded their high schools by tuition, taxation, or a combination of the two, but in 1904 the legislature set a limit of \$8 per term or \$24 per year on student tuition. This limit was expanded to \$36 per year in 1915.⁴¹

In his 1900 biennial report, Stone noted the increase in the number of high schools across the state. "On an average," he reported, "one new high school has been organized each year during the past ten years. But the migration to villages can not fully account for the increased patronage of the high schools—an increase of 50 percent in attendance since 1894." The rise in attendance resulted in the hiring of an average of one additional teacher at each high school in the state.⁴² Between 1903 and 1906, the number of private academies in the state fell from seventeen to fourteen, and the number of high schools rose from seventy-three to seventy-seven.⁴³ "The establishment of high schools in America has been one of the phenomenal features in public education," reflected Stone; "in 1860 there were only 70 high schools in the whole country, and in 1915 there were more than 8,000."⁴⁴ It was clear that the town high school was replacing the private academy across the country as well as in Vermont.

In 1906 another legislative push made secondary education available to all Vermont children. The General Assembly passed a law establishing free advanced training in a high school or academy, guaranteed by the state. "This extension of schooling by four years inaugurated a new era," claimed Stone. The law provided for an examination system to determine the qualifications of prospective students. In 1912 a total of 2,598 students took exams for free high school or academy tuition, and 43 percent passed.⁴⁵

Stone supported the idea of a high school "for all the people," not merely for the few who desired to go to college. He maintained that the function of high school should be "to fit itself to the need of every student, through a broad range of subjects, in such a way that he shall be able to find himself and thereby his work." Believing that the mental discipline involved in studying Greek, French, German, algebra, geometry, and ancient history did not transfer in any large degree to real life, Stone advocated that those subjects be replaced by more "useful" ones,

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such as government, commerce, economics, civics, ethics, and vocational courses. In 1907 and 1911 the state revised its high school course of study to allow schools to adjust their curricula to community interests and occupations and to the needs and aptitudes of individual students.⁴⁶ In addition, in 1908 the legislature approved state aid of \$250 for each town that offered an approved manual training course and, in 1912, \$200 for approved courses in agriculture or domestic science.⁴⁷ These were all new examples of state aid, for the individual towns were not obligated to raise money for the programs.⁴⁸

Besides increasing its control of curriculum, supplying textbooks, and opening up higher education, the state began a move to standardize conditions in its 1,600 rural schoolhouses. In 1904 the Vermont Board of Health passed regulations on lighting and sanitation of public buildings and, with the cooperation of district superintendents, began extensive renovations of schoolhouses and school equipment. This was the beginning of a series of programs for the renovation and standardization of school buildings.⁴⁹ The state authorized mandatory medical inspections of schoolchildren in 1910, thereby legitimizing a new function for the school as a provider of social services.⁵⁰

Having served as state superintendent of education for four terms, Stone declined to be a candidate for reelection in 1900 so that he could do educational work the federal government instituted in the Philippine Islands following the Spanish-American War. Stone was initially sent to the Island of Negros to organize a system of schools. After a few weeks, however, he was recalled to Manila to assume the superintendency of the public schools of that city. Stone returned to the United States in 1905, and Governor Charles J. Bell appointed him to head Vermont's educational system once again.⁵¹

Stone's legislative initiatives had been well received when he became superintendent in 1892. After his five-year absence, he tried to restoke the fires of education reform through a public relations campaign organized in 1906. To rouse people from their "chronic apathy" toward educational affairs and inform them of the state of education in Vermont, lectures and rallies such as "Greater Vermont" in 1906, "Vermont's Forward Movement" in 1911, and "Vermont's Educational Future" in 1913 were held throughout the state.⁵²

Stone's popularity did not last, however. The political climate had changed in Vermont.⁵³ With the emergence of a strongly progressive Republican contingent in 1912, there was dissension within the party, and that turbulence was reflected in legislative debate on Stone's educational agenda. Although Stone advocated change, progressives around

him thought he moved too slowly. Other, more conservative legislators considered his proposals too radical and believed they would lead to erosion of local control.

Governor Allen M. Fletcher was concerned with administrative reform, especially with economy in state spending, and saw educational reform as part of the overall change that he had promised Vermont's voters.⁵⁴ Fletcher created a nine-member commission to study the Vermont educational system; the group was dubbed the Carnegie Commission because it called on the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to conduct the survey. Vermont's appointment of an educational commission was a reflection of a larger national movement to professionalize school systems and use scientific tools to evaluate them.⁵⁵ The Carnegie study was requested by a joint resolution of the Vermont legislature on November 19, 1912, and authorized by a bill adopted on February 14, 1913. The survey was the first effort on the part of any state to study its school system as a whole, from the elementary to the university level.⁵⁶ Twenty-one states subsequently followed the Vermont precedent and conducted their own comprehensive surveys.⁵⁷

The Vermont study found that of the state's nearly 1,700 schoolhouses, 1,400 were one-room buildings. Of the 83,000 Vermont children ages five to seventeen, 57,000 (69 percent) were in elementary school. The state had 2,400 teachers, the typical teacher being a woman, aged twenty-two or twenty-three, who earned \$8 to \$9 weekly.⁵⁸

"School still fails to interest [students] directly and efficiently in the life about them," the study charged, and it made four recommendations. It suggested that schools implement a course of study related to the students' lives, not "harden[ed] into specifics unrelated to the life experience of the children." It further urged that teachers be trained in subject areas as well as "the art of teaching." Concerning school organization, it recommended an educational administration for the whole school system of Vermont. Finally and most importantly, it stressed the necessity for educational administration to be released from politics, that is, from local representation and a connection with the state legislature. The study pointed out the steps it believed would lead to a program to "educate the sons and daughters of Vermont for service in Vermont, and not for migration."⁵⁹

The General Assembly of 1915 was considered a "progressive" group, passing Vermont's first workmen's compensation act and legislating court reform, regulation of narcotics, and the establishment of farm labor and agricultural marketing bureaus. It also enacted the direct primary, abandoning the convention system. Centralization was supported both by pro-

gressives, who thought that it would bring greater efficiency, and by conservatives, who were concerned about mounting government costs.⁶⁰

When the report came back from the Carnegie Foundation, the Vermont Education Commission reviewed its findings and submitted them in the form of a bill. The legislation received support, and in 1915 the legislature passed into law many of the study's recommendations, including reforms in elementary school curriculum; reforms in higher education financing; and provisions for transportation and board, vocational education, teacher training, and examination and certification of teachers.⁶¹ The law extended the length of the school year from 150 days, or thirty weeks (1912), to 170 days, or thirty-four weeks, bringing Vermont's calendar closer into line with that of neighboring states.⁶²

In his 1896 report Stone had compared wages of male and female teachers in the New England states and the percentage of each gender employed.⁶³ Vermont's teachers were the lowest paid in New England:

	<i>Percentage of Male Teachers</i>	<i>Average Monthly Salary</i>	
		<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Massachusetts	9.5	\$118.07	\$48.17
Rhode Island	12.0	\$89.54	\$49.11
Connecticut	13.4	\$77.11	\$39.81
New Hampshire	9.7	\$48.99	\$25.89
Maine	16.0	\$43.10	\$25.56
Vermont	12.2	\$36.36	\$25.52

Addressing the issue of low pay, the 1915 legislature authorized the state to subsidize towns for rural teacher salaries above \$8 per week, based on a reimbursement formula. According to the formula, a town could receive up to \$4 per week for a teacher with a life certificate or two years of professional training following graduation from high school. Towns could be reimbursed \$3 for a rural teacher with at least eight weeks' teaching experience and a first grade certificate, two years' professional training after two years of work in an approved high school, or one year of professional training after graduation from high school. The state would reimburse towns \$2 a week for a teacher with one year of professional training after three years' work in an approved high school. In this way the legislature hoped to encourage rural towns to hire the most qualified teachers.⁶⁴

In 1915 Vermont's permanent school fund was boosted by an increase in the tax on real property, from 8 percent to 10 percent. The fund was

used to aid towns in transportation, rural salaries, secondary tuition, vocational education courses in high schools, and general aid to junior and senior high schools. State aid was paid to towns on a flat, per pupil basis.⁶⁵ As the amount of state aid went up, then, a growing number of strings were attached. Much of the rural school consolidation between 1910 and 1925 was both prompted by and linked to such financial incentives.⁶⁶

Following the Carnegie Foundation recommendations, the state released its administrative control of education from local representation and a connection with the state legislature. The state established a governor-appointed board of education with the power to select a state commissioner of education, thereby removing that power from the legislature.⁶⁷ The state was divided into sixty-six rural supervisory unions, each with a professional superintendent selected and paid in full by the state. This organizational change created a bond between superintendents and the state, destroying the historical allegiance of superintendents to their communities.⁶⁸

For almost a quarter of a century, Stone had worked to promote and establish greater standardization and modernization of public schooling in Vermont. He did not, however, favor the increased centralization that the 1915 legislation created. "In body and spirit," he later wrote, "the new bill was antithetical to the theory of the republican form of government in that it involved the removal from the people of certain features that are particularly local or personal." He called the law "swollen and arbitrary." "The legitimate child of centralization," he warned, "is paternalism, which is an illegitimate feature of a republican form of government."⁶⁹

Stone became Vermont's first commissioner of education in 1915 by change of legal title and with his election by the new Board of Education. In protest of the legislation just passed and its "arbitrary" administrative changes, he accepted the position only on condition that he be relieved of his duties as soon as the new system was organized and established. Stone remained in office until April 1916.⁷⁰ He was replaced by Milo B. Hillegas, who had served as the head of the elementary school survey team of the Carnegie Foundation study in 1913.⁷¹

Mason S. Stone did not fade from Vermont's political scene after leaving his post as education commissioner. Still active in the Republican party, Stone was appointed as assistant to the state fuel administrator, Hugh J. M. Jones, a prominent Montpelier granite manufacturer, in 1917. A year later he was nominated as his party's candidate for lieutenant governor of Vermont, with Percival W. Clement of Rutland as his guber-

natorial running mate.⁷² The team was elected, and Stone served as lieutenant governor for two years. He expressed interest in opposing the Proctor candidate in the 1920 primary, but the party seems to have applied “substantial pressure,” Stone “abruptly” announcing in January that he had no intention of entering the race.⁷³

Stone spent the next several years preparing to publish a book commemorating the 150th anniversary of public education in Vermont. In *History of Education: State of Vermont*, Stone not only summarized the educational history of Vermont but also described his vision for the future of education in the state. Still bitter about changes in the school system resulting from the 1915 legislation, Stone lamented the failure of state leaders to select “men of vision” to formulate and carry out Vermont’s educational policies. “Not static job-holders, nor well-meaning laymen, nor promoters of externalities, but forward-looking and statesman-like educators should determine the educational policy and system of a State,” he charged.⁷⁴

In 1938, at the age of eighty, Stone reflected on his continued interest in state affairs, especially education: “A man can’t spend the best years of his life studying, thinking and working on one subject and then forget all about it in a few years because he isn’t actively working at it.”⁷⁵ Stone died in 1940.

NOTES

¹ Mason S. Stone, *History of Education: State of Vermont* (Montpelier: Capital City Press, [1934]), 212, 213, 214. “Alphabet” method books were introduced in Vermont in 1802 as an improvement to the *New England Primer* (1690). By the alphabet method the child first learned the alphabet from a primer and then was taught to recognize syllables in clusters (such as a-b, ab; a-c, ac; a-d, ad) as an aid in the formation of words. The number of syllables in words increased and the words became more difficult as the lessons progressed. By the “rational,” or “thought,” method, comprehension was most important, and lessons were introduced by the display of pictures or objects to create interest, hold attention, and increase expression.

² Jacob G. Ullery, *Men of Vermont: An Illustrated Bibliographical History of Vermonters and Sons of Vermont* (Brattleboro: Transcript Publishing, 1894), 385.

³ *Ibid.*, 385, 386.

⁴ Neil G. McCluskey, *Public Schools and Moral Education: Influence of Horace Mann, William Torrey Harris and John Dewey* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 178.

⁵ Lawrence A. Cremin, “Origins of Progressive Education,” *Education Forum* 24 (1960): 135.

⁶ Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), 155.

⁷ Cremin, “Progressive Education,” 136.

⁸ Stone, *History of Education*, 11.

⁹ Robert L. Church and Michael W. Sedlak, *Education in the United States: An Interpretive History* (New York: Free Press, 1976), 253.

¹⁰ Cremin, *Transformation*, 57.

¹¹ Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), 109.

¹² Cremin, “Progressive Education,” 135.

¹³ Cremin, *Transformation*, 117.

- ¹⁴ Ravitch, *School Wars*, 171.
- ¹⁵ Cremin, *Transformation*, 117.
- ¹⁶ Horace Eaton served as Vermont's first state superintendent of common schools, from 1845 to 1851. John Sullivan Adams became the first secretary to the Vermont Board of Education in 1857, after the position of state superintendent was abolished in the same year. Adams served as secretary from 1857 to 1867.
- ¹⁷ Marshall M. True and Judith Cyronak, assisted by Leon H. Bruno, *Vermont State Department of Education, 1900-1968* (Montpelier: N.p., 1968), 8, 9.
- ¹⁸ Walter H. Crockett, *Vermont: The Green Mountain State*, vol. 4 (New York: Century History, 1923), 245.
- ¹⁹ True and Cyronak, *Department of Education*, 9.
- ²⁰ Stone, *History of Education*, 7, 8.
- ²¹ Clyde Greenleaf Fussell, "The Emergence of Public Education as a Function of the State of Vermont," *Vermont History* 29 (1961): 18.
- ²² Stuart A. Rosenfeld and Jonathan P. Sher, "The Urbanization of Rural Schools, 1840-1970," *Education in Rural America: A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom*, ed. Jonathan P. Sher (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977), 19.
- ²³ Samuel B. Hand, Jeffrey D. Marshall, and D. Gregory Sanford, "'Little Republics': The Structure of State Politics in Vermont, 1854-1920," *Vermont History* 53 (1985): 156.
- ²⁴ *Thirty-fourth Vermont School Report Made by the State Superintendent of Education to the General Assembly, October, 1896* (Montpelier: Watchman Publishing, 1896), 99.
- ²⁵ *Thirty-ninth Vermont School Report Made by the Superintendent of Education to the General Assembly, October, 1906* (Bellows Falls, Vt.: P. H. Gobie Press, 1906), 10-11.
- ²⁶ Rosenfeld and Sher, "Urbanization," 32.
- ²⁷ *Thirty-sixth Vermont School Report Made by the State Superintendent of Education to the General Assembly, October, 1900* (New York: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford, 1900), 10.
- ²⁸ Stone, *History of Education*, 70, 72.
- ²⁹ *Vermont School Report, 1900*, 10.
- ³⁰ Hand, Marshall, and Sanford, "'Little Republics,'" 156; Stone, *History of Education*, 97.
- ³¹ Hand, Marshall, and Sanford, "'Little Republics,'" 154, 156, 157.
- ³² Stone, *History of Education*, 105.
- ³³ *Thirty-third Vermont School Report Made by the State Superintendent of Education to the Legislature, October, 1894* (Montpelier: Watchman Publishing, 1894), 60.
- ³⁴ Fussell, "Public Education," 21, 33.
- ³⁵ Stone, *History of Education*, 230.
- ³⁶ Ruth Ziner, "Education Problems in Rural Vermont, 1875-1900: A Not-So-Distant Mirror," *Vermont History* 51 (1983): 208.
- ³⁷ Fussell, "Public Education," 19.
- ³⁸ Stone, *History of Education*, 201.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 203, 224, 230.
- ⁴¹ Fussell, "Public Education," 19.
- ⁴² *Vermont School Report, 1900*, 36.
- ⁴³ *Vermont School Report, 1906*, 145, 146.
- ⁴⁴ Stone, *History of Education*, 231.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 203, 232.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 237.
- ⁴⁸ Fussell, "Public Education," 33.
- ⁴⁹ Stone, *History of Education*, 186.
- ⁵⁰ True and Cyronak, *Department of Education*, 12.
- ⁵¹ "Educator—Past, Educator—Present: Mason S. Stone," *Vermont Alumnus* 18 (December 1938): 53.
- ⁵² Stone, *History of Education*, 246.
- ⁵³ William C. Hill, "Vermont's Judicial Crisis of 1914-1915," *Vermont History* 38 (1970): 141.
- ⁵⁴ True and Cyronak, *Department of Education*, 13.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.
- ⁵⁶ Vermont Commission to Investigate the State Educational System, *Vermont's System of Education* (Brattleboro: Vermont Printing, 1914), 9.
- ⁵⁷ Rosenfeld and Sher, "Urbanization," 32.
- ⁵⁸ *Vermont's System*, 12, 14.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 13-15.

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- ⁶⁰ William Doyle, *The Vermont Political Tradition* (Barre: Northlight Studio Press, 1984), 166, 183.
- ⁶¹ True and Cyronak, *Department of Education*, 15.
- ⁶² Stone, *History of Education*, 206.
- ⁶³ *Vermont School Report, 1896*, 116.
- ⁶⁴ Stone, *History of Education*, 209, 210.
- ⁶⁵ Fussell, "Public Education," 36.
- ⁶⁶ Rosenfeld and Sher, "Urbanization," 28.
- ⁶⁷ Fussell, "Public Education," 28. Legislation passed in 1874 had created the office of Vermont state superintendent of education, elected biennially by the legislature. State educational policies were determined by joint committees of both houses working with the state superintendent.
- ⁶⁸ Stuart Rosenfeld, "Centralization Versus Decentralization: A Case Study of Rural Education in Vermont," in Sher, *Education in Rural America*, 210, 211; Stone, *History of Education*, 67. Vermont school law created the office of town superintendent of schools in 1845. After the union supervision law of 1906 came into effect, town supervision rapidly waned and was abolished by the law of 1915.
- ⁶⁹ Stone, *History of Education*, 327, 328.
- ⁷⁰ "Educator—Past, Educator—Present," 53.
- ⁷¹ Stone, *History of Education*, 78.
- ⁷² Crockett, *Vermont*, 489, 531.
- ⁷³ Hill, "Vermont's Judicial Crisis," 141.
- ⁷⁴ Stone, *History of Education*, 345.
- ⁷⁵ "Educator—Past, Educator—Present," 53.