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From Philantrophy and Household Arts to the Scholarly Education of Psychologists and Educators: A Brief History of the University of Columbia's Teachers College (1881-1930)

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ABSTRACT

During the professionalization of American psychology towards the end of the 19th century, the pedagogical field, with its institutions, educational departments and teacher's schools, represented one of the main 'niches' or focal points of study and disciplinary application for emerging graduates in the new science. The present study constitutes a historical analysis of Teachers College, an academic and professional institution linked to Columbia University, a pioneer in the education and training of American educators with international projections, between 1881 and 1930. Based on the use of various primary sources and archival documents not analyzed in previous works, a critical contextualization of the emergence of the College, and a narrative of its institutional, scientific and curricular development of the institution are offered. It shows the transit of Teachers College from a nonprofit philanthropic organization to an academic and professional training college of educators and psychologists formally associated with the University of Columbia.

De la Filantropía y las Artes Hogareñas a la Forma ción Científica de Psicólogos y Educadores: Breve Historia del Teachers College de la Universidad de Columbia (1881-1930)

RESUMEN

Durante la profesionalización de la psicología estadounidense hacia fines del siglo XIX, el campo pedagógico, con sus instituciones, departamentos educativos y escuelas de profesores, representó uno de los principales 'nichos' o focos de estudio y aplicación disciplinar para los emergentes diplomados en la nueva ciencia. El presente estudio constituye un análisis histórico del Teachers College, una institución académica y profesional vinculada con la Universidad de Columbia, pionera en la formación y entrenamiento de educadores estadounidenses con proyecciones internacionales, entre 1881 y 1930. A partir del recurso a diversas fuentes primarias y documentos de archivo no analizadas en trabajos previos, se ofrece una contextualización crítica del surgimiento del College, y una narrativa de su desarrollo institucional, científico y curricular de la institución. Se muestra el tránsito del Teachers College desde una organización filantrópica sin fines de lucro hasta un colegio académico y profesional de formación de educadores y psicólogos asociado formalmente con la Universidad de Columbia.

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Vínculo al artículo/Link to this article: DOI: https://doi.org/10.5093/rhp2019a16 During the professionalization of American psychology at the end of the 19th century, the pedagogical field represented one of the main 'niches' or foci of disciplinary study and application for emerging graduates in the new sciences. In John O'Donnell's words, the arrival of professional psychologists to educational institutions around 1900 was

not limited to the narrow door of the clinical laboratory, which did not widen until the next decade. State boards of education were supporting new educational departments within colleges and universities and the establishment of normal schools for the training of teachers. Psychologists were finding occupational niches in these growing departments and schools as teachers of teachers. (O'Donnell, 1985, p. 154. Italics added)

The present study constitutes a historical analysis of the first decades of existence of Teachers College: an academic and professional institution linked to Columbia University and pioneer in the education and training of U.S. educators with international projections and that was exemplary in the process of professionalization of psychologists alluded to by O'Donnell (1985).

A study on Teachers College is necessary for multiple reasons. First, the College was a seminal institution in the professionalization of teachers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and was also a central focus on the disciplinary development of American psychology during the same period. The centrality of the Teachers College of Columbia University in the development of education sciences during the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century cannot be underestimated. Indeed, it has been noted that "the history of Teachers College, Columbia University, since its founding in 1887, is the history of American teacher education writ small" (Cremin et al., 1954, p. v). This is relevant to the field of early American psychology for two reasons. First, because of the contributions that the Teachers College productions represented to the educative or educational psychology itself. Second, for the productions of Teachers College professors and students in the field of clinical psychology of the early twentieth century: a psychology that was often overlapped with the educational environment through the study and diagnosis of the mentally weak, the segregation of the abnormal, the study of gifted children, the design of technological tools for evaluation and classification, the attempt of palliative efforts, re-educational or 'remedial' etc. (Wallin, 1911a; 1911b; Witmer, 1907; 1909). Indeed, authors who would be central to the psychology of the first decades of the 20th century would teach, or receive their training at Teachers College, in areas as diverse as experimental psychology (Cattell, Woodworth, Thorndike), clinical psychology (Andrus, Hollingworth, Rogers, May), educational psychology (Symonds) and the "child study" movement (Bronner).

Despite the centrality referred to, there are few previous studies that chronicle the development of the scientific, institutional and curricular dimensions of the College as a general context to locate specific disciplinary developments. Additionally, available studies suggest that historical studies focused on the Teachers College that have been published outside North-America are rather scarce (Valdemarin, 2016; Warde & Rocha, 2018; Warde, 2016). Finally, the adopted approach in previous historical scholarship on the College

does not focus on its impact on North-American psychology during the end of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX.

This study aims to make a succinct chronicle of Teachers College, from its creation in the 1880s, until the end of the 1920s. The final delimitation of the period is due to the fact that, towards the end of the referred decade, a series of curricular and organizational changes in the institution, a greater incidence of external private financing - for example around studies on the field of the *Child Study* - and the effects of the internal changes in the debates on psychology in the hectic 1920's decade, would modify the profile of psychology in aspects and forms that exceed the present work. Thus, this paper has essentially sought to reconstruct a general history of Teachers College, using documentary and archival sources omitted in previous studies.

At the methodological level, the study has been based on various types of primary sources to reconstruct the history of the College: (1) previous official histories of the College, (2) memoirs and autobiographies of the main academic figures of the institution, as deans and presidents, (3) specific official annual reports made by the deans of the Teachers College academic units, (4) general official annual reports compiled by the University of Columbia, and (5) articles and reports in the official Teachers College Record Magazine. Additionally, secondary sources have been considered about the history of American psychology, in a broad sense, and about the history of psychology in Columbia, in a narrow sense.

Context: Industrialization, schooling and philanthropy in the United States

The historiography about the development of the College recognizes that its emergence was made possible by various social, cultural and institutional changes in the United States during the last decades of the 19th century. The country's metamorphosis, which went from a young and farming nation to a gradually more industrialized state, reorganized the work forces and created offers and demands in various areas, including teaching at its various levels. Industrialization encouraged urbanization, to the point that by 1890 30% of Americans lived in urban communities, and of which New York, Chicago and Philadelphia already concentrated more than one million inhabitants (Cremin, Shannon & Townsend, 1954, p. 5).

In the pedagogical field, public education expanded at an unprecedented rate: enrollment in public schools increased dramatically (more than 25% between 1880 and 1900), while the legislation pressed for the compulsory nature of schooling, thus reducing illiteracy from 17% in 1880 to 11% by 1900. Higher education also registered a sustained increase, going from 350 colleges by 1880 to almost 500 in 1900. Regarding enrollment, it increased by more than 50% in those two decades (Cremin et al., 1954, p. 6). The advancement of the legitimation of higher education for women meant the formalization of colleges for women, their systematic training, and therefore a greater supply and demand of women teachers in university settings (Pangburn, 1932; Pemberton, 1974).

At the same time, the development of scientific research encouraged the creation of universities for the exclusive training of graduates. Following the example of Johns Hopkins University,

founded in 1876, "dozens of colleges transformed themselves into universities, incorporating professional facilities where they existed, creating new ones where they did not" (Cremin et al., 1954, p. 6). Psychology, particularly linked to pedagogy, education and child study, would be one of the disciplines that would find a way of implementation through the establishment of these universities for graduates (O'Donnell, 1985). Finally, given that there were no trained personnel to meet the demands of the graduate level, during the 1880s, more than two thousand young American academics traveled to study in German institutions of higher education. Some of the characters involved in the history of Teachers College, and on which we will return later, were linked to such a pilgrimage, directly (for example, James Russell) or indirectly (the cases of James McKeen Cattell and Edward Lee Thorndike).

However, what seems to have worked as a decisive impulse for the creation of Teachers College was the progressive inclusion of training in manual activities in secondary school curricula. Indeed, the manual training demanded specialized training from teachers, and this training was not adequately provided by normal public and private schools, which were extremely simple, schematic and variable. This led to education being institutionalized as an area of systematic study and training, both in normal schools - which began to design baccalaureate and degree programs - and in universities and colleges of liberal arts - which began to formalize education programs -(Borrowman, 1956). Thus the first teachers colleges were established: professional institutions of academic level (not already technical or 'practical') for teacher training. By 1890, "one fourth of the higher institutions in the country offered formal work in education" (Cremin et al, 1954, p. 7). Philanthropy, and the "practical Christianity" of various wealthy businessmen were the phenomena that enabled both the valorization and economic instrumentation of efforts aimed at teacher training and education.

This institutionalization capitalized scientific and technological developments specific to the disciplines involved with the educational process. Thus, the content of education as a phenomenon of study and training expanded to include European and (later) American developments in areas such as history, philosophy and the psychology of education. The names of William James, Stanley Hall, Pestalozzi, Herbart, Spencer and Froebel became common in the curricula and in the research efforts of educators. In this context, theories and debates about educational reform were developed, where adherence or rejection of specific theories or philosophies determined the criticism or acceptance of specific technological approaches. Finally, the development of the child study movement, initiated by Stanley Hall, and later the therapeutic and guiding movement of the child guidance (with its specific institutions, chairs and clinics) are two unavoidable pillars in the complex of educational, psychological and clinical problems that Teachers College collaborated on formalizing and developing.

Cremin et al. (1954) have synthesized as follows the set of ideas and intellectual conditions that served as background to the emergence of Teachers College:

A lively interest in industrial and practical education; an ever growing insistence upon specialized professional training for teachers; an increasing –if sometimes faltering—interest in the study of education; a strongly rooted movement toward educational reform; and a lively zeal for philantropic and humanitarian causes. (p. 9).

The prehistory of Teachers College: The Industrial Education Association and the New York College for the Training of Teachers (1881-1897)

The Teachers College bases can be traced to the Industrial Education Association organization, created on March 21, 1884, on the basis of the Kitchen Garden Association (KGA). Founded in 1880 by Grace Hoadley Dodge, the daughter of one of the richest businessmen in New York, the KGA was a philanthropic and non-profit organization that encouraged the inclusion of training in domestic and practical arts (drawing, modeling, construction, woodwork, cooking and sewing, among others) at various levels of education, from kindergarten to high school. The KGA arose from the experience of Dodge herself, who in 1880 had begun to teach household arts - weaving, cooking and hygiene - to New York women with pressing socioeconomic conditions.

The KGA movement aimed to "promote the domestic industrial arts among the laboring classes, to diffuse true principles and correct methods, and to establish a center of reference and consultation" (Hervey, 1900, p. 12). His own creation responded to the need to train teachers in the teaching and instruction of such domestic arts, "to secure the wide and correct diffusion of the principles upon which the system was based [and] to prevent its degeneration into a careles and erratic method of teaching "(Kitchen Garden Association, 1881, p. 19).

The inadequacy of the normal classes dictated by the leaders of the association, and the expansion of the focus and tasks of the KGA led to its reorganization in 1884 as the Industrial Education Association (Hervey, 1900). The IEA allowed the development of more advanced work in teacher training, the inclusion of men and adults and the inclusion of industrial education in schools. Since its formulation, the IEA alluded, implicitly or at least de facto, to the psychological dimensions of teacher training and the activities of children and adolescents, by remarking that the classic training of teachers did not allow "the complete development of all the *faculties* "(Hervey, 1900, p. 13. Emphasis added) and that "the current system [of teacher training] trains the memory too largely, the reasoning powers less, the eye and the hand too little" (Hervey, 1900, p. 13).

However, the aims of the IEA, such as those of the KGA, were primarily philanthropic, and only secondarily educational in a strictly defined sense. In effect, the IEA sought as a final goal the general formation of the character and personality of the individuals: that general formation that was developed through the industrial training that "is neither technical nor professional" and that "is calculated to make better men and better citizens of the pupils, no matter what calling they may afterward follow; which affects directly, and in most salutary manner, the mind and character of the pupil" (Hervey, 1900, p. 14).

Despite this, the Association's push allowed the teaching of industrial activities and skills to be included in asylums, orphanages

and reformatories. However, between 1884 and 1886 the educational aims of the association, in an academic (scholarly) sense gained more weight, which is mainly seen in the approach between the association and the New York public education system. The organization of conferences and meetings, the printing of pamphlets, the establishment of libraries and museums, among other activities, were gradually approaching the interests of the official state system of basic and secondary education. Necessarily, this caused a greater demand in teacher training, whose magnitude made it "a demand [the Association] was totally unable to meet" (Cremin et al., 1954, p. 17). Thus, as of 1887, the Association progressively prioritized strictly educational and training objectives. The sanction of his 'Ten articles of Faith', which emphasized the moral value and importance of industrial training and general education as well as the development of intellectual faculties, and the hiring of Nicholas Murray Butler as president of the IEA in 1887 (as paid official, and not as honorary president) are two elements indicative of the spirit of the institution towards 1890.

Butler was an associate professor of philosophy at Columbia College, where he had graduated in 1882 and a PhD in 1884. A favorite student of Frederick Barnard - the then president of Columbia College - Butler had a clearly academic and professional ideology for the Association. From his postdoctoral training in Europe, where he had attended the classes of du Bois-Reymond, Müller and Helmholtz, he would acquire a new empirical perspective on education. In particular, he would feel marked by Friedrich Paulsen's influence: by recalling his classes, Butler admitted that the notion of the neo-Kantian philosopher and pedagogue that education "might be subjected to scientific examination and analysis and might be shown to rest upon definite philosophical principles was nothing short of a revelation [...] In America, education had always seemed to be — well, just education! "(Butler, 1939, p. 122).

According to its belief system, within the IEA Butler advanced the agenda of prioritizing the objective of teacher education and training over philanthropic purposes - necessarily more general and abstract - of the institution. This coincided with Butler's more general scientific ideology, which in turn was inserted in the renewal and reform movement that in 1896 would turn Columbia College into Columbia University, of which Butler himself would be president between 1902 and 1945.

Regarding Teachers College specifically, Butler would be responsible for its formalization as an institution. In fact, by February 1887 Butler, in co-authorship with the then president of Columbia Frederick Barnard, had submitted a project for the creation of a pedagogy course to the trustees of Columbia College. Faced with the rejection of this proposal by the administrators (who mainly argued that a pedagogy course would bring women to Columbia College, thus violating their policy), both Butler and Barnard considered that it would be more efficient to build a college of teachers outside from the university, which was later linked to Columbia College, and designed a project for that purpose that was even favorably evaluated by European pedagogues and education scientists (Butler, 1899). The opportunity to realize this proposal came precisely in 1887, when Butler was elected president of the IEA. As a condition of his assumption, he explained that under his leadership, the Association should "devote itself to the carrying

out of one of its cardinal objectives: the training of teachers" (Butler, 1939, p. 181).

This implied a change with respect to the 'articles of Faith' of the IEA. The idea and practice of the institution so far had been limited to the preparation of teachers in manual training and industrial arts. On the other hand, Butler intended "the training of teachers for all their work, of which manual training was but a part, albeit a most essential part" (Cremin et al., 1954, p. 22). Thus, in a short time and around 1887 the New York College for the Training of Teachers was formalized, which absorbed the IEA. Within the NYCTT the work of training teachers and professors began in late 1887, "as one of the two departments of the Industrial Education Association, the other branch of the work being concerned with the creation of a public interest in manual training as an intellectual discipline, and involving the publication of information bearing upon that subject" (Hervey, 1900, p. 19). At this point, the College had 5 professors in the departments of History and Institutes of Education, Mechanical Drawing and Woodwork, Home Economics, Kindergarten Methods and Industrial Art. The original plan of studies consisted of two years, and included "Psychology, the history and science of education, methods of teaching, observation and practice in model school, school organization and administration in the United States, England, France and Germany" (Hervey, 1900, p. 19), among other subjects.

After the vote of the regents of the University of the State of New York, the NYCTT obtained its official letter or concession (its governmental recognition) in January 1889 (Butler, 1899). This concession defined New York College as a purely professional school and granted the right to deliver Bachelor, Master and Doctor degrees in pedagogy. According to official documents, the object of the College was "to give instruction in the history, philosophy and science of education, psychology, in the science and art of teaching, and also in the manual training and the methods of teaching the various subjects included under that head "(Fackenthal, 1915, p. 4). This quotation evidences not only that the manual arts were now subsumed into a broader and ambitious group of training and instructional goals (contrary to the 'philanthropic' scheme of the IEA), but that those arts appeared at the end, the new disciplines in vogue, particularly psychology, leading the way.

The NYCTT was chaired by Butler between 1887 and 1891. During that period, the institution had three divisions: the teacher training school, the model school for children, and special classes. In this sense, the NYCTT was a professional school and not a normal school: the elements communicated in secondary education, for instance, were required for those who intended to enter the College and not taught in it. At the same time, it was the node of publication and dissemination of specific literature on the area, such as the Educational Monographs series and the Educational Review, initiated by Butler in 1890. The training career - the curriculum - of the NYCTT spanned two years and included

Psychology; history and science of education; methods of teaching, observation, and practice in the model school; school organization and administration in the United States, England, France and Germany; the theory and practice of kindergarten; natural science; history; and those subjects included under

the term manual training, such as industrial art, mechanical drawing, and woodworking. (Cremin et al., 1954, pp. 22-23)

Butler resigned from the presidency in 1891 for having been elected as the head of the Department of Philosophy, Ethics and Psychology at Columbia College, and was succeeded by Walter L. Hervey, the then dean of the College. In 1892, when obtaining the permanent government concession, the institution had all the necessary legal credentials, and finally adopted the denomination Teachers College, thus marking its formal foundation. Just two years earlier, as a representative of the College, Hervey had participated in a collective publication describing the state of psychology in American universities around 1890. In that publication, where the New York College for the Training of Teachers appeared, at least nominally, on an equal footing with established departments such as Harvard and Nebraska, Hervey had described in the following terms the state of psychology in his institution:

At the New York College for the Training of Teachers is a professional school where none but professional branches are pursued Psychology is studied solely as a branch of Pedagogics. Only so much of Philosophy, Physiology and Rational Psychology is introduced as is necessary to enable student-teachers to derive the principles of Pedagogic Science. The data for these fundamental principles are gained partly by reading and lectures but largely by induction by the class from personal experience and from observation of children. At the beginning of the second term of the first year students are given blanks, with definite time and opportunity to study the children and record observations. To aid them further in finding out the contents and workings of children's minds, sets of questions, which suggest ways and means of investigations are placed in the hands of all. A large Model School in connection with the College affords ample opportunity for proffitable work in this direction. The special Kindergarten students are also required to make definite record of all observations in the course of their almost constant intercourse with children. It is thought that this study of children, which has hitherto been largely overlooked, will result in important contributions to educational science. (Hervey, 1890, en Jastrow et al., 1890, p. 277)

During Hervey's presidency, Teachers College made three advances: the first formal alliance with Columbia College in 1892, the elevation of the Teachers College admission standards in 1893, and the physical move of the institution to more appropriate and spacious locations (Hervey, 1900).

On our topic of interest here, the 'alliance' between the university and the college constitutes a historically relevant fact. The first formal relationship established between the two spaces, this progress was based on the idea that through it "Columbia would gain a valuable ally and a unique opportunity for instruction in pedagogy, while Teachers College would be assured a high standard of scholarship, University instruction, and the benefits of a University atmosphere and a University library" (Fackenthal, 1915, p. 11). Among other things, the

1893 alliance stipulated that certain courses and subjects taught at Teachers College "were accepted by Columbia as counting toward the Columbia Colleges degrees" (Hervey, 1900, p. 33). At the same time, all the instruction given at Teachers College that led to bachelor's degrees in art, master's and doctorate degrees would be controlled by the professors of the Columbia School of Philosophy, while Teachers College would retain its separate organization and their control over all instruction in programs that will not lead to academic degrees. Finally, Columbia would provide Teachers College with at least one annual course on history and educational institutions, a course on philosophy, and another on psychology and ethics.

This agreement meant that in 1894 eleven courses of study were offered under the modality just described, and that by 1896 "every student taking the course in principles of education in Columbia shall supplement that course by spending two hours in observation and practice under the Faculty of Teachers College "(Hervey, 1900, p. 34). In this context, philosophy and psychology constituted two of the disciplines that benefited most from the interrelation between the institutions. As President Low of Columbia pointed out in 1894, on the one hand, Teachers College students capitalized on lectures and classes on philosophy and other topics taught there. Regarding the research, "the laboratories of the two institutions are at the command and service of both" (Low, 1895, p. 8, cited in Cremin et al., 1954, p. 31).

Hervey was in charge of the College between 1891 and 1897, the year in which he resigned and was replaced in the presidency by Benjamin Wheeler. During these years, the College's standards were raised (the knowledge required on admission, the training required for applicants, etc.), which implied curricular changes, for example the degradation of content from second year to first year, and inclusion of new content. This led to the fact that after 1894, the two-year degree course was replaced by eleven lines of work according to the various departments created gradually, and among which the Department of Psychology and General Method was central while offering the mandatory work required to all students.

Although Butler and Hervey represented nuclear characters for the development of Teachers College, it would be James Earl Russell who would end the program initiated by his predecessors, leading the institution to enter into organic relations with Columbia University. Russell was summoned in October 1897 to Teachers College by Wheeler to lead the Department of Psychology and General Method in the technical training of teachers. Two months later, and with the support of Seth Low - the then president of the University - Russell was elected dean of the institution.

Because of his training in philosophy, education and psychology, Russell was an advocate of both a democratic conception of education and teacher training, and of a progressive perspective in the training of teaching experts. According to Russell, teachers were service providers no less than lawyers, doctors and engineers; therefore, their training should be guided, rational and professional (that is, systematic and scientific). This justified the existence of a professional school for teachers. This became an institutional reform plan: since his colleague Wheeler did not assume the presidency of the College, and the administrators did not find a suitable president, Russell was the one who proposed that if the College affiliated with Columbia College as a professional school, there would be no need to appoint

a president. This idea evolved into a detailed plan to organize "a professional training school for teachers which would be at the same time part of the University and a 'sovereign state' in itself" (Cremin et al., 1954, p. 34).

The plan was accepted and ratified in 1898. According to it, Columbia accepted Teachers College as its professional school to train educators, and gave it the same university rank as that granted to law school and medical school. Columbia on the other hand maintained complete control over courses and careers leading to degrees, as well as the act of granting degrees. Finally, the president of Columbia University was, ex officio, the president of Teachers College. In this context, Russell was appointed dean of Teachers College: a position he held until 1927.

Teachers College of Columbia (1898-1915)

The period from the inclusion of Teachers College at Columbia University in 1898 until Russell's retirement in 1927 was a stage characterized by a rapid, and sometimes conflictive, evolution of the structure and dynamics of the institution. In these three decades new degrees were implemented and existing grades were modified; various teachers were hired, installed, promoted and retired; research institutes were inaugurated; structure and curriculum modifications were adopted and sometimes reversed and diverse organizational schemes were adopted (by departments, and then by divisions). In that sense, Teachers College was representative of the general and very dynamic trend registered in the United States between 1895 and 1930, according to which "normal schools became teacher colleges" (Borrowman, 1956, p. 129).

At the dawn of the 20th century, Nicholas Butler argued that Teachers College "has become an integral part of the Columbia University system" (Butler, 1899, p. 342). However, in a context marked by the Columbia University emergency itself (as a restructuring of Columbia College), Teachers College had to justify and demonstrate its claims of university rank. Indeed, "University rank had been legally attained, but there remained the important task of defining a professional education worthy of University Rank, and of creating a typical, advanced training school for teachers" (Cremin et al, 1954, p. 35). As Cautin and Benjamin (2012) have emphasized, the challenge was "to transform the school into a bona fide college, [a] sizable and challenging [task], for at that time there was no exemplar in professional education" (p. 199). Throughout this period, the College was acquiring more and more independence, although always maintaining its organic relations with Columbia: by 1900 the College controlled both its own undergraduate curriculum that led to the bachelor of science and the power to issue the degree; and by 1915 the College was recognized as a Faculty of the University of Columbia.

Part of this task was achieved by delineating an educational policy (or philosophy) for the institution, while another part was achieved by concretizing this philosophy from the hiring and promotion of teachers whose trajectories would necessarily mark the 'agenda' and the 'spirit 'of Columbia.

On the former, Russell presented his philosophy in the first issue of the Teachers College Record, the periodical of the College

whose objective was "to give the faculty and students of the College a comprehensive view of the current workings of the schools of observation and practice, to provide graduates of the College with a means of prolonging their professional studies, and to acquaint the public generally with the theory and practice of teaching adopted in Teachers College "(Anonymous, 1900, p. iii). According to Russell, the ideal preparation of educators included four elements: general culture, professional knowledge, special knowledge and teaching skills, and these four elements would be the formal standards of Teachers College (Russell, 1900b).

Regarding general culture, Russell argued that teachers (primary and secondary) should have a "world-view" (1900b, p. 43) broad enough to justify their attempts to train youth and to understand the interrelation between the teaching task and the available information that would allow the teacher "to teach his own subject in a scientific manner" (p. 43). The general culture enabled the teacher to visualize the interrelations between all spheres of knowledge. Professional knowledge, on the other hand, involved the knowledge that interrelated the child under instruction with the society of which the child was a part. For Russell, "the true educator must know the nature of mind; he must understand the process of learning, the formation of ideals, the development of will, and the growth of character " (p. 43). Specifically, adolescent psychology - "that stormy period in which the individual first becomes self-conscious and struggles to express his own personality" (p. 43) - was a central node in the formation of educators. While this professional knowledge involved school economics, school hygiene, and the rational administration of schools, this technical knowledge was subordinated to the "thorough understanding of Psychology and its applications to teaching" (Russell, 1900b, p. 44).

Thirdly, with 'special knowledge' Russell was referring to scientific literature, to scholarship: that is, to the accumulation of knowledge better weighted at each specific moment on the various topics that involved the teaching areas of Teachers College. Neither the liberal culture nor the technical ability could replace what Russell said was the "solid substrate" on which authentic education was based. And while Teachers College offered collegial or collegiate training, and it was not a regular school, then the institution had to train teachers and educators in such special knowledge, in that scholarship that was an "absolutely necessity in the qualifications for teaching" (Russell, 1900b, p. 44). Without this literature, the teacher became "a slave to manuals and text-books" (p. 44), his work was routinized, his activities were justified in ignorance or repetition.

Finally, knowledge or technical ability referred to the specific skills of educators in concrete instruction: that is, knowledge and practice of pedagogy. All these elements - training, research, and pedagogical application according to scientific parameters - were visualized in the experimental schools founded by Russell - the Horace Mann School and the Speyer School -, which served as schools for New York children, as assistance centers to the community, and as spaces for experimental research and training of the students of the College.

During the first decade of the century, Teachers College offered courses of study that were classified into three types. On the one hand, the institute offered graduate courses, which included a course "for teachers in normal schools and for principals, supervisors, and

superintendents of schools" and another course "for teachers in secondary schools and instructors in colleges" (Russell, 1900b, pp. 46-47). The first course, considered the most ambitious of the institute, required a year of residence - practical internship - culminated with two possible diplomas (the Higher Diploma that certified professional competence and the Secondary Diploma that certified academic competence), and was aimed at training in educational services that required a high level of professional insight, and as the dean himself explained, what determined the true 'aptitude test' for the applicant was his ability "to undertake research and investigation" (Russell, 1900b, p. 46). Thus, there was no 'career' or structure of preset courses: to obtain the diploma, the applicant had to take and pass subjects that would grant him practical skills and research skills; the latter normally involved the course of subjects that were the jurisdiction of the Columbia School of Philosophy. Second, the College offered general undergraduate courses: a course for teachers in primary schools, and another course for kindergarten teachers. These undergraduate programs were divided into two biannual cycles that led to the bachelor's degree: "a first which embraced a regular introductory collegiate course, and which was considered preparatory to a second dealing primarily with professional subjects" (Cremin et al, 1954, p. 60). Finally, two-year departmental undergraduate courses were also offered by the respective teams of the Teachers College departments: a course for teachers and supervisors of art and drawing, a course for teachers and supervisors of domestic art, a course for teachers and supervisors of domestic science, and a course for teachers and supervisors of manual training.

At all these levels, psychology occupied a nodal place. For example, in both general undergraduate courses, two psychological subjects of 5 hours per week were included in total: "Psychology and applications in teaching" and "Child study" (Russell, 1900b, pp. 48-49). At the same time, in the departmental undergraduate courses, courses of three hours per week of psychology applied to teaching were mandatory. Both this course and the Child Study course were part of the teaching load of E. L. Thorndike (1901a; 1901b).

It is not surprising that psychology occupied a central place in the educational philosophy of Teachers College: Russell had studied psychology and philosophy in the United States before studying during the 1890s with Wundt and Kulpe in Leipzig, where he would obtain his doctorate. In Europe he had become familiar with continental debates on basic, experimental psychology and with debates on education and pedagogical reform (Russell, 1900a). Hence the dean emphasized that the work of educators should conform to the "mental equipment of those who take it" (Russell, 1900a, p. 7), and that the intelligent educator "must know something of the child — its physical life, mental processes and springs of conduct; he must have some idea of what the child should become and of the distinguishing characteristics of various periods of development; he must be familiar with the instruments to be used in effecting these changes "(Russell, 1900a, p. 7).

However, although it is not striking, Russell's preference for this new and emerging discipline would have systematic consequences for Teachers College and even for psychology as a whole. This at the point where, to concretize his vision, the dean resorted to the hiring and promotion of academics who developed teaching and scientific

research tasks within the institution, thus establishing lines and traditions of systematic work. Indeed, by 1900 the structure of the College recognized more than ten departments, each with its own director (an academic with the rank of professor) and with a complete group of instructors. The main department was that of Education, and since no department could offer training that was previously provided at the University, the peculiar work to the College itself was that which was "technically educational" (Russell, 1900b, p. 52).

What did the technically educational work that justified the separate existence of the College encompass? Courses in history and philosophy of education, school economics, theory and practice of education, and genetic psychology and hygiene, which were common and mandatory in the various careers of the College. On the one hand, the introductory course on theory and practice of teaching "grows directly out of the course in general psychology" (Russell, 1900b, p. 53), and its objective was to develop in students a scientific and rational method for analysis and application of basic teaching principles in school. On the other hand, and about the area of genetic psychology and hygiene, Russell placed it as the first in order of importance for teacher training. According to the educational policy of the College, psychology, physiology and the study of the child "stand first in order among the required subjects of a technical nature" (Russell, 1900b, p. 52). The aim of these courses was to allow 'to know the child': that is, to familiarize the teacher with the physical and psychic characteristics of childhood, childhood and adolescence, to encourage his insight about the influences of inheritance and the environment, and, as a topic that will be foundational in psychoclinical and educational debates some years later, "to understand the processes of the normal adult mind" (Russell, 1900b, p. 52). Thus, for example, the 'Child Study' subject - taught by Thorndike since 1900 - was complementary to the compulsory university courses on systematic psychology and applied psychology; its objectives were precisely the presentation of the facts, as they had been scientifically determined, about "the nature and the development of the mind during childhood and adolescence, with special reference to the meaning of these facts to the teacher" (Russell, 1900b, p. 52). Additionally, the goal was to provide the student with solid criteria to critically estimate and analyze the various theories about the child's mind and, in line with the College's research policy, "to give practice in right methods of observation and experiment" (Russell, 1900b, p. 53).

On our second point - the teaching team progressively formed by the College - Russell recognized that the problem that Teachers College came to solve was the finding and formalization of "some rational mode of training teachers" (Russell, 1900a, p. 5). The complexity of the education system forced to ensure that educators obtained a scientific and professional education aligned with contemporary debates and, even more, with scientific findings - the 'professional knowledge' described above. Russell recognized that "it is scarcely credible that students of high-school grade can go deeply into Psychology in the few weeks alloted to that study in normal schools" (Russell, 1900a, p. 8), which required, again, specific university training, and in which psychology - as a basic and technological discipline - occupied a central place. But this training could not be limited to university education, given that the legitimate ends of university work were" the increase of knowledge and its professional application "(Russell, 1900a, p. 9).

This 'scientist-practitioner' idea explains the profile of the academics hired by Russell, and the tasks that these academics did. Indeed, since the beginning of the century, the institution proposed the hiring of "new faculty members who were either versed in new pedagogical ideas or at least men of open minds not confined in the ruts of academic tradition" (Cremin et al., 1954, p. 39).

Several academic representatives of the 'new American psychology' were summoned and hired as professors and researchers at the College. Already counting Columbia with the differential, applied and test-based psychological tradition represented by Cattell and with the functionalist tradition represented by Dewey, one of the first psychologists hired at Teachers College was Edward Lee Thorndike. Thorndike had graduated from Weyslean University in 1895, obtained his master's degree at Harvard in 1897 and after studying with Cattell, had received his doctorate at Columbia in 1898. William James and Cattell, both professors at Thorndike, recommended Russell his hiring. Russell visited Thorndike at Western Reserve University, where he was teaching since 1898. Yet in the context of research in comparative psychology that had been the basis of his doctorate, Russell found Thorndike "dealing with the investigations of mice and monkeys "(1937, p. 53). However, Russell was satisfied that Thorndike's approach "was worth trying out on humans" (Russell, 1937, p. 53). Hence, he offered the then comparative psychologist the position of instructor in the area of Genetic Psychology.

Thus, with 25 years of age, Thorndike began his career as an instructor in genetic psychology at the College in 1899. Just five years later, Thorndike had been appointed full-time professor and director of the Department of Educational Psychology. Moreover, these would be the first of Thorndike's many advances and promotions in the Teachers College system during the forty years he taught there until he retired. Among other things, the academic culture of Teachers College especially rescued Thorndike's impulse to the consolidation of educational psychology as an academic and scientific specialty, "based upon experiment and observation and having always as its final basis of reference the actual behavior of a human undergoing the stimulus of a definite situation "(Kandel, 1924, p. 105). However, its impact on the training of educators and psychologists at Teachers College transcended educational psychology proper: as highlighted by Cremin et al. (1954), his teaching was based on his own research and academic brands, among which are

the first scientific study of animal intelligence and learning; the demolition of the 'faculty' theory and of the theory of formal discipline; development of the 'laws of learning' which marked the beginning of the end of the mental process approach (memory, perception, reason, etc.) in Psychology [...] the introduction of the statistical method in education and Psychology and the invention of the scale to measure quality of performance; the launching of the achivement test movement and the development of group intelligence tests [...]. (p. 44)

Secondly, it is worth mentioning Leta S. Hollingworth, who would begin his career as a graduate student at the College around 1911 under Thorndike's supervision. Although the available historiography has highlighted her work about exceptional and gifted children (Cremin et al., 1954, pp. 44-45), Leta was both representative of

the scientific, quantitative and experimental approach advocated by Thorndike, as defender of applied psychology and consulting psychologist in clinical, educational and forensic fields. Other relevant psychologists who will work as teachers during the first decades of the twentieth century at the College will be Naomi Norsworthy (first assistant and then Professor of Educational Psychology), Arthur Gates, Percival Symonds, Goodwin Watson, William Bagley and Helen Thomson Woolley. However, the trace of Thorndike (from educational psychology) and Dewey (from the philosophy of education) served in the College as "the two great formative influences of twentieth-century educational century and together established the frame of reference in which their contemporaries and succesors were to work "(Cremin et al., 1954, p. 46).

The period between 1902 and 1915 was marked by numerous organizational changes at the College. Although the academic and professional 'spirit', and the scientific ideology characteristic of the institution remained constant, during these years there is a series of progressive changes in terms of academic standards, curriculum and administration of the institution. Relevant to our objectives is to emphasize, first, that from 1902 the Columbia Department of Education would be separated from the Department of Philosophy, and the College would be designated as "the Department of Education within the University" (Cremin et al., 1954, p. 62), thus giving departmental statute to the College as a whole. Secondly, since 1905, the curriculum that led to the bachelor of science was unified, making education courses compulsory for all College programs. At the same time, from 1902, an autonomous Department of Educational Psychology would be established at the College, on an equal footing with others on the history and philosophy of education, and on secondary education, among others. Finally, in 1915 the diplomas would be eliminated, being replaced by the bachelor's and master's degrees. All these changes were accompanied by concomitant budget increases - the College was a private institution without a state subsidy - and by tuition increases. In fact, by 1912 it was noted that since 1897 enrollment had increased 1300%, that there were 500 students in graduate courses from 47 states of the United States, that students came from 17 foreign countries, and that according to the academic formation of those enrolled, at Teachers College there were representatives of 186 colleges and universities (Russel, 1912, p. 2, cited in Cremin et al., 1954, p. 65).

Finally, towards 1915, a new agreement was made regarding the relations between Teachers College and Columbia University, which would last for much of the twentieth century. On the one hand, Teachers College was recognized as a Faculty of the University, composed in turn by two faculties that represented the two 'formative' traditions of the College since its conception in the 1880s: a faculty of education and another of practical arts. On the other hand, rejecting the option of canceling the title of doctor granted by the College and controlled by Columbia until that moment, it was recognized the importance that through the University Teachers College could confer a degree of doctor focused on professional aspects more that in academic aspects, that therefore would be different from the Doctor of Philosophy focused on 'pure' research (Anonymous, 1915, p. 389). As a result, a special Department of Educational Research was created at the Columbia School of Philosophy. "The task of its professors, appointed

from the Faculty by the University Trustees, was to administer Ph.D programs at the College" (Cremin et al., 1954, p. 73): that is, PhDs in philosophy but whose themes of research were educational.

All these changes, while increasingly distinguishing the College from that philanthropic organization that was born at the end of the 19th century, progressively assimilated it to the strictly academic, scientific-practicing circuit of the Anglo-Saxon university; circuit of which Columbia University was a full representative.

First World War and Between Wars (1915-1930)

At the curricular level, between 1915 and 1925 Teachers College continued to consolidate itself as a professional school for the training of educators or, more precisely, as the Columbia School of Education, designed to train teachers, professors and administrators of the different levels of the education system, but with academic profiles (that is, *scholarly* and trained for research). The homogenization of the parameters and criteria of the College with the standards of a university with a strong research emphasis as Columbia, is evidenced by the progressive constitution, for instance, of new degrees awarded by the College. We refer to the case of the master of science, awarded after completing seven undergraduate courses, and aimed at students who were trained in fields such as chemistry, physiology and dietetics but who intended to apply such training in areas not strictly pedagogical (Anonymous, 1916a, p. 372).

More important, in the context of the First World War, the criteria for admission and permanence in the doctorate of Teachers College were be established, which, according to the available evidence, would be maintained in subsequent years. In 1916 new regulations were established regarding the candidates to the PhD with a mention in education (Anonymous, 1916b). These regulations, which arose from standards adopted by Columbia as a whole, allowed for a more flexible curriculum, and "make it possible to test the candidate's ability to do the necessary reseach leading to the Doctor's degree before allowing him to enroll as a candidate for that degree " (Anonymous, 1916b, p. 373). Thus, the person interested in obtaining a doctorate was first considered an applicant or candidate. He must register at the Columbia School of Philosophy, with the teaching team in charge of the Department of Educational Research established in 1915. Before being admitted in the doctorate, the student must meet five requirements: (1) have at least one year of graduate studies in Education, either at the College or another equivalent institution, (2) demonstrate studies in four fundamental areas (educational psychology, education history, education philosophy and educational administration), (3) pass a written examination designed by the professors of the faculty of Teachers College about three of the four areas mentioned, (4) demonstrate that he/she was prepared to initiate educational research "by making a preliminary investigation" (Anonymous, 1916b, p. 374) and (5) demonstrate knowledge of the foreign languages required for the proper development of research and professional work. The candidate was only formally enrolled after meeting these requirements and after one year of undergraduate studies (requirement 1), after which he was expected to spend at least another full year studying and researching in his/her field of interest.

However, with respect to requirements 1 and 4, the institution itself recognized that while obtaining a doctorate required a minimum of two academic years of study and research, "in general no candidate is able to satisfy his department by taking only the minimum work "and that "actual experience indicates that the usual period of study needed to obtain the Doctor's degree, with Education as a specialty, covers the equivalent of three academic years beyond the Bachelor's degree "(Anonymous, 1916b, p. 375). Only in exceptional cases the doctorate was granted after two and a half years of undergraduate studies. In other words, the College intended to maintain the excellence of its doctorates by raising the admission standards and ensuring intensive work by the candidate in no less than three years of courses and original research.

Along with this, the program abandoned the system of mentions or areas (minors and majors). Thus, the Department expected the PhD student to complete part of his/her research work equivalent to a minor in another area outside of education, but fundamental to his professional work, such as psychology, sociology or history. Further underlining the incidence of teachers in the activities of doctoral students, the university professors in charge of the main theme of the doctoral student had to approve the courses and subjects equivalent to the minor

The establishment of a master's and doctorate training system, as basic credentials for researchers, consolidated the academic profile of the College, which in turn advanced in the achievement of professional goals and tasks. In particular, the years of World War I saw Teachers College participate in various levels and activities of the war effort. Regarding psychology, while teaching at the College Thorndike participated in various activities related to the design and administration of tests to army personnel, "developing and evaluating various psychological measures to be used in the evaluation of recruits" (Cautin & Benjamin, 2012, p. 201), while other Columbia teachers - such as H.L. Hollingworth, husband of L.S. Hollingworth - would participate in the study and rehabilitation of combatants. In general, the post-war reconstruction effort influenced the standards and curriculum of Teachers College, at which point it was considered that the change experienced at the social level would require another type of profile and training by teachers in the various levels of the education system. In this sense, studies related to international relations tended to be emphasized, and lines of work were highlighted around ethics, economics and politics (Butler, 1939; Russell, 1933).

The elevation of standards and the continued professionalization of the disciplines within the College do not seem to have affected their popularity. Indeed, and without considering the students of the School of Practical Arts, while in 1919 there were 1053 students enrolled in the School of Education of the College, the dean's report for the year 1920 accounted for 1567 students (Russell, 1920) in the School, while the year 1921 accounted for 1711 (Russell, 1921) and the year 1922, 1976 (Russell, 1922). This would continue to increase in the following years: 2290 in 1923 (Upton, 1924), 2730 in 1924 (Leonard, 1925), 2900 in 1925 (Leonard, 1926), 3026 in 1926 (Leonard, 1927), 3401 in 1927 (Leonard, 1928), 3915 in 1928 (Leonard, 1929), 3985 in 1929 (Mort, 1930), 4519 in 1930 (Mort, 1931), and 4625 in 1931 (Mort, 1932).

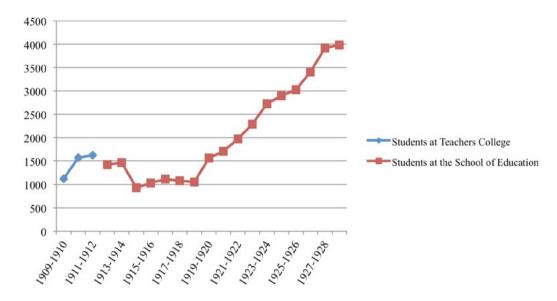


Figure 1. Students enrolled at Teachers College, 1909-1929

It was probably these magnitudes and what they implied, in conjunction with the increase in the standards and requirements for entry to the College, that made Dean Russell sustain by 1924 that the students of Teachers College are for the most part experienced teachers. They have had both the cultural and the technical training commonly required of novices in our profession. They are looking forward to the strategic positions in the more highly specialized types of educational service at home and abroad. The success of our efforts is measured not so much by what our graduates can do when they leave us, as by what they will be ten years or a generation hence. (Russell, 1925, p. 174).

This impacted the previous training that had the new students of the College: as it is observed in the figure 2, especially from World War I, the background of the candidates tended to be totally or partially university level.

As for the aspiring masters and doctors, in 1920 more than half of those enrolled in the School (815) "indicated their desire to become candidates for the Master's or Doctor's degree" (p. 7). This number would increase to 852 in 1921, and 1033 in 1922. In subsequent years they would rise to 1286 in 1923 (Upton, 1924), 1582 in 1924 (Leonard, 1925), 1734 in 1925 (Leonard, 1926), 1899 in 1926 (Leonard, 1927), 2074 in 1927 (Leonard, 1928), 2413 in 1928 (Leonard, 1929), and 2538 in 1929 (Mort, 1930).

Regarding the degrees granted, in the academic year 1921-1922, 19 PhD degrees had been granted in philosophy, 11 of which had obtained their Masters in Columbia, against 7 doctorates awarded in

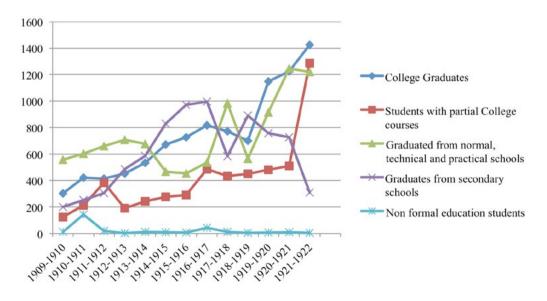


Figure 2.Grade and background of enrolled students at Teachers College, 1909-1923

1921, 23 doctorates granted in 1920, 9 doctorates granted in 1919, 19 granted in 1918, 13 in 1914 and 15 in 1911 (Russell, 1922). The number of doctorates would fluctuate in subsequent years: 14 doctorates in 1923 (Upton, 1924), 40 in 1924 (Leonard, 1925), 47 in 1925 (Leonard, 1926), 58 in 1926 (Leonard, 1927), 60 in 1927 (Leonard, 1928), 50 in 1928 (Leonard, 1929), 76 in 1929 (Mort, 1930), 82 in 1930 (Mort, 1931), and 66 in 1931 (Mort, 1932).

At the same time, in 1920, 423 titles of Master of Arts, 6 Master of Science and 399 Bachelor of Science (Russell, 1920) had been awarded; these numbers would increase to 442, 12 and 452 in 1921 (Russell, 1921) and to 535, 10 and 428 in 1922 (Russell, 1922). The trend would continue to increase in later years: 677 MA, 14 MS and 467 BS in 1923 (Upton, 1924), 885 MA, 14 MS and 509 BS in 1924 (Leonard, 1925), 1089 MA, 16 MS and 535 BS in 1925 (Leonard, 1926), 1246 MA, 31 MS 652 BS in 1926 (Leonard, 1927), 1359 MA, 24 MS and 618 BS in 1927 (Leonard, 1928), 1501 MA, 24 MS and 478 BS in 1928 (Leonard , 1929), 1699 MA, 29 MS and 510 BS in 1929 (Mort, 1930), 1951 MA, 25 MS and 567 BS in 1930 (Mort, 1931), and 1975 MA, 24 MS and 549 BS in 1931 (Mort, 1932). The data on the degrees awarded by the College are shown in Figure 3.

Finally, and about the areas of study of the Teachers College degree students, the psychology of education as a major was the second area with more students enrolled in 1920, only under the administration of education (Russell, 1920). Educational psychology was the third most registered area in 1921, below administration and religious education (Russell, 1921), and again the second in 1922 (Russell, 1922). In each of the years between 1923 and 1932, psychology was the third area chosen by the students as major (Leonard, 1925; 1926; 1927; 1928; 1929; Mort, 1930; 1931; 1932; Upton, 1924).

On the other hand, with regard to undergraduate students, the department of psychology (Columbia) was, in descending order of prevalence, the second institutional space in which Teachers College students chose to complement their studies: 244 students opted for such department in 1920. Although it was fourth in the year 1921

(Russell, 1921) and in the year 1922 (Russell, 1922), these data suggest that psychology continued to be one of the main areas of training chosen by the students of the College, the department of psychology of Columbia becoming the final mandatory.

Concluding Remarks

At the point where the history of Teachers College represents the history of the training of American educators, the chronicle developed shows the transit made by the institution as well as the complexity of the professions of education and psychology. As described, the College mutated from a philanthropic institution with a moral and hygienic motivation and with predetermined general goals, to an increasingly complex professional and academic college, formally linked to one of the leading American universities of the period.

Throughout this mutation, the standards, requirements and objectives of the College were also altered, aligning with the rational and technological goals of the training of educators and psychologists for the Anglo-Saxon educational system, in constant expansion. The change in the type and profile of the student body, and the modifications in the study regimes - for example, master and doctoral studies - in turn fed back the dynamics of an institution that, already for the interwar period, had adopted change as a steady state. Psychology, understood as a basic input for teaching, pedagogy and education in general, occupied a nodal place in the institution. At the same time, the typical overlap for the time between educational psychology and clinical psychology would make the College, in particular after 1920, a focus for training psychologists interested in problems of adaptation, character and personality of children and adolescents. This happened in a decade of progressive increase of enrolled and graduated students.

Future historical research might be aimed to progress in three directions. First, the type and degree of the actual relationship

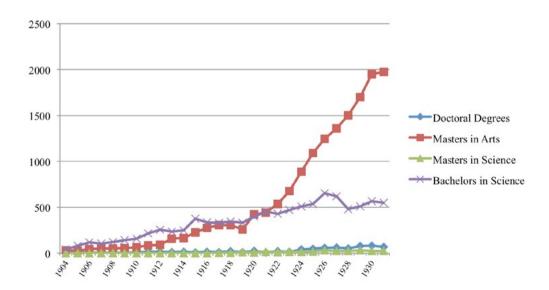


Figura 3.Degrees awarded by the Teachers College, 1904-1930

between Teachers College and Columbia University, and more precisely, the contact between the psychologists of the College with the psychology department, should be investigated: which professors shared both spaces? What degree and type of student overlap existed in both areas? What degree of contact did the College and Columbia have in the various research institutes and departments within which they came into contact? Second, the research tasks and programs, institutes and projects developed by Teachers College professors such as Leta Hollingworth, Edward L. Thorndike, Gertrude Hildreth, Arthur Gates, David Mitchell, Helen Woolley, Goodwin Watson, Bess Cunningham, Prescott Lecky and Percival Symonds, among others, in fields such as learning psychology, clinical psychology and child study, should be explored. Finally, the curricular structure of the College must be explored - the various courses of study offered, the subjects taught, the professors in charge and the contents taught -, in particular after 1920, in order to identify the ideas, characters and the general intellectual climate that impregnated College students as dissimilar to each other as were Carl Rogers, Goodwin Watson, Augusta Fox Bronner, Ruth Andrus and Percival Symonds.

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