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A Collaborative Affair: Teacher Discussion of High-School Extra-Curricular Activities in the School Review (1920-29)

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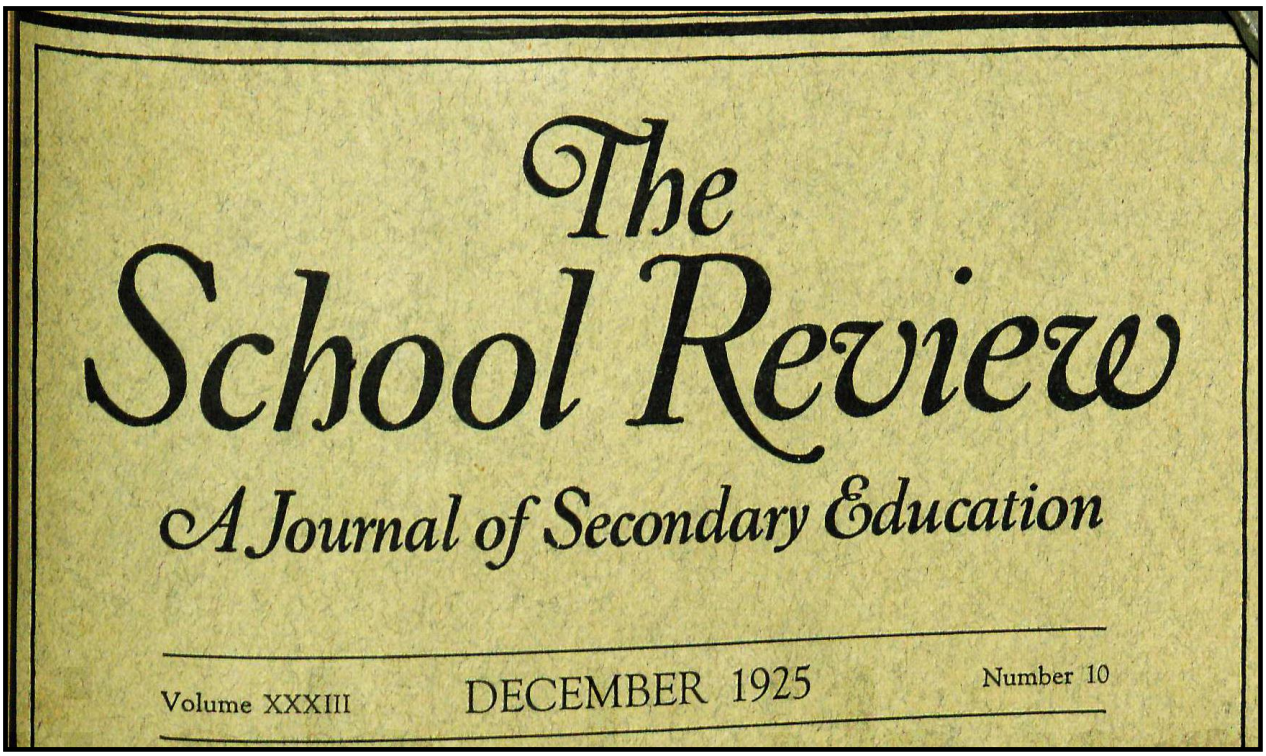
A Collaborative Affair: Teacher Discussion of High-School Extra-Curricular Activities in the *School Review* (1920-29)



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Dedicated to my family, my friends, and all my (other) teachers.

Contents

Introduction

If the curricular activities of the secondary schools have developed far beyond the limited courses of a half-century ago into the rich curricula of today, the extra-curricular activities have evolved in an even more striking degree from practically nothing a few years ago to an almost bewildering multiplicity of athletic, intellectual, social, industrial, artistic, and what-not pursuits of the present time.

—Cloy S. Hobson. Kearney High School, Nebraska. 1923.[1]

In the 1920s, in the midst of a period of expansion known as the High School Movement, enrolment in secondary education transitioned into a majority experience for American youth. Between 1910 and 1930 the number of young persons (aged 14 to 17 inclusive) enrolled in secondary education in the United States increased from 15 per cent to 51 per cent, most of whom attended coeducational public high schools.[2] No other nation in the world experienced a similar shift towards secondary education before 1940.[3] With new schools appearing almost daily, the high school became an important space of interaction and expression for huge numbers of American adolescents.[4] The articles of the nationally-circulated journal of secondary education, the *School Review,* provide an especially informative professional snapshot of teachers across the United States creatively engaging with what they increasingly referred to as the 'extra-curriculum'; a term which did not only describe the associated activity of students themselves, but also denoted teacher involvement in, and regulation of, the plethora of clubs, societies and other interest-based student activities which became a formative element of the high-school experience of the average young American. This dissertation shall argue that at a time when 'modern' youth culture had begun to be mythologised in the new mass media as having a life of its own, the shaping of the extra-curricular (and by extension, social) life of the high-school was in fact a collaborative affair undertaken by both students and their teachers.

Rapid societal change and the scientific 'discovery' of 'adolescence' by G. Stanley Hall in the early twentieth century combined with the power of the new mass media of the 1920s to produce a popular conception of 'youth'—as both a category and an experience—which was at once widely

[1] Cloy S. Hobson, 'An experiment in Organisation and Administration of High-School Extra-Curricular Activities', *School Review,* 31.2 (1923), 116. (Henceforth *School Review* will be abbreviated to *SR*).
[2] Neil R. Fenske, *A History of American Public High Schools, 1890-1990: Through the Eyes of Principals* (New York, 1997), 46.
[3] Claudia Goldin and Lawrence F. Katz, *The Race Between Education and Technology* (Massachusetts, 2007), 1.
[4] Neil R. Fenske, *A History of American Public High Schools, 1890-1990: Through the Eyes of Principals* (New York, 1997), 46.

celebrated and condemned.[5] As historian and sociologist Gilman M. Ostrander noted, the adaptiveness of youth made it a powerful icon in the 'machine age', coining the phrase the 'technological filiarchy' to denote America's new consciousness of (and anxiety about) the power and importance of its youth in an era of swift technological change.[6] This coincided with a period of intellectual educational activity known as 'progressivism', which reimagined public schooling in the United States as pivotal in creating informed and appropriately-trained citizens to satisfy the needs of America's democratic, 'technological', society.[7] Simultaneously, the explosion of youth-oriented advertising, the release of movies with provocative titles such as *Flaming Youth* and the national circulation of 'sex' magazines (with stories of adolescent 'petting' parties) propagated a particular image of 'modern' 1920s youth—of which the boyish, trend-setting female 'flapper' was a figurehead—as independent, rebellious and 'revolting' against the traditional 'manners and morals' of adult society.[8] This extreme image of carefree, hedonistic adolescence was mythologised in 'impressionistic masterpieces' such as F. Scott's Fitzgerald's tales of middle-class college-going adolescent excess, *This Side of Paradise* (1920) and *The Beautiful and Damned* (1922).[9] Yet these contemporary 'exposés' of youth 'subcultures' have heavily influenced the historiography of the 1920s, which is pervaded with dichotomous representations of the decade's rebellious 'youth' as separate from its 'adult' society.[10]

This dichotomy is evident in the only historical study of 'extra-curricular' activities in the 1920s, Paula S. Fass' survey of the 'peer society' of the colleges of this decade, *The Damned and The Beautiful : American Youth in the 1920's.* Fass highlights the importance of interest-based leisure activities in catalysing the social differentiation of college-going youths, yet her work suggests that—relative to the freedom of the colleges—changing attitudes towards the extra-curriculum amongst educational authorities in high schools led to methods of administrative 'control' that

[5] G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence,* (California, 1904); Jon Savage, *Teenage: The Creation of Youth 1875-1945* (New York, 2007), 62; Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday* (New York, 1931), 69.
[6] Gilman M. Ostrander, *American Civilization in the First Machine Age 1890-1940* (New York, 1970), 250.
[7] Craig Campbell and Geoffrey Sherington, 'The History of Education: The Possibility for Survival', *Change: Transformations in Education,* 5.1 (2002), 49; Savage, *Teenage,* 92.
[8] John Francis Dillon (Director), 'Flaming Youth', (Nov. 1923); Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920's* (Oxford, 1977), 129.
[9] Henry F. May, 'Shifting Perspectives on the 1920s', *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 43. 3, (1956), 411; F. Scott Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise* (Michigan, 1920); F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Beautiful and Damned* (New York, 1922).
[10] Burl Noggle, 'The Twenties: A New Historiographical Frontier',*The Journal of American History,* 53.2 (1966), 299; Angela J. Latham, *Posing a threat: flappers, chorus girls, and other brazen performers of the American 1920s* (London, 2000) 45-8; Lucy Moore, *Anything Goes*: A Biography of the Roaring Twenties (London, 2008), 236.

stifled youth expression.[11] This tension, between youthful autonomy and administrative control, has not been adequately resolved by the general historiography of American secondary education in this period. Historians of American high schools have tended to construct either intellectual, or, more recently, socio-economic, meta-narratives that grapple largely with the perceived success or failure of the public school system as a whole, rather than exploring the everyday realities of the high school experience.[12] This dissertation will question how professional experience of interaction with the extra-curricular world affected high-school teachers' approaches towards this 'other half of the school's business', and suggests that many of them sought cooperation (with students) rather than 'control' in this area.[13]

The following dissertation is based on a comprehensive analysis of all articles pertaining to the extra-curriculum in the period 1920-1929 in the only contemporary national educational journal devoted solely to discussion of the issues of secondary education, the ten-monthly *School Review.*[14] This is the first historical assessment to employ these sources to analyse teacher engagement with the non-curricular aspects of high-school life in the 1920s. Founded in 1893 as a 'A Journal of Secondary Education', and printed with this same subtitle, the *School Review* aspired to address itself 'to principals, superintendents, teachers, and all others who take an important interest in the work of the academy and the high school', advocating 'no single philosophy, curriculum, or instructional method'.[15] By the 1920s the journal was managed by the educational department of the University of Chicago, and therefore the articles it contained may not only have been representative of the interests of individual contributors, but rather of the shifting interests of powerful figures in this particular institution, who identified themselves with 'scientific' (evidence-based) pedagogy.[16] Nevertheless, there is significant evidence that the journal's successive editors resisted repeated attempts to alter the nature of the *School Review's* content

[11] Fass, *Damned and Beautiful,* 212.
[12] Martin Trow, 'The Second Transformation of American Secondary Education', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology,* 2.9, (1961), 144-166; Edward Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School, 1880-1920* (Wisconsin, 1964); David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (New Haven, 1974); David Nasaw, *Schooled to Order: A Social History of Public Schooling in United States* (Oxford, 1980); William J. Reese, *The Origins of the American High School* (New Haven, 1995); Jurgen Herbst, *The Once and Future School: Three Hundred and Fifty Years of American Secondary Education* (New York, 1996); Diane Ravitch, *Left Back: A Century of Failed School Reforms* (New York, 2000); Labaree, David F., 'Progressivism, Schools and Schools of Education: An American Romance', *Paedagogica Historica*, 41.1 (2005), 275-88;
[13] Hobson, 'An experiment', *SR* 31.2 (1923), 116.
[14] Harold S. Wechsler, 'The Primary Journal for Secondary Education, 1893-1938: Part I of a History of *School Review*', *American Journal of Education,* 88.1 (1989), 101; Appendix 1.
[15] Jacob Gould Schurman, 'Editorial Note', *SR* 1.1 (1893), 1**;** Weschler, 'Primary Journal', 85.
[16] Wechsler, 'Primary Journal', 102.

(even from the renowned pedagogical philosopher John Dewey himself, who wished it solely to publish the results of the department's 'scientific' educational research).[17] Instead, the *School Review* remained concerned with the 'nuts-and-bolts issues' of secondary education—in line with its initial mission statement—well into the 1920s, accepting individual contributions from teachers across the nation alongside wider educational research.[18] Moreover, during the 1920s, the journal 'always had several thousand subscribers', and a national circulation higher than any other professional journal, rendering it a powerful source for assessing the changing attitudes of principals, teachers, and even to some extent (due to the consultative nature of many articles) their students, towards the extra-curriculum.[19]

This dissertation also aims to provide a new understanding of how engagement with the extra-curriculum affected ordinary teachers. It is important not to overlook the fact that the 'fivefold increase' in high-school student numbers between 1910 and 1930 generated a similar national increase in teachers.[20] According to Neil R. Fenske, between 1910 and 1930 the number of high school teachers increased by 512 per cent, from 41,667 to 213,291.[21] Significantly, female teachers accounted for 65 per cent of high school teachers in 1930.[22] Yet of the fifty *School Review* articles pertaining to the extra-curriculum systematically analysed in this study, only approximately one quarter were written by female contributors. This is perhaps reflective of the fact that principals and superintendents tended to be male rather than female, and these educative administrators, together with professors of education, who also tended to be male, made proportionately large contributions to the *School Review*. In this decade, the 'extra-curriculum' was also given treatment in certain specific full-length publications (composed by invariably male authors) that were intended as books of instruction for teachers, as well as in the published proceedings of educative bodies such as the National Society for the Study of Education.[23] In contrast to these more didactic publications, however, the discursive nature of

[17] Wechsler, 'Primary Journal', 90.
[18] Wechsler, 'Primary Journal', 90.
[19] **'**The Relative Standing of the 'School Review'', *SR* 36.2 (1928), 87.
[20] Fenske, *A History,* 46.
[21] Fenske, *A History,* 46.
[22] Fenske, *A History,* 47.
[23] Guy M. Whipple and Leonard V. Koos (eds.), 'Extra-Curricular Activities', *Twenty-Fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II* (Illinois, 1926); Charles R. J. Foster, *Extra-Curricular Activities in the High School* (Virginia, 1925); Quincy Alvin W. Rohrbach, *Non-Athletic Student Activities in the Secondary School* (Maine, 1925); Harold D. Meyer, *A Handbook of Extra-Curricular Activities in the High School* (New York, 1926); Elmer Harrison Wilds, *Extra-curricular Activities* (New York, 1926); Paul W. Terry, *Extra-Curricular Activities in the Junior High School* (New York, 1926).

articles in the *School Review*—and the opinions of its female contributors in particular—is uniquely informative in terms of understanding the everyday experience of high-school teachers.

The national reach and practical application of the *School Review* as a forum for teachers was corroborated by the results of educational researcher James L. LaPoe's 1927 survey of 381 high school principals (in 375 cities across all states in the U.S.) in which the *School Review* was found to be both the most commonly read publication amongst school administrators, and considered to be the most 'helpful' professional journal by respondents.[24] The broad impact of the journal is significant because it enables us to consider whether there was regional variation in the expansion of the extra-curricular experience. The areas which spearheaded the High School Movement (with the highest graduation rates) were not the largest urban centres, but relatively prosperous, 'ethnically homogenous' communities in a region that groups the Pacific states through Utah, Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, Indiana, and across to New England, which Claudia Goldin and Laurence F. Katz refer to as the Education Belt.[25] Although the information contained in the articles of the *School Review* is more detailed in relation to the mid-western, north-eastern and north-western regions of the United States, the final chapter of this dissertation argues that they nevertheless provide evidence of teachers engaging with extensive extra-curriculums in both rural and urban schools, of varying sizes, with different ethnic make-ups, from both within and beyond the edges of the Education Belt.

The first chapter of this dissertation questions how contributors to the *School Review,* and principals in particular, expressed their changing attitudes to the organisation and administration of the growing world of student activities in the high school. It suggests that principals began to discuss extra-curricular activities as a vehicle for transmitting their democratic ideals for the high school, and of 'socialising' their pupils into good citizens through this medium. The second chapter explores the simultaneous recognition by the professional community that the practicalities of running a successful extra-curriculum relied upon the effective cooperation of motivated faculty members, with both their principals and their students. The articles in the *School Review* suggest that the proliferating world of student activities affected the role of the high-school teacher by demanding (or providing the opportunity for) the use of 'soft' skills in order to administer

[24] James L. LaPoe, 'The Senior High-School Principals' Professional Magazines', *Educational Research Bulletin*, 6 (Ohio State University, 1927), 259-61.
[25] Goldin and Katz, *Race,* 328. Appendix 2.

successfully to different types of students in a new, more social, educative arena. With the allotting of formal time-periods and even specific faculty roles to extra-curricular activities, the evidence also suggests that clubs, societies and student publications became an irrevocable part of the fabric of high school life across America during this period. The final chapter employs the available evidence within the *School Review* to draw preliminary conclusions about the extent to which students themselves found the extra-curriculum useful for their own self-expression, and for the expression of a particular high school's identity; suggesting that students wilfully cooperated with each other and with their teachers to shape the extra-curricular activities of their schools in a widespread, collaborative process that they found both formative and meaningful.

Chapter 1

Administration

At the outset of the 1920s, concerns about the negative impact of certain 'wholly social' student organisations on the moral well-being of high-school youths led to the banning and suppression of fraternities, sororities and secret societies in states across America.[26] Yet these 'cliquish' groups represented only one aspect of the proliferating world of student activities. By the middle of the decade, certain contributors to the *School Review* had begun to conduct both qualitative and quantitative investigations into the potential benefits of involvement in extra-curricular activities for the individual development of high-school students, analysing first and foremost the extent to which extra-curricular participation affected students' 'scholarship'.[27] Meanwhile high-school principals in particular used the journal as a medium through which to exchange professional strategies of extra-curricular administration; recounting experiments of how best to organise, centralise and regulate student activities to ensure that 'the bad features [are] suppressed [and] the good features encouraged'.[28] Moreover, as the wider professional community began to accept that group activities were an 'inevitable corollary' of high school life, principals also began to theorise about the potential of the extra-curriculum for transmitting the ideals of 'citizenship' and 'democracy' to high-school students.[29]

Contemporary anxiety about the moral well-being (or, as it was often put, the delinquency) of 'modern' youth in the 1920s stimulated concern about school-based activities that were perceived to be 'wholly social', or without educative ends.[30] Fraternities, sororities, and other secret societies were described by many *School Review* contributors as 'hotbeds' of 'snobbery', 'clannishness' and 'exclusiveness'; these attributes ran contrary to the democratic ideals of the public high school and (in private schools, too) were seen as not 'contribut[ing] in any way to the objectives of Secondary Education'.[31] These objectives had been defined by the National

[26] Glen O. Perkins, 'The Elimination of Fraternities and Sororities in the Tucson High School', *SR* 33.3 (1923), 225; Gertrude Jones, 'Three Principles Underlying the Administration of Extra-Curricular Activities', *SR* 33.7 (1925), 514; Fenske, *A History,* 87.
[27] A. M. Swanson, 'The Effect on High-School Scholarship of Pupil Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities', *SR* 32.8 (1924), 613.
[28] Will E. Wiley, 'Organization of Extra-Curricular Activities as a Device for Training in Citizenship', *SR* 33.1 (1925), 63.
[29] Swanson, 'Effect on Scholarship', 613; Alice L. Dement, 'Values in Extra-curricular Organizations in the High School,' *SR* 32.1 (1924), 40; Wiley, 'Organization', 63.
[30] Savage, *Teenage,* 65.
[31] Jones, 'Three Principles' 514; Perkins, 'Elimination', 225.

Education Association in 1918 as 'health, fundamental processes (literacy, numeracy), worthy home membership, vocation, civic education, and leisure and ethical character.'[32] By 1926, therefore, eighteen states had laws prohibiting fraternities and sororities in secondary schools, with many other schools suppressing them before such laws were passed, often replacing them with new organisations with sanctioned objectives.[33] The *School Review* provided a national forum for teachers to share their strategies of fraternity disbandment. Glen O. Perkins recounted how concerns about these societies in the Tucson High School, Arizona centred around the concept of the school as a democracy, for, 'school elections were being more or less carried out on fraternity lines', and the high school administration had been accused by parents of being 'pro-fraternity'.[34] In this school, secret societies were gradually phased out and replaced by a 'Rousers' Club' and a 'Girls' Social Hour'.[35] These were composed of 'all the boys and girls of the school respectively', and had the chief purposes of building 'school spirit' and aiding the social development of students by hosting speakers addressing 'very essential things not taught in the classroom' such as "The Value of Being Democratic', 'Care of The Body', and (for the Rouser's Club) 'What Girls Like Best About Boys.'[36]

With the suppression of these potentially 'subversive' elements in most high schools, the first step in the transformation of amorphous worlds of student activities into institutionalised 'extra-curriculums' had been taken, yet the moral guardianship of extra-curricular activities remained an enduring feature of their management. Later on in the decade, contributors agreed that even organisations such as literary societies required ongoing monitoring rather than being 'allowed to degenerate', as had been the case in Kearney High School, Nebraska, 'into snobbish cliques which vie with one another in giving elaborate parties at downtown hotels'.[37] The embracing of sanctioned extra-curricular activities, however, did not provide evidence to counter concerns about their potentially negative effect on 'scholarship', leading to investigative articles in the *School Review.*[38] A. M. Swanson, who considered himself a 'scientific educator', began his study

[32] National Education Association, Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education Govt. Printing Office (Washington D.C., 1918), 11.
[33] Fenske, *A History,* 87.
[34] Perkins, 'Elimination', 224-5.
[35] Perkins, 'Elimination', 226.
[36] Perkins, 'Elimination', 226.
[37] Perkins, 'Elimination', 226; Jones, 'Three Principles', 514; C. V. Millard, 'The Regulation of Participation in Extra-Curriculum Activities in the Six-Year High School', *SR* 36.4 (1928), 306.
[38] Dement, 'Values', 40-48; Swanson, 'Effect on Scholarship', 613-26; Walter S. Monroe, 'The Effect of Participation in Extra-Curriculum Activities on Scholarship in the High School', *SR* 37.10 (1929), 742-752.

with the statement that 'no one will deny that these activities in the high school have increased in extent and importance, and with the enormous growth in high-school enrolment, their influence reaches an ever-enlarging group', followed by the assertion that '[s]o far as the writer has been able to examine the literature, there is little evidence that the scientific educator has turned his attention to the relation between extra-curricular activities and scholarship in the high school.'[39]

Swanson and his team pursued a relatively complex, quantitative methodology wherein the scholarly attainment of 498 graduates of the four main high schools in Kansas city was analysed via a system which tracked coefficients of academic attainment versus the extent of participation in extra-curricular activities.[40] Notably, his conclusion that 'participation in extra-curricular activities does not materially affect [high-school] scholarship', was accompanied by the acknowledgement that on average the performance of 'participatory' students was always slightly higher than the wider student body.[41] No doubt in an effort to remain 'scientifically' objective, Swanson readily explained this phenomenon as resulting from the common practice of setting 'minimum scholarship requirements' as standard for participation in certain extra-curricular activities, yet we may also read against the grain of his language to determine a tentative appreciation for the scope of the extra-curriculum to develop the most academically able high school students:

> On the whole, evidence adduced in this investigation points to the thesis that high-school pupils of somewhat more than average intelligence participate in extra-curricular activities, probably as a means of expressing their intelligence beyond the demand of the curriculum, and that such participation does not significantly affect their scholastic standing.[42]

Whilst Swanson's article began with the statement that '[i]t seems safe to assert that few people send their children to high school to participate in extra-curricular activities at the expense of their curricular work', he also concedes that student activities expressed 'elementary tendencies of human nature', and were in a sense inexorable since, '[g]roup action is the inevitable corollary of community of interest and in the school common interests are to be found'.[43] In fact, beliefs in the complementarity of the extra-curriculum to school life had been institutionalised in the Kansas

[39] Swanson, 'Effect on Scholarship', 613.
[40] Swanson, 'Effect on Scholarship', 619.
[41] Swanson, 'Effect on Scholarship', 625.
[42] Swanson, 'Effect on Scholarship', 626.
[43] Swanson, 'Effect on Scholarship', 613.

City high schools where Swanson's study was based, which already 'evaluate[d] some of these activities and assign[ed] to them credit toward graduation'.[44] Similarly, a more qualitative survey by Alice L. Dement found evidence that in sixty-five high schools in California so much effort was being put into raising money for the running of high-school extra-curriculums that 'the organized activities which require these funds for their maintenance must generally be considered indispensable.'[45] Moreover, Swanson's data-collection was only possible due to the recording of the minutiae of students' extra-curricular involvement in (student-edited) high-school annuals, a practice which had become commonplace by the 1920s, demonstrating the significance of this aspect of student life to the high school community.[46] Swanson's investigation, therefore, represented an attempt to provide an evidence-based rationale for an already widespread practice of contemporary school administration; the embracing and management of interest-based student activities as the extra-curriculum.

Unlike Swanson, education professor George S. Counts (Yale University) was acutely aware of the paradoxical situation of high school administrators whose experience of the proliferating extra-curriculum made them increasingly prone to advocating its benefits in improving the health, 'citizenship' and even scholarly achievement of pupils, yet who practiced systems of regulating of extra-curricular participation that expressed a more traditional attitude of subordination to the conventional curriculum. In response to the publishing of the 1926 Twenty-Fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education which included a section entitled '*Extra-Curricular Activities'*, he wrote that '[g]reat numbers of teachers, principals, and superintendents who have observed children engage in these activities have been convinced that valuable educational results are produced.'[47] Moreover, '[t]he contention is often made that they provide excellent training in citizenship, recreation, and health; that they provide discipline and create school spirit; and that they bring numerous other good things into the school.'[48] Despite this attitude, however, the widespread practice of restricting pupils with poor academic attainment from participation in extra-curricular activities continued to embody 'the older view [that] pupil interests are supposed to be destitute of intrinsic educational merit', leading Counts to hypothesise that, surely, '[i]f these activities really possess the values which are commonly ascribed to them, much could be said in

[44] Swanson, 'Effect on Scholarship', 613.
[45] Dement, 'Values', 45.
[46] Swanson, 'Effect on Scholarship', 617. High-school annuals are often referred to as 'yearbooks' in both the U.S. and U.K. today. See Appendix 3 for an example.
[47] Whipple and Koos, 'Extra-Curricular Activities'; Counts, 'Procedures', 413-4.
[48] Counts, 'Procedures', 413.

favour of reversing the principle.'[49] This would seem to provide evidence for Fass' argument that '[i]t is one of the ironies of modern educational policy that as educators recognised the potential for social learning implicit in the peer group, the young were increasingly denied the freedom that made peer activities important to them.'[50] Yet despite Counts' pessimism about the difficulty of translating idealistic notions about the extra-curriculum into practice, there is overwhelming evidence that educators continued to discuss just this problem, of how best to cooperate with students and afford them autonomy in and 'ownership' of their extra-curricular world.[51]

In the early 1920s, many contributors debated the potential for different systems of student government (in which class and grade representatives are elected and are given responsibilities in the decision-making processes of the high school) for providing students with 'training for citizenship', developing a 'democratic spirit', and granting leadership experience to the elected individuals.[52] Metaphors equating student 'citizenship' with adult participation in American society were commonplace in the *School Review*, and, as David Nasaw argues, principals in particular expressed conceptions of the high school as an increasingly powerful and meaningful institution charged with preserving the social ideals of American democracy.[53] By the middle of the decade, as the shift towards more formal engagement with student activities by high school administrations took place, this rhetoric began to be transferred, expanded and adapted to the extra-curriculum (which most contributors began to consider as encompassing student government) as a whole.[54] The questions of student autonomy and citizenship appeared to be a particularly consuming question for principals, who, in schools which had not yet instituted formal roles to administer to it, often oversaw the extra-curriculum, signing off on all decisions pertaining to student organisations, or experimenting by instituting awards for extra-curricular achievement such as the 'citizenship cup' in The Dalles High School, Oregan.[55] Rather than actively denying student freedoms, the conclusions of various articles based on professional experiences warned of

[49] Counts, 'Procedures', 417.
[50] Fass, *Damned and Beautiful,* 213.
[51] Hobson, 'An Experiment', 123.
[52] Frank G., Pickell, 'Training for citizenship through practice,' *SR* 28.7 (1920), 518-28; Frank W. Stahl, 'An experiment in pupil self-government', *SR* 29.7 (1921), 530-33; Floyd Hayden, 'Democracy in high-school government,' *SR* 30.3 (1922), 187-192; J. Kenneth Satchell, 'Student participation in school administration', *SR* 30.10 (1922), 733-41; C. P. Archer, 'School Government as an educative agency,' *SR* 31.6 (1923), 430-38.
[53] R. D. Shouse, 'High-School Clubs', *SR.* 36.2, (1928), 146; Nasaw, *Schooled to Order,* 151.
[54] Wiley, 'Organization', 62-66; Paul W. Terry, 'Administration of Extra-Curriculum Activities in the High School: Part I', *SR* 33.10 (1925), 734-43.
[55] Wiley, 'Organization', 66.

the danger of 'over-faculty supervision'.[56] However, they also conceded that whilst adult 'democracy' was self-administering, systems of 'co-operation' between students and staff were necessary in reality to maintain a balanced high school society, as recognised by the (student and staff) 'Welfare Committee' of Citrus Union High School, Asuza, California:

> We had tried to realize that we are living in a school surrounded by real problems and that we as students and faculty are co-operatively responsible for the solution of these problems and the establishment of ideals in athletics, society, and scholarship.[57]

From the mid-1920s onwards high-school administrators began to take part in a creative process of exploring how best to manage the extra-curriculum in order to maximise its utility. Despite, concerns by 'scientific' educators that a greater evidence-base was necessary to prove the efficiency of the extra-curriculum in meeting desired social and educative outcomes, increasing numbers of principals began to discuss the potential of a properly harnessed extra-curriculum for embodying the social ideals they considered most important to the running of the high school. Although it remains important to question how principals' preoccupation with democratic ideals translated into the reality of student or lesser-faculty engagement with the extra-curriculum, there is nevertheless evidence that principals developed their theories alongside the genuine professional experience of administering directly to growing high school populations. As increasingly centralised, institutionalised systems of extra-curricular management emerged, however, there were not only more students, but more teachers engaged in running them. And principals themselves began to recognise that they could not hope to establish good extra-curricular practice without the cooperation of a motivated faculty and student body.

[56] Hazel M. Harwood, 'Extra-Curricular Activities in High Schools', *SR* 26.4 (1918), 273.
[57] Hayden, 'Democracy', 188-9.

Chapter 2

Engagement

In 1926 a full-length publication by educational researcher Elmer Harrison Wilds began with the following definition:

> Extra-curricular activities are those activities of the school that are outside the traditional curriculum, that have sprung up and developed through the student's own desires and efforts, that are carried on apart from the hours of the regular school program, and that are participated in without the rewards of regular school credit.[58]

Yet this outdated view was misrepresentative of the professional reality of the extra-curriculum, and overlooked the consensus expressed by *School Review* contributors that extra-curricular activities could not play a beneficial role in the high school without the cooperation of motivated faculty sponsors.[59] Indeed, as the place of the extra-curriculum in high schools began to be institutionalised, with many schools allocating slots in the school timetable for meetings of student organisations, the everyday running of glee clubs, debating societies, student publications and other activities required enthusiastic teachers to organise and regulate them.[60] Many *School Review* contributors discussed the social—or what might be referred to today as 'soft'—skills necessary for engagement with pupils in these new, more informal, educational settings.[61] Across the United States, special positions, such as the 'Dean of Girls', were also instituted in many high schools, denoting posts created solely for the management of particular aspects of the extra-curriculum.[62] An increasing number of contributors to the *School Review* agreed that the broadening range of extra-curricular teacher responsibilities afforded faculty members more scope for influencing the individual social, and even vocational, development of different types of

[58] Wilds, *Extra-Curricular Activities*, 4-5.
[59] Harwood, 'Extra-Curricular Activities', 274; R. L. Lyman, 'The Ben Blewett Junior High School of St. Louis: Part II', *SR* 28.2 (1920), 108; Hobson, 'An experiment', *SR* 31.2 (1923), 122; Terry, 'Administration: II of Extra-Curriculum Activities in the High School: Part II', *SR* 34.1, (1926),15.
[60] Grace T. Lewis, 'Centralizing student activities in the high school', *SR* 31.8 (1923), 623; Lyman, 'Ben Blewett Junior High School: II', 107; R. L. Lyman 'The Washington Junior High School, Rochester New York', *SR* 28.3 (1920), 180; 203; Terry, 'Administration: II', 16.
[61] Recent report on the importance of 'soft skills' in U.K. education: Chris Paterson, Claire Tyler and Jen Lexmond, 'Character and Resilience Manifesto', The all-party parliamentary group on Social Mobility (Jan., 2014), 10-12; Grace T. Lewis, 'An 'Every-Girl' Supper', *SR* 32.2 (1924), 134-5; Harwood, 'Extra-Curricular Activities', 279; Nora E. Dodson, 'What Are the Vocational Possibilities in Extra-Curriculum Activities?', *SR* 37.10 (1929), 767; Satchell, 'Student Participation', 736; 'Editorial News and Comment', *SR* 29.4 (1921), 332; Olivia Pound, 'The Social Life of High-School Girls: Its Problems and Its Opportunities', *SR* 28.1 (1920), 50.
[62] Terry, 'Administration: II', 17; Caroline Power, 'The Social Program for the Unsocial High-School Girl', *SR* 32.10 (Dec., 1924), 775.

students, debating approaches to the 'over-social' pupil (who participated in too many extra-curricular activities) and the problem of 'the shy girl' in particular.[63]

Various articles in the *School Review* present evidence that in this decade a large majority (usually around 70 per cent) of students in different high schools participated in at least one (often more) extra-curricular activity.[64] The educational expert and regular contributor to the *School Review,* Paul W. Terry, was doubtful about the ability of regular teaching staff to respond to this demand: 'within recent years […] the program of activities [has] become so extensive that teachers who spontaneously volunteer without encouragement by the administration are not numerous enough to do the work.'[65] As a consequence, he found that 76 of the 231 schools in his 1925 nationwide survey employed one or more members of the faculty to devote their full time to the 'supervision of extra-curriculum activities', in posts such as the 'Dean of Girls'.[66] In one small high school with 'limited means' in St. Louis, Missouri, R. D. Shouse noted that pupil demand had only been met by considering the extra-curriculum when hiring new teachers and 'selecting teachers whose training is such that they can help certain clubs.'[67] Yet teaching faculties were increasingly committed to involving as many pupils as possible in the extra-curriculum, with many schools beginning to allocate a special period (or several) for student activities in the weekly timetable.[68] R. L. Lyman even noted that student activities 'are practically impossible on a scale to include the entire student body except under a definite time allotment', whilst by 1928 R. D. Shouse was confident that '[p]robably no authority in the field of education today would deny that the so-called "extra-curriculum" period is slowly but surely coming into its own' and recounted the institution of the following routine (Fig. 1) for a thirty-five minute period every day at his school:[69]

[63] Pound, 'Social Life', 52; Wilson; Lewis, "Every-Girl' Supper', 134-5; Power, 'Social Program' 778; Shouse, 'High-School Clubs', 143-4.
[64] 73% of the pupils in Alexander Graham Junior High School North Carolina participated in some formal extra-curricular activity, with an average number of memberships per pupil of 2.4: Paul W. Terry, 'The Social Experience of High School Pupils: Part II', *SR* 35.3 (1927), 273; 68% of the total enrolment of at least twenty Californian high schools participated in school activities, of which 49 per cent were boys and 51 per cent were girls: Dement, 'Values', 43.
[65] Terry, 'Administration: II', 17.
[66] Terry, 'Administration: II', 17.
[67] Shouse, 'High-School Clubs', 145.
[68] Terry, 'Administration: II', 16; Lyman, 'Washington Junior High School', 203.
[69] Lyman, 'Washington Junior High School', 203.

TABLE I

PROGRAM OF EXTRA-CURRICULUM ACTIVITIES IN THE NORMANDY HIGH SCHOOL

Day	Junior High School	Senior High School
Monday	Clubs	Clubs
Tuesday	Singing	Class meetings
Wednesday	Class meetings	Singing
Thursday	Assembly for all pupils	Assembly for all pupils
Friday	Clubs	Clubs

Fig. 1: Extra-Curricular Program of Normandy High School, St Louis, Missouri. *SR* 36.2 (1928), 144.

In Terry's view, by devoting school hours to extra-curricular activities, teachers were able to 'manifest their readiness to face the difficulties of responsibility for adolescent pupils under conditions of larger freedom than that which [she] obtains in the classroom.'[70] This opinion was an extension of a professional outlook where the influence of the high school teacher was increasingly recognised as 'social' rather than simply instructive.[71] The Editorial Comment section of the *School Review* in May 1921, for example, suggested criteria for evaluating teachers which reveal the contemporary weight given to the 'soft' skills employed and passed on by secondary educators, asking: '[t]o what extent is the class bettered by the teacher contact? […] Do the pupils show marked individuality, initiative, ability as problem-solvers, or are they mere textbook reciters?'[72] As noted in the introduction to this study, approximately 65 per cent of the teaching force in American high schools in the 1920s was female, yet far fewer women than men contributed articles to the *School Review.*[73] Equally significant was the fact that '[c]onsiderably more girls than boys were in attendance in the upper secondary school grades', with a larger proportion of females than males eventually graduating from high schools, which belittled the rates of female secondary education in other 'developed' nations at the time.[74] When contributing to the *School Review,* female teachers in particular discussed how the professional freedom

[70] Terry, 'Administration: I', 740.
[71] Fenske, *A History,* 46.
[72] Thomas R. Cole, Editorial News and Comment, *SR* 29.4, (1921), 332-33.
[73] Fenske, *A History,* 47.
[74] Goldin and Katz, *Race,* 133.

afforded by extra-curricular activities provided a powerful opportunity to employ 'soft skills' to reach certain problematic types of students.[75]

In contrast to discussions of the 'over-social' pupil, whose participation in extra-curricular activities was seen as either excessively consuming, or affording them too much influence based on their 'popularity', teachers referred to the 'shy', 'anti-social', or 'poor' girl as being noticeably excluded from the social life of the high school.[76] In numerous sources, references were made to the frequency with which girls dropped out of school due to their exclusion from certain extra-curricular activities, or, more specifically, because they were 'unable to "make" the clubs considered most desirable'.[77] Teachers suggested in the *School Review* that this may have been due to a girl being 'too poor to have even a simple dress for social affairs' causing her to 'refuse to enter into school activities', or because of the 'snobbish airs' and cliquishness of certain all-girl societies.[78] The phenomenon was also explained in terms of the gendered stereotype that it is harder to 'socialize' girls than boys because 'tradition has tended to make girls individualistic', or the common perception that 'girls are rather timid'.[79] Nevertheless, the extra-curriculum was recognised as being potentially flexible enough to be personalised to the needs of individual adolescents, and as Olivia Pound concluded in the case of the shy-girl; '[w]hatever the cause, she should, and usually, can be reached through some [non-curricular] activity of the school'.[80]

In 1924, teacher Caroline Power's special article on the subject, 'The Social Program for the Unsocial High-School Girl', concluded that success in integrating 'problem cases' into the social life of the high school depended on the 'soft' skills of faculty members, in this case the Dean of Girls and her team:

> Our reliance in the social program for the neglected girl is not on systems and devices and machinery. Although we begin our procedure with exactly these things, we go beyond them to that which must be the most vital element in any guidance—the personal touch […] Thus it is on the personality of the dean and her fellow-workers that the system finally rests.'[81]

[75] Pound, 'Social Life', 52; Power, 'Social Program', 773; Ella Ehmsen Wilson, 'The Girls' League as an Agency in the Education of High-School Girls', *SR* 33.3 (1925), 208.
[76] Dodson, 'Vocational Possibilities', ; Pound, 'Social Life', 51; Lewis
[77] Pound, 'Social Life', 51; Jones, 'Three Principles', 514; Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown*, 8.
[78] Pound, 'Social Life', 51; Jones, 'Three Principles', 514.
[79] Pound, 'Social Life', 51; Dement, 'Values', 47.
[80] Pound, 'Social Life', 52.
[81] Power, 'Social Program', 778.

The prevailing attitude of vigorous engagement with the extra-curriculum extended the professional sphere of the teacher into a space where both the individual skills and personalities of teachers and students alike were increasingly taken into account. Extra-curricular events such as the 'Every-Girl' Supper described by Grace T. Lewis not only fostered social interaction amongst groups of students themselves (in this case, all the female students of Mount Vernon [coeducational] High School, New York), but provided opportunities for the expression and enjoyment of reciprocal 'friendships to be formed between pupils and teachers that may be begun or developed in common service for a jointly desired end.'[82] In this case, the female teachers were surprised by gifts from the female students.[83] Though only representative of her individual opinion, Lewis was moved by this experience to state that 'the teacher who is content merely to teach has lost the privilege of companionship with young people'.[84]And whilst not so concerned with friendship, teachers such as Nora E. Dodson, of Hazelton Senior High School, Pennsylvania, recognised the possibility for extra-curricular organisations to provide (vocational) guidance and inspiration to high school pupils as long as the teacher involved was able 'to enter into the spirit of the young people whom he is attempting to guide.'[85] Even commentators such as C. V. Millard, who, in 1928, criticised what he saw as the underperformance of current extra-curricular programs, wrote fervently in favour of the need for 'even greater elasticity and variation in the administration of extra-curriculum activities' to ensure that 'the abilities, interests and limitations of each individual will be best served.'[86]

In 1928 M. Barbara Dee compiled an exhaustive list of every club and society that existed in high schools (that chose to respond) across Massachusetts, calculating that the 'ten most common activities' were 'Athletic Association, orchestra, dramatic clubs, school paper, French Club, Debating Club, Girls' Glee Club, Student Council, Glee Club, and baseball'.[87] The results of her survey give great insight into the existence of a breathtakingly varied extra-curricular world that likely affected all members of the school community in some way.[88] Indeed, by the end of the 1920s, individual students and teachers alike were increasingly judged in relation to their ability to participate in the more social, extra-curricular side of high school life. Moreover, the extra-

[82] Lewis, "Every-Girl' Supper', 134-5.
[83] Lewis, "Every-Girl' Supper', 136.
[84] Lewis, "Every-Girl' Supper', 135.
[85] Dodson, 'Vocational Opportunities', 767
[86] Millard, 'Regulation of Participation', 302.
[87] M. Barbara Dee, 'Extra-Curriculum Activities in Massachusetts High Schools', *SR* 36.1 (1928), 47; Appendix 4.
[88] Dee, 'Extra-Curriculum Activities', 51.

curriculum had become a part of the social and physical topography of the school, with times, facilities (auditoriums, stages, music rooms and sports halls), meeting spaces and even particular relationships becoming noticeably associated with extra-curricular activities.[89] Finally, the written contributions of these teachers display various attempts to engage with the needs of a diverse high school student population, and suggest that the proliferating extra-curriculum provided extensive new opportunities for student and teacher collaboration.[90]

[89] Lewis, 'Centralizing Student Activities', 617; Terry, 'Administration: I', 740.
[90] Terry, 'Administration: I', 740; Lewis, "Every-Girl' Supper', 134-5.

Chapter 3
Collaboration

Figures of participation—since many school administrations adopted policies which aimed to involve as many students as possible in at least one extra-curricular activity—cannot fully determine the exact way high-school students themselves conceived of their involvement in the extra-curricular world. Did students find their involvement in extra-curricular activities meaningful or useful, for themselves or their schools? Did they mind teachers getting involved? These questions will not be fully answerable without further localised research into student-produced sources, however, the 'national' reach of the *School Review* and the consultative nature of its professional contributors enables the drawing of some important preliminary conclusions about the widespread, collaborative nature of the extra-curriculum throughout the United States in this period.

In 1922, an article in the *School Review* entitled 'Student Publications in High Schools', commented that 'ten or fifteen years ago few school papers were published, except in the larger high schools. Now student publications of this kind exist in practically all high schools.'[91] The author went on to note that an 'adult member of the school' must necessarily support the publication; it would not be a success, however, without a 'sustained effort' from both 'the student body and the faculty', for, '[w]ithout this, the days and nights of the [student] editors and of the [adult] adviser will be filled with trouble.'[92] Indeed, as articles discussing the implementation of new clubs and societies noted, the 'interest-based' nature of extra-curricular activities was such that they could not survive, or at the very least, thrive, without the active participation of a significant number of students.[93] Two years later, Harry C. McKown presented a study and analysis of 110 handbooks (given to new students and their parents as a guide to the school) 'gathered from high schools in all parts of the United States.'[94] He noted that the single most common feature, contained in 96 of the 110 student-edited handbooks was found to be 'Pupil organizations'(Fig. 2). The significant column space reserved for student organisations is demonstrative of the centrality of this aspect of school life to the way students identified their high schools, just as listing their own extra-curricular activities in high school annuals had become central to their self-identification:

[91] W. C. Reavis, 'Student Publications in High Schools', *SR* 30.7, (Sep., 1922), 514.
[92] Reavis, 'Student Publications', 515-6.
[93] Dement, 'Values', 45; Shouse, ,'High-School Clubs', 144.
[94] Harry C. McKown, 'The High-School Handbook', SR 32.9 (1924), 668-9.

TABLE I

FREQUENCY OF EACH ITEM DISCUSSED IN TEN OR MORE OF 110 HIGH-SCHOOL HANDBOOKS

Item	Frequency	Item	Frequency
Pupil organizations	96	Athletic records	20
Program of studies	81	Names of club officers	20
Date of publication	80	Space for owner's name, etc.	20
School songs	78	Transfer and discharge	20
Names of faculty members	77	Bulletin boards	20
School yells	66	Regents' examinations	20
Attendance regulations	62	Principal's greeting	19
Pupil constitution	54	Visitors	19
Daily schedule	51	School colors	18
Cafeteria or lunchroom	48	Letter wearers	18
Requirements for graduation	48	Admission regulations	18
Organization publishing handbook	48	Telephone regulations	17
College-entrance requirements	47	Aims of the school	16
Fire-drill regulations	47	School building (not directory)	15
Table of contents	46	Advertisements	15
Library information	44	Entering and leaving school	15
School calendar	42	Rules for organizations	15
Rules for athletics	42	Rules for office-holding	14
Directory of building	42	Dedication of book	14
Lockers and wardrobes	40	Smoking regulations	14
History of school	39	Flag salute	14
Pupil schedule blank	39	Employment	13
Marks and marking	38	Pass slips	13
Index	38	Names of members of board of education	12
Lost and found	38	Office rules	12
Scholarships	36	Daily calendar (blank)	12
Promotion and classification	35	Anti-fraternity rule	12
Honor rolls	32	Elevator regulations	12
How to study	31	Use of stairways	11
Reports to parents	31	Book exchanges	11
Registration rules	30	Reading lists (English)	11
Medals and prizes	28	Special equipment (school)	11
Traffic regulations	28	Hospital room	11
Manners and courtesy	27	Alumni association	11
Blank memorandum space	27	School and student creeds	11
Introduction and foreword	26	Trophies	11
Names of handbook staff	26	Care of books	11
Athletics schedules	26	Dress (usually girls')	11
Care of building	24	Definition of credits	11
Home work	23	Evening school	11
Vocational guidance	23	Fees and tuition	11
School counselors	23	Special examinations	10
Study-hall rules	22	Motto	10
Working papers	21	Commutation tickets	10
Pictures in handbook	21	Self-examination scale	10
Textbooks	21	Parking bicycles	10
Examinations	21		

Fig. 2: Analysis of Content of High-School Handbooks. *SR* 32.9 (1924), 670.

The conception of the extra-curricular space, as one not only allowing for individual self-expression but also for expression of the 'school spirit' of a particular high school community is further evident in the *School Review* articles which attempted to record student opinions about

the extra-curriculum more directly.[95] In replies to a survey of 1,212 high school students in Lincoln High School, Nebraska, Gertrude Jones found evidence of extra-curricular activities engendering a positive social atmosphere: in answer to the question '[w]hat benefits and pleasures due you receive from membership in this club?' the most popular response, mentioned by 17 per cent of students, was the 'making of friends and the pleasant association with pupils having interest in common'; whilst '10.9 per cent mentioned their enjoyment in social affairs' and '7.6 per cent said that they had lost their self-consciousness through appearing in programs.'[96] This was contrasted by various (anonymously submitted) student concerns about the extra-curriculum recorded in Alice L. Dement's 1924 article based on a questionnaire sent to sixty-five high schools in California.[97] The examples of student comments printed therein were 'selected [by Dement] as representing the most typical of the useful suggestions offered'.[98] One student noted that:

> [t]here is a noticeable lack of faculty advice and management in this school. The Orphean Club is dead because of the lack of a faculty leader. The Forum feels distinctly a lack of advice, and a competent coach is necessary to build up debating. Surely debating has as much right to a coach as athletics![99]

Others were concerned with the plight of the shy-girl in particular, for example:

> [i]t seems that there are only a few who can take part in the organizations now existing. There should be some organizations for girls only, as some girls are timid and do not care to be around the organizations where boys are.[100]

And finally, students expressed dissatisfaction with the state of social affairs in their particular schools, noting, for example, '[t]he school has a tendency to be cliquish. There are not enough all-school activities to give the pupils school spirit', and also suggesting that:

> [a]n improvement in the student-body organization would be effected if the officers were elected for their capability and not for their popularity, as has been the case in the past. This would extend the privilege of holding office to a greater number. And if officers were more capable, they would be better able to bring about the student co-operation which is needed.[101]

Whilst we cannot know what kind of comments Dement chose to exclude, there is little reason to doubt that the various groupings of 'typical' student opinions were faithfully transcribed. The fact

[95] Satchell, 'Student Participation', 736; Dement, 'Values', 46-48; Gertrude Jones, 'Survey of Extra-Curriculum Activities in the High School', *SR* 34.10 (1926), 742.
[96] Jones, 'Survey', 741.
[97] Dement, 'Values', 40-48.
[98] Dement, 'Values', 46.
[99] Dement, 'Values', 46-7.
[100] Dement, 'Values', 47.
[101] Dement, 'Values', 48.

that these groupings correspond so closely to the concerns expressed by teachers in general—emphasising the need for adequate adult supervision, the problem of monopolisation by 'over-social' or 'popular' pupils, and the fact that certain individuals, particularly 'timid' girls, may feel excluded—suggests that these were genuine issues recognised by all stake-holders in the collaborative exercise of practicing and managing extra-curricular activities. Critically, the vocabulary of these student concerns also points to the young people's awareness (perhaps due to the extra-curricular experience of their peers in other schools) of the ways the extra-curriculum could be better managed to improve upon the social and educative experience of their high schools.

The contributions to the *School Review* that make an effort to relay students' points of view should not be accepted as wholly representative of student voices across America. Nevertheless, these articles, wherein data has been directly collected from students, are comparatively more useful than the anecdotal assertions of other contributors, or indeed, than the opinion of other commentators (in the 1920s and more recently) who have based their research on relatively slim bodies of sources. The pioneering sociological study of Muncie, Indiana, known as *Middletown,* provided a wealth of source material for social commentators, and later, historians, concerned with the lived experience of America's youth in the 1920s.[102] Without reflecting the depth of *Middletown's* methodological rigour, however, many of these writers uncritically magnified the thoughtful conclusions of Robert and Helen Lynd onto a wider national scale.[103] Yet the Lynds had chosen the site of their study based on specific limiting criteria, having sought a city with '[a] small Negro and foreign-born population', because, '[i]n a difficult study of this sort it seemed a distinct advantage to deal with a homogenous, native-born population, even though such a population is unusual in an American industrial city.'[104] In contrast, whilst the *School Review* articles assessed here provide comparatively higher coverage of the Northeast, Mid-West and Northwest regions of the United States, with fewer specific contributions analysing schools in the Southern States; high schools with heterogenous social and ethnic make-ups, many beyond the core of the Education Belt, are nevertheless well represented.

[102] Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in American Culture,* (Florida, 1929).
[103] Ostrander, *American Civilization*, especially the chapter 'The Technological Filiarchy', 273-353; Lynn Dumenil, *The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s,* 74; May, *Shifting Perspectives,* 411.
[104] Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown*, 8.

J. Kenneth Satchell's article, based on questionnaires filled out by 150 students of Radnor City High School, Wayne, Pennsylvania, provides evidence of students' own observations about the unifying power of extra-curricular activities (providing that they were properly administered).[105] He quotes, for example, a student's opinion that her school's 'Students' Association' (responsible for extra-curricular management) was 'undoubtedly a success' at combatting her school's 'inherent' difficulties such as the following:

> [o]ur school is composed of students of very different races and nationalities—mostly foreign-born. The first problem, of course, would be assimilation, before these different types of girls can form into a unit association. The need of unity would, of course, not be nearly so great in curricular activities, where the object striven for is so very impersonal […] Second, to most of us foreigners, any form of self-government is extremely new. Most of our foreign-born parents never knew of any such thing as citizenship.[106]

Although there are traces in this extract of the American democratic idealism that teachers at her school may have wished to transmit to their students, this example nevertheless displays a student making comments that were firmly rooted in the reality of her individual school environment, and the powerful image of a hopeful adolescent—who identifies herself as a 'foreigner'—striving for 'unity' in what she sees as the more personal world of the extra-curriculum.

A similar high school, this time in Rochester, New York, was analysed by educational researcher R. L. Lyman, who states that 'ninety per cent of the 1,650 children are of foreign-born parentage, 50 per cent Jewish, 20 per cent Italians, 20 per cent Poles and Germans, and come from homes of the industrial classes.'[107] Lyman also notes that the school 'recognises the distinct obligation of fitting the children who cannot continue in school to enter industrial and civil life as well equipped as possible' and provides extensive vocational counselling.[108] In this environment, the sizeable list of extra-curricular activities (under definite time-period allotment) had a special place in the 'socializing model' of the school, which was aimed first and foremost to provide adequate facilities to ensure that students saw it as both useful and enjoyable to stay in school for as long as possible, with 'membership of the clubs disregard[ing] all department and grade distinctions.'[109] Similarly, in a study of another urban high school, this time further south in Missouri, Lyman noted

[105] Satchell, 'Student Participation', 736.
[106] Satchell, 'Student Participation', 736-7.
[107] Lyman, 'Washington Junior High School', 178.
[108] Lyman, 'Washington Junior High School', 179.
[109] Lyman, 'Washington Junior High School', 203.

that teachers at the school observed how 'spontaneous and natural associations of playground and extra-curriculum activities apparently break indiscriminately across intellectual and vocational groupings.'[110] The unifying power of the extra-curriculum, though idealised, therefore, was not wholly idealistic.

The articles analysed above provide evidence that students were active participants in the shaping of the extra-curricular experience of the high school, but also that they shared many of the same concerns as the adults helping them to administer to it. Despite certain limitations in the geographical reach of its case-studies, the content of the *School Review* suggests that the extra-curricular experience proliferated beyond the edges of the Education Belt, and affected students (and teachers) in rural, urban, large and small high schools. Significantly, student testimonies collected by certain contributors suggest that students appreciated the particular power of the extra-curricular world in unifying—through common interest—the disparate elements of their high school communities, particularly in urban high schools in industrial settings with diverse student bodies. Whilst we cannot assume to have recreated a full picture of students' 'lived experience' of the extra-curriculum via these heavily-vetted sources, they provide further reason to question the assumption that the adolescent high school community of the 1920s strove only for youthful independence. Indeed, we have seen that at times, students actively pursued teacher guidance and regulation in the extra-curricular world, just as teachers actively attempted to shape the extra-curriculum to the needs and interests of their students.

[110] R. L. Lyman, 'The Ben Blewett Junior High School of St. Louis: Part I', *SR* 28.1 (1920), 28.

Conclusion

Although her study dealt primarily with the experience of peer culture in the many expanding colleges of the 1920s, Paula Fass touched upon the development of a cultural discourse of 'youth' in this decade, fuelled by the media, and catalysed by the projection of adult anxieties about societal change onto this newly-identified social grouping:

> in the twenties, while the schools were intensifying peer interaction and emulation, and national communications were linking up youth groups nationwide through common styles and fads, the advertisers increased the interest in youth generally and helped to spread youth styles and interests to the population at large […] Between condemnation and emulation, the young had become one way for adults to demonstrate their own conscious adjustment to change.[111]

Yet Fass' assessment, perhaps influenced by the advertisers and popular commentary that she references, is limited in its dichotomous assumption about adult responses to youth culture. As we have seen, the high-school extra-curriculum was a space wherein teachers were collaborating with, and, essentially, shaping youth culture in ways that are not adequately represented by the extremes of 'condemnation' nor 'emulation'. Indeed, the content of the *School Review* suggests that teacher involvement in the social development of their pupils via engagement with student activities was far more complex. As student activities proliferated in the ever-growing high schools of 1920s America, principals began to regulate, authorise and encourage centralised extra-curricular programs, seeing this as a way to foster their preferred social ideals of 'citizenship' and 'democracy' within the school community. The resulting institutionalisation of extra-curricular activities provided a new, more 'personal' educative space in which students and teachers could interact with each other. Many contributors to the *School Review* expressed an appreciation of the meaning and importance of the broadening high-school extra-curricular experience across the United States. They noted, for example that (according to the 'Cleveland recreational survey'), 'the ordinary individual makes but few additions to his repertoire of recreational and leisure interests after his school days are over'; and recognised that extra-curricular activities affected the whole school community by 'absorb[ing] the attention of non-participants'.[112] Teachers, therefore, both understood and took part in the transformation that saw clubs, societies and school publications becoming a major feature of the every-day life of the American high school; a feature which has,

[111] Paula S. Fass, *Damned and Beautiful*, 129.
[112] Counts, 'Procedures', 420; Monroe, 'Effect of Participation', 752.

for the most part, remained an important part of the deeper formative experience of many American youths today.

Implicit in teacher discussions of the period was the awareness youth 'culture' did not arise independently of youth 'context', similarly, a history of youth experience in 1920s high schools cannot exclude an analysis of the high-school environment. Further historical enquiry into the role of the extra-curriculum in different types of high school; in the Southern states of the U.S.; from student-produced sources such as the extensive—and fascinating—available archives of high-school annuals; or comparisons with other regions and later decades would deepen our understanding of the interweaving of teachers into the social fabric of adolescent high-school experience. Today, discourses about the power of extra-curricular activities to teach 'soft' (also known as 'non-cognitive') skills, and to enhance both the educative experience and employability of young people are returning to the centre of Anglo-American debates exploring how best to reform our education systems to combat inequality.[113] Some of these views are not dissimilar to those expressed by the professionals writing in the *School Review.* In 1926, Terry recorded that '[p]rospective employers often make enquiries concerning this side [that is, the extra-curricular side] of a pupil's school career', whilst other contributors noted the power of extra-curricular activities to help students discover their 'vocation', or even, quite simply, to keep them interested in school.[114] When trying to decipher the forces which shape the lives of young people it is therefore important to note that, in this period of the early twentieth century, it was not simply the interests or initiative of teenagers themselves, but the enthusiasm of many of their teachers that made the growth of an extensive extra-curricular world feasible, acceptable and meaningful in high schools across the United States.

[113] Paterson, Tyler and Lexmond, 'Character and Resilience Manifesto', 10-12; Leslie Morrison Gutman and Ingrid Schoon, 'The Impact of Non-Cognitive Skills on Outcomes for Young People: Literature Review', Institute of Education (Nov., 2013); James J. Heckman and Alan B. Krueger, *Inequality in America: What Role for Human Capital Policies?* (Massachusetts, 2005); Jo Blanden, Paul Gregg and Lindsay McMillan, 'Accounting for Intergenerational Income Persistence: Noncognitive Skills, Ability and Education', *Economic Journal,* Royal Economic Society, 117.519 (2007), 43-60.

[114] Terry, 'Administration: II', 22; Monroe, 'Effect of Participation', 752; Dodson, 'Vocational Possibilities', 768.

Appendix 1

School Review Articles Pertaining to the Extra-Curriculum by Year (in order of appearance): 1920-1929

1920

Olivia Pound, 'The Social Life of High-School Girls: Its problems and Its Opportunities', 28.1 (Jan., 1920), 50-56.
R. L. Lyman, 'The Ben Blewett Junior High School of St. Louis Part I,' 28.1 (Jan., 1920), 26-40.
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Editorial News and Comment, 29.4 (May. 1921), 321-34.
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Cloy S. Hobson, 'An Experiment in Organization and Administration of High-School Extra-Curricular Activities', 31. 2 (Feb., 1923), 116-124.
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Alice L. Dement, 'Values in Extra-Curricular Organizations in the High School,' 32.1 (Jan., 1924), 40-48.
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Caroline Power, 'The Social Program for the Unsocial High-School Girl', *School Review,* 32.10 (Dec., 1924), 773-78.

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Will E. Wiley, 'Organization of Extra-Curricular Activities as a Device for Training in Citizenship', 33.1 (Jan., 1925), 62-66.

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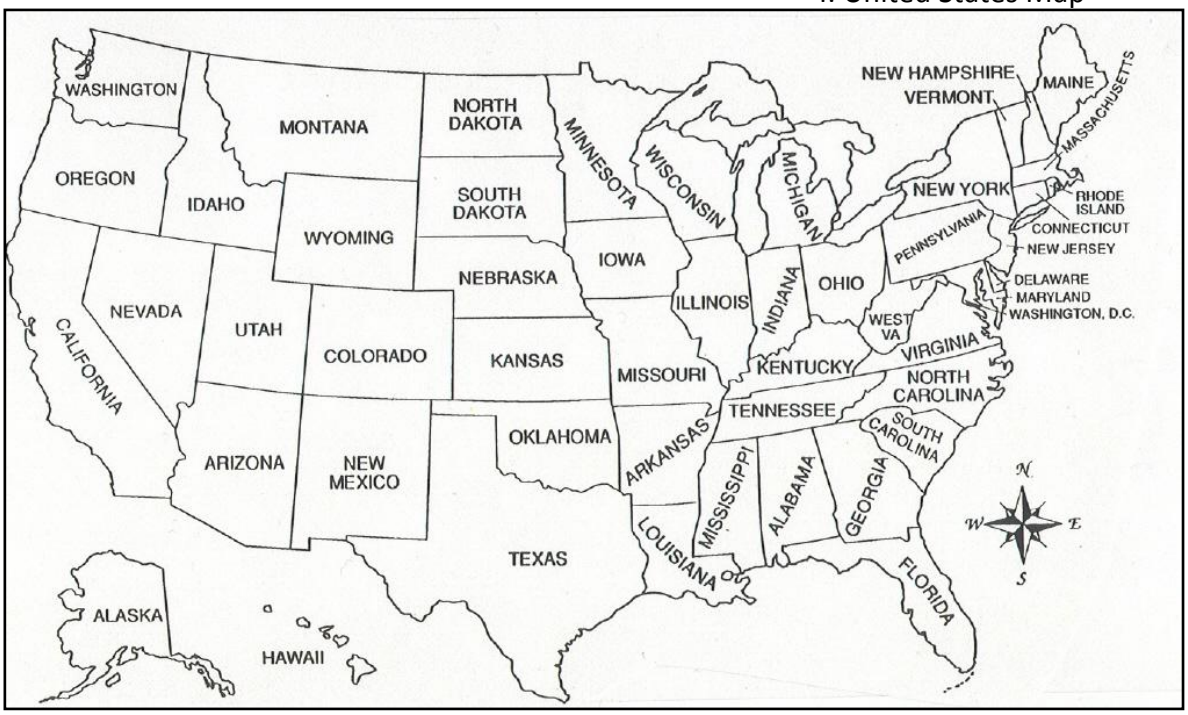
Nora E. Dodson, ‘What Are the Vocational Possibilities in Extra-Curriculum Activities?’, 37.10 (Dec., 1929), 767-70.

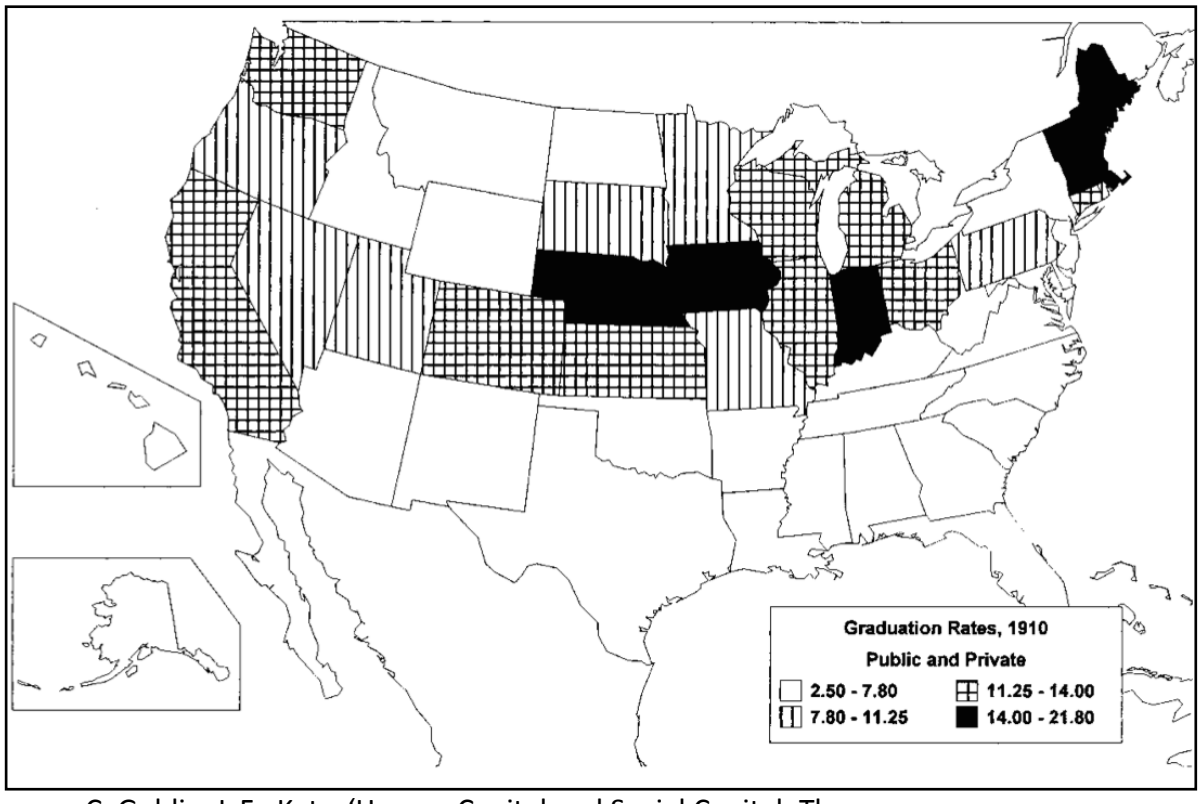
Appendix 2

Visual Representations of High-School Graduation Rates Showing the Education Belt During the High School Movement 1910 and 1928

I: United States Map



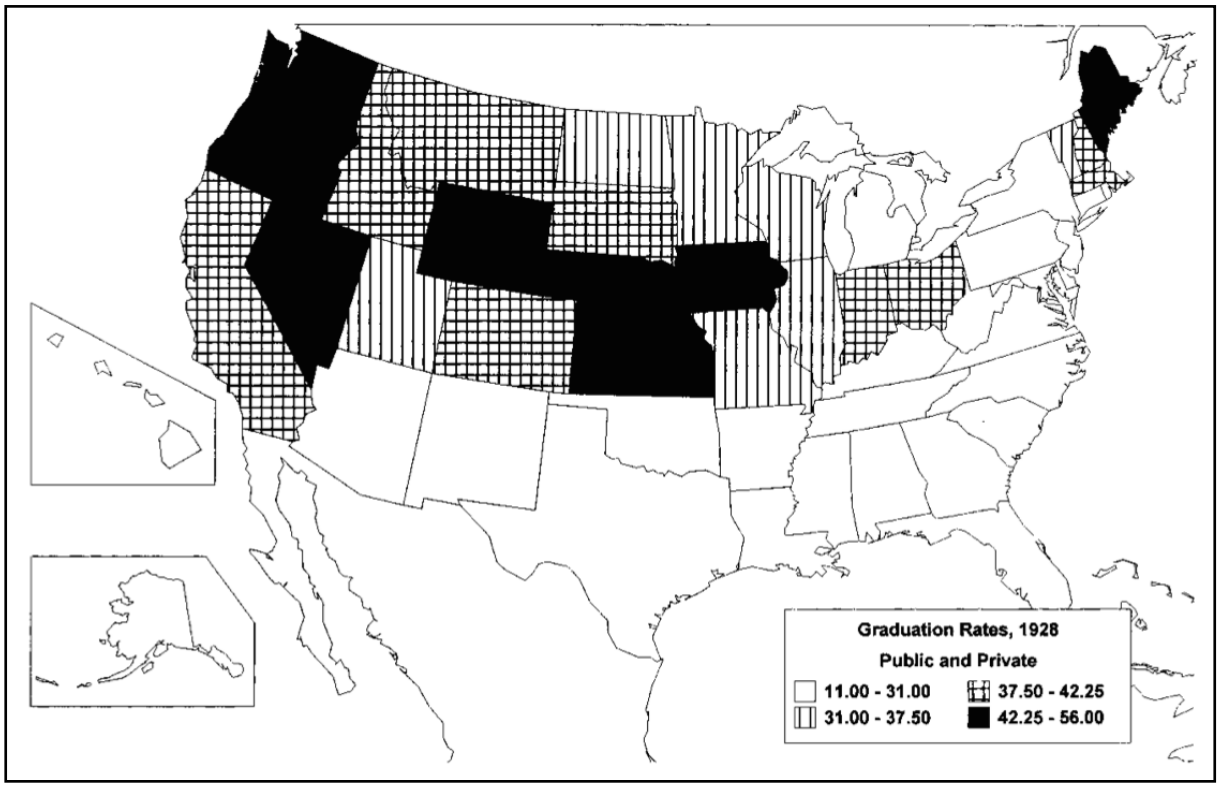
II: Public and Private Secondary School Graduation Rates, 1910



Source: C. Goldin, L.F. Katz, 'Human Capital and Social Capital: The

Rise of Secondary Schooling in America, 1910 to 1940', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29.9 (1999), 719.

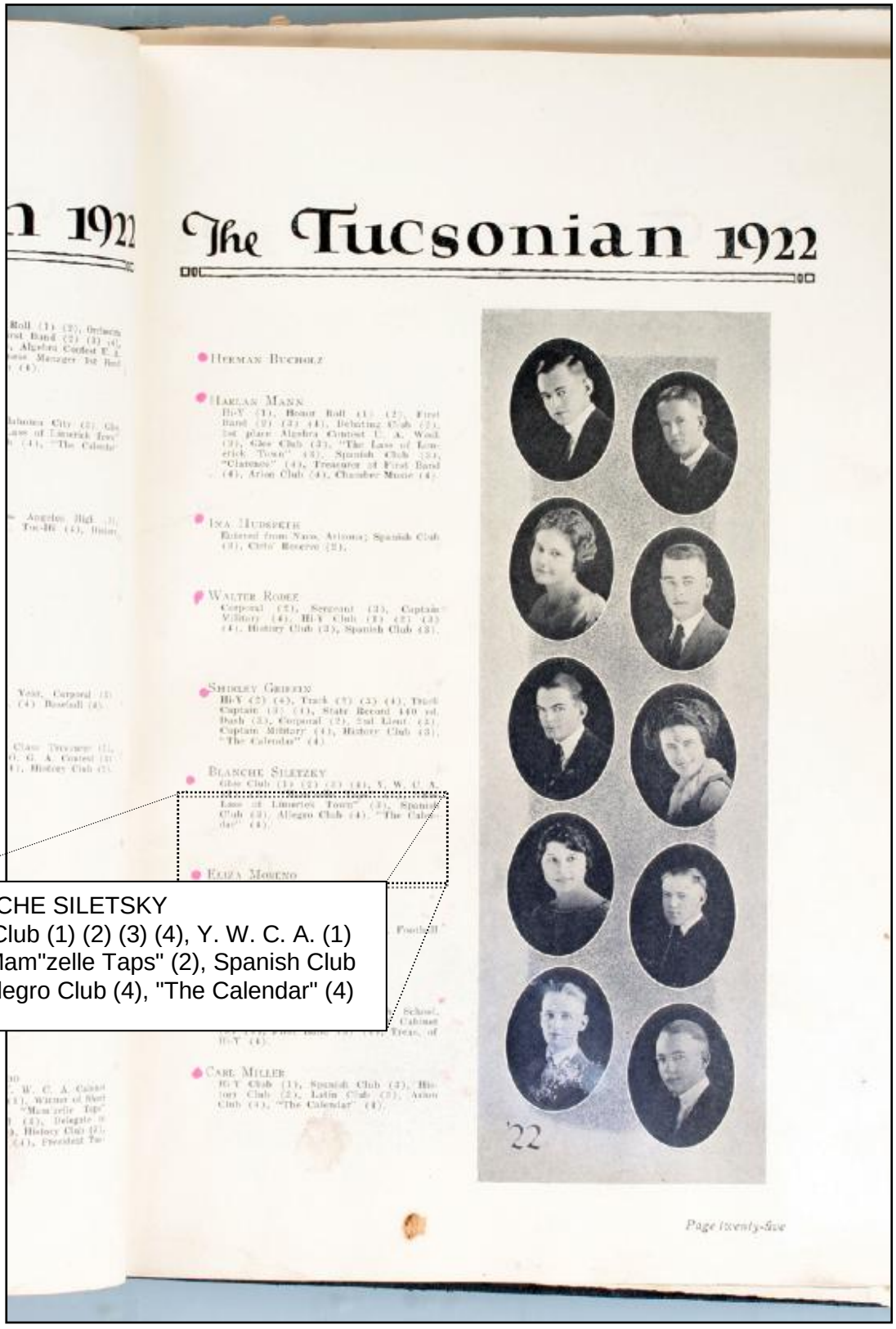
II: Public and Private Secondary School Graduation Rates, 1928



Source: C. Goldin,
L.F. Katz, 'Human Capital and Social Capital: The Rise of Secondary Schooling in America, 1910 to 1940', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29.9 (1999), 719.

Appendix 3

Example of Extra-Curricular Activities in a Student-Edited High School Annual: Tucson High School, Arizona (1922)



BLANCHE SILETSKY
Glee Club (1) (2) (3) (4), Y. W. C. A. (1) (3), "Mam"zelle Taps" (2), Spanish Club (3), Allegro Club (4), "The Calendar" (4)

Source: Arizona Memory Project: azmemory.azlibrary.gov. Last Accessed: 20/04/14.
Magnification added to display detail of one student's extra-curricular record. Numbers in brackets refer to the grades in which the student was a member of each club or society.

Appendix 4

M. Barbara Dee, 'Extra-Curriculum Activities in Massachusetts High Schools' (1928)

High Schools were classified according to size. Class I, more than five hundred pupils; Class II, two hundred to five hundred pupils; Class III, one hundred to two hundred pupils; Class IV, fifty to one hundred pupils; Class V, less than fifty pupils.

TABLE I

NAMES AND NUMBERS OF ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SCHOOLS IN EACH CLASS

Organization	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Total
Athletic Association	32	29	28	29	12	130
Dramatic clubs	28	18	9	9	2	66
Orchestra	36	43	27	7	3	116
School paper	23	13	10	7	2	55
Band	16	5	1	.....	.....	22
Girls' Glee Club	13	12	10	4	3	42
Boys' Glee Club	11	7	8	.....	3	29
French Club	18	13	10	8	1	50
Debating Club	26	14	5	3	.....	48
Student Council	15	7	7	3	1	33
Science Club	11	10	2	3	.....	26
Literary Club	7	4	6	1	1	19
Spanish Club	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
German Club	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	6
Mathematics Club	5	1	1	.....	.....	7
English Club	8	4	.....	1	.....	13
Football	6	8	3	2	.....	19
Baseball	4	9	5	7	2	27
Track	3	5	.....	1	.....	9
Basket-ball	2	4	1	6	.....	13
Girls' basket-ball	1	4	3	2	.....	10
Field hockey	1	2	2	.....	.....	5
Class organizations	6	2	2	4	1	15
Boys' debating	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	8
Girls' debating	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	6
Commercial Club	5	9	4	2	1	21
Traffic Squad	4	1	2	.....	.....	7
Girls' Athletic Club	2	3	2	2	1	10
Boys' basket-ball	.....	4	3	.....	.....	7
Athletes Club	1	1	.....	.....	.....	2
Athletic Letter Club	4	2	.....	.....	.....	6
Athenian Club	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Ex Libris	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Belmontians	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Art Club	2	3	.....	.....	.....	5
Glee Club	1	16	9	5	2	33
Girls' Council	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
School publication	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Everybody Helps	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Stamp Club	4	.....	1	.....	.....	5
Library Club	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Chess Club	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	3
Checker Club	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Ski Club	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Senior Sorority	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Junior Sorority	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Lyceum	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Girls' English Club	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Technical Club	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Cadets	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Institute	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Roosevelt Club	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Service Council	1	1	.....	.....	.....	2

TABLE I—*Continued*

Organization	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Total
Student Activities Society	1					1
Philomathean Club	1					1
Camera Club	2		2			4
Home Economics Club	3		1			4
Greek Club	2					2
Civics Club	1		1		1	3
Salesmanship Club	1					1
Travel Club	2	1				3
Physics Club	1					1
Chemistry Club	2		1			3
Agricultural Club	2					2
Radio Club	5		1	2		8
Drum Class	1					1
Musical Club	1	1	1	1		4
Trumpet and Drum Corps	1					1
Service Club	3					3
Congress	1		1			2
After Dinner Speaking	1					1
Electrical Club	1					1
Sewing Club	1		1		1	3
Business Administration Club	1					1
Story Telling Club	2					2
Athletic Council	1	2				3
Court of Justice	1	1				2
Modern Language Club	3					3
Polish Club	1					1
Assembly	1					1
Journalism Club	1	1				2
Senior Girls' Club	1					1
Library Council	1		1			2
Girls' Officers Association	1					1
High School Savings	1	2				3
Honor Society	2					2
Girls' Literary Club	1					1
Live Wires Organization	1					1
Junior Aircraft Club	1					1
Usona	1	1				2
"Coz"	1					1
College Club	1					1
Normal School Club	1					1
Household Arts Club	3	3				6
Euclidean Club	1					1
Hi-Y	1	2	2	1	1	7
General Science Club	1					1
History Club	3	1	1		1	6
Alpha-Beta	1					1
Social Studies Club	1					1
Chorus	1					1
Etiquette Club	1					1
Public Speaking	1					1
Thalia	1					1
Big Sister Club	1					1
Prose Club	1					1
Student Association			3	4		7

TABLE I—*Continued*

Organization	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Total
Poetry Club	1					1
Gun Club	1		1	2		4
Quids	1					1
Mandolin Club	1		1			2
Sketch Club	1	1				2
French and German Club	1					1
Banjo Club	1					1
Foreign Language Club	1	1				2
Boys' public speaking	1					1
Girls' public speaking	1					1
Junior scholarship	1					1
Botany Club	1					1
Music Club	1					1
Economics Club	1					1
Blackfriars	1					1
Britomart	1					1
Girls' Literary and Social Club	1					1
Magazine		3	4	1		8
Girls' Club		2	1			3
Annual		1				1
French and Spanish		1				1
Busy Bees		1				1
Latin Club	1	2	1	2		6
Boys' Double Quartet		2				2
Boys' Quartet		2				2
Press Club		1		1		2
Ethics Club		1				1
Argument Club		1				1
Quest Club		1				1
Arts and Crafts Club		1	1	2	1	5
Welliads		1				1
Girls' track		1				1
Operetta Society		1				1
Rifle Club		1				1
Boy Scouts		1				1
Current Events Club		2		1		3
Commercial Law Club		2				2
Sportsmanship Club		1		1		2
Sports Club		1				1
4-H Club		2			1	3
Gregg Club		1				1
Hockey		3				3
B.A.A.		3	2	3	1	9
Debating Council		1				1
Gold Medal Club		1				1
Business Club		1				1
Prohibition Club		1				1
Wai Loh Club		1				1
Open Ledger Club		1				1
Girls' Harmony Class		1				1
Girl Scouts			1			1
Poultry Club			3	4	2	9
Children's Theatre Company			1			1
Cartooning Club			1			1

TABLE I—*Continued*

Organization	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Total
Folk song and dance	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Shorthand Club	.....	.....	2	1	.....	3
Students' Pen Club	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Supper Club	.....	.....	1	2	.....	3
Instrumental Club	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Junior Assembly	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Violin Club	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Prize Speaking	.....	.....	1	1	.....	2
Ride and Drive Club	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Fencing Club	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Girls' Tumbling Club	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Izaak Walton Club	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Friday Club	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Outing Club	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Camp Fire Girls	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Girls' Clothing Club	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2
Reading Club	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Junior League	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Stenography-typewriting	.....	.....	.....	1	1	2
Ukelele Club	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Theta Delta	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Tennis Club	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Lunch Club	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Audubon Club	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Book Club	1	1	.....	1	.....	3
Boys' orchestra	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Boys' band	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Physical Culture Club	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2
Hikers' Club	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Farm Bureau Club	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Assembly	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Total	441	318	209	151	48	1,167
Number of different organizations	124	76	62	50	26	192

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