

Chapter 1 Early Education Institution in the United States

§ 1. Introduction

The treatise before you is volume II of *The Idea of Public Education*. It is a Critique of the development of the American institution of public instructional education, as it stands today in the United States, with an evaluation of its successes and deficiencies. This volume assumes the reader is already acquainted with two previous works, *The Idea of the Social Contract* and volume I of the present work, *Education and Society*. The Critique and analysis provided in this volume builds upon the technical findings of these previous works.

The American institution is an important case study because, along with the British institution of public instructional education, it has been used in the twentieth century as a model by other nations in either setting up or reforming their own institutions of education. There is recent evidence that the American model has fallen into disfavor today with other nations, and this Critique concludes that nations who are looking away from the American model are wise to do so. This does not mean that the British model is a better model, however. In many ways the two models are variations within the same species and there is no solid evidence to conclude either model is better, or worse, than the other overall. Neither does this imply any endorsement of methods and means of education institution in other nations. At no time and at no place on earth has education practice both been undertaken as a social-natural science and well-integrated into its parent Society.

This book is not a history of education in the United States. That topic has been extensively covered in many works by many historians during the twentieth century, and continues to be a topic of active interest for twenty-first century historians. History, however, has a vital role to play in Critique involving social-natural phenomena because it is from the historical record that we are able to examine the ideas and theories leading up to our own contemporary situation. One cannot scientifically identify and distinguish between correct and incorrect assumptions and theories of the past without knowing what they were. The history references cited in this treatise represent only a sampling of the published historical corpus. In my opinion it is a reasonably good representative sampling of this corpus adequate for the task. The task of this volume is propaedeutic; its objective is to provide a segue to volume III, which deals with establishing the rudiments of a social-natural science of public instructional education (PIE).

To the eye of a Critical metaphysician, need for a social-natural science of public education could not appear more obvious or more urgent. The American institution of public education is an institution undergoing breakdown. Its breakdown is partially caused by, and is a partial cause of, a larger process of breakdown that American Society is undergoing. The grim spectacle Toynbee documented of a civilization slowly falling from within is being played out in the United States today, and has been in progress for over a century. If the social-natural phenomena causing it are not hindered and eventually reversed, humankind will be faced with a circumstance never before experienced prior to our age: the violent disintegration and fall of a Society in possession of an arsenal of weapons having the technological capacity to produce the extinction of *H. sapiens*. Social-scientific reform of the institution of public education is not sufficient by itself to halt the Toynbee process, but the mental physics of human nature assures us that it is a necessary part of halting this process. It is what the mathematicians call a necessary but not sufficient condition.

No one should think it surprising to find that the overwhelming majority of Americans are in, and will continue for the foreseeable future to be in, a state of denial about what I have just said. We need journey no farther back in history than the first century B.C. to find an earlier example of the disintegration and fall of another great civilization that at many points matches the current situation in almost eerie detail. The civilization was the Hellenic civilization and the example is

provided by the Roman Republic. Neither the ancient Romans nor, for that matter, any other people of Hellenic civilization recognized that the final chapter of their civilization was already being written the day Caesar and his army crossed the Rubicon. Caesar did not cause the fall of the Republic; it had been dead for years before his army met Pompey's at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. Odoacer did not usher in the Dark Ages in Europe when he deposed Romulus Augustulus in 476 A.D. The Dark Ages were already in the beginning stages the day Caesar crossed the Rubicon. The principal difference between American civilization today – if, indeed, it has not already remerged with European civilization – and Hellenic civilization then is that Hellenic civilization endured for a greater number of centuries before it disintegrated and fell.

The developing fall of American civilization individually threatens no living person immediately. The human capacity for judgments of taste easily produces diverse opinions about juxtaposed social problems without recognizing the syncretic social unity of these problems. These opinions provide more than ample subjective grounds for type- α compensation by ignoring the larger scale of the issues. The impatient nature and satisficing character of human reasoning enabled by this provide entirely sufficient subjective grounds for denial. I am not betting I will see this change during what remains of my lifetime. The only thing that provoked me into facing the facts is what the science that explains the phenomena, mental physics, has taught me about the general phenomenon and what the analysis of our circumstances that it makes possible reveals.

The history of public education institution in the United States is a story of granulated factions of competing Communities, each of which is constituted as a loosely bound confederacy of small mini-Communities united only temporarily in a common cause. These Communities coexist in a social environment that is partly composed as a civil Society and partly composed of state-of-nature relationships. The competition is normally civil, sometimes criminal, and ultimately internecine. The weak bonding relationships between the mini-Community factions comprising a particular Community are characterized as social-chemical ionic bonding. As soon as one of these Communities temporarily succeeds to a position as a dominant minority, their alliance begins to break apart under the stress of the antibonding relationships that granulate them. When this breakup becomes sufficiently advanced, another Community succeeds to the rulership of education, again temporarily, until it, too, undergoes its own breakup. We call these *interludes of educational reforms* – a polite and comfortable name for a social process that in many ways is similar to the sort of common cause bonding that temporarily held Syriac civilization together during their interludes of military subjugation under, first, the Assyrian and then, later, the Hellenic civilizations.

I repeat here one of the principal findings of the Critical theory of the Social Contract: the phenomenon of mini-Communities within a larger Community is a destabilizing phenomenon and one of, if not *the* most, challenging problems for a Society, its social governance, and its social contract. The story of the American institution of public education exhibits in microcosm many phenomenal effects predicted by the more general theorem. This volume examines these mini-Communities and the effects they had on the disorderly evolution of the institution of public instructional education in the United States.

§ 2. The Standards for Critique and Analysis

Any historically-based Critique or analysis of a social-natural institution requires standards by which past ideas and developments can be evaluated. For this treatise, there are two fundamental standards for Critique. These are: (1) the applied metaphysic of the Idea of the Social Contract (figure 1.1); and (2) the applied metaphysic of public instructional education (figure 1.2). This section provides a brief summary of the general principles of structure and function for each of these. Only a synopsis of these is given here in volume II because the prior works [Wells (2012a);

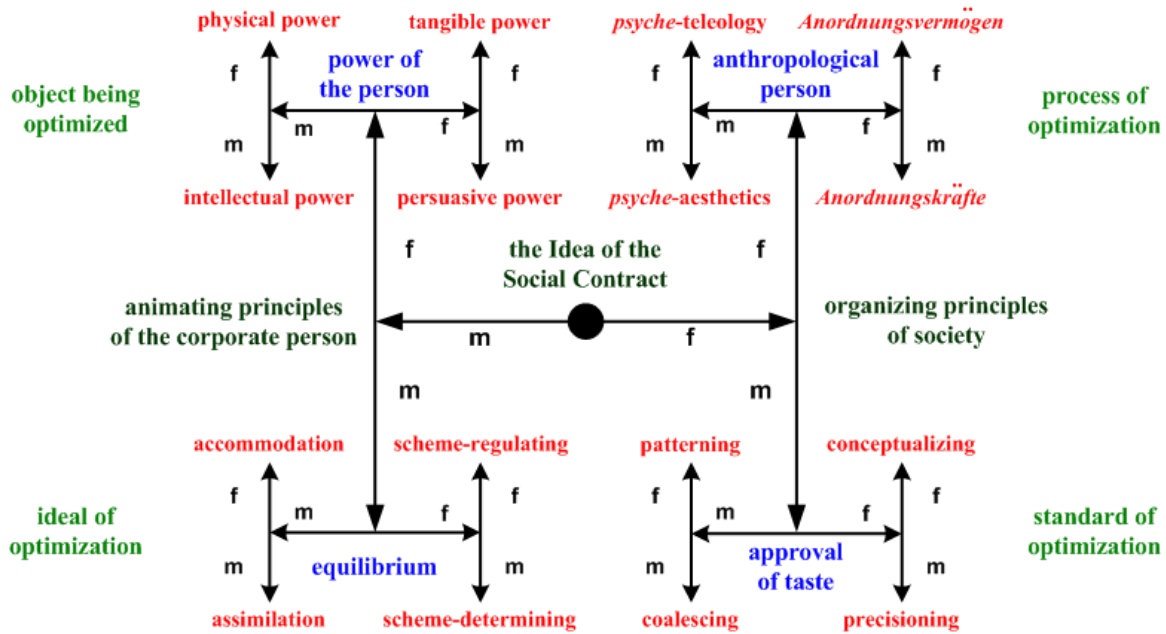
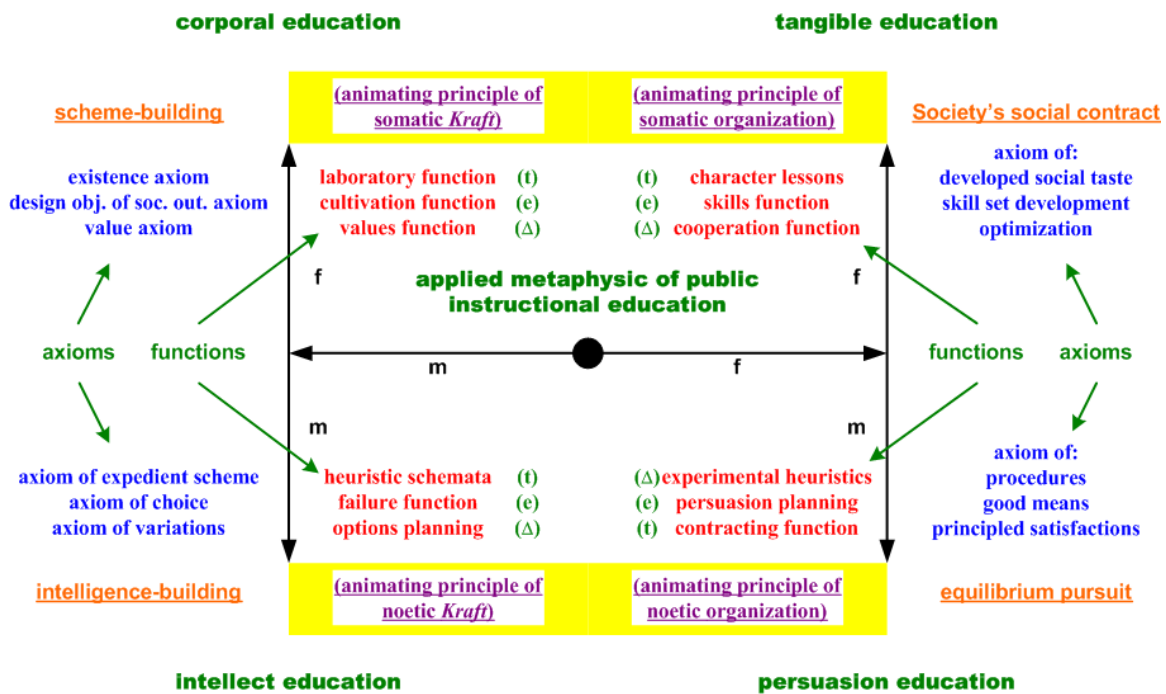


Figure 1.1: 4LAR structure of the Idea of the Social Contract.

Figure 1.2: 2LAR structure of the applied metaphysics of public instructional education displaying the metaphysical axioms and specifying concepts used in its deduction. For details see *Education and Society*.

(2012b)] cover the deductions and specifics in detail. I state them here merely for completeness.

The applied metaphysics of the Social Contract is governed by sixteen synthetical principles, one for each of the sixteen headings shown in figure 1.1. These are divided into eight *animating* principles of the corporate person (the civil Community and its Society) and eight *organizing*

principles of society. The scientific statements of the animating principles are:

- animating principle of physical power of the corporate person:** the principle is: Each person in the Community accepts and attends to specific civic Duties, for the performance of which he can justly be held accountable by the Community-as-corporate-person; ◀
- animating principle of intellectual power of the corporate person:** the principle is: Institution of means for public civic education of every member of the Community. Providing this institution is a Community Obligation pledged to every Community member. Participation in the institution, whereby each person realizes the aim of the institution to the best of his personal ability, is a civic Duty owed by each member of the Community; ◀
- animating principle of tangible power of the corporate person:** the principle is: Social-economic utility optimization drives interpersonal interactions in the Society; ◀
- animating principle of persuasive power of the corporate person:** the principle is: Corporate persuasive power is measured by the degree of generation/annihilation activity in bonding and anti-bonding leadership events in the embedding field graph representation of the corporate person; ⊗ [⊗ denotes a technical principle only used in the theory's mathematical formalism]
- animating principle of accommodation in the corporate person:** the principle is: Accommodation is regulated by the *Existenz* of adaptation level functionals in the embedding field graph of the corporate person; ⊗
- animating principle of assimilation in the corporate person:** the principle is: The embedding field graph system must conform to the mathematical properties of smoothness, non-negativity, boundedness, and competition; ⊗
- animating principle of scheme-regulating in the corporate person:** the principle is: Scheme activity is regulated by time variation in Community adaptation level (communal understanding); ⊗
- animating principle of scheme-determining in the corporate person:** the principle is: Determination of schemes by competition threshold. ⊗

The eight organizing principles are:

- organizing principle of *psyche*-teleology in the Idea of the Social Contract** (the condition for social contracting): The association will defend with its whole common force the person and goods of each associate in such a manner as by which each associate is able to unite himself with all the others while at the same time is still able to obey himself alone and remain as free in his liberty of action as he was before joining the association; ◀
- organizing principle of *psyche*-aesthetics in the Idea of the Social Contract** (the principle of justice): Living in a socially contracted environment of Community must not frustrate expectations for the fulfillment of the condition of social contracting because of perpetuation of injustices by laws and customs of the Community; ◀
- organizing principle of *Anordnungsvermögen* in the anthropological person** (principle of civic cooperation): Each person in the Community pledges himself to Obligations he acknowledges himself to owe to the Community; ◀
- organizing principle of *Anordnungskräfte* in the anthropological person** (principle of citizenship): Each person in an association is to put his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, as the general will is gauged by and recognized through social institutions, and is to regard each associate in his corporate capacity as an indivisible part of the whole body politic of their association; ◀
- organizing principle of patterning in the Idea of the Social Contract** (principle of emerging *Sittlichkeit*): The dynamics of social equilibration in the corporate person act as a synthesizer combining the private moral codes of the persons in the Community to produce a practical system of general moral customs; ◀
- organizing principle of coalescing in the Idea of the Social Contract:** Global practical optimization of *Sittlichkeit* (moral custom) is effected through competition among the Duties-to-Self of the persons in the Community; ◀
- organizing principle of conceptualizing in the Idea of the Social Contract:** Competitive global consensus in cooperations is exhibited by emergence of constituted, man-made

institutions of communal self-governance manifested in processes of review, evaluations, checks and balances, and social refinements that serve the function of perfecting civil tranquility in the Community; ◀

organizing principle of precisioning in the Idea of the Social Contract (principle of Grossberg consensus $\approx$ absence of civil unrest implies consensus): Exhibition of cooperative consensus approximates an ideal of absolute non-expression of civil untranquility within the Community. ◀

You only need the principles marked by a ◀ symbol for this treatise. Those marked ⊗ are only used in technical mathematics. Social contracting is an optimization phenomenon displayed at all levels of Community from friendships and family to great nations. The principles above are principles consistent with the mental nature of human beings and required for the Community to be sustainable and stable. Figure 1.1 labels the four principal logical divisions of optimization as this social dynamic is carried out in a civil Community: (a) the object being optimized; (b) the ideal of optimization; (c) the process of optimization; and (d) the standard of optimization.

The animating principles of the corporate person are principles pertaining to a mathematical description of the Society presented by an embedding field network model [Wells (2012a, b); Grossberg (1969, 1971, 1978, 1980)]. It is not necessary for the purposes of this treatise to delve into the fine mathematical details of these principles. Critique of the institution of public instructional education in the U.S. can be adequately carried out from the wording of these principles provided here with an occasional clarifying supplement to these descriptions as needed. In a like manner, the verbal statements of the organizing principles of society are adequate for purposes of Critique and analysis in this volume. In every social-natural science the individual human being is the "social atom" of the science. The principles listed above are deduced from the basic mental physics of human nature in *The Idea of the Social Contract*.

Education and Society dealt with deduction of an applied metaphysic of public instructional education (figure 1.2). At the second level of analytic representation (2LAR), this metaphysic is defined by twelve synthesizing functions necessary for an adequate institution of the education mission. These twelve functions, listed in order by Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Modality, are:

- laboratory function:** (the function of corporal rational education) Inclusion in the curriculum of physical exercises that are designed to teach the learner how to employ the physical capacities of his body in building sensorimotor schemes by which he can master the arts of technical crafts and interpersonal relationship skills; (athletics is one example of this function);
- cultivation function:** (the function of corporal empirical education) Inclusion in the curriculum of designed physical exercises that exploit the phenomenon of moral realism in such a way that the learner develops a desired sense of justice and acquires desired notions of behavioral conventions for the exercise of his liberty; (rituals and ceremonies are examples of this);
- values function:** (the function of corporal social education) Inclusion in the curriculum of a suite of designed corporal exercises in scheme-building that produce a value structure within the learner according to which he becomes willing to pledge himself to Duties to others according to their situations and develops socially congruent expectations of civil Obligations;
- heuristic schemata function:** (the function of intellect rational education) Inclusion in the curriculum of exercises through which the learner practices developing his ability to construct heuristic procedures applicable to technical and social situations (e.g., problem-solving skills);
- failure function:** (the function of intellect empirical education) Inclusion in the curriculum of non-frustrating failure-provoking experiences in which re-equilibration is possible by development of new technical or social maxims for overcoming hindrances (e.g., challenges);
- options planning function:** (the function of intellect social education) Inclusion in the social education curriculum of exercises that stimulate the learner's development of procedural schemata (e.g., learning to recognize and exploit alternative ways-and-means possibilities);
- character lessons function:** (the function of tangible rational education) Inclusion in the curriculum of lesson-matters pertaining to the learner's developing of new *personal* vocational

- tastes and *social* principles of mores and folkways congruent with those of his Society;
- skills function:** (the function of tangible empirical education) Inclusion in the curriculum of lesson matters developing the learner's sense of self-respect and self-actualization by development and practice of basic skills he learns to recognize as being pertinent to his ability to achieve Welfare success in his life or apply to his enterprise activities in social situations;
- cooperation function:** (the function of tangible social education) Inclusion in the curriculum of group exercises in which the learners must cooperate to organize, plan, and achieve a group objective;
- experimental heuristics function:** (the function of social persuasion education) In the personal dimension of the learner the function is: inclusion in the curriculum of lessons and exercises in experimental learning of *how* to discover possibilities and options by means of heuristic methods. In the social dimension of the learner the function is: inclusion in the curriculum of lessons and exercises in heuristic social experiments for *discovering* common grounds and means for negotiating consensual agreements with other people, taken both individually and in groups;
- persuasion planning function:** (the function of empirical persuasion education) In the personal dimension of the learner the function is: inclusion in the curriculum of lessons and exercises provoking Progress in the learner's ability to synthesize and identify objective ends he intends to achieve and objective means of achieving them. In the social dimension of the learner the function is: inclusion in the curriculum of lessons and group exercises for producing consensus in the planning of ends and means of group Enterprises;
- contracting function:** (the function of rational persuasion education) In the personal dimension of the learner the function is: inclusion in the curriculum of lessons of civic Duties of *obligatio interna* with consciousness of *obligatione externa*. In the social dimension of the learner the function is: inclusion in the curriculum of lessons of civil Duties and civil rights of *obligatio externa* with consciousness of *obligatione interna*. (Latin terms are defined in the Glossary)

As is the case for the animating and organizing principles of figure 1.1, these definitions are technical definitions, as are the key terms used within them. The Glossary at the end of this volume provides a quick reference guide for the technical terminology being used. The functions are deduced from metaphysical axioms that are, in their turn, derived from fundamental acroams of Critical metaphysics. These axioms are combined by synthesis with particular specifying concepts (scheme-building, intelligence-building, Society's social contract, and equilibrium pursuit, listed with the axioms in figure 1.2) to deduce the functions. The details of this deduction are provided in *Education and Society*. From time to time it is necessary to refer to these axioms in the Critique and so they are listed here for your reference convenience:

- axiom of existence:** There are actual physical expressions of behavior that are educational activities for promoting Progress in the physical power of an organized being;
- axiom of expedient scheme:** (the metaphysical axiom of intellect rational education) The axiom states: for every manifold of Desires presented by reflective judgment there is some practical scheme in the manifold of possible schemes of motoregulatory expression associated with it by which the condition of equilibrium can be satisfied;
- axiom of good means:** (the metaphysical axiom of empirical persuasion education) The axiom states: the learner will always seek means he holds-to-be good means;
- axiom of optimization of *Personfähigkeit*:** (the metaphysical axiom of tangible social education) The axiom states: Progress in perfecting *Personfähigkeit* is achieved by means of a series of transforming activities regulated by a persistent sense of interest;
- axiom of principled satisfactions:** (the metaphysical axiom of rational persuasion education) The axiom states: persuasion education is education for Progress in acting on principles. This axiom does no more than state that learners can and must be cultivated to act from a basis of general principles rather than merely acting on the basis of impulse and inclination;
- axiom of procedures:** (the metaphysical axiom of social persuasion education) The axiom states: the learner's capacity for problem solving is limited by the sphere of his concepts of procedural schemes;

- axiom of skill set development:** (the metaphysical axiom of tangible empirical education) The axiom states: skills of Progress in tangible *Personfähigkeit* are developed by exercises of adaptation performance focusing on scheme-building and scheme-regulating that prepare the learner to achieve Welfare success in his life;
- axiom of value:** The axiom states: corporal social education is effected through physical activities designed to provoke and orient the learner's development of a social value system congruent with the social contract of his Society;
- axiom of variations:** (the metaphysical axiom of intellect social education) The axiom states that learning is based on discoveries of compensations for disturbing factors that do not involve the simple ignorance of type- α compensation behavior but, on the contrary, negate the disturbance through a series of scheme adaptations that convert disturbance factors into mere variations dealt with by modifications or variations of the original action scheme;
- axiom of choice:** (the metaphysical axiom of intellect empirical education) The axiom states: chosen actions are non-contrary to the actor's value system;
- axiom of design objective:** The axiom states: the objective of corporal empirical education is to orient and guide the learner's educational Self-development of his manifold of rules to produce a common system of meaning implications for laws of social intercourse that lead to congruent moral customs of behaviors and maxims of Enterprise (by which is made possible actual agreement with common social laws on the part of every citizen in the Community);
- axiom of developed social taste:** (the metaphysical axiom of tangible rational education) The axiom states: learner tastes are formable through instructional education.

The metaphysic of every social-natural science must include the correct Critical connections with the mental nature of being-a-human-being. Figure 1.2 illustrates one of the most important of these linkages, namely that between the 2LAR headings of the applied metaphysic and the animating principles of *psyche* in the Organized Being model of human nature [Wells (2009)]. There are four of these animating principles:

- animating principle of noetic *Kraft*:** the co-determination of somatic representations and the affective perceptions of Quality in reflective judgment are energetics for understanding and reasoning in the structuring of a value system and for the orienting of activity;
- animating principle of noetic organization:** equilibration is the activity leading to closure of the cycle of affective interaction in a state of equilibrium;
- animating principle of somatic *Kraft*:** reciprocity through somatic *Kraft* is determination of a condition, called an *elater animi*, through which the structuring of somatic actions expresses acts of aesthetical judgment of the form of a system of values, desires, and interests;
- animating principle of somatic organization:** motivation is the accommodation of perception and motoregulatory expression is its assimilation.

It will occasionally be necessary to refer to these basic principles in the Critique and so they are presented here for ease of reference.

Historical review of the major reforms and plans put forward at one time or another in the United States reveal that each of the educational functions listed above were included in one or another plan. No plan, however, included all of them or stood in thorough-going congruence with the metaphysical axioms grounding their objective validity. When these functions were congruently included, that was a strength of the plan and made that part of it an important empirical factor for establishing a social-natural science of education. When functions were omitted or were understood incongruently with the metaphysical axiom of the function, that was a weakness of the plan and one of the reasons for its subsequent failure.

§ 3. Colonial America

To understand the contemporary U.S. institution of education and its unhealthy condition, it is

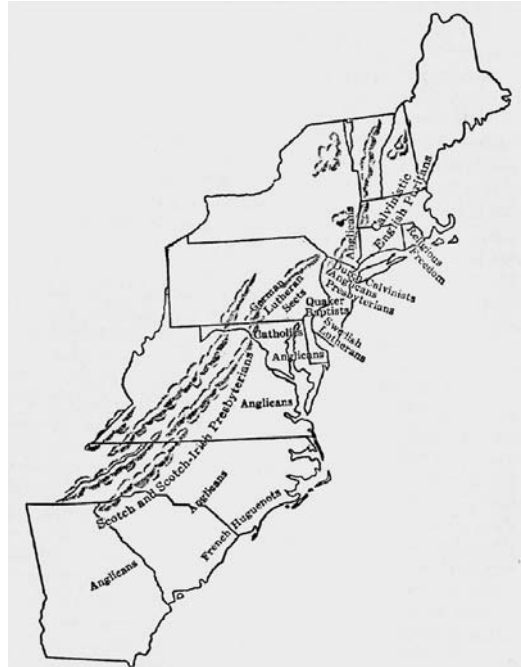


Figure 1.3: The distribution of the early American colonists by dominant religious affiliation [Cubberley].

important to understand how institutions of education began in colonial America. This is because later reform movements arise out of perceived shortcomings and problems in a Society's existing institutions. To understand a reform, one must understand what was being reformed and why. Where public education existed at all in the early days of the American colonies, it was in the hands of one or another of the various religious sects that settled in America. For all the habitual talk of the homogeneity of the early Americans, in point of fact colonial America was never particularly homogeneous other than with respect to the dominantly Caucasian origins of the colonial citizens, their predominantly British origin, and the fact of local dominance by one or another of the various Protestant sects that largely characterized and defined the social contract in effect in that locale. This, however, is a mere surface homogeneity and beneath it there were deep and important social divisions between mini-Communities. Religion was a key factor in the corporate differences and social-chemistry antibonding factors that existed between and within the colonies. It was tied not only to phenomena of colonial governance but also to the reason particular colonies were established by the divers groups of colonists in the first place. Figure 1.3 illustrates the distribution of early colonial populations by dominant religious sect [Cubberley].

The establishment of what were eventually the thirteen colonies followed no master plan. It was, rather, the product of that fine old English tradition of muddling through situations. It was by this more or less event-driven dynamic that Great Britain eventually stumbled into possession of the largest empire in recorded history. By the reign of Queen Victoria, it was literally true that "the sun never set on the British empire." For slightly more than a century and a half the American colonies were part of that slowly evolving and growing empire.

With the exception of Georgia (GA), which was chartered and officially recognized as a distinct colony in 1732, the American colonies were all charter-established in the period from 1607 to 1681, although, of course, many of the eventual colonies were settled prior to the date of the granting of an official charter by the Crown Government in London. North and South Carolina (NC and SC) present an interesting special case inasmuch as a Carolina colony was set up in 1663 but NC and SC did not become distinct and separate Royal Provinces until 1729.

The first colony, which would become Virginia (VA), was established at Jamestown in 1607 by Anglicans. Their aims in coming to the New World were commercially opportunistic, i.e., based upon seeking a better and higher standard of life than was open to them in England. In the Anglican doctrine, the Church is subordinate to the State and, especially, to the King. Religious freedom was not a goal of the colonials in Virginia although, of course, they were religious people in the fashion of their English counterparts.

The next colonies, which would become the Massachusetts (MA) colony, were established in 1620 at Plymouth Rock and in 1630 at Massachusetts Bay. Here the colonials were Puritans and the principal motive for their colonization was religious. The Puritans can be regarded as one of the more radical sects of the Protestant Reformation and, in particular, of its Calvinistic movement. They believed the reformation of the Anglican Church had not gone nearly far enough in its rejection of the Papacy and what they regarded as Catholic idolatry. To the Puritans, the State was subordinate to the Church and existed solely for the protection of the Church. Furthermore, they held that their religion was "the one true religion" and were totally intolerant of all other sects. As in most contemporary Evangelical Protestant sects, they regarded the Bible as the infallible and absolute authority. One might presume because of this that government in MA would take on a theocratic-monarchical form. This is not the case although the attempt was made. The Puritans were an anti-Episcopal sect and MA government was democratic in form.¹ It was administered by magistrates – minor officials elected by the congregations with limited judicial and executive powers and no legislative authority. Over time, colonization in New England by the Puritans spread northward to New Hampshire (NH) – in 1623, chartered in 1679 – and southward to Connecticut (CT) – in 1633, chartered in 1662.

Puritan religious intolerance also led to the establishment of the colony that became Rhode Island (RI), which was settled from 1636-42 and chartered in 1663. Almost uniquely in colonial America, the RI colony was established on the basis of religious freedom. In several ways Rhode Island was and remains one of the more schizogenic of the states and its inhabitants have a reputation for flouting the independence of their character. As examples: it was the site of the first Baptist church established in America, the first synagogue, and the first Quaker meeting house; it claims to be the first colony to renounce allegiance to Britain in 1776 (North Carolina makes the same claim); it was the only state that chose *not* to send a delegate to the 1787 Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia and the last state to, grudgingly, ratify the U.S. Constitution.

Meanwhile, the Dutch had established colonies at Fort Orange (later Albany, New York) in 1614, and New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island in 1625. The British later took over both colonies, changing the name of New Amsterdam to New York. The New York colony (later the state of New York) was chartered in 1664. Probably not surprisingly given the reputation of New York City today as one of the world capitals of capitalism, the New York colony came to be primarily settled by English Anglicans with minorities comprised of Dutch in the northern parts, Germans in the Mohawk Valley and Ulster County, and an appreciable number of Scotsmen and Irishmen. It was never an even remotely homogeneous colony or state.

Dutch settlers also established Fort Nassau in 1623. The settlement, and the rest of New Jersey (NJ), was likewise taken over by the British and the NJ colony was chartered in 1665. NJ, which lies on a plain between New York City and Philadelphia, has been called "a barrel tapped at both ends." It was a major thoroughfare for travelers and was settled by a mixture of Dutch Calvinists,

¹ Non-consensus democracy is one of the four usual "pure" forms of government. The other historical forms are: monarchy/oligarchy, republican, and *Gemeinschaft*. I discuss these four forms in more detail later. In contrast to the Puritans, the Anglicans are an Episcopal sect with a defined hierarchy of authority more closely resembling the monarchy/oligarchy form of governance, as is also the case in Roman Catholicism. Among the Puritans, only the clergy saw themselves as God-anointed to rule the state.

Anglicans, and Presbyterians.

Pennsylvania (PA) was the last of the three Middle colonies to be established by a land grant to William Penn in 1681. The first colonists were English Quakers who settled primarily in south-east Pennsylvania in and around Philadelphia, spilling over into the Delaware Valley. Its soil and climate, religious tolerance, and enlightened colonial government made it a Mecca for European immigrants, who poured into Pennsylvania and made it the most rapidly growing colony despite its relatively late start. In addition to the Quakers, it drew tens of thousands of settlers from Germany and Switzerland, primarily Lutherans, and Scot-Irish from Ulster. Philadelphia became a sort of microcosm of America in which aristocratic families, primarily Quakers, mixed with poorer people. The city grew to become, and for a long time remained, the major center of commerce in the colonies, being eclipsed in this only later by New York City. Nonetheless, in this diverse population of mini-Communities a number of grievances did develop, primarily between the Germans and Scot-Irish in western Pennsylvania and the older Quaker establishment that dominated the eastern part of the colony.

While Virginia was the first colony, and therefore the first Southern colony, to be established, the second was Maryland (MD), established by land grants in 1632-4. Its settlers were primarily Anglicans although it also held the largest concentration of Roman Catholics in the colonies. At about this same time, the Dutch were arriving in what would become the Delaware (DE) colony (1631). The first settlement in DE was established by Swedish Lutherans in 1638 at Wilmington. This was subsequently captured by the Dutch (1655) and then by the English (1664). DE was an autonomous part of the land grant to William Penn, but broke away from PA in 1682. The famous Mason-Dixon Line was surveyed and drawn specifically to separate MD and DE from PA.

The Carolinas had a slow-developing and turbulent colonial history. There were unsuccessful attempts to settle in that region by both the Spanish and the French, and at the lost colony at Roanoke. The first permanent English settlement was in North Carolina (NC) around 1653 by settlers moving in from Virginia. In 1663 Charles II made a land grant of the Carolinas to eight of his court favorites and settlers slowly began moving into the region. These were at first mainly Anglicans with some settlement of the eastern seaboard by Huguenots (French Protestants) driven out of France by the repeal of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685 [Jernegan (1929), pg. 312]. Scot-Irish Presbyterians moved down into the western frontier country from the other colonies. In what would become South Carolina (SC), the up-country was also settled by German, Swiss, and Welch settlers. The early government of the Carolinas was dominated by aristocratic proprietors who behaved like feudal lords. This led to numerous outbreaks of violence, especially between the western frontiersmen and the eastern colonists, including one outright civil war in 1771. In 1729 the land grantees, except for one, agreed to return their land rights to the Crown and NC and SC were established as royal provinces.

Georgia (GA) was the last of the colonies to be established. The principal motivating factor in its case was the desire of the British government to protect South Carolina from invasion by the Spanish in Florida or the French in Louisiana. Its founder, James Edward Oglethorpe, wanted to establish a place of refuge for persecuted Protestant sects and "the worthy indigent classes of England." A charter establishing the GA colony was granted in 1732 and the first settlement was established at Savannah in 1733 under Oglethorpe's supervision. The early colonists were English, German Lutherans, Piedmontese, Scottish Highlanders, Swiss, Portuguese, and Jews. However, the main tide of immigration did not begin until around 1752 with settlers coming in from Virginia and the Carolinas. In 1753 GA became a royal province. Unlike the rest of the Southern colonies, all of which displayed deep class divisions between a wealthy aristocratic ruling class and poorer lower classes, GA tended to lean towards democracy from its beginning, probably owing to its late start, manpower shortages, and settlement by those who found better opportunities for themselves there than under the aristocracy in their home colonies.

§ 4. Colonial Attitudes Toward Education until 1750

Historians are substantially in agreement that: (1) the initial colonial period in America was a period in which institutions of education were essentially merely transplanted from the homeland of the immigrants to their settlements in the new world; (2) that there was initially no *public* education of any sort set up in colonial America; and (3) all institutions of education in the colonies were set up by and belonged to the divers churches. The three different colonial regions – New England, the Middle colonies, and the Southern colonies – differed significantly in the basic makeup of their religious mini-Communities and colonial purposes (as just discussed above) and so distinct regional attitudes about education generally took root. Cubberley designated these attitudes as: (1) the compulsory-maintenance attitude; (2) the parochial-school attitude; and (3) the pauper-school, non-State-interference attitude [Cubberley (1919), pp. 15-24]. Inasmuch as the different colonies within the same region were different from one another, there were local variations found in all three attitudes, but in the main these attitudes more or less attended the three broad regional divisions. The regional attitudes were:

- the compulsory-maintenance attitude, associated with Puritan New England (with the exception of Rhode Island);
- the parochial-school attitude, especially associated with Pennsylvania and to lesser degrees in parts of New York and New Jersey; and
- the pauper-school, non-State-interference attitude, prototypically represented by Virginia and mirrored in the other southern colonies (MD, DE, NC, SC, and GA) as well as in parts of New York and New Jersey.

§ 4.1 New England

Historians traditionally allege Puritan New England was the most significant colonial factor in regard to contemporary institution of public education in the United States. This is questionable. The New England colonies, led by Massachusetts, were established as religious civil Communities, called New England towns, bound together in a Colony federation. The towns were combined religious congregations and civil government, and civil government was subordinate to Puritan church authority. The word "town" meant all the land in a roughly twenty to forty square mile vicinity of a Meeting House. The Meeting House functioned as both church and town government. When the towns were first established, it was required that all colonists live within a half-mile of the Meeting House. Every member of the congregation was required to participate in both church and government activities.

It can be tempting to assume – and some contemporary sociologists do assume – that a small Community like a New England town would be a *Gemeinschaft* Community [Wells (2012a), chap. 11] in governance, mores, and folkways. However, this overlooks the strict Calvinism that characterized the Puritans. Of the four historical "pure" types of governance forms (figure 1.4), the Puritan religious faith was far more amenable to governance by non-consensus democracy, allowing that limited aspects of *Gemeinschaft* governance are congruent and compatible with it. The distinction, which is one brought out by Critique, can be understood in the following terms.

Gemeinschaft governance is a relatively primitive and natural form of governance characteristic of the interpersonal governance of personal friendships, natural societies such as the BaMbuti Pygmies of the African Congo region, and many small rural communities linked by kinship ties and in which the dominant religion, if there is one, is less strict than the Puritan religion. The predominant social attitude is one of *laissez faire* cooperation in which the preservation of friendly interpersonal relationships is of first importance to the individuals making up the Community (figure 1.5 and Wells (2012a), chap. 8).

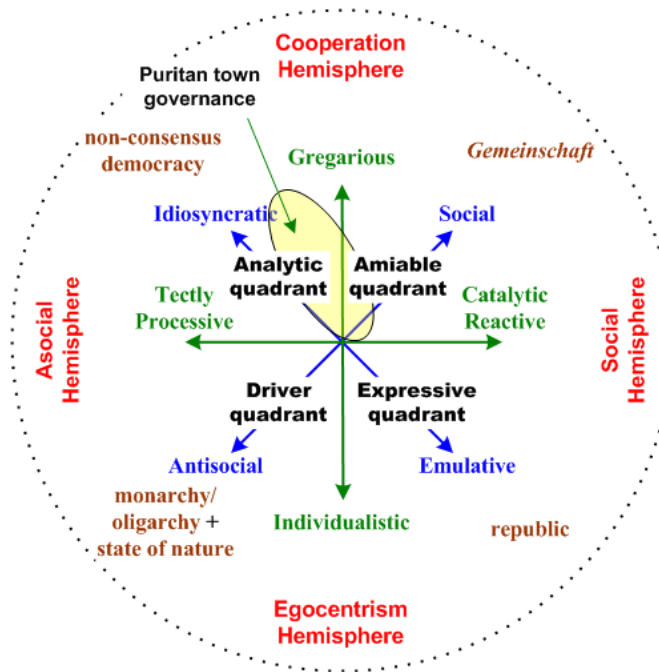


Figure 1.4: Approximate circumplex model of the form of Puritan town social governance.

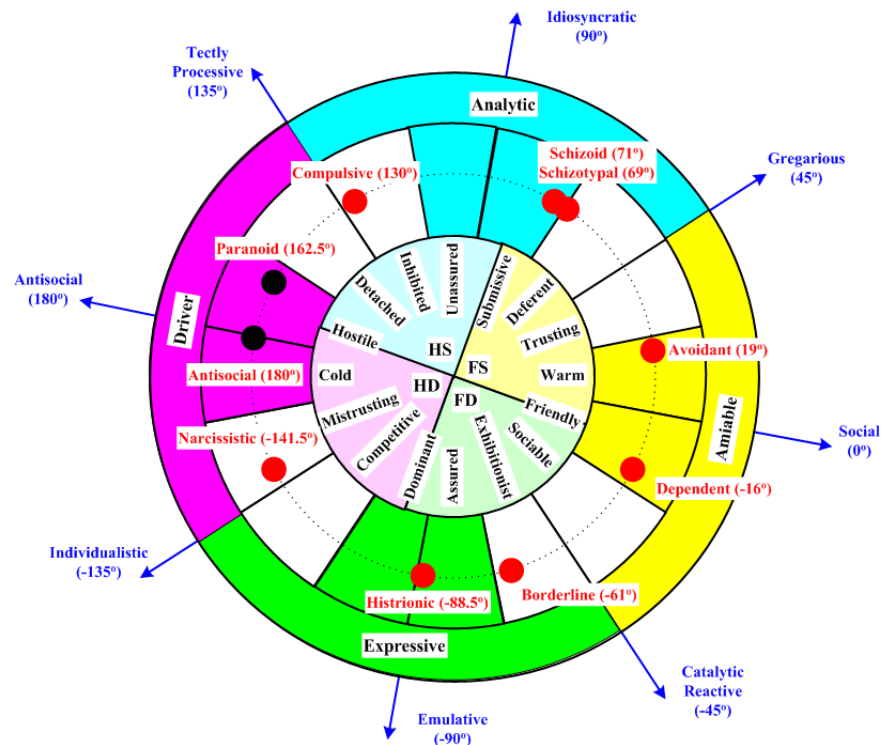


Figure 1.5: The D-PIPOS circumplex model of DSM-IV-personality-interpersonal relationships-operationalization social styles [Wells (2012a), chap. 8]. In comparing figures 1.4 and 1.5, note the difference in axis rotations pictured in the two figures.

Governance is the exercise of authority in management and administration of an organization (in the present context, the organization of a civil Community). This real-explanation presents us

with some immediately pertinent questions: Who is authority invested in? How is the Community managed and administered? Who enforces authority and how? **Gemeinschaft** governance is *governance of a Community through loosely organized cooperations by groups of individuals on specific matters of direct interest to them, and in which cohesion of governance is primarily reliant upon citizens' civic conformity to Community mores and folkways*. This was not absent in a Puritan town, but neither "loosely organized" nor civic conformity are particularly accurate terms for describing it. Neither is *laissez faire* a term appropriate to use in describing Puritanism. A non-conformist in a Puritan town often eventually wound up in Rhode Island.

Neither is it correct to presume that, because the federal authority was theocratic, towns would take on a monarchy/oligarchy form of governance. To presume this is to overlook the strongly anti-episcopal nature of Puritan Calvinism. The Puritan faith was centered around the tenets of the supreme rulership of God and the infallible authority of the Bible. The rules were laid out for them in the Bible, as they came to interpret it, and individual salvation depended upon strict conformity to these rules and to established civil processes. This, however, is characteristic of the Analytic social style with its devotion to rules and established processes. Governance of a Puritan town was very much a non-consensus democracy in the spirit of ancient Athenian democracy. In matters of mere utility, the tenet of *majority rule* operated in the Meeting Houses and all legislative matters concerning the Community were voted upon by the entire body politic. Conformity to mores and folkways among the Puritans was based upon an uncompromising attitude of *moral realism* – i.e., strict objective conformity of actions to the letter of the law.

Individuals were expected and required to be submissive and deferent to the will of the majority, so long as that will did not conflict with Biblical tenets. Puritans tended to be publicly self-contained and even-tempered under most circumstances – two characteristics of what psychiatrists call the schizoid personality style² – as well as sustained by their feelings and beliefs, interest in the supernatural and occult (hence, e.g., the Salem witch trials), and self-directed in their personal affairs – characteristics of what psychiatrists call a schizotypal personality style [Sperry (2003), pp. 221, 241].

Non-consensus democracy is *governance of a Community through rulership grounded in the principle that the majority opinion is to rule*. All of the features just noted of the Puritan Community point to a conclusion by Critique that governance in a Puritan town would develop primarily as a non-consensus democracy (figure 1.5). It is anti-episcopal, rule and process driven, socially idiosyncratic/gregarious, and generally conformable to the tenets of strict Calvinism.

One feature common to both *Gemeinschaft*- and non-consensus democracy- based civil Communities is a strongly habituated preference for Order in society with an accompanying weak emphasis on Progress. **Order** is an *Object subsisting in the preservation of the degree of all kinds and amounts of objective good people deem to already actually exist*. **Progress** is an *Object subsisting in increasing the kinds and amounts of objective good people deem to be possible to realize (make actual)*. Seventeenth century New England towns were models of social Order but could by no stretch of description be called progressive. The function of the State was to protect the Church, and the tenets of the Church – being grounded in Biblical lessons – were taken to be eternal. An individual was expected to make himself progressive in the perfection of his practice of faith, but this is a form of Progress altogether different from *social* Progress. This aspect of life in a Puritan town fundamentally set the objectives for and nature of the institution of education in

² It is important that you clearly understand the distinction between a personality *style* and a personality *disorder*. Every person has some habituated personality styles he expresses in his interactions with other people. A personality *disorder*, on the other hand, is an extreme and rigid form of behavior indicative of psychological pathology. It is one thing to be habitually even-tempered and something else altogether to rarely or never experience strong emotions (a symptom of a schizoid personality *disorder*).

New England and can be seen as the backdrop for the New England attitude of compulsory-maintenance education. Because not all the people, even in a New England town, were inclined by personality to fit the predominantly Analytic mold of town life, it is also a factor in New England Society that would later lead to the 18th century breakdown of the Puritan system.

The institution of education set up in Puritan New England is a model of the Analytic's strong commitment to process. It likewise, in Cubberley's words, "contributed most that was valuable for our future educational development" [Cubberley (1919), pg. 15]. To them, education was a principal and necessary means for preserving their religion and striving for personal salvation. Cubberley cites a 1643 New England pamphlet, *New England's First Fruits*:

After God had carried us safe to New England
And we had builded our houses
Provided necessaries for our livelihood
Heard convenient places for Gods worship
And settled the civil government
One of the next things we longed for
And looked after was to advance learning
And perpetuate it to posterity
Dreading to leave an illiterate ministry
To the churches when our present ministers
Shall lie in the Dust.

[Cubberley (1919), pg. 16]

The primary tools of this education were home instruction and apprenticeship training. These were to provide youth with the ability to read and to participate in the home and church religious services. The larger towns also provided voluntary town Latin grammar schools to prepare boys for the colony college, Harvard, which the colonial legislature established in 1636 to train ministers for the church. It was a typically English educational system of the time: private home instruction in reading and religion; apprenticeship training under a local magistrate called the master of apprentices; voluntary Latin grammar schools in the larger towns for college preparation; and an English-type college to prepare ministers for the churches. The initial system was voluntary, clearly subordinate to the Church, and just as clearly a non-public institution of instructional education.

However, this first institution, based on purely voluntary efforts, failed to function well enough to meet the prescribed needs of the Church. Early colonial life was hard, many parents were barely literate enough to read their own Bibles and not up to the task of teaching their own children, and the master of apprentices often neglected his duty to adequately oversee the boys' preparations for their eventual trades. The result was a level of education inadequate to the needs of the Church. Accordingly, Church leaders appealed to the colonial legislature to assist them in *compelling* parents and masters to fulfill their educational obligations. This resulted in the famous Massachusetts Law of 1642.

This law directed town officials to: (1) ascertain periodically if parents and masters were attending to their educational duties; (2) assess if all children were being trained "in learning and labor and other employments profitable to the Commonwealth"; and (3) assess if children were being taught "to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country" [*ibid.*, pg. 17]. Town officials were empowered to level fines on those who failed to provide their children with adequate instruction or who failed to report to the officer when required. By our contemporary standards, this might not appear to be a very significant law but in fact it was a watershed moment in the history of civil lawmaking. The 1642 law was the first law in the history of the English-speaking world where a legislative body representing the State *ordered* that all

children must be taught to read. English tradition had always held that education was a private matter of no concern to the State. The Law of 1642 in essence asserted that the State had a right to require mandatory education in reading for all its citizens.

Even so, this law proved to be inadequate in practice and so the MA colony legislature passed another, tougher law in 1647. The 1647 law ordered:

1. That every town having 50 or more householders must at once appoint a teacher of reading and writing, and provide for his wages in such a manner as the town might determine; and
2. That every town having 100 or more householders must provide a Latin grammar school to prepare youths for the college, under a penalty of £5 for failure to do so. [*ibid.*, pg. 18; Potter (1967), pp. 23-24]

£5 might not seem like much today, but in the seventeenth century it was approximately five weeks' minimum subsistence income for a working London family of ten. The State had enacted an unprecedented law by ordering a school system to be established at the elementary level in every town and at the secondary level in all the larger towns. It was the first time anywhere in the English-speaking world that an institution of *public* instructional education was established.

We must note that this colonial act was not an altruistic provision for the good of the individual. The 1642 and 1647 laws were passed expressly for the collective good of Puritan Society overall. It was an amendment of the Puritan social contract, which every citizen must either accept or withdraw from the Puritan civil Community. How much these laws contributed to an increase in the population of Rhode Island is not recorded. Rhode Islanders, of course, have always prided themselves on their rugged individualism, wide latitude of civil liberties, and accompanying narrow scope of civil rights.³ The Puritans were not a tolerant people and they saw Rhode Island as a convenient sort of Botany Bay where outlaw members of any Toynbee proletariat that might form in their midst could be easily, cheaply, and humanely exiled. It is estimated that by 1770 Rhode Island, with just over 2% of all the land area in New England, was home to 9% of New England and 2.5% of the total colonial population [Morison & Commager (1930), pg. 918].

Cubberley quotes a Mr. Martin, then historian of the Massachusetts public school system, as stating that the fundamental principles of the Massachusetts Laws were the following:

1. The universal education of youth is essential to the well-being of the State.
2. The obligation to furnish this education rests primarily upon the parent.
3. The State has a right to enforce this obligation.
4. The State may fix a standard which shall determine the kind of education and the minimum amount.
5. Public money, raised by a general tax, may be used to provide such education as the State requires. This tax may be general even if school attendance is not.
6. Education higher than the rudiments may be supplied by the State. Opportunity must be provided, at public expense, for youths who wish to be fitted for college. [Cubberley (1919), pp. 18-19].

³ Critical Social Contract theory teaches us that civil liberties and civil rights are not at all the same thing. A civil liberty pertains to what you, as a citizen, are *justly* able to do for yourself. A civil right pertains to what you, as a citizen, can justly require your Community to do, or forebear to do, *for* you. There is a direct relationship between the number of *natural* liberties a citizen agrees to alienate (in exchange for civil liberties) and the number of civil rights he can demand from the civil association as the price of this alienation. This is a principle of political science set down theoretically in the English-speaking world by Locke near the end of the seventeenth century [Locke (1690)].

Mr. Martin also commented that,

It is important to note here that the idea underlying all this legislation was neither paternalistic nor socialistic. The child is to be educated, not to advance his personal interests, *but because the State will suffer if he is not educated*. The State does not provide schools to relieve the parent, nor because it can educate better than the parent can, but because it can thereby better enforce the obligation which it imposes. [*ibid.*, pg. 19]

I pointed out in volume I that the institution of public instructional education is part of the justice system of a Society. The principles underlying the Massachusetts Laws implicitly recognized this. The only way a State – which is, after all, an abstract organized being – can suffer is if its people suffer some form of injury. The Massachusetts Laws recognized that illiteracy, ignorance, and lack of understanding of a Society's institutions produce harmful and unjust effects felt by the citizens at large – the extreme case of which is the disintegration of the Society itself.

Martin's comment also ends with a presupposition common to the premise of the democracy form of governance, namely, the notion that a State (or a Community) can *impose an Obligation*. This supposition, which is contradictory to human nature according to mental physics, is a symptom of the attitude of *rulership* embedded in the idea of every democracy. A State or a civil Community can make *pledging* oneself to the performance of specific social Duties part of the price of citizenship within its Society, but no one can *externally* impose an Obligation on any human being. All Obligations are Self-imposed. If a person makes it an Obligation to do or forbear doing something, then he can in fidelity pledge himself to fulfillment of the matter of Duty that is always combined with an Obligation. However, if he is *coerced* into making such a pledge, he is merely following some Duty-to-himself with regard to his external situation. In this case he is making no actual *moral* commitment to the Community. In effect, his pledge is not made as the action of a citizen but, rather, of an outlaw. Non-consensus democracy essentially predicates at its base a form of amoral and asocial governance. Its basic tenet of rulership is contradictory to the terms and conditions of any real social contract. This point was implicit in the thesis of 19th century philosopher John Stuart Mill in his essay *On Liberty*:

To determine the point at which evils, so formidable to human freedom and advancement can begin, or rather at which they begin to predominate over the benefits attending the collective application of the force of society, under its recognized chiefs, for the removal of obstacles which stand in the way of its well-being, to secure as much of the advantages of centralized power and intelligence as can be had without turning into government channels too great a proportion of the general activity, is one of the most difficult and complicated questions in the art of government. It is, in a great measure, a question of detail, in which many and various considerations must be kept in view and no absolute rule can be laid down. But I believe that the practical principle in which safety resides, the ideal to be kept in view, the standard by which to test all arrangements intended for overcoming the difficulty, may be conveyed in these words: the greatest dissemination of power consistent with efficiency; but the greatest possible centralization of information, and diffusion of it from the center. . . . A government cannot have too much of the kind of activity that does not impede, but aids and stimulates individual exertion and development. The mischief begins when, instead of calling forth the activity and powers of individuals and bodies, it substitutes its own activity for theirs; when, instead of informing, advising, and upon occasion denouncing it makes them work in fetters or bids them stand aside and does their work instead of them. The worth of a State, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it; and a State which postpones the interests of *their* mental expansion and elevation, to a little more of administrative skill, or that semblance of it which practice gives, in the details of business; a State which dwarfs it men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes, will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished [Mill (1859), pp. 96-97].

§ 4.2 The Middle Colonies

Nor can any great thing really be accomplished by large men without the cooperation and help of others in their Society. Outside of New England (again, with the exception of Rhode Island), no other colony was composed of as homogeneous and closely knit association of people as the Puritan monopoly over religion, and the subjugation of government to this religion, made possible. For this reason no State-mandated Massachusetts-like law for public education was politically possible for any of the other colonial governments. Consequently, no institution of public education existed in the non-Puritan colonies. Nonetheless, there were significant enough social differences between the Middle and Southern colonies that two distinct attitudes toward education formed. Alden described the socio-political situation in the following terms:

The colonists were divided from each other in various ways. They were a medley of people from the British Isles, northwestern Europe, and Africa, with a small contingent of Sephardic Jews. . . . Nor were the colonists united in their religion. They sought to find God along all the Protestant pathways; a few of them searched for Him under the guidance of the Papacy; some were Jews; some were heretics. The Congregationalists dominated New England, and their church was established there, except in tiny and anarchic Rhode Island. Their close religious relatives, the Presbyterians, were numerous in the Middle Colonies and in the interior of the Southern ones. Anglicans were plentiful on the Southern Tidewater; their sect was officially favored in the Southern Colonies – Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia – and in four New York counties. Quaker meetinghouses were a common sight in the region about Philadelphia. People implored the Almighty in Dutch reformed churches in New York and New Jersey. Mennonites, Moravians, German Calvinists, and Lutherans made their prayers to Him in Pennsylvania. Here and there scatterings of Baptists and Methodists had made their appearance. . . . Many Americans belonged to no church, partly because it was difficult to secure membership, partly because expulsion for heresy or misconduct were frequent. . . .

The colonists were also geographically divided by clashing economic and social interests. Those who lived to the north of the Susquehanna River chiefly engaged in agriculture, also devoted themselves to commerce, and even, to a degree, to manufacturing. They owned few slaves, and the gap among them between the middle class and the gentry was neither wide nor extremely difficult to cross. The principle of aristocracy was not so firmly established in the Northern Colonies as it was to the southward. Four out of the five American cities were located in the Northern Colonies; urban influence was stronger within them than it was in the South, where there was only one city, Charleston, South Carolina. The South was overwhelmingly agricultural and rural. . . . Although the Southern social structure, except for the position of the Negro, was not rigid, the Southern aristocrats were prouder and more exclusive than their Northern counterparts. . . .

The Americans were divided in still another way, by rivalries and animosities between the colonies. They lived under thirteen separate governments. They had their particularistic prides. They thought of themselves as Rhode Islanders, Jerseymen, Virginians, South Carolinians, and so on. Their governments quarreled over boundary lines; fought for advantages in both internal and external commerce; and debated about fair contributions to their common defense. [Alden (1969), pp. 9-12]

From summaries such as this and from documented letters and other writings by prominent individuals of those times, an estimate of the character of governance in the Middle colonies can be made. Figure 1.6 illustrates this in circumplex form and in comparison to Puritan New England [Wells (2012a), chap. 11; Kiesler (1982)]. As is the case in the previous circumplex model and the one which follows in the next section, this model represents an average taken over the region as a whole. The individual colonies had their specific variances from this average and, of course, all D-PIPOS personality types (figure 1.5) would be present among their people.

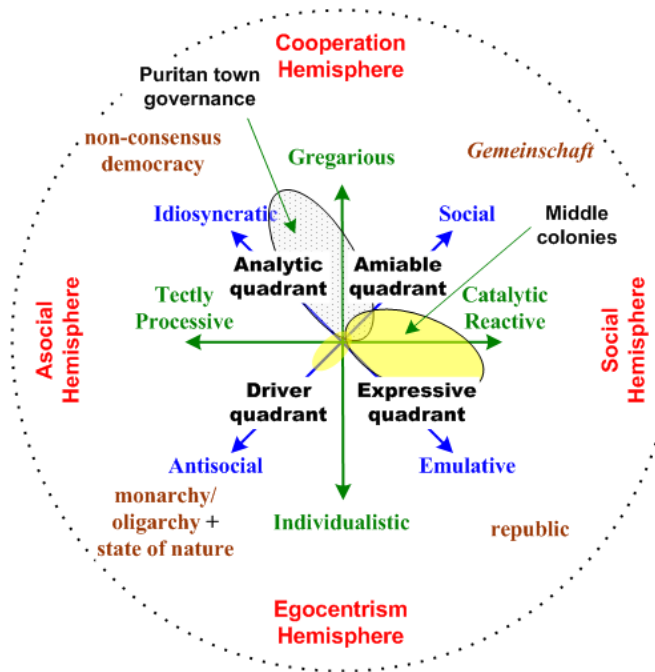


Figure 1.6: Estimated character of social governance in the Middle colonies compared to New England.

One can loosely call the social governance types depicted in figure 1.6 "psycho-sociological personality models" of the regional colonial corporate persons as these appear to an impartial social-natural anthropologist trained in the principles of mental physics [Wells (2009)] and Social Contract theory [Wells (2012a)]. Here I remark that the profiles presented in this treatise are hypothesized approximations based on readily available historical records. A deeper and more rigorous scientific analysis of available data will bring out many empirical refinements to be made to these models. What I present to you here is a "first word," not a "last word," in a social-natural analysis of colonial America. The underlying premise for this empirical modeling is that the people history regards as the significant representatives of the period were those who do in fact faithfully present and represent the views and attitudes of their respective colonial regions. The classifications depicted are based on written and documented expressions of their views and what related historical sources tell us of their relationships with and influences on other historically prominent figures of their time.

The term "corporate personality" is, of course, metaphorical and refers only to broad and more or less typically expressed social behaviors that appear to characterize the specific Society. It is a form of stereotyping and its accuracy can therefore never be more exact than the accuracy of any impartially hypothesized scientific social stereotype. One cannot, for example, look at the profile of the Middle colonies in figure 1.6 and see Benjamin Franklin, although one can see in this profile the strong influence of the large Quaker-influenced Society in eastern Pennsylvania which played a key moderator's role in the eventual formation of the United States. It is not idle self-labeling that the Quakers refer to themselves as The Society of Friends.

The Middle colonies' corporate personality overlaps the Amiable and Expressive quadrants of the D-PIPOS circumplex with a major axis orientation midway between the emulative and catalytic reactive axes. It was a Society that mixed the social and personality styles of the catalytic reactive octant and the expressive octant (figure 1.5). These are technical terms so it is fitting to briefly describe them here. The *catalytic reactive octant* is the octant in the D-PIPOS circumplex describing a personality style balancing between the central Amiable personality style

and the central Expressive personality style. The octant is characterized by operationalization expressions [Kiesler (1982)] conveying an outgoing & extraverted, spontaneous & demonstrative personality style. Personality styles associated with the extreme ranges of the octant are the borderline and dependent personality styles [Sperry (2003)], and the octant represents a blending of these two extremes. The **emulative octant** is the octant in the D-PIPOS circumplex describing the central Expressive personality style. The octant is characterized by operationalization expressions conveying a confident & self-reliant, controlling & influencing personality style. The personality style associated with the center of the octant is the histrionic personality style.

The stereotype corporate person modeled by the Middle colonies circumplex, were it to be classified according to DSM-IV-TR personality style, would be characterized as a borderline personality style with some antisocial features. The borderline style is recognized and described by the following characteristics [Sperry (2003), pg. 83]:

- Tend to experience passionate, focused attachments in all relationships. Nothing in the relationship is taken lightly
- Emotionally active and reactive, they show their feelings and put their hearts into everything
- Tend to be uninhibited, spontaneous, fun-loving, and undaunted by risk
- Tend to be creative, lively, busy, and engaging individuals. They show initiative and can stir others to activity
- Imaginative and curious, they are willing to experience and experiment with other cultures and value systems.

Bear in mind that this profile describes the colonial period and not the Pennsylvania, New York, or New Jersey of post-Industrial Revolution America (which became very different Societies after this took hold in the nineteenth century). The Middle colonies produced a number of notables – some Patriot, some Loyalist – figuring prominently in the crises leading up to the American Revolution. Among these were Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, John Dickinson, Benjamin Rush, Joseph Galloway and James Duane. The Middle colonies also were home to notable immigrants like Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Paine.

Incorporating as it did everything from a feudal-like landed aristocracy class in New York to hardened and somewhat bellicose Scot-Irish frontiersmen in western Pennsylvania, it was never a political possibility in the Middle colonies to establish education as a government function. It was, therefore, almost by default that what education institution did take place was left entirely in the hands of the divers churches. This gave rise to parochial schools and private pay schools. The religious sects never dreamed of appealing to the State for assistance in carrying out their religious education purposes, and the private schools were few, located only in larger towns, and were of generally poor quality. In the parochial schools boys and girls were taught rudimentary reading, counting, and religious instruction. The private schools were set up for those who could afford them and deemed education to be a privilege and a private rather than public good. Many communities made more or less indifferent provisions for education and often allowed their schools to lapse entirely. Individuals who desired for whatever reason to acquire better education were largely left to their own resources to get it.

§ 4.3 The Southern Colonies

The Middle colonies exhibited a degree of class division, but in the Southern colonies there were much sharper class divisions. Figure 1.7 illustrates the corporate personality model of the Southern colonies. The Southern colonies had been established by English settlers who had come to the New World seeking personal gain. The Anglican Church was dominant in the south but, in contrast to New England, was subordinate to the State and its status was as it was in England.

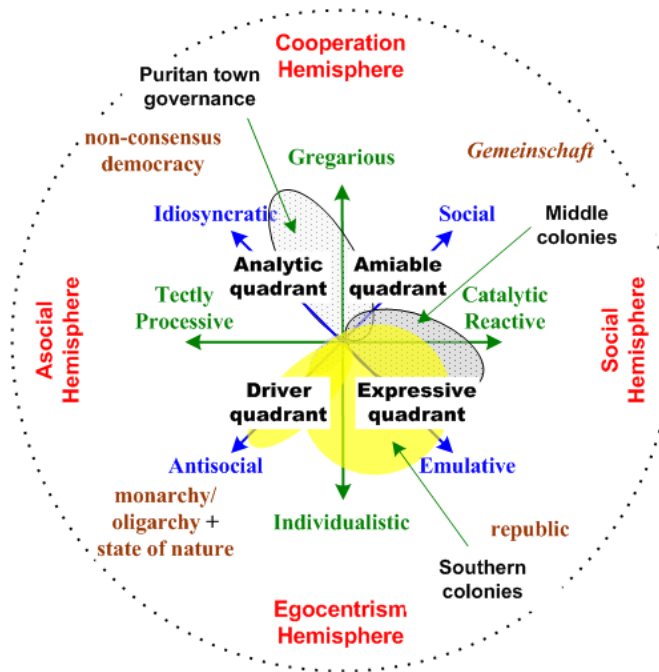


Figure 1.7: Estimated character of social governance in the Southern colonies in comparison to the others.

Class division ran deeper in the south than elsewhere in America. Classes ran from a landed aristocracy (which in most Southern colonies as well as in New York ruled colonial government), white indentured servants and former indentured servants (some of who were former criminals in Great Britain who had been deported to America rather than imprisoned), and slaves. The south developed around large plantations rather than the tight little New England town, and a New England democracy was out of the question in the south. To a significant degree social governance in the Southern colonies developed into an oligarchic system and in some ways took on an almost feudal antisocial character. Those who attained to the class of southern aristocrats were not descended from the British aristocracy. Rather, their aristocratic pretensions were a combined result of state-of-nature capitalism and social emulation more than anything else.

The Southern personality profile was generally the Expressive profile (competitive, dominant, assured, and exhibitionist) spilling over into the Driver quadrant (suspicious/resentful, cold/punitive, antagonistic/harmful). Primarily agricultural, chronically in debt to British creditors, largely illiterate, and more jealously hierarchic than any other part of the Americas, the Southern colonies were opposite to democratic Puritan New England. Political governance was aristocratic-republican, in the sense in which Montesquieu defined it, with features of despotism:

There are three species of government: republican, monarchical, and despotic. . . . [A] republican government is that in which the body, or only a part of the body of the people, is possessed of supreme power . . . When the body of the people is possessed of the supreme power, it is called a democracy. When the supreme power is lodged in the hands of a part of the people, it is then an aristocracy. . . . In an aristocracy supreme power is lodged in the hands of a certain number of persons. These are invested both with the legislative and executive authority; and the rest of the people are, in respect to them, the same as the subjects of a monarchy in regard to the sovereign. [Montesquieu (1748), pp. 8-13]

I think it is probably necessary to point out that Montesquieu's definitions quoted here differ from how the term "republic" was later viewed by the Framers of the U.S. Constitution. When the founders of the American Republic used that term, they were referring to another form derived

from an idea also proposed by Montesquieu that he called a *confederate* republic. James Madison would later write,

If we resort for a criterion to the different principles on which different forms of government are established, we may define a republic to be, or at least may bestow that name on, a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people; and is administered by persons holding their offices during pleasure, for a limited period, or during good behavior. It is *essential* to such a government that it be derived from the great body of society, not from an inconsiderable proportion or a favored class of it; otherwise a handful of tyrannical nobles, exercising their oppressions by a delegation of their powers, might aspire to the rank of republicans, and claim for their government the honorable title of republic. [Hamilton *et al.* (1787-8), no. 39]⁴

The old aphorism "knowledge is power" is true enough in practical social and political circumstances. At no time has it ever been in the interests of a ruling aristocracy to promote public education, although the promotion of training in order to have available a workforce skilled enough to maintain the Society they rule is ancient in origin. Most of what passes for education in the United States today should be called "training" rather than "education." The Southern colonies held firm to the view that education was a private affair not to be meddled in by the State. The Southern colonies (and also by and large New York and New Jersey) followed the lead of Virginia in regard to colonial education legislation. Most of this legislation related to the establishment of colonial colleges (e.g., William and Mary College in VA), to pauper-school rudimentary education for orphans and the children of the poor, and to compulsory apprenticeship training for the children of the poor. This followed very much the typical English model of the time. It was not until 1705 that Virginia reached the point reached in Massachusetts in terms of a Virginia equivalent of the Massachusetts Law of 1642. In the south not even the churches paid a great deal of attention to education. As Cubberley put it,

Virginia thus stands as the clearest example of the third type of colonial attitude toward education, – viz. tutors and private schools for those who could afford them, church charity schools for some of the children of the poorer members, but no State interest in the problem of education except to see that orphans and children of the very poor were properly apprenticed and trained in some useful trade, which in Virginia usually was agricultural. [Cubberley (1919), pg. 22]

This last item does sound rather charitable of the rulers, at least until one reads *Oliver Twist*.

One should not get the impression that class-structure division was exclusive to the Southern colonies. It existed in all colonies. It was the matter of degree that distinguished New England, the Middle colonies, and the Southern colonies. Potter noted,

The nature of the colonial schools was also conditioned by the class structure. Although not all the classes in England were represented in the new land – few titled Englishmen

⁴ There is probably no more misunderstood or misused word in contemporary politics than "republic" unless it be "democracy." This owes mainly to the fact that the word does not refer to a single type of government but, rather, a family of types of government ranging from the American Republic envisioned by Madison to dictatorial oligarchies such as the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There is at present nowhere on earth an American Republic, including the United States, although Madison's "handful of tyrannical nobles claiming for their government the honorable title of republic" are commonplace. The contemporary Republican and Democratic Parties in the United States come to mind here. The contemporary United States is neither a democracy nor an American Republic, although it is a republic in a vulgar connotation of Montesquieu's term. The most common if often misleading label used to name governments of its class by Western civilization today is "democratic republic."

came to the Colonies except as royal governors – a definite class structure developed very early. Slaves and indentured servants were at the bottom; somewhat higher were apprentices and journeyman artisans, small farmers, fishermen, sailors, and clerks; above them were small merchants, master artisans, farmers, and lawyers; at the top were the clergy of the established church, the landed gentry, the big merchants and ship owners, and the governing officials. In New England the clergy immediately assumed great importance, with merchants coming to prominence toward the end of the seventeenth century. While there was some opportunity for social mobility – an apprentice or even an indentured servant might sometimes become a master artisan or merchant or farmer – there was a distinct gap in social and educational opportunities for children of the lower classes and those in the more privileged classes. [Potter (1967), pg. 22]

§ 5. Early Colonial Schools

The earliest colonial schools were merely transplanted by the settlers from the home countries and set up according to European traditions. In addition to mandatory apprenticeship training, which in the colonies had a form effectively unchanged since the time of Hammurabi, there were five main distinguishable types of early schools for young children:

1. the continental parish or parochial school;
2. the charity or pauper school;
3. the dame school;
4. the writing school; and
5. the Latin grammar school (for those who could afford to pay for it).

German sects Pennsylvania and elsewhere, the Dutch in New Amsterdam, and the Swedes along the Delaware set up Lutheran parish schools, usually taught by the local pastor. These schools provided youngsters with instruction in reading, singing, religion, and occasionally in writing. Often the lessons were taught in the native tongues of the settlers. These schools were straightforward copies of their European counterparts and remained unchanged throughout the colonial period. The majority of colonists, however, were from the British Isles and especially from England. These colonists transplanted traditional English schools to the colonies.

The charity (or pauper) school was typical of religious schools outside of Puritan New England. These, along with apprenticeship training for orphans and children of pauper parents, dominated the Middle and Southern colonies. They were predominantly for the religious purpose in instruction. Children learned to read the Bible and were instructed in catechism. Instruction in other subjects was unknown. "Advanced" topics, such as writing, were for the most part to be had only in private pay schools set up in these colonies.

That made, by default, the three types of schools set up in New England the most historically important schools for later American models. The dame school, as the name implies, was taught by a neighborhood woman, often a widow, who volunteered to do so in order to make a few pennies worth of extra money from tuition charged to the families and whatever local financial support the town had decided to provide. Johnson quotes the English poet George Crabbe for a description of the dame school as it existed in England and in the New England colonies:

... a deaf, poor, patient widow sits
And awes some thirty infants as she knits;
Infants of humble, busy wives who pay
Some trifling price for freedom through the day.
At this good matron's hut the children meet,
Who thus becomes the mother of the street.
Her room is small, they cannot widely stray,

Her threshold high, they cannot run away.
With band of yarn she keeps offenders in,
And to her gown the sturdiest rogue can pin. [Johnson (1904), pg. 25]

The school dame usually knitted, sewed, or worked her spinning wheel as she listened to the smaller pupils recite their letters and the older ones read and spell from their primers. It was not uncommon that these tailored products of her coincident labor were sold and provided the dame with the main source of her income. Pupils usually began attending dame school at the age of three or four years. Such an early start was common because the child mortality rate was high and this impressed the Puritans with the need for children to read at as early an age as possible so that they might be saved according to the Calvinist doctrine [Potter (1967), pg. 25].

The dame schools were often conducted only during the warmer weather seasons of the year and pupils generally received less than two or three years of education in them. For most New Englanders this was the only education they ever received, excluding their apprenticeship training. Most dames considered children to be "naturally depraved" and did not hesitate to "instill virtue" by various punitive means. Johnson provides this interesting description of dame school discipline:

In the dame schools premiums of gingerbread were now and then bestowed for good behavior, but these were not a chief reliance in the cultivation of virtue. Most dames had great faith in a thimble tapped sharply on the delinquents' craniums. Whisperers were sometimes compelled to silence by having inserted in their mouths a short stick, like the bit of a bridle, with strings at the ends which could be tied to the back of the head. There were schools where transgressors were made to stand on the benches and wear dunce caps, or huge leather spectacles; or they might have pinned to their persons large labels lettered, "Lying Ananias," or "Idle Boy," or whatever the teacher thought was appropriate to the case. Occasionally a child rebelled when punished and attempted revenge. Thus, in a Boston dame school, where the teacher had a habit of pinning naughty pupils to the cushion of her chair, one rogue, while fastened in this way, contrived to pin the dame's gown to the same article. When she rose she carried cushion and boy with her, to the great consternation of all concerned. [Johnson (1904), pp. 44-45]

Discipline by corporal punishment, by the way, was commonly practiced at all schools and at all levels (including college) and could range all the way from the thimbles and shaming of the dame school to the use of whips and canes. In some schools whipping posts were set up in the schoolroom. In this, colonial schools were carrying on a tradition that was thousands of years old.

Instruction in writing was optional and outside of New England was carried out in a separate school and generally taught by men. It was for boys who planned to go on to attend "secondary" education in the Latin grammar schools. In New England, local exigencies generally forced the writing school to be combined with the dame school, when a dame who knew how to write was available and willing, or was set up as a sort of preparatory school to the Latin grammar school and was taught by an assistant called the "usher." The writing school taught the rudiments of writing, "reckoning" (arithmetic) and the simplest elements of merchants' accounts. A writing teacher was generally known as a "scrivener" and an arithmetic teacher as an "arithmeticker." In New England, where conditions forced the dame school and the writing school to be combined, the result was what became known as a 3-Rs school – "Readin', 'Ritin, and 'Rithmetic." This was the birthplace of the later American elementary school [Cubberley (1919), pg. 26]. Pupils entered writing school typically at age seven (for boys) or older (for girls). In Boston the writing school curriculum also included spelling and catechism [Potter (1967), pg. 27]. Being able to read was a prerequisite for admission to writing school.

Only a minority of colonials attended a writing school. In part this was because most colonists

saw no need to be able to write, but a larger part of the reason writing school was optional had to do with the cost and time consumed in obtaining writing supplies. Paper was expensive and hard to come by. Quill pens were the only practical writing instruments available and ink had to be locally manufactured. Johnson supplies this description:

The pens were goose-quills, and one of the schoolmaster's most essential accomplishments was the ability to make and mend these pens. Even if he was very expert in the art, the making and repairing for a large school consumed a good deal of time. Each family was its own ink manufacturer. The usual process was to dissolve ink-powder; but many of the country folk gathered the bark of swamp-maple, boiled it in an iron kettle to give it a more perfect black color, and when the decoction was thick added copperas. These home-made inks were often weak and pallid, and sometimes they dried up. Again they were spoiled with grease that got into the inkstands at the schoolhouse; for when there were evening meetings in the school buildings it came handy to use the inkstands as candle-sticks.

The paper bought for school purposes was rough and dark. Its cost, and the scarcity of money, led the scholars to use it sparingly, and in the newer and poorer communities children frequently ciphered on birch bark. For the copy and sum books each sheet was folded to make four leaves or eight pages. Then enough of these folds were slipped within each other to form a book of the desired thickness. Lastly a cover of coarse brown wrapping-paper, or possibly of wall-paper, was cut out, and the whole was carefully sewed into shape. In preparation for writing, the children ruled the paper themselves with lead plummets. [Johnson (1904), pp. 38-40]

Textbooks were few and simple. Prior to 1690 the textbooks found in the dame school were the *Hornbook* (which was actually just one sheet of paper pasted on a board; it contained the alphabet and something to use as a reading primer, often the Lord's Prayer), the *Catechism*, and the Bible. In 1690 *The New England Primer* was published and it rapidly replaced the *Hornbook* in every colony except those schools under the control of the Anglican Church. The *Psalter*, the *Testament* and the Bible were its natural continuation. Other subjects, such as writing or arithmetic, usually had no textbooks at all. Cubberley notes,

A textbook was seldom used in teaching arithmetic by the colonial schoolmasters. The study itself was common but not universal. . . . The subject was regarded as one of much difficulty, and one in which few teachers were competent to give instruction, or few pupils competent to understand. To possess a reputation as an "arithmeticker" was an important recommendation for a teacher, while for a pupil to be able to do sums in arithmetic was a matter of much pride to parents. . . .

The teacher might or might not possess an arithmetic [book] of his own, but the instruction to pupils was dictated and copied instruction. Each pupil made his own written book of rules and solved problems, and most pupils never saw a printed arithmetic. It was not until about the middle of the eighteenth century that printed arithmetics came into use, and then only in the larger towns.

Writing, similarly, was taught by dictation and practice, and the art of the "scrivener," as the writing master was called, was very elaborate and involved much drill and many flourishes. The difficulty of mastering the art, its lack of practical value to most children, the high cost of paper, and the necessity usually for special lessons, all tended alike to make writing a much less commonly known art than reading. [Cubberley (1919), pp. 32-3]

The general level of reading literacy was higher in New England than in the other colonies. Potter tells us,

A survey of legal records of early New England reveals a fairly high literacy rate, at least

as judged by the number of individuals who were able to sign their names to deeds, marriage registers, and similar documents as contrasted with those who signed by mark. By this test of literacy, studies have discovered that as high as 90 percent of the men and between 40 and 65 percent of the women could write their names. Since writing was a skill taught after the child had learned how to read, these figures indicate that most New England children received at least a rudimentary education. This might lead historians to question whether compulsory attendance laws are as effective as other incentives in securing universal education. The religious and, later, commercial demands for literacy may have been more influential in promoting Puritan education than any form of compulsory attendance law could have been. In the twentieth century, when compulsory attendance laws became general, it again appeared to be economic and social forces, rather than legal provisions, that were most effective in promoting universal education. [Potter (1967), pg. 28]

The last point Potter makes here is rather under-developed inasmuch as it was the religious purpose that led Puritan lawmakers to pass compulsory education laws in the first place. Even so, the question he raises here does pertain to some topics that are going to come up in the Critique later on. The key point I wish to bring out here is that some societal factor or factors always underlies the institution of education. Merely the passage of laws, in and of itself, does little or nothing to actually promote literacy or education because, as we shall see a little further on, unpopular laws can be and are broken and ignored when the citizens of a Community do not agree with them. Such laws are usually violations of the social contract and therefore *unjust* laws.

In phrasing his argument as he does, Potter seems to be addressing those people who tend to presume that laws in and of themselves cause things to happen. This is an attitude not uncommon among people in the Analytic and Driver social styles quadrants (figure 1.7), i.e. the asocial hemisphere of social governance, and one that rarely works in practice. Once when I was a young manager responsible for a tight-deadline project, one of my coworkers came to me after one of my meetings to educate me with a bit of well-deserved benevolent criticism, saying to me, "A date is not a plan." Likewise, a law is not an institution.

The Latin grammar school was the highest form of local schooling available in those towns where one was set up. It was a necessary stepping stone for any boy aspiring to become – or, as in Benjamin Franklin's case, expected by his parents to become – a minister. Generally the most able teachers in the colonies were found in the Latin grammar schools. Cubberley wrote,

By this was meant a school for beginners in Latin, still the sacred language of religion and learning, and upon the study of which the main energy of the schools was spent. The school took the boy from the dame school at the age of seven or eight, and prepared him for entrance to college at fifteen or thereabout, the boy in the meantime having learned to read, write, make his own quill pens, and having mastered sufficient Latin to enter the college of the colony. He was usually ignorant of numbers, and was usually unable to write English with any degree of fluency or accuracy. He was, however, well schooled in the Latin tongue, and usually in elements of Greek as well. . . .

The Latin grammar school attained its greatest development in New England, where such schools had been required by the law of 1647, and where the attitude toward classical study was distinctly more friendly than in the colonies to the southward. Latin grammar schools were, however, found here and there in a few large towns of the middle and southern colonies, though in these the commercial demands early made themselves felt, and the tendency in the higher schools was toward the introduction of more practical studies, such as merchants' accounts, navigation, surveying, and the higher mathematics. [Cubberley (1919), pp. 26-28]

With the exception of the schools in Boston, Latin grammar schools charged tuition, which

usually put them out of reach of all but the wealthier families. Textbooks often included J.A. Comenius's *Visible World*, Æsop, Eutropius, *The Colloquies of Corderius*, and, for the older boys, Caesar, Ovid, Virgil, and Cicero [Johnson (1904), pp. 16-18].

§ 6. Colonial Colleges

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, three colleges had been established in the colonies: Harvard College in Massachusetts (1636); William and Mary in Virginia (1693); and Yale College in Connecticut (1701). Without exception, these were established for the purpose of training ministers. It is estimated that about one in every 200 colonial immigrants was college educated, and the chief concern of the churches that established these colleges was to ensure that they would have a renewable source of new ministers over time. All of these institutes were small. For the first fifty years of its existence, attendance at Harvard rarely exceeded twenty students and the President of Harvard did all the teaching [Cubberley (1919), pg. 201]. The course of study was four years in length and all students studied the same subjects. The first three years consisted of Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Freshmen also studied arithmetic, sophomores studied algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, and juniors studied natural science. All students were trained in oratory and some general history. The senior year was spent studying ethics, philosophy, and Christian evidences.

§ 7. Private Venture Schooling

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Middle and Southern colonies had established, for those who could afford it, private institutions of schooling. In the Middle colonies these tended to take the form of night schools taught by private-enterprise schoolmasters who advertised to teach practical subjects or, in some cases, represented to prospective customers that they offered the equivalent of a college education. Then as now, the actual quality of private-sector schooling was very irregular and their advertisements were sometimes as fraudulent as those we find today.

Middle colony night schools drew many of their students from apprentices and indentured servants. In New York there was an apprenticeship indenture law specifying that an apprentice was to have "the privilege of going to the evening school." This suggests that their students worked during the day and sought to better their social status and economic condition by going to night school in their free hours. In amended form, this practice survives today.

In the Southern colonies private-venture education was by and large available only to the aristocracy. The establishment of public schooling was strongly opposed by this class, who saw public education as a threat to their own position and prestige. In 1671 Sir William Berkeley, the Governor of Virginia, wrote to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantation,

"The same course [of instructing the people] that is taken in England out of towns [was being taken in Virginia]; every man according to his ability instructing his children. . . . But I thank God, *there are no free schools nor printing*, and I hope we shall not have these [for a] hundred years, for *learning* has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and *printing* has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both." [Potter (1967), pg. 81]

The plantation aristocracy sought to educate their own children primarily by hiring private tutors or sending their sons to private boarding schools. In some cases sons might be sent to schools or colleges in the Northern colonies or back in England. Tutors were often indentured servants or graduates from the colleges in the Middle or New England colonies. They lived and had their schoolrooms in outbuildings located some distance away from the plantation house.

§ 8. Remarks

I begin the Critique of this early period in chapter two. What I want to overview in summary here are the following three points. First, we can see that the institution of education in the early colonies was not that of a single Society but, rather, there were multiple and independent institutions set up by the divers mini-Communities that made up the aggregate of colonial America as a whole. Only in one case, Puritan New England, was education a State function. However, in all cases the institutions served mini-Community purposes, the most common form of mini-Community served being that of a particular local religious sect. Only in the case of the plantation aristocracy in the Southern colonies and the private-venture night schools of the Middle colonies was education regarded as a private good. In the majority, the institution of education was regarded as a public good serving specific mini-Community ends and purposes. Only in Puritan New England was educational instruction to any degree public educational instruction, and then only after the passage of the Massachusetts law of 1647.

Second, the scope of this education was extremely limited. Its primary function was to provide the minimal skills deemed necessary to ensure the continuation of the particular church. Practical education – that is, the principal education received by the great majority of the colonists – was based on the apprenticeship system. In a number of cases this served a familial mini-Community, e.g., the small family farms. On the other hand, orphans and children of the indigent were bound over to masters as indentured servants. Often this was not a harsh form of slavery. The apprentice lived with his master's family, receiving food and shelter. On the other hand, English common law held, "If one beats a child until it bleeds, then it will remember the words of its master. But if one beats it to death then the law applies" [Ashby (1997), pp. 6-7]. Benjamin Franklin, who was indentured as an apprentice to his older brother, wrote,

Tho' a Brother, he considered himself as my Master, & me as his Apprentice; and accordingly expected the same Services from me as he would from another; while I thought he demean'd me too much in some of what he requir'd of me, who from a Brother expected more Indulgence. Our disputes were often brought before our Father, and I fancy I was either generally in the right, or else a better Pleader, because the Judgment was generally in my favor. But my Brother was passionate & had often beaten me, which I took extremely amiss; and thinking my Apprenticeship very tedious, I was continuously wishing for some Opportunity of shortening it, which at length offered in a manner unexpected. [Franklin (1771), pp. 18-19]

Franklin's circumstance wasn't harsh, but there was next to no legal protection for apprentices, especially those bound over for indenture or placed in a workhouse by laws governing mandatory apprenticeship for orphans and pauper children. In 1660, orphan John Ward was freed from one master after 8 years because the injuries he had suffered were so gruesome that a court recorded, "the people crieth shame thereat" [Ashby (1997), pg. 10]. He was bound over to a new master for 3 more years. One can get a feel for what an orphan could face from Dickens:

As Mr. Gamfield did happen to labor under the slight imputation of having bruised three or four boys to death already, it occurred to him that the [orphan] board had, perhaps, in some unaccountable freak, taken it into their heads that this extraneous circumstance ought to influence their proceedings. It was very unlike their general mode of doing business, if they had; but still, as he had no particular wish to revive the rumor, he twisted his cap and walked slowly from the table.

"So you won't let me have him, gen'lmen?" said Mr. Gamfield, pausing near the door.

"No," replied Mr. Limbkins; "at least, as it's a nasty business, we think you ought to take something less than the premium we offered."

Mr. Gamfield's countenance brightened, as, with a quick step, he returned to the table and said, "What'll you give, gen'lmen? Come, don't be too hard on a poor man. What'll you give?"

"I should say three pounds ten was plenty," said Mr. Limbkins.

"Ten schillings too much," said the gentleman in the white waistcoat.

"Come!" said Gamfield; "say four pound, gen'lmen. Say four pound and you've got rid of him for good and all. There!"

"Three pound ten," repeated Mr. Limbkins, firmly.

"Come! I'll split the difference, gen'lmen," urged Gamfield. "Three pound fifteen."

"Not a farthing more," was the firm reply of Mr. Limbkins.

"You're desperate hard upon me, gen'lmen," said Gamfield, wavering.

"Pooh! pooh! nonsense!" said the gentleman in the white waistcoat. "He'd be cheap with nothing at all as a premium. Take him, you silly fellow! He's just the boy for you. He wants the stick, now and then: it'll do him good; and his board needn't come very expensive, for he hasn't been overfed since he was born. Ha! ha! ha!"

Mr. Gamfield gave an arch look at the faces around the table, and, observing a smile on all of them, gradually broke into a smile himself. The bargain was made. Mr. Bumble was at once instructed that Oliver Twist and his indentures were to be conveyed before the magistrate, for his signature and approval, that very afternoon.

In pursuance of this determination, little Oliver, to his excessive astonishment, was released from bondage and ordered to put himself into a clean shirt. He had hardly achieved this very unusual gymnastic performance when Mr. Bumble brought him, with his own hands, a basin of gruel, and the holiday allowance of two ounces and a quarter of bread. At this tremendous sight, Oliver began to cry very piteously, thinking, not unnaturally, that the board must have determined to kill him for some useful purpose, or they never would have begun to fatten him up in that way.

"Don't make your eyes red, Oliver, but eat your food and be thankful," said Mr. Bumble, in a tone of impressive pomposity. "You're a going to be made a 'prentice of Oliver."

"A 'prentice, sir!" said the child, trembling. . . . the tears rolled down the poor child's face, and he sobbed bitterly. [Dickens (1837-39), pp. 44-45]

Fiction? Yes, of course. And as unlikely to be true to life as, say, an abusive foster home and a negligent child services agency are today:

Indentured children were a familiar sight in the colonies, but their circumstances were often shrouded in mystery, especially in the early seventeenth century. Few details existed, for example, regarding the children who reportedly had been kidnapped, or "spirited," from England to the colonies. In 1618 officials rounded up one hundred impoverished, vagrant children from the streets of London and sent them as apprentices to Virginia. Some of the youths died en route. When the Virginia Company told the king that a number of the youths had resisted the move, the English Privy Council gave permission to find more of them and "to imprison, punish, and dispose any of those children" in order to ship them to Virginia as quickly and conveniently as possible. During the next several decades, thousands of homeless, poor, and orphaned children, many without indentures, journeyed to the colonies. "There are many ships going to Virginia," read one report, "and with them fourteen or fifteen hundred children w'ch they have gathered up in divers places." . . .

While indenture provided a means by which to bring youths from England to the colonies, it also helped to solve problems within the colonies regarding poor, neglected, and orphaned children. And those problems were substantial, particularly in the

Chesapeake Bay region, where staggering death rates made the challenge of child dependency especially urgent. . . . Between 1650 and 1689 in Middlesex County, Virginia, virtually half of the children by age 9, and 61 percent by age 13, had lost one or both parents. By age 13, 20 percent were full orphans. . . .

Although indenture generally protected dependent children from homelessness and vagrancy, it was a faulty system nonetheless. For the most part it did not serve small children well. . . . Although indenture hardly suited small children, it was a chancy proposition for other youngsters as well because, at bottom, it was always a business deal. In exchange for support, the child was supposed to work. Some masters were kindly and even affectionate, but others were terribly cruel. . . . In 1655 in Plymouth, Massachusetts, 12-year-old John Walker paid with his life. When the boy, already suffering from inadequate care, fell while carrying a heavy log, his master gave him yet another thrashing. Several days later, after viewing Walker's "blackish and blue" corpse, "the skin broken in divers places" and several toes frozen, a jury convicted the master of manslaughter. [Ashby (1997), pp. 8-10].

The third point, and the last I wish to make before beginning the Critique of this period, is that this modest system of minimal education had, before the end of the Revolutionary War, broken down. Even the tight system of Puritan New England, and the religion-dominated Society that sponsored it, had suffered breakdown by the end of the seventeenth century. It was an unstable system, and we must explore the causes of this instability.

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