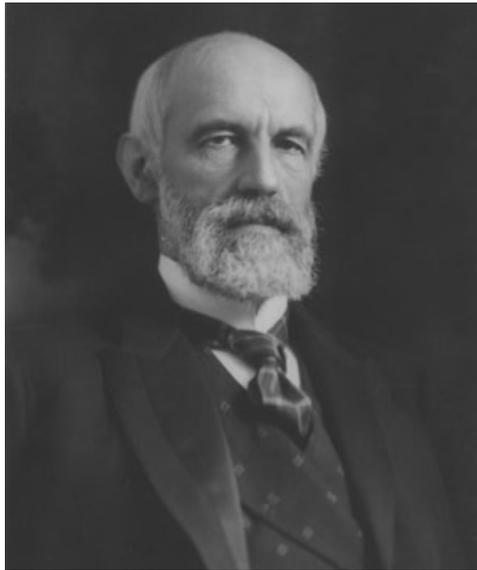


G. Stanley Hall and an American Social Darwinist Pedagogy: His Progressive Educational Ideas on Gender and Race

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President G. Stanley Hall hung only a portrait of Ralph Waldo Emerson in his office at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. The philosopher embodied Hall's most cherished mid-nineteenth century ideas that comprised part of his intellectual worldview. In the 1840s, Emerson reflected on his transcendental concepts of the common mind and instinct, which held all innate human knowledge and behavioral patterns, in his *Essays*:

There is one mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same . . . In every man's mind, some images, words, and facts remain, without effort on his part to imprint them, which others forget, and afterwards these illustrate to him important laws. All our progress is an unfolding, like the vegetable bud. You have first an instinct, then an opinion, then a knowledge, as the plant has a root, bud, and fruit. Trust the instinct to the end, though you can render no reason.¹

Later, Hall would believe that the human metaphysical psyche, driven by primordial instinct, offered an evolutionary font from which educational activities enabled individuals to discern their destinies and to discover their abilities. His intellectual journey began at Williams College. As an undergraduate, Hall had talked with Emerson, who had been forced to give an address in the town rather than at his college. This personal meeting with "the greatest living mind" in America allowed Hall to imbibe this radical "ultra-Unitarianism" directly, which the religious-oriented Williams faculty considered to be a very dangerous thing.² Contrarily, Hall found Emerson's provocative ideas intellectually intoxicating.

Emerson's idea of nature reflected an inchoate transcendental theory of evolution that buttressed Hall's then developing religious ideas and later his scientific worldview.³ Emerson believed persons used their intelligence to follow "intuition and insight" in a rigorous search for truth, thereby lifting one's nature to higher levels.⁴ He sought "a science that was spiritual and a religious faith that was thoroughly grounded in

¹Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Essays, Volumes. 1–2* (New York: Nelson, 1915), 11, 240. These volumes were published in 1841 and 1844, respectively.

²G. Stanley Hall, *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist* (New York: Appleton, 1924), 162–63; Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2001), 18–20.

³John Fentress Gardner, *American Heralds of the Spirit: Emerson, Whitman, and Melville* (Hudson, NY: Lindisfarne, 1992), 42–50; Jon H. Roberts, *Darwinism and the Divine in America: Protestant Intellectuals and Organic Evolution, 1859–1900* (Madison: University Press of Wisconsin, 1988); Timothy L. Smith, "Progressivism in American Education, 1880–1900," *Harvard Educational Review* 31, no. 2 (1961): 168–93.

⁴Gardner, *American Heralds of the Spirit*, 204–10; Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, 3rd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1995), 296–98; David W. Noble's *The Progressive Mind, 1890–1917* (Chicago, IL: Rand McNally, 1970), 65 points to a parallelism in the lives of Hall, Dewey, and the progressive sociologist John

science.”⁵ This philosophical romanticism pervaded American intellectual and literary culture and produced a trove of ideas and a method for Hall’s later research and writings. The future professor and president cherished these ideas throughout his life, even after their popularity and academic currency faded. Emerson’s ideas—one of Hall’s first intellectual “crazes,” as he would say—comforted him during his future scholarly and career trials.⁶

Three other nineteenth-century intellectual giants contributed to Hall’s developing Social Darwinist worldview. He was a youth when Charles Darwin published *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* in 1859.⁷ The idea of evolution became one of his central tenets along with the philosophies of other Eastern Protestant intellectuals.⁸ Related German ideas further augmented it. Ernest Haeckel’s theory of recapitulation seemed to Hall a scientific rendering of both Emerson’s and Darwin’s ideas. Haeckel believed an organism repeated the entire sequence of its species development in its actual life!⁹ The

H. Cooley. Their strict fathers pushed all three to seek solace in Emerson’s thought with its themes of the powerful force of individualism. Note Dewey’s indebtedness to Emerson in his 1903 essay, “Ralph Waldo Emerson”, in *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, ed. John J. McDermott (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 24–31.

⁵Gardner, *American Heralds of the Spirit*, 237.

⁶Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, American Historical Association Commission on the Social Sciences (New York: Scribner’s Sons, 1935; reprint, Paterson, NJ: Pageant, 1959), 402–5. Curti explored Hall’s romanticism, yet without referencing its significant link to Emerson. This transcendentalist romanticism “attempted to preserve the spiritual and moral values of the Calvinists whilst rejecting their dogmas.” Emerson’s thought was derived from his exposure to German Idealism and the Romantic movement, as H. O. Mounce notes in his book, *The Two Pragmatisms: From Peirce to Rorty* (London: Routledge, 1997). Hall’s early struggle to rid himself of his Calvinistic Congregational upbringing and piety as well as his embrace of all things Germanic reflected an earlier adoption of Emerson’s thought; Dorothy Ross, *G. Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 8–14. As one of his first intellectual crazes, it preoccupied his growing intellect, see Hall, *Life and Confessions*, 367–68; Lorine Pruette, *G. Stanley Hall: A Biography of a Mind*, introduction by Carl Van Doren (New York: Appleton, 1926), 3.

⁷Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection* (New York: Murray, 1859).

⁸Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, rev. ed. (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1965), 3–12, 32; Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, 89–94; Roberts, *Darwinism and the Divine*, 233–42; Ronald L. Numbers, *Darwinism Comes to America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), chap. 1; Walter Humes, “Evolution and Educational Theory in the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Wider Domain of Evolutionary Thought, Volume 2*, ed. David Oldroyd and Ian Langham, (London: Reidel, 1983), chap. 1; William F. Pinar, William M. Reynolds, Patrick Slattery, and Peter M. Taubman, *Understanding Curriculum: An Introduction to the Study of Historical and Contemporary Curriculum Discourses*, Volume 17 (New York: Lang, 1996), 88–90.

⁹Curti described this idea the best in *Social Ideas of American Educators*, 401. The phrase, “ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny,” meant that “during the course of embryological development (ontogenesis), an organism repeats the entire developmental sequence through which its species had evolved (phylogenesis).” See also Deborah M. Licht, “Hall, Granville Stanley (1946–1924),” in *Philosophy of Education: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Joseph J. Chambliss (New York: Garland, 1996), 245–47, especially 245.

fourth figure in Hall's intellectual pantheon was the popular philosopher and educator, Herbert Spencer, who was also a proponent of recapitulation. Spencer's books, *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* and *System of Philosophy on the Basis of the Doctrine of Evolution*, claimed that consciousness was part of this human evolutionary legacy.¹⁰ They became Hall's intellectual bibles.

Two questions form the basis for this article: How did these scholars provoke new philosophical and scientific questions for Hall, whose answers formed his evolutionist *weltanschauung*?¹¹ How did this stance produce a new American approach to education, as may be understood in his ideas of gender and race?

This article explores the influence of evolutionary ideas, especially Social Darwinism, on G. Stanley Hall's (1844–1924) educational ideas and major writings on gender and race. Hall formed these progressive ideas as he developed an American Social Darwinist pedagogy, embedded in his efforts to create the discipline of psychology, the science of education, and the study of educational psychology. They held a critical place in the development of twentieth-century American disciplinary knowledge and professional academic associations. Hall played significant roles in launching American pedagogical study as the first professor of psychology and pedagogics at Johns Hopkins University, in leading the American child-study movement and the call for the child-centered school, in founding the American Psychological Association as its first and thirty-second president, in launching the *American Journal of Psychology* and later the educational research journal *Pedagogical Seminary*, and in leading research-oriented Clark University as its first president until 1920. Although these major accomplishments have been widely acknowledged, the underlying theoretical rationale for Hall's work has not been thoroughly researched.¹² Hall's

¹⁰Herbert Spencer, *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* (New York: Appletons, 1883), originally published in two volumes in 1854 and 1859, respectively; idem, *System of Philosophy on the Basis of the Doctrine of Evolution* (New York: Appletons, 1860); Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States*, American Academic Freedom Project (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), chap. 7, particularly 357–63; Ellen Frankel Paul, "Herbert Spencer: The Historicist as a Failed Prophet," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44, no. 4 (1983): 619–38; Humes, "Evolution and the Educational Theory, 30–33.

¹¹Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004), 283 noted Hall's particular *weltanschauung*, a comprehensive synthetic intellectual worldview, but did not discuss it further. As it was noted, "G. Stanley Hall, Marietta Johnson, and Stanwood Cobb shared certain key ideas and a recognizable *weltanschauung*." For discussion on worldview, see David K. Naugle, *Worldview: The History of a Concept* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002); James W. Sire, *Naming the Elephant: Worldview as a Concept* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2004).

¹²Early educational literature pointed to Hall's pioneering work. His success in linking child-study to psychology can be understood in a retrospective view from George M. Stratton, "Child-Study and Psychology," *Educational Review* 14 (September 1897):

developmental educational ideas and institutional practices came from a new evolutionist rationale, especially regarding women and persons

132–39. Issac L. Kandel in his edited work, *Twenty-Five Years of American Educators: Collected Essays by Former Students of Paul Monroe* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), 59, later heralded Hall's reform work in child study for "putting the study of education on a scientific basis." One of Hall's doctoral students, Frederick Eby, who became professor of education at the University of Texas, placed his mentor's work within the larger history of education and called him one of the four major leaders of educational reform, see Frederick Eby and Charles Finn Arrowood, *The Development of Modern Education: In Theory, Organization, and Practice* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1934), 840–55. Greater praise came from Merle Curti's *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (1935) who noted his research on the individual child and its importance for redirecting all things in the school to assist her or his "particular stage of development." Overall, Curti believed that "whatever the final fate of his leading theories," particularly the role of evolution in education, Hall had opened "up new fields for study" (see pages 416, 425). Lawrence Cremin in *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Vintage, 1961) gave Hall a central role in progressive education with his advocacy for the child-centered school where curriculum was created with a scientific orientation to student development. Cremin believed Hall's work was "Copernican" in allowing all types of activities that furthered the child's learning and development: "American schools were never quite the same again." Hall's laissez-faire evolutionary pedagogy had "enormous appeal," and, although later discredited, shifted the focus of teaching to the student (see pp. 102–4). It paved the way for Dewey and others to focus on the child's experiences and social life as a curricular foundation. Paul Boyer also points to Hall's extensive influence on the developing idea of kindergarten education and the growth of public playgrounds as a way for children to go through their early recapitulation stages, see his *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 245–51. Charles E. Strickland and Charles Burgess in their "G. Stanley Hall: Prophet of Naturalism" provided one of the more helpful monograph studies of Hall's natural education with a critical commentary and his writings in their edited book, *Health, Growth, and Heredity*, Classics in Education, no. 23 (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965). They called for a more in-depth assessment. These accolades led Dorothy Ross to write her brilliant psychologically oriented Hall biography (1972). Other works have focused on Hall's higher education achievements. Hugh Hawkins's *Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1960), a masterful and award-winning early history of this research university, and William A. Koelsch's *Clark University, 1887-1987: A Narrative History* (Worcester, MA: Clark University Press, 1987), a complete institutional history, provide more seasoned understandings of university politics and Hall's difficulties than Ross was able to acknowledge in her biography. Each work offered new insights into Hall's complex activities at these institutions, yet left more systematic treatments of his theoretical educational pioneering ideas underdeveloped. More recent research presented at the 1992 centennial of the American Psychological Association in Washington, DC and elsewhere brought forth a critical assessment of Hall's contributions in founding the association, as can be seen in Michael M. Sokal, "Origins and Early Years of the American Psychological Association, 1890-1906," *American Psychologist* 47, no. 2 (1992): 111–22, as well as new calls for Hall's reappraisal, see Sheldon H. White, "G. Stanley Hall: From Philosophy to Developmental Psychology," *Developmental Psychology* 28, no. 1 (1992): 25–34; idem, "Child Study at Clark University, 1894-1904," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 26, no. 2 (1990): 131–50; Philip J. Pauly, "G. Stanley Hall and His Successors: A History of the First Half-Century of Psychology at Johns Hopkins," in *One Hundred Years of Psychological Research in America: G. Stanley Hall and the Johns Hopkins Tradition*, ed. Steward H. Hulse and Bert F. Green, Jr. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986): 21–32; Lester F. Goodchild, "G. Stanley Hall's Psychological Avocation: Founding the Study of Higher Education," a research paper presented at 1992 American Psychological Association centennial meeting. Recently, Ellen Condliffe Lagemann in her comprehensive, "An Elusive Science: The Troubling

of color. They brought condemnation and outrage from some educated groups of his day,¹³ while receiving praise, acceptance, and concurrence from others. From contemporary postmodern intellectual, moral, and multicultural points of view, his Darwinian and Spencerian ideas may strike us—using the 1966 Clint Eastwood movie title—as good, bad, and ugly. Moreover, his institutional actions at Clark often confounded his public declarations and have been largely unexplored and underappreciated.¹⁴ Similar seeming paradoxes pervaded Hall's academic life. Yet, understanding this rationale explains his lifelong bias against, what he called, "identical coeducation" in secondary education. It also underlies his significant institutional efforts in promoting the first graduate and doctoral education in psychology and education for highly talented women, African Americans, Asians, and Jews in the United States. Between 1891 and 1916, under Hall's direction, Clark University granted 174 PhDs—eighty-eight in psychology and twenty-two in education—to members of these underrepresented groups.¹⁵ An explication of this evolutionist worldview thus provides the rationale for many of these seeming paradoxes and testifies to his delight in being called the "Darwin of the mind."¹⁶

Moreover, this exposition posits a crucial evolutionist foundation for the new emerging American science of education and its progressive educators, particularly Hall and his graduate student at Johns Hopkins, John Dewey. Hall and Dewey shifted the focus of schooling to the individual developmental needs of the child and his or her social needs, respectively. One of their foundational concepts centered on the

History of Educational Research (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 10, 23–35 points to Hall's major contributions to the beginnings of education.

¹³Eric Bredo, "The Darwinian Center to the Vision of William James," in *William James and Education*, ed. Jim Garrison, Ronald Podeschi, and Eric Bredo (New York: Teacher College Press, 2002), 1–26; David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Public Schools* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 146–64; Edward L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology*, 2nd ed. (New York: Lemke and Buechner, 1913).

¹⁴One of the few works to do so is Lesley A. Diehl, "The Paradox of G. Stanley Hall: Foe of Coeducation and Educator of Women," in *A History of Psychology: Original Sources and Contemporary Research*, ed. Ludy T. Benjamin, Jr., 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997), 266–82; also see Koelsch, *Clark University*, 72–74 and Lester F. Goodchild, "G. Stanley Hall and the Study of Higher Education," *The Review of Higher Education* 20, no. 1 (1996): 69–99, especially 88–93.

¹⁵Lester F. Goodchild and Margaret M. Miller, "The American Doctorate and Dissertation: Six Developmental Stages," in *Rethinking the Dissertation Process: Tackling Personal and Institutional Obstacles*, ed. Lester F. Goodchild, Kathy E. Green, Elinor L. Katz, and Raymond C. Kluever (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1997), 17–32, particularly 25–26; Geraldine Jonçich Clifford and James W. Guthrie, *Ed School: A Brief for Professional Education* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 148–53, 271.

¹⁶G. Stanley Hall, "Evolution and Psychology: Darwin's Contribution to Psychology," in American Association for the Advancement of Science, ed., *Fifty Years of Darwinism: Modern Aspects of Evolution* (New York: Holt, 1909), 251–67, especially 267; Pruette, *Hall*, 208.

necessity of freedom in learning in the school or in the university. In large part, this demand for freedom came from evolutionary theory, namely, that the individual should be as free as possible to learn and to develop as quickly as his or her heredity or race, its then synonym, would allow. Each sought to minimize older institutional policies that constrained any developmental opportunities for individual cognitive and social growth. Not surprisingly, Hall persuaded his student to embrace certain evolutionary ideas. Cremin believed that John Dewey employed “patent vestiges of . . . recapitulation theory” in his Laboratory School by having his teachers conduct “preliterate man to modern Chicago” activities with the children, as they learned from their individual inquiry experiences and group social interaction in the classrooms.¹⁷ Further Ross claimed that Dewey’s early writings reflected his mentor’s fascination with recapitulation theory by using race as a curricular rationale.¹⁸ On the other hand, Hall sought a curricular goal, namely “what knowledge is of most worth,” in his writings by espousing certain pedagogical knowledge and practices that would lead to a truly freeing education. Such an education would enable individuals to develop the highest intellectual abilities, or more in his words evolve toward being intellectual supermen. In other words, Hall believed that his natural education would eventually expand and uplift individual consciousness to the highest levels.¹⁹ Again, freedom was the keystone in their ideas of a “new education.” Hall’s “natural” education and later Dewey’s “social naturalism”²⁰ complemented earlier progressive educational ideas associated with American Hegelianism and Herbartianism.²¹

At issue here is the meaning of progressive education generally and those related ideas held by Hegelian and Herbartian educators.

¹⁷Cremin, *Transformation of the School*, 141, especially note 7. See also, Humes, “Evolution and Educational Theory,” 28–29; Alan Ryan, *John Dewey and the High Tide of American Liberalism* (New York: Norton, 1995), 85, 130–33; Bannister, *Social Darwinism*, 95. Dewey’s philosophical contributions to the emerging science of education were initially much greater than his actual plans and methods for teaching in the school itself, as may be seen from his own admissions and administrative difficulties, as portrayed in Kathleen Cruikshank’s “In Dewey’s Shadow: Julia Bulkley and the University of Chicago Department of Pedagogy, 1895–1900,” *History of Education Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (1998): 373–406. Ellen Condliffe Lagemann in *An Elusive Science*, 47–56, further points to how Dewey’s experiential and social methods became more formalized in the University of Chicago’s Lab School under the later leadership and direction of Ella Flagg Young.

¹⁸Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, 357.

¹⁹G. Stanley Hall, “Eugenics: Its Ideals and What It Is Going to Do,” *Religious Education* 6 (June 1911): 152–59.

²⁰Strickland and Burgess, *Health, Growth, and Heredity*, 1–26; Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, 356–58.

²¹Cremin, *Transformation of the School*, 15–18; Kathleen Cruikshank, “The Prelude to Education as an American Discipline: American Herbartianism and the Emergence of a Science of Pedagogy,” in *History of Educational Studies, Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education, Volume 3*, ed. Peter Drewek and Christopher Lüth (Ghent, Belgium: University of Ghent, 1998).

In exploring this first issue, Herbert M. Kliebard's *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958* provides a recent discussion of progressive education.²² He used “interest groups” as a way of clustering the major positions and scholars under the framework of progressive education. His groups were humanists, developmentalists, social efficiency educators, and social meliorists.²³ While Kliebard cautions against reductionist categories, he develops an overarching progressive thematic to maintain a coherent narrative in the face of more radical historical commentary during the past half century. For him, “progressive education becomes a reaction against traditional structures and practices but with multiple ideological positions and programs of reform emerging.”²⁴ Clearly, Hall fits with the developmentalists. Hall's focus on the nature of the individual and its role in promoting learning is one of the major conceptual streams in the early science of American pedagogy that developed the progressive education movement. He represents a major American second-generation scholar, coming after the first generation of evolutionary scholars, Darwin, Haeckel, Huxley, and Spencer, while preceding the third generation work of Dewey.

In seeking a better understanding of American progressive education, Kliebard's approach should be considered along with Cremin's tack in *The Transformation of the School*, which provided a more comprehensive definition and thematic characteristic of progressive education. While Cremin was apprehensive about its coherence in his book, he believed that this movement comprised four trends: (1) the reform of schooling to promote student health, occupational competence, and society; (2) scientific research to improve pedagogical practice; (3) tailored instruction for different student types; and (4) a deep faith in democratic culture and its ability to address societal ills.²⁵ Hall espoused all of these progressive ideas in his writings on education and race relations, while minimizing his consideration of eugenics.²⁶ In this vein following the historian of the progressive era, R. H. Wiebe, progressive education can be seen contextually as comprising various school reform ideas and efforts situated within a developing nation in the midst of responding to the societal crises of industrialization, urbanization, and immigra-

²²Kliebard, *Struggle for the American Curriculum*, 271–92.

²³*Ibid.*, 23–25.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 286–87.

²⁵Cremin, *Transformation of the School*, viii–x, 270–73.

²⁶Alice Boardman Smuts, *Science in the Service of Children, 1893–1935* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 33, 69–71. While Hall wrote about eugenics, he was a moderate in his positions, and challenged those who sought to eliminate the most needy persons. Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, 413; William H. Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), chap. 2.

tion.²⁷ Overall, Kliebard's refinements and Cremin's conceptualization thus provides the ideological foundation for claiming a new view and an additional group among early educational progressive educators.²⁸

Second, in turning to the Hegelians and Herbartians who influenced G. Stanley Hall, each group held different evolutionary ideas that need further comment. The American Hegelians, led by William T. Harris, fostered idealism, rationalism, and humanism through the use of content instruction in the common schools and educational activities to promote American life and the foundations for family and community living. Hall rejected the Hegelian framework as being insufficient for his educational evolutionism—in part, this explains his intellectual disagreements with Dewey. Alternatively, the American Herbartians promoted intellectual development and a psychology of learning, which became aligned with the adherents of Pestalozzi and Fröbel who believed in the development of education and its relationship with nature. Hall favored many of Herbart's ideas related to discipline, moral development, and object teaching from the child's environment.²⁹ Yet, he moved beyond the Herbartians in their rigid pedagogy by advancing and applying Social Darwinist ideas from Spencer and Huxley to American schooling. Hall's ideas and agenda thus formed an explicit worldview tied to a Social Darwinist pedagogy. It may best be seen in his formulation of the study of educational psychology and his recommendations for school pedagogy, as noted below. His ideas contrasted with Dewey's more moderate acceptance of Darwinian thought, as reflected more favorably in the social meliorist ideas of Lester F. Ward or the social processes of William Graham Sumner.³⁰ Dewey conceived an educational pragmatism focused on the societal and community dimensions that greatly outdistanced Hall's more deterministic individualist pedagogy.

If all this is so, why did Hall's major contributions to progressive education diminish in importance during the twentieth century? The formative role that Hall played in the development of American

²⁷ Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), chaps. 7 and 8.

²⁸ Jürgen Herbst's review essay provides an interesting commentary on progressive education with the title, "Toward a Theory of Progressive Education?," with his review of Hermann Röhrs and Volker Lenhart, ed., *Progressive Education Across the Continents: A Handbook* (Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Lang, 1995) in the *History of Education Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (1997): 45–59, for it suggests Hall's insights may have begun in Germany (see also cf. 187). It furthermore invites commentary on a theory of progressive education. My efforts here may offer another argument and contribution in favor of Herbst's enterprise.

²⁹ Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, 120, 125, 127.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 58, 152; Kliebard, *Struggle for the American Curriculum*, 21–25; Wiebe, *Search for Order*, 146, 156.

education was eclipsed by the accomplishments of his more famous philosophical mentor, William James, his more philosophically advanced student, John Dewey, and his more rigorous behaviorist psychological critic, Edward Thorndike. By the 1890s many, including the aforementioned scholars, recognized Hall as a pivotal national figure and as the progenitor of the modern scientific study of education.³¹ Accordingly, early American educational progressivism should include a critical third dimension, which goes beyond Cremin's interpretation and stands beside Hegelianism and Herbartianism—the Social Darwinist pedagogy called Hallianism.

English and American Social Darwinism

At the center of Hallianism was a strident evolutionism. Lawrence A. Cremin's chapter, "Science, Darwinism, and Education," in his still definitive book, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876–1957*, pointed to Hall's central role in translating Darwinian and Spencerian evolutionary ideas into the developing study of education.³² However, Cremin did not consider Hall's natural education to be a major dimension of early progressive education, because his interpretation did not reflect a systematic understanding of Hallianism, especially his gender and race ideas. At the root of Hall's pedagogical theories resided several major evolutionary ideas (e.g., recapitulation theory), but there was much more.

Hall adopted part of the then scholarly worldview, a view coming from Emerson's philosophy and consistent with many Herbartian ideas, that then he radically advanced by using the ideas of Spencer, Huxley, and others.³³ In *Education*, Spencer held that the role of

³¹Kandel, *Twenty-Five Years of American Educators*, 59; Curti, *Social Ideas of American Educators*, 102–4; Cremin, "Preface," in *Health, Growth, and Heredity*, vii–viii.

³²Cremin, *Transformation of the School*, 90–127; his final assessment of the progressive era and Hall's role may be seen in Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876–1980* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 157–272, particularly 278–80, 305–9.

³³Cremin, *Transformation of the School*, 101–2. Cremin described Hall's foundational idea exceptionally well. "Hall's basic thesis—the 'general psychonomic law,' which he borrowed from Haeckel and Spencer—was that ontogeny, the development of the individual organism, recapitulates phylogeny, the evolution of the race. This thesis assumes that psychical life and individual behavior develop through a series of stages that correspond more or less to the stages through which the race is supposed to have passed from presavagery to civilization. Moreover, the normal growth of the minds requires living through each of the stages, since the development of any one stage is the normal stimulus for the emergence of the next. Herein lies the link between Hall's general psychology and its application to pedagogy. For he was ready to judge a civilization by the way its children grew, and a school system by the way it adapted itself to the natural growth of individuals. Nature was right, he insisted, particularly in the lives of children. To a nation about to celebrate 'the century of the child,' his doctrines had enormous appeal."

education reflected the historic condition of the race, broadly conceived: “in other words, the genesis of knowledge in the individual must follow the same course as the genesis of knowledge in the race.”³⁴ He believed what was most worth knowing was the scientific knowledge and values for the healthy “self-preservation” of life.³⁵ Developing an English evolutionary and instinctual model, Spencer contended it was “a process of self-evolution” tied to a “process of human development self-instruction,” and that it should continue “without superintendence.”³⁶ He held “education must conform to the natural process of mental evolution.”³⁷ Such “bootstrap” genetic education was a freeing experience in which an individual’s own race held the intuitive foundation for instruction and learning, reminiscent of Emersonian thought. Spencer thus espoused an English *laissez-faire* approach to education, linked to a “rugged individualism” ideology.³⁸

American educators, such as, Hall, went beyond this Spencerian Social Darwinism, because they believed that education was much more efficacious than what Spencer thought. Nevertheless, Hall integrated Spencer’s other ideas into his worldview, which supported his own new evolutionist educational ideas and practices.³⁹ What is this boarder evolutionary belief? Appropriately, Mike Hawkins offers such an interpretative theory to explain Hall’s worldview in his provocative 1997 book, *Social Darwinism in Europe and American Thought, 1860–1945*, that anchors this broad intellectual evolutionist impulse.⁴⁰ He describes this Social Darwinist worldview as comprising five major ideas: (1) biological laws govern all nature and human life; (2) limited resources cause

³⁴ Spencer, *Education*, 122.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 1, especially, 35–96.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 155–59.

³⁷ Humes, “Evolution and Educational Theory,” 32.

³⁸ William F. O’Neill, *Educational Ideologies: Contemporary Expressions of Educational Philosophy* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt, 1981), see 18–19 on a definition of ideology, and 183–85 for a discussion of conservative Spencerian Social Darwinist ideology.

³⁹ Clarence J. Karier, *The Individual, Society, and Education: A History of American Educational Ideas*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 106–7.

⁴⁰ Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860–1945: Nature as Model and Nature as Threat* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1997). From the European point of view, University of Reading Professor Michael Biddiss’s review of Hawkins’s work praises its “breadth of coverage, clarity of exposition, and trenchancy of judgment” for creating a Social Darwinist worldview, while indicating some controversial points in the exclusion from it of some general ideas of other followers; *idem*, *English Historical Review* 113, no. 454 (1998): 1353–54. Leonard Moore of McGill University concurs with Biddiss’s judgment, calling Hawkins’s effort a “fascinating intellectual history”; *idem*, *American Journal of Sociology* 104, no. 2 (1998), 571–72. Other reviewers, Terence Ball, review of *Social Darwinism in Europe and American Thought, 1860–1945*, by Mike Hawkins, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 559 (September 1998), 198–99; P. Kivisto, review of *Social Darwinism in Europe and American Thought, 1860–1945*, by Mike Hawkins, *Choice* 35, no. 5 (1998): 910, supported these assessments.

humans to struggle to live; (3) the development of human physical and mental traits comes about through this competitive resource struggle; (4) this competition creates new species and eliminates others; and (5) this struggle to survive determines the characteristics of human psychological and social life.⁴¹ Hall embraced and espoused this Social Darwinist generic worldview.⁴² It supported using these evolutionary ideas to recast educational theory, practice, and policies. Hall thus created an American Social Darwinist pedagogy, where “survival of the fittest” ideology translated easily into “higher pedagogy for the brightest.”

Hall and the Emergence of an American Social Darwinist Pedagogy, 1883–1887

Darwin’s and Spencer’s evolutionary ideas profoundly influenced G. Stanley Hall. He applied these ideas across the span of human development, as individuals passed through childhood, adolescence, and later life, which enabled him to address various progressive educational issues related to each stage.⁴³ Dorothy Ross in her biography of Hall confirmed this type of evolutionism: “Hall’s chief social concern throughout his mature life was the health and continued biological evolution of the human race. He saw education, science, improvements of all kinds, as leading not only to social or cultural progress, but also, through that, to improvements of the racial stock and production of the superman.”⁴⁴ Given this perspective, Hall’s ideas differed from Spencer’s ideology in that Hall believed that educational interventions through institutions were necessary and efficacious.⁴⁵ While he contended that each person should be given an education in schools, it depended upon the individual’s natural abilities as to the appropriate

⁴¹Hawkins, *Social Darwinism*, 31.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 17.

⁴³Hall acknowledged his debt to Darwin in “Evolution and Psychology: Darwin’s Contribution to Psychology,” *Fifty Years of Darwinism*, 251–67. Having completed his work on child study and adolescence, Hall retired from the Clark presidency in 1920 and wrote a book on the aged, *Senescence: The Last Half of Life* (New York: Appleton, 1922), vii. He posited five overlapping stages of human development: (1) childhood; (2) adolescence; (3) middle life from 25 to 45; (4) senescence, after 40; and (5) senectitude, approximately near the end of life; for an assessment of its significance, see White, “Hall: From Philosophy to Developmental Psychology,” 28–32.

⁴⁴Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, 412. For an example of Hall’s understanding of adolescent development and education see his chapter, G. Stanley Hall, “Intellectual Development and Education,” in *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education*, 2 vols. (New York: Appleton, 1904), vol. 2, 449–560, which offers an extensive discussion of intellectual development and appropriate curricula for the high school, college, and university.

⁴⁵Hall, “Evolution and Psychology,” 265–67; Curti, *Social Ideas of American Educators*, 414–28; Cremin, *Transformation of the School*, 92–95, 100–5.

type and amount of education needed. According to Ross again, Hall believed persons had a right to be educated to the “limit of their capacities, but not beyond.”⁴⁶ Following evolutionary thought, he thus advocated a concept of “individualization,” which enabled instinctual vestiges of earlier life stages of the race to unfold (i.e., recapitulation theory) and be reformed through “educational methods to [be] adjusted to all the child’s individual variations of age, sex, ability, and vocational expectation.”⁴⁷ Such individuation, as it was more generally called, provided the rationale for vocational education for various racial groups, for certain types of women’s education, and higher education for those persons of great intellectual ability. “Hall’s elitism based on nature fit well with the essentially moral and long-range goals Hall set for the educational process as a whole.”⁴⁸

His understanding of the development of human consciousness had clear implications for American education and the design of appropriate curricula, pedagogical methods, and schooling.⁴⁹ Perhaps, most importantly, he understood the new psychology to be a basis for education, because it offered a foundational understanding of the individual through experimental laboratory work, comparative psychology (i.e., insights gained especially from animal psychology), anthropology, and the study of decadents (i.e., especially the insane). Such genetic psychology comprised “the new science of man.”⁵⁰ The role of psychology as a foundation for educational study is one of Hall’s lasting contributions.

As a new professor at Johns Hopkins University, Hall offered this new philosophy of education in two major articles. Between 1883 and 1885, he wrote his first works on child study and adopted an explicit evolutionist perspective, reflecting his developing Social Darwinist worldview. In an 1883 article, “Educational Needs,” published in the influential *North American Review*, Hall advanced principles for educating the child.⁵¹ The article served as his four-point educational creed, a common way among educators for stating one’s major educational

⁴⁶Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, 311.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸*Ibid.*; Strickland and Burgess, *Healthy, Growth, and Heredity*, 11–24; Hall, “Evolution and Psychology,” 260–65; much later Hall attempted to describe how this recapitulation theory was evident from human behaviors, see G. Stanley Hall, “What We Owe to the Tree-Life of Our Ape-Like Ancestors,” *Pedagogical Seminary* 23, no. 1 (1916): 94–119.

⁴⁹Hall, “Evolution and Psychology,” 266–67.

⁵⁰G. Stanley Hall, “The New Psychology as a Basis for Education,” *Forum* 17 (August, 1894): 713–17, 719.

⁵¹G. Stanley Hall, “Educational Needs,” *North American Review* 136 (March 1883): 284–90; Humes, “Evolution and Educational Theory,” 38–39.

tenets.⁵² His first principle was the child's need for hygiene and physical education. Here he followed "Fröbel's dictum, 'The child is a plant and should live outdoors.'" ⁵³ Hall declined to adopt Fröbel's more spiritual concept of evolution, and reinterpreted it in a more physical way.⁵⁴ His second principle announced the key Darwinist concept in his educational framework and would serve as the foundation for his writings on child study thereafter: "we must study and follow the child's nature as it actually is."⁵⁵ This formative principle for child study, proposed initially by Pestalozzi and Fröbel, centered on moving away from the traditional memorization of subject content. Hall wanted students to learn about the "natural order in natural ways."⁵⁶ His method used: "natural objects about them"; "religious, social, and moral instincts"; "the influence of sex, age, and nationality"; "what tastes, beliefs, habits, etc., are common to children and primitive man"; "the influences of sex, age, and nationality"; "how children feel toward pets and toward each other"; "when does animism toward flowers, dolls, stars, etc., cease"; as well as the "meaning of words" and "common errors in articulation" among other things.⁵⁷ His developing American pedagogical method encouraged students to discern their instinctual racial pasts. Accordingly, Hall claimed that the main problem in educating children was understanding "how does nature teach and learn."⁵⁸ The third principle was moral training, which he viewed as training the will and emotions to produce a "moral character."⁵⁹ The fourth principle, related to his holistic understanding of education and school reform, centered on

⁵²For example, see John Dewey, "My Pedagogic Creed," *School Journal* 54 (January 1897): 77–80. Written fourteen years later, Dewey conversely focused on both individual psychology and sociology with concerns of how race and instincts are translated by society. School should focus on the present life of the child within this institutionalized form of communal life. Focusing on the child's own social activities rather than specialized studies, Dewey also claimed nature should be the center of instruction. Its method should therefore be more visual and related to the development of the child's intellect and emotions. Finally education is the "fundamental method of social progress and reform." The community has an obligation to educate the child, and thereby assists in the proper development of social life.

⁵³Hall, "Educational Needs," 285.

⁵⁴Barbara Beatty, *Preschool Education in America: The Culture of Young Children from the Colonial Era to the Present* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), chap. 3, especially 38–51, 78–80.

⁵⁵Hall, "Educational Needs," 286.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 287.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 287–88.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 288. Charles E. Strickland and Charles Burgess, "G. Stanley Hall: Prophet of Naturalism" in *Health, Growth, and Heredity*, 1–26. Fifteen years later, William H. Payne also attempted to address this issue, qualifying the complete support of Spencer's endorsement of such a project and supporting rather Rousseau's treatment, see "Education According to Nature," *Educational Review* 22 (September 1895): 137–51.

⁵⁹Hall, "Educational Needs," 288–89.

“greater competence and a more professional spirit among teachers.”⁶⁰ He desired teachers to use concrete “naturally connected” facts in their classroom activities, thereby increasing the child’s exposure to nature and the world.⁶¹ Finally, shifting to a specific practical recommendation for schools, Hall pleaded for examinations to be given in cooler months rather than in June, when children like animals have “so much less vigor.”⁶² This evolutionist pedagogy was Hall’s first extensive discussion of child study and set the foundational principles for the developing national child study movement.

In an 1885 article, “New Departures in Education,” Hall called for a “new education,” tied to the nature of “the soul and the body of the healthy young child” at every level.⁶³ Accordingly, this education followed a natural method and focused on the child’s development of his faculties, rather than just content instruction. Stating his pedagogical dictum, Hall contended that “to develop childhood to virtue, power, and due freedom is the supreme end of education, to which everything else should be subordinated as means.”⁶⁴ Countering previous educational practice, Hall wanted the child’s “play-instincts” to “be made more educative.”⁶⁵ He claimed that the research in psychology, history of education, and anthropology now required a new developmental understanding of childhood and youth (which interestingly also included the college student) that provided the foundation for the study of education. The individual’s nature, instincts, and racial heredity, as we will see later, became its foundation. Thus, during his Hopkins professorship Hall launched his “new education,” firmly tied to broad evolutionary concepts of education and interventionist pedagogy. In these efforts, Hall gained national recognition as the leader of the American child study movement. Later in his career, Hall’s worldview took a more pronounced Social Darwinist stance.⁶⁶

Becoming the National Spokesperson for the New Education as the President of Clark University, 1888–1920

With his appointment as president of the newly founded Clark University, Hall assembled a stellar faculty, especially in psychology. Hall’s major concern was establishing the scientific study of psychology and

⁶⁰Ibid., 289.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Hall, “Educational Needs,” 289–90.

⁶³G. Stanley Hall, “New Departures in Education,” *North American Review* 140 (February 1885): 145.

⁶⁴Ibid., 146.

⁶⁵Ibid., 150.

⁶⁶Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, 279–308; Smuts, *Science in the Service of Children*, 33, 69–71.

as such founded the American Psychological Association in 1892. As a leader in the field of education Hall also launched a new educational research journal, *Pedagogical Seminary: An International Record of Educational Literature, Institutions and Progress*, announcing in the first issue that it would be a vehicle for stimulating educational reform according to his idea of natural education. Hall's positions in the articles that were published in the journal promoted an emerging American Social Darwinist pedagogy and fostered a new dimension in progressive education.

Despite his academic accomplishments, Hall faced administrative challenges, including a conflict with the founder of the university, which put financial constraints on the institution.⁶⁷ During these difficult times, Hall advanced many ideas to increase revenue. Hall offered the study of education as a way to attract more students. Initially, he created a summer school and then introduced education into the graduate curriculum through a subdepartment within psychology.⁶⁸ Second, Hall wanted to make the institution coeducational; however, both the university's founder and the trustees rejected this idea, keeping the university for men only. Undeterred, in 1895 Hall devised a way to allow women to "enroll" unofficially by attending lectures and courses. After the founder's death in 1900, the Clark trustees officially allowed women students to enroll and earn graduate degrees. Despite this, each female applicant was scrutinized by the trustees before admission was allowed.⁶⁹ While Hall advocated for the admission of only the most gifted women internally, he discouraged publicly their general participation in higher education at other institutions. Concerning public education, Hall decried "identical" coeducation in high school. His position was derided, and never understood or accepted broadly. Holding this conservative evolutionist position pitted Hall against John Dewey who supported coeducation, as being good for morals, manners, instructive for democracy, and enabling better relations between the sexes.⁷⁰ Hall's

⁶⁷Koelsch, *Clark University*, 42–50; Mortimer Herbert Appley, "G. Stanley Hall: Vow on Mount Owen," in *One Hundred Years of Psychological Research in America: G. Stanley Hall and the Johns Hopkins Tradition*, ed. Steward H. Hulse and Bert F. Green, Jr. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986): 11–19; Veysey, *Emergence of the American University*, 165–71.

⁶⁸G. Stanley Hall, *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist* (New York: Appleton, 1924), 300–2, 318. In discussing the beginning of education and women's education, Hall notes the institution's financial difficulties, pointing out how this study and clientele greatly helped. He indicated that he lowered some admission standards to bring in greater student enrollments. See Goodchild, "Higher Education," 16–17; idem, "Hall and the Study of Higher Education," 81.

⁶⁹Goodchild, "Hall and the Study of Higher Education," 88–89, 92–93.

⁷⁰G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, chap. 17, vol. 2: 612–19; Tyack and Hansot, *Learning Together*, 146–48, 154–55, 160–61, 162, 232, 242, 290.

“bad” stance emanated from his ideal of motherhood for most women, congruent with his Social Darwinist ideas.

On the other hand, Hall wanted the brightest African Americans, Asians, and Jews to take graduate and later undergraduate degrees at Clark. The first black man to earn an American doctorate in psychology graduated from there. Chinese and Japanese students also earned degrees at Clark. Inspired by his evolutionist ideas aligned with his developing Social Darwinist worldview, Hall’s “good” admission policies were ahead of most other universities, especially in the eastern United States—as discussed below.⁷¹

Hall’s stance also reflected a new synthetic academic field of study, which he had been contemplating. A decade had passed since Hall’s initial visions of a discipline of psychology and science of pedagogy. The scholar president now saw their interrelationships and announced a new study of psychological education. In 1896, at the fifty-second meeting of the American Medico-Psychological Association, Hall merged these two new areas of study in a ground-breaking speech titled, “Psychological Education.” In its article publication, Hall proclaimed how psychology and its basis in evolutionary thought were at the same stage where biological sciences had been *before* Darwin’s contribution.⁷² This new study comprised elements of psychology and education: (1) a history of psychology up to that point; (2) the study of general biology, including “Darwinism and evolution”; (3) empirical studies of animals; (4) physiological psychology; (5) anthropology; (6) criminology; (7) child study; (8) neurology; and (9) psychiatry.⁷³ Hall called for a “radical reconstruction of all sciences.” He urged “the genetic study of feeling, intellect, and will” through an analysis of the “wider comparative relations between the soul of animals, children, and savages.”⁷⁴ Such an insight illustrated “the recapitulation theory in the psychic realm.”⁷⁵ This new study was to be a broad investigation into the nature of consciousness.

The “new genetic movement” would create, he hoped, a new pedagogy, which would transform “slowly . . . the spirit and method of our schools.”⁷⁶ Hall proposed developmental pedagogies for both

⁷¹ Goodchild, “Hall and the Study of Higher Education,” 89–90.

⁷² G. Stanley Hall, “Psychological Education,” *Journal of Insanity* 53 (October 1896): 228–41.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 230–39. Scholars would later reclassify these studies as education, genetic psychology, and educational psychology.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 236.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 229.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 240.

elementary schools and high schools.⁷⁷ The study involved an explicit method that became known then as “the Clark method,” based on comparative studies made between humans and animals to understand the development of consciousness through an “evolutionary analysis of mind.”⁷⁸ Ultimately, Hall believed nature was the “original revelation of the divine,” and, echoing the nineteenth-century transcendentalist Emersonian hope, that a scientific spirit would see the fundamental unity of both religion and science.⁷⁹ At this time, this suprascience exemplified best Hall’s thoroughgoing Social Darwinist pedagogical ideology.

His emerging self-understanding of what became called Hallianism can be seen in a 1906 address, “Education and Youthful Development,” given at the University of Edinburgh to hundreds of teachers. Hall believed the educational systems of Plato, Herbart, and Spencer were all “quite inadequate,” since “the child’s mind was greater than them all.” This new “great view of education . . . determined the destiny of the human race.” He discussed differences between childhood and adolescence, a reflection on his recently published major study.⁸⁰ Transforming his own Social Darwinist worldview into his idea of natural education, Hall sought to preserve the heredity of racial groups, which made up humanity, to produce his dream of a new superhuman race.

Hall’s American Social Darwinist pedagogy thus was manifested in his educational creed, evolutionist natural pedagogy derived from Spencerian and Huxleyian ideas, child study classroom pedagogy, Clark method for schooling, women’s educational ideas and practices, differential coeducation, and conceptualizations of the study of pedagogy linked to psychology and psychological education. This general Hallianism is next explored through his specific ideas on gender and race in this article’s second part.

⁷⁷G. Stanley Hall, “The Ideal School as Based on Child Study,” *Forum* 32 (1901): 24–39; idem, “The High School as the People’s College Versus the Fitting School,” *Pedagogical Seminary* 9 (1902): 49–54.

⁷⁸White, “Child Study,” 131. Later Professor Heinz Werner at Clark University explored this approach and renamed it comparative-developmental psychology. See Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, 423 on Werner’s contribution. Furthermore, this type of inquiry brought fame six years later to Ivan Petrovitch Pavlov, director of the St. Petersburg’s Institute for Experimental Medicine, whose studies on dogs enabled the idea of conditioned reflex to be applied to humans. From the 1930s to the 1960s, Harvard Professor B. Frederic Skinner’s similar work on pigeons and rats advanced our knowledge of human behaviorism. See Robert S. Woodworth and Mary R. Sheehan, *Contemporary Schools in Psychology*, 3rd ed. (New York: Ronald, 1964), 74–80, 162–69.

⁷⁹Hall, “Psychological Education,” 241.

⁸⁰“Education and Youthful Development,” *The Educational News*, 5 October 1906.

“To Make Boys More Manly and Girls More Womanly”: Hall’s Views on Gender

Understanding Hall’s positions on gender involves initially reviewing their context in American Victorian society.⁸¹ During this time period, different groups of women held divergent positions on the proper role of women in education and society including: (1) feminist women who sought and completed higher education in high school, college, or the university and pursued professional and business careers⁸²; (2) women who sought educational opportunities in local women’s clubs⁸³; (3) women who espoused motherhood and family life⁸⁴; (4) women who worked in various middle or lower class occupations⁸⁵; and (5) women who remained single, the spinster.⁸⁶ Women in the first group had increased their participation in postsecondary education extensively, so much so that they comprised 47.3 percent of the total student collegiate population of the approximately 283,000 enrolled by 1920.⁸⁷ Yet, since the publication of the *Descent of Man* in 1871, Darwin’s

⁸¹ Ann Firor Scott, “The Ever Widening Circle: The Diffusion of Feminist Values from the Troy Female Seminary, 1822–1872,” *History of Education Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 3–25, posed three women’s groups, based on their feminist positions. I point to five groups, adding their marital and occupational statuses, based on more recent research.

⁸² Patricia Smith Butcher, *Education for Equality: Women’s Rights Periodicals and Women’s Higher Education, 1849–1920* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 45; Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 1–13; Geraldine Joncich Clifford, ed., *Lone Voyagers: Academic Women in Coeducational Institutions, 1870–1937* (New York: Feminist, 1989), 1–46; Wiebe, *Search for Order*, 122–23.

⁸³ Roberta Wollons, “Women Educating Women: The Child Study Association as Women’s Culture,” in *Changing Education: Women as Radicals and Conservators*, ed. Joyce Antler and Sari Knopp Biklen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 51–67.

⁸⁴ This ideal of motherhood as a “holy mission” was part of the Romantic and religious ideal for women in the nineteenth century, as espoused by Emerson, Alcott, and others—again being part of Hall’s worldview and, for example, the leader of early kindergarten education Elizabeth Peabody, as described by Barbara Beatty, “‘A Vocation from on High’: Kindergarten Teaching as an Occupation for American Women,” in *Changing Education: Women as Radicals and Conservators*, ed. Joyce Antler and Sari Knopp Biklen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 35–50. See also Merle Curti, “The Education of Women,” in *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York: Scribner’s Sons, 1935; reprint, Paterson, NJ: Pageant, 1959), chap. 5, especially 175; Tyack and Hansot, *Learning Together*, 203–4; Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 4–5.

⁸⁵ Joan W. Scott, “The Women Worker,” in *A History of Women in the West, Volume 4: Emerging Feminism from Revolution to World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 399–426.

⁸⁶ Cécile Dauphin, “Single Women,” in *A History of Women in the West, Volume 4: Emerging Feminism from Revolution to World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 427–42.

⁸⁷ Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 6–8; Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 62–64.

“characterization of women as innately domestic and intellectually inferior to men” as part of the naturalist evolution of the species created significant hurdles for feminists seeking equity in education.⁸⁸ Controversies ensued about the capability of women for higher education, creation of separate collegiate institutions for women, coordinate women’s colleges on men’s campuses, and coeducation at all levels. The rationale for women’s higher education comprised a fifty-year struggle between educational leaders and feminists over equity. Generally, the feminist movement supported coeducation, but its followers were often against single-sex women’s institutions.⁸⁹ Hall was against identical coeducation in high school and against higher education for women, except for the most gifted individuals. His rationale came from evolutionary ideas related to the maternal roles of women in the family structure, a Social Darwinist role for women in maintaining the health and continuation of racial groups, and a biological concern for the health of women who entered higher learning, following an attenuated version of Dr. Edward Clarke’s positions from the 1880s.⁹⁰

Further exploration of Hall’s ideas provides a better understanding of his rationale and positions. From feminist reformers’ perspectives, his ideas about women and women’s education reflected offensive understandings of their physiology, psychology, and educational abilities. These “bad” ideas received considerable criticism. Hall’s chapter, “Adolescent Girls and Their Education,” in his 1904 work on *Adolescence* pitted his strident evolutionism and Victorian values against women’s development and education outside family and home. Hall opened his discussion praising women and deprecating men, noting how “she is the top of the human curve from which the higher superman of the future is to evolve, while man is phylogenetically by comparison a trifle senile, if not decadent.”⁹¹ He pointed to women’s differences from males “in every organ and tissue,” as the race’s “organ of heredity.”⁹² Hall claimed “biological psychology already dreams of a new philosophy of sex, which places wife and mother at the heart of a new world and makes her the object of a new religion and almost of a new worship.”⁹³

For fifty pages then, he summarized the scientific studies on women’s health and development, supporting these assertions. Echoing

⁸⁸ Evelleen Richards, “Darwin and the Descent of Women,” in *The Wider Domain of Evolutionary Thought*, Volume 2, ed. David Oldroyd and Ian Langham (London: Reidel, 1983), 98.

⁸⁹ Butcher, *Education for Equality*, chaps. 2 and 3.

⁹⁰ Solomon, in the *Company of Educated Women*, 56–57.

⁹¹ G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education*, 2 vols. (New York: Appleton, 1904), vol. 2, 561.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 561–62.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 562.

the dire forebodings of many white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, however, Hall was deeply concerned about race suicide and its effects on society when women chose not to be wives and mothers.⁹⁴ He believed that higher education encouraged women not to marry, for only 23 percent of women college graduates and 28 percent of women attending coeducational institutions had married.⁹⁵ His own study with Dr. Theodate Smith at Clark pointed to the decreasing numbers of undergraduate and graduate women marrying and doing so later in life.⁹⁶ Actual race suicide never materialized in his day, although its demographic outcome would be known eighty years later.⁹⁷ While this fear greatly influenced his ideas, Hall admitted that feminists had won the war for “equal educational and other opportunities.”⁹⁸ Importantly, he conceded that women’s “academic achievements have forced conservative minds to admit that her intellect is not inferior to that of man.”⁹⁹ Such a position was more favorably advanced by Edward Thorndike whose extensive research in 1906 pointed to the intellectual equality of the sexes.¹⁰⁰ However, Hall claimed while “in college women do as well as men, but not in the university.”¹⁰¹ Thus Hall found less difficulty in accepting women’s coeducation in college or the university, because of the person’s level of physical and psychological maturity.¹⁰² However, he waged a rearguard battle to protect his evolutionist beliefs against the incursions of identical coeducation in earlier levels of education.

⁹⁴Patricia A. Palmieri, “From Republican Motherhood to Race Suicide: Arguments on the Higher Education of Women in the United States, 1820–1920,” in *Educating Men and Women Together: Coeducation in a Changing World*, ed. Carol Lasser (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 49–64.

⁹⁵Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. 2, 590.

⁹⁶G. Stanley Hall and Theodate Smith, “Marriage and Fecundity of College Men and Women,” *Pedagogical Seminary* 10 (1903): 275–314.

⁹⁷A demographic reassessment of this perceived problem points to the failure of race suicide to materialize. It seemed that second-generation immigrant women never did marry as much as predicted, because they supported financially their families and later took care of their elderly parents. In so doing, they stopped what appeared initially as the first generation of immigrant women and their children overwhelming the American White Anglo-Saxon population, because of its relative decline in prodigy during the first decades of the 20th century. See Miriam King and Steven Ruggles, “American Immigration, Fertility, and Race Suicide at the Turn of the Century,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 20, no. 3 (1990): 347–69.

⁹⁸Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. 2, 612.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰James C. Albisetti, “Another ‘Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time’? Intelligence Testing and Coeducation,” *History of Education Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (2004): 190–91, 193; Maxine Seller, “G. Stanley Hall and Edward Thorndike on the Education of Women: Theory and Policy in the Progressive Era,” *Educational Studies* 11 (1981): 365–74.

¹⁰¹Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. 2, 612.

¹⁰²Ibid., 617.

Since he believed that the more educated women did not marry as much as others and had fewer children, Hall urged women to consider motherhood and related education above all other life choices. He followed Spencer's idea that "absolute or relative infertility is generally produced in women by mental labor carried to excess."¹⁰³ While his argument in this chapter acknowledged women's equity, it was qualified by his fear of racial decline and evolutionary beliefs. Therefore, he wanted a different type of women's education.

I plead with no whit less earnestness and conviction than any of the feminists, and indeed with more fervor because on nearly all grounds and also on others, for the higher education of women, and . . . welcome them to every opportunity available to men if they can not do better; but I would open to their election another education, which every competent judge would pronounce more favorable to motherhood, under the influence of female principals who do not publicly say that it is "not desirable" that women students should study motherhood, because they do not know whether they will marry; who encourage them to elect "no special subjects because they are women," and who think infant psychology "foolish."¹⁰⁴

Hall sought specialized studies for female high school students on maternity and educating children at home. His case against "identical coeducation" was put forth. Hall believed that high school girls should not be held "to the same standards of conduct, regularity, severe moral accountability, and strenuous mental work that boys need," because it would injure them and endanger their prospects for motherhood.¹⁰⁵ Hall thus espoused an evolutionary "maternalist ideology," following Emma Marwedel, Elizabeth Peabody, and Mary Peabody Mann.¹⁰⁶

Hall then spent the last pages of the chapter describing the ideal school for young women, especially those between thirteen and twenty. It should be located in the country, educate for health, maintain a firm schedule for sleeping, insist on regular exercise, and include training in Victorian manners appropriate for the home and in public. Its liberal arts curriculum should feature languages, physiology, religion, art, as well as nature and zoology. While such a Victorian school for Stepford wives seems a sarcastic caricature, Hall's directives on the school's instructional philosophy, psychology, and objectives for women envisioned such a project and produced some of his worst published ideas on how women should be treated.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 206.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 614.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 623.

¹⁰⁶ Beatty, *Preschool Education*, 93.

¹⁰⁷ This 1975 horror cult film describes a rural town in which men control their spouses so that they became "perfect wives," based on Ira Levin's novel, *The Stepford Wives* (New York: Perennial, 2001).

Another principle should be to broaden by retarding; to keep the purely mental back and by every method to bring the intuitions to the front; appeals to tact and taste should be incessant; a purely intellectual man is no doubt biologically a deformity, but a purely intellectual woman is far more so. Bookishness is probably a bad sign in a girl; it suggests artificiality, pedantry, the lugging of dead knowledge. Mere learning is not the ideal, and prodigies of scholarship are always morbid. The rule should be to keep nothing that is not to become practical; to open no brain tracts, which are not to be highways for the daily traffic of thought and conduct; not to overburden the soul with the impedimenta of libraries and records of what is afar off in time or zest; and always to follow the guidance of normal and spontaneous interests wisely interpreted.¹⁰⁸

This women's finishing farm brought feminist outrage. An especially strong response emanated from M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr: "now we know it is not we, but the man who believes such things about us, who is himself pathological, blinded by neurotic mists of sex."¹⁰⁹

On the other hand, Hall's approach was consistent with that of Huxley, whose women's school curriculum included physical education, household work and domestic economy, citizenship education, and intellectual training to enable girls to have a better prospect of employment. Hall's ideas were applauded by the developing National Congress of Mothers, which was espousing the vocation of motherhood, uplifting the ideal of mothering, and discouraging the use of women's labor—leading ultimately to the creation of Mother's Day in 1912.¹¹⁰ He became the Congress' "chief scientific authority" and found great support from Alice Birney, a child welfare progressive reformer, who organized it.¹¹¹ Such schools would prepare women for assuming the Victorian role of motherhood. Yet, these schools were quite different from Elizabeth Harrison's "a mother's college" in Chicago that offered courses on Fröbel, motherhood, and child study, which became the Chicago Kindergarten College. Nor were they like Lucy Wheelock's training school for kindergarten teachers in Boston with its courses on the history of pedagogy, psychology in teaching, and pedagogy.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. 2, 640; also see Tyack and Hansot's, *Learning Together*, interesting similar commentary, 154.

¹⁰⁹As cited by Tyack and Hanson, *Learning Together*, 155. A comprehensive response came from M. Carey Thomas, "Present Tendencies in Women's College and University Education," *Educational Review* 35 (January 1908): 64–85; also see Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York: Harper, 1947).

¹¹⁰Humes, *Evolution and Educational Theory*, 33–34; Beatty, *Preschool Education*, 42; also see G. Stanley Hall, "New Ideals of Motherhood Suggested by Child Study," address to the National Congress of Mothers, 10 March 1905 in *Report of the National Congress of Mothers* (1905): 14–27.

¹¹¹Smuts, *Science in the Service of Children*, 57.

¹¹²Beatty, *Preschool Education*, 87, 110.

Ever aware of popular developments and holding his evolutionary ideals highest, Hall claimed that single women “are magnificent in mind and body but they lacked wifedom and yet more—motherhood.” He went further, tying women’s identity in society to maternity: “to be a true woman means to be yet more mother than wife.”¹¹³ Later, he criticized women who chose to be “sterile” by not marrying, as having overdrawn their “account with heredity.” Turning uglier, Hall considered such women “selfish” and failing in their duties to evolutionary “biological ethics”! Again, explicit justification for such positions aligned with Spencer’s Social Darwinism. His “law of inverse relation of individuation and genesis” meant for Hall that a woman’s choice of intellectual or occupational careers against motherhood was a detriment to the species.¹¹⁴

In public speeches and writings, Hall thus espoused the natural role of motherhood in society and turned against identical coeducation in public education. After 1895, he encouraged women’s education for family life through the growing national phenomenon of women’s clubs. The Clark president strongly supported the 70,000 women in 4,000 local clubs across the country, which had encouraged women’s education since 1888 for—what we would now call—prenatal health, child rearing, as well as the welfare of children’s health and subsequent education.¹¹⁵

Hall clarified his position against coeducation in the face of stiff opposition from more educated women’s groups and the extensive practice of coeducation in 98 percent of public education. In three different association papers presented between 1903 and 1906, the president further defined his coeducation position that he held for the remainder of his life. At the National Education Association in 1903, Hall declared that he did not “advocate the abolition of coeducation,” but “identical coeducation” for high school students.¹¹⁶ He claimed that biological differentiation made distinctions in the way girls and boys behaved at puberty, so according to his evolutionary and pedagogical creed, their coursework should follow “what nature’s way is at this stage of life.”¹¹⁷ Namely, it is in “the interest of the race” that women should not “abandon the home for the office.”¹¹⁸ He was also concerned about women adopting male identities and ideals during high school years and

¹¹³Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. 2, 622, 627.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, 633.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, 624–25; also see Wollons, “Women Educating Women,” 56–61, especially n. 51.

¹¹⁶G. Stanley Hall, “Coeducation in High School,” *Proceedings of the National Education Association* (1903): 447.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, 448.

for women's health and productivity during their later college years. His solution to this problem centered on sexual segregation of students and "enlarging the elective system and [to] wait for spontaneous interest and needs to declare themselves even yet more fully."¹¹⁹ Therefore, courses on particular developmental needs of boys and girls should be created. Moreover, he suggested institutional responses by creating two types of women's training schools: one for business and one for "motherhood and home life."¹²⁰ His concern stemmed from the Social Darwinist mantra that "the majority of college women do not marry, and that those who do marry have few children."¹²¹ Hall ended his speech claiming that "woman needs the best."¹²² His paternalistic judgment on what was best for women and men followed his Social Darwinist and Victorian positions: "to make boys more manly and girls more womanly."¹²³

At the 1904 NEA meeting, Hall made more strident Social Darwinist claims for women's needs, based on what was good for the race from a comparative psychological argument.

Every discussion of coeducation that is fundamental and not merely superficial must be based on the doctrines of heredity. For animals, the test of domesticability is whether or not the species can be made to breed well in captivity. The same test applied to civilization, which is a collective term for the sum of man's efforts to domesticate himself. Races perish under systems that do not fit the laws by which life is transmitted. Educational systems are an artificial environment to accelerate and direct civilization, and a supreme test is their effect upon heredity, which is the most precious and most ancient form of wealth and worth, and one ounce of which is, in Huxley's well-known phrase, worth a ton of education.¹²⁴

The college president held that heredity was more of a determinant than education, although the latter was also important. Biological survivability was the highest mandate, regardless of the type of species.

To preserve femininity and masculinity, Hall believed that differentiated coursework for boys and girls should be mandated, stopping how "high school interferes with these laws of nature."¹²⁵ His opposition to coeducation there eventually found some support.¹²⁶ Hall

¹¹⁹Ibid., 450.

¹²⁰Ibid.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Ibid., 451.

¹²³Ibid., 446.

¹²⁴G. Stanley Hall, "Co-Education," *Proceedings of the National Education Association* (1904): 538.

¹²⁵Ibid., 539.

¹²⁶Julius Sachs, "The Intellectual Reactions of Coeducation," *Educational Review* 35 (May 1908): 466-75. Contemporary efforts to foster single sex education in pub-

also urged differentiated coursework for women in higher education, since the role of motherhood was paramount. He wanted postsecondary institutions to “prepare for parenthood and domestic life, and if it does not come, women are thus best prepared to support themselves. The bachelor woman is often magnificent in mind and body. I marvel at her achievements; I love and profit by her companionship. It is well in every community that there should be many who, in Herbert Spencer’s terms, develop individuation even at the expense of genesis.”¹²⁷ Hall’s Social Darwinist pedagogy, as mediated through the more strident Spencerian ideology, was obvious.

Having discussed high school and college education for women, Hall next turned to doctoral education. In 1905 at the Association of American Universities meeting, he proposed that women be admitted to doctoral studies, but only because so few would seek it. “I can see no reason to oppose, but many to favor, the opening of every higher university facility to the insignificant number of élite women who are fit and wish it.”¹²⁸ His position reflected—only too clearly—his Victorian and evolutionist positions on the higher education of women.

Of this very small remainder seeking the Doctor’s degree some are very attractive specimens of their sex, good and stimulating companions, and some are otherwise, but nearly all belong to what the late Professor Hyatt called the agamic agenic class with little wifehood or motherhood left in their bodies or souls. They illustrate Herbert Spencer’s theory of splendid individuation developed at the expense of genesis for, beyond a certain very variable point, he deemed these two in inverse ratio to each other, so hard is mental and nervous strain upon all the reproductive powers.¹²⁹

lic schools can be seen in Margaret Talbot, “Sexed Ed,” *New York Times Magazine*, 22 September 2002, 17–18. The National Association for Single Sex Education—<http://www.singlesexschools.org>—supports Hall’s claim for genetic differences between boys and girls and their different learning styles. For more research-oriented works, see Janice L. Streitmatter, *For Girls Only: Making a Case for Single-Sex Schooling* (Albany, NY: State University Press of New York, 1999); Office of Planning, Evaluation, and Policy Development, *Single Sex Versus Coeducational Schooling: A Systematic Review* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 2005). Recently Linda J. Sax, *Women Graduates of Single Sex and Coeducation High Schools: Differences in their Characteristics and the Transition to College* (Los Angeles, CA: Sudikoff Family Institute for Education and UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, 2009) showed positive measurable differences in girls from single sex high schools in self-confidence, political and social activism, life goals, and career orientation than from girls attending coeducational high schools.

¹²⁷Hall, “Co-Education,” 542.

¹²⁸G. Stanley Hall, “Coinstruction in Graduate Schools,” *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Annual Conferences of the Association of American Universities* 5 (January 1905): 42–46.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, 42.

He claimed that women had shown “great aptitude” in the empirical fields of psychology, and “in all fields more well-trained women are greatly needed for the progress of science.”¹³⁰ Hall’s public support for doctoral education though came clearly grudgingly.

Often in local speeches and more popular publications, Hall’s more ardent ideas emerged. Speaking to the Quaboag Historical Society of West Brookfield, Massachusetts, he revealed that he held “no brief for women’s rights, female suffrage, identical coeducation in the academic grades, or any other program of the feminists as a party, and . . . no sympathy with those who would make sex a sect or pit one sex against the other or fashion women on the pattern of men, but believe that our racial and social future depends on pushing sex distinctions to their utmost making man more manly and woman more womanly.”¹³¹ His defiant Victorian male and Social Darwinist positions could not have been more explicit.

As the years passed, Hall’s Social Darwinism grew even more strident, as his fear of “race suicide” increased. In a 1908 article for *America Magazine*, he decried the declining birth rate of the population. He claimed “in the heated struggle for international supremacy the ultimate victory will rest with the race or nation that is most fecund, so that progressive sterility means national decline.”¹³² Hall noted that the declining birth rate in the cultured classes showed “a growing tendency toward celibacy.”¹³³ He believed rather that “the deepest instinct of every true women’s soul is thus to transmit life.”¹³⁴ Hall claimed that the new biological ethic decreed that the chief end of man and women was to procreate, thereby preserving their posterity.¹³⁵ Hall thus adopted a biological determinism in his educational and social views on gender, fully in line with Spencer’s broader evolutionist thought for society.

In one of his last discussions on women in higher education in 1909 through the popular *Good Housekeeping* magazine, Hall muted his stridency and accepted the new campus and societal realities. His advice to parents on sending their daughters to college contained benign practical considerations tied to the girl’s temperament and maturity, whether the institution had women’s dormitories and a dean of women, the liberal atmosphere of the institution toward women students, and

¹³⁰Ibid., 43.

¹³¹“For Man More Manly Woman More Womanly,” *Worcester Post*, 13 June 1906, n.p.

¹³²G. Stanley Hall, “From Generation to Generation with Some Plain Language about Race Suicide and the Instruction of Children during Adolescence,” *America Magazine* 66 (July 1908): 248–54.

¹³³Ibid., 253.

¹³⁴Ibid., 354.

¹³⁵Ibid., 249.

the student body size. He hoped—not demanded—that college would have “well-developed departments in domestic science, music, and art, and women members of the faculty would not be ashamed to develop a wholesome course in the study of child nature.”¹³⁶ He encouraged parents to consider the quality of the food, hygiene accommodations, and physical recreation needs. Holding out hope for motherhood for these college students, Hall wished for a suitable environment, encouraging natural inclinations and intellectual achievement.

Healthful girls, full of possibilities of motherhood and abounding in life, should be sent to a college where their imperative need of excitement will be recognized, where the restraints of propriety and ancient maidenhood will be relaxed, where liberty and leisure will abound, and where the courage will be developed in them to follow their own marvelously adequate intuitions. . . . Girls who are vigorous in body and keen in intellect, and they alone, need an academic atmosphere tense with ideals of pure scholarship, and can withstand many of its dangers.¹³⁷

After 1909, Hall’s thought on the intellectual capabilities of women greatly modulated. He shifted his position to acknowledge women’s rightful place in higher education—for the best in mind and body. By the end of his life, Hall had more confidence in the efforts of women in college and graduate study. He believed that women “have acquitted themselves quite as well if not, on the whole, a trifle better than young men, even in research. They are extremely conscientious, open-minded to suggestions, assiduous workers, good critics, perhaps a trifle more influenced by personalities, but always able to hold their own in seminary discussions.”¹³⁸ Hall’s fierce ideological wind was finally diminishing.

Oddly, Hall’s public and written pronouncements varied greatly from his administrative actions. During Hall’s academic career, he advised 110 doctoral and 81 master’s students, 13 (or 7 percent) of whom were women, who completed their degrees.¹³⁹ From 1895 to 1910, 75 women studied at Clark, 36 in psychology and 7 in education. Hall probably taught these 43 women in his graduate courses.¹⁴⁰ In 1900, the trustees admitted women to graduate studies, with Caroline Osborne

¹³⁶G. Stanley Hall, “What College for My Daughter?” *Good Housekeeping* 48 (May 1909): 550.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, 551.

¹³⁸Hall, *Life and Confessions*, 556.

¹³⁹Louis N. Wilson, ed., *Granville Stanley Hall, Feb 1, 1844—April 24, 1924: In Memoriam, Volume 7* (Worcester, MA: Clark University Library, 1925), 97–108; Goodchild, “Hall and the Study of Higher Education,” 88–89.

¹⁴⁰“Memorandum in RE Women Students at Clark 1895–1911” and “Women Students,” (n.d., 1911), Box 20, Folder 3, G. Stanley Hall Collection, Clark University Archives (hereafter CUA), Worcester, Massachusetts.

earning the first master's and doctoral degrees in 1907 and 1908, respectively. Hall's one female master's student in pedagogy, Hermione Louis Dealey, showed his support for women in graduate education. He admitted her, taught her courses, recommended her for employment, and eventually published her article, based on her thesis, in his *Pedagogical Seminary*.¹⁴¹ As university historian William Koelsch stated, Hall's actions enabled Clark to be "ahead of Hopkins and Harvard" in admitting women, while "behind Yale and Chicago."¹⁴² Clark thus reflected a group of New England institutions in 1911 that allowed some women admission, such as, Tufts College with its 691 men and 105 women (or 15 percent) or the University of Vermont with its 479 men and 58 women (or 12 percent), but unlike Middlebury College with its 115 men and 107 women (or 93 percent) or Boston University with its 756 men and 631 women (or 83 percent).¹⁴³ The most complete study on the paradox between Hall's public pronouncements and institutional actions reveals his support of older single women graduate students or endorsement of their future teaching careers in schools or social welfare.¹⁴⁴

Some collegiate changes in the first decade of the twentieth century undercut coeducation and seemed to support Hall's position. Colby College in Maine discontinued women's education all together. Wesleyan College returned to being all male after twenty-eight years of coeducation. The University of Chicago dropped coeducation for its first two undergraduate years and built a separate quadrangle with its classrooms and residences for women in a coordinate education policy. Finally, Stanford University limited women's enrollments to 500 out of its then 1,100 students.¹⁴⁵ This brief spate of rejection and resistance gave way to almost universal acceptance of coeducation in the 1920s. The pragmatic realities of coeducation and women's desire for higher education eclipsed Hall's aging Victorian and evolutionist worldview.¹⁴⁶ In his last years, even the retired president recognized the passing of his evolutionist "craze" and its implications for women's higher education.

¹⁴¹ Goodchild, "Hall and the Study of Higher Education," 88–89, 92–93; Diehl, "Paradox of G. Stanley Hall," 278–80.

¹⁴² Koelsch, *Clark University*, 72–74.

¹⁴³ "Memorandum in RE Women Students at Clark." The trustees finally allowed undergraduate women to be admitted in 1943 to Clark College, a separate unit that opened in fall 1902, see Koelsch, *Clark University*, 96, 102, 166–68.

¹⁴⁴ Diehl, "Paradox of G. Stanley Hall," 278–80.

¹⁴⁵ Butcher, *Education for Equality*, 45–48; Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 112–20.

¹⁴⁶ Seller, "G. Stanley Hall and Edward Thorndike," 368, 372–73.

“Stocks and Breeds of Men of a New Type”: Hall’s Views on Race

Hall viewed race from a Social Darwinist perspective as well. In a speech before the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1903, Hall feared the loss of many “primitive” peoples across the world, as leading nations extirpated them. He decried how “man is the only known creature that has destroyed his own pedigree.”¹⁴⁷ He pled for safeguarding what were then called “the low races.” In using a Social Darwinist metaphor that was popular in this day, Hall claimed that the low races “are not weeds in the human garden, but are essentially children and adolescents in soul, with the same good and bad qualities and needing the same kind of study and adjustment.” Taking a Social Darwinist perspective from Huxley, Hall believed that the lower races were the “stocks and breeds of men of a new type, full of new promise and potency for our race, because an ounce of heredity is worth a hundredweight of civilization and schooling.” He called for them to be treated with “reverence and care”; they were to be studied, for they “might be a new dispensation of culture and civilization.” His ideas were both altruistic and self-serving; their consequence produced much good at Clark, as is noted later. His fear focused on the fact that “college men in our own communities do not even reproduce their own numbers, so antagonistic is over-individuation to genesis.”¹⁴⁸ Hall thus saw race from a global perspective, seeking to safeguard and direct the upward development of humankind as his ultimate goal.

In 1905, Hall dealt with the complexities of race in three speeches. In “The Underdeveloped Races in Contact with Civilization,” he focused on African Americans and Native Americans in particular.¹⁴⁹ Hall was angered by men’s extermination of many primitive races, which were “swept out of existence as weeds in the human garden.”¹⁵⁰ The contests of the English and Native Americans, the Spanish and the Mayans and Aztecs, as well as the American whites and the blacks all were subjects of his interracial frustration. He believed that the Negro and the Indian had become wards of the nation. Hall decried Southern states’ reconstructionist policies that forced blacks to give up their right

¹⁴⁷G. Stanley Hall, “The Relations Between the Lower and Higher Races,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd ser., 17 (January 1903): 4–13; G. Stanley Hall, “Ethnic Psychology and Pedagogy, or Adolescent Races and their Treatment,” in *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education*, 2 vols. (New York: Appleton, 1904), vol. 2, 648–748 offers an extensive discussion of “primitive peoples” in the world.

¹⁴⁸Hall, “Relations,” 11–13.

¹⁴⁹G. Stanley Hall, “The Undeveloped Races in Contact with Civilization,” *Washington University Association Bulletin* 4 (1905): 145–50.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 145–46.

to vote. He believed that the Negro had “excellent traits which the whites lack.”¹⁵¹ Reflecting a white Victorian understanding of “Negro culture,” Hall thought blacks had “a freer, richer emotional life, greater docility and power of adaptation, more cheerfulness in the most adverse conditions, and a more intense religious nature, or a keener and more sympathetic appreciation of nature.”¹⁵² Yet ahead of his time, he called for an “African museum, library, or bureau” to display “Negro culture.”¹⁵³ He also supported Booker T. Washington’s ideas for the vocational education of blacks.¹⁵⁴ The president also was angry over how federal government policy had invaded the integrity of the Indian tribal spirit and family life when he believed that the Indian was “a man of the stone age . . . the noblest of all savages.”¹⁵⁵

Further, Hall presented two other studies on these races, taking a “generally moderate stance” for his day.¹⁵⁶ They also revealed an uglier side of his racial beliefs. In a speech before the Massachusetts Historical Society, “A Few Results of Recent Scientific Study of the Negro in America,” Hall reviewed the history of slavery in the South, the growth of the Negro population during that time, and a comparative study of racial health among blacks and whites.¹⁵⁷ Urging greater interracial study, he then began a long discussion of prodigy and sexual development. In this regard, Hall held a problematic contradictory belief. On the one hand, Hall believed “we know too little about the laws of heredity” and interracial descendants. Yet he maintained a Social Darwinist belief that “There is much reason to think that mixture has played an important role in history, and that most of the great races are the result of the commingling of different ethnic stocks.” Hall was convinced that such interracial offspring “had given us some of the leaders” of the Negro race. “While there are some pure Africans born with gifts far above the average for their race, most of its leaders are those who have by heredity, association, or both, derived most from

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 148.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*; also see “Traits of Negro Race: Dr. G. Stanley Hall Talks of Black Man,” *Worcester Telegram*, 28 January 1906.

¹⁵³ Fifty-five years later, one of the first such institutions opened in Chicago as The Du Sable Museum of African American History in 1961 (<http://www.dusablemuseum.org/about/history/>); the National Museum of African Art, founded in 1964, became part of the Smithsonian in 1979 and focused on African culture (<http://africa.si.edu/>).

¹⁵⁴ Hall, “The Underdeveloped Races,” 149. For a concise discussion of his ideas within the progressive age, see Noble, *Progressive Mind*, 101–8.

¹⁵⁵ Hall, “The Underdeveloped Races,” 147–48.

¹⁵⁶ Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, 415.

¹⁵⁷ G. Stanley Hall, “Study of the Negro in America,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd ser., 19 (1905): 96–97, 100–1. A variation of this speech was given at the University of Virginia, G. Stanley Hall, “The Negro in Africa and American,” *Pedagogical Seminary* 12 (1905): 350–68.

the whites.”¹⁵⁸ Such support for the so-called “mulatto hypothesis” revealed some of Hall’s worst racial attitudes; it would not be disproved scientifically until 1927.¹⁵⁹

Given his personal and family abolitionist heritage, he was angered by the “vengeance” surrounding the “3,008 lynchings” of Negroes in the United States from 1885 to 1904 related generally to murder and rape charges. He was “against . . . this wild justice,” which he saw as a “gradual increase in the barbarity of this punishment for rape.”¹⁶⁰ Unfortunately, Hall depended upon W. H. Thomas’s 1901 book, *The American Negro*, for his explanations of why black men may have acted criminally in this regard.¹⁶¹ Thomas’s book was attacked immediately as a false and slanderous black account of Negroes in 1902.¹⁶² Later commentary from Pulitzer Prize-winning historian James McPherson called it “one of the most extreme racist polemics of its time,” for painting a very problematic picture of African American men.¹⁶³ Hall seemed to believe Thomas’s commentary on how the black man sought to revenge the history of “generations of abuse of his own women by white men.” He reinforced this view by noting how Southerners had told him personally that white women were not “safe anywhere.” He urged black leaders to speak out against this crime, “teaching their race not to palliate crime or even shield criminal members.” Turning even uglier, he claimed:

The negro’s sense of the enormity of the crime of ravishing [i.e., to carry away a woman by force] does certainly seem to differ somewhat from that of the whites. If negroes were listed and all the vagrants kept track of, as in Germany, if officers had power to summon posses, or if sheriffs gave bonds to be forfeited if they lost their prisoner, or negro officers were given interest in the punishment of criminals of their own race, some help might be found.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸Hall, “Study of the Negro in America,” 100–1.

¹⁵⁹This common admixture racist belief that white blood furthered black intelligence was finally refuted by Horace Mann Bond, “Some Exceptional Negro Children,” *The Crisis* 34 (1927): 259, as cited by V. P. Franklin, “The Tests Are Written for Dogs” *The Journal of Negro Education*, African American Children, and the Intelligence Testing Movement in Historical Perspective,” *Journal of Negro Education* 76, no. 3 (2007): 218. For a broader perspective on Bond’s research and the “mulatto hypothesis,” see William B. Thomas, “Black Intellectuals’ Critique of Early Mental Testing: A Little-Known Saga of the 1920s,” *American Journal of Education* 90, no. 3 (1982): 265, 271–74, 282–83.

¹⁶⁰Hall, “Study of the Negro in America,” 103–4.

¹⁶¹W. H. Thomas, *The American Negro: What He Was, What He Is, and What He May Become, A Critical and Practical Discussion* (New York: Macmillan, 1901). Hall followed this commentary, because he was an African American author.

¹⁶²W. H. Council, “The American Negro: An Answer,” *Publications of the Southern History Association* 6, no. 1 (1902): 40–44.

¹⁶³James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to NAACP* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 341.

¹⁶⁴“Study of the Negro in America,” 102–4.

Compounding this biased Thomas commentary, Hall seems to encourage a police state with a registration scheme that foreshadowed the approaching horrors of Nazism and its treatment of the Jewish people.

Returning to his educational concerns, Hall applauded the African American students at Tuskegee College who made such “great progress” in some many areas of knowledge and personal development. In this regard, he shifted from his full support of Washington’s educational agenda to include also the opportunity, advocated by W. E. B. Du Bois, “for all higher elements of education to every negro who can take it and make use of it.” Finally, Hall acknowledged that the black “race has gifts others lack,” and believed that education played a critical role in the “solution of his own problems.”¹⁶⁵

Concluding his speech, Hall noted the “notorious” failure of the United States Indian Bureau’s to serve and inquire about the actual needs of Native Americans from the Indians themselves.¹⁶⁶ In all his writings, he praised the positive attributes of both races, encouraging them to develop their own heritages. He suggested schools for Native Americans where their own languages and literatures were taught.¹⁶⁷ “To Anglicize everything,” he said in a speech at the National Education Association, “is psychological expatriation.”¹⁶⁸

Taking up an international theme in these speeches, Hall demanded a “true policy in regard to every primitive people” and decried a certain country’s outrageous solution to the “problem of race suicide.”¹⁶⁹ He blamed the Belgians under King Leopold II for decimating millions of Africans in the Congo. Once again, Hall wanted the human race to maintain “healthy, vigorous native stocks.” He reflected on how the Romans had not crushed the life out of their captured peoples, thereby preserving the future generations who constituted the European and American heritage. He also applauded how Japan was not partitioned in the last century, thereby allowing the country to fully maintain and develop its indigenous culture. Hall broached a new theme that pervaded his writings on race for the first time: “The best standard of virtue is to so live that the sacred torch of heredity may be transmitted undimmed to this boundless future.”¹⁷⁰ Hall’s evolutionist

¹⁶⁵Ibid., 106.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., 107.

¹⁶⁷Ibid.; also see G. Stanley Hall, “How Far Are the Principles of Education Along Indigenous Lines Applicable to American Indians?,” *Pedagogical Seminary* 15 (September 1908): 365–69.

¹⁶⁸“Dr. Hall Pleads for the American Indian, Also Discusses College Sports at Cleveland Convention,” *Cleveland Post Dispatch*, 30 June 1908, n.p.

¹⁶⁹Hall, “The Undeveloped Races,” 149.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., 150.

ideas led to some enlightened “race” positions relative to others of his time.

To affect social change with regard to race relations, in 1911 Hall characteristically launched another scholarly publication, the *Journal of Race Development*, co-editing the journal with Clark history professor George H. Blakeslee.¹⁷¹ From an evolutionary point of view, Hall saw little difference between primitive peoples and “civilized man,” following the ideas of his Jewish faculty member Franz Boas.¹⁷² In one of his most enlightened statements, Hall spoke to the plight of the African Americans in journal’s first issue.

We should strive to make representative colored men self-respecting, give them a just measure of pride in their race, and give their leaders motivation in studying its history not only in this country but in their father land, teach them, to understand the magnificent emotional endowments nature has given them that has kept their spirits more or less buoyant under infinite hardship, teach them to love their rich and unique folklore, to be proud of and to develop it,— in a word, to study and bring out the best that is in their blood, and to mitigate surely, if ever so slowly, the handicap of race prejudice, for these things alone can give the black man true freedom.¹⁷³

In the last paragraph of this editorial, Hall made a plea to assist—what we would call indigenous cultures and shifted his terminology for the first time by writing—“so-called lower races” in maintaining their vitality. Again, casting his comments from a global perspective, the president declared: “It may be that some stocks now obscure may a few centuries hence take up the torch that falls from our hand and develop other culture types very distinct from ours; and that to them and not to us will be appointed the task of ushering in the kingdom of the superman.”¹⁷⁴ This theme became the final watchword for Hall, as he sought the future vitality of the entire human race through safeguarding, what he considered primitive, dependent, and developing peoples. While this journal is not known today, it was renamed with several mergers the *Journal of International Relations* and later in 1922 the current prestigious *Journal of Foreign Affairs*.¹⁷⁵

Together Hall and Blakeslee sought to remedy these international racial problems through quasi-political efforts, by holding many successful conferences at Clark on critical foreign affairs and bringing together many heads of nations to resolve their differences. They were

¹⁷¹Koelsch, *Clark University*, 69–72; Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, 414, n. 72.

¹⁷²G. Stanley Hall, “The Point of View Toward Primitive Races,” *Journal of Race Development* 1 (1911): 5.

¹⁷³*Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁷⁵Koelsch, *Clark University*, 70; Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, 414, n. 72.

created, Hall wrote, "to do our share in bringing about a better understanding of different peoples." Appropriately in 1906, Hall became the president of the Congo Reform Association through which he attempted to alleviate the problems facing Africans there, due to Belgium's harsh policies. He also wrote to former President Theodore Roosevelt in 1915, asking him to join in creating a national conference to address the conditions and problems of the American Negro.¹⁷⁶

Hall's efforts achieved success for Clark University. The president welcomed African Americans, Japanese, and Jewish undergraduate and graduate students who could bring back knowledge and professional academic skills, as he would say, to their races. He awarded the first bachelor's degree to an African American there in 1912; Louis C. Tyree came from Indiana in 1909. Hall presented the first PhD in psychology to an African American, Francis Cecil Sumner, in the United States in 1920. Sumner later taught at Wilberforce University and then at West Virginia State College. Finally he chaired the psychology department at Howard University for twenty-four years until 1954.¹⁷⁷ Hall also established a special institutional relationship with Howard to encourage black undergraduates to do their graduate studies at Clark. One of these notable students was E. Franklin Frazier, who became a leading African American sociologist and author of *Black Bourgeoisie* in 1957.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, Clark lagged behind Yale and Harvard in its admittance and its conferral of degrees on African Americans, with Edward A. Bouchet earning a PhD in physics at Yale in 1876 and W. E. B. Du Bois receiving his PhD in history at Harvard in 1896 but was ahead of most other institutions.¹⁷⁹

Similarly, Jews were considered "a racial group with distinct physical and mental traits" in that day.¹⁸⁰ Following the university's

¹⁷⁶"Open Field of Thought; Dr. G. Stanley Hall's Address on Congo Man; Scope of Work for the Race in this Country; Raises Point in Solution of Problem," *Worcester Telegram*, 21 January 1906; G. Stanley Hall to K. Midzuno, 13 September 1911, Box 16, Folder 9; G. Stanley Hall to Howard W. Odum, 15 June 1908; Theodore Roosevelt to Hall, 30 November 1915, Box 25, Folder 13, G. Stanley Hall Collection, CUA.

¹⁷⁷Koelsch, *Clark University*, 122; Goodchild, "Hall and the Study of Higher Education," 89–90.

¹⁷⁸Shelly Tenenbaum, "The Vicissitudes of Tolerance: Jewish Faculty and Students at Clark University," *Massachusetts Historical Review* 5 (2003): 12.

¹⁷⁹Stafford Hood and Marla Bennett, "African Americans in Higher Education," in *Higher Education*, vol. 1, 55–61, especially 56. The definitive study of African Americans in education is James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). For higher education, see Julian B. Roebuck and Komanduri S. Murty, *Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Their Place in American Higher Education* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993); Ralph D. Christy and Lionel Williamson, ed., *A Century of Service: Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, 1890–1990* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1992).

¹⁸⁰Tenenbaum, "Vicissitudes of Tolerance," 13.

nondiscriminatory charter, Hall sought out Jewish faculty and graduate students and later undergraduates, contrary to many other universities.¹⁸¹ Three of his first faculty appointments, “Albert A. Michelson in physics, Moris Loeb in chemistry, and Franz Boas in anthropology,” were Jewish. Hall encouraged Josiah Moses, a doctoral student, to enroll in doctoral studies, and advanced his employment, even naming him the president’s own “literary executor” after his death. These actions reflected his deep support for and friendship with this gifted individual. His beliefs also led to nondiscriminatory admission policies for undergraduates. Beginning as early as 1905, Clark College admitted Jewish undergraduates; between 1915 and 1922 its student classes were approximately 14 percent Jewish. The president addressed the university’s Menorah Society several times after its creation in 1913, spoke skeptically about Jewish “assimilation” into the mainstream culture, and supported the creation of a Jewish university.¹⁸² Hall advocated and protected other races for evolutionist reasons, unlike his more Social Darwinist contemporaries who advocated “a survival of the fittest” mentality to further imperialism of the best race.¹⁸³ In race development, the president believed education was a needed augmentation to heredity. His racial beliefs thus disclosed his most enlightened ideas, practices, and policies as well as some reprehensible ones.

Toward an Understanding of Hallianism

In retrospect, Hall created an American Social Darwinist pedagogy. As professor and college president, he brought a Darwinian and Spencerian worldview to the developing new science of pedagogy and the study of education. By applying evolutionary ideas to pedagogical knowledge, practice, and policies, he brought a new conceptual force into progressive education.¹⁸⁴ His progressive contributions now may be seen more systematically. Ten major ideas discussed in this article explore the meaning of Hallianism. First, the study of education was a part of developmental and applied psychology. Second, natural education in schooling played an interventionist role in a genetic understanding and unfolding of gender and race development. Third, the school should be entirely child-centered and not coeducational, rather focused on differential learning and developmental needs of boys and girls respectively.

¹⁸¹Paul Ritterband and Harold S. Wechsler, *Jewish Learning in American Universities: The First Century* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994); Harold S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student: A History of Selective College Admission in America, 1870-1970* (New York: Wiley, 1977).

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, 9, 12-15; Koelsch, *Clark University*, 102, 111.

¹⁸³Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism*, 170-200.

¹⁸⁴Goodchild, “Hall, Granville Stanley,” 64-68.

Fourth, women's education was primarily for advancing their roles as mothers and wives, although those unwilling or unable to assume these roles or the truly gifted should be admitted into higher education. Fifth, protection, support, and education of other races were encouraged to honor and maintain the diversity of humankind. Sixth, education occurred throughout the five-stage developmental lifespan perspective. Seventh, freedom was an essential component in allowing recapitulatory, natural, instinctual, and hereditary personal attributes to emerge as part of the educational and individuation process. Eighth, personal, educational, and societal policies encouraged the progressive development of humankind toward "superman" stature. Ninth, psychology and education were studies ultimately related to the nature of consciousness. Tenth, evolutionary thought created a radically different educational philosophy than Hegelianism and Herbartianism. Hall characterized his life as "a series of fads and crazes," but one of his students fondly remembered him as someone who "was ever seeking new trails."¹⁸⁵ In his pioneering efforts as noted by an earlier generation of educational historians,¹⁸⁶ Hall offended some groups and attracted others; it was the price he was willing to pay in his search for truth.

Hall's major legacies remain the importance of psychology and educational psychology for the study of education, the adoption of psychology courses as the required underpinning of this new education being offered at American research universities,¹⁸⁷ the development of genetic and differential psychology, especially research on behavioral learning among animals, and developmental psychology, related to the demonstration of life stages. In educational research, Hall's use of the questionnaire method, multiple research methods, and case studies offered some of the first American empirical work in child study and higher education. This exposition describes a generally forgotten theoretical dimension in the complexity of progressive educational thought.¹⁸⁸ Hallianism thus comprised a new Social Darwinist pedagogy and formed the third dimension of early American progressive education at the turn of the last century.

¹⁸⁵ Pruette, *Hall*, 3–4; A. E. Hamilton, "Stanley Hall: A Memory," *American Mercury* 2 (July 1924): 290.

¹⁸⁶ Kandel, *Twenty-Five Years of American Educators*, 59; Eby and Arrowood, *Development of Modern Education*, 840–55; Curti, *Social Ideas of American Educators*, 416; Cremin, *Transformation of the School*, 102–4, n. 12.

¹⁸⁷ Lester F. Goodchild, "The Beginnings of Education at American Research Universities: Curricular Conflicts over the Study of Pedagogy as Practice or Science, 1856–1940," in *Passion, Fusion, Tension: New Education and Educational Sciences, End 19th—Middle 20th Century*, ed. Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly, Explorations (Bern, Switzerland: Lang, 2006), 69–105. Hall's exposure to German pedagogical ideas of the "New Education" may have aided his American education efforts.

¹⁸⁸ Herbst, "Theory of Progressive Education," 59.