

***The Bordentown School as Institution and Idea:
The Manual Training and Industrial School Honored
Educational Priorities of Washington, Du Bois, and Dewey***

By Connie Goddard, Ph.D.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14713/njs.v4i2.125>

Given its various accomplishments and distinctions, the Manual Training and Industrial School for Colored Youth in Bordentown, New Jersey (which existed from 1886-1955), is surprisingly little known in the state or among historians of education. A state-supported boarding school for boys and girls, it combined a solid academic program with practical work experience through a highly structured school day and a dedicated faculty that also lived on campus. Its mission was to direct students, many from unstable backgrounds, into stable jobs or further education. Though frequently called “Tuskegee of the North,” the school as led by long-time principal William R. Valentine was arguably influenced as much by John Dewey, who in a 1915 book about progressive education had praised another school Valentine headed earlier. As a meeting place for black cultural leaders in the state from the 1920s through the 1940s, the school also exposed its students to avenues through life that could enable them to become leaders themselves. Thus, the school can be viewed as manifesting the priorities articulated by Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, as well as by Dewey.

When, in the summer of 1915, a new principal arrived in Bordentown to head the Manual Training and Industrial School for Colored Youth (MTIS), he came with some distinctive qualifications. His name was William R. Valentine and he had an undergraduate degree from Harvard College. He had led a school in Indianapolis that was praised in a book by John Dewey, and he may have taught at Tuskegee Institute (more on that in a bit). Valentine and the school’s

mission were a formidable combination, and he used his experiences – along with financial backing from the state of New Jersey and a loyal faculty – to turn a small school serving 6th to 10th graders into a thriving secondary school that by the mid-1930s enrolled over 400 students, preparing them for the kinds of jobs available in a segregated society and many for further education. It's a great story, but one not widely known among historians of education.



A romanticized view of the campus as it looked circa 1930. Note the Delaware River in the background and, in the center, the oval driveway surrounded by dormitories, classrooms, and workshops. The formal entranceway is at the bottom; faculty housing is at the bottom left. On either side of the entrance are barns for livestock, orchards, and fields; students cared for the animals and helped in the fields as part of their schooling. At the upper right are the tennis courts and athletic fields; I-295 now cuts through where they once were located. Illustration by Lady Bird Strickland; reproduction copyright 1998 by John Medley; photo, courtesy of Erik L. Burro.

Nearly a decade ago, the story of the school was told, with considerable admiration, in a video entitled *A Place Out of Time*.¹ Narrated by Ruby Dee, it centered on a reunion of fond graduates that had taken place a few years earlier. Included were film clips of the school made during the 1930s (presumably its heyday) and analyses by two noted historians. Two dissertations have been written about the school: one in 1977 by Ezola Bolden Adams (a graduate of the school); the other in 1984 by Evelyn Blackmore Duck.² A third dissertation, by Wynetta Devore, on the education of blacks in New Jersey contains valuable reminiscences of early students and faculty.³ Marion Thompson Wright, in her *The Education of Negroes in New Jersey*, offers balanced comments about the school's mission and accomplishments, but as the book was published in 1941, it doesn't cover the last dozen years of MTIS's existence.⁴ Other than these, however, memories of the school seem somewhat confined to those who recall attending there. As the school closed in 1955, many of its graduates are now in their 80s, so it's a good thing the video captured many of them. The Bordentown school, its plusses and deficiencies, and particularly Valentine's long tenure as principal – he led it until 1950 – tell an instructive tale about attitudes toward education for African-American students in New Jersey between the Progressive Era and the start of the Civil Rights Movement. Further, the school's distinctive curriculum – both academic and vocational – and its insistence that students be well-prepared to support themselves upon completing their years there suggest that it offered an intriguing melding of ideas about schooling

¹ *A Place Out of Time: The Bordentown School*, prod. and dir. Dave Davidson and Amber Edwards, Hudson West Productions, 2009, DVD.

² Ezola Bolden Adams, "The Role and Function of the Manual Training and Industrial School at Bordentown as an Alternative School, 1915-1955" (Ed.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1977); Evelyn Blackmore Duck, "An Historical Study of a Racially Segregated School in New Jersey from 1886-1955" (Ed.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1984).

³ Wynetta Devore, "The Education of Blacks in New Jersey, 1900-1930: An Exploration in Oral History" (Ed.D., diss., Rutgers University, 1980).

⁴ Marion Thompson Wright, *The Education of Negroes in New Jersey* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1941).

propounded by three leading educators of its day: Booker T. Washington (1856-1915), John Dewey (1859-1952), and W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963).

MTIS had been established 30 years prior to Valentine's arrival by a group of men organized as the Technical Educational Association of New Jersey and led by Walter Allen Rice, an African Methodist minister.⁵ Its stated purpose was "the training of both sexes in such industries as shall enable them to become self-supporting."⁶ But the fact that it was briefly known as Ironsides Normal School (it occupied a home high above the Delaware that had been built by the commander of the U.S.S. Constitution, known as "Old Ironsides") suggests that Rev. Rice wanted to prepare teachers as well. In the 1890s, the school was taken over by the state of New Jersey. For the decade prior to Valentine's arrival, it had been led by James Gregory, a classics professor from Howard University.⁷

That this one institution, which thrived during the first half of the 20th century, could combine lessons from Washington, Dewey, and Du Bois suggests that its compelling story should be more widely known. Though these three men were speaking to rather separate audiences, the case can be made that Valentine endeavored to borrow a bit from each of them. When he arrived at Bordentown, attitudes about education for African-American children fell into two camps. There was the doing-useful-work approach promoted by Washington and developed while he headed Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.⁸ Then there was Du Bois, the erudite sociologist with a Ph.D. from Harvard. He articulated a model of political and academic leadership led by a "talented" and well-educated "tenth" of the black population, who would raise their fellows out of poverty and

⁵ Additional information about Rice is given in a new book about the school written by his granddaughter; see Mildred L. Rice Jordan, *Reclaiming African-American Students: Legacies, Lessons, and Prescriptions, The Bordentown School Model* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2017).

⁶ Wright, *Education of Negroes*, 17.

⁷ Adams, "Role and Function," 5-8.

⁸ Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (1901; reprint, with an introduction by Ismael Reed, New York: New American Library, 2000).

subservience.⁹ In 1915, the year that Valentine arrived at MTIS, the book that brought attention to his Indianapolis school appeared. Called *Schools of Tomorrow* and written by John Dewey with his daughter Evelyn, it praised schools that used progressive principles to instill democratic habits of mind in their students.¹⁰

Bordentown was called by some the “Tuskegee of the North,” and *A Place Out of Time* claims that Valentine taught there as well.¹¹ With his Harvard degree, he arguably belonged to Du Bois’s talented tenth. He expanded academic offerings at the school, implementing a curriculum that also seems inspired by Dewey’s turn-of-the-century classic *School and Society* as well as his later writings on the place of vocational education in the public-school curriculum.¹²

At the time Valentine arrived at Bordentown, both blacks and whites in New Jersey seemed more inclined to support the Washington model, if for different reasons. Segregation was the norm at the time, and those schools that separated black students from white would increase in number as the state absorbed new residents from the South during and after World War I (the time of the Great Migration of southern blacks to northern cities). Segregated schools were regarded by many black families as a safer and more nurturing environment for their children; they also provided jobs for black teachers and administrators.¹³ Though a study of progressive schools for black students in the South done in the early 1940s did not mention Valentine’s efforts in New Jersey, and a later version of the Deweys’ *Schools of Tomorrow* failed to mention Valentine’s efforts either in Indianapolis or in Bordentown, the occupations-related curricula developed at both

⁹ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903; reprint, with an introduction by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., New York: Bantam Books, 1989).

¹⁰ John Dewey and Evelyn Dewey, *Schools of Tomorrow* (1915; reprint, with an introduction by William W. Brickman, New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1962).

¹¹ A list of faculty members available from the Archivist at Tuskegee University has no record of this.

¹² John Dewey, *The Child and the Curriculum* and *The School and Society* (1902 and 1900; reprint in combined edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956) and “Learning to Earn: The Place of Vocational Education in a Comprehensive System of Public Education,” *School and Society* 5, no. 117 (March 24, 1917): 331-335.

¹³ See, in particular, Duck, “Historical Study,” 43-49.

strongly represent Dewey's conception.¹⁴ However, as MTIS matured, with a loyal staff that had served there for decades, the school was increasingly regarded as rigid and dated, teaching skills and values out of keeping with the nation's development during and after World War II.¹⁵ That said, many students who attended it as the 1940s became the 1950s had high regard for what they had learned there – and felt the school had launched them into successful careers.¹⁶



Two classic photographs of MTIS – or the Bordentown school: left, the graceful Administration Building, one of a dozen-plus Georgian brick buildings on campus; bottom, students posed for a photograph in the school's auditorium, probably taken in the late 1930s. The young men were dressed in the uniform of the school's militia-drill program; the young women in their own dress uniforms. Note that the male students outnumber the female students; this was true for much of the school's existence. Both photographs courtesy of the New Jersey State Archive, Department of State; used with permission.



¹⁴ The 1940s study is the topic of Craig Kridel, ed., *Progressive Education in Black High Schools: The Secondary School Study, 1940-1946* (Columbia, SC: Museum of Education, University of South Carolina, 2015); the later version of *Schools of Tomorrow* is Alan Sadovnik and Susan Semel, *Schools of Tomorrow, Schools of Today: What Happened to Progressive Education?* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

¹⁵ Adams, "Role and Function," 135-139.

¹⁶ *A Place Out of Time* includes reminiscences of several graduates who attended during the school's last decade.

MTIS: Its Setting and Situation

The “Mississippi of the North” is how one black leader described New Jersey during the early decades of the 20th century, according to Davison Douglas’s *Jim Crow Moves North*, an exhaustively researched book on school segregation between the Civil War and *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954.¹⁷ The state had been slow to establish a public education system, and black students suffered more from this neglect than did white students; this was particularly true in the state’s southern counties. School segregation itself wasn’t subject to state policy until 1881, when the legislature passed a law stating that “no child between the age of five and eighteen years of age shall be excluded from any public school in the state on account of his or her religion, nationality, or color.”¹⁸ But, as Douglas and Marion Thompson Wright argue, the 1881 legislation was largely ignored for decades.

During the Great Migration, tens of thousands of new residents arrived in New Jersey, which may have already had the largest proportion of black residents as any northern state.¹⁹ According to the *Encyclopedia of New Jersey*, the state’s black population increased from 89,000 in 1910 to 208,000 in 1930; before World War I, most lived in rural areas south of Bordentown.²⁰ A decade later, according to the Douglas book, during the 1940s when pressure was on to integrate schools, the state’s black population grew from 226,973 to 318,565, and many of these new residents settled in the state’s northern cities. Both re-segregation of and animosity toward these new residents increased, at least until the beginning of World War II. Then, in 1944, the state Supreme Court ruled in a case known as *Hedgepeth-Williams* that separate schools violated the

¹⁷ Davison Douglas, *Jim Crow Moves North: The Battle over Northern School Segregation, 1896-1954* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

¹⁸ Wright, *Education of Negroes*, 167.

¹⁹ Douglas, *Jim Crow*, 89.

²⁰ “African-Americans,” *Encyclopedia of New Jersey*, Maxine Lurie and Marc Mappen, eds. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 7.

state law of 1881 prohibiting segregation on the basis of race. The following year, the New Jersey governor established a Division Against Discrimination, which monitored segregation not only in schools but in public accommodations and similar facilities.²¹ In 1955, a year after *Brown v. Board*, the Bordentown school closed for good, though some of its facilities have intermittently been used for other purposes since then.

Thus, that William Valentine came to head a school specifically for “colored youth” – or that the school would be fondly recalled by many of those who had attended it – should not be surprising. MTIS was regarded by some as a refuge from prejudicial attitudes and hostility shown, unapologetically, by many whites.²² That it was. It also offered a nurturing faculty, provided a sense of direction for its students, and insisted upon considerable self-discipline.²³ But it was also a school at which all students had to learn a trade, and for which all participated in maintenance: cleaning and repair, raising vegetables and livestock, preparing and serving meals. Though this last may be controversial today, it’s a model that’s been followed before, as with the log colleges that prepared students for Princeton two centuries before Bordentown prepared its students for a society that often did not welcome them.²⁴

In the late 1890s, an act of the New Jersey legislature facilitated the state’s acquisition of the young school’s assets, and in 1897, Rice was replaced as principal by Gregory, who sought to expand the school in numbers, merit, and purpose. Known as a disciple of W.E.B. Du Bois – then,

²¹ Douglas, *Jim Crow*, 227.

²² In *A Place Out of Time*, one of the graduates remarked that when members of the faculty and staff gave them a hard time, they knew it wasn’t because they were black.

²³ A “Bulletin of General Regulations” produced by the school probably during the 1930s is available in the New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, SEDMA01, Box 1.

²⁴ The story of these schools is given in Benjamin Rush, “Samuel Finley: New Side Educator,” and William Irwin, “Log Colleges,” in *The Great Awakening and American Education: A Documentary History*, Douglas Sloan, ed. (New York: Teachers College Press, 1970). Dozens of these schools (given the term “log” in jest because many were hastily constructed) were located in the Delaware River Valley; typically, 10-20 students would board in the home of a minister and his wife. They contributed to the school’s upkeep as well as growing their food, etc., in return for their lessons.

perhaps, the nation's leading black intellectual – Gregory wanted the school to offer a college-preparation program as well as the manual and industrial training one. Then in 1913, Booker T. Washington (the lauded founder of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and the nation's leading black educator) was invited to visit the school, which then served around 90 students. Washington advised that the school “should be brought into closer touch with black people.”²⁵ State officials apparently agreed and pressured the school to focus on job-training skills rather than academic ones. Gregory offered his resignation, so a search began to find a new principal. Calvin Kendall, who became New Jersey state superintendent of schools in 1914, had in mind William Valentine, a young man he had known in his previous post, as superintendent of schools in Indianapolis.²⁶



William R. Valentine, MTIS principal from 1915 until 1950. This photo was likely taken in the late 1930s. Courtesy of the New Jersey State Archive, Department of State; used with permission.

William Valentine and his wife Grace arrived in Bordentown during the summer of 1915. Whether or not *Schools of Tomorrow* had been published by then, Kendall was surely aware of the kind of school Valentine had developed in Indianapolis; it served a poor, black community with limited material resources, but he led parents and students to make the most of what they had. The Deweys' book was a celebration of efforts to build schools around the “progressive” ideas about education Dewey and others had conceptualized in the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago between 1895 and 1904. The idea behind the school was

²⁵ A record of Washington's visit is given in a “Weekly Letter of the Manual Training and Industrial School,” December 28, 1920. A copy is in the New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, SEDMA01, Box 1.

²⁶ Adams, “Role and Function,” 7.

to bring the life of the community, its needs and resources, plus familiarity with how its residents made a living, into the academic program. Valentine's school in Indianapolis had done that, though perhaps to excess – reading the chapter on it today, one wonders whether there was sufficient time in the school day to focus on geography or multiplication tables.²⁷

Though born in Virginia, Valentine had graduated from high school in Montclair, New Jersey, and in 1904 from Harvard. In 1929, he reported to his classmates: “Contrary to expectation, I landed in the educational field in Indianapolis immediately following my graduation.” He also reported that he had acquired a master's degree from Teachers College in 1928, but he makes no reference to service at Tuskegee.²⁸ In the 1929 report, Valentine went on to say, “In those early days, I acquired a conviction that the public school was a social agent to serve its community somewhat in the manner of a settlement house, and in fact to take its place.” This suggests he was well aware of institutions such as Hull House in Chicago, which had been established by Dewey's friend Jane Addams.²⁹

Aspects of Valentine's school in Indianapolis shared several characteristics with the Tuskegee program Washington had established. For one, both were “close to the community” as Washington had suggested Bordentown should be. Valentine saw his school not only as the center of the community it served, but as noted above, a social settlement. Students at both schools were responsible for maintaining the physical plant; Washington had long employed Dewey's model of teaching academic skills through practical ones, as Valentine did in Indianapolis. In fact, a few

²⁷ Dewey and Dewey, *Schools of Tomorrow*, 1915.

²⁸ *1904 Harvard Class Album*, Photographic Committee, ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929). Valentine also reported to his classmates a 1907 marriage and the birth of two children.

²⁹ Valentine also received an honorary doctorate in 1938 from Lincoln University in Indianapolis; a graduate student named Milagros Seraus-Roche at the City University of New York is undertaking a study of his ideas about schooling. A preliminary report of her findings, titled “Resisting Erasure: Reclaiming the Progressive Pedagogy and Practice of William Valentine,” was presented at the Annual Meeting of the History of Education Society, Little Rock, Ark., November 3, 2017.

years ago, a New Jersey college administrator published a book in which he argued that Washington, as much as Dewey, deserves to be called a father of progressive education.³⁰ Established in 1881, Tuskegee's founding had preceded Dewey's school by more than a dozen years.

From his academic background, we can assume that Valentine was familiar with the then-conspicuous controversy between Du Bois and Washington. When building Tuskegee, Washington claims, he taught himself to make bricks so that he could teach his students how to construct their first school building.³¹ As a student at Harvard when Du Bois's eloquent *Souls of Black Folk* was published in 1903, Valentine would surely have been familiar with Du Bois's claim that Tuskegee's founder was instructing his fellows to aim too low.³² Washington's attitude, simplified, was that blacks should raise themselves individually and collectively by their own bootstraps; Du Bois's response was, in effect, that their oppressed brethren were near barefoot, as that was the position the white power structure wanted them to remain in.

That dispute aside, with Valentine at its head and financial support from the state of New Jersey, MTIS was in a position to actualize some then-current ideas about progressive schooling.³³ Further, Valentine's career as an educator had developed during a period when the merits and limitations of "vocational" education were being debated from one side of the country to the other. During the decades before and after the turn of the 20th century, manual and industrial training were increasingly becoming part of the curriculum for secondary schools, North and South, urban

³⁰ Donald General, Jr., *Booker T. Washington: The Architect of Progressive Education* (Houston: Strategic Book Publishing, 2013).

³¹ Washington, *Slavery*, 104-106.

³² Du Bois, *Souls*, 30-42. (Whether Valentine ever met Du Bois is not known, but in 1922, the former did write to the latter about Harvard's decision that year to exclude black students from the freshman dormitories.)

³³ D. Stuart Craven, a long-time member of the state board of education, was a particularly active supporter; a ceremonial "Citizen's Gateway," erected in 1924 with money raised by the state's black residents, was dedicated to Craven. See "A Decade of Progress," published by the MTIS Extension Department in 1926; a copy is available at the New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, SEDMA01, Box 1.

and rural. Just what this should be was a topic that Washington, Dewey, and Du Bois all weighed in on, if for different reasons.³⁴ The dispute between Washington and Du Bois predated differences of opinion about the goal of such training – the former aimed for employability; the latter for intellectual leadership. Dewey’s argument, which he offered in various forums over two or three decades, was more nuanced – but he was also speaking about a broader audience, not a discriminated-against subset of Americans.

In his writings about curriculum while he was determining what it should be at the Laboratory School in Chicago, Dewey had used the term “occupations” as the broader context for the kinds of knowledge the school should impart; to his mind, these were the abilities individuals needed in order to achieve some command of their environment and to participate fully in a democratic society.³⁵ But, Dewey’s goals in arguing for some sort of manual and industrial education for all students was often simplified into vocational education for those students whose “probable destiny” was an assembly line, whereas a more rigorous academic curriculum, a “cultural” or “humanist” education, was appropriate for those headed to college, or those who anticipated the leisure to benefit from a liberal education.³⁶ In articles written for prominent periodicals between 1914 and 1917 – the early years of Valentine’s leadership at MTIS – Dewey attempted to define what he meant by “industrial education,” which he opposed to “trade-training.”³⁷ Reading Dewey’s writings on these topics a century later, one wonders whether Valentine had them in mind as he conceptualized the goals and methods he had in mind for the Bordentown school.

³⁴ Herbert M. Kleibard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-58* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 106-131.

³⁵ Dewey’s focus here was discussed recently in Anthony DeFalco, “Dewey and Vocational Education: Still Timely?” *The Journal of School and Society* 3, no. 1 (2016): 54-64.

³⁶ The clearest and most succinct explication of these ideas is an article he wrote two years after Valentine arrived at MTIS; see John Dewey, “Learning to Earn” (full reference given in note 12).

³⁷ Another record of Dewey’s ideas is his “A Policy of Industrial Education,” *The New Republic*, December 19, 1914: 11-12.

In his 1917 article about the role of vocational education in the public school, called “Learning to Earn,” Dewey raised the question as to whom this education was to benefit: the worker or the employer? While he came down most definitely on the side of the former – because education should enable all to participate more fully in a democratic society, rather than to be the tools of others – it is likely fair to say that he was not at the time taking into consideration the special circumstance of people only two generations out of bondage.³⁸ Nevertheless, Valentine and some of his faculty might have had in mind Dewey’s differentiation between two different kinds of industrial education: one, as Dewey wrote, “aims at preparing every individual to render service of a useful sort to the community while at the same time it equips him to earn by his own initiative whatever place his natural capacities fit him for.” The other would prepare students more simply for the kind of jobs that were available to them, with limited concern for individual talents and inclinations.³⁹

A century later, it is difficult to determine where on a continuum between simple “trade-training” or more expansive “industrial education” at the Bordentown Manual Training School might fall. Neither of the dissertations written about the school – those of Adams and Duck – took Dewey’s conceptions into consideration. Rev. Rice, in founding the school, had focused on a program that would make students economically self-sufficient; James Gregory, as principal, had tried to veer away from a strict focus on job training – but he became principal a decade before Dewey began writing about what that could be. Gregory was also somewhat out of step with the times – by 1910, New Jersey, along with many other states, was providing additional money to school districts for offering manual training programs.⁴⁰ And after 1917, the state may have begun

³⁸ Dewey’s evolving understanding of “race” is discussed in Thomas Fallace, *Dewey and the Dilemma of Race: An Intellectual History, 1895-1992* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2011).

³⁹ Dewey, “Learning to Earn,” 334.

⁴⁰ Devore, “Education of Blacks,” 189.

to take advantage of the monies being made available by the federal government through the Smith-Hughes Act, which funded vocational education.⁴¹

Blacks were, during much of Bordentown's existence, barred from jobs in major industries or in the professions – except as doctors or teachers or lawyers serving other blacks. A study noted by Devore claimed that in 1910, two-thirds of blacks in the state were employed as domestic servants or in agriculture; in fact, farming their own land supported many black families, especially in the southern part of the state, at least prior to World War I. Devore also notes that blacks were not welcome in labor unions and that, when they did get factory jobs, it was often in unskilled positions. One of her interviewees reported indignities suffered by his father, who had managed to get a factory job at the famed Roebling wire rope works in Florence.⁴²

Valentine was surely aware of these circumstances, and he seems to have borrowed ideas from Washington, Dewey, and De Bois in designing a curriculum that could respond to these realities. In his first decade at MTIS, Valentine had turned what was initially a school offering pre-secondary programs into a full-fledged secondary school, one that had both vocational and college-preparatory curricula. It would become one of the nation's more widely lauded schools for African-Americans and a goal to aspire to for pre-adolescents throughout the state of New Jersey. During his tenure, Valentine was regarded as one of New Jersey's most prominent black men; he had also learned how to get and use what he needed from the state of New Jersey.⁴³

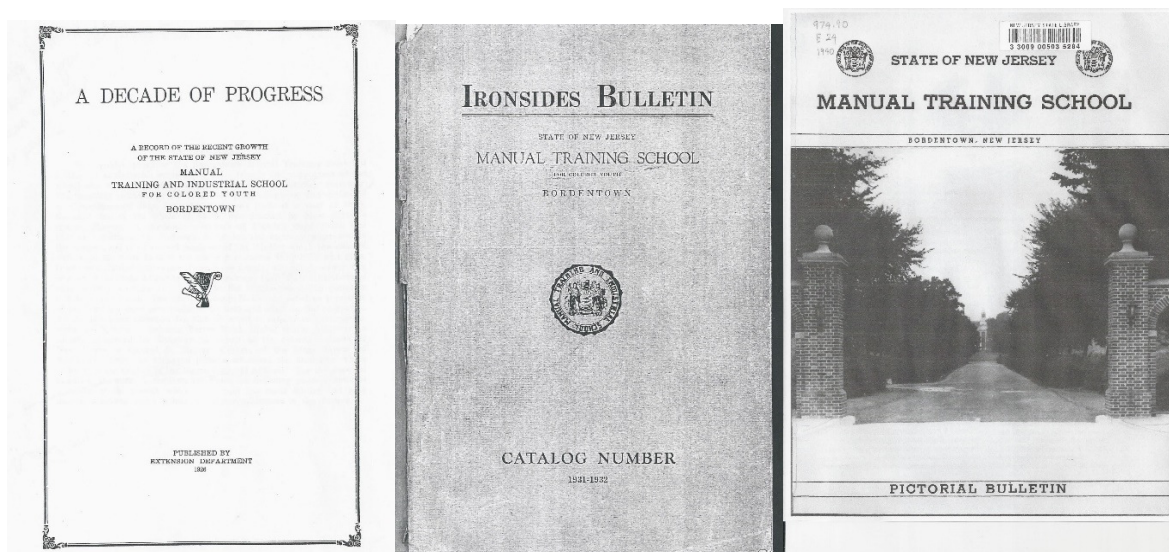
MTIS Expands in Size and Prominence

⁴¹ Kliebard, *American Curriculum*, 122-127. The typescript of a meeting between Valentine and members of the Trenton Board of Education held in March 1921 suggests that the latter sought advice from the former on how to do this. See "Notes from Speeches at a Meeting Held by Bordentown Industrial School," New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, SEDMA01, Box 1.

⁴² Devore, "Education of Blacks," 76-87.

⁴³ *A Place Out of Time* and Ruth Seinfel, "N.J. Negro School Makes Its Own World," *New York Evening Post*, December 30, 1930; a copy of latter is available in New Jersey State Archives, SEDMA01, Box 1.

When Valentine arrived in Bordentown in 1915, the school had 18 faculty members and around 90 students in grades six through 10 – at that time, high school graduation was not a basic standard even for white students nationwide. For its early years, MTIS students interested in continuing their education had to attend a regular public high school. By the mid-1920s, enrollment had reached 320 students; 189 of them were boys.⁴⁴ When the full secondary program was introduced in 1927, at least a third of these were taking regular secondary courses. By the early 1930s, MTIS had 400 students; 230 boys and 170 girls.⁴⁵ It had a staff of 60, half of whom were members of the faculty; the others were responsible for maintenance of buildings, shops, and grounds.⁴⁶ By 1940, the school's enrollment had grown to nearly 450 students.⁴⁷



Three publications from the MTIS, all of which were produced in its printshop, which was staffed by students. The “Decade of Progress” of 1926 tells of the school’s growth and its graduates during the first decade of Valentine’s leadership. The “Ironside’s Bulletin” of 1931-1932 describes the MTIS curriculum after it had become a full secondary school. Both publications are in the New Jersey State Archive, Trenton. The cover illustration for the “Pictorial Bulletin” from 1940 is of the school’s formal entrance; the Georgian brick Administration Building is at the other end. A copy is available in the New Jersey State Library, Trenton.

⁴⁴ “A Decade of Progress,” unpagged (full reference given in note 33).

⁴⁵ Duck, “Historical Study,” 86, 96.

⁴⁶ Adams, “Role and Function,” 55.

⁴⁷ “State of New Jersey Manual Training School Pictorial Bulletin,” 1940, unpagged; copy available at the New Jersey State Library, Trenton.

Admission to Bordentown was allocated on a county-by-county basis; each county could send as many students as it had members of the legislature. Open spaces were filled from among other applicants.⁴⁸ Students applying in 1932 had to have completed sixth grade, be at least 14 years old and in good health, receive a recommendation from hometown officials, and be interviewed by the MTIS field representative.⁴⁹ One of the school's original functions was to help direct students from troubled backgrounds toward a more stable future; this policy continued throughout its history.⁵⁰ Students tended to be older than standard age for their grade, a reflection likely of unstable schooling prior to admission. Adams claims that Valentine preferred that MTIS students receive most of their secondary education there; he felt that two years would not be sufficient to instill both the character and the trade skills he wanted the school's graduates to have.⁵¹

From its very beginnings, "Ironsides" – for it retained that name informally and in the student newspaper the *Ironside Echo* – was a boarding school. Rev. Rice had felt that the students whose futures he was concerned about needed the family-like structure that only a boarding school could offer; this policy was never altered.⁵² Shortly after Valentine's arrival, the state authorized the building of new dormitories, surely essential as the school tripled in size during the first decade of his tenure. Boys and girls were strictly separated on opposite sides of the campus. Students – or at least those who have left a record of their preferences – seem to have welcomed both the comfort of the dorms and the restrictions imposed on them. An early graduate told Devore that their rooms

⁴⁸ Devore, "Education of Blacks," 190.

⁴⁹ Adams, "Role and Function," 79-80.

⁵⁰ A typescript titled "Enrollment Statistics" as of October 2, 1953, tallied the number of students from "normal home situations" and those from "broken homes." Of the 285 students at the time, 136 were in the latter category, which included 12 who were wards of the state. The document is in the New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, SEDMA01, Box 4.

⁵¹ Adams, "Role and Function," 10-12.

⁵² Ibid.

and the matron were “nice;” and “as long as you did the right thing, you have no trouble . . . it was the unruly ones who had trouble.”⁵³ Duck refers to the school’s strict code of conduct and the system of demerits used to enforce it. Molding character was an essential role of the school; Duck claims that was far easier to do in a boarding school – students, she wrote, were to learn to be “subservient without being resentful.”⁵⁴ One student, who attended the school in the early 1950s and went on to be a college professor, claimed that self-esteem was never a problem at Bordentown. It “always built us up,” she said, and it “taught us how to deal with people.” Though the faculty members who served as matrons and masters were often severe, they “nurtured, cuddled, and kicked us in the butt,” according to an architect who graduated in the school’s last years.⁵⁵



Some members of the MTIS faculty, taken circa 1930. All of the school’s staff and teachers lived on campus along with the students. All fully state-certified, they had degrees from a host of distinguished institutions. Many served for 30 years and more. Many noted performers, educators, and athletes visited the campus, including Mary McLeod Bethune, Paul Robeson, Duke Ellington, and Eleanor Roosevelt. Photo courtesy of the New Jersey State Archives, Department of State; used with permission.

Faculty members, like the students, lived on campus; those with families had real houses; others lived with students in the dormitories. The student-staff ratio was quite high for the time – around one to five or six. But given that they were on duty all day, with responsibility not only for teaching and plant maintenance but for offering advice and support – real *in loco parentis* – the

⁵³ Devore, “Education of Blacks,” 198.

⁵⁴ Duck, “Historical Study,” 146.

⁵⁵ Barbara Wheeler and Arthur Symes, in *A Place Out of Time*.

ratio is hardly surprising. Bordentown attracted faculty members who were as well-educated as was Valentine; Duck reports they had degrees from Bates, Amherst, Radcliffe, Wellesley, Harvard, Rutgers, Howard, Fisk, and Tuskegee. Among them were three holders of Phi Beta Kappa keys.⁵⁶ Adams reports that all of them were fully state-certified, including those who taught the vocational courses. She also wrote that faculty members were well paid in comparison with prevailing salaries in other schools. Their loyalty to the school is striking; Adams includes a list of faculty members hired after 1915 – most served for over 30 years.⁵⁷ Though they gave up certain freedoms in return for this security, they must have considered teaching at Bordentown quite an honor.

A perhaps idealized layout of the campus circa 1930 is shown in a painting produced somewhat later. A graceful brick “Citizen’s Gateway” leads to an entrance drive surrounded on either side by orchards. Homes for faculty members are off to the left; beyond them are barns for livestock and a chicken coop. The entrance drive splits into an oval; in the center is the parade ground where cadets marched and outdoor ceremonies were held. On either side of the oval are many of the brick dormitories, classrooms, and workshops, an assembly hall and gymnasium. The imposing administration building with its panoramic view of the Delaware River stands at its head. Fields where produce was grown, a track, football field, and tennis courts are off to the right. In all, the campus appears to have been quite elegant as well as functional.⁵⁸

The school schedule was strictly adhered to and altered little from decade to decade; it began early and included chapel four days a week. Academic classes were held in the morning; vocational training and school maintenance work was done in the afternoons, including Saturdays.

⁵⁶ Duck, “Historical Study,” 105.

⁵⁷ Adams, “Role and Function,” 63-67.

⁵⁸ A copy of this map is available through John Medley, a 1954 graduate and MTIS archivist; he can be contacted through the Underground Railroad Museum in Mt. Holly, New Jersey. The campus is currently under the jurisdiction of the N.J. Department of Corrections and is closed to the public.

There was some free time before dinner; homework had to be done before lights out at 9:30. Students could leave campus for shopping or church services on weekends, but these trips were chaperoned. Vacations were limited to Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Easter – though the students who had no homes to go to could remain on campus.⁵⁹

On his 1913 visit, Washington had recommended that the school's curriculum should reflect the kind of work available for blacks in the state at the time. Somewhat in the tradition of Dewey in his conception of "occupations," Washington thought "the industrial occupations...ought to constitute largely the basis for much of the work in mathematics, grammar, composition, physics, etc... Academic work, dovetailed into these practical industries, gives a more severe mental training ... [than] the old-form academic book education."⁶⁰ Though the trade-related courses and specialties changed somewhat as the workplace and available kinds of employment changed, MTIS prepared students for jobs in fields open to them. For boys, courses were initially in landscaping, gardening, and agriculture, plus carpentry; added later were courses in building maintenance and chauffeuring, then auto mechanics and repair. For girls, domestic



All MTIS students were required to learn a trade as well receive a solid academic education. They were also responsible for doing repair and maintenance for the school. The number of architects and designers that the school graduated, particularly during its last years, suggests that this well-lit wood shop was a popular place to be. Photo courtesy of the New Jersey State Archive, Department of State; used with permission.

⁵⁹ *A Place Out of Time*; Duck, "Historical Study," 109-115.

⁶⁰ Washington, as quoted in Devore, "Education of Blacks," 197; Dewey made a similar point in *The School and Society*.

work such as laundry, food preparation and service, and sewing and tailoring, and then beauty culture and hair care, were standard.⁶¹



Beauty culture was a popular trade for girls to master; the program included not only manicuring but hair styling and related skills. Dressmaking was also popular among female students. Photo courtesy New Jersey State Archive, Department of State; used with permission.

After Valentine had his high school program in place, it required that students complete 10th grade prior to concentrating on their trade. Though it is unclear how many students enrolled in the four-year secondary program, the program of academic studies instituted after Valentine took over indicates that it was the standard curriculum – for years of English, five of math and science, three of history and civics, plus music. For students in the trade program, it was quite similar.⁶²

Employability was emphasized from the school's beginning. Both Marion Thompson Wright and Ezola Adams refer to a report Valentine gave in 1925 for which he'd been able to survey 70 percent of the school's graduates – recall, that at the time, MTIS only served students through 10th grade. For men, most worked either in auto mechanics or as truck drivers; several were machinists and electricians; others were carpenters and printers. Some were teachers and social workers; some were musicians. And despite Washington's directive, few were farmers. For women, most were employed as housekeepers, though a good number were dressmakers. Several were social workers, nurses, and teachers. Others worked in business or were continuing their

⁶¹ Devore, "Education of Blacks," 195-96; Adams, "Role and Function," 48-54.

⁶² Adams, "Role and Function," 40-43.

education. Adams reports that in the class of 1931, 89 percent were employed within 10 months of graduation – and this was a time when only 60 percent of blacks could find work.⁶³ Wright wrote that graduates of the school were very successful finding employment. Relying for evidence on a study conducted in 1935, she wrote: “Through an extensive study of vocational opportunities and the intelligent application of certain occupational principles, this school had made it possible to place a larger number of Negroes in the skilled and semi-skilled trades than any other occupational unit in New Jersey.”⁶⁴ A survey taken in 1940 claimed that over 80 percent of the school’s graduates were employed; 12 percent were continuing their education.⁶⁵ The graduates interviewed for *A Place Out of Time* included an architect, a college professor, an oceanographer, and a trainer of horses, among others – as employment opportunities for blacks improved, the careers they were able to pursue changed as well.

If the school’s educational outcomes – stable jobs for its graduates – would have met criteria established by Washington, cultural opportunities offered to its students met standards that Du Bois and Dewey could have applauded. Ezola Adams, who had attended the school during the 1940s, writes of its social and extracurricular activities, saying that they were designed to develop “well-rounded men and women.”⁶⁶ She noted the wide variety of clubs students were encouraged to join; these included camera and radio clubs, dance and drama, scouting, and a craftsmen’s club. Adams and Duck both mention programs offered students on Friday nights, which included movies and chaperoned dances. Often during the year, prominent artists and entertainers appeared on campus. The school’s numerous choirs, glee clubs, and quartets performed on campus and

⁶³ Ibid., 18-19.

⁶⁴ Wright, *Education of Negroes*, 189.

⁶⁵ Adams, “Role and Function,” 19; Duck, “Historical Study,” 148.

⁶⁶ Adams, “Role and Function,” 89-90.

statewide, as well as on the radio. Its band and dance group were also well-known throughout the state.⁶⁷



Music played an important role in the life of the school in many ways. The MTIS marching band performed for ceremonies and athletic events; its glee clubs and choirs toured the state and were often broadcast by local radio stations. Photo courtesy of the New Jersey State Archive, Department of State; used with permission.

According to both *Duck* and *A Place Out of Time*, the school attracted notable visitors, including the educator and advisor to President Franklin Roosevelt Mary McLeod Bethune, Eleanor Roosevelt herself, the multitalented Paul Robeson, and Albert Einstein. *Duck* claims that both Duke Ellington and Nat King Cole were frequent visitors and that the former spent some summers on campus. During the 1930s, MTIS had an active military training or cadet program; its athletic teams competed with those of several other schools. *A Place Out of Time* claims that the school's tennis courts hosted matches in the summer that led to its being called the "black Forest Hills." Further, its facilities were used during the summer for meetings of black organizations not welcome elsewhere.⁶⁸

Bordentown in Broader Context

⁶⁷ Duck, "Historical Study," 116 – 123.

⁶⁸ These activities are also covered extensively in Adams, "Role and Function," 117-127.



The tennis courts at the Bordentown school welcomed many African-American tennis champions – the courts were often referred to as the “black Forest Hills.” Photo courtesy New Jersey State Archive, Department of State; used with permission.

Not only were the schools headed by Valentine manifestations of Deweyan ideas, a book on Booker T. Washington by Donald General, currently president of the Community College of Philadelphia, argues that he was an “architect of progressive education.”⁶⁹

Thus, it is useful to consider the Bordentown School in the context of contemporaneous progressive schools for black students. Though such schools

are frequently thought of enclaves for privileged white children (and MTIS has not been included in compilations of them), several that can be categorized as “progressive” due to their principles and practices were established for black students during the years Valentine was principal at Bordentown.⁷⁰ Their story has been told in a museum exhibit and catalog titled *Progressive Education in Black High Schools*, which appeared in 2015 and was compiled by education historian Craig Kridel.⁷¹ Its impetus was the 70th anniversary of the Secondary School Study, 1940-1946, which was both a research project and a collaborative effort by several schools to examine and improve the kind of education they offered. Many of these schools were affiliated with colleges that prepared teachers for schools in black communities. All were in southeastern states. Funded

⁶⁹ Dewey and Dewey, *Schools of Tomorrow* (full reference at note 10); and General, *Washington* (full reference at note 30).

⁷⁰ Sadovnik and Semel, *Schools of Tomorrow* offers an update of the Deweys’ 1915 book with the same name (full reference at note 14).

⁷¹ Craig Kridel, *Progressive Education* (full reference given at note 14).

primarily by the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, the study was initiated and conducted by William A. Robinson, who had headed the Alabama State College Laboratory School during the years Valentine was in Bordentown.⁷² Of the 16 schools in the study, many were larger than MTIS; only one of the study schools boarded its students. Further none of the study schools appear to have required students to help maintain the institution.

Kridel, who also wrote a definitive study of other schools considered progressive during the same time period,⁷³ claims that such schools share several characteristics: trusting teachers and administrators to work through complex issues and reach a sensible conclusion; a belief in democracy as an ideal to guide interaction; and faith in thoughtful inquiry, which would include an openness to experiment. Though evidence of how well MTIS met these criteria is scanty, the longevity of its faculty suggests that they felt their contributions to the school were acknowledged and respected. Further, MTIS faculty, as with those at schools participating in the southern study, believed they were “teaching the whole child:” a central tenet of progressive education is that the curriculum should move from the child’s natural interests out to the wider world rather than being a matter of filling them with material they cannot directly relate to. Another similarity is that teachers in all these institutions exhibited a “tough kindness,” or a “demandingness” – terms used by students at the southern schools. Kridel goes on to argue that teachers at these schools had to address the tension between focusing on student interests versus a loss of student discipline – some teachers felt that catering too much to student interests would disadvantage them once they were out in the wider world.⁷⁴ Teachers in all these schools – both those in the Jim Crow South and

⁷² William H. Brown and William A. Robinson, *Serving Negro Schools* (Atlanta: Association of Schools and Colleges for Negroes, 1946). Sharon Gay Pierson, *Laboratories of Learning: HBCU Laboratory Schools and Alabama State College Lab High in the Era of Jim Crow* (New York: Peter Lang, 2014) is an extensive study of one of these schools in the context of others.

⁷³ Craig Kridel and Robert V. Bullough, *Stories of the Eight-Year Study: Rethinking Schooling for America* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2007).

⁷⁴ Kridel, *Progressive Education*, 97-99, 102-108.

those in Jim Crow New Jersey – felt that it was important that they comport themselves in a dignified manner and model appropriate behavior, again as a means of arming their students for what they would face later.

The question, thus, is the extent to which Valentine and MTIS faculty were aware of their fellow schools in the South and of Robinson's study. Many in both groups were members of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools; many teachers at the southern schools had attended Teachers College in the 1920s, as had Valentine. Further, the newspaper columns he wrote during the 1930s appeared in some southern newspapers – in sum, it seems more than likely that Valentine and Robinson knew of each other even if they did not have a personal or collaborative relationship. According to Kridel, one of Robinson's goals with the secondary study was to encourage innovation and activism in the southern schools; he also didn't accept the narrow vocational goals of most black schools. Perhaps he looked askance at the MTIS program, which may not have focused on experimentation or innovation and seems to have remained largely unchanged from the 1920s through the 1950s. Both Valentine and Robinson were likely frustrated by the amount of control state (read white) authorities had over what they did. Both were surely also adept at playing the balancing act the late Clement Price, a historian at Rutgers University, claimed black leaders had to play in the years between the two wars: they were black clients of powerful white interests, who "had to learn to manipulate those interests, how to keep their place without being overly humble." They didn't want to be "Uncle Toms," but they had to recognize the dividing line.⁷⁵

The End of Valentine's Tenure – and of the MTIS

⁷⁵ Price's comment appears in *A Place Out of Time*.

Whatever the benefits an MTIS education had for its students, its successes may not have had many benefits for their fellow students in the state as a whole. In *The Education of Negroes in New Jersey*, Wright summarizes schooling for blacks during the first decades of the 20th century as a continuation of former discriminatory policies and practices; further segregation had intensified in response to the influx of people during the Great Migration.⁷⁶ Davison Douglas claims, in his book on Jim Crow moving North, that the NAACP – which would lead in desegregation battles across the country – did little to fight segregation in New Jersey until after 1940. This, he suggests, was due in part to the “considerable influence” of William Valentine. In the years after World War II, the situation began to change, prodded somewhat by the Hedgepeth-Williams decision that led to the enforcement of the 1881 statute prohibiting segregation. Numbers at the time were also on the side of greater integration: during the 1940s, New Jersey’s black population increased by 40 percent, growing from 227,000 to 318,500.⁷⁷

Whether or not William Valentine really did try to prolong school segregation in the state, his influence began to wane in the early 1940s. Some claimed that MTIS had not moved quickly enough to institute war preparedness programs; others claimed that the vocational emphasis of the curriculum was out of step with the times. Still others complained that the school prepared too few students for going on to further education and pursuing a professional degree. These charges were taken up by an editor of the *Newark Herald News*, the paper that had during the 1930s syndicated Valentine’s column. Though the head of the national NAACP defended Valentine, it struck some as incongruous that a state trying to integrate its schools would support one that was expressly segregated.⁷⁸ Were the nation not in the midst of a war, opposition to Valentine’s leadership (and

⁷⁶ Wright, *Education of Negroes*, 183.

⁷⁷ Douglas, *Jim Crow*, 240-241, 227.

⁷⁸ Adams, “Role and Function,” 135-144.

to the school's continued insistence on uniforms, decorum, and vocational training) might have spread more quickly. In 1947, after a new state constitution outlawed segregation, the school dropped "for Colored Youth" from its name, but few white students applied.

In 1948, the *New York Times* carried an article about Valentine and the school that, in part, echoes comments made by William Robinson in the 1930s and anticipates conclusions that Geoffrey Canada, of the Harlem Children's Zone, came to seven decades later – that many of the students they were serving needed the structure and diligence schools like Bordentown provided.⁷⁹ Valentine said he was not certain that the people of the state "have caught up with the Bordentown policy of fighting delinquency at the beginning, before their children have become involved in trouble, and setting their minds to work on wholesome ideas." He claimed that the school taught as much by deed as by books – a claim that Washington had made about Tuskegee – and that exposing high school students to a trade was not so much to make laborers of them as to point out the kind of work people can do to earn a respectable living. As proof that many people in New Jersey supported his efforts, he said that the school received 1500 applicants each year. Interestingly, the article reported that 60 percent of the school's students were male – which suggests that families wanted their sons in particular to attend Bordentown because of the programs and discipline the school offered.⁸⁰

A few years ago, an MTIS graduate by the name of Arthur Symes wrote a brief piece about his years there, between 1948 and 1953 – in the *Place Out of Time* video, he'd praised the school for its high standards and nurturing atmosphere. The son of a struggling single mother in

⁷⁹ Kridel, *Progressive Education*, 102; and Paul Tough, *Whatever It Takes: Geoffrey Canada's Quest to Change Harlem and America* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 2008).

⁸⁰ George Streator, "School in Jersey Aids Negro Youths," *New York Times*, 14 November 1948 (available through the Harvard University Archives' folder on Valentine; though a stamp on the article credits it to another newspaper, the byline states the *Times*).

Elizabeth, Symes had followed his sister to Bordentown – and never regretted the decision. After receiving an architecture degree from Howard, he acquired a doctorate from the University of Michigan and went on to be a professor and dean at Southern University in Louisiana. Asking himself whether the school had prepared him for engaging in the broader society, he wrote emphatically yes. Though it was an all-black school, “[w]e were not taught that we were different,” he claimed. “What we received was a solid academic education and a trade sufficient for going on to college or pursuing a livelihood in one’s chosen avocation.”⁸¹

Given that the school’s curriculum adhered rather closely to what Dewey advocated in *Schools and Society* and could be a manifestation of what he argued for in “Learning to Earn” and his other writings about vocational education, it is interesting to note that MTIS has no place in the canon of laudatory progressive schools, a genre that attracted considerable attention during the early decades of the 20th century. Historians of education seem largely unaware of Bordentown, and it is not well known even to people in New Jersey who are interested in education, particularly for African-American children.⁸² This could be because those that do know about the school regard it as a “Tuskegee of the North,” and Washington, as the latter’s founder, has met with far less favor in recent decades than has W.E.B. Du Bois. An argument that MTIS may have been more Deweyan than either Tuskegeeish or Du Boisian would likely meet with suspicion. A school serving black children, many from unstable homes, as an honest manifestation of what Dewey taught? But as the foregoing suggests, such a case can be made, even if further work would need to be done to assert it with authority.⁸³

⁸¹ Arthur Symes, “A Reflection on Bordentown,” in *Diversity* (May 13, 2016), a blog on New Jersey Historical Commission website.

⁸² MTIS is not mentioned in John Rury and Shirley A. Hill, *The African-American Struggle for Secondary Schooling, 1940-1980: Closing the Graduation Gap* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2012), which focused on schools in the South. An informal survey of encyclopedias about African-Americans this writer conducted in March 2018 found no mention of MTIS nor Valentine.

⁸³ This writer has done so, in a paper submitted for consideration to a journal published by the John Dewey Society.

So, despite Bordentown's success at what it set out to do, it was forced to close. For a while, it housed a mental health facility and then a correctional institution; its buildings now are largely vacant. Valentine continued as president until 1950, when he resigned and moved to the Sugar Hill neighborhood in Harlem. He died in 1954, a few months after *Brown v. Board of Education* came down from the U.S. Supreme Court. A few other presidents took his place, but the school's time had come and gone. In retrospect, considering the difficulties that still beset African-American communities and the schools that endeavor to educate their children, the Bordentown school may still have a message for today.⁸⁴ Yes, William Valentine was arguably a member of Du Bois's "talented tenth," but for 35 years, he had successfully run a school that, on the surface at least, adhered more to Washington's Tuskegee model. Under Valentine's direction, MTIS served as the "social settlement" Dewey had praised his Indianapolis school for being; further, it was a manifestation of Dewey's ideas about vocational education as well. In the end, Bordentown had proven itself capable of preparing a new generation of the talented tenth, even if it did not spawn imitators of its distinctive methods.

Connie Goddard, Ph.D., received a doctorate in 2005 from the University of Illinois at Chicago. Her dissertation was on the distinguished Chicago educator Ella Flagg Young, who worked closely with John Dewey, visited the Tuskegee Institute, corresponded with Booker T. Washington, and shared intellectual interests with W.E.B. Du Bois and his mentors. Goddard has taught at schools and colleges in Chicago and Romania, as well as at Mercer County Community College, The College of New Jersey, and correctional institutions in the state. She presented a

⁸⁴ This point is made quite forcefully in the recent book by Mildred Jordan, *Reclaiming African-American Students* (see note 5 for complete reference). Further, a recent article about the controversial educator Eva Moskowitz, combative founder of the Success Academy charter schools, suggests this; see Rebecca Mead, "Two Schools of Thought: Success Academy's Quest to Combine Rigid Discipline with a Progressive Curriculum," *The New Yorker*, December 11, 2017: 36-41.

version of this paper at the New Jersey History Conference in November 2017 and at the New Jersey State Library in February 2018. A member of the History of Education and John Dewey societies, Goddard has also presented papers at several other professional meetings.