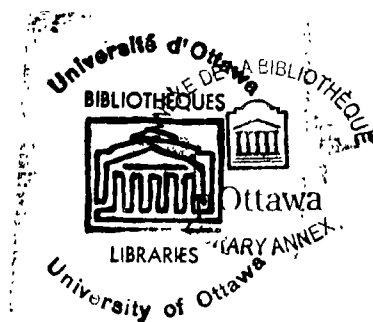


THE COEDUCATION ISSUE
In Its Historical and Papal Setting

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of Psychology and Education of
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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

The writer was born in Southampton, England, on June 17, 1913, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, in 1934. The Master of Arts and the Bachelor of Education degrees were received from the same university in 1946 and 1948 respectively. The major and minor fields for the Master's degree were Latin and Roman History. The thesis was entitled: War and Peace in Vergil's Thought.

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INTRODUCTION

This study grew out of a great love for and interest in the encyclicals. As the investigator is a teacher with a deep interest in all phases of education, the original intention was to write a commentary on Divini Illius Magistri, Pope Pius XI's encyclical on the Christian education of youth. It was a task conceived in utter ignorance of its magnitude. Before long it was realized that research on one small point in the encyclical would be ample for a thesis. The next task was to pin point the topic for study.

Coeducation was selected for various reasons. In the first place it is a timely subject in the sense that much lip service is paid to the ideal of boys and girls being reared together in the school as in the home; much prominence is given it too, by those who lash out against the system as being contrary to nature and dangerous to morals. Secondly, in view of the fact that Pope Pius XI apparently condemned the method of coeducation in December, 1929, the investigator was curious to find out why so many Catholic schools are still coeducational almost thirty years later, and why, in many dioceses, future plans are for coeducational high schools. Thirdly, it appears to the investigator that coeducation is a subject about which much is said, but little known, and that perhaps some research on the question might at least

show the need for scientific investigation in that field.

The central point of this research is to be Pope Pius XI's directive on coeducation, contained in his encyclical letter Divini Illius Magistri of December 31, 1929. An attempt will be made to relate this pronouncement to the coeducation issue as it has revealed itself in Europe and America during the present century.

A consideration of the literature on the subject makes it clear that great importance is attached to it by both supporters and opponents. To date, however, there has been little research of a scientific nature to determine the relative merits of coeducational and segregated educational institutions. From time to time experiments have been conducted on related matters, as those of Thorndike and Fernan on mental abilities. Countless psychological studies have been made on various phases of boy and girl behavior, attitudes, reactions etc. The differing rates of physical growth of the sexes has been the object of numerous investigations. In England some work has been done to determine attitudes toward coeducation. On the whole, however, the results of these various studies have been contradictory, and have revealed little more than the bias of the investigator. Taken together they indicate the need of an all-round, thorough, scientific investigation

of the whole problem.

This study will be in the nature of a library research with a historical slant. The type of research employed is to be largely philosophical in that the sayings of others will be presented and discussed. To some extent, however, the historical method of research will also be used since facts will be chronologically related and interpreted. All available material on coeducation and related matter has been gathered, studied, evaluated and grouped chronologically before and after 1930.

The first portion of the report furnishes a historical survey of coeducation from the time of the Spartan state until the early 19th century. Chapter II considers feminism, the movement largely responsible for the growth and spread of coeducation as an educational method or policy.

The third chapter traces the growth of coeducation in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and endeavors to spotlight the reasons which prompted the Papal pronouncement in 1929. Chapter IV is a discussion and interpretation of this pronouncement as it appeared in Divini Illius Magistri. Chapter V notes the immediate effect of Rome's edict on both the Catholic and Protestant worlds, and then, from the vantage point of time, tries to gauge the full impact of the document

on the entire educational world.

The sixth chapter does not advance the problem chronologically, as do the other portions of the report, but rather pauses to take stock, and by presenting the contradictory claims made for coeducation by its supporters and opponents, emphasizes the utter confusion which now exists concerning the true merits or demerits of the system. Chapter VII is a picture of the coeducation issue as it exists today.

Finally, a summary and recapitulation of the salient facts discovered, and some conclusions drawn from these facts are attempted.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF COEDUCATION

Coeducation is the most ancient of all forms of upbringing. Before the early middle ages the true place of education was the home, and Nature's methods have been coeducational from a very early date. However, in the history of schools, coeducation is only sporadic. In this survey an attempt will be made to find the evidences of it in different states of European society, and to point out its beginnings in America.

In Sparta boys and girls were trained together by the mother until the seventh year, after which the boy was taken in hand by the State, and went to live in public barracks where his very rigid training began. The girl remained at home, but her education too was rigidly controlled. There was no coeducation in the strict sense of the word, but the position of women in Sparta was notably higher than in many contemporary

communities, and girls shared in the physical training at the gymnasia. They joined the boys in festival processions, and in general were able to mix freely with them socially¹ until marriage.

In ancient Athens also, boys and girls grew up together in the home until the age of seven. After this, however, they parted company completely in the matter of their education. The girl remained closely secluded in the home, where she was instructed by the mother in household arts, while the boy went to different teachers for his instruction. Girls were wholly excluded from athletic exercises.²

From the viewpoint of coeducation the educational theory of Plato is highly interesting. He was a convinced believer in the equality of the sexes, and in the Republic advocates that men and women should receive the same education and together.³ While admitting that women are physically

¹ Xenophon: Constitution of Sparta, i, 4. See also H.I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, London, Sheed and Ward, 1956, Chapter II.

² Marrou, H.I., Op. Cit., p. 36ff. Also E.P. Cubberley, A Brief History of Education, New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1922, p. 10

³ Plato, The Republic, V, 451-457

weaker, he sees no reason for supposing that they are not essentially similar in nature to man. The Laws written thirty years after the Republic, contains a detailed and mature discussion of education, and although Plato will still have the girls trained in a manner similar to that used for the boys, he does envisage some degree of segregation after childhood: "Boys and girls shall play together up to the age of six, but after that they shall learn different things, though girls may if they please, share in the boys' instruction."⁴ He approves of boys being taught by women as well as by men, and puts women in charge of their games and meals. Plato's own practice as a teacher was coeducational, and women were admitted to the inner circle of his academy on equal terms⁵ with men.

In the last two centuries B.C. Hellenic influence began to make itself felt in Roman education, and schools of the Greek type became widely established and lasted until the beginning of the Imperial decay in the second century A.D.⁶

⁴ Plato, The Laws, VII, translated by R.G. Bury, London, Heinemann, 1926, p. 794.

⁵ Ibid, p.804-805; 794-795; 813.

⁶ H.I. Marrou, Op. Cit. Ch. II; also Luella Cole, A History of Education, New York, Rinehart & Co, 1936, p57-58; also A.S. Wilkins, Roman Education, Cambridge U. Press, 1914.

Tacitus gives a vivid picture of the situation in A.D. 75, showing that by this time the Greek influence was predominant, but that many a die-hard conservative still thought the Roman ways were better.⁷ It is difficult to determine whether girls went to the same schools as boys. There is no explicit statement to that effect, but there are one or two passages in the literature which point almost certainly to that conclusion. The poet Martial addresses one school-master as "detestable to both boys and girls."⁸ In maturity the Roman woman lived in no sort of seclusion. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that as a girl she was treated in much the same way as girls in a mixed school today. Nevertheless, it is almost certain that if such mixed schools did exist, they were only for the common people, or the lower middle classes. The daughters of the upper classes would be instructed at home by private tutors. Tacitus laments the delegation of the father's responsibility to the school-master, and longs for the old-fashioned education of the home.⁹

⁷ Tacitus, Dialogus de Oratoribus, Ch. 28, 29, 34, 35.

⁸ Martial, Epigrams, IX, 68

⁹ Tacitus, Op. Cit. Ch. 28

Quintilian too, regrets the passing of the "home school". It is to be noted that Quintilian obviously expects the mother as well as the father to be cultured. He gives as illustrious examples Cornelia, who contributed much to the eloquence of her sons Gaius and Tiberius Gracchus; Laelia, who reproduced in speech her father's elegance; and Hortensius, who delivered an address before the triumvirs.¹⁰ However, this can hardly be taken as evidence of general female education at the time. Nevertheless there is evidence in the literature that some boys and girls still studied together even after the 'ludus' or elementary stage,¹¹ and from the Republic to the late Empire there was a constant stream of highly educated aristocratic women.¹²

It is universally acknowledged that Christianity had a profound effect upon education in general. Although the Catholic Church has traditionally been opposed to coeducation, it was Christianity, with its teaching that every human soul is of equal value in the sight of God, that laid the foundation of a better attitude toward women. This in turn,

¹⁰

Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, I,1.

¹¹

Ovid, Tristes, II, 369-370; Martial, Epigrams, VIII,3, 16.

¹²

Martial, Epigrams, VII,69; Pliny, Letters, I,16,6; IV,19,2-3; V,16,3

germinated the idea of coeducation. Schools for the instruction of converts, called Catechetical schools, were founded as early as 180 A.D. As their principal object was to train young men for the Church, they, and the monastic schools¹³ later modelled on them, were for boys only. In the Eastern Church however, there is some evidence that girls as well as boys attended monastic schools up till the age of sixteen or seventeen. Many of these schools were partly secular in purpose, and were attended by the sons and daughters of the nobility. This coeducational tradition of the Eastern "monastic" educational system appears to have lasted for some¹⁴ centuries.

Institutional training by no means embraced all that was contemplated in the educational scheme of the early Christian Church. The real beginnings of Christian education were made in the home, and the parents' responsibility in this respect was frequently emphasized in the early Middle Ages. Evidence of this is to be found in the letters of

¹³
P.J. McCormick, History of Education, Catholic Educational Press, Washington, 1915, p.71-72, 88-92; Also Luella Cole, Op. Cit., p. 106-110.

¹⁴
L.B. Pekin, Coeducation in its Historical and Theoretical Setting, London, Hogarth Press, 1939, p.70

the Fathers and the decrees of the early councils of the Church. Thus when the Church because of persecutions and poverty could not maintain schools, the home practically¹⁵ supplied the moral training. The home education was, of course, coeducational.

An interesting coeducational landmark is Charlemagne's pioneer court school at Aachen at the end of the eighth century. This differed from the Cathedral schools of the time mainly in an emphasis on learning for its own sake and for general culture, as compared to the more specialized training for the priesthood in the schools maintained by the Church. Young princes and their sisters, as well as¹⁶ adult men and women, were taught together at the school. A century later, inspired by the example of Charlemagne, Alfred the Great had a similar mixed school established at¹⁷ his court.

In the eighth and ninth centuries the education of women was provided for in the convent and parish schools.

¹⁵

P.J. McCormick, Op. Cit., p.92-93

¹⁶

B. Mullinger, The Schools of Charles the Great, London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1877. Also Luella Cole, Op. Cit. p. 139-140. P.J. McCormick, Op. Cit., p.94.

¹⁷

Asserius, De Gestis Aelfredi, edited by W.H. Stevenson Oxford, 1904, p. 75. Also E.P. Cubberley, Op. Cit. p. 81.

The nuns conducted schools for young boys and girls in the villages and cities where they were located. The boys and girls seem to have been taught together, or at least in the same building, for in 889 the Bishop of Soissons ordered them¹⁸ to be kept apart.

In the age of chivalry the feudal castles became schools for both boys and girls. Every feudal lord had his court to which he drew the sons and daughters of men of equal rank with himself, as well as the children of the poor gentry of the domain.¹⁹ Speaking of this education Cubberley says: "Girls were given this instruction along with boys, but naturally their training placed its emphasis upon household duties, service, good manners, conversational ability, music and religion."²⁰ The effect of chivalry in elevating the position of women, is a significant point in the history of coeducation.

The Renaissance gave a new impetus to the education of girls, and several women became as learned as their brothers.

¹⁸ Eckenstein, Lina, Women Under Monasticism, Cambridge, 1896, p. 223.

¹⁹ P.J. McCormick, Op. Cit. p. 105-106; also E.P. Monroe, A Brief Course in the History of Education, New York, Macmillan, 1912, p. 149.

²⁰ E.P. Cubberley, Op. Cit., p. 88-91

The typical school of the period enrolled a few girls who were taught in the same way as the boys. This was something new. There had been educated women in the early days of Christianity, but the schooling of girls had been meager²¹ during the middle ages.

Another coeducational landmark stands out in the famous "court school" of Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua.²² In 1423 Vittorino was invited by Gian Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, to undertake the education of his children, three boys and a girl. Vittorino accepted on condition that he might conduct a school at the court and receive other students. Thus 'La Giocosa', a coeducational boarding school was founded. It became a model for similar court schools, such as that founded by Guarino da Verona of Ferrara and others throughout Europe. This is not the place to expound on the great educational achievement of Vittorino, but apart from any other factor, as a coeducational institution, combining home life with a scholastic curriculum, his work seems to have been eminently successful.

²¹Luella Cole, Op. Cit. p. 218²²W.H. Woodward, Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators, Cambridge University Press, 1905, p.1-92

There is evidence of this in the education of Cecelia Gonzaga, who became one of the most cultured women of her time. Vittorino has left no written account of his work, nor any educational treatises. What we know of his educational theory and practice we owe to his pupils.

Two other humanists whose writings had a bearing on coeducation were Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1530)²³ and Juan Vives (1492-1540).²⁴ Both of these eminent educators included the education of girls in their schemes, but as neither of them founded a school, it is difficult to say whether in practice they would have gone as far as coeducation or not. A sentence from one of Vives' works would incline one to think not. "First of all methinks it is to be told their fathers and mothers, as Aristotle doth bid in his History of Beasts, that they keep their daughters, especially when they begin to grow from child's estate, and hold them from men's company."²⁵

St. Thomas More (1478-1538), friend of Vives and Erasmus, strongly favored the education of women, and his

²³ W.H.Woodward, Desiderius Erasmus, Concerning the Aims and Methods of Education, Cambridge U.Press, 1904; see also P.J.McCormick, Op. Cit. 194

²⁴ Foster Watson, Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women, New York, Longmans, 1912. P.McCormick, Op.Cit. 195-204.

²⁵ Foster Watson, Op. Cit. p.62.

own daughters were among the most cultured women of his time. His household has been described as a school; "there learned discussions took place and there his daughters were²⁶ educated". One cannot but believe that had St. Thomas More been the father of sons, his would have been a coeducational school.

This period produced numerous treatises in praise of learning, culture and virtue in women. In addition to Vives' Instruction of a Christian Woman, Thomas More's Letters to His Children, there is the Defence of Good Women, by Sir Thomas Elyot (1490-1546), and Hyrde's treatise on the education of women which was written as an introduction to the translation of Erasmus' Treatise on the Lord's Prayer²⁷ by Margaret Roper, daughter of Thomas More. Although none of these works advocated the joint education of boys and girls, still the idea of the necessity and value of education for women was an important step toward the principle of coeducation.

26

Quoted by P.J. McCormick in Op. Cit. p. 26. Foster Watson, Op. Cit. contains a chapter on "The School of Sir Thomas More", taken from Life of Sir Thomas More by Cresacre More, 1631.

27

Foster Watson, Op. Cit. contains a reprint of Elyot's treatise and of Hyrde's.

The Reformation of the 16th century had an immediate²⁸ and far-reaching effect on education. One of the notable results was state support for the upkeep of schools, since the Church of the Reformers was unable to maintain them. This in turn, germinated the idea of equal educational rights for all, boys and girls, rich and poor. Martin Luther especially, wanted boys and girls to be educated²⁹ for citizenship together, and his influence may be traced in the primary mixed schools of Germany, Scotland and New England.

In England the immediate effect of the Reformation was disastrous to education. "Deterioration was felt in all grades of education from the university downwards".³⁰ Especially was this deterioration apparent in the education of women. Before the destruction of the religious houses by Henry VIII, both boys and girls had been educated by the nuns. This is clear from many of the regulations³¹ imposed upon convents by the Bishops. The dissolution

28

P.J.McCormick, Op. Cit., p. 221-231; E.Cubberley, History of Education, Ch.12&13. P. Monroe, A Textbook in the History of Education, p. 401-415.

29

P.J.McCormick, Op. Cit. p. 213-216.

30

F.A Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, Vol.II, London, 1890, p. 520.

31

P.J.McCormick, Op. Cit. p.228. Eckenstein, Women Under Monasticism, Cambridge U. Press, 1896, p. 378

of these convents deprived women of their only means of³²
organized education for a long time. From the old monastic
school the English grammar school was born. No girls were
admitted. The Harrow rules of 1590 expressly stated that³³
"no girls shall be received to be taught in the school".
But there was growing up a demand for female education.
In 1554 Thomas Bacon, a clergyman, returned from abroad
to plead for the establishment of girls' schools. In 1594
girls were admitted by statute to Bunbury School, but their
number was limited and none were to remain "above the age
of nine, nor longer than they may learn to read English."³⁴

Following the extensive destruction of educational
institutions which resulted from the Protestant revolts,
Catholics and Protestants alike made earnest efforts to
establish some sort of educational system, but it proved
to be a work of centuries. In the Catholic reaction distinct
measures on behalf of schools were adopted by the Council³⁵
of Trent and provincial councils. A decree of the Council

³²
F.A.Gasquet, Op. Cit. p.229; P.McCormick, Op.Cit.,
p.228-229.

³³
Quoted by L.B.Pekin, Op. Cit.p. 72-73.

³⁴
Ibid

³⁵
P.J.McCormick, Op. Cit., p. 232

of Cambrai, held in 1565, is interesting in connection with coeducation. In part the decree states that "there is to be a schoolmaster for the instruction of youth in every parish. The boys are to be kept separate from the girls as much as possible".³⁶ This anticipates by almost four hundred years the decree of Pope Pius XI, who ordered the separation of the sexes in schools "according to age and circumstances."³⁷ But the immediate need of the time was the training of leaders for the new religious and social order, so naturally the great creations of the period were secondary schools. These, in the Latin tongue, and for the training of scholarly leaders, were for boys only. Elementary schools came more slowly.

It was during this period that Richard Mulcaster, a distinguished English educator of the 16th century, with views far in advance of his age, advocated almost the same training for girls as for boys. He advanced four reasons to prove that girls ought to receive an education, but added, "I do not advocate sending young maidens to public Grammar

³⁶³⁶ Ibid, p. 234³⁷³⁷ Pope Pius XI, Divini Illius Magistri, in Social Wellsprings II, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1949, p. 110.

schools, or to the universities, as this has never been the custom in this country. I would allow them learning within certain limits, having regard to the difference in their vocation, and in the ends which they should seek in study."³⁸

The thought behind these words is very similar to that of twentieth century educators who advocate separate schools for boys and girls.

In 17th century there was considerable activity in the educational world. Though not the main concern, the education of girls received considerable impetus from the famous Treatise on the Education of Girls, written by Fénelon³⁹ as a guide for the Duchess of Beauvilliers who had sought his advice on the upbringing of her children. Its general thesis is that the education of women is as necessary for the good of society as is that of men. Nevertheless, Fénelon was strongly opposed to coeducation. "Point de garçons avec les filles", was ever his rule. Numerous religious communities of men and women were founded at this time whose members

³⁸

Richard Mulcaster, Positions, edited by R.H.Quick, London, 1887, Ch.4-5, 27-30, 41, 42; J.Oliphant, The Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster, Glasgow, Jackson, Sons & Co., Ltd., 1903, p. 51-52.

³⁹

François Fénelon, De l'Éducation des Filles, Oeuvres, Paris, 1827; The Education of Girls translated by Kate Lupton, Boston, Ginn & Co., 1891; P.J.McCormick, Op. Cit. p. 290-296.

dedicated themselves to the instruction of youth.⁴⁰ The majority of these were on the Continent and conducted, for the most part, separate schools for boys and girls in accordance with the traditional policy of the Catholic Church.

In England during this century the situation seems to have been bad. Education at boys' schools was haphazard and brutal, while girls received little or no instruction.⁴¹ The literature of the period is characterized by a contempt for women, which some writers would relate with the strict segregation of boys and girls during their upbringing.

In colonial America the situation was very different, and already the foundation of the present coeducational system was apparent. Due to pioneer conditions, any education that the girls received was of necessity received along with the boys. With families scattered and pupils few, separate schools for boys and girls were economically impossible or inadvisable. The Massachusetts Laws of 1642

⁴⁰P. J. McCormick, Op. Cit. ch. XXIV.⁴¹Ibid, p. 225-231; P. Cubberley, Op. Cit., p. 184-187; L.B. Pekin, Op. Cit., p. 73.

and 1647 upon which all education policy in the United States has been based, demanded free compulsory education for all. Although in theory this meant coeducation at all levels, in practice it existed, for the most part, only at the elementary level, until the the second half of the 19th century when coeducational high schools began to develop in response to the democratic principle of equal rights for all. Into these schools boys and girls were admitted on an equal footing, and the real foundations of modern coeducation were laid.⁴²

Scotland too, adopted coeducation as a matter of policy in the 17th century. Like the United States, the adoption of the plan was due to practical and economic causes, rather than to principle.⁴³

The new theory as to state control, and the setting up of a citizenship aim for education, made it necessary to recast the instruction in the school both in method and content, in order to bring it into harmony with the new

⁴²
E.P. Cubberley, Op. Cit. ch. XV; also Public Education in the United States, New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1930; Encyclopaedia Americana (Canadian edition) VII, "Coeducation", p. 199ff.

⁴³
E.P. Cubberley, A Brief History of Education, p. 178, 396.

secular purpose. Hence the 18th century witnessed much educational theorizing and experimentation which included, at least by implication, the education of girls.

⁴⁴Emile, the revolutionary educational work of Jean Jacques Rousseau was widely read, not only in France, but throughout the continent, particularly in German lands. It made no direct reference to coeducation, but expounded the doctrine of pedagogic naturalism, which Pope Pius XI later condemned as essentially false and resulting in several pernicious errors, one of which was coeducation. Through Basedow and Pestalozzi in Germany, and Spencer in England, the work exercised a tremendous influence on modern educational thought.

The experimental work of Pestalozzi must of necessity⁴⁵ be included in any survey of coeducation. He experimented with a series of unconventional schools, believing that educational institutions should be analogous to the home and family. The first experiment was on his farm at Neuhof where Pestalozzi received a number of poor children into

⁴⁴Jean Jacques Rousseau, Emile ou de l'Education, translated by W.H. Payne as Emile or Education According to Nature, New York, Appleton-Crofts Co, 1908.

⁴⁵R. De Guimps, Pestalozzi: His Life and Work, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc., 1892, ch.3-5,9,11-13; J.A.Green, Pestalozzi's Educational Writings, New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1912.

his home. In 1778 there were twenty-one girls and sixteen boys, according to Pestalozzi's account for the year. Here and later at Stanz, where in 1798 he took charge of forty children orphaned by the war, boys and girls between the ages of five and seventeen were housed and educated together. Burgdorf too (1799-1804), which he made notable for its experiments and success, was to some extent coeducational. His final school at Yverdon (1804-1825) had separate buildings for boys and girls who were taught separately, but enjoyed social intercourse and interchanged teachers. This last experiment is interesting in a study of coeducation, as suggesting that perhaps Pestalozzi's experience had shown that coeducation in the full sense of the word was neither practicable nor highly beneficial to either sex.

In England Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the
46
Rights of Women was published in 1792 when all Europe was enkindled with the ideas of liberty and equality. In it the author boldly states the case for coeducational day schools. Her two main assumptions were that men were cast in an heroic

46
Mary Wollstonecraft, Vindication of the Rights of Women, London, Dent, 1929.

mould and women could do no better than imitate them; and that men had enslaved women throughout the ages, and women must be liberated from this yoke. One of the major spheres of life in which woman was in subjection and in need of liberation, she maintained, was education. In reality Mary Wollstonecraft was seeking neither education nor higher education for women, but was trying to establish their equality with men by proving that they were the same; that they had the same intelligence and brain power. This could best be proven, she felt, by educating the sexes together. The idea was a shocking one at the time, but it did attract the attention of thoughtful men. Mr. Gladstone pencilled in the margin of his copy of the book: "Though I know not what to say of the scheme of educating boys and girls together, yet on the whole I think it is the (best) chapter of the book, and many hints in it worth consideration."⁴⁷ The chapter to which Mr. Gladstone refers is the twelfth, which does contain some sensible ideas, although on the whole the book is considered to be the ravings of a radical feminist.

⁴⁷Quoted by L.B.Pekin in Op. Cit. p.75

The great movement of the 19th century from the viewpoint of coeducation, was feminism, that social philosophy which sought for women equal opportunities with men in education, politics and business. So important a bearing did this have on the growth of coeducation that it will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 11

COEDUCATION AND THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

A historical study of coeducation clearly reveals that as an educational method or policy, it developed largely as a result of the so called feminist movement which, among other demands, agitated for and finally obtained education for girls and women on a basis equal with that accorded boys and men. For the radical feminists who demanded equality of education for men and women, coeducation was the only means of assuring this equality. The moderates, on the other hand, sought equal opportunities in education and not infrequently actually opposed coeducation. However, once the struggle for the education of girls had been won, coeducation was often adopted as a matter of expediency and economy. In either case it becomes clear that coeducation is, in part at least, a result of the movement for the emancipation of women, known as feminism.¹ If the coeducation issue is to be understood, it must therefore be studied against the background of feminism.

¹Jacques Leclercq, Marriage and the Family, translated by Thomas R. Hanley, New York, Frederick Pustet Co., 1947, ch. VI.

Accustomed as we are today to seeing women in a wide variety of public activities, it comes as a surprise to learn the true facts concerning the status of women in the mid-nineteenth century. Not only were they debarred from voting and holding public office, but in most places they could not buy, sell or inherit property, own or operate businesses, sue or be sued.² Indeed, during the first half of the 19th century, women were regarded as so inferior to men that a man could sell his wife. Although this practice was illegal,³ examples of it are not lacking. Carlton J.H. Hayes, noted as a most careful writer, says, "In the eyes of the law, whether the common law of England or the Code Napoleon, the daughter was a household serf, the wife a chattel."⁴ These legal restrictions reflect the public status of women in the middle of the 19th century. They were excluded from the professions: they had very limited educational opportunities: the great universities of the world did not admit them, and the grade school systems of the various countries had not

² William B. Faherty, The Destiny of Modern Woman, Westminster, Newman Press, 1950, "Introduction", XV.

³ Ivy Pinchbeck, Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, London, 1930, p. 83. Other examples are given in "Sale of Wives in England", by H.J. Temperley, in History Teachers' Miscellany, May, 1925.

⁴ Carlton Hayes, A Generation of Materialism, 1871-1900, New York, Harper Bros., 1941, p. 195.

yet taken shape.

But a change was coming; a change which in time completely revolutionized the hitherto unsatisfactory public status of women. It came about largely as a result of the Industrial Revolution which caused such an upheaval in the economic, social and domestic fields that emendations in woman's public status became imperative.

Before the coming of the machine the home was the centre of activity, whether industrial, educational or recreational, and it was the woman who made the home. Her work was productive and creative, and she had no desire to compete with men, or to try to do what they were doing. Between them there was a balance and she was satisfied with it; satisfied emotionally and consciously. But the Industrial Revolution changed all that. Gradually the home lost its place as the centre of activity, and thus woman lost the sources of self-esteem and social importance which she had previously enjoyed.⁵ There was bound to be a reaction. It came in the form of feminism, a social philosophy which

⁵ John Fitzsimons, Woman Today, London, Sheed and Ward, 1952, ch. I; also William B. Faherty, Op. Cit. "Introduction", p. XVI-XVII.

sought for women a wider sphere of social opportunity as individuals, rather than as members of a family unit. Once outside the home women began to seek better educational opportunities, better types of work, and a better status before the law.

Toward the end of the 18th century the ideas of liberty and equality were in ferment. The outbreak of the French Revolution caused a wave of enthusiasm for these ideas to sweep Europe, and the publication of the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789 gave added impetus to this passion⁶ for equality. Capitalizing on the idea of the equality of all men, 19th century liberalism soon claimed for women, among other things, equal educational opportunities with men.⁷

Still, the movement grew slowly. Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Women was published in England in 1792. The book drew attention to three spheres of life in which woman was in need of liberation, viz. property, political rights and education. The author's two main assumptions, that men are cast in an heroic mould,

⁶ Hanley Leclercq, Op. Cit., p.322, footnote #56.

⁷ William B. Faherty, Op. Cit., p.5.

and women can do no better than imitate them, have been the basis of the more exaggerated feminism ever since.⁸ In Germany, Theodor Von Hippel published a work entitled On the Betterment of the Civic Life of Women, and in France, Olympe de Gouges launched a feminist movement with her Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Citizeness, which paraphrased the earlier Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. In spite of all this the revolutionary legislators gave no consideration to the demands of the women. At last, toward the middle of the century, better balanced men took up the movement which then began to make some progress.

Two new books now gave impetus to the movement. In France Legouve published in 1848 A Moral History of Woman in which he demanded for woman a thoroughgoing intellectual, economic and social equality with man. In England in 1869, John Stuart Mill brought out The Subjection of Women, which stands out as a landmark in the feminist movement. With the book's appearance many liberals who fancied themselves as the champions of "enslaved" peoples, undertook the emancipation of women from "slavery". The feminist movement, with its

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Mary Wollstonecraft, Vindication of the Rights of Women, London, Dent, 1929.

repercussions in the educational world, now began to take on new life in both Europe and America.

A change of attitude toward the education of girls and women came slowly at first, but shortly after the appearance of Mill's book there were definite signs of such a change, both in the old and the new world. The University of Zurich led the way among European universities in admitting women, and in the United States the University of Wisconsin gave considerable impetus to the rise of coeducation by opening its doors to women. In 1869 the first American woman lawyer was admitted to the bar, and the first European woman the following year. Women were admitted to the practice of medicine in the United States, Holland and England about the same time. The grade school systems, providing equal opportunities for boys and girls, were fairly well established.⁹

As feminism advanced, two distinct patterns began to emerge. There were the continental radicals who, championed by the socialists, had enrolled in the several

⁹ William Fanning, "Women in English Speaking Countries", in Catholic Encyclopaedia, XV, 694-697; Carlton J.H. Hayes, Op. Cit., p. 195; Arthur Schlesinger, New Viewpoints in American History, New York, Macmillan, 1928, p. 149, 140.

Marxian parties. These concerned themselves for the most part with abstract theory and a feminist ideology. Then there were what might be termed the English and American moderates, who concentrated their attention on practical reforms, and whose attitude and program looked to a distinct feminine contribution, and asked privileges for women as women. The first named group demanded equality with man in all spheres of life; the second, equal opportunities in education, the professions and political life.¹⁰

The radical ideology was in reality anti-feminine. It attempted to identify the two sexes. The masculine pattern of life was looked upon as the ideal for women. Logic demanded that if the woman was to deal with the man on an equal footing, she should have, not an equal education, but the same education. To ensure this boys and girls must be educated together. Hence it becomes clear that coeducation, as a principle of education, was a logical outcome of the radical feminist's contention that men and women were identical, and should be so treated in every phase of life.

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Hanley Leclercq, Op. Cit., p. 322ff; also William Faherty, Op. Cit., p. 7; also Lester Ward, Dynamic Sociology, New York, D.Appleton Co., 1883, I, p. 657.

The campaign of the more moderate feminists led to the same result, that is, to coeducation, but for different reasons. The feminists in the English and American camps, though at times they did make statements tinged with the view that men and women were identical, practically speaking, never advanced their program on a platform of identity with man. In the field of education they sought for women equal opportunities with men, in order that women might be equipped to bring their feminine understanding and knowledge¹¹ to bear on the problems of their sex in a changing world. This is borne out by statements of such women as Lucy Stone, who urged woman suffrage, and Josephine Butler, who accomplished so much in her work among prostitutes. Thus Lucy Stone stated:

Say that women are different from men. It is for that very reason suffragists have always urged this different being must be represented by herself. Her feminine qualities should have expression and binding influence in a government where she and her children are invested.¹²

Josephine Butler undertook her great work for fallen women on a similar platform. She wrote:

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William Faherty, Op. Cit. p. 8-9.

¹²

Lucy Stone, "The Other Side of the woman Question", North American Review, CXXIX, Nov. 1879, p. 430-432.

We confidently believe that the admission of intelligent and educated women to a participation in any kind of social legislation... and a share given to them in any necessary preventive as well as curative work which is required to be done, largely and wisely, would bring more light and hope...It is well known that all legislative and social enactments bearing on this class of women have been made hitherto by men alone, without the counsel and practical aid of women; and yet it is the present and eternal interests of women especially that the matter involves.¹³

Thus the more moderate feminists, convinced that women had an important work to do in the modern world, sought and obtained for them equal educational opportunities with men, in order to equip them to accomplish this work. But once this had been obtained, the system of coeducation was adopted in many countries, not so much as a matter of principle, but for economic reasons, and because it simplified the problem of providing equal educational opportunities for both sexes.

This brief sketch of the birth and growth of feminism makes it fairly evident that coeducation, whether

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Josephine Butler, (Editor), Woman's Work and Woman's Culture, London, Macmillan Co., 1869, "Introduction," p. XVIII.

as a principle of education or merely as a matter of expediency was, either directly or indirectly, a result of that movement. Its further development during the early years of the twentieth century will be traced in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

COEDUCATION IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

A study of the coeducation literature of the first quarter of the 20th century, the years immediately preceding the publication of Divini Illius Magistri, reveals some significant facts which throw light on possible reasons for Pope Pius XI's apparent condemnation of coeducation in that document.

In the first place let it be clearly established that with the turn of the century, coeducation was fast becoming an issue in England and on the Continent, and even in America the question was beginning to occupy the minds of prominent educators. Numerous references are found in educational journals speaking of "the problem of the coeducation of the sexes."

In 1898 Frederic Burk, writing in the Journal of Psychology, says that on the Continent the general practice in the past had been in favor of separation, but that a reaction had set in, and the tendency toward coeducation was extending upward through the grades. Personally he condemns the method on physical grounds alone. He says

in part:

So far as growth by height and weight indicates, there is no reason for the separation of the sexes for the first four or five years of school life. Beyond this period there certainly are grave reasons for questioning the system of coeducation upon grounds of physical dissimilarities, not to discuss the mental dissimilarities of boys and girls of the same adolescent age. ¹

Thus it seems evident that at the beginning of the century the coeducation movement was taking root and sending out its shoots, now in this direction, now in that. A variety of reasons might be advanced to account for this: changing social conditions, the growth of democracy, the emancipation of women, the growth of secularism, the growing power of the State etc. Whatever reason or accumulation of reasons produced the situation, the idea was there, to be scornfully rejected by some countries, experimented with by others, and wholeheartedly embraced by a few.

As the first quarter of the century advanced, added impetus was given to the trend by the Great War which brought about the necessity of training women teachers to fill the vacancies created by the shortage of men. ² Also, as the

¹ Frederic Burk, "Coeducation of the Sexes" in the Journal of Psychology, Vol. 9, 1897-98, p. 307.

² Encyclopaedia Americana, (Canadian Edition), VII, p. 199.

feminist movement advanced and more and more countries granted woman suffrage, these countries were forced by the strength of the woman's vote to give equal educational opportunities to both sexes, and hence were faced with the alternative of educating boys and girls together, or maintaining at almost prohibitive cost, equally good³ separate schools for girls.

An article which seems to throw some light on the situation was reproduced in 1924 in the Journal of Psychology from a German psychological publication. It reads in part:

The establishment of coeducation, at any rate in secondary schools, has been more a matter of politics and economy than of pedagogy. The problem of coeducation has been discussed under its moral, psychological and physiological aspects, with varying thoroughness and results. In fact, physiological factors are decisive. For boys and girls develop at different rates; the girl in about eighteen, the boy in about twenty four years. It follows that the two curves of development nowhere coincide. The outcome is that we shall have an ideal or perfect coeducation only when boys and girls go to the same school, and are educated by the same men and women in common, but not in the same form, and are instructed as far as possible separately. Common instruction, as at present practiced is an immense non sequitur of modern pedagogy. 4

³ Ibid, p. 199-200

It is evident from this that coeducation has been widely discussed, and that in its strictest sense, that is both sexes being taught the same things together, the author of the article disapproves of it on physiological grounds. It is interesting to note that what the author looks forward to as "ideal or perfect coeducation" is being experimented with today in some sections of the United States.⁵

Doubtless the growing acceptance of the idea of coeducation had something to do with Pius XI's pronouncement on the subject in 1929. But there was more to it than that. A quick look at the situation in some of the countries of Europe will make this clear.

In Germany the question was hotly debated during the time of the Weimar Republic (1918-1933).⁶ This is evidenced by the amount of literature on the topic which this period produced.⁷ The situation in Germany may be briefly reviewed. At the opening of the twentieth century the Prussian system of education as formulated by Frederick the Great in 1703 and reasserted in 1872, was still fairly typical and representative of Germany as a whole. The schools were administered

⁵ See chapter VII of this study.

⁶ A considerable bibliography on coeducation is available for this period and is listed in the general bibliography.

⁷ Kandel. I.L. *History of Secondary Education*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930; Comparative Education, 1933.

by the State, with local inspection in the hands of the clergy. However, a strong school reform movement under idealistic slogans such as freedom, community, nation, was under way, and various types of experimental schools grew steadily. These had little decisive influence before World War I, and only slightly more towards its end. But with the establishment of the Weimar Republic in 1918, these various movements, as well as the established traditions, were backed up by one or other of the various political parties, of which there were almost a score, yet none strong enough to take a powerful lead. The three parties of the Weimar coalition managed to reach a compromise, and among other educational measures attempted to include coeducation in the constitution.⁸ The Catholics, led by the Jesuits, violently resisted. This was the situation which called forth such an abundance of literature on the subject. The eminent Jesuit educator J.Schroeteler, editor of Schule und Erziehung, wrote with conviction on the topic, and gave considerable space in his

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Adolph Meyer, The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1952, p.136-137, 28 ff. 251; also Encyclopaedia Americana, (Canadian Edition), VII, 199ff. Encyclopaedia of Modern Education, "Germany, Education", p. 332-334
H.G.Good, A History of Western Education, New York, Macmillan, 1947, p. 332.

school journal to the opinion of others. The article referred to above, by G.Krogh-Jensen, belongs to this period.⁹ He states that the problem of coeducation has been discussed from every possible aspect.

When the debate was at its height, Foerster published Schule und Charakter, in which he took a very definite stand on the question.¹⁰ He maintains in his book that coeducation is contrary to the very nature of education, the purpose of which is to preserve to each sex its own proper character, and to develop the psychic qualities characteristic of each. He calls coeducation "a modern vagary" and contends that each of the sexes should first become itself and develop its own character before it can become an educating force capable of influencing for good the opposite sex. The stand taken by Foerster is all the more significant in view of the fact that he is not a Catholic. It might be noted too, that the arguments he uses are strikingly similar to those used by Pope Pius XI ten years later.¹¹ The resistance bore fruit,

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See page 34 of this study.

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Foerster's stand is reproduced from Schule und Charakter by Franz DeHovre in Philosophy and Education, New York, Benziger, 1931, p. 431ff.

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Pius XI, Divini Illius Magistri, in Social Wellsprings II, p.109

and in spite of several attempts only one Reich-law was passed. It provided that all children should attend a common school during the first four years of their school career.¹²

The heated debate, both oral and written continued. La Coéducation des Sexes et la Science Positive by J. de la Vaissiere appeared in 1928.¹³ In it the distinguished French Jesuit philosopher and psychologist attempted to conclude the debate by showing emphatically that from the psychological point of view, coeducation as a system of education, was in the best interests of neither men nor women. It did not tend to a harmonious development of all human faculties, and any system of education, no matter what its advantages, ceases to be legitimate as soon as it harms the individual, the family or society. Thus the controversy continued until Pope Pius XI felt called upon to clarify the issue, at least for Catholics. This he did in Divini Illius Magistri, December, 1929.

In Italy too, the first quarter of the twentieth century was a period of general unrest concerning the school

¹²
Encyclopaedia of Modern Education, "Germany, Education", p.332

¹³
J. de la Vaissiere, La Coéducation des Sexes et la Science Positive, Paris, Gabriel Beauchesne, 1927.

situation. A law enacted in 1911 had transformed all rural primary schools into mixed schools. Throughout the rest of the field of education preference for the system of coeducation was to a great extent manifested by practice, if not by law. Secondary education, imparted in the gymnasiums to children from twelve to seventeen, was mostly coeducational. By 1910 there were twenty-three gymnasia for boys only, and two hundred and sixty-eight for boys and girls. Of the lycees, twenty-four were for boys only, and one hundred and thirty-five for boys and girls. By 1914 ninety per cent of the secondary schools were open to girls. However, this was for instruction only; there was no social mixing, and above the age of twelve¹⁴ the sexes sat on separate benches.

Thus the principle of coeducation was already accepted in Italy before the dawn of the Fascist regime. From the commencement of his reign in 1922, Pius XI watched the Mussolini administration with grave anxiety. Year by year he spoke publicly of the dangers bound up with the theory that the state is omnipotent. Actual appearances were deceiving, and

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J. de la Vaissiere, Educational Psychology, translated by S. Raemers, St. Louis, Herder, 1932, p. 320

a less discerning mind than that of Pius XI might not have perceived the danger. The Fascist state proved willing to come to an accomodation on the Roman question, and under Gentile, Mussolini's minister of education, a reform of the education was introduced in 1923, which centered education around the teaching of religion. On the surface all seemed well; the State-Church question appeared to have been successfully solved; national policy in the sphere of education was apparently free from anti-clericalism. Pius XI, however, realized then, as all do now, that this conciliatory attitude was prompted by expediency, and that in reality, a real and deep chasm yawned between Church and State.¹⁵

In the field of education there was much to cause the Pontiff grave anxiety. Extreme nationalism was the basis of the whole educational system. The Fascist party wanted to use religion as a tool for its own ends. Gentile would have religion, and indeed the Catholic religion, taught very thoroughly in the schools, at least at the elementary level, but he frankly considered the doctrines and dogmas of Catholicism

¹⁵ Leon P. Pousson, The Totalitarian Philosophy of Education, Washington, C.U.A. Press, 1944, p.2-7.

as simply the "mythical wrappings of a spiritual reality."¹⁶

The Catholic religion must be taught, reasoned Gentile, because the Roman Catholic Church is a peculiarly Italian institution and a storehouse of national tradition. Hence the Gentile law of 1923 reversed the anti-Christian restrictions of the previous period by making religion compulsory in all elementary schools, and by recognizing the private Church schools, but at the same time increased government control of both by requiring an entrance examination for admission to the secondary school, and a final examination on the completion of its courses.¹⁷

The National Fascist party wanted schools that would produce Fascists, and it gradually impressed itself on the lives of the children and young people both inside and outside of school. The Balilla Institution was created by it in 1920 to supervise their moral and physical training. Much of this training was given to boys and girls together. In 1929 the ministry of Public Instruction became the Ministry of National Education, and schools and youth organizations came under

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R.H.Marraro, The New Education in Italy, New York: Vanni, 1936, p. 57

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Leon B. Pousson, Op. Cit., p.5-6,33-39.

common management. The same year the nationalization of education was taken a step further. Standard text books of Fascist composition and approved texts for secondary schools were demanded. At last all schools were instruments of party policy. When Mussolini signed the concordat in 1929, he agreed to the teaching of religion in the schools, but was adamant on one point; the State must have the exclusive control¹⁸ of the young. To this Pope Pius XI replied with his encyclical on the Christian education of the young, December 31, 1929.

The foregoing has little apparent connection with coeducation, but in reality is closely related with it and is essential to any clear understanding of the situation. Father Plus, S.J. states emphatically that while Divini Illius Magistri was provoked largely by the school situation in Italy, i.e. by the growing Fascist tendency to statify the schools, the document goes far beyond this particular circumstance.¹⁹ The question of coeducation may be considered one way in which the document does go beyond the particular circumstance of Fascist statism of education. But the two are not unconnected.

¹⁸ W. Boyd, History of Western Education, London, Adam and Charles Black, 1950, p. 444ff. Also L. Pousson, Op. Cit., p.29-31.

¹⁹ Raoul Plus, Le Probleme de l'éducation, Paris, Editions Spes., 1934, p.51-54

In his encyclical letter Pope Pius XI makes very clear the respective rights and duties of Church, family and state in the field of education. He then proceeds in the next section to condemn certain pernicious errors of modern education, thereby inferring that where the proper balance and harmony does not exist among the three societies to which education properly belongs, one or other of these errors is likely to result.²⁰ Coeducation, taken in its strictest sense, is one of these errors. And as the Pontiff witnessed Mussolini's determination to make the schools mere instruments of the state, he foresaw coeducation as one of the possible evils resulting therefrom. In point of fact, coeducation at the upper level never did become too great a danger under Mussolini, not because he disapproved of the principle, but because the higher education of women was greatly restricted under the Fascist regime.

The education setup in Russia too, was a causative factor in Pius XI's pronouncement on coeducation. Russia has a most interesting history of education dating from the time of Peter the Great(1700-1725).²¹ This is not the place

²⁰Pius XI, Op. Cit., Sections II and III, p.92-110.²¹Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol.19, "Russia: Education", p.698-699, 710-711; "History", p.716-744: also R.D.Charques, Soviet Education, London, Hogarth Press, 1932, ch.I

to narrate it, but it is of interest to note that Russia was the first country in the world to establish State secondary schools for girls. This was in 1704 under Catherine the Great, who made a bold attempt at a democratic educational scheme, open to all social classes and both sexes. During the period of liberal reforms of 1850-60 numerous girls' schools were founded, and the elementary schools which accepted children of all social classes were allowed to be coeducational. Early in the twentieth century coeducational commercial schools were established, and rural schools became increasingly coeducational. In urban areas an attempt was made to introduce the same. There is evidence of repeated disagreements over the issue between the Minister of Education and the Minister of Transport, who were jointly responsible for secondary education.²² Beatrice King, (considered to be one of the best authorities on Soviet schools,) gives a gloomy picture of the state of education in Russia since the turn of the century.²³ Education and learning among the national minorities was almost non-existent, and the mass of Russians

²²L.B.Pekin, Op. Cit., p. 140-141.²³Beatrice King, Changing Man: The Educational System of the U.S.S.R., London, Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1936.

were hardly better off. The government through the Ministry of Education exerted a strict control over practically every phase of education. Such was the situation in Russia in 1917.²⁴ After the Revolution an attempt was made to liquidate illiteracy.²⁵ Universal compulsory coeducation was introduced at one stroke. The early results were, to say the least, highly unfortunate, and for some years there seems to have been no definite policy in the matter. In 1929, the year in which Pope Pius XI issued his directive on coeducation, the specific aim of Russian education was to promote and advance the progress of the proletarian state. Whatever advanced this cause was to be fostered and encouraged, whatever did not was to be ruthlessly abolished. Aware of this dangerous situation and the many pernicious errors which could result from it, Pius XI issued Divini Illius Magistri.

A quick survey of the other European countries shows no general pattern. Protestantism generally inclined toward coeducation, and Catholicism against it, though there were striking exceptions.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 15-16; also Albert P. Pinkevitch, Science and Education in the U.S.S.R., London, Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1935, p. 9-12.

²⁵ Albert P. Pinkevitch, Op. Cit., p. 23-26.

Although France nationalized and secularized education more than most European countries, so strong is the instinctive traditionalism of the country, that it has always remained opposed to coeducation.²⁶ "Coéducation en France n'a cesse, depuis le Moyen âge, de nous sembler horriblement dangereux et immorale," says the educationist writer Charles Letourneau.²⁷ Since 1867 each commune with a population of over five hundred has been obliged to support separate schools for boys and girls. The founding of secondary schools for girls in 1890 was in its way one of the notable achievements of the Republic. In the first quarter of the twentieth century girls were permitted to attend boys' schools only if no separate schools were available for them. In no case were they admitted to a school having an enrolment of more than two hundred, and²⁸ never was the number of girls to exceed fifty. Hence it would seem that the section of Divini Illius Magistri dealing with coeducation had little immediate reference to France.

In Spain coeducation flourished in the country districts

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Adolph Meyer, The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century, New York, Prentice Hall, 1952, p.204ff, 218; I.L.Kandel, Comparative Education, New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1933, p.60-61, 119-120.

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Quoted by L.B.Pekin in Op. Cit., p. 131

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A.Meyer, Op. Cit., p.204ff, 218; Kandel, Op. Cit., p.680-681.

during the early years of the present century, though it was not encouraged in the large towns. Largely by chance the State education system became broadly coeducational, girls being admitted to boys' schools as the movement for female education advanced. On the other hand, the private schools, which were Church controlled, remained strictly segregational.²⁹

Wingerath, writing in 1907, revealed that even then coeducation was in great vogue in the Netherlands, both in primary and secondary schools, and that the same situation prevailed in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland.³⁰ In Bulgaria coeducation had long been a matter of firm public policy, based not on expediency, but on principle. In Greece, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia the tendency was toward mixed schools.³¹

In England, ever a conservative country, few schools were "coeducational by faith in the principle."³² Those that were, were private progressive schools such as "Bedales"

²⁹
Adolph Meyer, Op. Cit., p.139; I.Kandel, Op. Cit., p.531; Pekin, Op. Cit., p.134

³⁰
Wingerath, "Beitrage zur Wurdigung u. zur Verbrutung der Kedu-kation" in Pd. Arch., Leipsiq, Oct. 1907.

³¹
L.B.Pekin, Op. Cit., p. 137-138

³²
Adolph Meyer, Op. Cit. p.136.

founded in 1893 by John Haden Badley, who was convinced³³ that sound education must be coeducation. As a result of the education acts of 1870 and 1902, free elementary coeducation schools were established, but they never found favor with the "classes" and were attended only by the³⁴ "masses".

Even such a sketchy outline of the coeducation picture in Europe during the first quarter of the twentieth century as this, makes it fairly evident that Pope Pius XI penned his denunciation of the system largely as a result of this situation, especially as it existed in Italy, Germany and Russia. However an examination of the document Divini Illius Magistri reveals that it was addressed to the Bishops, Clergy and Faithful of the whole world, not only to those of Europe. This would suggest that the Pontiff felt that countries outside Europe also needed to have the Church's attitude on basic principles of Christian education clarified for them. What then was the situation across the seas, in United States and Canada?

³³ J.H.Badley, Coeducation and its Part in a Complete Education, London, Heffer, 1929.

³⁴ Reference Division, Central Office of Information, "Schools", London, 1955, p.14

As indicated in a previous chapter, the coeducation tradition in America is an old one, from motives partly of economy and partly of democracy. By 1911, 99% of the public high schools were mixed.³⁵ Since the system had grown with the country it was accepted by most people without question. But the educational literature of the period indicates that there was some adverse criticism, and that some serious minded educators were beginning to realize that the wisdom of the policy had never been established by scientific investigation, and that it might stand in need of revision.

John F. Brown, writing of the American high schools in 1909, says that "belief in the wisdom of coeducation is not nearly so universal as its prevalence."³⁶ He goes on to say that many prominent educators of his day believe that a sound educational philosophy requires the separation of the sexes during high school, even if they attend the same schools before and after.³⁷

It is perhaps significant that twenty years before the Pope spoke on coeducation, a prominent American Catholic

³⁵ Encyclopaedia Americana, "Coeducation", Vol.7, p.179; I.L.Kandel, Op. Cit., p.76-79.

³⁶ John F. Brown, The American High School, New York, Macmillan, 1909, p.386.

³⁷ Ibid, p.386-388

educator, Dr. Thomas Shields, considered the question important enough to warrant a lengthy article on it in the Catholic Encyclopaedia.³⁸ Dr. Shields outlines conditions in America which led to the adoption of the system in primary and elementary schools. The growth of coeducation in high schools came later, coinciding with the movement in favor of higher education for women, with the rapid industrial changes and the opening of the professions to the female sex. This rapid spread of coeducation aroused intense interest, not only among educators, but also in the mind of the public at large. The subject, says Dr. Shields, was discussed from every point of view, moral, medicinal, economic, as well as educational. Education authorities evidently had doubts as to the wisdom of the policy, as special inquiries were sent out by school commissions, state boards and the U.S. Bureau of education, to obtain statistics and expressions of opinion. The replies to these served as the basis for numerous reports such as that of the Boston School Committee, and that of the Commissioner of Education based on the inquiry of 1891. All

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Thomas Shields, "Coeducation" in Catholic Encyclopaedia Vol. IV, p.88ff.

this seems to indicate one thing, namely, that at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century coeducation in America was a controversial subject. In 1906 Dr. Shields said: "It has been the subject of widespread discussion for some time past"³⁹. This is contrary to the opinion of many who maintain that coeducation never has been an issue in the United States, or at least, never would have been had not the Pope made it so.

Further evidence of the fact that coeducation was a controversial issue in America in the early years of the twentieth century, is to be found in the writings of G. Stanley Hall, the man whose work did so much to lay the foundations for the scientific study of child behavior. Mr. Hall, in his well-known book Adolescence, devotes considerable space to a discussion of the pros and cons of coeducation, quotes other writers on the topic, and refers to numerous experiments⁴⁰ which seem to support his contentions. This would indicate that the scientific value of coeducation as a principle of education was no longer being passively accepted by all in

³⁹Ibid, p.90⁴⁰G. Stanley Hall, Adolescence, New York, Appleton, 1925, Vol. II, p. 561-647.

America, but was beginning to be questioned by at least a few. And this was many years before Pope Pius XI pronounced on it.

In French Canada coeducation has never been an issue. In the Roman Catholic schools of Quebec boys and girls are taught separately at all age levels. The educational system in the other provinces, however, closely resembles that of the United States. Hence the public schools are coeducational from the primary to the end of the secondary. Even the Catholic parochial schools are mixed schools in most places, although in general they conduct classes only to the end of grade eight. In most of the large cities at least, private Catholic schools attempt to accomodate boys and girls separately at the high school level.⁴¹ Nevertheless, that alarm at the general situation in Canada was felt by some Catholic educators is attested by a little work published in 1926 by J. Ad. Sabourin, D.D., La Coéducation dans les écoles du Manitoba. This practically unknown publication is based on sound Christian and psychological principles, and foreshadows in a surprising

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Encyclopaedia Americana, (Canadian edition),
"Coeducation", Vol.7, p. 200

manner the words of Pius XI three years later.⁴² The brochure commences with a quotation from the French writer Charles Turgeon: "...dans la période moyenne correspondant aux études secondaires, la coéducation est mauvaise, irrationnelle, antipédagogique."⁴³ The author then proceeds to a full discussion of the question, including its general theory, advantages and disadvantages, and the precautions to be taken where the system must be tolerated. He sums up the coeducation situation in Manitoba with the words:

Ce qui prevaut donc au milieu de nous...c'est la coéducation americaine, la coéducation dans son sens le plus strict. ⁴⁴

Such was the coeducational situation in Europe and America in 1929. Pope Pius XI was fully aware of it. The various positions of authority he had held prior to his elevation to the Papal throne had placed at his disposal sources of information available to few. Thus when he became Pope in 1922 he was able to penetrate beneath the surface and to note dangerous trends and tendencies which had their roots in the false liberalism of the 19th century. What

⁴² J.Sabourin, La Coéducation dans les Ecoles du Manitoba, St. Pirre-Jolys, Man., published privately by the author, 1926.

⁴³ Charles Turgeon, Le Féminisme français, Paris, Editions Spes., p.9

⁴⁴ J.Sabourin, Op. Cit., p.108

was often hailed as a great good or as distinct educational progress was understood by his enlightened and finely discriminating mind to be fraught with danger to the future of Christian education. Such was the growing tendency toward coeducation which was taking hold to a greater or lesser degree in so many countries of the world. Thus on December 31, 1929 was issued Divini Illius Magistri which set forth in plain and forceful language the basic truths upon which alone true Christian education can rest; uttered a salutary warning to the entire Christian world; and condemned, along with other errors prevalent in the field of education, the system of educating boys and girls together.

CHAPTER IV

THE PAPAL DIRECTIVE ON COEDUCATION

Rappresentanti in Terra or Divini Illius Magistri as it is better known, has the distinction of being the only encyclical devoted exclusively to the subject of education. Pope Pius XI's predecessors, convinced of the vital importance of Christian education as the bedrock upon which must be built a Christian society, did not neglect the topic in their numerous pronouncements,¹ and frequent references to it are found in many of the great social encyclicals.² But none of these contains a complete presentation of the positive teaching of the Church on the subject. This was left to the saintly and scholarly Pius XI.

Rappresentanti in Terra was written, as were so many of the great encyclicals, to combat the growth and spread of secularism. Secularism, as represented by the liberal states of the 19th century, was a philosophy of life definitely opposed to the Catholic tradition. Since it could not

¹ Pope Leo XIII, Inscrutabili, 1878; Pope Pius X, E Supremi, 1903; Pope Benedict XV, Ad beatissimi, 1914.

² Leo XIII, Immortale Dei, 1885; Rerum Novarum, 1891; Pius XI, Non Abbiamo Bisogno, 1931; Mit Brennender Sorge, 1937; Divini Redemptoris, 1937.

tolerate a rival ideology it deposed, or attempted to depose, the Christian Church from its traditional position in the social order. This deliberate attempt to minimize the influence of the Church found concrete expression in the various "laic laws" which were aimed particularly at the Church's function as an educator. This secularist trend culminated in the various totalitaitan regimes in Germany, Italy and Russia, which not only denied the Church its rightful role in education, but also deprived the family of its proper function in education as well. Thus the whole educational process became the domain of political authority alone, and subject therefore, to the ideology of the political faction in power. This was what made possible the growth and spread of so many false educational theories.³

In outlining the scope of his document, Pius XI states that he does not intend to enter into pedagogic questions of theory and practice, but to supply a directive summary of the "main principles" of Christian education, indicating the conclusions and practical applications to be derived therefrom.⁴ He is not writing a treatise on methods of

³ Thomas J. Harte, Introduction to the Social Encyclicals, Washington, Catholic University of America, 1953, p.27.

⁴ Pius XI, Divini Illius Magistri in Social Wellsprings, Vol.II, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1949, p.89-90

education, but is pointing out the true and false in all our modern methods; he is not drawing up a program to fit every class in every school from the grades to the university, but he is showing what principles must be back of every program and every method if true education is to result.

In section III of the Encyclical the Pope begins by defining the subject of education. This is basic for an understanding of what follows. If one would understand the Pope's reasons for condemning coeducation, one must first comprehend fully just who is to be educated.

Pope Pius XI thinks of education in terms of the whole man, the complete human being. He envisages the religious man in the broadest and deepest sense of the term; the Christian whose entire life is defined in terms of his relations with God. Man is a creature made to the image and likeness of God, whose ultimate destiny is a supernatural one, union⁵ with God for all eternity.

Because the Pope regards education in terms of the whole man, his supernatural destiny and dependence on divine

⁵ Ibid, p. 89-90; also John F. Cronin, Catholic Social Principles, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1950, p. 86; Juvenal Lalor, "Educate the Whole Man", in Catholic School Journal, Vol. 49, No.9, Nov. 1949, p.38A-39A.

grace, he logically condemns those contemporary theories concerning methods of education which are derived from the Rousseauistic doctrine of the natural goodness of human nature and its innate self-sufficiency. In other words he strongly denounces pedagogic naturalism which rates the natural above the supernatural in educational importance, which sets the creature before the Creator in educational emphasis, and which believes in the essential goodness of human nature. Descending to particulars, His Holiness specifically condemns certain "pernicious errors" which he feels have resulted from the false doctrine of pedagogic naturalism. Among these is coeducation. He says:

False also and harmful to Christian education is the so-called method of "coeducation." This, too, by many of its supporters, is founded upon naturalism and the denial of original sin: but by all, upon a deplorable confusion of ideas that mistakes a levelling promiscuity and equality for the legitimate association of the sexes. The Creator has disposed and ordained perfect union of the sexes only in matrimony, and, with varying degrees of contact, in the family and in society. Besides, there is not in nature itself, which fashions the two quite different in organism, in temperament, in abilities, anything to suggest that there can be or ought to be promiscuity, and much less equality, in the training of the two sexes. These, in keeping with the wonderful designs of the Creator are destined to complement each other in the family and in society, precisely

because of their differences, which therefore ought to be maintained and encouraged during their years of formation, with the necessary distinction and corresponding separation, according to age and circumstances. These principles, with due regard to time and place, must in accordance with Christian prudence, be applied to all schools, particularly in the most delicate and decisive⁶ period of formation, that, namely, of adolescence.

If one takes these words at their face value, they appear to be a forthright condemnation of coeducation, at least during the years of adolescence. No section of the encyclical has aroused greater controversy. Interpretations have been offered by Catholics and Protestants; by clergymen and laymen; by educators and non-educators; by parents and teachers; by psychologists and psychiatrists, with the result that today there seems to be little general agreement, even in Catholic circles, as to the precise meaning of the words.

Pius XI begins by saying that the "so-called" method of coeducation is false. This at once suggests that the term "coeducation" has various interpretations. It is obvious that a correct understanding of the Pope's statement depends largely on a correct understanding of the term.⁷ Dr. Thomas⁸ Shields, writing in the Catholic Encyclopaedia, says:

⁶ Pius XI, Op. Cit., p. 109.

⁷ L.B.Pekin, Op. Cit., p. 157, 189.

⁸ Thomas Shields, "Coeducation" in Catholic Encyclopaedia, Vol.4, p.88-89.

The term is now generally reserved to the practice of educating the sexes together; but even in this sense it has a variety of meanings.

(a) Mere juxtaposition; this implies the use of the same buildings and equipment under the same teaching staff for the education of both sexes, but does not oblige the sexes to follow the same methods or to live under the same regimen.

(b) Co-ordinate education; the students are taught by the same methods and the same teachers and are governed by the same administration; but each sex has its own classes and, in the case of a university, its separate college.

(c) Identical education; both sexes are taught "the same general things, at the same time, in the same place, by the same faculty, with the same methods and under the same regimen. This admits age and proficiency, but not sex, as a factor in classification". (Clarke, Sex in Education, Boston, 1873, p. 121).

Judging from his severe condemnation of coeducation, it would appear that Pius XI is using the term in this third and narrowest sense.

It is also to be noted that Pius XI speaks of coeducation as harmful to "Christian" education. Throughout the encyclical the emphasis on the supernatural end of education is stressed by the constant and inevitable association of the word "Christian" with the word "education". What the Pope is concerned with here, as elsewhere, is the education of Christians for the end and purpose for which they were created. A clear distinction is thus drawn between education in the sense of the mere transmission of knowledge

and true education "which takes in the whole aggregate of human life, physical and spiritual, intellectual and moral, individual, domestic and social, not with a view of reducing it in any way, but in order to elevate, regulate and perfect it, in accordance with the example and teaching of Christ."⁹ Were education the mere imparting of knowledge, the instruction of the sexes together might possibly be the most practical and beneficial method. But from the point of view of true education as defined by Pope Pius XI, a re-examination of the system of coeducation would seem to be in order.

Pius XI maintains that the method of coeducation is founded upon naturalism and the denial of original sin. As already pointed out, naturalism in education is derived from Rousseau's doctrine of the essential goodness of human nature and its innate self-sufficiency. As an educational method it is based on the denial of original sin and grace, and a reliance on the sole powers of human nature. It would exclude entirely the supernatural in the formation of youth. "Many of them pretend to draw education out of human nature itself, and evolve it by its own unaided powers."¹⁰ This would be very

⁹ Pius XI, Op. Cit., p.119.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.90.

well were man not a fallen creature, but there is the fact of original sin. It is no myth, nor a matter of ignorant superstition or inferiority complexes, as some moderns would have it. Nature herself gives an indication that there is something wrong with man. He alone of all creatures of the universe seems poorly equipped for all the human things he is expected to do. This is strange considering the usual wisdom and efficiency of nature, and inexplicable, considering the goodness, mercy and providence of God. It can be explained only in one way; something has been taken from man; he has been punished; and the only reason for such spiritual punishment is sin.¹¹

These are indications of a fundamental truth, namely the fact and transmission of original sin, the absolute certitude of which is based on the solemn declarations of infallible authority.¹² This insistence on the fact of original sin is necessary, because if it were not a fact the principal reason for the Church's condemnation of coeducation would disappear, viz., the moral reason. If original sin and its

¹¹ John Farrell, A Companion to the Summa, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1941, Vol.2, p.307.

¹² Job, XIV, 4; Council of Mileve, Canon 2, Denziger, #174; Council of Orance, Canons 1 and 2, Denziger, #174-175; Council of Trent, Session V, Ch.2, Denziger, II, p.788-789.

consequences did not exist, there would be no moral danger in that close association of the sexes engendered by coeducation. But original sin and its consequences do exist, and "the Creator has ordained and disposed perfect union of the sexes only in matrimony, and, with varying degrees of contact, in the family and in society."¹³ The experience of the ages has shown that the close and intimate association of young people of opposite sexes is fraught with many dangers.

Coeducation is also founded, says Pius XI, upon "a deplorable confusion of ideas that mistakes a leveling promiscuity and equality, for the legitimate association of the sexes."¹⁴ It may be noted that the Pope has no fault to find with "the legitimate mingling of the sexes", but only with that indiscriminate mingling which seeks to do away with, or at least ignore sex differences. God made man and woman different in organism, in temperament and in abilities. Hence to seek by a method of education, to do away with or to level these differences, is contrary to nature. Rather, that method of education which maintains

¹³ Pius XI, Op. Cit., p. 109.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 109.

and encourages these differences, seeking to bring each sex to the perfection of its kind, would appear to be most in keeping with nature's designs, and most beneficial to the human race as a whole. Only thus will the two sexes complement and supplement each other in the family and in society, as they were destined by the Creator to do. "The sexes are mutually complementary and supplementary in the Divine¹⁵ economy."

Earlier in the encyclical Divini Illius Magistri the Pope says: "Education consists essentially in preparing man for what he must be and for what he must do here below, that¹⁶ he may obtain the sublime end for which he was created."

In the natural order of things, as ordained by God, men and women are to unite in love to propagate the human race. To accomplish this noble task the need for "the legitimate association of the sexes" becomes immediately apparent. Rudolph Allers, an outstanding Catholic psychologist, after showing why the idea of coeducation throughout the whole period of youth is completely erroneous, adds, "...but this

¹⁵ Pius XII, "Woman's Duties in Social and Political Life", in The Popes on Youth, edited by Raymond Fullam, Buffalo, The America Press, 1950, p.221.

¹⁶ Pius XI, Op. Cit., p.90.

by no means justifies the segregation of the sexes. A part of the preparation for the realities of life is social intercourse and collaboration between the sexes. People who to a large extent grow up isolated from persons of the opposite sex often learn only with difficulty to enter into relations with them when the occasion demands it. Many marital and even occupational difficulties are attributable¹⁷ to this." Pius XI does not elaborate on the form this "legitimate association" is to take, but a well-planned and well-conducted program of co-recreation, free from the distractions and dangers of coeducation, would seem to be in keeping with the general spirit of the encyclical.

After warning parents and educators of the vigilance over youth which is necessary today because of the world and its grave dangers, the Pontiff adds: "This necessary vigilance does not demand that young people be removed from the society in which they must live and save their souls." Rather, he says, "They should be forewarned and forearmed as Christians¹⁸ against the seductions and errors of the world." He implies,

¹⁷ Rudolph Allers, Psychology and Character, London, Sheed and Ward, 1931, p.275.

¹⁸ Pius XI, Op. Cit., p. 117-118.

however, that this "forewarning and forearming" should be given to boys and girls separately owing to differences in temperament and organism. Particularly should this caution be exercised while their new-found emotions are in a volatile and uncontrolled condition, i.e. "during the most delicate and decisive period of formation, that namely, of adolescence."

The concluding words of this passage of the encyclical are deeply significant, and perhaps have not received sufficient attention in explanations of the Church's stand on coeducation. They afford an example of the broadness and understanding of the Church, and her willingness to make allowances for differing conditions in the various countries of the world. They also offer an explanation of the apparent disregard of some Bishops and Catholic educators for the papal condemnation of coeducation.

After stating the fundamental reasons which should lead to an objective view of coeducation, Pius XI says that these principles "must be applied to all schools." It is to be remembered however, that the Pope is here setting forth the ideal of Christian education toward which all are obliged to strive. Due to uncontrollable circumstances the ideal is not always attainable, and one must be satisfied with observing the spirit of the law. Making allowance for this fact the

the Pontiff adds, "with due regard to time and place, and²⁰ in accord with Christian prudence." As stated earlier, the encyclical on Christian education was addressed to the entire Christian world, and yet circumstances differ so markedly from one country to another, and even from one diocese to another, that while it might be feasible to have separate schools for boys and girls in one place, it might be quite impossible in another. By including the words "according to²¹ age and circumstance", and "with due regard to time and place", Pius XI has made it possible for the Ordinaries to put the general principles into practice according to the necessities and circumstances of their respective dioceses. But the principles are there, and because founded on basic truth, will remain for all time the mind of the Church regarding coeducation.

²⁰Ibid, p. 110.²¹Ibid, p. 110.

CHAPTER V

THE REACTION TO THE PAPAL DIRECTIVE ON COEDUCATION

The full impact of any historic document can be gauged with accuracy only from the vantage point of time. When an encyclical is released from the Vatican Press, first impressions are quickly voiced, but the real effect of the document is manifested gradually with the passage of time. So it was with the encyclical on the Christian education of youth.

Written in Italian under the original title Rappresentanti in Terra, the Magna Charta of Christian education was promptly followed by an official Latin translation, Divini Illius Magistri, which was declared to be not merely an "authorized" but an "authentic" version. The treatise aroused world-wide attention as might be expected from the importance of the subject treated. The early comments of the American secular press indicate intense interest, and almost complete accord with the Holy Father's views. A few such may be quoted:

New London (Conn) Day

If there is discussion pro and con of the new encyclical it will be good not only for Catholics, but for Protestants. The problems of education defined by the Pope are fundamental problems which in these days are rousing a deal of controversey among non-Catholic educators.¹

Brooklyn (N.Y.) Times

Not since Leo XIII issued his encyclical on "Modernism" has there been a papal enunciation which attracts more attention than that of the present Pontiff. Practically, the subject is the same, the Pope attacking modern tendencies, this time in education. The Pope does not mince words. There is nothing of compromise in his attitude. The function of education is the function of the Church, which has been its agent in Europe since the first millenium. 2

Hartford (Conn.) Courant

The Pope warns against those influences, now so abundant, that may weaken the character of youth, and he urges eternal vigilance against them. But he would not attempt to save youth by banishing all temptations. Rather would he fortify youth by sound education and correct moral precepts in order that it may save its own soul. He sees in self-reliance and self-discipline, youth's greatest protection against besetting evils. This has ever been the Catholic doctrine. 3

Shawnee (Oklahoma) News

The weakness of many families today, is that parents are giving so much time to the pleasures of this life that the moral training of their children is left to the teacher mostly. The Pontiff's advice in youthful upbringing is to the point. 4

2Ibid.

3

Ibid.

4

Ibid.

Dallas (Texas) News

The Catholic point of view is that religion comes from God and has been entrusted by Him to the Church which is authorized to protect the souls of men from evil, and guide them through its teachings, toward the attainment of spiritual ends. 5

The Lowell (Massachusetts) Courier-Citizen

We have not been able to see anything revolutionary in the recent encyclical of Pius XI on education. It is merely a re-statement or clarification of perfectly well-understood and firmly established doctrines of the Church. 6

Although these comments are, for the most part, on the encyclical as a whole, still, in a country where coeducation is the recognized and accepted method of education, the fact that the secular press does not take exception to the Pope's apparent denunciation of the system, might signify at least a recognition of the wisdom of re-examining the policy. Or again it might be that coeducation was considered such a minor issue in America, that the section of the encyclical dealing with it was not worth a comment.

Catholic papers and periodicals were highly enthusiastic in their early reviews of Divini Illius Magistri. All commended the Pope's forthright stand and the timeliness of his utterance.

5Ibid.

6

Ibid.

In Europe and America there appeared in the first few months after its publication, "Pius XI uber die Jugenderziehung", in Stimmen der Zeit, by Rev Joseph Schröeteler, S.J.;⁷ "Echi dell' Enciclica sull' Educazione", in Civiltà Cattolica;⁸ "La Carta Enciclica de Pío XI sobre la Educación de la Juventud", in Razón y Fe, by Luis Izaga;⁹ "Educational Encyclical Explained by Dr. Johnson", in N.C.W.C. Review;¹⁰ and "Papal Encyclical on Education", by J.A.Ryan in Current History.¹¹ The 1930 April-June issue of Schule und Erziehung devoted thirty-two pages to the encyclical and called it the "Magna Charta educationis Christianae." Like the comments in the secular press, most of these articles deal with the encyclical as a whole, rather than with specific points discussed in it.

John A. Ryan in his "Catholic Interpretation", says that the statements most likely to be criticized and misunderstood are those concerning so-called neutral schools, coeducation, and sex education. He points out that, as

⁷ Joseph Schröeteler, "Pius XI uber die Jugenderziehung," in Stimmen der Zeit, Vol. 119, issue of Feb. 1930, p.81-100.

⁸ "Echi dell' Enciclica sull' Educazione," in Civiltà Cattolica, Vol.1, issue of March 8, 1930, p.481-492.

⁹ Luis Izaga, "La Carta Enciclica de Pío XI sobre la Educación de la Juventud," in Razón y Fe, Vol.90, issue of Feb. 25, 1930, p. 289-306.

¹⁰ George Johnson, "Educational Encyclical Explained by Dr. Johnson", in N.C.W.C.Review, Vol.12, issue of March 1930, p.7-9

¹¹ J.A.Ryan, "Papal Encyclical on Education," in Current History, Vol.31, issue of March 1930, p. 1087-89.

regards coeducation and sex education, the Pope does not condemn them outright in all circumstances. With regard to sex education he stresses the folly of assuming that mere knowledge will effectively safeguard chastity, and concerning coeducation, he warns against the fallacy of ignoring sex differences in courses of instruction.¹²

Dr. Johnson gives a clear explanation of many parts of the encyclical,¹³ but surprisingly does not touch the section dealing with coeducation. This in itself might be significant. Aware of the many Catholic coeducational high schools in the United States, and foreseeing little immediate hope of remedying the situation, he perhaps considered it wiser or more diplomatic to by-pass the coeducation issue. It is remarkable that Dr. Johnson who has written so copiously on educational issues in the United States, has apparently never touched upon the delicate question of coeducation.

The pervasive influence and general joyful acceptance of Divini Illius Magistri among Catholic educators may be gathered from the reports of the N.C.E.A. Convention, which

¹²John A. Ryan, Op. Cit. p. 1087.¹³George Johnson, Op. Cit., p. 7-9.

was held in New Orleans just six months after the encyclical¹⁴ was published. As this was a national convention, leading Catholic educators from all parts of the United States were present. In each and every section of the convention the encyclical was quoted for a principal to guide, or a step to take, or the confirmation of some point. The impact of the document on these educators may be gauged from the message sent to the Holy Father on this occasion. It is here reproduced in full.

Most Holy Father:

The letter of Your Holiness on the Christian education of youth has given to all of us, members of the National Catholic Educational Association, engaged in the work of teaching, the most profound satisfaction and the most welcome encouragement. Our work is near indeed to the heart of the Common Father of all the faithful. Burdened with the cares of the Universal Church, you give the world a message that places the true estimate on the work on the Christian education of youth to which our lives are devoted. Happy are we to be privileged to help in the glorious and holy work of forming youth after the pattern of Jesus Christ.

We extend to Your Holiness the expression of our profound gratitude for this manifestation of your paternal solicitude. The principles of this letter shall be the norm ever before our minds and its precepts shall govern our practice and form our methods. Your doctrine shall be our guide, your direction shall be our rule, and the hope of your approval and your blessing shall be our reward.

14

Edward A. Fitzpatrick, "The N.C.E.A. Convention," in The Catholic School Journal, Vol. 30, issue of Aug. 1930, p. 271-273.

The study of it will make us anxious to conform to the traditions of sound learning and to shun the vain novelties of the age.

We tender to Your Holiness the expression of our profound veneration and homage and we pray that God may grant you the consolation of seeing in your own days some of the good results of this great boon you have conferred on Christian youth.¹⁵

This enthusiastic and wholehearted acceptance of the Encyclical was typical of its reception throughout the Catholic world.

There can be no doubt that the delegates to the N.C.E.A. Convention in June 1930 were most sincere in their pledge to the Holy Father to make the principles of the encyclical the norm ever before their eyes, and to govern their practice and form their methods by its precepts. In the face of this, however, it is all the more astonishing to learn that in 1954 over 50% of Catholic high schools in the United States were still coeducational.¹⁶ It appears that as the years went on, and a more detailed study of the document revealed recommendations that would necessitate a change in practice or an upsetting of routine, one heard little or nothing of these, and practices seemingly condemned in the encyclical appear to have continued, and even in some

¹⁵

Ibid, p. 272.

¹⁶

Bulletin of the National Catholic Educational Association, August 1954, p. 298.

sections of the country to have become more prevalent. Such at least appears to be true of coeducation.

Six months after the publication of Divini Illius Magistri, a discussion of the coeducation question was opened up by Edward A. Fitzpatrick in an editorial in the Catholic School Journal.¹⁷ He notes that the Pope's comments on coeducation aroused some adverse comment in his country. He quotes the section in full, and then points out how, in the United States, the policy of coeducation in high schools was begun as a matter of economic necessity. Since then the pressure of the increasing cost of buildings and the like, has forced those responsible for Catholic education more deliberately into the policy of coeducation on financial grounds. The result of the Pope's words, he hopes, will be to raise the issue in America as to the wisdom of the procedure, and as to whether the policy is justifiable on strictly educational, social, ethical and religious grounds. When ultimate Christian civilization is at stake, are economic grounds sufficient to justify a policy?

It is interesting to note that Fitzpatrick, a man whose opinions have always been highly respected in the

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Edward A. Fitzpatrick, "The Question of Coeducation," in The Catholic School Journal, Vol.30, No.7, issue of July, 1930, p.254.

educational world, is still as strongly opposed to coeducation in principle as he was in 1930. Writing in 1953 he says:

"What of coeducation? Any plea for the sameness of education will be violative of the principle that the nature, physical and psychical, of the individual to be educated, his social destiny, must be taken into account in determining both the kind of education, and the content of education."¹⁸ He goes on to say that the method of coeducation forces on women an education which was designed for men. Women have now proven themselves men's intellectual equals, which apparently was what they wanted to do, and now are endeavoring to find an intellectual program that really meets their needs. He maintains that one of the principal arguments advanced in favor of coeducation, namely that men and women should learn to live together by actually living together, does not determine the question. School, he says, is far from being all of life.¹⁹ Children freely associate with each other at all ages,

The German Jesuit, Otto Cohausz, made a deep and penetrating study of Divini Illius Magistri. Not long after its publication he began work on a detailed commentary and

¹⁸ Edward A. Fitzpatrick, The Philosophy of Education, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1953, p.79.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 79-80.

²⁰
explanation of it. Cohausz obviously has a clear understanding of the educational situation which prompted the encyclical, especially in his own country, and his work shows considerable skill in applying the principles expressed to the existing situation. Unfortunately it is weakened at times by an approach somewhat too didactic. Still it is a valuable commentary. In the section on coeducation he makes clear how the Holy Father's words, brief though they be, decisively refute the arguments of those who advance in support of mixed schools, the essential goodness of human nature and its need to be inoculated to sex. He uses the Pontiff's own words to show how erroneous this attitude is, because of the indisputable fact of original sin.

Another work, published in 1934, comes out very strongly in support of the Church's stand on coeducation as given by Pope Pius XI.²¹ In Le Probleme de l'education, Raoul Plus, S.J. has a section entitled "Mixed Schools and Dual Schools," in which he explains the difference between the two. Mixed schools, he says, are those created through

²⁰
Otto Cohausz, The Pope and Christian Education, translated by George Smith, New York, Benziger, 1933.

²¹
Raoul Plus, Le Probleme de l'education, Paris, Editions Spes, 1934.

motives of economy. In communities which are sparsely populated, and where the expenses necessitated by the opening of two schools with two sets of teachers would be out of proportion to the number of children of school age, there is but one school in which boys and girls are taught together. On the other hand, in communities where the size of the population justifies the functioning of two schools, the children are divided between the two schools, not according to sex, which would be in accord with the Papal directive, but according to age. Father Plus deplors the fact that on February 9, 1933 these dual schools were made legal. He says: "It is not necessary to know much moral psychology to be alarmed at such a state of affairs." And elsewhere, "The State commits a flagrant and dangerous abuse of power in instituting coeducation where it is not absolutely necessary." He substantiates his words by referring to Divini Illius Magistri in which the State's rights with regard to education are so clearly outlined, and coeducation as a principle is so vigorously condemned. He draws attention to a comment made by Clement Vautel, whom, he says, is ordinarily inclined to be somewhat indulgent.²²

Vautel maintains that from the point of view of pure pedagogy it is inadmissible that the intelligence and scholarly aptitude of the two sexes are parallel. Therefore, he says, it is illogical and even foolish to give the same instruction, the same education, to the two sexes. If nature has not fashioned their bodies according to the same pattern, why should their spirits be in the same mould? Exhorting parents to take a stand against mixed schools, he says:

Au point de vue moral, l'école mixte est pareillement condamnable, dès qu'elle reçoit des élèves qui ne sont plus à l'âge de l'innocence cent pour cent. La "sexualité"--c'est un vocable à la mode--s'éveille de bonne heure en nos temps surchauffés et d'ailleurs, en cela non plus, les garçons et les filles ne sont pas logés à la même enseigne. Eve est précoce, et c'est pourquoi la lycéenne n'est pas à sa place au milieu de lycéens qui peuvent attendre avant de fréquenter l'école du flirt.²³

It is thus clear from Father Plus' work that in countries where the political faction in power was opposed to the Christian Church, not only had Divini Illius Magistri borne no fruit by 1934, but rather it had prompted deliberate attempts to minimize the Church's influence by the passage of laws designed to thwart Christian principles of education.

All in all, as might have been expected, the comments of Catholic writers, editors and critics on the Holy See's coeducational directive indicate intense gratitude, wholehearted acceptance and complete accord.

In the non-Catholic world the forthright condemnation of the so-called method of coeducation by the head of the Catholic Church, seems to have resulted in the rallying of its advocates to its defence. This in turn called forth expressions of opinion from those who were opposed to the method, and from others who were not yet convinced of its advantages. Especially was this true in England.

In May 1931 the editors of New Era devoted almost an entire number to a discussion of the coeducation issue.²⁴ This "coeducation edition" carried articles for and against the method, and also presented a fairly general picture of the coeducation situation in England and on the Continent in 1931, the year following the publication of the Pope's pronouncement.

In an article specially prepared by the editors of New Era, based on questionnaires sent to schools known to

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New Era, Vol. 12, No.5, issue of May, 1931.

be following new methods, one is impressed by the conviction of those who have proved for themselves that coeducation is the right method of preparing the young for adult life.²⁵

J.H. Badley, founder of the first fully coeducational boarding school in England, is quoted at length in support of the system, but even he admits that "coeducation means grave responsibility for the educator," and that "the selection of the right staff is a grave difficulty for the principal."²⁶

In an article written by himself in this same edition of New Era, Mr. Badley makes a direct reply to Pope Pius XI's pronouncement on coeducation.²⁷ He strongly disagrees with the statement that coeducation encourages "a levelling promiscuity of the sexes." He replies:

Coeducation is of value just because it offers a means of a healthier habit of feeling and thought as a result of daily intercourse between the sexes, under conditions of equality and practical comradeship. In such comradeship I see the only sound basis for a new sex morality to replace the old, that is so out of touch with our assumptions and our needs.

It might be remarked here that in all probability it was Mr. Mr. Badley and the like, with their search for "a new sex

²⁵ "Coeducation in Practice," prepared by the editors of New Era, Vol.12, No.5, in issue of May, 1931, p.159-163.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 160.

²⁷ J.H.Badley, "Coeducation as Training for Living by Living" in New Era, Vol.12, No.5, issue of May, 1931, p.151.

morality" to whom Pius XI was referring when he said:

So today we see, strange sight indeed, educators and philosophers who spend their lives in searching for a universal moral code of education, as if there existed no decalogue, no gospel law, no law even of nature stamped by God on the heart of man, promulgated by right reason, and codified in positive revelation by God Himself in the ten commandments. These innovators are wont to refer contemptuously to Christian education as "heteronomous," "passive," "obsolete," because founded upon the authority of God and His holy law. 28

Sex morality, according to Our Holy Father, is founded upon the authority of God and His holy law, and hence can be neither old nor new.

The article prepared by the editors of New Era gives considerable insight into the status of coeducation in the State schools of England.

Inquiring into the extent to which coeducation has penetrated the State schools, we find it practically non-existent. Certainly at this moment true coeducation is by no means an accepted fact in the State schools, and in some notable cases where the experiment has been tried, the authorities have decided to revoke the scheme. The authorities are generally averse to coeducation. 29

Although in Protestant England this can hardly be considered a result of the Pope's directive on coeducation, still the

28
Pius XI, Divini Illius Magistri, in Social Wellsprings, Vol. 2, p. 108.

29
"Coeducation in English State Schools," by editors of New Era, Vol. 12, No.5, issue of May, 1931, p. 160.

prevalence of segregated schools in England, as well as in most countries of Europe, might indicate that at this date coeducation in the Old World was a recent and spurious growth.

A survey conducted by the editors of New Era reveals³⁰ that most countries in Europe had not yet accepted coeducation. The feeling was the same as in England, namely, that although coeducation might be a great ideal, it was not practicable. Here and there it was tolerated for the sake of economy, but the confidence which makes for success was lacking. Certain countries, however, did recognize the principle and act upon it. Bulgaria, Estonia, and Latvia are notable examples of this. Those European countries in which education was becoming increasingly State-controlled, adopted or rejected coeducation according to the policy of the moment, or it might be more accurate to say, according to which method was deemed most serviceable to the State, for the sole purpose of education in these countries was service to the State. Russia, Germany and Italy might be cited as examples of this, at least during the regimes of Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini. All schools in Russia were coeducational from 1930-1943.

In 1943 coeducation in the Middle Schools was abandoned, and separate schools provided for boys and girls. This, of course, had nothing to do with the Pope's stand on coeducation. Russian educationists had noted the unfortunate effects of coeducation and believed a change necessary. In other words they believed that it would be beneficial to the State to have separate schools between the ages of twelve and eighteen.³¹

Coeducation is stoutly defended in two other articles in the May, 1931 issue of New Era. Both are written by former students of coeducational institutions. Claire Deschamps, head girl of Frensham Heights School in 1927-28, says:

I am firmly convinced that coeducation is the most sane, intelligent and happy form of education for the majority of girls. Perhaps the greatest benefits to a girl are a sane attitude toward the other sex, the ability to meet men more naturally, to work with them more easily, to understand their interests and to some extent their attitude, toward life. ³²

The head boy of Bedales in 1928-29, Philip Smithels, speaks with similar conviction.

I feel very strongly that coeducation is the most natural form of education, and handled properly, approaches the ideal preparation for life, always with the proviso that it must be as complete as

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Adolph Meyer, The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century, New York, Prentice Hall, 1952, p. 342-343.

32

Claire Deschamps, "The Advantages of Coeducation," in New Era, Vol. 12, No. 5, issue of May, 1931, p. 157-158.

possible, both in duration and organization.³³

If these two opinions had been given by young people recently out of school, one might be inclined to think them colored by the buoyant enthusiasm of youth, but the fact is that both were written some years after their authors had left school, when it is expected that one has acquired a long range view of the learning experience. Hence their opinions should have some significance.

But opinions on coeducation were not undivided. There were those who, though favoring it in theory, saw clearly the difficulties that its practical application presents. The Rt. Hon. Earl of Lytton, in an article entitled "The Difficulties of Coeducation in England,"³⁴ admitted that it is a highly controversial subject, and that "however sound its principles may be in theory, its application presents many difficulties." Mr. B.A. Howard, Head Master of Addey and Stanhope School for Boys and Girls, London, believes that coeducation offers the only complete education.³⁵ Still, he recognized that there are bad mixed schools, and said that

³³ Philip Smithel, "The Advantages of Coeducation," in New Era, Vol. 12, No. 5, issue of May, 1931, p.158.

³⁴ Earl of Lytton, "The Difficulties of Coeducation in England," in New Era, Vol. 12, No.5 , issue of May, 1931.

³⁵ B.A. Howard, "Coeducation in State Secondary Schools," in New Era, Vol. 12, No. 5, issue of May, 1931, p. 151.

in order to be successful, "a real effort must be made to appoint only those men and women to the staffs who really understand and believe in the underlying principle involved. Opportunities must be provided for association of the sexes, and if need be, for their segregation." Mr. Howard admitted in 1931 that the system was coming in for much criticism from parents and teachers.

The interest aroused in this matter did not end with these early expressions of opinion. Others took up the question, and in 1937 New Era again devoted considerable space to the controversy. The secretary of the Central Education Commission, writing in New Era, expressed the opinion that many significant factors had been overlooked in the discussion thus far, and that no definite stand could be taken at that time.³⁶ This seems to indicate that professional bodies considered the question of mixed schools of such importance, that they hesitated to take a definite stand without further experimental data.

By 1937 the scales seem to have tipped slightly in the other direction, and voices questioning the wisdom of the

³⁶ Francis H. Knight, "Coeducation in Adolescence," in New Era, Vol. 12, No 8, issue of Aug., 1931, p. 284.

coeducation policy are heard. Ella Freeman Sharpe writing in New Era says: "I doubt whether coeducation during the years of puberty provides the environment suitable for feminine development. Most of all do I doubt the value of coeducation in present day conditions."³⁷ In the same year the headmaster of Rugby, Mr. Hugh Lyon, makes this statement, "I would even venture to suggest that separation from the other sex is at this age a good thing psychologically; for if a boy is to have a happy sex life, he should break loose at adolescence from the maternal influence which is all that woman has meant to him hitherto."³⁸

It is significant that Mr. Lyon was a teacher in an all boys' school, whereas the articles cited in defence of coeducation came from those who were the products or the administrators of coeducational institutions. It should be remembered then, that these are mere expressions of opinion from persons who might have reasons to be biased. They are valuable in that they show that coeducation was neither being rejected outright, nor passively accepted.

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Ella Freeman Sharpe, "Feminine Development; Is Coeducation a Help or a Hindrance?" in New Era, Vol. 18, No 4, issue of April, 1937, p. 109-110.

³⁸

Hugh Lyon, "The Problems of Adolescence in a Boy's Boarding School," in New Era, Vol. 18, No. 4, issue of April, 1937, p. 111-112.

The New Era was not the only publication to encourage a discussion of the pros and cons of coeducation. In October, 1931, The Saturday Review carried twin articles entitled "Do We Want Coeducation," presenting both sides of the question. The first opinion was voiced by a woman, who vehemently decries the method and sums up her views thus: "Man and woman have their respective places in this world; to try to amalgamate the two is a great mistake."³⁹ A man opposes her, basing his support of the method on its apparent success in the United States. He concludes with the somewhat enigmatic statement: "America is the home of coeducation, and in America especially is woman put on a pedestal."⁴⁰

An article appearing in an American publication about this same time might be mentioned here. Three weeks after Pope Pius XI's statement on coeducation was published, Nation issued a reply, "It Seems to Heywood Broun." One likes to think that this article, at once supercilious and sarcastic in tone, represents but a small portion of American thought. No exception is taken to the fact that Mr. Broun differs with the Pope on the coeducation issue. This he has every right

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Lascelles, Mrs. Francis, "Do We Want Coeducation?" in The Saturday Review, Vol. 152, issue of Oct. 3, 1931, p.425-426.

⁴⁰

Henry Barton, "Do We Want Coeducation?" in The Saturday Review, Vol. 152, issue of Oct. 3, 1931, p.426.

to do. But the manner of his expression is rather insolent, and his thought without depth. Mr. Broun maintains that the Pope is not qualified to speak on the subject of coeducation, "as he likely went to some separatist school as is the custom in his Church and country." Mr. Broun, on the other hand, attended Horace Mann high school, and with that experience behind him contends that "anyone who feels that coeducation promotes looseness of thought and deed has made an imperfect study of the subject."⁴¹ It is obvious that Mr. Broun has little understanding of the real issues at stake.

One other American opinion might be cited. This one is selected because it is in such striking contrast to the previous one, and because the author bases his stand on coeducation on the actual words of Pius XI in Divini Illius Magistri. William F. Cunningham in a book published in 1940 expresses his views.

It is the theory of many educators that if young people are thrown together daily in school life, any training necessary for social adjustment will automatically take care of itself. This method, particularly for the adolescent age, is equivalent to bringing high explosives together, and expecting them to fuse. That men and women are fundamentally different is clearly stated by Jennings in his Biological Basis

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Haywood Broun, "It Seems to Haywood Broun," in Nation, Vol. 130, No. 3, issue of Jan. 22, 1930, p. 91.

of Human Nature. Hence it is only reasonable to expect that obvious anatomical and physiological differences will be reflected in psychological differences. Just as boys do not play like girls, work like girls, nor act like girls, so neither do they feel and think like girls. Adequate provision should be made for this during their formative years, with caution exercised while their new found emotions are in a volatile and uncontrolled condition. 42

Mr. Cunningham refers specifically to the encyclical on the Christian education of youth, and says that it sums up in an authoritative manner the Catholic view on coeducation. Although economic considerations have permitted the method to exist in the United States, he says, traditionally Catholic education has always been conducted on the basis of segregation, except for the elementary years, and the graduate and professional schools.

The decade following the publication of the Papal directive on coeducation produced a considerable amount of literature on the subject. Without doubt, much of this resulted from the Pope's words. In fact, it might be said that the immediate effect of the Papal directive on coeducation was to reopen the subject for discussion; to bring into the open the merits and defects of the system, and above all, to awaken in educators a keen desire to subject the question to searching inquiry.

CHAPTER VI

COEDUCATION: A CONFUSED ISSUE

If the pronouncement of Pope Pius XI on coeducation accomplished nothing else, it at least set the issue clearly before the eyes of the world, and sparked a discussion which has been going on ever since. This in itself is valuable. Generally speaking, where the system of coeducation has been adopted, it is not because of conviction of its inherent values, but as a measure of economy, and in keeping with the democratic principle of equal educational opportunities for all. No one has yet given a scientific, authoritative answer as to the wisdom of educating boys and girls together, and no extensive, carefully controlled experiments have been made to determine the relative merits of coeducational and segregated educational institutions. It is true that studies attempted at various times have employed various statistical, survey and experimental methods,¹ and more recently the historical method² has been used. Although some of these studies have made valuable contributions to the many faceted problem of

¹ F.E. Moreton, "Attitudes of Teachers and Scholars Toward Coeducation," Brit. Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 16, issue of June, 1946, p. 40. The only research discovered by Moreton which provides definite statistical facts about coeducation is that of C.W. Valentine, briefly referred to in Year Book of Education, 1936, p.322.

² L.B. Pekin, Op. Cit. and Helen Olin, The Women of a State University, New York, Putnam, 1909.

coeducation, still they actually prove little more than the inadequacy of scientific techniques to measure the results of coeducation. Much of the material has been the expression of personal bias, mere opinion, or even zealous propaganda for or against the movement. It is clear that a really thorough, scientific, comprehensive study of the effects of coeducation is a task for the future.

At this point in the present investigation, it might be well to set out in summary form the chief arguments advanced for and against the system of educating boys and girls together. This will make clear the lack of agreement on the issue, and reveal the urgent need for a scientific study of the problem.

To realize the great importance attached to the question of coeducation by its supporters and opponents, one has only to look at the literature of the past quarter century. For the most part this is comprised of reasons for defending or condemning the system, and in either case rings with sincerity.

A careful study of this literature, selecting and grouping the arguments advanced, results in reducing them to five or six for each side of the controversy. It reveals that in general, Catholics defend the system and Protestants ~~defend~~ it. But there are notable exceptions to this. Some outstanding Protestant psychologists, as well as men actively engaged in

the field of education, and parents, have strongly opposed the system in the past, and today, many thoughtful Protestants are questioning the advantages of the method, and drawing attention to some of its more obvious defects. On the other hand it would appear, from a perusal of the literature, that while the majority of Catholics still continue to oppose the system, in keeping with the traditional policy of the Church; there are some Catholic educators, religious and lay, who, while admitting the dangers of coeducation, are not blind to its many advantages. Some daring experiments in school organization are being tried in an attempt to find an educational method which will be free from the defects so realistically pointed out by Pope Pius XI, and yet allow³ for the advantages which the system obviously possesses.

The advocates of coeducation claim for it the following advantages:⁴

1. It is the only sure means of guaranteeing the democratic right of equal educational opportunity for all.

³ See Chapter VII of this report, p.

⁴ The advantages and disadvantages of coeducation have been gathered from all the literature read, much of which has been referred to already, all of which is in general bibliography. See also Encyclopaedia Americana, (Can. Edition), Vol. 7, p. 200; and Encyclopaedia of Child Care and Guidance, p. 124-125.

2. Since women have proven themselves capable of competing intellectually with men, they should be given the right to do so.

3. From the social point of view coeducation is most beneficial. It results in a better understanding of the opposite sex, and increases the likelihood of a successful marriage and happy family life.

4. It tends to have a refining influence on both boys and girls.

5. Boys and girls who have been educated together will be more likely to work together harmoniously to build a better world.

6. It has shown itself a means of elevating morality, as it encourages a sensible, matter-of-fact relationship between the sexes.

7. It is a valuable stimulus to study.

8. Coeducation is more economical than segregated schools.

The opponents of coeducation are equally convinced of its disadvantages. In listing them they usually begin with the moral dangers of the system.

1. The close association of the sexes during adolescence frequently leads to loss of virtue.
2. By nature men and women are different; education should seek to encourage these differences rather than dispel them.
3. The sexes develop at different rates during the adolescent years, and an education which will fit the needs of girls at that time will not be suitable for boys.
4. Coeducation tends to coarsen girls and make boys effeminate.
5. A curriculum prepared for mixed classes is necessarily a compromise which fits the needs of neither sex.
6. Sex interests detract from serious study.
7. Coeducation often proves too much of a strain for girls and causes a physical breakdown.
8. The system is a "reform against nature," for what God has made different, man should not strive to make the same.

One fact is immediately evident from this list of advantages and disadvantages, and that is that the advocates and opponents of coeducation flatly contradict each other, thus making the issue a highly confused one. Its protagonists

maintain that it is a means of elevating morality, whereas the antagonists insist that its greatest weakness lies in the fact that it is a serious threat to morals. Again, "It is a valuable stimulus to study," say the proponents of the system, while the objectors state with equal conviction that "sex interests detract from serious study". And so on with all the other points. One attempting to study the question objectively is constantly amazed and confused by the identical claims made by both sides of the controversy. Who is right? Have these claims any scientific foundation, or are they mere expressions of opinion? Are the findings of investigators slanted by preconceived ideas? These and similar questions immediately spring to the mind of one seriously interested in the question, and attempting to form an unbiased opinion from a study of the available literature. A more detailed examination of some of this literature will show how contradictory are the views of men and women working in identical fields.

C.M. Fleming and Luella Cole are both modern research workers in the field of adolescent psychology, and yet their findings and views on coeducation are completely at variance.

C.M. Fleming strongly advocates coeducation, and undertakes to show authoritatively that the objections to

the system have no foundation from the physiological, psychological and moral point of view.⁵ He maintains that most of the present day objections are echoes of the writings of G. Stanley Hall whose well-known book on adolescence contained a comprehensive summary of the research findings of the latter part of the 19th century. While acknowledging the great contribution made by Hall to an understanding of adolescent development in its relation to social life, to sexual maturing, to religion and to education, Fleming points out that more modern research findings have brought to light some essential weaknesses in his conclusions. Chief among these, he says, are his failure to allow for the effect of social relationships, his apparent unawareness of individual differences, and the consequent absence of adequate interpretation of those cases which deviate from averages of a group. Hall reports in great detail the results of measurements of the height and weight of many thousands of adolescents; but he records only averages and percentage increments. As a result, says Fleming, he tends to assume that these averages are fully

⁵
C.M.Fleming, Adolescence, New York, International Universities Press Inc., 1951, Chapter 5.

⁶
G. Stanley Hall, Adolescence, New York, Appleton and Co., 1905.

representative of each group, and passes from an analysis of such figures to conclusions, such as that coeducation during adolescence is unwise, since girls are then so much nearer to maturity than boys.⁷

Hall also falsely assumes, according to Fleming, that great physical growth is necessarily accompanied by greater intellectual maturity. Fleming answers this at length, saying that differences in physique cannot be proved to be accompanied by corresponding differences in mental capacity or educability. Individual variations within sex groups, he maintains, are much more impressive than average differences between the sexes; and success in the differing activities of adolescence are much more closely related to variations in training, in social expectations and in desires than what can be described as biologically determined differences⁸ between the sexes.

On the basis of this Fleming concludes that separation into single sex classes or single sex schools does not result in the production of more genuinely homogeneous groups. He contends that segregation of the sexes for educational purposes could be supported on the grounds of differences

⁷ C.M. Fleming, Op. Cit., p. 38-39.

⁸ Ibid, p. 103ff.

in the rate of social and sex development, only if it could be shown that all boys (or all girls) matured at once and to the same extent, and that the ages of maturing of the two groups were clearly different. Neither assumption has yet been proved valid. Rather there is reason to believe that girls and boys reach comparable stages of sexual development at approximately the same ages. Then too, it is false to assume that all forms of maturation occur simultaneously and are concomitants of growth in height. Fleming refers to several long-term studies of adolescent development which seem to disprove or at least lend no support to Hall's assumptions.⁹

Thus from his own research in the field of adolescent psychology, and from results obtained by other workers in the field, Fleming concludes that the disadvantages and dangers claimed for coeducation on physiological, psychological and social grounds are without substantial foundation. Moreover, he claims that from a positive viewpoint the system has distinct advantages. Only within the flexibility of a genuinely coeducational grouping can adequate provision be made for informal opportunities for social learning for each boy and girl at the time when it is most advantageous.¹⁰ Morally, too,

⁹
Ibid, p. 156.

¹⁰
Ibid, p. 156.

the combined education of the sexes during adolescence is helpful. Sex problems among adolescents are most frequent where boys and girls are educated apart, and trained for distinct activities, and with very different emphasis. An extension of wholesome heterosexual contacts in genuinely coeducational dayschools is most efficacious to healthy maturing.¹¹

Fleming is therefore convinced that educational segregation cannot be supported on grounds of physiological differences, and that from the social and moral point of view, coeducation is highly beneficial to the adolescent.

Equally impressive, but entirely contrary is Luella Cole's attitude toward coeducation during the years of adolescence. In The Psychology of Adolescence she cites evidence to the effect that boys and girls reach puberty at different ages, that their sexual maturing has different manifestations, and that they have entirely different problems. She strongly affirms that this dissimilarity in size, physiological age, interests and attitudes make the period from ages 12-15 the

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¹¹ Ibid, p. 232. Two fairly recent studies seem to support Fleming's contention: R. Lunger and J.D. Page, "Worries of College Freshmen", in The Ped. Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 54, issue of 1939, p. 457-460; and C. Pope, "Personal Problems of High School Pupils", in School and Society, Vol. 57, issue of April 17, 1943, p. 443-448.

worst possible time for boys and girls to be educated together. Cole makes it clear that there is nothing against coeducation before and after the adolescent period, but for the reasons given above she strongly advocates the separation of the sexes in junior high school, with the boys being taught by men, and the girls by women. During these years she feels that there should be no more than casual, voluntary contact between boys and girls. Once functions and attitudes are established, she says, and the adjustments necessitated by the change from childhood to maturity have been made, the two sexes are probably better off together, but experience has shown that separation from 12-15 is highly beneficial from every point of view.¹²

These contradictory statements of two psychologists who have both done considerable research in the field of adolescent psychology are fairly typical of what the coeducation literature of the last quarter century yields. There seems to be no complete accord on the question in any country, or among any professional or even denominational groups. The contrasting views of two present day workers in the field of education will further attest the disagreement that exists

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Luella Cole, The Psychology of Adolescence, New York, Rinehart and Co., 1954, ch. 5.

concerning the coeducation issue. The two educators whose views will now be reviewed are both Englishmen, brought up in the English school system. Both are actively engaged in the work of education; one in England, the other in Canada. Both men are Protestants.

L.B.Pekin, the author of several books on modern education, considers both the advantages and disadvantages of coeducation.¹³ He begins by setting forth "all the objections which one advocate of coeducation, who has kept his ears wide open on the subject for some years, has heard spoken, and all those which have found their way into print, or as many as the fairly discursive reading of one individual has come across."¹⁴ Pekin considers these objections one by one. No doubt he intends to be entirely objective, but one feels that his statements are colored by his obvious predilection for coeducation.

The oft expressed criticism that coeducation makes girls masculine and boys effeminate is first considered. Pekin maintains that this is generally supported by pointing to some freak who is a product of a coeducation institution.

¹³ L.B.Pekin, Coeducation in its Historical and Theoretical Setting, London, The Hogarth Press, 1939, ch.10.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 151.

Obviously, says Pekin, this is no argument. The only fair way to consider the point is to compare the masculinity and femininity of boys and girls of the same type, who have been educated in the two different ways. Here one would obviously expect Pekin to refer to some such experiment, but evidently he knows of none, so he drops the matter and goes on to say that those who have had experience of both types of schools, will agree that it is the segregated schools which tend to produce the half men and half women. There is a strong tendency for these schools to produce homosexual types. The opposite tendency is found in a coeducational school.

A second criticism answered by Pekin is based on the different intellectual approach of the sexes. Pekin admits that there are intellectual differences between boys and girls, which overlap with the psychological, but contends that this is no reason against their common upbringing. The difference of mental attitudes between boys and boys, or girls and girls, is just as great as that between boys and girls. Here again Pekin offers no scientific support for his contention, but simply states that the only evidence worth having is that of coeducational teachers: segregational teachers cannot possibly know. And, adds Pekin, teachers in mixed schools find the variety of sexual intellectual differences stimulating and refreshing.

In quick succession Pekin answers the criticisms that coeducation makes teaching methods more difficult, that the two sexes ought not to have identical curricula, and that academic competition between the sexes is over-taxing on growing girls. As to the first, it is a stimulating challenge to the teachers, he says. The best coeducational schools do not have identical curricula, and the traditional home of academic competition is not the mixed, but the segregated school. Good coeducational schools "have dispensed with marks, prizes, form places and that whole foolish paraphernalia¹⁵ altogether."

Other criticisms stem from the fact that boys and girls have different roles to play in life, and therefore will need different training at school. Such criticisms, Pekin contends, result from a gross and deplorable misunderstanding of the term coeducation. Many are convinced that coeducation means identical education, whereas it means shared education. Far too many discuss the system without knowing what it means as actually practiced. Anyone who has worked in both types of schools will recognize that there is far more chance of the different needs of the sexes being recognized and provided for when they are being educated together, since then

¹⁵Ibid. p.155.

it is almost impossible not to be aware of them. An elastic curriculum is generally the solution, and according to Pekin, the coeducational schools are doing more than any others along this line.

Those unfavorable to coeducation stress the difficulty of organization. This is a real difficulty, admits Pekin, but not insuperable if men and women have faith in the system. It is urged too, that in a coeducational system, discipline becomes a real problem, since the two sexes must of necessity be treated in different ways. Again, there is too much forcing of young people to be together, particularly during adolescence when there is an instinctive desire among both sexes to draw apart. Pekin suggests that this may be only a matter of tradition which would be better abandoned, but in any case, the good mixed school makes ample provision for the possibility of withdrawal. At least, he says, coeducation gives boys and girls the right and opportunity to choose; segregation denies both these things.

Having reviewed and answered, as he thinks, all possible criticisms of coeducation, Pekin proceeds to point out its practical advantages. There is the broadening of educational opportunity, since the curriculum is necessarily

wider than in a segregated school. Coeducation takes home life as its model, enlargening its scope and deepening its influence. It used to be that children in segregated schools could obtain the company of the other sex at home. In many cases this is no longer so. With the steady diminution in the size of the family, the value of coeducation grows proportionately greater.

Visitors to coeducational schools are quick to note the absence of constraint among the students. They observe the toleration that coeducation tends to produce. The different ethics of a coeducational institution are immediately apparent. Where boys and girls are in separate schools, the ethical idea is lopsided, with undue predominance placed on the purely physical. The result, says Pekin, is emotional crudity and moral infantilism. Where boys and girls are brought up together physical force ceases to be the chief criterion of moral authority, and personal worth comes into its own.¹⁷

Pekin draws attention to the many mutual benefits accruing to both sexes in a coeducational school. The presence of either sex helps to remedy the faults of the other. Mental

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Pekin is here using arguments advanced by J.H.Badley, "Coeducation: What is the Evidence?" in Spec. Vol. 152, No4, issue of April 20, 1934, p. 614-615; and A.Woods, "Theory of Coeducation", in Quarterly Review, Vol.205, No.10, issue of Oct. 1935, p. 199-208.

alertness and curiosity are greater when boys and girls are together. A boy learns greater self-restraint in the presence of girls, better manners and language, more modesty and gentleness and a deeper appreciation of beautiful things. A girl loses pettiness and sentimentality, gains in self-respect and self-reliance, carries responsibility with less sensitiveness and is less resentful of correction. For both boys and girls sex tension is lessened.¹⁸ They learn cooperation and mutual aid. In brief, says Pekin, boys and girls are good for each other, and a life shared by them is happier and humaner than lives lived apart.

Pekin's complete faith in the system of coeducation, and his absolute conviction of its superiority over every other form is impressive. A study of his consideration of the pros and cons of the system leaves one sharing his belief in its intrinsic worth. But when a different view of the question, penned by one equally convinced of its harmful effects on young people during adolescence, is examined, the result is mental confusion. A summary of Neville Scarfe's views as set forth in A Disenchanted View

18

Pekin is confirmed in this view by Paul Roberts, "Coeducation", in New Era, Vol. 18, issue of April, 1937, p.100-101 and W.B.Curry, "Coeducation," in New Era, Vol. 18, issue of April, 1937, p. 103-104.

19

of Coeducation will confirm this.

Scarfe first considers the question of coeducation as part of a much larger problem concerned with the desirability of segregation of any type. Some form of segregation, he says, is common practice in education and is seldom found fault with. In some places children are separated on account of race or color. In others, religion requires their segregation. Most authorities agree on separating blind, deaf or spastic children. In almost all schools the younger children are separated from the older ones. One grade is separated from another. Those seeking technical education are segregated from those with more academic leanings. In all cases there is a common reason for separation: to increase the efficiency of the teaching-learning process. If segregation of any sort accomplishes this, it is justifiable, says Scarfe.

Since schools are primarily institutions established for the mental and intellectual training of children and are not primarily community clubs for social recreation and development, it seems reasonable that efficiency of intellectual training should be the deciding factor on the need for segregation. 21

19
Neville Scarfe, "A Disenchanted View of Coeducation," in Saturday Night, Vol. 69, No.1, issue of Jan.2, 1954, p.7-8

20
Reavis, G.H. "An Educational Platform" in N.C.E.A. Bulletin, Vol. 51, issue of Aug, 1954, p.475-479, supports Scarfe on this view of segregation.

21
Neville Scarfe, Op. Cit., p.7.

Scarfe proceeds to point out some scientifically established facts which would seem to indicate that the segregation of adolescent boys and girls would greatly facilitate the teaching-learning process.²² Boys and girls have very different interests, gifts and needs. Girls tend to prefer the humanities while boys seem to prefer the sciences. Boys taught separately usually learn mathematics more efficiently than when taught in the company of girls. Boys generally react best to a man's way of teaching and girl's to a woman's way. They approach their studies in a different manner.

In defence of segregated schools for adolescents, Scarfe draws attention to certain differences which he has observed in boys trained in English secondary Grammar schools and their counterparts from American high schools. The English boys seem to be one or two years ahead in their intellectual attainments. It is true that during adolescence they tend to be somewhat shy and awkward in the presence of girls and prefer boys' company. However this does not seem to cause undue harm or hardship. Certainly English boys are

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Ibid, p. 7. Scarfe's views are supported by Alexander G. Wesman, "Separation of Sex Groups in Test Reporting," in Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol.40, No. 4, issue of April 1949, p. 223-229.

no rowdier than Americans, nor are they more prone to promiscuity or obscene jokes. At games they are equally proficient, though they are sometimes clumsier on the dance floor. This type of shyness does not appear to be lasting, and some are inclined to believe that it is a protective device provided by nature during a most difficult adolescent period. Scarfe readily admits that the intellectual advantage which he claims for English boys is by no means solely due to the lack of coeducation in England. Many other factors contribute, but still, it is difficult to avoid the suggestion that some small advantage may also accrue from sex segregation.

Concerning the enormous social benefits claimed for coeducation, Scarfe maintains that it is highly doubtful whether they are really obtainable in a classroom without jeopardizing other more important mental processes.

In addition to the educational reasons for separating children according to sex during adolescence, Scarfe feels that there are others equally important. Boys and girls reach maturity as far as their physical powers of reproduction are concerned at 13 or 14 years of age, but intellectual maturity does not come until 17 or 18. Thus there is a period of about four years when the body is ahead of the mind, when

children cannot control their bodily functions and feelings as intelligently as they will be able to later on. Fortunately nature has provided for this with the safeguards of shyness, awkwardness and fear which act as a protection to keep boys and girls apart at the time when they have not the intelligence to understand their own power and its consequences. Nature has also arranged that the sex instinct lie relatively dormant during adolescence unless unduly stimulated. To overstimulate sex puts an additional strain on the will-power and intelligence of children at a time when they are least able to cope with the situation, and, says Scarfe, "to have adolescent boys and girls forced together in the crowded atmosphere of the classroom tends to cause unnecessary stimulation and excitement of the sex instincts."²⁴

To give the lie to any social or moral benefits claimed for coeducation, Scarfe refers to the Kinsey report, and reminds his readers that the United States, where the investigation was carried out, is the home of coeducation. Similar investigations in other countries where coeducation

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Ibid, p. 8. Scarfe is supported in these views by Sister M Romana, "Understanding the Adolescent," in Catholic Education Review, Vol. 47, No. 3, issue of March, 1949, p. 163-169. Also Ella Freeman Sharpe, "Feminine Development: Is Coeducation a Help or a Hindrance?" in New Era, Vol. 18, No. 4, issue of April, 1937, p. 109-110.

is not the rule, could not reveal a greater incidence of sexual malpractice among adolescents. Then too, a comparison of North American adolescents with Europeans does not reveal that the former possess any moral or social superiority. They do perhaps have the doubtful advantages of being more assured, more blase, less shy and less modest, but they are not more refined, courteous, well-mannered or gentlemanly than their counterparts elsewhere. Thus the benefits of coeducation are not as obvious as some people would claim. In pioneer days it was no doubt necessary to educate the boys and girls together for economic reasons, but, says Scarfe, that is no reason for rationalizing a necessity into a desirable philosophy.

Scarfe concludes the exposition of his views on coeducation with a rather lengthy quotation from Bertrand Russel who writes significantly on the whole question of segregation in his book Education and the Social Order.²⁵ Russel strongly advocates any type of segregation which facilitates the teaching-learning process, and feels that the idea of jumbling all types of children together as a "good preparation for life", and to acquire "social adaptability" is utter rubbish. Scarfe says that Russel's ideas serve equally

²⁵Bertrand Russel, Education and the Social Order,

"to confute similar arguments about the supposedly great advantage of pushing boys and girls together in higgledy-piggledy fashion. Pushing children together regardless of their intellectual interests and needs merely crushes individual differences and develops herd conformity and mediocrity."²⁶

These arguments advanced by Scarfe opposing coeducation are just as convincing to the lay reader as those of Pekin in favor of it. Both men are in a position to know what they are talking about, both having had experience in the two types of schools. Scarfe's experience might be the broader in that he has worked in both English and Canadian schools. This rather lengthy reproduction of their views has been given purposely because it seems to lend force to the very point trying to be made at the present time, namely, that the arguments for and against coeducation are almost equally logical, reasonable and convincing, and that until some scientific technique has been devised adequate to measure objectively the relative merits of the coeducation and segregation of the sexes, little progress can be made toward a solution of the all-important question as to which method is best for the moral, intellectual, social and physical training of young people.

About a decade ago an Englishman, Frank Moreton, recognizing that education was on the verge of new and large developments, and that those responsible for planning the new schools were caught up in the general confusion concerning the relative merits of coeducational and single sex schools, attempted to obtain evidence which would be more objective than one man's opinion, and to consider scientifically some of the claims for and against coeducation. Though not in any way conclusive, and perhaps slanted by preconceptions, the findings are interesting and seem to point to a definite trend.

The study referred to, "Attitudes of Teachers and Scholars Toward Coeducation," was made by Frank Moreton at the London University.²⁷ It consisted of three questionnaires sent out to teachers and former students of coeducation and single sex schools, and of the consideration, by means of scientifically prepared questionnaires, of two chief objections to coeducation. A thorough study of all aspects of the experiment is necessary to judge its scientific value. Here a brief summary of the investigation, its results and conclusions must suffice.

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Frank Moreton, "Attitudes of Teachers and Scholars Toward Coeducation," in The British Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol.10, No.0, issue of June, 1940, p. 82-95.

Moreton's attempt to obtain with some degree of accuracy the "attitude" of teachers and former students toward coeducation might be summarized as follows:

- I. Four thousand copies of an attitude scale sent to teachers, half in coeducational, and half in single-sex schools.
 - (a) Attitudes revealed were predominantly in favor of coeducation.
 - (b) Of special note were the opinions of the teachers that coeducation did not increase the difficulties of discipline, and that in mixed schools the influence of the sexes on each other's development is a good one: on the other hand the opponents and some supporters of coeducation felt that the presence of the other sex might distract pupils' attention from their work.
 - (c) Of teachers educated in coeducational schools, many found their experience helpful in their relations with the other sex. Of those educated in single-sex schools, many had found it harmful.
- II. Second questionnaire to test attitude toward sex-equality sent to "old scholars" of Quaker boarding schools, both coeducational and single-sex.
 - (a) Attitudes of the two groups showed no significant differences.

- (b) Concerning the effect of schooling on relations with the other sex, answers of "old scholars" similar to that of their teachers.
- (c) No evidence that coeducation encouraged or discouraged flirting as compared with single-sex schools.
- (d) "Old scholars" of coeducational schools were strongly in favor of coeducation; "Old scholars" of single-sex schools were divided almost equally for and against. The middle attitude, that both schools have their uses, was more favored by single-sex groups.

III. Personal visits were paid to several Quaker schools, whose heads answered a number of questions.

- (a) Only some of the mixed schools (no single-sex) considered the children's future sex-life and marriage.
- (b) The single-sex schools make no provision for training in emotional control. The heads of the mixed schools said that the presence of both sexes was essential for right emotional training.
- (c) There was no evidence to show that mixed schools make discipline more difficult.

IV. Common objections to coeducation were briefly considered.

- (a) To test whether the tendency of the sexes to draw apart during adolescence was an obstacle to coeducation,

the heads of five other coeducational schools were consulted. Their replies showed that the tendency was known and provided for.

- (b) Sex differences were briefly considered. The general conclusion was in agreement with the views of teachers in mixed schools, that such sex differences as do exist are no hindrance, and might even be a benefit in coeducational schools.

This study of attitudes toward coeducation conducted by Moreton is significant as apparently pointing toward a definite trend. This will be considered in the next chapter. The chief point of interest here is the fact that it points to a recognition of the confusion and lack of knowledge concerning the coeducation issue, and the consequent need of obtaining objective evidence.

That the need for some scientific approach to the coeducation issue was being recognized is further attested²⁸ by an investigation made in England in 1948 by R.R. Dale. This too, was an inquiry into opinion with rather surprising results. It may be briefly summarized.

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R.R. Dale, "Coeducation: Inquiry into Opinion," in Times Educational Supplement, Vol. 1739, No. 489, issue of Aug. 28, 1948.

Questionnaires sent to the university departments of education differentiated between three types of coeducation. (a) Full coeducation; (b) The education of boys and girls in the same school, but with single-sex classes; (c) Coeducation for limited social activities only. The results reveal a change of opinion that few suspected. A decisive majority of university professors favor full coeducation, and the responses from students show them even more decisive. The students from single-sex schools feel that they are handicapped in meeting members of the opposite sex. A breakdown of the replies shows that out of 61 professors who replied, 47 favor coeducation type (a); 1 type (b); 4 type (c). Two were against coeducation, and 7 were undecided. Among the replies from 664 students, 406 favored coeducation type (a); 88 type (b), and 69 type (c). Thirty were against coeducation and 71 were undecided. A further breakdown shows that 70% of the staff members of the university departments of education favor coeducation in secondary schools; 8% favor a slightly modified form of coeducation; 5% are for dual schools, and 4 1/2% for single-sex schools. 80% of teachers teaching in boys' schools favor coeducation; 60% of girls' schools and 91% in mixed schools. The significance of these findings will be considered in the next chapter. One fact seems pertinent here, namely that with a large percentage of teachers and students apparently favoring coeducation, it seems strange

that the majority of secondary schools in England are still single-sex. Again this indicates a lack of clarity, confusion concerning the coeducation issue.

Some experimental work, giving new insights into problems of coeducation, has recently been carried out in the United States. A series of studies on high school boys and girls was conducted in the Department of Education of the Catholic University of America.²⁹ Three of the studies were published in 1952: Test Patterns in Intelligence: Comprehensive Factor Analysis for High School Boys and Girls; Factors in Intelligence and Achievement, A Study of the Intelligence and Achievement of Boys; Some Aspects of Ability and Achievement in Girls. The findings of these studies indicate the wisdom, from the point of view of intelligence and achievement, of educating boys and girls separately. Similarly, the results of a study published in 1951, Trait Clusters for Secondary School Boys and Girls,³⁰ suggest a differentiated approach to the handling of high school boys and girls, in an effort to assist them to develop desirable personalities. It is interesting to note in passing that the

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H. Ruszel, J.A. Driscoll and A.M. Doyle, "New Insights into Problems of Coeducation," in Catholic Education Review, Vol. 51, No. 4, issue of April, 1953, p. 270.

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F.J. Houlahan, "Trait Clusters for Secondary Boys and Girls," in Catholic Education Review, Vol. 49, No. 6, issue of June 1951.

results of these American experiments, where coeducation is the accepted system in all public schools, point in the opposite direction to those obtained from experimental work in England, where coeducation is relatively unknown. Not too much can be understood from this, however, since the studies were of an entirely different nature.

It is evident from these studies that a movement is on foot both in England and America to investigate scientifically the relative merits and defects of educating boys and girls together, particularly during the adolescent period. The many convincing, yet contradictory opinions on the subject has made all too clear the need for such investigation.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRESENT SITUATION

It is difficult to obtain accurate information as to the present status of coeducation. It would appear that in general the picture has not altered to any great extent since Pope Pius XI took his strict and resolute stand in 1929. The 1955 edition of The American People's Encyclopaedia states the facts succinctly:

At elementary or primary school level up to teen-age, coeducation is universally accepted in the public or state-supported schools of the United States and Great Britain, and in general the custom has been adopted in most European countries.

At the secondary school level coeducation is almost universal in the public schools of the United States. In Great Britain the sexes are segregated completely in state schools from the age of eleven until the college level, and almost entirely in the private schools. Segregation in secondary schools, or during the adolescent period, is customary in France, and in fact in most European countries. Schools at this level in many parts of Germany were coeducational before World War II; and coeducation was general in middle schools of Soviet Russia until segregation was enforced after World War II.

The general trend toward secondary school coeducation has increased greatly throughout the world in recent years with the exception of Latin America and Catholic institutions. ¹

A closer study of individual countries shows a slow but fairly definite trend toward a more general acceptance of the idea of coeducation.

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The American People's Encyclopaedia, Vol.5, "Coeducation", p. 753-754.

England has always adhered staunchly to the principle of segregated schools largely because of tradition. Most of the private schools are entirely one-sex, and although the state-supported schools seem to be moving slowly toward the idea of coeducation, still a mixed school in England is definitely regarded as a second best, or a substitute for the real thing, for which apology must be made. However, those who believe in coeducation do so whole-heartedly. Commencing with the opening of Bedales by Badley in 1893, the movement has made slow but steady progress. Recent studies and surveys indicate a surprising change of attitude, particularly on the part of teachers. The studies cited in the last chapter are highly significant in this regard.² Moreton's study of attitudes shows teachers from both types of schools to be predominantly in favor of coeducation, and Dale's inquiry into opinion indicate that 80% Of teachers in boys' schools favor coeducation; 60% in girls' schools and 91% in mixed schools. If these studies are valid, one can expect a big change in educational policy in England during the next quarter century.

²Chapter VI, p.114-119.

Letters appearing in the Times Education Supplement³ in recent years indicate the same trend. One correspondent writing in 1942 points out that the three countries allied with Britain against Germany all have coeducation as the recognized system in state schools, and he feels that Britain might do well to adopt the same. He maintains that the system has been well tested in these countries, and the disasters predicted have not materialized. Even in purely academic directions, he says, it is difficult to find any serious evidence of disadvantage from the system. He urges, therefore, that Britain follow the lead of Russia, United States and China and adopt coeducation on a wide scale.⁴ In 1949 another correspondent comments on the acceptance of the idea of coeducation by the Ministry, and endorses it whole-heartedly.

In 1945 the Ministry favored coeducation at the primary level and at the university level, but segregation at the secondary stage. In 1947 the Ministry issued another statement, The New Secondary Education, in which it withdrew its case against secondary coeducation. Since 1947 therefore,

³ Correspondent, "Coeducation on Trial; Lessons from Allied Nations," in Times Education Supplement, Vol. 1416, No. 297, issue of June 20, 1942.

⁴ In this connection it is interesting to note that Russia abandoned coeducation the next year.

secondary coeducation has been regarded as quite normal.

In a coeducational school (and many secondary schools will be coeducational) boys and girls will have plenty of opportunity of learning how to get along with one another. 5

It is to be noted from the above that since 1947 coeducation at the secondary level has been officially approved in England. During the past decade they have been gradually introduced into the state school system, but the proportion is still small.

A letter significant in this regard appears in the December 2, 1949 issue of the same paper. The writer deplores the decision of the Secondary Education Sub-Committee of the Nottingham Local Education Authority "to convert the Mundella Grammar School from a mixed to a boys' school." He maintains that this is contrary to the education act of 1944 which laid down the policy that children were to be educated in accordance with the wishes of parents, and the parents of Mundella, he says, have expressed themselves overwhelmingly in favor of coeducation. This is again indicative of the popular trend in England, but the action of the Ministry in changing a

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C.L. Berry, "Letter to the Editor" in Times Education Supplement, Vol. 1809, issue of Dec. 30, 1949, p. 15.

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G.P. Dunn, "Letter to Editor," in Times Education Supplement, Vol. 1809, issue of Dec. 2, 1949, p. 845.

mixed to a single-sex school may likewise be highly significant. It might well indicate that the authorities, after having seen the system in action, are convinced that boys and girls are better apart in secondary school. Doubtless the change from one type of school to another would involve considerable expense, which would make it appear that the Ministry were acting on principle, not expediency.

Whether or not this apparent change in attitude concerning coeducation among teachers, students and the people at large will have far-reaching results in the British educational system remains to be seen. Certainly the traditional adherence to strictly one-sex schools has been shaken.

Reverend P. Paschasus, a Catholic priest for many years actively engaged in the field of education in Holland, gives the contemporary European coeducation picture.⁷ He says that before Pius XI's pronouncement and for some years after the Catholics of Holland did not countenance coeducation due to the danger of destroying, rather than cultivating the differences between the sexes, and because of the danger of sexual misbehavior. However, after the last war some Catholics

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Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter of Rev.P. Paschasus, dated August 28, 1950.

took up the cause of coeducation, and at present there are a few Catholic secondary schools which are mixed, and this with the Bishops' approval. Results are apparently satisfactory, he says, but there is no unanimity of opinion among Dutch Catholics on the question. Paschasius stated that in general it is the Protestants and non-Catholic socialists who favor coeducation.

In the southern countries of Europe, Belgium, France, Spain and Italy, Catholics in general are still opposed to coeducation, reports Father Paschasius. This is not the case in the Scandinavian countries where coeducation is the common practice. Father gives it as his opinion that it is Marxism which chiefly fosters mixed schools in all European countries.

Russia seems to have been "on again, off again" as far as coeducation is concerned. After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, toying with various educational innovations, she introduced universal compulsory coeducation. It proved unsatisfactory and for many years there was no definite policy. In 1930 it was reintroduced in an extreme form, only to be abolished again in 1943. An enlightening explanation of this change is contained in an article by Fay King, considered an expert on Russian affairs. Writing in The Journal of

Education (London) in August, 1944, she says:

All in the Soviet Union accept the fact of women's equality with men, yet educationists have noted the effect of coeducation and concluded a change is necessary. They believe that the State and the individual will benefit by separate schools between the ages of 12 and 18.

They maintain that life will be fuller spiritually by a fuller development of the natural feminine and masculine qualities made possible through separate adolescent schools.

Girls must be taught about their bodies, about pregnancy and childbirth and this training cannot be given satisfactorily in a mixed class of adolescents. The same physical training is not sufficient for girls and boys during this period. Yet physical training is vitally necessary to both.

Boys also are to be taught the responsibilities of marriage, fatherhood and home-building. These have been part of the coeducation scheme and are now to be intensified and stressed.

Another factor that has influenced the change in educational policy is the different rate of development of girls and boys. The principal changes which follow puberty naturally have their psychological reactions, and necessary allowance for this cannot be made in mixed classes.

Boys and girls will carry on their leisure activities together as before, and their education will be coeducational through university. 8

Thus Fay King gives the reasons for Russia's return to separate schools for boys and girls during adolescence. It will be noted that the reasons given are the same as those usually advanced by opponents of coeducation. William Bagley quotes

King in an article Why Has Coeducation Been Abandoned in Soviet's Middle Schools? and makes the following comment:

American education prides itself on taking a scientific attitude toward its problems. Is it possible that the policy of coeducation during adolescent years stands in need of revision? Certainly the wisdom of the policy has never been established by scientific investigation. 9

The fact that Bagley, a well known figure in the American educational world, questions the coeducation policy is highly significant.

Apparently Russia has again reverted to coeducation since Krushchev came into power. An announcement to that effect appeared in the Winnipeg Free Press, September, 1950.¹⁰ It stated that Stalin's attempt to segregate the sexes had been unsuccessful, and that Krushchev had set up a system of state boarding schools which were strictly coeducational.

In the United States there has been no change of policy in the state system of education. It is strictly coeducational from kindergarten to college. From time to time voices have been raised questioning the wisdom of the policy, particularly on the secondary level, but at present

⁹ William Bagley, "Why Has Coeducation Been Abandoned in Soviet's Middle Schools?" in School and Society, Vol. 60, issue of Sept. 2, 1944, p. 151-152.

¹⁰ Edward Crankshaw, "Mr. Khrushchev's Boarding Schools" article in Winnipeg Free Press, Vol. 63, issue of Sept. 8, 1950, p. 11.

there is certainly no indication of any general desire to change. The situation is different in the Catholic school system. Here, educational practices in coeducation vary from diocese to diocese, and it would be difficult if not impossible to identify a Catholic pattern in the United States.¹¹ Undoubtedly the Bishops are in full agreement with the general principles enunciated by Pope Pius XI concerning coeducation. But in many places it is apparently a question of coeducation or no Catholic education at all. As the Most Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara expressed it:

We are asked, are you in favor of coeducation? I answer that the question is not so simple as that, nor in my mind is the question of coeducation really involved. First of all the question that confronted us was not whether we should have boys and girls in the same schools, but whether we could finance sufficient high schools and thus provide religious training for all our children.¹²

Apropos the same subject the Right Rev. Edward B. Rooney, S.J., Director of the Jesuit Education Association reminded the members of a panel on coeducation that:

In dealing with this problem we have such a thing as the teaching, living Church, in great part made up of the Bishops. What the

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Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter of F.G. Hochwalt, Director, Dep't. of Education, N.C.W.C., dated Aug. 7, 1950.

12

Edwin V. O'Hara, "Address to Forty-ninth Meeting of N.C.E.A.," quoted in Bulletin, N.C.E.A., Aug. 1954, p.303.

Bishops do become a part of the teaching Church. If they say we have to do this in order to have Catholic education, even on the secondary level, we have to be very careful when we say it is against the teaching of the Catholic Church. 13

It seems then, that in America the Church has had to modify its original stand on the separation of boys and girls in education, and that today both secondary and elementary Catholic schools are largely coeducational. In actual figures 53.6% of the Catholic high schools are mixed; and about 20% of the students in men's colleges are women.¹⁴ The reason for this apparent change of policy has been mostly an economic one: the parishes could not support both a girls' and a boys' elementary and secondary school. The whole problem requires much thought and attention before it will be solved to the satisfaction of the Bishops of the Church in the United States. The recent pronouncement from Rome¹⁵ gives direction and encouragement. It may be that the apparent trend toward co-institutional high schools, concerning which more will be said later, will be the solution of the

¹³ Edward B. Rooney, "Coeducation and the Education of Women," in Bulletin N.C.E.S., August 1954, p. 299.

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Bulletin, N.C.E.A., August 1954, p. 298.

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Valerio Cardinal Valeri, Prefect, Sacred Congregation of Religious), "Instructions Concerning Mixed Education of the Youth of Both Sexes," published by Sacred Congregation of Affairs of Religious in Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Dec. 8, 1957.

problem.

That some Catholic educators in the United States are disturbed by the continued existence of so many mixed schools a quarter of a century after the Pope's pronouncement on the matter, is attested by an article appearing in the Catholic School Journal in April, 1950. The article is by the eminent educator Fitzpatrick who, in his usual penetrating and straightforward manner conducts an examination of pedagogical conscience with reference to secondary education in the United States. As a basis for the examination he makes use of a survey of secondary education published in 1949. Facts are quoted from the survey, and questions asked concerning those facts. Regarding coeducation in the Catholic high school, which Fitzpatrick labels "a very delicate matter", the facts revealed by the survey are as follows:

1. There are 1132 Catholic coeducational secondary schools in the country, which is more than one half of the number of secondary schools (53.0%) but which enroll 38.3% (178,001) of the students.
2. There are 710 girls' schools which is one third of the number of schools (33.0%) but which enroll 34%

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Edward A. Fitzpatrick, "An Examination of Pedagogical Conscience with Reference to Secondary Schools," in Catholic School Journal, Vol. 50, issue of April, 1950, p. 105-108.

of all students (100,831).

3. There are 209 boys' schools, which is about one eighth of the whole number (19.7%) but which enroll 27.3% of all the Catholic students (127,598). 17

Appended to these facts, says Fitzpatrick, is a statement to the effect that those who formulate the policy of the Catholic schools will be guided, among other things, by the words of the Holy Father in Divini Illius Magistri. Fitzpatrick now conducts his examination of conscience.

1. How does it happen that the words of the Holy Father on coeducation are so generally disregarded in the very area where he said they were most applicable?
2. Is the coeducational school necessary as a practical solution in the smaller communities?
3. Is the problem one of no school or a coeducational school?
4. Is problem different for large urban communities and small rural communities?
5. Can a better Christian education be given in a coeducational school?
6. Are differences of organism, temperament, and abilities, factors to be considered in planning an effective education? 18

Fitzpatrick leaves these questions to prick the pedagogical consciences of those who formulate the educational policy

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Ibid, p.106.

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Ibid, p. 100.

of the Catholic schools. He merely concludes with the reminder that "the Catholic ideal of education as expressed in the Encyclical on Christian education is still as sound, as rich in content, and as full of suggestion, and as penetrating as it ever was."¹⁹

In a recent personal letter, Fitzpatrick, speaking on the subject of coeducation, remarked: "I have continually asked what is the effect of the Encyclical on Christian education. For some strange reason the subject is avoided in spite of the Pope's statement." And again, "I believe the economic motive has too large a place in Catholic education, resulting in more, not improved institutions."²⁰ He seems to feel a real and deep concern for what he considers the neglect of the Papal directive concerning coeducation.

In an endeavor to preserve the spirit of the law, and yet provide Catholic education for an ever-increasing number of Catholic students at the secondary level, numerous Catholic schools have been built in recent years which are coinstitutional rather than coeducational. The most out-

¹⁹¹⁹ Ibid, p. 108²⁰

²⁰ Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter of Edward A. Fitzpatrick, Editor, Catholic School Journal, dated January 3, 1958.

standing example of this new type of institution is the Cardinal Dougherty High School in Philadelphia. This school, the largest Catholic high school in the world, has 112 classrooms, a 2000-seat auditorium, a cafeteria that will accomodate 2000 students. On the faculty there are 25 archdiocesan priests, 24 nuns and several lay teachers. When the school was first dedicated in 1955, there were 1353 boys and 1034 girls. It is expected that eventually²¹ the students will total 6000; 3000 boys and 3000 girls.

As this school seems to indicate a trend and will doubtless set the pattern for many others, it is interesting to learn how it came to be constructed, and especially to note that the original plans called for two separate schools. Archbishop O'Hara, in a personal letter to the author explains:

We have had great difficulty assembling real estate in the city for new high schools. On one plot of ground we planned to erect separate schools for boys and girls, each with a capacity of two thousand. Five miles away from this we purchased another piece of land for a school to accomodate two thousand boys and girls. By action of the County Commissioners we were denied permission to use the tract for the purpose intended. We

21

National Catholic Welfare Conference, "Largest Catholic High in World Dedicated," news despatch in The Register, Denver, Colorado, Vol. 32, issue of Oct. 7, 1956, p.1, col.4

then increased the capacity of the Cardinal Dougherty High School to six thousand, and brought the schools for boys and girls together, giving separate wings and separate faculties to the two groups. The only common rooms are the kitchen, the auditorium, the chapel and the library. Our purpose in this was economy. We have saved enough on this combination to pay for one of the country high schools with a capacity of eight hundred. 22

Thus Archbishop O'Hara makes it clear that it was expediency, not conviction which prompted the erection of this co-institutional school. Doubtless His Excellency feels that the words of Pope Pius XI "with due regard to time and place," and "with the necessary distinction and corresponding separation, according to age and circumstances" ²³ were intended to cover just such a situation as this. Certainly "the necessary distinction and corresponding separation" have been assured. It is to be noted too, that the latest pronouncement from Rome on coeducation gives preference to this type of school, where it is not possible to have separate schools for girls and boys. That the school is not coeducational in the strict sense of the word is stressed by its principal, Rev. George Concannon:

22

Personal Correspondence of the Author,
letter of Most Rev. John F. O'Hara, dated January 6, 1958.

23

Pope Pius XI, Divini Illius Magistri, in
Social Wellsprings, Vol.2, p.110.

This school differs from a coeducational school in so far as the boys and girls are in different wings of the building during the school hours, and they have their separate classrooms and cafeteria. They do mix at Benediction, assemblies, rallies etc. 24

Concerning the success of this venture, those in authority feel that it is too early to give an opinion.

Archbishop O'Hara permits himself to say:

I understand that the priests and sisters who teach in Cardinal Dougherty High School are satisfied with the arrangement, at least I hear no complaints from either group. Traditionally, there is strict discipline in our high schools and I don't believe we have any serious problems. 25

And Father Concannon, the principal, after saying that he would prefer to reserve judgement until a future date, adds, "I can say, however, that our school has been functioning smoothly, and certainly the experiment in co-institutional schooling so far, has been most gratifying." 26

Cardinal Dougherty High School is not the first of its kind to have been set up in the United States, but as far as can be ascertained, it is the first to call itself a co-institutional school. Others, organized along similar

24

Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter of Rev George Concannon, Principal, Cardinal Dougherty High School, dated January 14, 1958.

25

Personal Correspondence of Author, letter of Most Rev. John F. O'Hara, dated Jan. 6, 1958.

26

Personal Correspondence of author, letter of Rev. George Concannon, dated Jan. 14, 1958

lines, are styled co-instructional. According to the definition given by Rev. John P. Doogan, principal of Blanchet High School in Seattle, "Co-instruction means simply that boys and girls are taught by the same faculty in separate classes in the same building. They meet together in the cafeteria for lunch and plan student affairs jointly."²⁷ It will be noted that Blanchet High School seems to have gone a little farther than Cardinal Dougherty High in that the two groups, though taught separately, have the same teachers and meet in the cafeteria. Sisters comprise the major part of the staff.

In speaking of the decision to build a co-instructional school, rather than separate schools for boys and girls, the Rev. John Doogan says, "It is to be hoped it will be an economical solution to the problem that confronts us at present."²⁸ So again it is evident that there is no disagreement with the principle of separate schools for boys and girls during adolescence. The co-instructional school is an earnest endeavor to keep the spirit of the law with limited financial means. Father Doogan states that coeducation in the Pacific

²⁷ Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter of John P. Doogan, Principal, Blanchet High School, dated November 5, 1957.

²⁸

Ibid.

Northwesy is relatively new, but intimates that it is definitely the trend.

At present there is a coeducational high school in Great Falls, Montana; Miles City, Montana; Billings, Anaconda and Helena, Montana. There is a coeducational high school in Walla Walla, Washington, and ours here at Seattle. There are coeducational high schools in Astoria, Eugene, The Dalles, Klamath Falls and Baker, Oregon. Many of these are in small towns and began as Academies, directly under the supervision of the Community of Sisters responsible for their origin. In time priests were added to the staff and in some instances a priest is responsible for the administration. In other instances a Sister appointed by the Community is responsible.

The attitude toward coeducation may be stated this way. Due to the shortage of priests and sisters and also, due to the limitation of financial means to construct schools that are needed, the coinstructional type of education was adopted.²⁹

Archbishop O'Hara likewise points out that the trend toward some form of coeducation is comparatively recent in the archdiocese of Philadelphia.³⁰ Since the inauguration of the first diocesan high school in 1890, the diocesan pattern has been separate schools. This remained constant until 1953 when a large building program involving fifteen schools was inaugurated. Seven of the schools outside the city are strictly coeducational (boys and girls actually

²⁹

Ibid.

³⁰

Personal Correspondence of the Author,
letter of Most Rev. John F. O'Hara, Archbishop of Philadelphia,
dated January 6, 1958.

taught together), and one, Cardinal Dougherty, is co-institutional.

One more school of this type may profitably be mentioned as affording a good example of how co-instruction has been developed. This is the Bishop O'Dowd High School in Oakland, California, under the direction of Rev. Mark Hurley. The accomplishments of this school during its brief existence are remarkable.

In an account of this school in Information, Feb., 1957, the author of the article hails the venture as "a bright new star in the realm of Catholic education: coinstruction."³¹

In a blaze of enthusiasm Mr. Kakacek exclaims:

Co-instruction might be defined in one sentence, "Priests, Sisters, laymen and laywomen compose one faculty under a single administration", but that definition would be incomplete. Co-instruction is a way and a means to a more complete education of high school boys and girls spiritually, academically, physically, and socially. ³²

It would appear that Bishop O'Dowd High School, unlike the two previously described, was built as a co-instructional institution not for reasons of economy, but because Archbishop Johnitty and his priests and advisers

³¹
G.N. Kakacek, "A Great Step Forward," in Information, Vol. 71, No. 2, issue of February, 1957, p. 25-27.

³²
Ibid, p. 25.

in the Department of Education considered that such a school could best provide "what was considered most important to the child, to the school, and to the Church."³³ According to Kakacek the school was planned, built and organized according to the norm of Christian education set forth by Pope Pius XI in Divini Illius Magistri, "Christian education must take in the whole aggregate of human life, physical and spiritual, intellectual and moral, individual, domestic and social."³⁴ There are several of these co-instructional schools scattered across the country, but this is the first time that those responsible for such a school have openly declared that in their opinion, it is the type of school best fitted to the needs of adolescent boys and girls today. In other cases, the reason advanced has been economy, or lack of adequate staff for two schools. The Rev. Mark Hurley, principal of the school and the man largely responsible for its almost phenomenal success, is fully confident that his school is in keeping with the mind of the Church on coeducation. He says:

³³ Ibid, p.23-24.

³⁴ Pope Pius XI, Op. Cit., P. 119.

Our school is what is called co-instructional, and we feel that it is in accord with the mind of the Church in that we instruct our boys and girls in separate classes while allowing them to operate together as one student body. We are quite certain that our school is not co-educational in the accepted sense of the term, nor of course, is it based upon a false naturalism which the Pope was attacking when he wrote on co-education. 35

With regard to Bishop O'Dowd High School and the motives expressed for its foundation, it should be remarked that according to the latest instruction from Rome "Coeducation in its true concept cannot in itself be approved in general." Where "it is necessary to tolerate coeducation" the Apostolic See advises the system known as "coinstitution". 36

The general organization of Bishop O'Dowd High School appears similar to that of Blanchet and Cardinal Dougherty with perhaps, the sexes intermingling socially to a greater extent. Kakacek describes it as follows:

Most academic classes are separate, for everyone appreciates the differences of boys and girls in their needs, aspirations, vocational ambitions, as well as psychological and emotional make-up. However, the boys and girls are mixed in a few classes, such as typing. They are always together in choral groups, dramatics, speech and debate, student council, school newspaper, and

35

Personal Correspondence of the Author, letter of Rev. Mark Hurley, Principal, Bishop O'Dowd High School, dated Jan. 27, 1958.

36

Valerio Cardinal Valeri, Op. Cit.

of course, in the rooting section, the cafeteria, and all social activities. 37

From all this a few pertinent facts seem to emerge regarding the secondary school in the Catholic school system of the United States.

1. In addition to the many coeducational high schools which are known to have existed for many years, a new type of mixed school is making its appearance, namely the coinstitutional or coinstructional school.

2. These schools have varying degrees of coeducation, but in all of them the boys and girls are taught in the same building, but in different class-rooms.

3. Generally speaking the reason for these schools has been economic, but in at least one case the decision to build such a school was based on what was considered to be the spiritual, physical, educational and social needs of the students.

4. In their short existence these schools have encountered few problems and have achieved marked success.

5. The Holy Father has expressed his preference for coinstitutional schools, where circumstances make it impossible to provide separate schools for boys and girls.

No report on the present situation of coeducation would be complete without a statement concerning the attitude of the Church today. This would normally be looked for in the writings and allocutions of the present reigning Pontiff, Pope Pius XII.

Pope Pius XII stands forth as a giant in the field of educational thought. Throughout the years of his pontificate he has delivered over eighty addresses on the subject of education. Taken together these addresses are a delineation and explanation of the principles set down in the encyclicals of Pope Pius XI. There is scarcely a point dealt with by his predecessor in Divini Illius Magistri, which Pius XII has not reaffirmed, always endeavoring to apply the principle enunciated to present conditions. Thus he has re-stated the aim of education,³⁸ adding to it a clear and unquestionable explanation.³⁹ So too with the definition of Christian education; the⁴⁰ respective rights in education of church, family and state;⁴¹ the dangers of naturalism;⁴² the qualities of a good teacher; the importance to be attached to sports and athletics in the ensemble of human activities;⁴³ sex education;⁴⁴ and many more. What has the reigning Pontiff said on the subject of coeducation?

38

Pope Pius XII, "Education and the Modern Environment," in Pope Pius XII and Catholic Education, edited by V. Yzermans, Grail Publication, Meinrad, Indiana, 1958, p. 18.

39

Pope Pius XII, "Religious, Moral and Intellectual Training of Youth," in Op. Cit., p. 32.

40

Ibid., p. 29-30.

41

Pope Pius XII, "The Secret Of Good Schools," Op. Cit. p. 128.

42. Ibid., p. 129; and "The Ideal Teacher", Op. Cit. p. 105.

43. Pope Pius XII, "Sports and Gymnastics", Op. Cit. p. 90.

44. Ibid., "Guiding Christ's Little Ones", p. 7.

Strange as it may seem in view of the above, no direct mention of the subject is to be found in his encyclicals, allocutions, or addresses. This in itself might be deeply significant. Why has Pope Pius XII, "The Supreme Teacher in the Supreme Chair" not personally given any positive direction on the question of coeducation, which has been such an issue since the beginning of the present century both in Europe and America? Has he considered it unimportant? This could hardly be in face of the emphasis given it by Pope Pius XI whose thoughts on education have served as a beacon light and inspiration to the present Pontiff. Has he feared to touch the thorny problem which seems so difficult of solution in our complicated civilization? Again this could not be in the case of a Pontiff who has always shown himself fearless when compelled to take a stand on a matter of principle. As he said when defending the rights of the Church and the family against statism; "This See of Peter...is the vigilant sentinel for the good of souls and true progress. Just as it never in the past renounced this essential right...it will not renounce this right in the future, neither because of hopes of earthly gains, nor because of the fear of persecution."⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Pope Pius XII, "Religious, Moral and Intellectual Training of Youth," in Op. Cit., p. 29-30.

And again: "On the question of the school, just as on the question of worship and marriage, the Apostolic See has never hesitated to face all difficulties and dangers with the calm conscience of one who serves a just and holy cause..."⁴⁶

Why then has the Pontiff not taken a stand on the question of coeducation, when he has done so on almost every other educational problem involving a moral issue?

This question has recently been answered. It has lately become known that The Sacred Congregation of the Affairs of Religious, "by mandate of the august Pontiff", has for several years been conducting a thorough study of the whole question of coeducation. This accounts for the Holy Father's silence on the matter. He was awaiting the results and findings of the investigation. The very fact that Pope Pius XII ordered this study to be made, and meanwhile made no pronouncement of any sort on the question, shows that he regards the issue as one of great importance. Now that the findings, desires and suggestions of the Sacred Congregation appointed to carry out the investigation, have been approved, ratified and ordered published by the Pope, he will doubtless make reference to the topic in future talks on

⁴⁶ Pope Pius XII, "Religious, Moral and Intellectual Training of Youth," in Op. Cit., p.30.

education.

Although Pope Pius XII has not spoken directly on the question of coeducation, he has spoken often and at length on the education deemed proper for women. In his addresses to various groups of teachers, religious and lay, to mothers and to Catholic Action groups, he has stressed the physical and psychological differences between the sexes, and advocated for girls an education in keeping with their nature. "Education proper to her sex of the young girl, and not rarely of the grown woman, is therefore a necessary condition of her preparation for a life worthy of her."⁴⁷ In an address delivered in 1945, Your Destiny is at Stake, the Holy Father stressed the mutual coordination of the two sexes, and maintained that the equal dignity of man and woman cannot be preserved unless the characteristic spiritual and physical qualities of each sex be recognized and respected.⁴⁸ As Pope Pius XI had shown, coeducation works in the opposite direction. Instead of maintaining and encouraging the differences between boys and girls, it ignores them, and

⁴⁷ Pope Pius XII, Your Destiny is at Stake, Washington, N.C.W.C., 1945, p. 11.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p.4.

by a leveling process tends to eliminate them completely. Indirectly then, when Pope Pius XII stresses the necessity of recognizing and respecting the qualities proper to each sex, it is tantamount to condemning coeducation which cannot and does not do so.

Another address, now considered a landmark in the history of the woman question, was the vehicle used by His Holiness to convey the same indirect message. Speaking to the women of Italy and all nations on Woman's Duties in Social and Political Life, the Pope stated at the outset that the problem regarding women resolves itself into preserving and augmenting that dignity which woman has had from God.⁴⁹ To consider the question under any other aspect, he said, would be to shirk the real issue without advantage to anyone, least of all to woman herself. It follows naturally from this that the education of the young girl must be such as to aid her in preserving and augmenting her God-given dignity. It can hardly be said that coeducation does this; that is to say, coeducation in the sense in which it was condemned by Pope Pius XI. Hence the words of the Pontiff on this occasion

might well be interpreted as advocating that girls be educated apart from boys.

Numerous other passages in the reigning Pontiff's talks on education could be construed into a condemnation of coeducation, or at least a preference for separate schools for boys and girls. It is noteworthy that when addressing teaching sisters or lay-women teachers, he takes it for granted that he is speaking to a group of women who are teaching girls only. Thus he speaks to them of training the conscience of the "young girl"; the difficulty of understanding "the modern girl"; parents entrusting "their daughters" to you; training "girls and young women" etc.⁵⁰ Similarly when addressing a group of men teachers, religious or lay, it is obvious that the Holy Father assumes that he is speaking to those who are teaching boys only, and he gives⁵¹ his advice accordingly.

Thus, although Pope Pius XII seems to have deliberately refrained from making any direct reference to coeducation while his investigation was in progress, his many talks on

⁵⁰ Pope Pius XII, "The Faith and Catholic Youth," and "Counsel to Teaching Sisters," in Pope Pius XII and Catholic Education, edited by Vincent A. Yzermans, p.88-95, 45-52.

⁵¹ Pope Pius XII, "Sports and Gymnastics," and "Solid Religious Training of Youth," in Ibid, p. 96-100, 117-121.

education and related topics leave the impression that his preference is for separate schools for boys and girls. In addition there is now the positive directive from Rome published on the express instruction of His Holiness, and as the result of an investigation he himself ordered.

That the Sacred Congregation of the Affairs of Religious took its task most seriously is evident in the report which it has just published. The instruction issued⁵² is obviously the fruit of prolonged study and research. The Congregation of Religious, after receiving the mandate of the Pope, first consulted on the subject with five of the other eleven congregations which handle the business of the Church. Detailed reports from all countries concerned were thoroughly studied and discussed. The findings, desires and suggestions were compiled and submitted to His Holiness for approval on March 5, 1957. The Pontiff approved and ratified them, and ordered publication of the instruction in Acta Apostolicae Sedis, the Holy See's official publication.

The instruction itself, which deals with the question of coeducation only in so far as it concerns high school

education, is issued in the simplest language and requires no explanation. However several points in it are most interesting and highly significant in the light of this study.

The instruction lists certain principles which the Cardinal Prefect says form the basis on which one can judge coeducation honestly from both the theoretical and practical points of view. In summary form these are:

1. Coeducation should generally not be approved.
2. Although coeducation presents certain advantages nevertheless because of the possible moral dangers it can engender, particularly during puberty, it should not be approved.
3. Divini illius Magistri, the 1929 encyclical of Pope Pius XI on the Christian education of youth, which describes coeducation as "fallacious and harmful to Christian institutions" must be borne in mind.
4. It cannot be denied, however, that in certain cases coeducation cannot be avoided. In such instances it is to be considered a lesser evil.
5. In certain countries where youths attend public schools, their faith runs a serious risk. Catholics cannot always build two separate schools for boys and girls in the same locality, however, and sometimes it is difficult to build even one.

After listing these principles the instruction proceeds to say that "if mixed Catholic schools...are administered with certain precautions, even coeducation

according to the norm of the encyclical Divini illius Magistri can be tolerated..."

Wherever coeducational high schools are deemed necessary, definite regulations are listed which must be borne in mind and respected. It is emphasized that the prescriptions laid down by the Sacred Congregation of the Affairs of Religious must be followed not only by Religious, but also by all other interested parties. Ordinaries are instructed to see to this according to the requirements of their respective dioceses.

The first fact to be noted and stressed about this recent instruction from Rome on coeducation is that it is in complete accord with the pronouncement of Pope Pius XI in Divini illius Magistri and reiterates the Church's long-established policy. Interpretations of this latest directive from Rome are already being given to the effect that the Church has mitigated her policy on coeducation. This is not so. After giving as its first principle: " 'Coeducation' in its true concept cannot in itself be approved in general,"⁵³ the instruction admits that coeducation offers certain advantages, but adds that "the dangers stemming from its

inherent practices--particularly during the age of puberty--
are without doubt far greater than the possible advantages."⁵⁴

And again the instruction speaks of "tolerating" coeducation
in places where it is necessary; and of "the moral dangers
which could be engendered by this system of education."⁵⁵

None of these expressions indicate a moderation of the
stand taken by Pope Pius XI who condemned coeducation as
"false and harmful to Christian education."

Nevertheless the new instructions of the Holy See
on mixed schools do go beyond the brief statement of Pope
Pius XI in that they explain and adapt some controversial
phrases in that passage. "According to age and circumstances",
"with due regard to time and place", and "in accordance
with Christian prudence",⁵⁶ are enlarged upon and made clear
in the "Principles, Precepts and Precautions" of the new
directive. Ordinaries are given wide powers to make decisions
concerning the type of school to be built in their diocese,
and to lay down specific and definite norms which must be
taken into consideration and respected in instances where
they deem coeducation necessary.

⁵⁴

Ibid, p.2

⁵⁵

Ibid, p.3

⁵⁶

Pope Pius XI, Divini Illius Magistri, in Social
Wellsprings, Vol. 2, p. 110.

Another point of considerable interest is that the new instruction positively states the Holy See's preference for coinstitutional schools where the ideal of separate schools cannot be attained.⁵⁷ As brought out earlier in this report this type of school is presently being experimented with in the United States with considerable success. It is hoped that such schools will solve financial problems, and will provide the advantages of coeducation while avoiding its inherent dangers. It would seem that this new type of school has been carefully and approvingly considered in this important instruction from Rome.

With this recent pronouncement of the Holy See on coeducation, the present attitude of the Church on the question is quite clear. The ideal remains separate education for boys and girls at the high school level. Due allowance is made, however, for cases where coeducation is the only means of providing a Christian education. In such cases certain clearly defined regulations must be applied, and it is the duty of the Ordinary in each case to see that they are observed.

⁵⁷Valerio Cardinal Valeri, Op. Cit., p. 3.

This new Vatican decree on coeducation makes a fitting close to the present study which centered its investigation around the statement of Pope Pius XI issued in 1929, and which the recent instruction says "must always be regarded as the 'Magna Carta' of this mixed form of education."

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

At the completion of this report, it might be well to gather together succinctly the main facts discovered as the result of the research. This will facilitate the arrival at definite conclusions, and perhaps make it possible to offer a few constructive suggestions.

Although evidence of coeducation in some form can be traced back to very early times, as an educational method of any importance it is of comparatively modern origin. A variety of reasons contributed to its early beginnings, but to account for the sudden impetus which the method received around the turn of the century, one must turn to the movement known as "feminism". Among other things, the leaders of this movement demanded for women equal educational opportunities with men. To meet this demand coeducation was adopted on an experimental basis in some countries, and outright in others. Once it had received any prominence as an educational method, the controversy began.

Despite opinions to the contrary, all evidence points to the fact that coeducation has been an issue both in Europe and America from the very beginning of the present century and even before. However, as the educational set-up in the Old and New Worlds differ so greatly, so too do the reasons

for coeducation becoming an issue.

In most European countries the idea of coeducation was something startlingly new, intruding on the method of education which had the force of tradition behind it. Strong protest came from Catholics who strove to uphold the traditional attitude of the Church, ever averse to educating boys and girls together; and from die-hard traditionalists, whose main reason for opposing coeducation seems to have been that it was contrary to long-established practice. In America, on the other hand, the situation was different. There the public school system has always been coeducational, and to date there has been no official recognition of any coeducation controversy. But since the beginning of the century the method has been challenged more and more frequently in unofficial circles. Catholics have opposed it in keeping with the traditional attitude of their Church; psychologists, on the grounds of significant physical and psychological differences between the sexes which make education in common highly ineffective; and educators on the basis of its inefficiency and inadequacy as an educational method.

World War I, with the various movements and theories which prepared for and resulted from it, gave added impetus to the coeducational movement in the early part of the twentieth

century. In particular, the reappearance of the totalitarian state, appropriating as it did all rights in the field of education, awakened an awareness of possible dangers resulting from mixed education founded on naturalism. The controversy waxed strong especially in Europe, and reached a crisis in December 1929, when Pope Pius XI made the first official pronouncement on it. The Church's stand was proclaimed in forthright terms, and Catholics supported it in theory, and, as far as possible, in practice. However, as time went on, it became obvious that the term "coeducation" as used by Pope Pius XI, permitted of more than one interpretation, and the words "with due regard to time and place" left the way open for each Bishop to decide for his own diocese according to "Christian prudence", and so, to some extent, the controversy was on again even among Catholics.

The reaction of the Protestant world to the Papal pronouncement on coeducation was mixed. In countries where the political faction in power was opposed to the Christian Church, not only did the directive have no beneficial results, but rather prompted deliberate attempts to minimize the Church's influence by the passage of laws deliberately designed to thwart Christian principles of education. Among individual Protestants, some criticized it as being the

narrow-minded view of a man ill-equipped to speak on the matter. They eloquently defended mixed schools on moral, social, physical and psychological grounds. Others thoughtfully considered the reasons advanced by Pope Pius XI for his stand, and began little by little to question the pedagogical value of a system founded largely on expediency, and whose psychological soundness had never been proven scientifically. And so throughout the '30's and the '40's the question continued a controversial one, its advocates and opponents contradicting each other's arguments with no proven facts to uphold them, until today the need for an all-round, scientific exploration of the question is becoming more and more evident.

It would appear on the surface that Catholics have no problem as far as coeducation is concerned. Rome has spoken; they have but to obey. Research shows that the problem is more complicated than that. The words of Pope Pius XI are open to various interpretations, and only recently has their meaning been clarified by Rome. Then too, in America especially, the many hardships involved in maintaining Catholic schools render separate schools for boys and girls well-nigh impossible in many places, and so in these places the Bishops have been compelled to choose

between coeducational Catholic schools and public schools. This perhaps accounts for the large number of coeducational Catholic high schools still in existence in the United States almost thirty years after the publication of Divini Illius Magistri.

At the conclusion of this study the fact which emerges before all others is the importance of the question of coeducation, and in view of that importance the almost incredible fact that education policy-makers have done nothing to evaluate scientifically its merits or demerits.

There can be little doubt that education is more important than any other single issue in a country, and clearly coeducation vitally affects educational policy. Is it not a matter of grave concern to a country whether the education of its boys and girls together or apart is in the best interests of the nation and the individual? Educational systems, such as those of the United States and many parts of Canada, which have adopted the coeducational method, may be doing a great service or a great disservice to the nation and the nation's children. If the former, why do they not present positive, objective proof of the fact, so that other countries might be induced to give their children the same benefits: if the latter, why do they not stand

condemned by the proven evidence of the inferiority of the system? To date everyone is very much in the dark about coeducation. There never has been, either in Europe or America, a complete, impartial, scientific investigation of the system. As this report has shown, there is an abundance of opinion, but precious little evidence. The only public bodies that have the means of supplying the facts and the facilities necessary for such an investigation, namely, the various state boards of education, seem to shy away from doing so; and this, both in countries where coeducation is the prevalent practice, and where it is not. The sole exception to this apparent official indifference to a question of such far-reaching importance has been the Catholic Church, under the leadership of Pope Pius XI.

As is customary when preparing any encyclical, Pope Pius XI obtained and used the advice of experts in formulating and applying the Church's principles on Christian education. It is certain that he did not expose so clearly and convincingly the dangers inherent in coeducation, without having previously conducted a far-reaching investigation, including all phases of the system. Undoubtedly he became aware of and appreciated the mutual benefits to be derived from educating boys and girls together, but evidently the moral dangers which the

facts revealed outweighed all other considerations, and he felt bound to condemn as "false and harmful" that method of coeducation which is based on naturalism and a denial of original sin, and "upon a deplorable confusion of ideas that mistakes a leveling promiscuity and equality for the legitimate association of the sexes."

It is the opinion of the writer, arrived at during the course of this study, that the passage of Divini Illius Magistri dealing with coeducation has been grossly misinterpreted by those who contend that it condemns outright all forms of coeducation. The coeducation condemned by Pope Pius XI is coeducation in its extreme form; a coeducation which entirely excludes the supernatural in the formation of youth, and withdraws education from every sort of dependence on Divine law: a coeducation which, by promiscuity and equality in the training of the two sexes, seeks to do away with their natural differences in organism, temperament and abilities. Pope Pius XI had seen such coeducation in practice and was fully cognizant of its dire results. When he condemned it, he knew whereof he spoke.

According to the recent instruction from Rome, "coeducation in its true concept cannot in itself be approved in general." This makes it quite clear that separate schools

for boys and girls during adolescence is still the ideal, and that Pope Pius XI's stand on coeducation is fully upheld by his successor, Pope Pius XII. Nevertheless there are still many places where it is an impossibility to provide separate Catholic high schools for boys and girls, and where the cause of Catholic education is best served for the time being by a coeducational institution. It is noteworthy that in such cases the Apostolic See favors coinstitutional schools, and makes it clear that the mere fact of teaching boys and girls in the same building does not necessarily constitute coeducation. One feels that before making such a statement the Sacred Congregation of the Affairs of Religious must have made a thorough study of such coinstitutional schools as were described in Chapter VII, and is here giving them the Church's stamp of approval in places where the ideal is unattainable.

Although the Holy See still regards any form of mixed education as "a lesser evil", it is obvious to anyone who has made a study of the principles behind the coinstitutional schools that they are far superior to fully coeducational schools, that is, to schools in which boys and girls are taught the same subjects and together. It is the opinion of the writer that coinstitutional schools can come very close to the ideal of Christian education as outlined by

Pope Pius XI. If the supernatural end of education is kept uppermost, i.e. if the purpose of the education imparted in a school is to cooperate with Divine grace in forming the true and perfect Christian; if the organization of the school, the curriculum and the teaching methods, aim at "preparing man for what he must be and for what he must do here below, that he may obtain the sublime end for which he was created", then it is clear there can be no danger of any extreme form of coeducation as described above. Catholic educators know that God has not ordained that men and women be the same, nor do the same things here below. It follows then, that as long as these educators are preparing boys and girls for what they must be and do, they will see to it that they are not instructed together, and that their training is not identical. But where it is a practical necessity, there is no reason why they should not receive their instruction in the same building, and share various school activities. In fact this would appear to provide for "the legitimate mingling of the sexes" mentioned by Pope Pius XI. Hence if these schools are administered with the precautions outlined in the recent instruction, they may be considered to be in harmony with the principles of Christian education enunciated in Divini Illius Magistri.

In the matter of coeducation, as in any other principle involved in Christian education, concessions cannot be made to the times, nor to expediency. Only by courageously opposing the dangers and errors of a coeducation based on naturalism, will the system be made to yield the good that it undoubtedly does contain. Catholics are willing and eager to accept everything that is good in modern pedagogical methods, but they must unhesitatingly reject what Pope Pius XI called "pedagogic naturalism", however attractively garbed.

It has taken considerable time to work out a method of education which would be in keeping with the spirit of the Church's regulations on Christian education, and yet comply with the practical necessities of providing Catholic education in Protestant countries; a system which would yield the benefits of coeducation, and yet avoid its many dangers; a method based on the Christian principles of education proclaimed in Divini Illius Magistri, yet fully adapted to modern youth in a modern world. Those who planned the coinstructional type of school did not act hurriedly. They carefully studied the encyclical on the Christian education of youth; considered individual questions, problems and arguments on moral and social problems, religious training

and academic standards. They consulted parents, teachers and school administrators as to what was considered most important to the child, the school, the nation and the Church. In finally deciding on the coinstitutional type of school, they hope that they have found a way and a means to a more complete education of high school boys and girls, spiritually, academically, physically and socially. It is much too soon to pass judgment on the success of the undertaking, but certainly the early results have been gratifying, and the recent statement of the Holy See gives encouragement to the efforts of those carrying out the enterprise.

So this study on coeducation ends on a hopeful note. The half-century of controversy has not been in vain. Today there is a greater awareness than ever before both of the possibilities and the dangers of coeducation. Where it has been practiced in an extreme form, the evil results predicted by Pope Pius XI have led to its abandonment. Protestants, both in countries where coeducation is the practice and where it is not, are calling more and more insistently for a thorough investigation of the whole question, which will evaluate conclusively the relative merits and demerits of the system. Catholics throughout the world remain steadfastly opposed in theory to instructing adolescent boys and girls together,

and to giving them identical courses. The recent instruction from Rome, approved and ratified by His Holiness Pope Pius XII, indicates the Church's realization of the importance of the question, and gives welcome direction to those striving to provide a Christian education for youth under most difficult circumstances.

This study has led the writer to an ever deeper appreciation of Divini Illius Magistri as the 'Magna Charta' for all time of Christian education, and to the conviction that it contains the solution to all educational problems. It enables educators to see the light of truth shining through the modern educational confusion, and persuades them that "there can be no ideally perfect education which is not Christian education." May it be read and studied ever more widely "for the lasting benefit of individuals and of nations."

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-----, Beschlechtermischung oder Geschlechtertrennung, Beiträge zum Koedukationsproblem, Düsseldorf, 1933.

-----, "Stand und Wert der Koedukation", in Stimmen der Zeit, 1933.

-----, "Das Problem der Koedukation in einsigern ausserdeutschen Kulturlanden", in Bildung und Erziehung, 1934, Kap. 127-139.

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Shields, Thomas E., The Education of Our Girls, New York, 1907, Benziger, 300 p.

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-----, "Coeducation", in Catholic Encyclopaedia, Vol. 4, 1908, p. 88.

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Stone, Lucy, "The Other Side of the Woman Question", in North American Review, Vol.139, issue of Nov. 1879, p.430-432.

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Tacitus, Publius Cornelius, Dialogus de Oratoribus, in Cornelii Taciti Opera, Vol.4, Cantabrigiae, J.Deighton, 1818.

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Turnlirs, O., Die seelischen Unterschiede zwischen den Geschlechtern in der Reifezeit und ihre Bedeutung für den gemeinsame Unterricht, Langensalza, 1928.

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Wesman, Alexander G., "Separation of Sex Groups in Test Reporting", in Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol.40, No.4, issue of April, 1949, p. 223-229.

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Wollstonecraft, Mary, The Rights of Woman, London, Dent, 1929, xxxix-317 p.

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Author states the real meaning of coeducation, and answers objections advanced against the system. Realizes the necessity of certain precautions if it is to prove as valuable as its advocates anticipate.

Woodward, W.H., Desiderius Erasmus, Concerning the Method and Aim of Education, Cambridge, University Press, 1904.

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-----, Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanistic Educators, Cambridge, 1905.

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APPENDIX 1

Pope Pius XI's Directive on Coeducation

Aequè vero fallax atque christianae institutioni infensa illa adolescentes instruendi ratio habenda est, quam vulgo coeducationem appellant; eorum enim qui ipsam tuentur, bene multi idcirco tuentur quia aut non considerant aut negant, protoparentum labe vitiatum nasci hominem, plerique vero omnes, quia tali notionum perturbatione laborant ut legitimum hominum convictum habeant quasi quendam virorum ac feminarum omnibus plane rationibus parium inconditum acervum. Divinus sane rerum omnium moderator perfectum utriusque sexus convictum in legitimo tantum coniugio vigere voluit, dein in familia inque humana consortione, certo ordine dispertitum. Accedit quod nihil est in ipsa natura--ex qua duo sexus, compage corporis, inclinationibus, ingenioque dissimiles procedunt--unde colligi possit, mares et feminas promiscua, nedum una eademque, educatione informandos esse. Alter autem et alter sexus a Dei sapientia ad hoc sunt constituti ut in familia et societate mutuo se compleant et in unum quid apte coalescant, ob illud ipsum corporis animique discrimen quo inter se differunt, quod idcirco in educatione atque institutione tenendum, imo fèvendum est per aptam

distinctionem ac separationem, aetatibus ac conditionibus congruentem. Eiusmodi vero praecepta, ad christianae prudentiae praescriptum, tempestive atque opportune servanda sunt non modo in scholis omnibus, praesertim per trepidos adolescentiae annos, unde totius ferme futurae vitae ratio omnino pendet, sed etiam in gymniciis ludis atque exercitationibus, in quibus christianae peculiari modo modestiae puellarum cavendum, utpote quas ostentare sese atque ante omnium oculos propendere summopere dedeceat.¹

¹
Pope Pius XI, Divini Illius Magistri, in Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol. 22, No.2, issue of February 22, 1930, p. 72-73.

APPENDIX 2

INSTRUCTIO

De Iuvenum Utriusque Sexus Promiscua Institutione

Sacra Congregatio Negotiis Religiosorum Sodalium praeposita, eo semper ducta studio, ut religiosos et religiosas, in variis ipsorum muneribus obeundis, confirmaret adiuveretque, de Augusti Pontificis mandato, perplexam questionem de iuvenum utriusque sexus promiscua institutione, seu "coeducatione", diligentius pertractandam satagit.

Postquam ergo Apostolicae Sedis Legatos, iis in regionibus degentes, quarum res maxime interest, consuluit, idem Sacrum Consilium, Summi Pontificis mandato obsecutum, Coetum egit "Plenarium mixtum", quo penitus et accuratius quaestio enodaretur; cui Coetui Plenario, eodem hoc Sacro Consilio moderante, interfuerunt delecti viri Sacrarum Congregationum Consistorialis, pro Ecclesia Orientali, Concilii, de Propaganda Fide, de Seminariis studiorumque Universitatibus.

Animadversiones autem, vota hortationesque in unum congesta, ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto huius Sacrae Congregationis Augusto Pontifici, in Audientia diei 5 Martii 1957, subiecta sunt ut ea probare dignaretur. Sanctitas vero Sua omnia rata habere et confirmare dignata est; atque conclusiones, non solum a religiosis sed ab omnibus quorum interest rite fideliterque servandas, ab hoc Sacro Consilio,

praesentis Instructionis forma et tenore, publici iuris fieri mandavit.

Hae autem in tres partes distributae sunt, quarum diversa haec sunt capita: 1. Principia; 2. Normae; 3. Cautiones.

1. Principia, vel primariae rationes et quasi fundamenta. proponuntur, quibus recte indicari possit de "coeducatione", sive ad theoricen, sive ad praxim quod attinet.

2. Normae, quae obligandi vim obtinent, prae oculis haberi et servari debent omnibus et singulis in casibus, in quibus "coeducatio", propter peculiaris rerum adiuncta, necessaria videatur.

3. Cautiones hic recensitae ita suadentur ut principia et impertitas normas compleant; atque adhiberi poterunt tamquam ea ratione propositae, ut singulis in casibus lumen de agendi modo praebeant.

De "coeducationis" argumento hic disseritur dumtaxat prout ad scholas secundi ordinis spectat; nam in studiorum Universitatibus haec res non agitur, et, quod ad ludos litterarios, seu in quibus litterarum elementa traduntur, attinet, Ordinariis data est facultas tempus definiendi, quo pueri et puellae in huiusmodi scholis simul institui possint.

1 -- PRINCIPIA

1. "Coeducatio", quae proprie vereque dicitur, generali modo et per se probari nequit.

2. Quamvis nonnulla commoda proficisci possint a "coeducatione", quae quidem probae vitae familiaris sit quasi continuatio, quaeque utriusque sexus invenies, necessitudine quadam modeste se attingentes, et nobili veluti certamine inter se contententes, ad egregia et praeclara excitentur et se invicem compleant, tamen, si res definite et in vitae usu consideretur, scilicet prout haec instituendi ratio fieri solet, pericula morum, quae in ea insunt--maxime pubertatis tempore--sine ulla dubitatione longe maiora sunt quam commoda, quae inde forsitan percipiantur.

3. Itaue Litterae Encyclicae 'Divini Illius Magistri' habendae semper sunt veluti "Magna Charta", quod ad educationem et promiscuam hanc instituendi rationem pertinet; sic enim ibi praescriptum est: "fallax atque christianae institutioni infensa illa adolescentes instruendi ratio habenda est, quam vulgo coeducationem appellant; eorum enim qui ipsam tuentur, bene multi idcirco tuentur quia aut non considerant aut negant protoparentum labe vitiatum nasci hominem; plerique vero omnes, quia tali notionum perturbatione laborant ut legitimum hominum convictum habeant quasi quemdam virorum ac feminarum omnibus

plane rationibus parium inconditum acervum". (A.A.S., 1930, p. 72).

4. Verumtamen infitiandum non est, quibusdam in casibus, necessitatem practicam iuvenes simul promiscueque educandi devitari non posse, cum peculiaris omnino rerum locorumque habeantur adiuncta, quibus efficitur ut "coeducatio" minus malum sit existimandum.

5. Negandum enim non est quibusdam in regionibus, iuvenes publicas scholas obeuntes in gravi periculo Fidei versari.

Catholicis vero--numero paucioribus--non semper copia est scholas pro pueris et puellis seiunctas aedificandi eiusque necessarias opes suppeditandi; ita enim expensae eis duplicandae essent, qui interdum vix unam scholam catholicam extruere et alere possunt.

Iuvenes ergo reapse coguntur:

a) aut scholas publicas adire, in quibus promiscue, nulla habita ratione religionis, instituuntur, magno cum discrimine Fidei morumque;

b) aut scholas catholicas promiscuas frequentare, ubi Fidei periculum nullum impendet atque, certis adhibitis cautionibus, magna pars periculorum quoad mores prohiberi potest.

6. Si scholae catholicae promiscuae, secundum ea, quae supra dicta sunt (cfe. n. 5), cautionibus utique servatis, habeantur "coeducatio" etiam ad normam Litterarum Encyclicarum "Divini Illius Magistri" videtur tolerari posse, quoniam ad huiusmodi scholarum doctores haec manifesto non pertinent verba: "non considerant aut negant protoparentum labe vitiatum nasci hominem, plerique vero omnes, quia tali notionum perturbatione laborant ut legitimum hominum convictum habeant quasi quemdam virorum ac feminarum omnibus plane rationibus parium inconditum acervum" (l.c.).

11 -- NORMAE

7. Sicubi "coeducatio" reapse tolerari necesse sit, normae certae oportet impertiantur, ut pericula morum ex hac instituendi ratione forte oritura praepediantur.

8. Sedes Apostolica suadet vel favendo provehit educandi rationem quae "constitutio" vulgo appellatur, secundum quam unum habetur Institutum vel aedificium, duabus instructum scholis pro pueris et puellis seiunctis, uni moderationi obnoxium, communi praeditum bibliotheca communique conclavium ordine naturalibus disciplinis exercendis, ad quas separatim horisque diversis pueris et puellis pateat aditus. Hoc enim modo fiet ut sumptus valde imminuantur utque amplius ibi re vera non habeatur "coeducatio".

Quodsi eiusmodi "coinstitutio" haberi non possit, praecipitur ut in relationes quinquennales opportunus numerus quaestionum inducatur, quibus Sedes Apostolica certior reddatur de agendi modo in scholis, ubi utriusque sexus iuvenes promiscue educantur.

Quemadmodum supra dictum est, Excmi locorum Ordinarii principia generalia ac normas ad effectum deducenda curent, prout singuli casus in propria dioecesi occurrentes postulant.

Praeterea, in cuiusque Nationis Coetibus Episcopalibus, iidem Ordinarii certas definitasque recensere poterunt normas, quae prae oculis haberi et servari debeant iis in casibus, in quibus "coeducatio" necessaria videatur.

III-Index Generalis Cautionum Adhibendarum

Cum neque utile videatur neque prudentiae consentaneum, ut ab Apostolica Sede index singularum omnium cautionum edatur, eo quod hominum rerumque adiuncta variis in regionibus valde inter se discrepent, hic normis supra expositis breves animadversiones generales adiciuntur, quae, singulis in casibus, in promptu haberi possunt, quasi lumina agendi rationi prae-lucentia.

1. Siperiores et antistitae scholis, quae "coeducationis" ratione reguntur, eos attribuant religiosos et religiosas, quorum virtus et maturum iudicium experientia sint comprobata. Iis vero peculiari modo invigilent, ut quodvis malum praecaveatur,

utque iisdem eae praesto sint cautiones, quae a fidei observantia disciplinae religiosae promanant.

2. Cuilibet scholae attribuaturs Praefectus religionis vel Magister pietatis, cuius sit vitam spiritualem Instituti moderari.

3. Religiosi non nisi raro et extrema compellente necessitate, et utique antea obtento ab hac sacra Congregatione indulto Apostolico scholas secundi ordinis promiscuas sinantur moderari.

4. Cum magistris e laicorum ordine institutio mandatur, maxima habestur cura ut tales deligantur doctores, qui nulla prorsus laborent suspicione et qui efficacem praebere possint operam ad puerorum et puellarum mores rite conformandos.

5. Mutua vitae consuetudo, quae inter utriusque sexus iuvenes ex eadem schola intercedit (veluti coetus sociales hisque similia), magna cum moderatione modestiaque fiat; neque umquam vigilantia desit, prouti diversa temporis et loci adiuncta postulent.

6. Abstinentum est a ludicris corporum exercitationibus vel certaminibus gymniciis, quae ab utriusque sexus iuvenibus simul edantur.

7. Internae convictus sedes, utrique sexui destinatae, institui ne sinantur.

8. Studiosse curetur ut iuvenes utriusque sexus invecem separentur:

a) in scholarum auditoriis, ita ut discipuli diverso sedeant ordine, scilicet ab altero latere pueri, ab altero puellae;

b) in introitu et egressu, in spoliariis hisque similibus;

c) certis in praelectionibus, scilicet:

1. cum agitur de rebus ad sextum Dacalogi mandatum pertinentibus;

2. cum agitur de serie auditionum valde particularium circa biologiae disciplinam;

3. cum agitur de auditionum serie vel praelectionibus circa cultum humanitatis vel psychologium, quae ad diversi sexus alumnos referuntur;

4. cum agitur de disciplina artis gymnicae;

d) in lusionibus.

9. Semper adsit religiosus vel alia persona probatae fidei, quae advigilandi munus exerceat.

10. Animis iuvenum inculcetur, ut digne inter se agendi ratione contineantur.

11. Religiosi qui munus docendi aut sacrum ministerium exercent apud discipulas Institutorum, etiam ubi "coeducatio"

viget, sibi creditum tantummodo munus exercere debent, caventes ne alius consuetudinis usus sibi cum illis intercedat.

Contrariis quibuslibet non obstantibus.

Datum Roma, ex aedibus Sacrae Congregationis Negotiis Religiosorum Sodalium praepositae, die octava mensis Decembris, anno 1957.

Valerius Card. Valeri, Praefectus

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Valerius Card. Valeri, Praefectus (Sacrae Congregationis Negotiis Religiosorum Sodalium praepositae), "Instructio de Iuvenum Utriusque Sexus Promiscua Institutione", in Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Vol.50, issue of Feb. 24, 1958, p.99-103.

APPENDIX 3

ABSTRACT OF

The Coeducation Issue ¹ In Its Historical and Papal Setting.

On December 31, 1929, Pope Pius XI issued his now famous encyclical on the Christian education of youth, Divini Illius Magistri. One small section of this document contained an apparent condemnation of coeducation which aroused considerable discussion in Europe and America.

This study has attempted to relate the Papal directive to the coeducation issue as it has unfolded during the course of the present century.

The report commences with a historical survey of coeducation from slight traces of it found in the Spartan State down to the early 19th century. This is followed by an indication of the strong influence of 'feminism' on the birth and growth of the movement in its modern application.

Signs that coeducation was already becoming an issue around the turn of the century are pointed out, and its slow but continued progress during the first quarter of the 20th century is traced, with an attempt to spotlight the reasons which prompted the Holy See's forthright denunciation of the system in 1929. The section of the encyclical dealing with coeducation is presented and discussed in considerable

detail. From the comments issued shortly after its publication, its effect on the Catholic and non-Catholic world is considered, and from the vantage point of twenty-five years the full impact of the document on the entire educational world is appraised.

A presentation of the convincing, but contradictory claims made for coeducation by supporters and opponents of the system, points to the reason for the confused ideas concerning the question which exist today. Finally the present status of coeducation is outlined.

The overall conclusion to which the report seems to point is that coeducation is a subject of great importance, affecting as it does the lives of all individuals, and the destiny of nations. That this importance has been grossly underestimated is attested by the lack of authoritative data concerning the relative merits of the coeducational and segregated educational institutions. Officially, the question scarcely even exists as a topic for serious discussion, except in the Catholic Church.

The half century of controversy on the coeducation issue has been a good thing. In unofficial circles there is a greater awareness of the problem today than ever before. The definite stand taken by Pope Pius XI in 1929

brought the question out into the open, and caused a reappraisal of the coeducational method in many minds. For Catholics at least, it gave positive direction, which has been clarified further by the Holy See's recent instruction. Nevertheless, the report reveals an imperative need for scientific investigation of the coeducation problem.

The report further indicates that the Church's stand on the question is the same in 1957 as it was in 1929; coeducation in its true concept cannot be approved; separate schools for adolescent boys and girls is still the ideal. Nevertheless, after prolonged study of the whole question, the Church realizes that today this ideal is not always possible, and so "tolerates" coeducation under certain prescribed conditions. Where mixed schools are necessary, she indicates her preference for coinstitutional schools. This type of school is presently being experimented with in various parts of the United States, and now that it has the Church's stamp of approval, it will doubtless be the trend for the future.