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I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared under my supervision by WALLACE H. MAW

entitled FIFTY YEARS OF SEX EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES (1900-1950): A HISTORY OF IDEAS

be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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FIFTY YEARS OF SEX EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES (1900-1950): A HISTORY OF IDEAS

A dissertation submitted to

The Graduate Faculty of the Teachers College
of the University of Cincinnati

in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

1953

by

Wallace H. Maw
B. A., Ohio Wesleyan University, 1939
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CHAPTER I

PURPOSE AND PLAN OF STUDY

Purpose of Study

It is the purpose of this study to examine the ideas, expressed in educational and related literature, regarding sex education in the public schools of the United States of America during the period 1900 to 1950. It is also the purpose of this investigation to show to what extent, if any, these ideas changed during that period, and to show the sex education movement in the public schools in the broader social and intellectual setting in so far as this bears upon the problem of sex and relations between the sexes. In order to do this, the following questions are investigated:

1. What is the chronological development of the sex education movement in the public schools during the period 1900 to 1950?

2. What were the principal ideas expressed regarding sex education in the public schools during the period 1900 to 1950, and to what extent, if any, have these ideas changed?

3. What was the intellectual and social setting in which sex education developed in the public schools of the United States during the period 1900 to 1950?

Basic Assumptions

Since this investigation is a history of ideas expressed

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in educational and related literature regarding sex education in the public schools and the broader social and intellectual setting of these ideas, it is predicated on the assumption that distinct ideas and distinct aspects of the related social and intellectual setting can be identified clearly enough to permit their being traced over the proposed fifty year period.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study, it is necessary to adopt specific meanings of the terms "sex education," "educational and related literature," "public schools," and "ideas."

The phrase "sex education," as used in this study, includes all educational measures which "may help humans of any age, and especially in childhood and youth, prepare to meet life problems which result from the natural relations of the sexes." [1] In other words, "sex education," as used in this study, has broad connotations. Data for this study were collected and reported in terms of this broad definition.

When writers indicated that they were concerned with a more specific area within the total problem, several devices were used to make clear the special sense in which they were using the term "sex education." In some cases, the context in which the term was used served to indicate its specific

---

[1] M. A. Bigelow, "Sex Education in America Today," Journal of Social Hygiene, 24 (December, 1938), 527-32.

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meaning. Sometimes, the sense in which the writers were using the term was pointed out specifically. At other times, more descriptive terms were used. For example, "venereal-disease control" and "sex hygiene" were used when the authors were concerned with education that would help curb the spread of venereal infections. "Sex instruction" was used when the chief concern was teaching elementary information regarding the sex organs and reproduction. "Family-life education" was used when the marital problems of sex were discussed, and "human relations education" was used when broader social aspects of sex were considered.

The phrase "educational and related literature" is defined as including any literature that teachers interested in sex education might read in order better to understand the problem. This literature includes such material as professional educational journals and books; textbooks on the elementary, secondary and collegiate levels; proceedings, addresses, and reports of national education groups; books on child and parental relationships; books on child development; and any books, pamphlets, courses of study, and other aids that teachers might use with children and youth in teaching and guidance in sex education. In addition, research is included regarding problems of sex, as well as reports from such groups as the mental and social hygiene societies, and histories, reports and discussions of sex education in terms of its intellectual

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and social setting.

Public schools, as considered in this investigation, are tax supported institutions of the elementary and secondary levels. The public schools, however, extend into the community and any problem of sexual adjustment which is in any way a problem of the schools is considered in this investigation. For example, many times the training of parents to teach their children about sex is conducted by parent-teacher associations. This aspect of the problem, therefore, is included in this study. Where the colleges handle problems regarding sex education which eventually influence sex education in the elementary and secondary schools, such treatment of the problems is considered as being within the scope of the present study. This is also true for any pre-school training that would lead to better relations between the sexes when the child attends the elementary and secondary schools.

"Ideas" are considered, in this investigation, as beliefs or concepts held regarding what sex education should be in the public schools. For example, those writers who feel that sex education should consist of preaching to children and youth about the sins of sex are considered to hold ideas that are classified as ideas of reward and punishment. Likewise, those writers who believe that better sexual adjustment results from helping children and young people better to understand the problems of others are considered as holding

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the idea of sex education as an aspect of human relations. "Ideas" considered in this study do not include ideas concerning such aspects of education as: curriculum, methods, administration, personnel, and supervision.

Justification of Study

A study of ideas as to sex education in the public school in the United States may be justified on the following bases:

1. Curriculum trends as well as social trends have given increased emphasis to the part of the public school in sex education. Many school administrators, teachers, students of education, and others are in need of orientation in the field of sex education. This means that evidence which can help to interpret the entire problem is needed. This study provides such data by presenting contemporary ideas regarding sex education in terms of their development.

2. No publication has been located which describes the different ideas regarding sex education in the public schools in terms of their social and intellectual settings. Since organized activities in the field of sex education began almost fifty years ago, sufficient time has now elapsed to justify a study of changes which have taken place in professional views of sex education in the public schools.

3. The personal attitudes which are brought to discussions of sex education are the result of our complex

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culture. These attitudes are frequently emotional rather than intellectual. An historical approach tends to result in an intellectual rather than an emotional attitude toward problems. This study points out not only historic trends, but also factors related to these trends.

4. Histories of ideas or problems are not as common as histories chiefly concerned with events. The histories of educational thought that have been written have provided valuable insights in their respective areas. It may be assumed that a history of ideas as to sex education in the public schools of the United States may have similar values.[2, 3, 4, 5, 6]

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[2] John S. Brubacher, Modern Philosophies of Education. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939.

[3] P. R. Cole, A History of Educational Thought. London: Oxford University Press, 1931.

[4] Harvey C. Townsend, Philosophical Ideas in the United States. New York: American Book Company, 1934.

[5] Robert Ulich, History of Educational Thought. New York: American Book Company, 1945.

[6] Elmer H. Wilds, The Foundations of Modern Education. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1942.

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Limitations of Study

This study is concerned with the ideas expressed or implied in educational and related literature regarding sex education in the public schools of the United States during the period 1900 to 1950. The investigation is restricted to that literature necessary to answer the three questions raised in setting the purpose for this research. With the exception of a few journals and books published in England and Canada and circulated in the United States, all the literature reviewed was published in the United States. The literature is restricted in the main to material of national interest as attested by its appearance in national journals or in books and other forms printed for wide distribution. Material of local interest, which was mentioned in publications of national appeal and which could be used for illustrative purposes, is included. While all articles appearing in educational journals of national scope and listed in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature and the Educational Index as published between 1900 and 1950 under "Sex Education" or "Sex Instruction" and all books listed in the Cumulative Book Index for the same period under similar headings were scanned, other material mentioned on page 3 was sampled when mentioned in the books and articles or when further information was needed to answer questions raised in the reading. No attempt was made to read all such literature, but every effort was

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made to sample widely and to read original material when authors of books and articles mentioned such material as being helpful to them. The literature was limited to material bearing on the public schools, interpreted broadly, as indicated in the definition on page 3. The study does not include accounts of the development of ideas regarding sex education in private and parochial schools, in institutions of higher learning, in the home, and in other social and religious agencies. A study of any one of these areas might be the subject of another investigation.

This study is not a survey of sex education programs in operation in public schools at any particular dates. The research was conducted to find out what ideas were expressed regarding such education, whether or not the ideas were ever put into practice.

The study is concerned with aspects of the social and intellectual setting of the sex education movement in so far as these topics provide background for understanding the changes in ideas. A complete discussion of all the possible relationships between these topics and changes in the ideas expressed toward sex education in the public schools is not possible and is not attempted.

The investigation is restricted to the period between January 1, 1900, and January 1, 1950, because within these fifty years have occurred practically all of the developments

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in this field of public education. The impact of sex education on the schools was not felt before 1900. The few activities in this field that took place prior to this date, however, are briefly reviewed.

Procedure of Study

An intensive study was first made to see if any other studies similar to the one undertaken had been conducted. As far as could be determined, no investigations have been made that dealt with sex education in the public schools in a manner similar to the present study. Smaller histories of segments of the sex education problem have been published. Major treatises also have been written about marriage, prostitution, and other topics in which sexual relationships are involved.

Ideas in areas other than sex education have been treated in several studies. For example, histories concerned with ideas about morals and freedom of speech have been published.

Locating the literature.-- In the beginning, only educational literature was used. A comprehensive bibliography was developed by using:

a. The Educational Index

b. The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature

c. The Cumulative Book Index

d. Indices of various kinds to state and federal

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government publications.

The entries scanned in the above bibliographic references varied. Sometimes the material was classified under the heading "sex education;" sometimes the phrase used was "sex and education;" and at other times "sex instruction" and "sex hygiene" were used. In all cases, however, the initial reading list was developed from bibliographic lists containing some reference to both sex and education. This initial bibliography was arranged by years on 3 x 5 cards. As each article listed was read, a notation of its disposal was made on the appropriate card.

In the scanning of the initial bibliography, new references to sex education were noted. These were treated in the same manner as those listed in the initial bibliography. As these references eventually began to repeat themselves, there is justification for the belief that few, if any, major references have been overlooked.

Material that authors of items appearing in the initial bibliography claimed was helpful to them in understanding the problems of sex education was widely sampled and scanned, especially if the material was mentioned by several writers or by a single writer who had made several contributions to the field. Separate investigations were conducted where they seemed needed in order to clarify the bearing of this peripheral material on the problems of the present study.

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For example, many writers referred to books for children and adolescents; to certain courses of study; to reports of anti-vice campaigns; and to the literature of eugenics, evolution, marriage, and the family. Sufficient literature of this kind was sampled to assure better understanding of the statements made by the authors in the initial bibliography.

The articles in the original bibliography also contained references to the activities of different people and organizations. Some of these people became the bases for short studies. For example, such people as Flagg, Bigelow, Eliot, Freud, Hall, Ellis, Sanger, Strain, Zachry, the Gruenbergs, Kirkendall, and Exner fell into this category. At the same time, minutes, resolutions, and reports of many organizations such as the National Education Association, the Bureau of Education, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the social hygiene societies, were also scrutinized for information, and notes were carefully taken. These special studies are reported in full or in part throughout the major investigation whenever they help to clarify the point under consideration.

Collecting and arranging the data.-- Although an effort was made to read the literature in a sequence beginning with the earliest dated material in the bibliography, it was really read in shuttle fashion, moving back and forth within intervals of ten or more years. As the literature was read,

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statements bearing on the sequence of events in the development of sex education, on the ideas expressed or implied regarding this field, and on the aspects of the intellectual and social setting were noted and recorded on separate cards and placed in files designated for each of the major questions of the investigation. In some cases, notes or abstracts of the literature were made for future reference. Details of the selection and arrangement of data appear early in the third,[7] fourth,[8] and fifth [9] chapters of this study. The selection of important events, principal ideas, and representative aspects of the setting are explained in these chapters respectively.

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[7] Infra, p. 36.

[8] Infra, p. 170.

[9] Infra, p. 354.

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Classification of the Sources of Data

The sources of data of this study are both primary and secondary. Good and others[10] define primary sources as those in which only "one mind, that of the observer of the event, comes between the original happening and the user of the sources." There are degrees of primary evidence, and, although original manuscripts are considered superior to published manuscripts, both are primary sources. In this study, only published manuscripts are used as primary sources. In this study, whenever the ideas expressed or implied are those of the person who wrote the article, the sources can be classified as primary. Whenever articles are written to explain the ideas of others, the sources can be considered to be secondary. If the source states that a certain group favored sex education, the source is called secondary. Sometimes a source is both primary and secondary depending upon the part of the material used and how it is used.

Certain sources can be considered primary in almost all cases. These are:

1. Addresses and proceedings of national educational

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[10] Carter V. Good and Others, The Methodology of Educational Research, p. 254. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1941.

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meetings

2. Courses of study

3. Reports and addresses of leaders in education

4. Resolutions of national organizations

5. Minutes of meetings

6. Research studies

7. Non-fiction books written to express a particular point of view

8. Articles in journals which express the author's point of view

9. Lectures

10. Novels in which the author is trying to express his own ideas regarding sex or sex education

11. Reports of national conferences and committees

12. Reports of the United States Office of Education

13. Bulletins of the United States Office and the United States Bureau of Education

14. Laws of the United States and various states

15. Published papers of learned societies.

The following sources usually contain secondary materials:

1. Reports or interpretations of original studies

2. Non-fiction when such books and articles do not express the point of view of the author

3. Articles of any kind reporting the ideas of others

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regarding sex and sex education

4. Interpretation of laws

5. Newspaper reports.

The following are sometimes primary and at other times secondary:

1. Textbooks
2. Histories
3. Handbooks
4. Yearbooks of learned societies
5. Biographies
6. Theses and dissertations
7. Biennial surveys
8. Pamphlets published by states and national groups
9. Books on sex education for children and adolescents
10. Books on sex education for teachers and parents.

Organization of Study

After the related literature is discussed in Chapter II, the balance of the study is divided into three major chapters. These are followed by a summary.

In Chapter III, the history of sex education is set forth. This history describes the contributions of persons and groups interested in the problem. The results of various meetings are reported in terms of minutes, resolutions, and other statements. The work of the United States government

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and of the various states is also reported. The development of books, literature, and teaching aids is shown. Various research studies are also discussed.

In Chapter IV, the principal ideas expressed or implied regarding sex education are discussed. Effort is made to show the different ideas and compare them with each other. The sources of the ideas are shown both in terms of people and groups and in terms of their occurrence in different kinds of literature. The changes in the emphasis given each idea at different times are shown.

In Chapter V, the intellectual and social setting of sex education is described. The growth of intellectual and social areas is discussed in terms of their parallel development to sex education in the public schools and in the way that these areas underlay such education.

In Chapter VI, the dissertation is summarized; the questions raised in the purpose of the study are discussed; the conclusions and trends regarding the sex education movement are described; and needs for future research are pointed out.

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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

A review of the literature has not revealed a history of sex education which is focused on the public schools. Although some efforts have been made to show the development of sex education, such attempts have been limited in detail and scope. A few studies have been made identifying major ideas and emphases in the field of sex education. However, none was found that described the growth of the sex education movement in terms of principal ideas and in relation to aspects of its social and intellectual setting.

The literature which parallels aspects of the present study is classified in this chapter as follows:

1. Reports showing the developments of aspects of the sex education movement

2. Histories of developments in areas related to sex other than sex education

3. Reports illustrating attempts to identify ideas and major emphases in the field of sex education.

Reports Showing the Developments of Aspects of the Sex Education Movement

There have been few attempts to show the development of aspects of sex education. A review of the literature reporting such efforts is classified in this study as follows:

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1. Studies tracing limited aspects of the development of the sex education movement

2. Studies showing the origin of aspects of the sex education movement

3. Studies showing the status of aspects of the sex education movement at different points of time.

Studies tracing limited aspects of the development of the sex education movement.-- A few reports have shown the development of aspects of the sex education movement. They have been limited in detail, in scope, or in both these respects.

In 1938, the Journal of Social Hygiene[1] published a chronology showing the principal points in the history of social hygiene. This article is very brief, listing only dates and events, without comment, but it represents the only attempt to show such dates in an orderly and concise manner. For this reason, it served as a point of reference for historical events discussed in the present investigation. Chapter III of the present study covers more aspects of sex education, extends over a longer period of time, and supplies a fuller description of the events than does this chronology.

Three short histories dealing either with parent education or with family-life education were found as parts of

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[1] "Some High Points in the History of Sex Education in the United States," Journal of Social Hygiene, 24 (December, 1938), 584.

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longer studies. In 1942, Drummond[2] used the second chapter of her book to discuss "The Development of Education for Marriage and Family Living." The data for this chapter came from the published literature in the field. He organized his presentation in terms of important dates in the development of programs of family-life education on the collegiate level. Where the development of family-life education programs on the college level was important to the development of similar programs on the secondary level, this study was a point of reference.

Mooney[3] was concerned with the problems of helping parents plan how to instruct their children about sex. She began her book with the chapter, "The History of Sex Education." Although this chapter did not contain any dates, the sequence of development of sex education was shown in terms of periods. Each of these periods was discussed in terms of the objectives for sex education current at those times. According to Mooney, during the first period the objective was venereal disease control; during the second, interest was centered about "giving the facts;" and, finally, efforts were directed toward helping boys and girls develop sound attitudes toward the subject of

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[2] Laura W. Drummond, Youth and Instruction in Marriage and Family Living. New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, 1942.

[3] Belle S. Mooney, How Shall I Tell My Child? New York: Cadillac Publishing Company, 1944.

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sex. This chapter mentions a few of the ideas discussed in detail in Chapter IV of this study.

In 1950, Boodish[4] developed resource units on human relations. As background for this study, he traced trends in family-life education through courses of study in family-life education. This brief history covers the period from 1919, when according to Boodish the first center for "Information and Advice on Sex" was established at the Berlin Institute of Science, to 1950. It makes no attempt to identify historical periods, nor does it try to identify changing ideas. However, it does attempt to show trends in the courses of study for family-life education. These trends were helpful as a means of understanding some of the issues surrounding the idea of human relations.

A comprehensive history of the work of the American Social Hygiene Society has not been written. However, a review of the monthly publication of this organization, The Journal of Social Hygiene, gives a rather complete picture of its activities. During the nineteen-thirties and nineteen-forties, reference was frequently made in the literature to a master's thesis by Kassoy[5] which had been written in 1931.

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[4] Hyman M. Boodish, "Development of Resource Units in a Course in Human Relations," Unpublished Doctor's dissertation. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1950.

[5] Irving Kassoy, "A History of the Work of the American Social Hygiene Association in Sex Education, 1876-1930." Unpublished Master's thesis. New York: College of the City of New York, 1931.

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Although the title implies that the study is concerned with the work of the American Social Hygiene Society in the field of sex education between 1876 and 1930, the thesis is actually a brief review of the work of several organizations of which the American Social Hygiene Society is one.

Although Kassoy's major emphasis was upon tracing the contributions of specific organizations, he did attempt to identify trends in the sex education movement. Its origin, both in America and Europe, as he saw it, was in an effort to check the spread of venereal disease.

An attempt by Auerbach[6] in 1949 to trace trends in books providing various types of information in the area of sex for parents to read or to give their children to read represents another type of historical study. This survey helped to provide background for the ideas identified and traced in Chapter IV.

Two doctor's dissertations have been written on the history of moral education in American schools. One of them, by Jewett,[7] shows developments in this field from 1800

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6 Aline B. Auerbach, "Current Trends in Books on Sex Education," Child Study, 26 (Summer, 1949), 103-4.

7 James P. Jewett, "Moral Education in American Schools, 1800-1860," Unpublished Doctor's dissertation. Chicago; University of Chicago, 1950.

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to 1860; the other, by Herdman,[8] describes growth in the same area from 1865 to 1917. Although these studies do not discuss sex education as such, many of the problems treated overlap areas covered in the present investigation. The descriptions of the collection, organization, and interpretation of the data in these studies also helped to guide similar activities in the present research.

Jewett[9] limited his research to the elementary and secondary public schools and based it on an analysis of educational literature published between 1800 and 1860. He tried to show the growth of moral education in terms of changes taking place in public education during these years. Of particular value for the present investigation are his efforts to show changes in moral education in terms of what he called "the changing social and intellectual climates."[10] He discussed moral education in relation to social, intellectual, religious, economic, and political changes.

Herdman[11] based his study on a critical examination

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8 Donald Layton Herdman, "Conceptions of Moral Education in the American Public Schools, 1865-1917," Unpublished Doctor's dissertation. New Haven: Yale University, 1950.

9 James P. Jewett, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

10 Ibid., p. 5.

11 Donald Layton Herdman, op. cit., pp. 3-7.

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of educational literature in order to see what opinions were expressed regarding moral education in the elementary and secondary public schools. He described five periods in terms of dates and major events. Of these periods, the last three describe persons and events similar to those discussed in Chapters III and IV of the present study. The trends identified in his study parallel, in part, trends identifiable in the field of sex education.

Studies showing the origin of aspects of the sex education movement.-- Several detailed discussions of the beginnings of some aspects of the sex education movement were written during the period 1910 to 1916. Of these, three are particularly important in providing background for the present investigation. In 1910, Dock[12] described the start of the movement to combat venereal disease. She discussed the resolutions passed by international conferences interested in combating these diseases, and described the contributions of many people to the solutions of these problems. In 1914, Saleeby[13] described the contributions of Galton, Mendel, Darwin, and Goddard to the eugenics movement and pointed out that a successful program of eugenics would have to include parent

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[12] Lavinia Dock, Hygiene and Morality. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910.

[13] Caleb William Saleeby, The Progress of Eugenics. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1914.

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education, clearing slum areas and other similar community activities, and the instructing of youth regarding care of sex organs and the process of reproduction. In 1916, Snow[14] described events leading to the beginning of a practical campaign against syphilis. This campaign included education of school children. Snow stressed the growth of different groups organized for fighting venereal disease. He also described the medical discoveries that had made a practical campaign in this field possible.

Studies showing the status of aspects of the sex education movement.-- A Number of research studies and articles discuss the status of sex education in the public schools at various points in time over the fifty year period. No single report traces historical developments to any great extent. However, trends can be observed by reading several of them.

A number of surveys have been made of the status of sex education programs in the schools. In 1920, 1927, and 1938, the United States Public Health Service,[15, 16, 17]

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[14] William F. Snow, "Progress 1900-1915," Journal of Social Hygiene, 2 (January, 1916), 37-47.

[15] Benjamin C. Gruenberg, editor, High Schools and Sex Education. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1922.

[16] United States Public Health Service, High Schools and Sex Education. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1929.

[17] Benjamin C. Gruenberg and J. L. Kaukonen, High Schools and Sex Education. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1939.

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in cooperation with other national organizations, conducted such surveys. In these studies, questionnaires inquiring what kinds of sex education programs were conducted were sent to over 10,000 schools. A study of the findings of these surveys, taken consecutively, revealed trends in the development of sex education in the public schools. In 1938, the National Youth Administration,[18] through an analysis of the problems reported to the national office and through a questionnaire sent to the high schools, revealed the extent of programs of family-life education in the schools and provided evidence of the need still existing in this area.

In addition to these research studies, there were a number of articles evaluating sex education in the schools at various stages in its development. These were largely the opinions of leaders in the field of sex education. In 1938, Bigelow[19] compared the programs of that year with those in effect in 1913. In 1945, Kirkendall[20] expressed an opinion

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[18] David Cushman Coyle, Rural Youth, Social Problem Series of the National Youth Administration. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1938.

[19] M. A. Bigelow, "Sex Education in America Today," Journal of Social Hygiene, 24 (December, 1938), 527-32.

[20] Lester A. Kirkendall, "Progress in Sex Education," Clearing House, 20 (October, 1945), 111-12.

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concerning what he thought the major emphasis in the program was in the nineteen-forties. In 1948, Gruenberg and others[21] discussed trends and goals in sex education. These statements provided background against which the conclusions reached in the present study were compared. Inasmuch as these articles pointed up the most important achievements in the sex education movement at the time that they were written, they were also helpful in pointing up important events occurring during the periods described in Chapter III.

Histories of Developments in Areas Related to Sex Other than Sex Education

The historical developments centering around problems of sex other than those of sex education have been described in several studies. The most prominent of these have dealt with prostitution, marriage and family life, and changing attitudes toward sex. Since programs for the control of prostitution and venereal disease were important in the early development of the sex education movement, and education for marriage and family life was a major emphasis toward the end of the fifty years under consideration, and changes in the sex education program during these years were contingent upon the attitudes held at different times regarding sexual behavior,

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[21] Benjamin C. Gruenberg and Others, "Trends and Goals in Sex Education," Child Study, 25 (Winter, 1948), 120-22.

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it is appropriate to review some of the contributions of such histories.

These histories are presented as follows:

1. Histories dealing with prostitution

2. Histories showing the development of marriage and family life

3. Histories showing changes in attitudes toward sex.

Histories dealing with prostitution.-- Several histories of prostitution have been written. These histories have been both world-wide and local in scope.

One of the earliest histories was written in 1858 by William W. Sanger,[22] when he was Superintendent of Blackwell's Island in New York City. This work was valuable in establishing the relationship of venereal disease control of earlier years to the work of various social institutions.

Another history which helped provide background by showing the relation of prostitution to the international problem of venereal disease control was written by Scott[23] in 1936.

Historical studies specifically concerned with the

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[22] William W. Sanger, The History of Prostitution. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1858.

[23] George R. Scott, A History of Prostitution. New York: Greenberg and Co., 1936.

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problems of prostitution in the United States of America have been either local in scope or very brief reports. Such studies, however, are a means of understanding the problems underlying venereal disease control in the United States. Among these studies, two have been valuable for the present investigation. In 1932, Waterman[24] described the history of prostitution and its repression in New York City. Some of the early work in this field in this city was instrumental in the development of sex education programs on a national scale. In 1936, the Journal of Social Hygiene[25] listed the most important dates and events in the fight against prostitution in the United States of America during the years 1886 to 1936. These dates and events paralleled to some extent the earliest dates and events in sex education.

Histories showing the development of marriage and family life.-- Some historical studies have been conducted in the area of marriage and family life. These studies have been very scholarly and comprehensive.

Although these studies did not touch upon the subject of sex education as such, they contributed to an understanding

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[24] W. C. Waterman, Prostitution and Its Repression in New York. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Press, 1932.

[25] "Milestones in the March Against Commercialized Prostitution in the United States," Journal of Social Hygiene, 22 (November, 1936), 431-34.

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of the social setting in which the sex education movement developed. Background for the present investigation was obtained from studies such as those written by McLennan[26] and Wake[27] who discussed the changes in marriage customs and corresponding sexual behavior in terms of the development of society.

Background information also appears in histories of marriage written by Westermarck,[28] Howard,[29] Goodsell,[30] and Calhoun.[31] These investigations give an opportunity for one to compare marriage customs and sexual behavior of the United States with such customs and behavior of other people. These

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[26] John F. McLennan, Studies in Ancient History. New York: Macmillan and Company, 1886.

[27] C. S. Wake, Development of Marriage and Kinship. London: George Redway, 1889.

[28] Edvard Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, Volumes I and II. London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1891.

[29] George Elliott Howard, A History of Matrimonial Institutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904.

[30] Willystine Goodsell, The History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution, pp. 15-19. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930.

[31] Arthur W. Calhoun, A Social History of the American Family, Volumes I, II, and III. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clarke Co., 1917-1919.

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histories helped to clarify some of the reasons why many questions were raised regarding what should be included in sex education. They thus contributed to the discussion of the social setting as treated in Chapter V of this study.

Histories showing changes in attitudes toward sex.--Several attempts have been made to show how the attitudes of American people changed toward sexual behavior. Some of these histories have been based upon analyses of literature written during the period that the changes were presumably taking place.

In 1926, Calverton[32] made a study of the literature in an effort to show a change in attitudes. He studied the changing expressions regarding sex that he found in fiction. He discussed these changes of expression in terms of their social implication.

In 1932, Newland[33] attempted to measure, by the use of Thurstone's technique for scaling, the expressions which reflected attitudes toward sex freedom found in popular periodical literature published between 1911 and 1930. This

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[32] V. F. Calverton, Sex Expression in Literature. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926.

[33] Hubert Charles Newland, The Change in Attitude Toward Sex Freedom As Disclosed By American Journals of Opinion During the Years 1911 to 1930. Chicago: The University of Chicago Libraries, 1935.

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study pays particular attention to attitudes on sex morality, opinions regarding birth control and sex taboos, sex equality, and prostitution. The attempt is made to trace interrelationships among these areas, and to locate historical periods in which popular expressions of opinion were liberal or conservative.

Reports Illustrating Attempts to Identify Ideas and Major Emphases in the Field of Sex Education

Since the present study is a history of ideas regarding sex education in the public schools, any attempt by writers in the field to identify or classify attitudes, ideas, or major emphases is significant. There have been few such classifications attempted. Most of them have been short articles published in journals of education and sociology or in the introductory chapters of textbooks. They are considered as follows:

1. Reports identifying ideas regarding practical aspects of the sex education program.

2. Reports identifying ideas regarding overall emphases in the sex education program.

Reports identifying ideas regarding practical aspects of the sex education program.-- Among the few attempts to identify ideas regarding such aspects of the sex education program as methods and curriculum was the attempt by

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Bigelow[34] in 1924. In this article, he presented twenty-one points which he thought represented, at the time, the principal ideas regarding sex education held by the then current leaders in the field. These ideas included: what sex education should be handled, on what grade levels it should be handled, how it should be handled, who should handle it, how the program should eventually be handled, and limitations to the methods and procedures used.

Reports identifying ideas regarding overall emphases in the sex education program.-- More closely related to the present investigation were attempts to identify overall emphases. In 1938, Laton[35] classified trends in sex education in terms of the overall approaches made in developing programs of sex education. Kirkendall,[36] in 1950, defined the scope of sex education in terms of seven broad areas. Laton's study showed on a limited scale two of the changing ideas manifested by other writers toward sex education. She did not attempt to

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[34] M. A. Bigelow, "Established Points in Social Hygiene, Education, 1905-1924," Journal of Social Hygiene, 10 (January, 1924), 2-11.

[35] A. D. Laton, "Approaches to Sex Education in the Schools," University High School Journal, 16 (April, 1938), 147-55.

[36] Lester A. Kirkendall, Sex Education as Human Relations, pp. 58-59. New York: Inor Publishing Co., Inc., 1950.

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show how the ideas recurred from time to time as is done in Chapter IV of the present study. Kirkendall's study, on the other hand, does not show changing ideas but it is a classification of overall ideas which are similar to the ideas traced in Chapter IV of this investigation. Both of these studies were points of reference for comparing the ideas discussed in this study.

Summary of Chapter

A review of the literature did not reveal a study similar to the present investigation. The review, however, did uncover some related literature that was helpful in the development, understanding, and interpretation of the present study.

Available histories of sex education are limited in detail and scope. They are restricted to articles in journals, parts of chapters of books and theses, and complete theses devoted to small segments of the total problem. Such material is helpful as points of reference against which to compare the periods developed in Chapter III, the trends discussed in the final chapter, the techniques used in the investigation, and the underlying and paralleling social and intellectual movements reported in Chapter V.

Between 1910 and 1916, several articles appeared that showed clearly the beginnings of phases of the program. Such material is valuable in locating earlier periods, in determining

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points of reference for the present investigation, and in giving historical perspective to the present research.

Several status studies as well as evaluations by experts are available. These are good guides in determining the weight that certain programs had in the field during certain definite periods.

Studies of histories of prostitution, marriage and the family, and attitudes toward sex are numerous and extensive. They provide background for understanding such aspects of sex education as venereal disease control, education for marriage, and family life, and attitudes held by different people regarding what sex behavior should be. These studies also show the relationship of sex education to broader problems of sex. In addition, certain kinds of techniques for investigation in this field are shown. Some of them are similar to the techniques used in the present investigation.

Classification of ideas in the general area of sex education is difficult. A few brief articles attempting to identify ideas have been written. They have thrown light on such aspects of the sex education program as methods and curriculum and on some of the overall trends and phases of the program. These classifications do not show, to any great extent, recurring ideas as discussed in the present study.

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CHAPTER III

A HISTORY OF SEX EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

Purpose of chapter.-- It is the purpose of this chapter to show the contributions of persons and groups to the development of sex education in the public schools of the United States of America between 1900 and 1950. Since the term "public schools" is interpreted broadly in this study,[1] this history also is broader than a report of the changes in activities usually confined to the boundaries of the school building or to the guidance of teaching personnel. This chapter might be considered as a history of the topic in general with special focus on the public schools. It is not planned to show the exact status of sex education in the public schools at any particular time, although status studies are reported when they show contributions of particular persons or groups.

Data for chapter.-- Data for this chapter were obtained from the published sources described in more detail in Chapter I.[2] These sources are educational and professional

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[1] Supra, p.4.

[2] Supra, p.13.

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journals, reports and proceedings of national educational groups, yearbooks of learned societies, pamphlets from many sources, books which discuss technical phases of sexual adjustment, conference reports, committee reports, government bulletins, bulletins of various societies, annual reports of many officials, reports of anti-vice campaigns and other similar activities, reports of research including surveys, and miscellaneous leaflets.

All data collected for this study were arranged on cards. These cards were placed in chronological order from the earliest date listed to 1950. Each card was carefully scrutinized for statements regarding contributions of persons and groups to the development of sex education. When such statements were found, the name of the person or group concerned, a brief description of the activity, and the data were transferred to a master sheet which became a concise chronology. This chronology became the framework around which the chapter was developed.

Organization of chapter.-- Although almost all activities in sex education bearing upon the public schools began after 1900, a history of this topic cannot ignore the few efforts made prior to that date. An introductory section reports these data. After 1900, five periods are recognized for the purpose of this study. Although these periods cannot be sharply defined, their limits have been approximately

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established for the present investigation.

A first period can be dated from about 1900 to 1912. This period opened with international meetings held in Belgium to discuss problems of venereal disease control and closed with the Fifteenth International Congress of Hygiene and Demography, which developed a definite program for the promotion of sex education in the schools.

A second period can be identified as beginning in 1912 and ending in 1918, at which time the United States Congress passed the Chamberlain-Kahn Act, and the Federal Government became interested in supporting sex education as a means of reducing venereal disease.

A third period can be said to open with the end of World War I in 1918 and to close with the beginning of the depression in 1929. The sole interest of the United States Government in sex education during this period was venereal disease control. Several nongovernmental groups, however, began to consider sex education as a function of education for family life and individual development.

A fourth period corresponds roughly to the period in the economic history of the United States known as the depression, which was considered in this study to end in 1941, when the United States entered World War II. The depression, as will be shown later, exerted considerable influence both upon patterns of family life and upon activities in the

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general area of sex education.

A fifth period can be identified as beginning with World War II and ending at the close of this study in 1950. During this period, there was increased emphasis on considering sex education as a phase of human-relations education.

Within each of these periods, the discussion of events is organized so as to show:

1. Activities of independent writers
2. Activities of independent research workers
3. Activities of groups of less than national scope not directly connected with the public schools
4. Activities of groups of national scope or larger not directly connected with the public schools
5. Activities of the Federal Government except the Office and Bureau of Education
6. Activities of the public schools, educational associations, and the Office and Bureau of Education. In this study educational associations are considered to be those groups in which the membership is primarily composed of persons employed as instructors, supervisors, or administrators in the schools of the United States.

During some of these periods, some groups were inactive and were not discussed; other groups made only a few contributions to sex education and were therefore combined with a related group. At times, more than one of these groups

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worked on the same activity. Whenever it was known which group initiated or gave the leadership to such activity, the event was discussed under the heading for that group. Whenever such information was not available, the event was considered where it seemed to throw the most light on the general area of sex education.

Prior to 1900

It is the purpose of this section to show the activities prior to 1900 which recognized a need for a program in sex education and made preliminary suggestions of methods.

In this section, European as well as American activities of both individuals and groups that eventually led to the development of the sex education movement are discussed. Early studies in several aspects of sex are described. The origins of groups active in this movement during the twentieth century are shown. Some of the early activities of the schools that made it possible to carry on certain phases of sex education in the twentieth century are indicated.

Prior to 1900, neither the Federal Government nor local groups participated in programs in such a way as to appreciably influence sex education during the years 1900 to 1950.

Activities of independent writers.-- As early as the last half of the eighteenth century, writers manifested

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interest in sex education programs which were forerunners of some found in the twentieth century. Many of these early writers were European. Eby and Arrowwood[3] stated that Rousseau, who was a Frenchman, was interested in sex education as early as 1762. They claimed that helping the child overcome obstacles in his sexual maturity was the key to Rousseau's philosophy of individual development. He had tried to show that with the gaining of sexual maturity the social relations of the individual properly begin.

Henderson[4] quotes the following statement which indicates that, as early as 1777, at least one German was considering the problem:

> More than one hundred and thirty years ago, the great educator, Salzmann, in his work, Secret Sins of Youth, proposed a plan of gradual instruction: "We speak of the reproduction of plants, before we speak of the reproduction of mammals and human beings. We show the child the male and female blossoms of plants, and accustom them to the expressions, pollen, ovary, fruit, and so on, and show them how the pollen of the male blossom must fall on the female, if it is to bear fruit. In this way, we gain a method of speaking to the child without embarrassment of the male and female parts, of seed, conception, and the like, and these are accustomed, without shock, to hear these stories."

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[3] Frederick Eby and Charles Flinn Arrowwood, The Development of Modern Education, p. 473. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934.

[4] Charles R. Henderson, Education With Reference to Sex. Eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education, pp. 62-63. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909.

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Very few statements were made regarding sex education during the first half of the nineteenth century. In fact, for the most part, silence on questions of sex seemed to be the custom. In 1860, Spencer, an English philosopher, criticized this silence. In his essays on education he ridiculed the folly of men who were enthusiastic students of the best methods of raising prize hogs, but who considered the proper rearing of children beneath their dignity. He[5] wrote further:

> If by some strange chance not a vestige of us descended to the remote future save a pile of our school books or some college examination papers, we may imagine how puzzled an antiquary of that period would be on finding in them no indication that the learners were ever likely to be parents. "This must have been the curriculum for their celibates," we may fancy him concluding. "I perceive here an elaborate preparation for many things: especially for reading the books of extinct nations and coexisting nations (from which indeed it seems clear that these people had very little worth reading in their own tongue): but I find no reference whatever to the bringing up of children. They could not have been so absurd as to omit all training for this gravest of responsibilities. Evidently, then, this was the school course of one of the monastic orders."

During the last half of the nineteenth century, several persons discussed sex education as a way of solving some of the problems caused by venereal disease. In 1881, Morrow, who became one of the twentieth century leaders in sex education, translated Fournier's Syphilis and Marriage.[6]

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[5] Ibid., p. 56.

[6] Alfred Fournier, Syphilis and Marriage, Translated by Prince A. Morrow. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1881.

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In this book, venereal disease was discussed in terms of many social implications. Among such problems was the effect of syphilis and gonorrhea on the stability of the family. Fournier furnished Morrow with many ideas which the latter used in developing a program for the American Society for Moral and Social Prophylaxis.[7] This society, the forerunner of several twentieth century organizations, is discussed further on page 51.

According to Dock,[8] at the time that Fournier's book was being translated several women in England and the United States were writing articles opposing acts of regulation and suggesting educational methods for attacking social problems. These acts, known as the "Continental System for the Regulation of Vice," required medical inspection of female prostitutes. The passage of these acts had been urged by the medical profession and by military leaders during the first half of the nineteenth century. Harriet Martineau, Josephine E. Butler, and Florence Nightingale fought for the repeal of the acts in Great Britain. In the United States, Elizabeth Blackwell, the first woman doctor, and her sister, Emily, also

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[7] Prince A. Morrow, Social Diseases and Marriage, p. iii. Philadelphia: Lea Brothers and Company, 1904.

[8] Lavinia L. Dock, Hygiene and Morality, pp. 79-80. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910.

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a physician, led the fight and urged the use of educational methods.[9] Most opponents of regulation argued that such rules were discriminating against one sex and were therefore unfair. Others said that they made governments parties to vice.

Activities of independent research workers.-- Research during the nineteenth century centered in part on studies of venereal disease and in part on the relationship of abnormal mental behavior and sex. During this century, some medical authorities recognized the inconsistencies in the acts of regulation. Since they had neither knowledge of the causes of venereal disease nor sound methods for detection, medical identification of most stages of these diseases was a farce.[10] In fact, after the meeting of the International Medical Congress in Vienna in 1873, when a strong resolution was passed urging "a convention of all nations and international agreements to establish the compulsory system of supervision for women," the topic was never again officially mentioned at these international congresses.[11]

With recognition of the need for more scientific

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[9] Ibid., p. 80.

[10] The completion-fixation tests were discovered by August Von Wasserman in 1906.

[11] Lavinia L. Dock, op. cit., p. 81.

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information regarding the venereal diseases came attempts by the medical profession to study them. The first record of any effort was the study conducted by Donné, a French microscopist, in 1837.[12] He failed because the germ theory of Pasteur had not been developed at that time. Even after the Pasteur theory had given new direction to this type of research, Weigart, Lustgarten, Metchnikoff, and others labored for over twenty years to no avail. They, however, laid the groundwork for discoveries that were made early in the twentieth century and which, in turn, stimulated education in the area of sex hygiene.

Another nineteenth century study which was to influence sex education in the twentieth century was the research of Krafft-Ebing[13] reported in Psychopathia Sexualis. This study described the abnormal sexual behavior of mental deviates. Although this study was first published in 1880, references continued to be made to it throughout the first half of the twentieth century. As late as 1949, Kinsey and others[14]

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[12] Ibid., p. 5.

[13] Richard Von Krafft-Ebing, Psychopathia Sexualis, Stuttgart: Enke, 1880.

[14] Alfred C. Kinsey and Others, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, p. 34. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948.

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referred to this investigation.

Activities of groups of national scope or larger not directly connected with the public schools.-- Toward the end of the nineteenth century several organizations were expressing an interest in sex education. The work of these early organizations touched upon many of the ideas later associated with personal and social aspects of sex education in the public schools.

From its founding, the Child Study Association of America was interested in the personal development of the child. This organization grew out of the Society for the Study of Child Nature organized under the guidance of Felix Adler[15] in 1888. An editorial in the Journal of Social Hygiene [16] claimed that this society sponsored sex education activities immediately after its organization.

Another important organization in the development of education for better personal and social adjustments in sex

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[15] Percival M. Symonds, The Dynamics of Parent-Child Relationships, p. 136. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949.

[16] "Some High Points in the History of Sex Education in the United States," Journal of Social Hygiene, 24 (December, 1938), 584.

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was the Congress of Mothers founded in 1897.[17] From the beginning, this organization was interested in child development, family adjustment, and the relationships between the home and the school. One of the principal functions of this group and its successor, the Congress of Parents and Teachers, was the education of parents. A part of this education of parents was devoted to the guidance of parents in ways of helping their children solve problems of sexual adjustment.

In 1899, the first International Conference for the Prophylaxis of Syphilis and Venereal Disease met in Brussels, Belgium. This meeting marked an important step in the program to eliminate venereal disease and was one of the first international meetings to suggest that education rather than law might be beneficial in the solution of the problem. This conference was composed of important medical men and laymen and was an effort to reconcile justice and morals with science.[18] The resolutions of this conference probably represented the best ideas known at that time on venereal disease control. In terms of later developments of sex education in the twentieth century, it was one of the most important international meetings of the nineteenth century. Most of the resolutions,

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[17] Percival M. Symonds, op. cit., p. 137.

[18] Lavinia L. Dock, op. cit., p. 83.

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adopted unanimously at the first conference, affected sex education directly or indirectly. These resolutions[19] called for governmental suppression of vice, the organization of societies of sanitary and moral prophylaxis, the organization of courses on venereal disease in medical schools, the moral education of orphans, the prosecution of those living on vice, the development of hospital treatment and humane care of those afflicted with venereal disease, the collection of uniform statistics, and the offering of education in sex morality to the public. During the first few years of the twentieth century, most of the efforts in sex education were directed toward laying the foundations to accomplish these resolutions or similar proposals.

Activities of the public schools, educational associations, and the Bureau of Education.-- Although the Bureau of Education did not participate in programs of sex education during the nineteenth century, there were some activities carried on at the local level and plans of national character were discussed by educational associations. On the local level, efforts were made in the area of family-life education even before the beginning of the nineteenth century. By 1798, Boston had established the first sewing classes in the public

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[19] Ibid., p. 83.

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schools.[20] During the next eighty years sewing and cooking classes were introduced into the schools throughout the United States.[21] These classes were later called "domestic science" and "home economics" and still later became the basis for classes in "family management" and "family living." Until the twentieth century, classes such as these seemed to be the main approach by the schools to the problem of sex education.

Other than these early domestic science classes, there were few efforts made either by the schools, or by educational associations, to promote programs leading to sex education until the end of the nineteenth century. In 1892, the National Education Association became cognizant that moral education was needed to prevent vice. In that year this organization passed a resolution recognizing the importance of moral training in the schools. An examination of this resolution[22] indicates that the chief aim was to "elevate and invigorate character."

This Association heartily recognizes the importance of moral training in the public schools. In all efforts to

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[20] Joseph K. Folsom, Youth, Family, and Education, P. 60. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941.

[21] Ibid., p. 61.

[22] National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, p. 247. New York: The Association, 1892.

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quicken the intellectual life of pupils, we should not lose sight of the fact that the ultimate aim is to elevate and invigorate character. Vice and pauperism are a greater menace to free institutions than even illiteracy...We...urge that adequate efforts be made to teach the great lessons of obedience, industry, justice, and integrity.

In 1893, at the Columbian Exposition, the Congress of Elementary Education,[23] a division of the National Education Association, discussed at length the inclusion of the teaching of morals in the lower eight grades. Two years later, in 1895, the National Council on Education,[24] another division of the National Education Association, debated the problems of secularization and moral instruction and of whether morals could be taught. In 1899, the Department of Superintendence[25] considered moral education under the title "Character Education." This same year moral education was discussed in the general sessions[26] and in the Kindergarten Department.[27] For the first

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[23] National Education Association, Proceedings of the International Congress of Education of the World's Columbian Exposition, pp. 241-262. New York: The Association, 1893.

[24] National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, pp. 443-446. St. Paul: The Association, 1895.

[25] National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, pp. 276-285. Chicago: The Association, 1899.

[26] Ibid., pp. 121-25.

[27] Ibid., pp. 541-47.

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ten years of the twentieth century, the topic of moral education was discussed in some form either in general sessions or in departmental meetings of the National Education Association.

Period I
Laying Foundations
(1900-1912)

The first period after 1900 can be called the period when the foundations were laid for sex education in the public schools. In this section of this study, the activities that contributed to laying these foundations are discussed in detail. It was during this period that a few articles stressing the need for programs of sex education began to appear in journals and books. During these years, medical technicians were making discoveries in the area of venereal disease and releasing information about their discoveries to the public. Coupled with these medical discoveries were local studies of vice which also revealed the prevalence of venereal disease and the need for education to control its spread. To help with the solution of this problem, local social hygiene societies were formed, some colleges offered courses to prospective teachers, and some states passed laws requiring the teaching of sex hygiene. Many national and international groups met for the purpose of planning and promoting programs in this area. Some of these programs were of an educational

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nature. During this period, a few schools added sex education to their curricula.

Activities of independent writers.-- In 1904, Morrow published Social Diseases and Marriage,[28] a book that was to have great influence upon early writers in the area of sex hygiene. The year after this book was published, the author became the first president of the American Society for Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis. The ideas in the book were borrowed from Fournier[29] or were gathered by the writer after many years of studying the problems of venereal disease. The book was well documented. It described the dangers of syphilis and gonorrhea; how these diseases are transmitted during marriage to an innocent spouse; the danger to the child who is born to an infected mother; and the importance of education in the solutions of sex problems. Morrow stated that general diffusion of knowledge among the public "constitutes the most effective prophylaxis"[30] and advocated that lay personnel should be given information that the medical profession had

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[28] Prince A. Morrow, Social Diseases and Marriage. Philadelphia: Lea Brothers and Company, 1904.

[29] Alfred Fournier, Syphilis and Marriage. Translated by Prince A. Morrow. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1881.

[30] Prince A. Morrow, op. cit., p. 345.

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had for a long time.[31] He also said that moral education and hygienic education reinforce each other. He[32] stated:

> It is distinctly within the province of hygiene to teach control of the sexual function and warn against its exercise under conditions which cause disease. It is no less the province of the moralist to condemn a vice which has a demoralizing effect upon the individual and upon society.

Morrow did not claim that either hygienic education or moral education could do the job of solving problems regarding sex without the aid of the other. At the same time, he felt that all persons concerned with the adolescent should help with this problem. He pointed out that most of those who should help the adolescent make adequate sexual adjustment had failed.

A number of articles on sex education began to appear in educational journals during the years 1908-1912. Two of the first articles appeared in Religious Education in 1908.[33] They discussed the union of morality and science. The first article was entitled "The Teaching of Social Hygiene and the Bearing of Such Teaching on the Moral Training of the Child."

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31 Ibid., p. 352.

32 Ibid., p. 363.

33 Winfield S. Hall, "The Teaching of Social Hygiene and the Bearing of Such Teaching on the Moral Training of the Child," Religious Education, 3 (October, 1908), 129-132; Helen C. Putnam, "Biologic Knowledge and Morality," Religious Education, 3 (December, 1908), 180-1.

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The second bore the title, "Biologic Knowledge and Morality."

Several articles discussed topics directly related to the problem of providing sex education in the schools. Heffron[34] wrote in 1910, "the subject of the physiology and hygiene of sex was touched upon in but a very few schools." Where such instruction was given as part of biology courses, according to Heffron, the section on sex hygiene was most frequently taught by a physician of the same sex as the pupils. Seymour[35] reported to the National Education Association on the Public Health Education Committee of the American Medical Association suggesting several topics in the area of sex hygiene that doctors might discuss before high school groups. Earlier, Schmitt[36] had emphasized the value of such lectures by reporting the success of similar talks in Germany. Parkinson[37] described the values for sex and family adjustment

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[34] John L. Heffron, "The Moral Value of the Teaching of the Physiology and Hygiene of Sex in the Public Schools," Journal of Religious Education, 4 (February, 1910), 543-49.

[35] Eleanor Seymour, "Report of Public Health Education Committee of the American Medical Association," Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, pp. 909-12. Winona, Minnesota: The Association, 1911.

[36] Clara Schmitt, "The Teaching of the Facts of Sex in the Public Schools," Pedagogical Seminary, 17 (June, 1910), 229-41.

[37] William D. Parkinson, "Sex and Education," Educational Review, 41 (January, 1911), 42-59.

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of skills learned in home economics and manual training:

> The success of the Tuskegee movement in combating bad social morals by improving home conditions is suggestive of the reflex bearing of family integrity upon the integrity of the sex relationship in general. It also indicates the direct bearing of instruction in household arts for girls, and in gardening, "home tinkering" and other forms of handicraft for boys, upon the moral conditions of industrial communities.

Although there was considerable discussion about the teaching of sex hygiene in biology and physiology, Hall,[38] in 1910, doubted that any teacher carried the problem into the area of human reproduction. By 1911, the number of articles had increased to such proportion that the Bulletin of the Bureau of Education for the first time listed "Sex Education" as a bibliographical title.[39]

Before 1912 leaders of the eugenics movement were advocating parental education. Two books on eugenics, one by C. W. Saleeby and another by Havelock Ellis, both published in England, were circulating widely in America. In the first of these books, Saleeby[40] pointed out the need for "education

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[38] Winfield S. Hall, "The Teaching of Sexual Hygiene: Matter and Methods," School Science and Mathematics, 10 (June, 1910), 469-74.

[39] United States Bureau of Education, Bulletins of the Bureau, Number 10, pp. 7-11. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1911.

[40] Caleb Williams Saleeby, Methods of Race-Regeneration. New York: Moffat, Yard, and Company, 1911.

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for parenthood." He opposed the negative approach to sex hygiene and claimed that the salvation of the race depended upon positive education. In his book, he advocated an understanding of the moral obligation inherent in the proper use of sexual powers and direction of the sex instinct. In discussing the education of the girl, Saleeby[41] declared:

> To take the case of the girl, parental education, instead of merely concerning itself with the care of her baby, will be at work when she is choosing the baby's father. In all times and places, women's primal and supreme function is or should be that of choosing the fathers of the future. This great idea should be recognized, implicitly and explicitly, in the education of every girl; she is or may be partly responsible for the future of mankind. She herself, mind and body, is holy, for she is the temple of the life of this world to come.

Ellis[42] also discussed the value of parental education, giving Dr. Miele of Ghent, Belgium, credit for organizing the first school for mothers in 1900.[43] Ellis quoted statistics to show that the problems of the race were related to poverty, criminality, insanity, infant mortality, low birth rate, feeblemindedness, and alcoholism. He also stated that many of the environmental conditions which affected these problems had been worked on, but that there had been a lack of effort

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41 Ibid., p. 36.

42 Havelock Ellis, The Problem of Race-Regeneration. New York: Moffat, Yard, and Company, 1911.

43 Ibid., p. 20.

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in the development of superior human beings. His main complaint was leveled at the feeblemindedness which he assumed resulted from promiscuous sexual behavior. He felt that a program of eugenics was the answer. He stated that regenerating humans who were mentally incapable of self-sufficiency was ethically unsound.[44]

By 1912, many phases of sex education had been discussed in books and journals. Articles appearing in educational periodicals touched upon reasons for a program in this area, methods to be used, and values that might be obtained. Venereal disease control and eugenics were subjects for books that were helpful in guiding the thinking in the area of sex education.

Activities of independent research workers.-- Several kinds of research contributed to the development of sex education. Studies in pathology, psychiatry, and heredity played important roles. Venereal disease had been studied by scientists for many years. It was not until 1905 that Schaudinn and Hoffman working under Schulze at the University of Berlin discovered spirochaete pallida, now considered the cause of syphilis.[45] The following year, 1906, Wasserman, Neisser, and

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[44] Ibid., p. 66.

[45] Lavinia L. Dock, Hygiene and Morality, p. 5. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910.

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Bruck discovered that the blood of persons infected with syphilis when subjected to the test, commonly known as the Wasserman Test, would give evidence of the presence of the disease.[46] In 1907, Ehrlich discovered a treatment for syphilis and the following year he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Medicine and Physiology for this discovery.[47] The treatment that he discovered was a compound technically known as arsphenamine and sold under the trade name of Salvarsan. Popular names for the cure are "606" and "The Magic Bullet." Henderson[48] stated in 1909, "The entire sex education movement of recent years started with this work of the medical profession."

In December, 1909, the need was expressed for an organization for "investigation, education, and legislation" in the area of human reproduction.[49] A Committee on Eugenics

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[46] Lillian L. Biester and Others, Units in Personal Health and Human Relations, p. 248. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1947.

[47] "The Alfred B. Nobel Prize Winners," The World Almanac and Book of Facts, p. 608. New York: New York World Telegram and The Sun, 1951.

[48] Charles R. Henderson, Education With Reference to Sex. Eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education, Part II, p. 9. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909.

[49] C. B. Davenport, Eugenics, p. 26. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1910.

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was appointed by the American Breeder's Association on that date. The chairman of this committee was David Starr Jordan, the founder of the American Vigilance Association, which later united with the American Society for Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis to form the American Social Hygiene Society. Other members of this committee were Alexander Graham Bell, Luther Burbank, and H. H. Goddard. The latter, who was Director of the Department of Psychological Research at the New Jersey Training School for Feebleminded Boys and Girls, was selected as the chairman of a subcommittee to investigate the relationship of heredity and feeblemindedness.[50] This investigation resulted in the story of the Kallikaks. The story of this family, together with the story of the Jukes, formed the basis for instruction in eugenics in the public schools for a number of years. In some cases, eugenics was treated as part of the program of sex education.

Another event occurred in 1909 which was to shape, to some degree, sex education in the United States. It was during that year that G. Stanley Hall brought Sigmund Freud to the United States. The five lectures given by Freud at Clark University on that visit probably can be considered the beginning of psychoanalysis in this country. Followers of this movement have had much to say about the sex education

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[50] Ibid., p. 27.

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programs in the public schools.

Activities of groups of less than national scope not directly connected with the public schools.-- The period from 1900 to 1912 marked the beginning of a number of groups of less than national scope interested in aspects of the problem, but not directly connected with the public schools.

Among the resolutions of the first International Conference for the Prophylaxis of Syphilis and Venereal Disease in 1899[51] were those concerned with studies to determine the extent of vice, with the methods of reporting the data obtained from such studies to the public by the means of reliable statistics, and with organizations for carrying out programs in this area. Within a few months after the conference, many cities in the United States were studying their vice problems. Among the cities were Baltimore, Maryland; Little Rock, Arkansas; Louisville, Kentucky; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and New York City.[52] One of the most publicized studies was carried on by the Committee of Fifteen in New York City in 1900.[53] These committees suggested that education might

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[51] Supra, p. 47.

[52] "Municipalities and Vice," Municipal Affairs, 4 (December, 1900), 698-707.

[53] Committee of Fifteen, The Social Evil: With Special Reference to Conditions Existing in the City of New York. New York: C. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902.

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be one solution to the problem. Other groups reported the need for education in the solution of vice problems. Among groups making this suggestion were the "Committee of Seven for the Prophylaxis of Venereal Diseases" which met in New York City in 1901, and the"Committee on Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis" which convened in Baltimore the following year.[54] The evidence reported by these groups was used to support movements aimed at the elimination of vice--especially those in which education rather than force or isolation was to be employed as a technique.

It also had been resolved at the conference in 1899[55] that "societies for sanitary and moral prophylaxis should be formed in every country."[56] In the United States over twenty local societies were developed between 1903 and 1910.[57] Many of these societies published pamphlets on social hygiene and issued statements regarding the need for sex education. For example, the Chicago Society of Social Hygiene, which was

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[54] National Society for the Scientific Study of Education, op. cit., p. 47.

[55] Supra, p. 47.

[56] Lavinia L. Dock, op. cit., p. 83.

[57] "Some High Points in the History of Sex Education," in the United States," Journal of Social Hygiene, 24 (December, 1938), 584.

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founded in 1906, issued a pamphlet the following year entitled, The General Need for Education in Matters of Sex.[58]

These groups aroused the lay public to the extent of vice conditions and the prevalence of venereal disease. They gave leadership to efforts to correct these conditions and to develop plans for educating children and youth regarding the dangers of these conditions.

Activities of groups of national scope or larger not directly connected with the public schools.-- Among the influences which accentuated the need for sex education was the work of foreign and international groups and movements. To their work was added the increased activity of several American groups which were national in scope. Some of these groups and movements were focussing their attention on the problems of prostitution and other vice, and the relation of these problems to personal and public health and welfare. The problem was an international one and conferences were held both in the United States and in foreign countries. A number of these conferences recommended sex education programs in the schools.

In 1902, during the second International Conference for the Prophylaxis of Syphilis and Venereal Disease, held in Brussels, Belgium, the resolutions made at the first conference

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[58] Chicago Society of Social Hygiene, The General Need for Education in Matters of Sex. Chicago: The Society, 1907.

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were clarified.[59] The second conference resolved, "The physiology of sex should be taught in the schools of all countries to the children of all ages."[60]

One of the most important conferences held for the purpose of discussing the imparting of sex facts in the schools was the Mannheim Conference on Sex Pedagogy held in Germany in 1905. In attendance at this conference were educators and others interested in venereal disease control from Germany and other parts of the world including the United States. The meeting was described by G. Stanley Hall.[61] One of the important conclusions reached was a unanimous agreement that "sex should be taught in the later years of secondary boys' schools." More questions were raised at the Mannheim Conference, however, than were answered. Among the problems not solved were, "How much sex education should be taught?" "By whom should it be taught?" and "How should it be taught?" Another question raised and left unsettled at this meeting was whether or not girls should be given any type of sex education.

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59 Supra, p.47.

60 Lavinia L. Dock, op. cit., pp. 89-90.

61 G. Stanley Hall, "The Needs and Methods of Educating Young People in the Hygiene of Sex," Pedagogical Seminary, 15 (January, 1908), 82-91.

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The Congress of the German Society for Fighting Venereal Disease, which was held in 1907, discussed many methods for handling sex education.[62] Great emphasis was placed upon the use of nature study and biology. It was suggested that history be used to teach religion and morals. The proposals of several speakers at this congress are mentioned here. Koester suggested "love stories which have literary value," while Von Steinen insisted on lectures by medical personnel. Another leader, Krukenberg, would instruct fathers and mothers only, while Forster held that the problem could be answered only by strengthening the will through religious emphasis on virtue. Almost every method that had been used in any form up to that date and many of the techniques that were to be tried during the twentieth century were discussed at this meeting.

As far as the public schools of the United States of America were concerned, the chief value of this Congress probably was its influence upon the authors of the Eighth Yearbook of the Society for the Scientific Study of Education. A rather complete description of the activities of the congress was given in this yearbook.

Among the national groups, both the American Federation for Sex Hygiene and the American Social Hygiene Society

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[62] National Society for the Scientific Study of Education, op. cit., pp. 51-57.

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began to make suggestions regarding the place of sex education in the schools. In 1911, Charles W. Eliot, then president of the American Federation for Sex Hygiene, addressed the American School Hygiene Association in New York City. He presented what he called "the general lines" of sex education. He emphasized[63] that facts should be taught through natural history and urged that "the elementary facts on sex hygiene should be stated concisely and frankly to all children before they reach the age-limit of compulsory education." These remarks were later to form part of a report of a subcommittee of the Fifteenth International Congress of Hygiene and Demography, which met in 1912 and was attended by educators, physicians, health officials, and those interested in the statistical study of such aspects of the population as birth, marriage, and health. This congress was one of the most important international meetings held for the purpose of discussing sex education.[64] The final report helped to promote programs in the public schools in two ways. It stimulated more and more educators to give support to such programs. Even more, it capitalized on the suggestions that previously

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[63] Charles W. Eliot, "School Instruction and Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 75 (May 30, 1912), 595-7.

[64] "Some High Points in the History of Sex Education in the United States," Journal of Social Hygiene, 24 (December, 1938), 584.

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had been made and developed a definite program for the schools. Part of the program pointed out that teachers of biology and nature study should take over the task of sex education in the public schools. The importance of this suggestion was discussed more than thirty years later by Hunter and Tracy.[65]

They said:

> The real start may be said to have been initiated by the report of the Special Committee on the Matter and Methods of Sex Education at the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography....Up to this time sex education in the schools and colleges had been largely in the hands of physicians or special lecturers, and the lay teacher had little to say as to methods of teaching or subject matter to be used.

Another contribution of this conference was an exhibit which Dresslar[66] described as follows:

> The exhibit which attracted by far more attention than any other presented was that illustrating the effects of venereal disease and the work and propaganda of the American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis. The section on sex hygiene, while described by one speaker as "the hall of horrors," will probably have a more definite and far-reaching educational effect than any other part of the exhibit. In addition to extensive displays of wax models, drawings, charts, and photographs, a dark room in which lectures, illustrated by lantern slides and moving pictures, were given, was in almost constant use throughout the whole exhibition. The great interest displayed in these lectures and the information disseminated in connection with this exhibit furnish striking evidence that at last the awful curse of these diseases is emerging from its

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65 G. W. Hunter and H. H. Tracy, "Sex Education in California Secondary Schools," California Journal of Secondary Education, 19, (January, 1944), 48-51.

66 Fletcher B. Dresslar, "Sex Hygiene," The United States Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 18, pp. 35-38. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1913.

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veiled secrecy and that the time is rapidly approaching when the generations unborn will be protected from their baneful results.

The exhibit was attacked by many professional people as morally unfit for public presentation. The Journal of Education[67] carried an editorial which reported that Dr. Ira S. Wile had denounced the exhibit "in scathing terms." He said that the exhibit was more harmful than beneficial. He did not criticize this exhibit on technical grounds, but said that it was "a technically perfect demonstration of processes which up to the present time have been a sealed book to all persons outside of the medical profession." He implied that Folknar, the designer of the exhibit, had made it too complete.

Activities of the public schools, educational associations, and the Bureau of Education.-- There is no indication that the United States Bureau of Education participated in the development or promotion of programs of sex education during this period. In some local school districts and in some states such programs were promoted.

One of the earliest attempts to establish sex education in the schools was made in the DeWitt Clinton High School in New York. The first program was conducted by specialists and consisted of a series of lectures. In 1944, Hunter

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[67] "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 76 (November, 1913), 494.

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and Tracy[68] stated that this school had had a continuous program since 1904.

By 1912, there had been other attempts at teaching sex hygiene. Lectures were given in the schools of Detroit, Michigan, New York City, and Washington, D. C.[69] A program was started in the schools of Cincinnati, Ohio, as early as 1909. Zenner[70] described the origin of this program as follows:

> About five years ago a teacher in one of the Cincinnati Schools applied to the superintendent to have a woman physician give talks to girls on matters of sex....The children constituted the highest two classes in the school, the grades belonging to the intermediate or grammar school. They were from twelve to sixteen years of age....The result of this application was a course of sex instruction given to both boys and girls by Dr. Nora Crotty and myself [an M.D.]. Dr. Crotty gave fifteen short talks to the girls on cleanliness, character, heredity, anatomy of the pelvic organs, the menses, reproduction in plants and animals, infectious diseases, womanhood, and motherhood. I gave three talks to the boys and girls together on hygiene, habit, and alcohol; and a talk to the boys alone on the origin of life.

In 1911, a papier mache female human body was used in Technical High School in Cleveland, Ohio, to teach the structure of the female organs of reproduction to the girls in the

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68 G. W. Hunter and H. H. Tracy, op. cit., pp. 48-51.

69 "Sex Instruction," Report of the Commissioner of Education, Vol. I, pp. 166-169. Washington D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1912.

70 Philip Zenner, "Sex Instruction in Schools," Journal of Education, 79 (January 29, 1914) 12.

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school.[71] Unlike the exhibit at the Fifteenth International Congress of Hygiene and Demography, there was no national criticism of this means of visual instruction.

A few state educational groups were active in aiding sex education during the period 1900 to 1912. Two types of law were enacted during this period. One type of laws was restrictive and forbade the association of known prostitutes with other members of society except in special districts. It prohibited adolescents from entering saloons and houses of prostitution. This type of law was patterned after the Moral Codes passed in Italy, Austria, Portugal, and England between 1905 and 1908.[72] The other type of law required that sex education be given in the schools. In 1912, Wisconsin enacted such legislation.[73] Finland, Switzerland, and Hungary had enacted similar legislation in 1906.[74]

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[71] Anna C. Arbuthnot, "Physiology and Sex Hygiene for Girls in the Technical High School, Cleveland, Ohio," School Science and Mathematics, 11 (February, 1911), 103-6.

[72] Commissioner of Education, Annual Report of the Commissioner, Vol. I, p. 30. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1909.

[73] "Sex Instruction in Wisconsin," Journal of Education, 75 (March 21, 1912), 325.

[74] G. Stanley Hall, "The Needs and Methods of Educating Young People in the Hygiene of Sex," Pedagogical Seminary, 15 (January, 1908), 82-91.

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Several colleges began to train people to teach sex hygiene. Both the University of California[75] and Cheney State Normal School in Washington started programs in 1911. The latter was the result of a resolution passed by the State Board of Education making sex hygiene a part of the curriculum of the state normal schools.[76]

Colleges were also instrumental in the rapid growth of home economics that occurred after 1900. With funds granted to them by the government, they were able to make such courses acceptable to their students. Before this time, home economics was considered a course for women from the lower economic levels.[77]

Activities of national educational groups between 1900 and 1912 are also noteworthy. In 1909, the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education devoted its yearbook to the problem of sex education in the schools. This was the first extended discussion of the problem published by

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[75] Frances M. Greene, "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, pp. 917-25. Ann Arbor: The Association, 1912.

[76] Elsa Stewart, "Sex Hygiene," Department of School Hygiene Bulletin No. I. Cheney, Washington: The State Department of Education, 1911.

[77] Joseph K. Folsom, Youth, Family, and Education, p. 58. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941.

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a national educational group. Henderson[78] wrote in this publication:

> Every boy and girl has a claim to knowledge...that handling of the organs of reproduction, except as necessary for cleanliness, injures sometimes health, and always mind, character, sense of honor, causing great mental and moral harm as one grows older... [to knowledge of most prevalent] diseases, such as tuberculosis, syphilis, gonorrhea; their danger to every person as indicated by statistics of wide prevalence; their methods of communication, including the fact that syphilis and gonorrhea exist almost universally among those leading immoral lives; that they are more difficult to cure than other contagious diseases and that their harm is more far reaching.

In 1911, the Department of School Patrons of the National Education Association was reluctant for schools to assume responsibility for sex education.[79] It was resolved by the department that a study should be made:

> To ascertain conditions and formulate a plan whereby volunteer organizations can best assist in improving health conditions of school children.

One of the reasons given to explain why the public schools were slow in taking over responsibility was the dearth of material for teaching. Greene[80] wrote in July, 1911, "Sex

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78 National Society for the Scientific Study of Education, Education With Reference to Sex, Part II, p. 51. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909.

79 Maggie W. Barry, "Report of the School Health Committee of the Department of School Patrons of the National Education Association," Journal of Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, pp. 905-7. Chicago: The Association, 1911.

80 Frances M. Greene, "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 74 (July 20, 1911), 92.

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is a new note in education. It is a result of a movement against venereal disease." During the same month that this article was published, Greene addressed the National Education Association.[81] At that time, he pointed out the lack of educational materials in the field of sex education. He said that two years prior a publisher had refused to print a physiology text because the author had inserted a chapter on "Reproduction."

Period II

Helping Schools Assume Responsibilities

(1912-1918)

Between 1912 and 1918, schools and school personnel began to assume responsibility for sex education. As the schools took over more responsibility in this area, objections were voiced more frequently by individuals and groups. Much of the literature of this period was concerned with these objections or with suggestions as to the kinds of programs schools should or should not have. Independent writers and national groups, including educational associations, voiced objections to and stated plans for programs in sex education. In order to secure answers for some of the questions raised in this debate, individuals and groups

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[81] Frances M. Greene, "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association of the United States, pp. 917-25, Ann Arbor: The Association, 1911.

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conducted research studies. During this period, the Federal Government was like a spectator, observing and reporting, but taking no active part in the controversy. The activities of local groups did not receive national recognition. Although the activities of most of these individuals and groups are reported in detail in separate subsections, the part played in sex education by the Federal Government is mentioned only with other groups. Some activities such as veneral disease research did not seem to exert as much force on sex education during this period as they did between 1900 and 1912.

Activities of independent writers.-- Although only a few articles had appeared in educational journals prior to 1912,[58, 59, 60] after that date the amount of writing increased very rapidly. Some writers were concerned with what should be taught as sex education and how it should be taught. Others were interested in showing why it should not be

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[58] William D. Parkinson, "Sex and Education," Educational Review, 41 (January, 1911), 42-59.

[59] Charles W. Eliot, "School Instruction in Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 73 (February 16, 1911), 173-75.

[60] H. E. Walter, "High School Biology and Sex Hygiene." Education, 32 (September, 1911), 26-34.

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handled by the schools. In 1912, Blount,[61] while speaking before the National Education Association, described how sex instruction might be given by keeping pets in the classroom. She discussed the use of pregnant cats and rats in this connection and suggested that clay models of spermatazoa and cell divisions might be used advantageously. Phelps[62] also recommended the use of pregnant animals.

In 1913, Molter[63] and Garrett[64] suggested that courses in physiology and hygiene should be enlarged to include sex education and that babies and statues of nudes could be used for illustrations. At the same time, Balliet[65] cautioned

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[61] Mary Putnam Blount, "Sexual Reproduction in Animals: The Purpose and Methods of Teaching It," Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, pp. 133-39. Ann Arbor: The Association, 1912.

[62] Jessie Phelps, "Sex-Social Functioning and Biology," School and Home Education, 31 (February, 1912), 237-40.

[63] Harold Molter, "Practical Suggestions for the Teaching of Sex Hygiene," Education, 34 (October, 1913), 95-98.

[64] Laura B. Garrett, "Some Methods of Teaching Sex Hygiene," United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, Number 48, pp. 214-18. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1913.

[65] Thomas W. Balliet, "Points of Attack in Sex Education," The United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, Number 48, pp. 87-101. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1913.

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that experimental programs in sex education should not be carried out with school children until teachers and communities were prepared. He said that, if experimental programs were to be carried out, they should be with parents, members of the armed forces, college students, and members of Y.W.C.A.'s and Y.M.C.A.'s. During 1914, several writers, including Blount,[66] Knight,[67] Foster,[68] Grinstead,[69] and Peabody,[70] urged the use of the biological sciences as vehicles for sex education, but all of them warned that sex should not be treated as something special.

Opposition came both from independent writers and from the Catholic Church. Lyttleton[71] stated that no kind

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66 Ralph E. Blount, "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 80 (August 20, 1914), 129-30.

67 M. B. Knight, "Saving Second Thought," Journal of Education, 79 (February 26, 1914), 228-29.

68 William Trufant Foster, "Agencies, Methods, Materials, and Ideals of Sex Education," School Review, 22 (April, 1914), 256-61.

69 Wren Jones Grinstead, "Reading for Teachers of Sex Hygiene," School Review, 22 (April, 1914), 249-55.

70 James E. Peabody, "Some Experiments in Sex Education," Journal of Education, 80 (July 23, 1914), 105.

71 E. Lyttleton, "Instruction in Matters of Sex," Educational Review, 46 (September, 1913), 135-42.

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of class-room teaching of the subject could be successful. Strachan,[72] Duncan,[73] Carr,[74] and Pearse[75] objected to schools handling the topic. Strachan said that such teaching threatened modesty; Carr thought that it would lead to morbidity; Duncan claimed that sex hygiene was not a pedagogical problem, but was one to be solved by the home and the church; and Pearse felt that laying down rules of conduct was all the schools should do. Among the strongest objectors to the public schools assuming responsibility in this area were Catholic clergymen. Tierney[76] discussed "The Catholic Church and the Sex Problem" in September, 1913. Although there is no indication in the report of his speech that he was speaking for the Catholic Church, his statements agreed

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[72] Grace C. Strachan, "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, pp. 317-18. Ann Arbor: The Association, 1914.

[73] Fannie Casseday Duncan, "Teaching Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 79 (February 12, 1914), 187.

[74] J. W. Carr, "The Teaching of Sex Hygiene in the Public Schools," Journal of Education, 79 (April 19, 1914), 399-400.

[75] C. G. Pearse, "Sex Hygiene-What the Schools Can Do," Journal of Education, 79 (April 9, 1914), 401.

[76] Richard H. Tierney, "The Catholic Church and The Sex Problem," Journal of Education, 78 (September 25, 1913), 285-86.

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with later pronouncements of that church.[77] He said:

> In talks to children eliminate all details of sex hygiene; cast aside textbook and chart. Train the children's characters. Teach them that purity is noble and possible; that vice is vile, and carries with it punishment; that marriage is inviolable; that the family is sacred.

One month earlier, Tierney had addressed the Fourth International Congress of School Health in Buffalo, New York. At this congress, almost every point of view regarding sex education, prevalent at that time, was expressed.[78] Tierney[79] told the congress:

> Sex hygiene concerns the eternal destiny of man, the fate of his immortal soul, as well as his temporal interests. It is not merely a pedagogical question. In the last analysis the question concerns the abolition of sexual sin. To this end, public teaching of sex hygiene to school children is now advocated.
>
> The proposed course involves two elements, the intellectual and the ethical. The former is detailed; the latter vague and purely naturalistic. The main result aimed at is knowledge. The appeal is to the wrong faculty...Knowledge is not moral power...As it appears to me, the detailed teaching of sex hygiene will even thwart the noble purpose in

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[77] Infra., p. 447.

[78] American Federation for Sex Hygiene, Report of the Sex Education Sessions of the Fourth International Congress on Hygiene and of the Annual Meeting of the Federation. New York: The Federation, 1913.

[79] Richard H. Tierney, "Character and the Sex Problem," The United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, Number 18, pp. 35-39. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1913.

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view...Sex instruction is apt to put forward by some years the time of suggestion and temptation. Safety lies in diverting the attention from sex details.

Other writers raised problems regarding teacher education and materials for handling sex instruction in the schools. In 1915, Sterheim[80] emphasized the need for training teachers in order to carry out what he called a broad program of sex education. Balliet[81] suggested the same thing, but Gregory[82] wanted instruction given to parents only. He said that the way children were instructed was very bad and called the methods used "pernicious." Gibson[83] claimed that the schools should not handle the problem,because there were no adequate textbooks for the subject.

Activities of independent research workers.-- The two major pieces of research that were conducted by individuals during the period 1912-1918 indicated that there was

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[80] E. Sterheim, "Sex Problems in Education," Educational Review, 50 (October, 1915), 259-78.

[81] Thomas M. Balliet, "Sex Hygiene and Sex Morality As the Aim of Sex Education," Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, pp. 148-52. Ann Arbor: The Association, 1915.

[82] E. R. Gregory, "Instruction in Social Hygiene," School and Society, 2 (September 4, 1915), 354.

[83] H. W. Gibson, Boyology, pp. 271-74. New York: Association Press, 1916.

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uncertainty about who should handle sex education and that there was a definite need for some kind of training in this area.

Keene,[84] in 1914, sent a questionnaire to all members of the clergy living in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Unfortunately, he received only twenty-eight replies from 104 clergymen. His reports do not indicate the constituency of his respondents. He stated:

> All replied that sex hygiene should be taught in the home. Practically all of them [the clergymen answering the questionnaire] maintain that it should not be taught in the public schools except for the reason that the home has failed.

Keene[85] reported his findings to the National Education Association. He stated that the replies indicated that even when the clergymen thought the failure of parents warranted others to assume responsibility, less than fifty per cent stated that sex instruction should be given in the public schools. Thirteen out of twenty-eight clergymen replying to the questionnaire stated that if sex instruction had to be given outside of the home it might be taught in the schools. Nine of the twenty-eight ministers said that such

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[84] Charles H. Keene, "Shall Sex Hygiene be Taught in the Public Schools," Journal of Education, 80 (August 20, 1914), 130.

[85] Ibid., p. 130.

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instruction should be given in the Sunday Schools.

In 1915, Exner[86] had 948 college men complete questionnaires regarding their sex experiences. In this study, Exner found that 9.6 years was the average age when the men in his study first experienced striking impressions regarding sex. The results of the study further revealed that 63.9 per cent received such impressions before they were eleven years of age and 87.6 per cent had been so impressed before thirteen. Exner found that the average age at which some form of sexual practice began was 13.4 years. The study indicated that sixty-two per cent of the college men studied had begun some form of sexual practice before the age of puberty.

The research of Exner was quoted frequently.[87, 88, 89, 90]

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[86] M. J. Exner, "Sex Education and the High School Age," Religious Education, 11 (December, 1916), 487-98.

[87] United States Public Health Service, The Problem of Sex Education in Schools, p. 3. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, circa 1918.

[88] Benjamin C. Gruenberg, editor, High Schools and Sex Education, p. 6. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1922.

[89] Winifred V. Richmond, "Sex Problems of Adolescence," Journal of Educational Sociology, 8 (February, 1935), 332-41.

[90] Oliver M. Butterfield, Love Problems of Adolescence, p. 48. New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939.

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Exner interpreted his study to mean that the schools should assume more and more of the responsibility for sex education. He[91] stated:

> It is of utmost importance that the earliest sex impressions shall be of a wholesome nature and proceed from responsible sources. The study shows the tremendous possibilities of a system of sex education which shall be a consistent part of general education, which shall seek to maintain a normal sex consciousness from the earliest childhood up to maturity, which shall give adequate knowledge and inspire high ideals--a program of education in which the home, the school, the church, and the college or university shall perform its respective function.

Activities of groups of national scope or larger not directly connected with the public schools.-- Few international conferences met during the period 1912-1918. Among national groups, two were outstanding in their influence. The first group, the editors of the Journal of Education, launched several years of discussion in their journal with one of the earliest surveys made to ascertain what the schools should do to meet the sex education problem.[92] The other group, the American Federation for Sex Education, and its successor, the American Social Hygiene Society, distributed instructional aids to the schools.

Editors of the Journal of Education sent the following

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[91] M. J. Exner, op. cit., pp. 487-98.

[92] "The Problem of Sex Education," Journal of Education, 75 (March 21, 1912), 313-33.

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questions to a large number of their readers:

1. Is there any extended experience that demonstrates that the teaching of sex-hygiene to young people has made them less self-conscious in this regard?
2. Is there ground for hope that such advanced proper treatment of the subject will make boys and girls less curious?
3. Is there ground for hope that such proper treatment will forestall improper explanations by vulgar boys and girls?
4. Where is such teaching wisely done? Should it be done by parents, teachers, preachers, or physicians?
5. At what age should it be taught?
6. Should it be taught to individuals or in groups?
7. Is the home or the school the best place for that teaching?
8. Have physical education and physical examinations been conducive to moral cleanliness?
9. Is a text-book desirable?
10. Would you advocate the adoption of a text-book on sex-hygiene in your school?
11. Would you like to have your boy or girl taught sex-hygiene in your school?
12. Who should decide as to how and where it should be taught and by whom?

The results obtained from the survey were published in the Journal of Education. The replies varied considerably, but the editors of the periodical summarized the findings as follows:

To this date, there have been no extended demonstrations or experimentations on which judgment could be based...All [respondents] admitted that boys and girls must have a wider knowledge of sex matters. Knowledge might help lessen vices, diseases and some misunderstandings...Best instruction...the ideal is the parents, but the parents must be helped. Most of the replies did not indicate that the clergy could give effective assistance...Physicians give promise of more help...there was a feeling they should not do it alone, but in cooperation with others. Their interests are too pathological...More seems to be expected of the schools...Some leave the instruction in manners to teachers... others think teachers should teach sex through biology.

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By 1913, several state social hygiene societies and the American Federation for Sex Hygiene had developed for distribution a number of traveling exhibits.[93] By 1918, these exhibits were used quite frequently.[94] The material was arranged so that it could be coordinated with different high school subjects. Normal schools were urged to teach prospective teachers not only the facts of reproduction and sex hygiene but also what illustrative material to use and how to use it.

Activities of the public schools, educational associations, and the Bureau of Education.-- In June, 1912, the Commissioner of Education of the United States discussed sex instruction for the first time.[95] This represented the first action of an official of the Bureau of Education in this area. It also represented the type of action

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[93] Fletcher B. Dresslar, "Sex Hygiene," The United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, Number 18, pp. 35-38. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1913.

[94] United States Public Health Service, The Problems of Sex Education in Schools, p. 19. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, circa 1918.

[95] Commissioner of Education, "Sex Instruction," Report of the Commissioner of Education Vol. I, p. 167. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1912.

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that the government took during the years 1912-1918 in observing and reporting the actions of others, but not participating directly in activities. In his article, the Commissioner discussed the different methods for sex education in use at that time. He listed comparative biology as the most favored method and "straight frank talks" the next best liked. He also pointed out that textbooks were disapproved.

The first article related to sex education which appeared in a Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education described the outcomes of the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography;[96] the next bulletin discussed the Fourth International Congress of School Hygiene.[97]

Although the National Education Association had passed a number of resolutions on moral education prior to 1912, it was in that year that it acted upon the problem of sex education by passing the following resolution:[98]

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[96] United States Bureau of Education, The United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, Number 48, pp. 35-38. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1913.

[97] Laura B. Garrett, "Some Methods of Teaching Sex Hygiene," The United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, Number 48, pp. 25-30. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1913.

[98] National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, p. 43. Ann Arbor: The Association, 1912.

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We believe that the time has arrived when normal schools and teachers' colleges should give adequate courses of instruction in sex hygiene, with the view alternately, of the introduction of similar instruction into the courses of study in public schools.

Between 1912 and 1918, sex education was discussed at many meetings of the National Education Association and its departments. In 1913, the National Council of Education resolved:[99]

That the Council recommends to the N.E.A. the appointment of a committee to devise ways and means by which the subject of sex education shall be fitted into the curriculum of the normal schools, in order to equip teachers for a wise later treatment of the problem in the grades.

In 1914, at Richmond, Virginia, the Department of Superintendence[100] indicated that sex instruction should not be given in the public schools. This group resolved:

That we recognize fully the importance of the proper teaching of sex hygiene, but that we believe the ideal place for giving such instruction to be the home; that we believe the school should be willing and anxious to help the home in this matter as best it can. If instruction in sex hygiene is to be given in school at all it should be given not to classes but to individuals, and by teachers especially qualified.

In 1918, the National Education Association decided to collect information on what had been done and the most

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[99] National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, p. 360. Ann Arbor: The Association, 1913.

[100] National Education Association. Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, p. 136. Ann Arbor: The Association, 1914.

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acceptable methods available in the field of sex instruction.[101] The task was taken over by the United States Public Health Service.[102, 103]

During the years between 1912 and 1918, there was considerable discussion regarding whether or not larger school systems should attempt sex education. In Chicago, Ella Flagg Young, one of the first women to administer a city school system,[104] had introduced a systematic program into the schools of that city in 1913. Wright[105] described the Chicago experiment in a paper read before the National Education Association in 1914:

> The object of this paper will be largely to give some of the practical results of the personal purity talks given in the Chicago High Schools during the fall of 1913...A

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[101] National Education Association, Journal of Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, p. 26. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1918.

[102] United States Public Health Service, The Problems of Sex Education in Schools. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, circa 1918.

[103] Infra. p. 102.

[104] John T. McManis, Ella Flagg Young, p. 159. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1916.

[105] Mabel M. Wright, "Shall Sex Hygiene be Taught in Public Schools?" Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, pp. 697-705. Ann Arbor: The Association, 1914.

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series of three lectures was given to all high-school pupils by members of the medical profession. Boys and girls were segregated, women physicians giving the talks to girls, while boys were addressed by men...Any pupil whose parents wished to have him excused was not required to be present...These talks covered in general the biological and physiological truths which formed the basis for sex education, personal sexual hygiene, problems of sex instincts, and a few of the hygienic and social facts regarding venereal diseases.

Young's experiment lasted less than a semester when, because of the criticism of the program, it was dropped from the curriculum.[106] Peabody[107] tended to blame this failure on the method used. He claimed that, if methods other than lectures by physicians had been employed, the attempt might have been more successful.

Whatever the reason for failure may have been, the failure received widespread publicity. The Journal of Education[108] reprinted the following editorial which had originally appeared in the Boston Herald in 1913:

There are signs that teachers and school committees, not to mention parents, pastors, and the educational and religious press, are pausing for a saving second thought... Public opinion sharply voiced in San Francisco, in Chicago, and in many communities nearer Boston, is calling attention to the harm sure to follow the average schoolroom handling of the delicate topics involved...No doubt much evil comes

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106 James E. Peabody, op. cit., pp. 475-80.

107 Ibid., pp. 475-80.

108 "Sex Topics in the Schools," Journal of Education, 78 (November, 1913), 538.

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through just such ignorance as formal instruction would remove; but still more evil comes through just such precocious curiosity and such oblique indoctrination as formal classwork would foster and not displace...Teachers should never assume for a minute that in these intimate matters more knowledge means, of itself, more safety or self-control.

The Educational Review[109] reported the following editorial from the San Francisco Argonaut:

Every now and then comes a gratifying and unexpected flash of intelligence from the educational authorities of the country. Among the latest expressions of a conservative common sense is the veto placed by the Chicago Board of Education on the course in sex hygiene outlined by Mrs. Ella Flagg Young. The board will have nothing to do with it. It refuses to sanction or to touch such an explosive as this. It says in effect that while there are certain things that children ought to learn it is far better that they should go wholly untaught than that the instruction should be given to them outside the family circle. There are some kinds of knowledge that become poisonous when administered by the wrong hands, and sex hygiene is one of them.

It is hard to believe that this new mischief can be advocated by anyone with a practical, as opposed to a theoretical, knowledge of children, or by anyone who is aware of the school-class consciousness that always tends to descend to the level of its lower units. A proper sex hygiene cannot be taught as arithmetic or geography are taught...No one who can look back upon his own boyhood days and so imagine the effects of a class lesson on sex hygiene, no one who has any recollection of the school-class consciousness on such matters, could fail to look upon an experiment of this kind with consternation...Sex hygiene can properly be taught only by parents and guardians. In the hands of others it is a virulent poison. It is far better that it should be untaught than taught wrongly.

The Board of Education of New York City also considered the problem of sex education but took no action during the years from 1912 to 1918. An editorial in the

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[109] "Notes and News," Educational Review, 46 (October, 1913), 318-19.

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Journal of Education in 1914 explained the situation in this city.[110]

> Wisely or otherwise, there is slight probability that sex hygiene will be popular with school boards in the near future, at least in large cities. There are too many opposing forces and they are too forceful. The Chicago experiment appears to have been abandoned and New York does not propose to try the experiment. It is easy for highly progressive persons to see that something should be done, easy to have a nightmare over conditions that need attention, but no one has a vision yet.

While Boards of Education in some cities did not officially recognize sex education as part of the curriculum, some high school principals within such cities were conducting programs. James E. Peabody, principal of the Morris High School in New York City, permitted the teaching of sex education without securing the official sanction of the City Superintendent of Schools. Moore,[111] who described this work, stated that other high school principals were aware of "the horrors of the traffic which caters to the sex passion" and that many of them were trying to do something about the problem.

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[110] "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 79 (March, 1914), 268.

[111] Herbert E. Moore, "The Teaching of Sex Hygiene in Our Public Schools," Education, 38 (October, 1917), 112-16.

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Period III

Expanding Sex Education to Include Family-Life Education (1918-1929)

By 1918, the idea that public schools should be taking responsibility for sex education, even though opposed in some quarters, had gained widespread acceptance. The period from 1918 to 1929 saw the concept of what should be included in sex education expanded. During this period writers and research workers, heretofore largely independent, became more frequently associated with local and national organizations. Much of the research and writings reported the activities of these organizations. Some independent writing still continued, however.

It was during this period that the federal government took over many of the educational activities directed toward venereal disease control. Sometimes this work was done by agencies of the government working alone and sometimes cooperating with and encouraging other groups that were working in the same area.

While the federal government promoted education that primarily was directed toward venereal disease control, other organizations were taking over other phases of the sex education program, including training directed at improving marriage, the family, parenthood, and individual development.

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The close of the period can be said to be the beginning of the depression in 1929, when major social and economic conditions brought about by the depression had a far reaching effect on the concepts regarding the function of sex instruction in the public schools.

Activities of independent writers and research workers.-- The major concern of independent workers in the field of sex education during the years 1918 to 1929 was in determining how and what to teach in this area. Reports, both of research and of opinions, indicated that writers were interested in developing a program more inclusive than the mere imparting of biological facts.

At the beginning of the period, Gruenberg[112] made a study to determine what the 430 girls attending Julia Richmond High School wanted in terms of sex instruction. He received 404 replies. Only eighty-five girls suggested the need for instruction in the primary functions of sex and reproduction, but the majority of those answering the questionnaire indicated a need for help in areas of personal adjustment which might be classified as of a secondary sex nature. Many wanted to know about the care of the body, how to make the eyes more attractive, what to eat, and how to dress. All of these problems, according to Gruenberg, were

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[112] Benjamin C. Gruenberg, "What Girls Want to Know," School Review, 26 (December, 1918), 750-58.

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presumably motivated by a desire to be more attractive to the opposite sex.

Gruenberg attempted to justify the time and energy expended on studies such as his in the following manner:[113]

> Those of us who have been interested in promoting "democracy in education" whatever that may mean, are frequently taunted with the question whether we would ask children what they wished to have taught or how they wished to be taught. Without answering this large question categorically, I submit that it would be eminently unwise to ignore the articulate wishes of these young women, and the millions like them...And what the girls want to know is very much like what the boys want to know.

Many writers were expressing a need to give pupils help with problems of sexual adjustment. During the first years of this period, courses of study were suggested in which biology and nature study were the principal vehicles for sex instruction and in which presentations were to be "dispassionate"[114] or "cool, scientific, forceful."[115] During this time, general science also was suggested as a course in which the facts of reproduction might be taught.[116]

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113 Ibid., pp. 750-58.

114 C. G. Church, "New Kind of Position-Martyrdom," School and Society, 9 (April 12, 1919), 447-49.

115 H. R. Hubbard, "How Can Sex Instruction, Which High School Boys and Girls Need, Be Given in Connection with Biology," School Science and Mathematics, 19 (February, 1919), 173-76.

116 E. F. Van Buskirk, "How Can Sex Education Be Made a Part of General Science," School Science and Mathematics, 19 (December, 1919), 789-94.

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Some of these courses were primarily concerned with sex education, as can be seen from a syllabus suggested by Mac Caughey[117] for the teaching of biology. This syllabus is divided into the following topics:

1. The Origin and Nature of Sex
2. The Evolution of the Sex Mechanisms
3. The Nature and Functions of the Internal Sex Organs
4. The elements of Human Embryology
5. Venereal Disease
6. Basic Principles of Genetics, Heredity, and Eugenics.

Van Buskirk[118] stated that he felt that "biologic facts in themselves do not necessarily constitute sex education," Gruenberg[119] and Barker[120] also expressed this point

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[117] Vaughn MacCaughey, "Sex Education in Biology Classes," School Science and Mathematics, 19 (June, 1919), 509.

[118] E. F. Buskirk, "How Can Sex Education Be Made a Part of Biology," School Science and Mathematics, 19 (April, 1919), 335-43.

[119] Benjamin C. Gruenberg, "Social Hygiene in the Public Schools," Journal of Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, pp. 663-66. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1921.

[120] Charles E. Barker, "Social Hygiene in the Schools," Journal of Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, pp. 54-55. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1921.

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of view. In 1922, School and Society[121] presented an outline that included developing appreciations for sex in life, reducing tensions, and training for parenthood. Gruenberg[122] stated that education in this area should be directed toward developing wholesome attitudes toward other people. He suggested physical education as the vehicle for this broader program of sex education.

Writers stressed more and more the personal factors that had to be considered in sex education. Tauton and Struthers[123] said:

> Granting that teachers may know the needs of pupils at the proper time, the problem is complex because of the personal factors involved: the personality of the teacher, the personalities of the pupils, the character and sentiment of the community, and the previous successes and failures of the attempt at instruction in the matter of sex.

Some writers suggested that the responsibility for teaching sex hygiene should be placed on the parents, but that they should be helped to perform their duties in this

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121 "An Outline for Sex Education in the High School," School and Society, 15 (June 10, 1922), 650-52.

122 Benjamin C. Gruenberg, "Sex Education in Hygiene and Physical Education," Educational Review, 65 (February, 1923), 80-3.

123 Frank Charles Tauton and Alice Ball Struthers, Junior High-School Procedure, p. 37. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1926.

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area. Bundsen,[124] commissioner of health for the city of Chicago, implied this when he said:

> It is the hope of parents that when sex impulses and temptations begin to invade the consciousness of the child, right knowledge will come somehow through divine inspiration or intuition...The more enlightened minds have begun to see that sex education consists not merely in giving the child information concerning sex or a warning of the dangers of disease, but includes the entire field of morality, health, manners, and social and racial responsibility. It means character development and healthful living. It means that telling children the truth will not alone insure good morals. It means that it is better to inculcate early a love of morality than to attempt later to create fear of the consequences of immorality. It means a comprehensive and progressive program of care and guidance by precept and personal example, extending over a long period of years from infancy to maturity.

Several books were written about the personality of youth, especially in connection with sexual adjustment. Typical of such books are those by Boorman,[125] Elliott and Bone,[126] and Brooks.[127] They were written, for the most part, from a mental health point of view. Writers of these books

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[124] "Sex Education," The School Review, 32 (February, 1924), 90-1.

[125] W. Ryland Boorman, Developing Personality in Boys. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929.

[126] Grace Elliott and Harry Bone, The Sex Life of Youth, New York: Association Press, 1929.

[127] Fowler D. Brooks, The Psychology of Adolescence. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929.

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suggested that adolescents must first be emotionally stable before they can hope to become sexually adjusted.

Activities of groups of national scope or larger not directly connected with the public schools.-- Several national organizations became increasingly interested in the problem of sexual adjustment of children. In 1921, Sidonie M. Gruenberg became the executive director of the Child Study Association, and as its leader helped expand its sphere of influence.[128] Auerbach[129] claimed that Sidonie M. Gruenberg was responsible for stimulating the study of children's sex problems along with other problems of child care. In 1922, the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial Fund established grants for the organization of research and training centers in child development. Between the time of its inception and 1930, eighteen such centers were established.[130]

From 1918 to 1929, the major emphasis of nongovernmental groups was directed toward the education of parents

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128 Percival M. Symonds, The Dynamics of Parent-Child Relationships, p. 136. New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949.

129 A. B. Auerbach, "Current Trends in Books on Sex Education," Child Study, 26 (Summer, 1949), 103-4.

130 George S. Stevenson and Geddes Smith, Child Guidance Clinics: A Quarter Century of Development, p. 153. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1934.

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and future parents. Even those students of sex education who considered that their objective could best be obtained through individual development of the child were in favor of parental education as a vehicle for obtaining their aims. Sidonie M. Gruenberg worked continuously in this area.

National groups and colleges worked together to develop courses for parenthood and home making. Two activities stimulated the work in colleges. The Interfraternity Conference had voted in 1921 to encourage sex education in colleges. Members and alumni of various fraternities were urging that courses be developed which would include this topic.[131] In 1924, a committee of two hundred college presidents met to outline tentative plans for sex education in colleges.[132] This committee meeting resulted in the organization of more than two hundred college committees for social hygiene whose function was to consider what courses in eugenics, the family, and techniques of child rearing should be added to the curricula of their respective schools.

Even before this meeting, the University of Minnesota in 1920 introduced a human baby into its "home management

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131 "Some High Points in the History of Sex Education in the United States," Journal of Social Hygiene, 24 (December, 1938), 584.

132 Ibid., p. 584.

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house."[133] This seems to be the first attempt to carry out Garrett's suggestion of 1913.[134] Courses in marriage and family living were instituted by Ernest Groves at Boston University in 1924.[135] After this date, many colleges developed courses in marriage and family-life adjustment.

The early courses in family and marriage were rather academic.[136] They were preoccupied with the role of the family as an institution rather than with the family as a group in which interpersonal relations were important.

To help parents meet the problems raised in the education of their children, including sex education, the National Council of Parent Education was organized in 1926.[137]

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133 Joseph K. Folsom, Youth, Family, and Education, p. 61. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941.

134 Supra, p. 73.

135 Hyman M. Boodish, "Development of Resource Units in a Course in Human Relations," Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, p. 36. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1950

136 Abraham Stone, "Marriage Education and Marriage Counseling in the United States," Marriage and Family Living, 11 (Spring, 1949), 38.

137 Percival M. Symonds, op. cit., p. 136.

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The national group together with local organizations carried on educational activities through many media. Articles were published; discussion groups organized; and special lecturers were sponsored.

Another extremely important group which worked to help parents solve problems in the rearing of their children was the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. By 1928, local branches were developing home study material for parents. One of the first pamphlets in the area of sex education to be used in parental education was produced by the District of Columbia branch early in 1928 and distributed the following year to all its affiliated groups.[138] The value of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers in sex education was recognized by Edson[139] in 1929, and he urged that its work be continued. Throughout the next few years, many state divisions developed and distributed material that would aid parents in giving guidance to their children in the area of sex and reproduction.

Courses for individual and family-life adjustment

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138 Giles Scott Rafter (Mrs.), "Social Hygiene Work by the Parent-Teacher Association," School Life, 14 (September, 1928), 15 ff.

139 Newell W. Edson, "Children are Entitled to Best Human Experience in Sex Education," School Life, 14 (April, 1929), 152-53.

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were becoming more numerous on both the secondary and collegiate levels by 1929. They were to play increasingly more important roles in sex education programs during the next decade.

Activities of the Federal Government other than those of the Bureau of Education.-- The activities of the Federal Government between 1918 and 1929 that were to have direct bearing on the sex education programs in the public schools were of two kinds. First, efforts that were made to prevent venereal infection among military personnel illustrated need for training of adolescents regarding the dangers of venereal disease; and, second, the government took steps to help educate high school students regarding these dangers.

During World War I, the problem of veneral disease became so great that top military men and the Surgeon-General of the United States Public Health Service recognized that they had to take action to lessen the casualties due to these diseases. One result was the Chamberlain-Kahn Act. This act had been recommended previously by the United States Public Health Service and was finally adopted in 1918.[140] One of the provisions of this act was to promote and encourage instruction in the schools in matters relative to sex.

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[140] Harold C. Leibee, "A Sex Education Program," The Journal of Health and Physical Education, 8 (November, 1937), 547 ff.

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This period also saw some special bulletins issued by military leaders. General Pershing, Commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I, issued a special bulletin to the forces on August 7, 1918, which stated in part:[141]

> Sexual continence is the plain duty of members of the A.E.F., both for the vigorous conduct of the war and for the clean health of the American people after the war.

On December 23, 1919, the War Department issued a general order which stated:[142]

> Continence is not prejudicial to health, and its maintenance is the only sure method of avoiding venereal diseases. Measures encouraging it have proved most effective in keeping down rates of venereal diseases.

Educators began to use such data as these in discussing the program of sex education in the schools. Coleman,[143] speaking before the National Education Association in 1918, emphasized:

> The effective strength of the Army is menaced by venereal diseases probably more than all other diseases put together...The essential problem is recognized by the Surgeon General's Department to be one of education... Young men...need to know accurately the dangers that follow sexual vice.

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[141] Roy E. Dickerson, Social Hygiene Data for Teachers of the Pre-Induction Health Course, p. 3. Cincinnati: The Author, 1945.

[142] Ibid., p. 3.

[143] N. F. Coleman, "Sex Education and the War," Journal of Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, pp. 195-96. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1918.

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In 1922, Tigert, then Commissioner of Education, and Cummins, at that time Surgeon General, wrote the foreword for High Schools and Sex Education.[144] In the opening paragraph, they summarized the activities in which the United States Government had been engaged during the period from 1918 to 1922. Tigert and Cummins said:

> The importance of education along the lines of what is sometimes called "social hygiene" has long been evident to all those interested in the welfare of boys and girls. It was the war, however, that revealed the immediate urgency of this work. Now, as before, it is essential, both for preventing the destructive venereal diseases and insuring the best use of creative impulses, that our boys and girls be wisely directed to an understanding and control of their sexual energies.

Immediately following World War I, the United States Public Health Service, in cooperation with state departments of health and education, inaugurated a program for the development of sex education in the high schools and colleges of the United States.[145] Throughout the period from 1918 to 1929, officials of the United States Public Health Service tried in many ways to develop this program. The Public Health Service conducted fifty regional conferences in high

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144 Benjamin C. Gruenberg, editor, High Schools and Sex Education. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1922.

145 Harry H. Moore, "The Attitudes of High School Teachers Toward Sex Education," Educational Review, 70 (September, 1925), 90-4.

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schools and college in 1920.[146] Two years later, as a result of these conferences, the President of the United States named a Committee of Fifty to study College Hygiene.[147]

In 1920, the United Stated Public Health Service, together with the American Social Hygiene Association and the United States Bureau of Education, launched the first of a series of surveys to study the condition of sex education in the schools.[148] These surveys were conducted at frequent intervals in order to ascertain the growth of sex education at the secondary level. The questionnaires for the first survey were sent in January, 1920, to 12,025 high schools. Over half (6,488) of the administrators replied. From the replies received, Edson[149] estimated that between twenty per cent and forty per cent of the high schools had programs of sex education in 1920. Over fifty per cent of the instruction given in regular courses of study was given in

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[146] "Some High Points in the History of Sex Education in the United States," Journal of Social Hygiene, 24 (December, 1938), 584.

[147] Ibid., p. 584.

[148] Ibid., p. 584.

[149] Newell W. Edson, "The Status of Sex Education in High Schools," Bureau of Education Bulletin, Number 12, pp. 1-12. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1922.

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biology classes. For the most part, however, instruction was given by outside speakers, such as members of the medical profession, rather than by members of the school faculty. The survey revealed that some states were more favorable toward sex education than others. All of the replies from Utah indicated that sex education was part of the high school curriculum. Maryland, Delaware, and New Hampshire devoted very little attention to the problem. In the states where the teaching of biology was required, more schools included sex education in their curricula.

One of the outcomes of the survey conducted in 1920 was the publication of High Schools and Sex Education by the United States Public Health Service and the United States Bureau of Education in 1922.[150] The book was a small manual of ninety-eight pages containing "suggestions on education related to sex." It was edited by Benjamin C. Gruenberg, who was, at that time, Assistant Director of Educational Work of the United States Public Health Service. The manual explained how sex education might be made a part of such subjects in the curriculum as biology, general science, physiology, physical education, home economics, the social studies, and English.

In the early pages of this manual, Gruenberg attempted

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[150] Benjamin C. Gruenberg, editor, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

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to justify the introduction of sex education into the high schools. He wrote:[151]

> Various social and educational developments of the past fifteen or twenty years have conspired to force upon the high schools of the country a definite responsibility with relation to what has been vaguely termed "sex education." ...
>
> On the social side, it has become increasingly evident that boys and girls are growing into maturity not alone ignorant of the basic facts and the meaning of sex but with more or less seriously distorted or perverted attitudes toward sex. The large sections of our population characterized by a vulgar or by a prudish attitude, the prevalence of prostitution, the increase in the rates of illegitimate births, of desertions and divorce, the apparent increase of certain types of mental disturbances, and the wide distribution of venereal diseases and other morbid phenomena may be considered as symptoms of a defective adjustment of boys and girls to the living problems and conditions of men and women. While most, or perhaps all, of these social symptoms indicate economic and other factors that are not adjusted, they also point unmistakably to a serious defect in the "bringing up" - that is, the education of men and women... [Therefore in the field of sex education] it becomes of the utmost importance that...information be made straight and that attitudes be made clean and sound.
>
> On the educational side, it has become increasingly clear that the mere imparting of knowledge, however useful, or mere "mental discipline," however severe, is far from adequate equipment for the important task of life. The new demands upon the school for character training, for vocational guidance and training for citizenship training are but further indication of a widespread and growing realization of the incompleteness of our educational plans and programs.
>
> In harmony with the rapidly developing psychology of education, it becomes necessary to conceive of education in relation to sex as but a phase of character education as a whole...In the wake of the industrial revolution, the family has lost many of its educational and recreational

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[151] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

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functions as well as most of its economic functions. Hand in hand with these changes, the school has taken over more and more of the former...

Early in 1923, the United States Public Health Service issued a card exhibit entitled "Adolescence and Sex Education," to be used at conferences on this subject with small groups of high school teachers.[152] Earlier, this Service had developed an exhibit for boys, entitled "Keeping Fit," together with a pamphlet with an identical title, which could be used as a supplementary device. At the same time it had developed an exhibit for girls called "Youth and Life" and a pamphlet to accompany it called "Healthy, Happy Womanhood." These exhibits and pamphlets had been used extensively in the schools when talks were given to boys and girls.[153]

The exhibit, "Adolescence and Sex Education," was directed toward educating teachers in the high schools to carry out their own programs of sex education. It consisted of thirty-four cards, nine by twelve inches, containing an analysis and exposition of the problem of sex education in the high school, under the following headings:

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[152] Harry H. Moore, op. cit., pp. 90-94.

[153] Newell W. Edson, op. cit., p. 6.

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1. The problems of adolescence
2. The fruits of ignorance
3. The scope of sex education
4. Sex education in courses of study
5. The teacher and his training.

Most of the cards contained, in addition to text, a graph, a cartoon, a photograph, or a colored picture illustrating the text.[154]

The interest of the United States Public Health Service continued, and in 1927, in cooperation with the American Social Hygiene Association, the high schools of the United States were resurveyed to measure progress made in the development of sex education programs.[155] Edson[156] reported the findings of the survey in 1929. One of the most significant changes reported was the change from teaching sex facts in such courses as biology to a recognition that, as education is preparation for life, sex education is preparation for those aspects of life in which the relations

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[154] Harry H. Moore, op. cit., pp. 90-94.

[155] "Some High Points in the History of Sex Education in the United States," op. cit., p. 584.

[156] Newell W. Edson, "Children Are Entitled to Best Human Experience in Sex Education," School Life, 14 (April, 1929), 152-53.

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between the sexes play an important role. There was a definite trend toward the development of courses in the high schools for marriage and future sex life. In 1927, one high school in ten was experimenting in courses training for marriage.[157] Nongovernmental agencies had been striving for a broader and more practical concept of sex education from the period immediately following the first World War. The extent of their achievement was indicated, at least to some extent, by the survey of 1927.

Activities of the public schools, educational associations, and the Bureau of Education.-- The National Education Association, meeting in Salt Lake City in 1920, passed a resolution recommending cooperation of the schools with other institutions and organizations in the development of a program of social hygiene.[158] The resolution adopted is as follows:

> We favor the teaching of social hygiene in all teacher-training institutions, and recommend the cooperation of teachers with all organizations of parents in the instruction necessary to the inculcation of sound ideas and attitudes in children and youth. As to the essentials of social hygiene, we favor the establishment by the States and Nation of definite standards and ideals of physical

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[157] Ibid., pp. 152-53.

[158] National Education Association, Journal of Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, p. 61. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1920.

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perfection of children of school age, to be placed before pupils and parents, and we advise the adoption of a plan of regular reports to parents of the physical standing of their children.

In a report of the United States Public Health Service[159] released in 1922, it was claimed that this resolution was a good guide for the development of programs of sex education in the schools. The authors of this report stated:

> Sex education must be developed as an organic part of the entire educational program, and must not be considered a special and isolated bit of ritual to be performed at a given time, and then dismissed as finished.

In 1925 and in 1926, the National Education Association tried to influence the passage of legislative acts that would increase the strength of the postal laws regarding obscenity. The resolutions passed at the annual meetings of the Association in these years proposed that a committee be appointed to urge the Congress of the United States of America to extend the laws to include additional forms of mail in their lists of what could not be shipped across

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[159] Benjamin C. Gruenberg, editor, High Schools and Sex Education, p. 2. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1922.

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state lines.[160, 161] There is no evidence in the reports of subsequent meetings that these resolutions were acted upon with any degree of success.

In 1926, Washburne, then Superintendent of Schools at Winnetka, Illinois, described the plan that his school system had developed in family-life education between 1922 and 1926.[162] He said:[163]

> The question is not whether we should have sex instruction; we are going to, whether we want it or not. The question is: "Who shall give it?" Shall sex instruction be given in the home or in the school or on the street?...The home, ideally, would be the place to give it if we had mothers and fathers who, from the beginning, had the attitude toward sex that made it possible for them to speak of sex matters without selfconsciousness and with simplicity, and who had the knowledge to speak with scientific accuracy.

Washburne further stated that the course was compulsory for all students attending Winnetka high schools.

The plan was mentioned for several years as the first one of its type for high schools that continued to be success-

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[160] National Education Association, Journal of Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, p. 1097. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1925.

[161] National Education Association, Journal of Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, p. 1101. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1926.

[162] C. W. Washburne, Sex Education in School. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1926.

[163] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

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ful.[164, 165]

Period IV

Broadening the Scope of Sex Education During the Economic Depression (1929-1941)

A fourth period of sex education in the twentieth century in the United States parallels very closely in time the period of the economic depression which extended from 1929 to 1941. This period could be said to open with the "Stock Market Crash," which Allen[166] claimed had such a traumatic effect upon the lives of the American people that the "psychological climate" of America had been changed. As he predicted, the decade of the nineteen thirties seemed to be a period when many people had to make new adjustments, consider new ideas, and accept new values of life.

Activities which had been initiated during the nineteen twenties were continued into the depression period.

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[164] Margaret S. Funk and Willard W. Beatty, "Relating Sex to Life," High School Clearing House, 8 (December, 1933), 235-38.

[165] Joseph K. Folsom, Youth, Family, and Education, p. 117. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941.

[166] Frederick Lewis Allen, Only Yesterday, p. 338. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1931.

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These activities, however, were modified by the needs emphasized by the depression. Governmental agencies, which had been concerned, for the most part, with combating venereal diseases, continued this function during the depression years. However, many departments and agencies of the government also cooperated with nongovernmental groups in activities centering around individual and family-life adjustment. Toward the end of the fourth period, some governmental officials began to question whether or not venereal disease education was a proper function of sex education.

Between 1929 and 1941, there were many conferences called to find answers to questions regarding sex, raised by the effects of the depression on the adjustment of individuals and families. Both governmental and nongovernmental agencies joined in an effort to solve the problems.

The need for education in matters of sex was pointed out by reports from youth conferences and by demands of adults for information in this area. The need was also shown through research studies which revealed that such education had to be broader than the mere imparting of facts.

Activities of independent writers.-- During the years from 1929 to 1941, writers discussed several aspects of the sex education program. Additional efforts were made to show that sex education needed to be considered broadly and that guidance was necessary if such a program were to be

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successful. Books were written to help parents and teachers with this guidance. Different ways of approaching the problem of sex education in the schools were discussed by some writers.

Bigelow,[167] in 1930, stated that sex education is a part of parental education and that the strains and stresses in most families are, in the last analysis, due to conflicts and misunderstandings in the area of sex. For this reason, he said:

> Education [should make] available to all intelligent persons the discoveries of the natural and social sciences relating to sex and parenthood....Such education [should have] two aspects (1) training for married life...and (2) training for the physical, psychial, and social care of children.

Two years later, Seiler[168] tried to show why sex education should be considered broader than the imparting of sex information when he said:

> It is an interesting finding of individual psychology that human beings never meet anything but social problems in life, the human task of love and marriage is just a special case of the wider sphere of human fellowship.
>
> The schools are well in position to anticipate how a child will develop socially and sexually in his later life; if he fails in his little problems, if he refuses to join other children, if he looks down on members of the opposite sex, if he has no comrades or friends, if he cannot concentrate and cannot become independently interested in work, if

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[167] M. A. Bigelow, "Sex Education in Parental Education," Teachers College Record, 31 (March, 1930), 522-27.

[168] E. S. Seiler, "New View Points for Sex Education in High Schools," The High School Teacher, 8 (September, 1932), 271-73.

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he proves a bad loser in play and sports, then the school should recognize those danger signals and in cooperation with the parents should initiate a plan of reeducation to improve the child's dangerously deficient preparation for the adult tasks of work, love, and human fellowship.

A similar position was taken by Zachry in 1932[169] and again in 1941.[170] In 1932, she said:

The child's social education and therefore his sex education, begins the day that he is born. His adult attitudes toward men and women around him are largely determined by the social opportunities which are given him during the nursery period. As teachers, our responsibility for his social adjustment when he comes to us involves constructive use of the desirable social contacts he has had and trying to offset his undesirable experiences.

Understanding parents and teachers will accept the development of interest in the opposite sex calmly and without comment, realizing that their calm and sympathetic acceptance of this development will do much to reassure the young person at a very emotional period that is all too often, through a misunderstanding of adults, an anxious period.

In 1941, she wrote:

Sex education that will function in the life of the adolescent must include sensitive understanding and guiding of attitudes as well as imparting sound information.

As the broader aspects of sex education were being considered, it was pointed out that the problem of such education was one of guidance. Brewer[171] claimed that one

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169 Caroline B. Zachry, "Social Adjustment and Sex Education," NEA Journal, 21 (January, 1932), 3-6.

170 Caroline B. Zachry, "Sex Education in the Schools," Harvard Educational Review, 11 (January, 1941), 68-75.

171 John M. Brewer, Education as Guidance, p. 164. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932.

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of the main jobs of the schools was to help children and young people develop wholesome attitudes toward the subject of sex and acceptable relations with the opposite sex. He said that guidance should help the child rid himself of many false ideas such as the following:[172]

1. Love is something over which one has little or no control.
2. A poor marriage is better than none at all.
3. There is a one and only for each person existing in the world.
4. Married life is healthier than unmarried.
5. Marriage and sex are synonomous.
6. Marriage can be reduced to a mechanistic basis.

In 1935, Wilson[173] claimed that such guidance should take place in what is commonly considered the junior high school. He said:

It is widely recognized that it is in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades that children tend to formulate attitudes toward sex and the other sex.

Gruenberg[174] said that several conditions were necessary if children were to be educated with respect to the meaning and place of sex in life. Among these were the

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172 Ibid., p. 196.

173 Frank T. Wilson, Guiding Our Children, p. 91. New York: Globe Book Company, 1935.

174 Sidonie M. Gruenberg, "Parent's Problems in Sex Education," The Journal of Educational Sociology, 8 (February, 1935), 323-332.

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imparting of sex facts, the interpreting of these facts, the guidance of the child in the development of sound attitudes, and the keeping of the channels of communication open between parents and their children.

In 1939, Butterfield[175] meant approximately the same thing when he said:

> It is possible that mere information about sexual temptations may serve to whet the appetite for experimentation. Unless such information is supported by a wholesome attitude toward sex and social relationships in general, and an understanding of the part they play in a well adjusted life, youth is likely to continue on its way, reckless and rebellious.

Several writers suggested ways of helping with this guidance. Richmond[176] recommended that the psychology of human behavior should be taught in high schools. Thomas[177] tried to show how the approach might be made through classes in literature. Michener[178] described a discussion

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175 Oliver M. Butterfield, Love Problems of Adolescence, p. 34. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teacher's College Columbia University, 1939.

176 Winifred V. Richmond, "Sex Problems of Adolescence," Journal of Educational Sociology, 8 (February, 1935), 332-41.

177 C. S. Thomas, "Sex and the Young Readers of Literature," Harvard Educational Review, 7 (March, 1937), 243-53.

178 J. A. Michener, "Sex Education: A Success in Our Social-Studies Classes," Clearing House, 12 (April, 1938), 461-65.

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course in which both the biology teacher and the social science teacher served as moderators. Meek and others[179] reported that classes in several areas such as social dancing, foods, personal attractiveness, and home entertainment were helpful.

Several books were written to help with the guidance of children in matters of sex and reproduction. Among such books were those by Strain,[180] De Schweinitz,[181] Burnham[182] and McKown.[183]

Activities of independent research workers.-- Typical among the research studies conducted to find in what areas guidance was needed and in what areas it was wanted were the following two studies. Such studies as these encouraged the broadening of sex education programs to include guidance for personality adjustment, opportunities

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[179] Lois Hayden Meek and Others, The Personal-Social Development of Boys and Girls, p. 153. New York: Progressive Education Association, 1940.

[180] Frances B. Strain, New Patterns in Sex Teaching. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934.

[181] Karl De Schweinitz, Growing Up. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1940.

[182] Helen A. Burnham and Others, The Boy and His Daily Living. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1935.

[183] Harry C. McKown, A Boy Grows Up. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1940.

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for more people to receive such guidance, and participation of many members of the community in this guidance.

Burkhart[184] analyzed the problems of high school students. This study shows that many of the problems of social adjustment have sexual components. It also indicates that knowledge of facts about sex does not necessarily alleviate the problems.

In 1941, McAtee[185] conducted a study among four hundred biology students. He asked questions similar to those asked by Burkhart and received similar replies. Students wanted the facts, but they also wanted answers to those personal problems of which biological functions are a small part.

Activities of groups of less than national scope not directly connected with the public schools.-- The need for education in the area of sexual adjustment was recognized not only by those conducting research, but also by young people and adults who were the victims of lack of knowledge in this area. Both young people and adults asked for more

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184 Roy A. Burkhart, Social Adjustment Problems of Young People of High School Age. Chicago: The University of Chicago Libraries, 1939.

185 V. M. McAtee, "The Present Biology Program and Its Relation to Adolescent Needs," School Science and Mathematics, 41 (May, 1941), 851-54.

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education to help them meet their problems of sexual adjustment. As groups pointing out the need for instruction regarding venereal disease had been effective earlier in the twentieth century in the development of programs for that purpose, so requests by groups for assistance with their problems of sexual adjustment helped develop broader sex education programs during this period.

In 1935, the young people of Orange, New Jersey, charged society with neglect. They conducted a hypothetical trial called "The Case of Youth versus Society."[186] At this "trial" society was charged with neglect of youth in guiding them in solving problems regarding leisure time, moral code, friendship, marriage, and employment. Thirty-two groups of young people prepared the prosecution. They were between eighteen and twenty-five years of age and were assisted by six practicing lawyers, all under thirty years of age. Over one hundred adults prepared the defense.

Society was found guilty of "inadequate instruction on the subject of choosing a mate," "allowing conditions to exist under which young people are unable to marry due to lack of employment," "allowing the continued and flourishing existence of pitfalls for youth, such as obscene literature, saloons, and gambling devices." Society

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[186] Wayland D. Towner, "The Case of Youth versus Society," Journal of Social Hygiene, 21 (October, 1935), 336.

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was found not guilty of "failure to attempt serious moral education in the home, school, and church." On the charge of "inadequate sex instruction," the jury reached no verdict.

Following the "trial," a permanent Institute on Marriage and the Home was established with Valeria H. Parker as its director. The Institute carried out a program of counseling on marriage, of developing medical, legal, and protective measures, and of distributing necessary information on matters of sexual adjustment.

At the Christian Youth Conference of North America, held at Lakeside, Ohio, in 1936, the same charges were voiced by those in attendance. At this meeting delegates from twenty-four denominations in forty-four states condemned their elders for almost total failure to provide education for marriage.[187]

Adults recognized the need for education to help solve problems of sexual maladjustment. One of the requests made of the schools conducted by the Work Projects Administration was for classes on various phases of child development, including orientation with respect to sex guidance of children. The WPA held such classes and they

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[187] Homer P. Rainey and Others, How Fare American Youth? p. 144. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937.

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were a prominent feature of many of the adult education programs.[188]

Another indication of the recognition of a need for sex education to help solve some of the adjustment problems of adolescents and adults came from a survey conducted by the Successful Farmer. This journal had a record of being somewhat conservative, but in April, 1938, the editors polled their readers on the problem of whether the human relations aspect of sex education should be taught in the schools. The replies from the readers, mostly farmers and small town rural people, indicated that sixty-four per cent considered such education essential.[189]

Activities of groups of national scope or larger not directly connected with the public schools.-- While some national conferences, during this period, focussed their attention on the broader problems of education for family life, at least one national group made a comprehensive study of the problems of young people in the areas of social and personal adjustment.

The American Social Hygiene Association, the

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[188] Benjamin C. Gruenberg, "What Youth Wants and What it Gets from School," School and Society, 49 (February 18, 1939), 220-24.

[189] Lester A. Kirkendall, "Progress in Sex Education," Clearing House, 20 (October, 1945), 111-12.

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American Home Economics Association, and Teachers College, Columbia University, convened in a "Conference on Education for Marriage and Family Social Relations" in 1934. Several such meetings were held at different universities during the next few months, and in 1936, the State of New York sponsored another conference of the same type.[190]

In 1938 a group of socially minded attorneys, led by Paul Sayre of the State University of Iowa, joined with a few members of other professions to organize the National Conference on Family Relations.[191] It was composed of personnel from many professions and many laymen. The conference was concerned with such problems as family-life education, marriage counseling, state and federal legislation in regards to the family, marriage laws, and marriage license procedure. Another contribution of the National Conference on Family Relations was an increase in interest in legal matters related to sexual and marital adjustment.

One of the important achievements of these meetings was the bringing together of such groups as education, labor, health, mental hygiene, and social welfare to think through

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190 Joseph K. Folsom, Youth, Family, and Education, p. 188. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941.

191 Ibid., 189.

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common problems related to the adjustment of the family.[192]

One of the most comprehensive studies of the problems of youth was made by Bell,[193] in 1938. He studied over 13,000 young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four in the State of Maryland. Very few of the youth of the survey had had an opportunity for sex education in the schools. Seventy-five per cent of the young people of both sexes stated that sex education was necessary if family adjustments were to adequately made. The depression had accented the need for help in marital adjustment. Almost fifty per cent of the youth had had no employment.[194] Over 3,000 of the 13,000 were married; half of those married were living with their parents or relatives. Over ninety per cent of the youth studied in the Maryland survey wanted to get married and many were seeking sexual outlets outside of marriage.

Activities of the Federal Government other than those of the Office of Education.-- The work of the Federal Government in venereal disease control, which had gained impetus following the first World War, continued into the fourth

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[193] Howard M. Bell, editor, Youth Tell Their Story. Washington, D. C.: American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, 1938.

[194] Ibid., p. 90.

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period. The breakdown of family ties, together with the disillusionment brought about by economic insecurity, seemed to increase promiscuity and the amount of venereal infection. By 1936, the situation was such that the Surgeon-General of the United States Public Health Service called a National Conference on Venereal Disease Control.[195] At that conference, sex education was considered as an ally in venereal disease control. This represented a distinct change in emphasis from the time when venereal disease control was considered a major part of sex education. After 1936, this new emphasis continued.

Parran,[196] Surgeon-General of the United States Public Health Service, tried to clarify the relationship between education for venereal disease control and sex education as follows:

> Foremost among the educational tasks is the need for dissociating syphilis and gonorrhea from morals. It is a biologic accident that each is spread by sex contact. From the medical standpoint they are communicable diseases and must be attacked with the same purpose that motivates the fight against smallpox or tuberculosis--the purpose of disease prevention. As long as the diseases remain a moral issue, frank discussion and straight-forward dealing with the problem will be difficult and innocent infections more frequent.

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195 "Some High Points in the History of Sex Education in the United States," Journal of Social Hygiene, 24 (December, 1938), 584.

196 Thomas Parran, "Let's Lift the Taboo," The Nation's Schools, 20 (September, 1937), 23-24.

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In 1938, Laton[197] clearly stated the need for the separation of sex education and venereal disease control education when she wrote:

> The study of syphilis and gonorrhea belongs... with the study of communicable disease and not with the study of reproduction and family life. Efforts to teach sex morality through fear of disease have not been notably successful.

By 1940, the separation was considered complete enough for Parran[198] to state that, although the problems of sex education were closely related to the problems of education for venereal disease control, the problems of sex education were "separate, distinct, and broader in aspects."

The Federal Government joined nongovernmental groups in seeking solutions to the sexual problems in individual and family adjustment that were brought about by the depression. In 1930, the White House Conference in Child Health and Protection met in Washington, D. C. This was the third such conference held during the twentieth century and differed from the others in that it was concerned "with

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197 A. D. Laton, "Approaches to Sex Education in the Schools," University High School Journal, 16 (April, 1938), 147-55.

198 Thomas Parran, "Sex Education--A Challenge," N.E.A. Journal, 29 (January, 1940), 16-17.

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all aspects of child life in all social classes."[199] The resulting discussions of parental education and allied subjects were published in several volumes. Sex education was studied quite thoroughly and reported in a volume, Social Hygiene in Schools.[200] The findings reported in this volume were discussed by the National Education Association in 1932,[201] and a resolution was passed proposing to aid in promotion of the suggested programs in the schools.

The National Youth Administration surveyed the problems of youth, and the National Council on Youth attempted to analyze similar problems. One of the final studies made by the National Youth Administration in 1939 revealed that rural youth as well as urban youth fared badly in their efforts to find a sound financial basis for marriage during the depression. A study made under the direction of

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199 Joseph K. Folsom, Youth, Family, and Education, p. 52. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941.

200 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, Social Hygiene in Schools. New York: The Conference, 1932.

201 National Education Association, Journal of Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, pp. 219-20. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1932.

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Coyle[202] revealed some of the results of the depression on marriage of youth from two levels of rural society. Coyle stated:

> In the more prosperous rural areas the young people usually put off marriage as long as the young men have no jobs-often until some preconceived standard of income is reached or else finally despaired of. Not only the personal happiness but also the normal personality development of our young men and women is badly affected. There is a widespread prolongation of adolescent emotional irresponsibility into adult years. And it is in these communities, where additional children would have the best chance for proper care and education, that the birth rate is thus reduced. But in such communities, the parents generally feel unable to give financial assistance to young marriages and often encourage delay by their insistence upon a "proper" income--higher than actual circumstances warrant--as a prerequisite to marriage.
>
> In the poorer rural districts many young people marry and have children regardless of poverty. Those who have no jobs live with their folks in crowded and discouraging surroundings that are not likely to promote happy family adjustment.
>
> Young people need to have easier access to medical advice on health in general, and on sex and parenthood in particular. In spite of opinions to the contrary, the great majority of American youth is not well informed on these subjects.

The United States Public Health Service, together with the United States Office of Education and the American Social Hygiene Association, once again surveyed sex education in the high schools in 1938. The results of this survey

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202 David Cushman Coyle, Rural Youth, pp. 24-25. Social Problem Series of the National Youth Administration. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1938.

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were published in 1939 by Gruenberg and Kaukonen in High Schools and Sex Education.[203] The recommendations made as a result of the study concurred with those of other leaders in the field.[204] For the most part, the recommendations were that there should be no courses in sex education, that the material on sex education should be distributed throughout the curriculum and not given in special lectures, that only natural separation of boys and girls should be resorted to, and that the teaching should be less academic and more directed toward meeting the specific needs and problems of the pupils of a particular school.

Activities of the public schools, educational associations, and the Office of Education.-- Between 1929 and 1941, several more schools introduced sex education into their curricula. The tendency of many of these schools was to begin this study earlier in the grades and to stress individual development rather than biological facts. In 1930, such a course of study was worked out for the schools of

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[203] Benjamin C. Gruenberg and J. L. Kaukonen, High Schools and Sex Education, Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1939.

[204] M. A. Bigelow, "Sex Education in America Today," Journal of Social Hygiene, 24 (December, 1938), 527-532.

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Washington, D. C.[205] This course was to be taught with other subjects, not as a subject itself, and was to be given in grades four through nine. Another example of efforts to begin sex instruction earlier was the attempt in the Minneapolis[206] schools to teach such material in nature study as early as the first grade. This instruction was given by the regular classroom teacher. Oregon[207] attempted to teach sex facts in biology classes in grades three to seven.

Activities were increased on the secondary level. In 1934, Bronxville, New York, established a course in the Junior High School and Oakland, California, started a course entitled "Physiology and Public Health."[208] In 1937, similar courses were established in Robinson, Illinois, and Morley, Michigan.[209] In Illinois, an effort was made to have material

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205 "Sex Education in Washington Schools," Education 50 (April, 1930), 507-8.

206 Herman Beerman, "Some Essentials of School Policy Toward the Venereal Disease Problem," Twenty-fifth Annual Schoolmen's Week Proceedings, p. 382. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938.

207 Ibid., p. 383.

208 Ibid., p. 383.

209 Ibid., p. 384.

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developed which would permit both boys and girls to take part in the same discussions. A film, which discusses the implications of sex, but avoids human reproduction was developed for this purpose.[210] Other localities, such as Lansing, Michigan, felt that "segregation of the sexes was mandatory to eliminate embarrassment and improve attention and interest."[211]

Many of these courses were concerned with the development of human relations. Orton[212] suggested the following topics for a syllabus with these broader implications:

1. Social consciousness
2. Friendship
3. Meaning of and skill in courtship
4. The meaning of love
5. Selection of a mate
6. The social significance of marriage
7. The history and types of the family
8. Contemporary forces and the family
9. Eugenics and the family
10. Engagement-the educational period
11. Engagement-preparation for marriage
12. Wedding and honeymoon
13. Marriage adjustment-positive factors

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210 Russell B. Babcock, "A Seventh Grade Course in Sex Education," Progressive Education, 13 (May, 1936), 374-82.

211 Harold A. Miller and Robert S. Breakey, "Sex Education in the Curriculum," Educational Digest, 5 (February, 1940), 37-40.

212 Dwayne Orton, "Method is All-Important in Sex Education," California Journal of Secondary Education, 14 (April, 1939), 208-10.

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14. Marriage adjustment problems
15. The home
16. Children
17. The family pocketbook.

By 1941, there had been much discussion, investigation, and experimentation in the field of sex education. A great deal of this had been concerned with familial and individual adjustment. In 1941, the American Association of School Administrators published a yearbook devoted to adjustment problems of life. Sex problems were included.[213] One of the important contributions of this yearbook is a "Checklist for Programs of Education for Family Life" which schools can use to appraise and improve their programs. An examination of the checklist reveals a well-balanced positive program in which the biological and physical aspects of sex are treated in relation to other aspects. The program suggests that the school offer leadership to the entire community, and especially to parents, on problems of marriage and parenthood. Numerous problems with which the school might help are suggested. They begin with prenatal development of the child and follow him to old age.[214]

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213 American Association of School Administrators, Education for Family Life, pp. 92-96. Washington, D. C. The Association, 1941.

214 Ibid., pp. 160-73.

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In the same year that the American Association of School Administrators published Education for Family Life as their yearbook, The Joint Committee on Curriculum Aspects of Education for Home and Family Living released suggestions for instructional programs in the area of family living. The committee had been formed in 1939 by the union of committees from the Society for Curriculum Study and the Department of Home Economics of the National Education Association. Sex was discussed in the publication of the joint committee, but it was introduced as a phase of a larger area of living. Sex as involved in procreation was given a secondary place to sex as a part of personality fulfillment.[215] The committee emphasized that education should help individuals understand "clearly what normal sex development means, to realize that energy not needed for reproduction can be used creatively in many different ways."[216]

The publication of Family Living and Our Schools by the joint committee represented the trend of thinking in sex education toward the end of the depression. The trend was toward a broader treatment of the subject with emphasis

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[215] Joint Committee on Curriculum Aspects of Education for Home and Family Living, Family Living and Our Schools, p. 252. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1941.

[216] Ibid., pp. 61-62.

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on positive creative use of sex rather than on taboos.

During the nineteen-thirties, the United States Office of Education participated in programs of education for family life and parenthood.

The United States Office of Education and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers jointly sponsored a conference on "Education and Family Life" in 1931. This conference was attended by leaders in education and in child development. Here cognizance was taken of the shift in parent-child relations from a sentimental to an intellectual plus sentimental relationship. Cooper,[217] then the United States Commissioner of Education, discussed this change before the conference:

> Mother love has been extolled in poetry and song throughout the centuries. In part, this has been due to the effect on observers of the intense loyalty of a mother to her children, regardless of their wrongdoing and regardless even of brutality on their part toward her....Men, appalled by the mystery of birth, amazed by the normal mother's devotion to nourishing and to caring for her infant, deeply affected by her continual presence and kindly guidance in the childhood home, and completely won by her ever-solicitous care through transient sorrows and serious illness, have idealized the mother's heart.
>
> But today an era which finds women more and more in the world of industry and business has disturbed us greatly. The wage-earning function formerly belonging only to father is now shared by mother and inevitably results in less close association with her growing children...We now discover

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[217] William John Cooper, "Mother's Heart Plus Mother's Head," Education for Home and Family Life, pp. 30-32. Washington, D. C. The National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1931.

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that the home influences are replaced by other influences... the school...the theater...the newspaper. But, in spite of all these newer sources, the influence of mother is still dominant throughout the earliest years of childhood and can perhaps be made even more effective throughout all the pre-adult life....

But the world has moved a long distance within the lifetime of those who can sit in places of authority and we are beginning to realize that in an industrial society the rearing of children is a job requiring careful preparation. No longer may we assume that it is an inborn capacity. So to mother's heart must now be added mother's head.

In 1937, some of the funds of the George-Dean Act, which were distributed by the United States Office of Education, were made available for guiding promising programs of education for family living.[218] One of the projects sponsored was the National Council of Parent Education. This group had been supported by the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial and the General Education Board, but a change of policy in 1938 sharply curtailed the financial help given to the council.

The National Council of Parent Education acted as a clearing house for all information pertaining to family living.[219] Those interested in aspects of family living could find information classified by this organization as follows:

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218 Joseph K. Folsom, Youth, Family, and Education, p. 211. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941.

219 M. M. Chambers, Youth-Serving Organizations, p. 131. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941.

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1. Adult education for family life and parenthood.

2. Education of youth for marriage and family living.

3. Marriage and family counseling.

In addition to acting as a clearing house for others interested in problems pertaining to parental and family-life education, the council planned experimental programs and demonstrations; explored new programs, new materials, and new methods; conducted surveys; and published a journal that summarized research material. The work of the council was curtailed, and in 1940 most of its publications were taken over by the Child Study Association of America and its staff was reduced to one part-time employee.[220] By 1941, it was no longer a factor in parent education.

Period V
Encouraging Broader Programs of Human Relations
(1941-1950)

A fifth period can be identified as beginning in 1941. Since this study includes material only through 1950, events discussed in this section are those occurring between 1941 and 1950.

During these ten years, there was an increasing

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[220] Ibid., p. 131.

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tendency to regard sex education as a phase of human relations. Some writers felt that biological and physiological information should be eliminated entirely from such education; others felt that these facts should be included. Some writers raised questions regarding the right of the schools to teach a specific pattern of moral behavior.

Local groups are not discussed separately in this section, because the work of these groups in sex education was done in cooperation with the public schools. Therefore, the activities of local groups are described with the activities of the public schools.

National groups were concerned with family life adjustment and a program based on the broader aspects of human relations. These groups urged the participation of many members of the community. Studies were conducted which indicated that many people approved sex education in the schools.

The federal government was faced with an increased problem of venereal disease control, a problem brought on by World War II. Several methods were tried with varying degrees of success. Other groups, including the schools, were called upon to assist with the programs. The Government united with other groups to promote family-life education.

In addition to cooperating with other agencies, the United States Office of Education set up ways of encouraging family-life education. Other activities of the schools included starting new programs with family-life adjustment as

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the principal objective and developing new visual aids for sex education. Several states started programs in this area and formulated principles for such education.

Activities of independent writers.-- Between 1941 and 1950, writers in the field of sex education were increasingly concerned with problems of human relations.

In 1943, Kirkendall[221] said that an increasing number of people were accepting sex education when they were assured that such education would insure a more satisfactory home, family, and community life.

Folsom[222] pointed out that a full course in human relations must include the biological facts generally associated with sex education, plus home and consumer education, and education for interpersonal relationships.

Both the statements of Folsom and those of Kirkendall imply that they would not eliminate the teaching of the biological facts of sex, but would teach them naturally and logically whenever the child asked for them whether in a class of biological science or not. These writers would stress, however, the broader aspects of interpersonal adjustment.

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[221] Lester A. Kirkendall, "Straight Talk on Sex Education," Clearing House, 18 (September, 1943), 7-10.

[222] Joseph K. Folsom, op. cit., pp. 651-56.

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Throughout the nineteen-forties an increasing number of writers were interested in the problem of interpersonal adjustment. Education for better day-to-day relationships was suggested as a means of developing better human relationships. Kirkendall,[223] in developing social hygiene courses in Oklahoma during 1944, listed the development of good boy-girl relations as one of the principal objectives of these courses. The next year, he[224] discussed the problem again and pointed out that schools should help children and youth make and accept friends whose influence is "positive and wholesome." Laycock,[225] in 1946, stated that by middle adolescence, boys and girls should be given practical help and advice in the whole field of human relations. The aid should include answers to all questions regarding their present and future relations with the opposite sex.

By the end of the first half of the twentieth

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223 Lester A. Kirkendall, "Sex Education in Nine Cooperating High Schools," Clearing House, 18 (March, 1944), 387-91.

224 Lester A. Kirkendall, "Sex Education Today," National Parent Teachers, 39 (February, 1945), 4-7.

225 S. R. Laycock, "Boys and Girls, and Sex," National Parent Teachers, 41 (November, 1946), 10-12.

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century, many writers were acknowledging the ineffectiveness of teaching biological facts without concern for broader experiences in human relations. There was a tendency to think of guidance programs in which all of the child's development was considered and in which all of the child's environment was utilized in constructive ways.

Gruenberg[226] discussed this tendency in terms of the materials available to help with instruction in this area. She pointed out that there had been an increase in the number of books for young people written for the purpose of guiding them to understand the broader aspects of human relations. She also called attention to the many instructional aids available for such guidance. She went on to say that educators who were concerned with character education and sex education were relying more on various projects, excursions, dramatics, and games outside the classroom, and less on facts and precepts. She said, however, that to these experiences and to the many instructional aids must be added group discussions in which sex facts are presented and the questions that children ask are cleared up.

Activities of independent research workers.-- The principal research in the field of sex conducted during the

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226 Sidonie M. Gruenberg, "Sex Education Today," Educational Digest, 15 (December, 1949), 32-4.

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period from 1941 to 1950 was the study, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, published in 1948 by Kinsey and others.[227] In this report, the investigators showed that behavior patterns might differ among various segments of the population. Each of these behavior patterns was accepted by some groups and rejected by others. This report is so new that its effect on sex education cannot be stated at this time with any degree of accuracy. It has raised a question among American people as to whether the sex customs of different citizens of the United States might vary as widely as did the sexual behavior patterns of ancient societies, or as those of groups living outside the sphere of Judo-Christian influence. Deutsch[228] stated in his review of the Kinsey report:

> Perhaps the most significant result of the Kinsey survey is the revelation that there is no single "American sex pattern," but rather there are scores of different patterns, based mainly on social differences in the population.

Activities of groups of national scope or larger not directly connected with the public schools.-- National organizations stated that sex education, especially if it involved family-life education, was a task at which all

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[227] Alfred O. Kinsey and Others, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948.

[228] Albert Deutsch, editor, Sex Habits of American Men, p. 26. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948.

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members of the community could work. Leaders of these organizations stated that family-life adjustment could not be successful without education in human relations. Surveys made by national groups revealed that many people approved of such education in the public schools.

In 1944, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers voted approval of a resolution which indicated that throughout the entire educable life of a person, whether pre-school, in-school, or post-school, effort should be made by both the school and the home to give a full program of social hygiene. The resolution read as follows:[229]

> The National Congress of Parents and Teachers believes that a well-planned program of social hygiene instruction should be instituted in the public school systems of the United States...that such instruction, adapted to various needs and maturity levels, begins with the pre-school child, continues throughout public school training and carries over into the education of adults, particularly parents.

One of the procedures used by the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, as well as by some state divisions, was the development and distribution of materials that would aid parents in the sex guidance of their children. For example, in 1944 the Ohio group had Dickerson[230] write six

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[229] Bess N. Rosa, "Social Hygiene," Proceedings of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Number 48, pp. 339.

[230] Roy E. Dickerson, "New Sex Education Home Study Course for Parents," Journal of Social Hygiene, 31 (April, 1945), 217-19.

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home-study pamphlets for circulation to its membership. Before the end of the year, over three thousand sets had been issued in Ohio.[231]

In 1945, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, in an effort both to broaden the concept of sex education and to help the government combat venereal disease, adopted the following resolution:[232]

> Whereas, the vitality of the nation and the welfare of the community are largely dependent on the strength and soundness of marriage and family life, and
>
> Whereas, both these institutions are threatened by sexual promiscuity, which has greatly increased during these postwar years of social dislocation, and
>
> Whereas, medical authorities have declared that it is conduct and not medication which lies at the core of the venereal disease problem, and
>
> Whereas, sound character training in youth is the major influence in the promotion of high moral standards of sex conduct, therefore be it
>
> Resolved, that the National Congress of Parents and Teachers urge its membership to take an active part in all community efforts to raise the standards of community life, to reinforce ethical sex conduct and to provide suitable training, guidance, and protection for youth.

An analysis of these two resolutions of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers reveals that this group,

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231 Bess N. Rosa, "Social Hygiene," Proceedings of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Number 49, pp. 91. Chicago: The Congress, 1945.

232 Bess N. Rosa, "Social Hygiene," Proceedings of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Number 51, pp. 164. Chicago: The Congress, 1947.

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which might be considered representative of parent groups interested in education, was cognizant that the problems of sex education were broader than the mere imparting of facts. The resolution passed in 1944 indicated an awareness of the need for a continuous program and one adapted to the specific needs of a specific child in a specific community. The second resolution passed in 1945 showed that this Congress recognized the importance of venereal disease control but felt that the greatest contribution that parents could make was to guide their children in wholesome personal development.

The broader aspects of human relations were stressed in the report of the Committee on Education for Marriage and Family Living to the National Council on Family Relations in 1948. This report placed the responsibility upon the school for developing broad and comprehensive programs of education in human relations. Sex education, according to the report of this committee, was best achieved through education in interpersonal relations. An analysis of the following excerpts from that report indicates the position taken by this committee in the area of human-relations education:[233]

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[233] "Committee on Education for Marriage and Family Living in the Schools," Marriage and Family Living, 11 (Winter, 1949), 8-9.

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Since marriage requires emotionally mature people, the schools cannot ignore their part in developing and fostering emotional maturity. In the past, emphasis has been placed upon the physical and intellectual development of the child. Now emphasis must be placed on emotional development...

Since problems of sex are primarily problems of interpersonal relationships, education in all aspects of interpersonal relationships will contribute toward good relationships in marriage...

Courses in family living should include psychology, biology, child care and home management, with major emphasis on psychology....

In 1943, the American Institute of Public Opinion conducted a national survey to measure the extent of support for sex education in the secondary schools of the United States.[234] Only sixteen per cent of all those answering the questionnaire disapproved of sex education in the schools. Another sixteen per cent were undecided on the question, but sixty-eight per cent approved sex education in the secondary schools.

A year later, Nation's Schools reported on a poll of five hundred representative school administrators.[235] Ninety-six per cent favored inclusion of social hygiene in

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[234] Lester A. Kirkendall, "Progress in Sex Education," Clearing House, 20 (October, 1945), 111-12.

[235] M. G. Lesher, "Role of the School in Homemaking and Parenthood," Thirty-Second Annual Schoolmen's Week Proceedings, pp. 231-35. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1945.

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the school program, to be "appropriately integrated into the regular classes of the curriculum and adapted to age needs." This is a distinct contrast to the point of view expressed by the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association in 1914, when it resolved that sex education belonged in the home and that the schools should help the home only when called upon.[236] The program approved by the administrators in 1944, however, was not limited to the teaching of sex facts, but included programs designed to help children and adolescents solve problems they face in interpersonal relations.

Activities of the Federal Government other than those of the Office of Education.-- Military authorities in World War II were faced with many of the same problems regarding the spread of venereal infection among members of the armed forces, as were the authorities during World War I.[237] However, in contrast to its position in World War I, the federal government did not limit its activities to this one aspect of the total problem.

Several methods were tried in order to lessen the

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[236] National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, p. 136. Ann Arbor: The Association, 1914.

[237] Supra, p. 99.

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number of casualties due to these diseases. Huhner[238] described some of these methods, which consisted of giving lectures with movies and still picture, issuing prophylactic equipment called "Pro-Kits," and establishing prophylactic stations near points where personnel might become infected. Huhner stated that the methods used did not remove the danger of infection for any given individual but only reduced the chance of infection. In other words, when the methods used by the Army and Navy were employed with a large number of persons who were exposed to the diseases, no one could guarantee that any particular individual would escape infection.

Recognizing that the problem of venereal disease control was not being met satisfactorily, national directors of the armed forces turned to the schools for help. In 1944, a conference was called by the Commissioner of Education of the United States at the request of leaders of the military forces.[239] They asked the schools to assume responsibility in the moral and ethical aspects of sex training and sound preparation for personal and social adjustment.

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[238] Max Huhner. Sexual Disorders, pp. 323. New York: F. A. Davis Company, 1945.

[239] M. G. Lesher, op. cit., p. 231-34.

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Several governmental agencies united with non-governmental organizations in order to further sex education programs in the schools. The United States Office of Education, the United States Public Health Service, and the American Social Hygiene Association worked together at this task. The United States Office of Education and the United States Public Health Service developed programs for preservice and in-service training of teachers in the field of sex education. The American Social Hygiene Association helped local school districts in the establishment of pre-induction training courses.[240]

Activities of the public schools, educational associations, and the Office of Education.-- Many activities of the United States Office of Education in sex education have already been mentioned, because much of the work of this agency, between 1941 and 1950, was carried out in conjunction with other groups. One of the principal steps in the development of programs of family-life education, the appointment of a specialist in the Office of Education in 1944,[241] was the result of a series of discussions carried

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[240] Roy E. Dickerson, Social Hygiene Data for Teachers of the Pre-Induction Health Course. Cincinnati: The Author, 1945.

[241] M. G. Lesher, op. cit., pp. 231-35.

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on by members of the staffs of the United States Office of Education and the United States Public Health Service.[242] It was the task of this specialist to develop programs in family-life education. More important than the development of programs were the efforts to develop in-service training for teachers.

A number of schools added programs dealing with sexual adjustment to their curricula. Many of the activities of these programs were focussed on human-relations education. Such education seemed to be too large for any single group of teachers to handle. A survey conducted in Hinckley, Illinois, by Jeddeloh[243] indicated that all teachers, not biology teachers alone, should be concerned with sex education and that they should have the support and resources of the entire community.

A number of schools added programs dealing with sexual adjustment to their curricula. Many of these were focussed on human-relations education.

By 1945, Oregon, Wisconsin, Minnesota, New Jersey,

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[242] Elmer A. Keiser, "Are They Ready for Sex Education?" Clearing House, 19 (April, 1945), 502-3.

[243] Theodore H. Jeddeloh, "Sex Education in Smalltown?" School Executive, 62 (November, 1942), 27.

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and Georgia had developed state-wide programs.[244] Kirkendall[245] claimed that these programs were the result of the work of educational institutions and state departments of education.

In Oklahoma,[246] although state leadership was given to local schools in setting up their programs, they were not officially recognized as state programs. In this state, a committee decided against trying to organize separate courses in sex hygiene, and against carrying the work on mainly through the use of outside lecturers. Instead the plan considered the integration of materials into the current curricular offerings - biology, social studies, home economics, English, physical education, and science. The committee felt that all community resources should be used. They suggested that judges, health authorities, ministers, and scout leaders be called upon as resource people. The state committee pointed out that, if local school authorities were interested in developing such educational

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244 Lester A. Kirkendall, "Progress in Sex Education," Clearing House, 20 (October, 1945), 111-12.

245 Ibid., p. 111-12.

246 Lester A. Kirkendall, "Sex Education in Nine Cooperating High Schools," Clearing House, 18 (March, 1944), 387-91.

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programs, they should study their own school systems and plan programs that would meet their own situations.

Tracy and Hunter[247] stated that the following topics should be included in courses on family-life education given at the high school and junior college levels:

1. Functions of the family
2. Domestic adjustment within marriage
3. Economic adjustment within marriage
4. Special problems of parenthood - money, sex, and religion
5. Divorce - cause and prevention
6. Problems arising during courtship
7. Choice of a mate
8. The engagement
9. The wedding and honeymoon
10. The right to marry and heredity
11. Marriage and sexual adjustment.

Although sex instruction was included in the plan of Hunter and Tracy, some schools omitted sex from courses in family living. A discussion course, given by Elizabeth Force at Toms River, New Jersey, leaves out this topic. Stearns[248] described the reason for this omission as follows:

> Sex instruction is not given in this course, even though the students would like to have it, because the parents of the community aren't ready yet for such an "advanced" classroom attitude. But individual advice on sexual and all other problems can be had on request, in special consultations.

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247 G. W. Hunter and H. H. Tracy, "Sex Education in California Secondary Schools," California Journal of Secondary Education, 19 (January, 1944), 48-51.

248 Myron M. Stearns, "The A B C's of Happy Marriage," Today's Women, 17 (February, 1948), 33 f.

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Additional instructional aids were used during this period. Some schools used Froshe Charts, while others used Dickinson models. Films were developed and received rather wide use. Among such films were "The Story of Reproduction" and "Human Growth."[249] Both of these films show the facts of conception, pre-natal development, and birth. "The Story of Reproduction" attempts to tell the facts in terms of parent-child relationships. "Human Growth" begins in a seventh-grade classroom situation. The latter film does not stop with a description of the birth process but tries to give a brief picture of the physical steps leading to maturity.

During the years 1929 to 1941, many schools introduced sex education programs into their elementary school curricula.[250] The trend to place such instruction in the lower grades continued through the period 1941-1950 and apparently received approval from parents. Lesher[251] claimed:

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[249] Sidonie M. Gruenberg, "Sex Education Today," Educational Digest, 15 (December, 1949), 32-34.

[250] Supra., p. 127.

[251] M. G. Lesher, "Role of the School in Homemaking and Parenthood," Schoolmen's Week Proceedings, pp. 231-35. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1945.

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It is gratifying to note that the parents put more emphasis on generalized sex instruction in the pre-primary and primary grades, which is in accord with recognized principles of the importance of developing wholesome sex attitudes, habits and ideals during the pre-school and elementary school periods in contrast to delayed instruction in the teen-age period, when misinformation and wrong attitudes of the adolescent, received from many undesirable sources, often preclude adult guidance.

Kirkendall[252] said that sex education should begin early and that instruction should be harmonized with the child's growth.

Wilshin[253] concluded that sex education given in the secondary schools was too late. She stated:

In as many as one-half the cases, the ninth-grade is too late to form attitudes. Seventh-grade children listen with a "Really?" expression on their faces. Ninth-grade faces say, "Oh, come now, you can't tell us that." In the ninth-grade, sex education is largely re-education because by that time contemporary magazines and misinformation have done their work.

The first half of the twentieth century closed with three developments in sex education reasonably well established. There were the expansion of programs of sex education to the area of interpersonal relations, the extension of such programs to the lower grades in schools, and the inclusion of many institutions and persons in the community in the development of such programs.

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252 L. A. Kirkendall, "Sex Education Today," National Parent Teacher, 39 (February, 1945), 4-7.

253 Ione E. Wilshin, "Sex Education: Whose Job Is It?" National Education Association Journal, 34 (December, 1945), 201-2.

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Summary

Development of sex education.--For the purpose of this investigation, the growth of sex education in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century was analyzed in terms of five periods. The periods were chosen because they included a series of closely related events regarding the sex education movement itself, or because they encompassed a period in national history, such as the depression years, that seemed to have a direct bearing on the development of the sex education movement. The first period was considered to open with the international conferences held in Belgium to study ways of controlling venereal diseases; the second period was chosen because it followed the Fifteenth International Congress of Hygiene and Demography in 1912 when definite suggestions were made for the participation of the schools in the development of programs of sex education; the third period seemed to begin in 1918 after the first World War and to represent a time of expansion with the federal government officially participating in venereal disease control and with child study groups considering sex education as one of their functions; the fourth period was considered to parallel the depression, which influenced to a large extent the growth and character of sex education; and the fifth period, which is still in process, followed the opening of World War II and seemed to contain as its principle theme the development of better human relations. Major developments in the area prior to 1900 were

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also described in order to provide necessary background.

Before 1900, a number of things had occurred that were to bear on the development of sex education. Such European writers as Rousseau, Salzman, and Spencer had recognized a need for sex education. Pioneer explorations into the relationship of sexual adjustment to mental health were made by Fournier and Krafft-Ebing. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, organizations such as the Society for the Study of Child Nature, the National Education Association, and the Congress of Mothers were beginning to consider some of the problems of sexual behavior facing children and adolescents.

The first period treated in this study, from 1900 to 1912, was marked by an increased interest in combating venereal disease, by reports of medical discoveries pertaining to syphilis, by the introduction of courses in sex hygiene on the collegiate level, and by the publication of a yearbook on the problems of sex education. One of the earliest organized movements in the twentieth century in the area of sex education was directed towards the control of venereal disease. Partly as a result of international conferences held in 1899 and 1902, to discuss the venereal disease problem, several cities appointed committees to study vice conditions in an effort to find ways of reducing the prevalence of these diseases. During the same period, educators at a few state colleges and normal schools developed courses in sex hygiene in order to help

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teachers understand the problems of this aspect of life. In 1909, the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education devoted its yearbook to a discussion of the problems of introducing sex instruction into the schools.

During the second period, 1912 to 1918, schools began to assume responsibility for sex education. Before this time, most of the instruction in this area had consisted of lectures by members of the medical profession or other persons who were not teachers. This period followed the meeting of the Fifteenth International Congress of Hygiene and Demography, which developed a program of sex education in which courses in nature study and biology were to play the major role. The position of educators in general and of the National Education Association in particular during this period was one of uncertainty as to whether or not the schools assume responsibility for programs in sex education. During this period, there was an increase in the literature published regarding different aspects of sex education. Much of this literature discussed the question of the responsibility of the schools in this field. Some of the books and articles described plans for the introduction of sex education into the curricula and others reported on research conducted in order to secure some of the answers to problems raised when schools assume this responsibility.

A third period, 1918-1929, saw an increased interest on the part of the federal government in venereal disease control and on the part of non-governmental groups in personal

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and social adjustment. At the end of the first world war, some money was granted by the federal government for venereal disease control. Part of this money was used to reduce the venereal disease rate among members of the armed forces. Part of the funds was used to develop educational programs designed to inform high school and college students of the dangers of venereal infection. Agencies of the government sent representatives to conferences of educators to discuss the venereal disease problem, issued questionnaires to survey proposed and existing programs of sex education in the high schools, and developed and distributed exhibits and pamphlets to help teachers handle sex instruction. Movements for child study and parent education showed rapid growth during this period. By its close there were evident both a tendency and several efforts to integrate these movements into a broad program of what came to be called family-life education. National organizations were developing and distributing home-study aids for parents in order that they might help their children solve some of the problems of sexual adjustment. Educators were initiating courses in marriage and the family on both the secondary and collegiate levels.

The fourth period was that of the depression, 1929-1941. During these years, many groups interested in personal and social welfare united to handle sex education. A number of national conferences were held and surveys were conducted to determine how different community groups could contribute

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to broad programs in this area. Potential contributions of school subjects were considered in like fashion. Young people throughout the United States sought assistance for the problems of family adjustment brought about by the depression. In order to help them, evening classes were conducted by the WPA, discussion groups were stimulated by national organizations specifically interested in family-life adjustment, and study guides for parents were distributed by the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. At the end of this period, the American Association of School Administrators devoted a yearbook to a discussion of the problems of education for family-life adjustment.

A fifth period was considered to begin in 1941 when the United States entered the second world war. During this time, sex education as a special field of instruction tended increasingly to become absorbed in certain phases of general education. New terms, such as "human-relations education," were developed to indicate broad educational objectives under which the specific objectives of sex education could be subsumed. "Social hygiene," a term often used to refer to sex education, was seen to be intimately related to mental hygiene. Increased concern was shown regarding the need for children and adolescents to develop wholesome peer relationships. At the same time, under joint sponsorship of the federal government and national educational groups, pre-induction courses were given in an effort to reduce dangers of venereal disease

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infection. During these years the National Congress of Parents and Teachers and the National Council on Family Relations held conferences, developed home-study material, and answered many questions pertaining to family-life adjustment. The government cooperated with those interested in family-life education by appointing a specialist in this area to the Office of Education. National and local research revealed that an increasing number of people wanted assistance with sexual problems, especially those bearing on courtship and marriage. Much of this research was based on questionnaires and interviews in which many people were asked what they wanted in programs of sex education.

Development of the activities of independent writers.--Throughout the period, independent writers, not directly connected with the public schools, contributed to the growth of the sex education movement by writing articles and books proposing different kinds of programs for the schools. Before 1900, a few writers suggested that sex instruction was needed and could be given through nature study. Between 1900 and 1912, writers interpreted sex education in a limited way and discussed such topics as morals and health. Lectures were considered as the best method for presenting sex facts, but biology and physiology courses were also recommended. During the period from 1912 to 1918, more writers emphasized the use of biological sciences. However, opposition to the assumption of

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responsibility by schools for handling sex education was also expressed with increasing vigor during the years 1912 to 1918. Between 1918 and 1929, writers were discussing the narrowness of sex education in which only biological information was given. Plans were described for including in the curricula help for pupils in the development of desirable attitudes and appreciations in the realm of sex. Between 1929 and 1941, a number of writers expressed the opinion that many high school courses could contribute to a better understanding of sex. They showed how some subjects could promote comprehension of the values of sex and how others could help pupils understand the facts of sex and reproduction. During these years, guidance was suggested quite frequently as a means of assisting adolescents and adults to solve problems of individual and family adjustment. After 1941, writers showed an increasing interest in the human relations involved in sex behavior and devoted less time to discussing the biological aspects of sex. Articles continued to stress the solution of inter-personal relations, including the formation and maintenance of friendships and the development of wholesome attitudes and feelings.

Development of activities of independent research workers.--During the years considered in this investigation, several individuals conducted studies that aided the development of sex education. Prior to 1900, a few efforts were made to determine the causes and treatment of venereal diseases and

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to show the relationship of sexual adjustment to mental health. In the first decade of the twentieth century, research was conducted in such divergent areas as venereal disease control, psychoanalysis, and eugenics. Between 1912 and 1918, surveys were made of school personnel to see what should be included in sex education. After 1918, pupils themselves were questioned regarding what they wanted in programs of sex education. These pupils revealed that they needed help with their personal problems. After 1929, many of the investigations in the field of sex education were conducted by or sponsored by organizations rather than by individual research workers. During the years from 1929 to 1941 investigators working independently and in groups studied the effect of the depression on personal and family adjustment, and during the nineteen-forties Kinsey and others studied the patterns of sex behavior of American men. The effect of the latter research on sex education has not yet been determined, but it has raised a number of questions regarding what should be included in sex education programs.

Development of activities of groups of less than national scope not directly connected with the public schools.--Local organizations served two major functions in the development of the sex education movement. Some local groups initiated programs that became the bases for national activities; other groups carried out plans of national and international organizations.

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In the early years of the twentieth century, local groups organized anti-vice campaigns and formed societies for sanitary and moral prophylaxis. They issued statistics on the prevalence of prostitution and venereal disease and pamphlets on the general problems of sex education. Between 1912 and 1918, local societies united to carry out nation-wide programs planned to reduce the venereal disease rate. This trend continued throughout the nineteen-twenties, but during the depression, adults and young people asked for specific types of help. Young people in small communities and in church groups pointed out the failure of education to prepare youth for premarital and marital adjustment. Adults attending local evening schools sponsored by the WPA asked for help in understanding how to make better marital adjustments and how to handle the instruction of their children in matters of sex and reproduction. The requested help was given in terms of lectures, classes, and discussion groups. During the nineteen-forties, research revealed that many communities wanted broad programs of sex education in which all their resources would be utilized.

Development of activities of groups of national scope or larger not directly connected with the public schools.-- Before 1900, the need for sex education was suggested by organizations interested in child development and by conferences concerned with venereal disease control. Conferences

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held during the early years of the twentieth century discussed the persons to be taught, the methods to be used, the general principles to be followed, and the instructional aids to be employed. Between 1912 and 1918, various teaching materials, including audio-visual aids, were developed and distributed by the American Federation of Sex Hygiene. At the same time, additional studies were made to see what should be included in sex education programs. During the years from 1918 to 1929, there was a growing interest in child development and parental education. This interest was shown in activities of the Child Study Association, in activities sponsored by the Rockefeller Memorial Fund, and in the preparation and distribution of pamphlets and other aids by the National Council of Parent Education and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. The problems of adolescents and young people were discussed by the National Interfraternity Council and a committee of college presidents that had been called together by the United States Public Health Service. During the depression, national organizations united their efforts on several projects related to education for marriage and family life. Many groups united and formed the National Congress on Family Relations. Between 1941 and 1950, the need for broad and extensive programs of sex education was pointed out in resolutions of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, in statements released by the Committee on Education for Marriage and Family Relations,

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and in reports of national surveys.

Development of activities in the government apart from those of the Bureau and Office of Education.--The federal government did not officially participate in programs of sex education until after 1918, when for the first time national funds were appropriated for developing programs aimed at reducing the venereal disease rate. At first, the efforts were directed at the armed forces. Later, agencies of the government helped public schools to organize programs of sex education by discovering and reporting on successful methods used in other schools, by developing and distributing teaching materials and aids, and by holding conferences with educators to exchange ideas regarding different approaches to be made in the field of sex education. Between 1929 and 1941, the government continued its interest in venereal disease control, but also united with other groups to discuss and develop programs designed to help individual and family adjustment. Several non-governmental groups were asked to join in the fight against venereal disease. During the second world war, the need for programs aimed at decreasing venereal infection became greater. Groups that had discussed the problem during the nineteen-thirties were called upon to assist with some of the work in this field. At the same time, the government united with other groups to discuss problems of individual and family adjustment. These developments appeared in reports of the United States

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Office of Education and the United States Public Health Service.

Development of activities in the public schools, in educational associations, and in the Bureau and Office of Education.--Organized educational groups took an active part for many years in the promotion of programs that eventually were to play a part in different aspects of sex education. During most of the first half of the twentieth century, these groups directed some of their efforts toward the development of different phases of sex education itself. Before 1900, schools had developed sewing and cooking classes, the forerunners of courses in family-life education, and the National Education Association had discussed various aspects of moral education. Between 1900 and 1912, several schools were giving lectures on sex hygiene and a number of normal schools offered courses in this field. On the other hand, some national groups were dubious about the ability of the schools to handle the problem. During the years 1912 to 1918, the uncertain attitude of educators toward sex education was seen in the positions taken by the National Education Association and the introduction and subsequent withdrawal of sex hygiene courses by large city systems. During the nineteen-twenties, schools gave more training for marriage and parenthood and the National Education Association resolved to help with this education. The National Education Association also tried to persuade the government to broaden the scope of its obscenity laws. During the depression years, from 1929 to 1941, many schools introduced sex

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education into their curricula, began to present phases of this subject in the elementary grades, employed guidance techniques in handling problems in which sexual adjustment was involved, and attempted to integrate instruction concerning sex with that in other subjects of the high school curricula. Toward the end of the depression, the American Association of School Administrators and the Joint Committee on Curriculum Aspects of Education for Home and Family Life released books reporting studies made in the area of family-life education.

Between 1941 and 1950, interest of the schools in family-life education increased. This interest was evidenced by the appointment of a specialist in this field to the Office of Education. Some states encouraged the development of broad programs designed to meet local needs and to use the facilities of local communities. Schools debated the extent to which facts should be given in courses of human relations and many instructional aids were developed for use in sex education. Although, by 1950, sex education was recognized by many as a function of the schools, there still was an unsettled issue regarding what kind and how much of the instruction in this area should be the responsibility of the public schools.

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CHAPTER IV

IDEAS REGARDING SEX EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS? 1900-1950

Introduction

Purpose of chapter.-- It is the purpose of this chapter to analyze ideas regarding sex education in the public schools of the United States of America and to trace their development during the period from 1900 to 1950. Among the different meanings attached to the word "ideas," the following appear to be the most appropriate definitions of the word as used in this study:[1] "a design; a preliminary plan; often a plan or purpose of action;" and " a formulated thought or opinion." In this study, the ideas to be discussed represent points of view regarding what approach should be made to, and what should be included in, the field of sex education.

Classification of ideas.-- As a result of examination of the many ways of looking at sex education, seven major ideas were identified. These ideas are not generally stated explicitly in the literature. They represent a system for grouping similar concepts which are expressed in many different sources and in many ways. As indicated in Chapter I, the procedure used for determining

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[1] G. and C. Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, p. 411. Springfield, Mass.: Merriam Co., Publishers, 1951.

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the classification presented in this chapter was subjective and inductive. From reading a large proportion of the educational literature pertaining to sex education, seven large categories seemed to emerge. The following terms serve to indentify these seven ideas or concepts:

1. The idea of silence
2. The idea of reward and punishment
3. The idea of fear of consequences
4. The idea of factual instruction
5. The idea of ethical understanding
6. The idea of personal development
7. The idea of human relations.

The material surveyed to trace the development of these concepts, or ideas, consisted of educational literature. Both direct statements and inferences from the contexts of such literature were used. The most extensive analysis was made of the positions of writers concerned directly with sex education in the public schools, which is the principal focus of the present study. However, the opinions of others who were interested in the problem of sex education in general were treated when they seemed to point up the idea under consideration. While some writers can be identified as emphasizing certain of these ideas, others stated positions which represent a combination of them. The ideas do not emerge in a clean-cut chronological sequence, although in different

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periods various ideas appeared to have been dominant.

The idea of silence, that is, that sex is not a proper subject for treatment in the schools, seems to be an important classification for certain points of view, although it is difficult to identify clearly in the literature. There are some writers who state explicitly that sex education is not the function of the public schools and a few who would censor expressions regarding sex from all literature. There are also clues to a policy of silence in the omission of references to sex in a number of books where it seems appropriate that they should appear. In these situations, however, there is no way of knowing whether the material was omitted because the writer wanted to avoid the subject or because he was following the pattern of writing most prominent at the time that he wrote.

The idea of reward and punishment is used as a classification for those approaches to sex education in which the learner is promised rewards if he follows a certain code of sexual behavior and is threatened with punishments if he does not. Sometimes these rewards are described in terms of earthly recognition; sometimes, they are promised for life in heaven. The punishments for offenders are likewise pictured in terms of suffering both in this life and after death.

The idea of fear of consequences, as presented in this study, represents efforts to develop sex education programs around the physical and social dangers inherent in different

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kinds of sexual behavior. This idea appears in writings which stressed the natural consequences which might result in the present life if one participates in certain unacceptable kinds of behavior. Such writers pointed out the dangers of venereal infection, insanity, sterility, illegitimacy, and social ostracism.

The idea of factual instruction as identified in this study, is the conception of sex education as consisting primarily or exclusively of the presentation to children and young people of accurate information regarding sex, with a view to providing a sound body of knowledge on which to base conduct. Writers who expressed this idea advocated instruction concerning reproductive processes in plants and animals, the anatomy and physiology of human reproduction, venereal diseases, and other subjects related to sex life. The use of various materials of instruction was proposed by such writers.

The idea of ethical understanding is used to indentify the purposes of writers who believed that giving the child only the facts is insufficient. They have declared that sex education must help the individual to develop appropriate attitudes and appreciations for sex as a factor in many phases of his life. These writers were concerned with developing responsibility of the individual for his own welfare and that of the race.

The idea of personal development, as identified in this study, is seen in the writings of those concerned with

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the role of sex in personal adjustment. More specifically, these writers were interested in giving children and young people help with those problems pertaining to sex that are hindering them from feeling happy and secure. These writers emphasized the importance of providing guidance in this area of life for growing boys and girls and of recognizing individual differences in adjustment to sexual problems.

The idea of human relations is used in this study to classify discussions pertaining to the role that sex plays in interpersonal relationships. Efforts to develop programs which aim at better peer relations, or improved family life, or wider appreciations of all human beings are considered as representative of this idea. Writers advocating this approach to sex education incorporated many of those aspects of the other ideas described in the preceding paragraphs which would lead to improved interpersonal relations.

Organization of chapter.-- Each of these ideas is the theme of a section of this chapter. Within each section, an introductory sub-section defines the idea in terms of the kinds of opinions that were considered to exemplify it and shows when these views were expressed most strongly during the fifty-year period of this study. In this introductory sub-section, the sources reviewed are generally mentioned, especially if they differ in any way from the sources used in other sections of this chapter. Subsequent sub-sections describe how the idea was identified in:

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1. Educational journals

2. Textbooks

3. Books written to help children and young people understand sex.

These sub-sections are followed by an account of criticisms of the idea or of statements expressing it, as found in the literature, and by a discussion of the implications of the idea for sex education in the public schools, as the writer sees these implications.

Although this pattern of organization is followed in general throughout the seven main sections of this chapter, sub-sections are added in the discussion of certain ideas where the idea is expressed in literature which cannot be appropriately classified under one of the categories indicated above. In like fashion not all of the subdivisions listed above are appropriate in the case of certain ideas. Such modifications are explained in the introduction to each section. As far as possible, the material within each of the sub-sections is arranged chronologically and in terms of the periods identified in Chapter III.

The Idea of Silence

In this study, the idea of silence is considered to be exemplified in: any statements that sex instruction should not be given to children; any statements that such instruction should not be given in the public schools; the omission of sex

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information from textbooks in which such information might well have been included; and the substitution of euphemistic words and phrases in these books for words having sexual meaning.

This idea can be identified in literature published throughout the fifty-year period under consideration, but was most prevalent before World War I. It appears most clearly in articles written in educational journals, and in various forms in the textbooks written for children. Before 1910, sex education was not commonly considered a function of the public schools, and few writers touched upon the subject. During the period from 1912 to 1918, more writers considered the problem of teaching sex information and more textbooks contained sex information, but many textbook writers omitted references to sex or skirted the topic by using terms, phrases, or descriptions only vaguely related to sex and reproduction. During these years (1912-1918), many people expressed objections to teaching anything about sex and reproduction in the schools. Although this objection was more vocal during these years than later, it was raised intermittently throughout the first half of the twentieth century. After 1918, there was a gradual diminishing of the relative number of objections to sex education in the schools and at the same time a considerable increase in the number of statements favoring such education. Thus the emphasis placed on the idea identified as silence became progressively less during the years following the first World War.

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Silence as identified in educational journals.--
Several years before the idea of silence could be identified in educational journals, it could be found in periodicals published for women. The prevailing attitude toward instructing children and youth concerning sex seemed to be to tell them nothing. Evidence that this attitude was commonly accepted appeared in articles published in the Ladies Home Journal in 1907 by Howard[2] and Deland.[3] Both articles questioned the attitude of silence on the part of parents. In 1908, Wolbarst[4] discussed the problems that young people face if they enter marriage without sound sex information.

When very few people were considering sex education as a function of the public schools, opposition to such education in the schools was seldom voiced. However, after 1912 when educational publications were presenting plans for sex education in the school programs with increasing frequency, articles appeared that were unfavorable to the adoption of such programs by the public schools.

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[2] W. L. Howard, "Why Didn't My Parents Tell Me?" Ladies Home Journal, 24 (August, 1907), 32.

[3] M. W. Deland, "I Didn't Know - Parent's Duties to Daughters," Ladies Home Journal, 24 (March, 1907), 9.

[4] A. I. Wolbarst, "Tragedy of the Marriage Altar," Ladies Home Journal, 25 (May, 1908), 6.

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Some of the earliest reactions to an organized program in the public schools were published in 1913 and 1914. The failure of the Chicago experiment, discussed in Chapter III,[5] was used to illustrate why such education should not be given in the schools. An article appearing in the Journal of Education,[6] although not naming the city, shows the sentiment in some places regarding such teaching. In this article, it was stated:

> A Massachusetts city board of education discharged a principal because there had been teaching of sex hygiene in his school.
>
> The leading pastor of the city said from his pulpit that any principal who teaches sex hygiene or allows it to be taught should be dismissed from the service.

Writing in the same year, 1913, Lyttleton[7] stated, "I cannot imagine that any class teaching of a personal nature could be wisely attempted." In 1914, Carr[8] wrote, "This subject is not suited to the classroom." During the same year, Strachan[9]

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[5] Supra, pp. 85-88.

[6] "Sex Hygiene in Practice," Journal of Education, 78 (July 17, 1913), 71-2.

[7] E. Lyttleton, "Instruction in Matters of Sex," Educational Review, 46 (September, 1913), 135-42.

[8] J. W. Carr, "The Teaching of Sex Hygiene in the Public Schools," Journal of Education, 79 (April 19, 1914), 399-400.

[9] Grace C. Strachan, "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, pp. 317-18. Ann Arbor: The Association, 1914.

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explained her objections as follows:

> My first strong conviction on this subject is that no superintendent, or board of superintendents, or board of education has any right to add to the curriculum of any public school talks, or lessons, or lectures on the more intimate phases of sex hygiene without the approval of the taxpayers supporting such schools.
>
> My second strong conviction is that no lecture should be delivered to pupils, which, if written or printed and sent through the mails to the parents of those pupils, would cause the arrest of the sender.
>
> Another strong conviction of mine is that the dangers and evils resulting from class - or group-teaching of this subject are greater than those resulting from not teaching it.

In 1914, Fender[10] and Keene[11] said that the objections could be lessened if there were teachers capable of doing the task properly. They suggested that the teachers should receive special training before attempting to handle the topic in the classroom. Tierney[12] and Duncan[13] objected to such teaching because they felt sex education was a problem of religious forces and not the schools. Tierney[14] summed up this

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[10] Charles W. Fender, "Some Experiments in the Teaching of Sex Hygiene in a City High School," School Science and Mathematics, 14 (October, 1914), 573-78.

[11] Charles H. Keene, "Shall Sex Hygiene be Taught in the Public Schools," Journal of Education, 80 (August 20, 1914), 130.

[12] Richard H. Tierney, "Character and the Sex Problem," United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, Number 48, pp. 214-15. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1913.

[13] Fannie Casseday Duncan, "Teaching Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 79 (February 12, 1914), 187.

[14] Richard H. Tierney, op. cit., pp. 214-15.

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objection as follows:

> Sex hygiene concerns the eternal destiny of man, the fate of his immortal soul, as well as his temporal interests. It is not merely a pedagogical question. In the last analysis the question concerns the abolition of sexual sin.

In 1919, Church[15] pointed out that many communities were not ready for the public schools to give instruction in these matters. He said:

> Quite likely the time is not here when the earliest words on reproduction will be given grade school groups constituted of both sexes. But the teacher who takes good heed of this condition, and gives the rudiments of pure sex instruction to carefully assorted pupils,...soon comes to be regarded as a sort of moral imbecile, although he or she has worked with the greatest care and nobility of purpose. Of the situation in high school the same statements hold.

Between 1920 and 1950, there was a decrease in the number of articles objecting to sex education in the public schools, but occasional articles that opposed such teaching were published during the entire period. In 1922, Barker[16] said he would not teach social hygiene in the grade schools, but felt that biology could be used for this purpose in the high schools. On the other hand, an editorial in Education,[17] also published in 1922, said that there was nothing wrong with

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[15] C. G. Church, "New Kind of Position-Martyrdom," School and Society, 9 (April 12, 1919), 447-49.

[16] Charles E. Barker, "Social Hygiene in the Schools," Journal of Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, pp. 54-55. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1921.

[17] "Sex Education in the Public Schools," Education, 42 (March, 1922), 436-42.

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teaching social hygiene in any grade, provided that the pupils were segregated, that the boys were taught by men, that the girls received their instruction from women, and that some topics were taught to only one sex. In 1924, an editorial in The School Review[18] stated that such instruction belonged in the home and not in the schools. In 1936, McMillan[19] described how to teach biology to high school students effectively. He discussed motivation and interest, but he did not suggest that topics bearing on sex should be taught. An article by Gruenberg,[20] in 1939, indicates that there was still much opposition to sex education in many parts of the country. In this article he said:

> In one New England town the school committee forbids the presence of "sex literature" and "sex education" in the schools. Until the past year, one of the largest Middle Western States lived under a statute requiring all school districts with a population of 3,000 or more to engage competent instructors of physical education...with the proviso, however, that nothing in the statute might be construed "to allow the teaching of sex hygiene and kindred subjects in the public schools of the state."

In 1944, Dr. Joseph Miller of New York City, chairman of the mental hygiene committee of the National Congress of Parents

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[18] "Sex Education," The School Review, 32 (February, 1924), 90-91.

[19] John F. McMillan, "Teaching High School Biology Effectively," School and Community, 22 (May, 1936), 201-202.

[20] Benjamin C. Gruenberg, "What Youth Wants and What It Gets from School," School and Society, 49 (February 18, 1939), 220-24.

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and Teachers and one of the opponents of sex education in the schools, was quoted as saying:[21]

> Instruction about life and all its manifestations belongs in the home....An intelligent parent does not deny an answer to a child who asks how a car runs, who runs the universe, or what he should give his sister for Christmas.

Although opposition to sex education was expressed throughout most of the fifty years considered in this study, it was less frequent in 1950 than it was in 1900. While at the beginning of the twentieth century the idea of silence regarding sex seemed to be almost universal and to represent a general social taboo, toward the end of the first half of the century those who opposed sex education were merely against it in the schools, or against having it in the schools unless certain requirements were met, such as the proper training of school personnel.

Silence as identified in textbooks.--In many textbooks, where sex and reproduction might have been mentioned, writers omitted any reference to the topics or treated the subject indirectly by using words or phrases which tended to disguise the sex facts involved. Although a highly structured analysis of elementary and secondary textbooks was not attempted in this study, a large number of textbooks were reviewed to ascertain their contents. The books examined were in the collections at the Curriculum Laboratory of the University of Pennsylvania,

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[21] "What About Sex Instruction?" The Nation's Schools, 33 (June, 1944), 49.

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at Penniman Library at the same institution, at the Pedagogical Library of Philadelphia, at the Philadelphia Free Library, and at the Board of Education of the City of Philadelphia. About six hundred textbooks were selected. Although no effort was made to select these books according to dates of their publication, a re-examination of these dates indicated that between five and twenty books were scanned for each year covered in this investigation. They were divided about equally between the elementary and secondary levels and included the subjects of health, general science, biology, zoology, and social studies. Examination indicated that slightly more than one-third of these works omitted references to sex where they might have included them.

Of the textbooks reviewed, the majority of those published before 1910 did not contain references to sex even when the discussion might have included such topics. Before this date, however, sex education was not considered by many people to be the task of the public schools. A few examples, typical of the textbooks published during the first decade of the twentieth century, are briefly described. High school textbooks in zoology or in physiology such as those by Walker[22] and

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[22] Jerome Walker, Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1900.

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Kellogg[23] did not mention sex. A textbook written by Krohn[24] for physiology classes in the elementary schools omitted all statements in this field. Frequently, different diseases were discussed, but typically, venereal diseases were not mentioned. In an upper grade physiology book, Jegi[25] discussed the treatment of cholera and how to protect public health.[26] He did not mention venereal diseases. Fitz[27] and Bailey and Coleman[28] described the development of all systems of the human body except the reproductive system.

During the years 1912 to 1918, mention of sex was still not made in a large proportion of the books examined which were written for classes in the biological sciences. Bailey,[29] in a high school botany textbook, did not include the terms "male," "female," "reproduction," or "sex" in his index. Colton and

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[23] V. L. Kellogg, Elementary Zoology. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1901.

[24] W. O. Krohn, First Book in Physiology and Hygiene. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1902.

[25] John I. Jegi, Practical Lessons in Human Physiology, p. 79. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903.

[26] Ibid., pp. 111-17.

[27] G. W. Fitz, Principles of Physiology and Hygiene. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1908.

[28] L. H. Bailey and W. H. Coleman, First Course in Biology. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908.

[29] L. H. Bailey, Botany for Secondary Schools, pp. 214-17. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

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Murbach[30] described all systems of the body except the reproductive, many of the glands but not the gonads, and restricted diagrams of the body to the upper torso. In 1916, Brown[31] limited his discussion of what he called "the evils of the home" to tobacco and alcohol and discussed intemperance[32] as a national threat to health. In 1917, Coulter[33] omitted all reference to sex from his elementary school science book.

After 1918 an increasing number of biology, physiology, and hygiene books contained references to sex. There were, however, a number of textbooks in these areas published between 1918 and 1950 that did not mention sex or reproduction. One book[34] written for the elementary school, first in 1900 and revised several times, mentioned in a 1919 edition such diseases as delirium tremens, arterioscleriosis, and caissons disease,

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[30] B. P. Colton and L. Murbach, Briefer Physiology and Hygiene. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1914.

[31] Bertha Millard Brown, Hygiene in Home and Town, p. 98. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1916.

[32] Ibid., pp. 211-13.

[33] J. G. Coulter, Elementary Science. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917.

[34] W. O. Krohn and S. J. Crumbine, Graded Lessons in Physiology and Hygiene, pp. 98-111. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1919.

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but not syphilis and gonorrhea. Snyder,[35] in the same year, stated in the preface of his general science book, "Good citizenship is fostered by the interesting treatment of such subjects as personal hygiene, community health, and sanitation." Throughout his book, sex, reproduction, and venereal diseases are not mentioned. In 1920, Ritchie[36] discussed bubonic plague in detail in an elementary school textbook, but when Ehrlich, the discoverer of a treatment for syphilis, was discussed, the latter disease was not mentioned:

> More than forty years ago, Paul Ehrlich, then a medical student, set himself to the task of finding or making a substance...one dose of which would free the body from living germs...he did succeed in making arsenic compounds that are highly effective in the treatment of African sleeping sickness, a tropical disease called yaws.

In 1922, Blount[37] also failed to mention syphilis when dealing with Ehrlich in his textbook on health, as follows:

> Born in 1854, he [Ehrlich] was a devoted student of disease-producing germs. His careful multitudinous experiments resulted in the discovery of salvarsan, a drug which cures some of the worst infectious diseases.

Between 1918 and 1929, a large number of health books continued to follow the pattern of not mentioning venereal

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[35] W. H. Snyder, Everyday Science, pp. iii. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1919.

[36] John W. Ritchie, Primer of Sanitation, pp. 222. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company, 1920.

[37] R. E. Blount, Health-Public and Personal, pp. 161. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1922.

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diseases. Ritchie and Caldwell,[38] in a primer on sanitation for the elementary grades, discussed pneumonia and measles and then went on to say, "Among other diseases that are caused by germs may be mentioned cholera, plague, leprosy, and yellow fever." In another textbook for the elementary grades Andress and Evans[39] stated that the purpose of the book was:

> ...based on the idea that the first formal textbook on health for children should contain facts about health to satisfy their normal curiosity.

There was no evidence, however, that the writers tried to satisfy curiosity which children show regarding matters of sex, reproduction, and venereal disease. In another book by the same authors,[40] some glands were mentioned, but the gonads were not.

Although as time went by more and more elementary and secondary textbooks in health and biological science contained references to sex, some such books published during the depression years did not. Typical of those that did not contain references to sex were a physiology and health book for the

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[38] John W. Ritchie and J. S. Caldwell, Primer of Hygiene, pp. 85. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company, 1919.

[39] J. M. Andress and W. A. Evans, Health and Success, pp. iv. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1925.

[40] J. M. Andress and W. A. Evans, Health and Good Citizenship, pp. 95-101. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1925.

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junior high school by Turner[41] and a fifth grade biology book by Nida and Holmes.[42]

While the trend after 1929 was to include an increasing amount of sex information in books dealing with the various sciences, even in the last decade the tendency to omit such information still could be found. In 1942, Dull and others[43] discussed protozoa infections and mentioned malaria, tryanosome, Texas-fever, and pebrine. Dull concluded, "there are many other parasitic protozoa some of which cause tropical diseases such as kala azar and oriental sore." There was no mention of sex in this book. As late as 1948, Kambly[44] discussed glands quite fully and presented some diagrams of the body showing these glands. The upper torso only was shown and no mention was made of the glands connected with sex and reproduction.

Criticism of the idea of silence.--Opposition to the policy of silence in matters of sex instruction was voiced

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[41] C. E. Turner, Physiology and Health. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1929.

[42] W. L. Nida and T. H. Holmes, The Ladder of Life. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1930.

[43] C. E. Dull and Others, Modern Science in Man's Progress, pp. 472-74. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942.

[44] P. E. Kambly, Workbook and Laboratory Manual to Accompany Basic Biology, pp. 126. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948.

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even before the twentieth century. For example, as early as 1860 Spencer[45] had been quite critical of not teaching children and youth about sex. Criticism of silence began to increase in the first decade of the twentieth century and by 1918 several outstanding leaders were opposing this policy.

In 1907, Hall[46] criticized the fact that boys were not given adequate sex training, and he pointed out when and how this training should be given. Hall[47] had investigated child and adolescent development, and he had attempted to present the facts as revealed by his studies. He felt that the child's sex needs, like his other needs, developed as the child grew older, and that information should be given the child as he needed it. In 1908, Mack[48] kept a record of his discussions with a hundred girls. He reported that they felt that they lacked information in the field of sex. He reported that they had not received adequate help from their parents or other adults. Charles W. Eliot in 1911 challenged two of the reasons

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[45] Supra, p. 41.

[46] G. Stanley Hall, "How and When to be Frank with Boys," Ladies Home Journal, 24 (October, 1907), 26.

[47] G. Stanley Hall, "The Needs and Methods of Educating Young People in the Hygiene of Sex," Pedagogical Seminary, 15 (January, 1908), 82-91.

[48] J. W. Mack, "What I Have Learned from Hundreds of Girls," Ladies Home Journal, 25 (May, 1908), 6.

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advanced for not teaching about sex in the public schools as follows:[49]

> Wherever anyone undertakes to discuss this subject in public, he is met by two adverse opinions which are firmly held by a multitude of well-meaning people. The first is the opinion that these are unclean subjects, about which the less said the better....There is but one thing to be said about this policy of silence, namely, that it has failed, everywhere and always.
>
> The second adverse opinion is that the necessary instruction of these subjects should be given to children and young persons by their parents and by them alone....In as much, however, as the great majority of parents do not now possess the necessary knowledge, or the faculty of expression necessary for imparting it, and there are many families that have lost father, mother, or both, society must for the present rely in the main on the schools to give this instruction.

In 1916, Exner[50] was very critical of the policy of silence on the part of parents and school personnel. He said:

> The policy of silence and evasion on the part of parents and teachers towards children tends to give a wrong direction and a vicious tendency to one of the most powerful human instincts, an instinct which normally should be one of the most powerful constructive forces in life and character.

In addition, from time to time during the first half of the twentieth century, many groups came to the foreground advocating the teaching of sex hygiene. The activities of such groups as those organized to promote woman's rights,[51]

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[49] Charles W. Eliot, "School Instruction in Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 73 (February 16, 1911), 173-75.

[50] M. J. Exner, "Sex Education and the High School Age," Religious Education, 11 (December, 1916), 487-98.

[51] Infra., p. 387.

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the International Conferences on Syphilis and Venereal Diseases,[52] the many social hygiene societies,[53] the psychoanalysts,[54] mental hygienists,[55] liberal churchmen,[56] leaders in progressive education,[57] and advocates of free speech[58] are mentioned elsewhere in this study. All of these groups gave reasons why sex information should be taught to children and youth.

In one sense, all positive suggestions for a program of sex education in the public schools are in opposition to the idea of silence. These contrasting positions are discussed in the sections that follow.

Implications of the idea of silence for the public schools.--The idea of silence, as identified in this study, raises a number of questions regarding programs of sex education in the public schools. Some of the reasons given for

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[52] Supra, p. 61.

[53] Supra, p. 60.

[54] Infra., p. 412.

[55] Infra., p. 416.

[56] Infra., p. 460.

[57] Infra., p. 365.

[58] Infra., p. 422.

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objecting to such programs in the schools are that members of school faculties lack training in this area, that teachers can frequently do more harm to mental health than the instruction can do good, and that the instruction in this area has religious connotations which cannot be handled by public school teachers. These objections as well as ways of overcoming them seem to be among the problems that school systems are facing in setting up programs of sex education.

The people favoring a policy of silence have been able to have laws passed in some districts prohibiting sex education in the public schools. Since these laws in many cases restrict what the schools can do in this matter, they raise questions regarding how best to operate within these laws and whether or not steps should be taken to repeal or amend these laws.

The feeling regarding silence on matters of sex varies in different communities. Often these feelings set limitations regarding what the schools can do in the area of sex education. The schools are faced with problems as to how the programs can best be developed within these restrictions; likewise as to whether or not steps should be taken to modify the positions taken by members of the community on the subject of teaching about sex in the public schools.

It seems reasonable to infer from the increasing number of textbooks containing references to sex that more

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schools than in earlier years are touching upon sex education in some manner. Since few books on health and biology are published at the present time without references to sex and reproduction, the selection of suitable textbooks becomes increasingly a problem in those communities where laws or community attitudes oppose such instruction in the public schools.

The idea of silence as the right way to deal with sex is a belief that runs counter to the general currents of thought in education and in society at large. The practical consequences of restricting instruction in sex would be to limit the scope of education in an important area of life, and to throw the responsibility for sex education back to the home. In Chapter V, changes in the American home are discussed, with reference to its fitness to assume this responsibility.

The Idea of Reward and Punishment

The idea of reward and punishment, as identified in this study, includes those approaches used to persuade children and adolescents to follow acceptable patterns of sexual adjustment on the grounds that conducting oneself according to such modes of behavior would be rewarded either on earth or in heaven. At the same time, those who did not develop acceptable modes of behavior, it was claimed, would not be so rewarded and would run the risk of punishment after death.

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The urging of certain conduct through persuasive methods is frequently called moral suasion.

This theme was more important before 1900 than after that date. It decreased rather rapidly between 1900 and 1912, but evidence of such an approach to the problem can be found throughout the first half of the twentieth century. For the most part, after 1912, whenever this theme was mentioned it was usually in connection with other ideas defined in this study.

This theme can be identified clearly in periodical literature and in books giving advice to children and young people. Since the theme was fading away when the schools in 1912 were beginning to assume responsibility for sex education programs, little evidence of the reward and punishment idea as applied to sexual adjustment was found in textbooks.

Reward and punishment as identified in educational journals.--Some of the earliest articles on sex education to be published in educational journals were concerned with the theme classified in this study as illustrating the idea of reward and punishment. By the time journals began to publish articles on sex education, the idea of reward and punishment was most frequently treated with other ideas regarding sex education identified in this study. As early as 1908, Putnam[59] discussed sex instruction in terms of biological

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[59] Helen C. Putnam, "Biologic Knowledge and Morality," Religious Education, 3 (December, 1908), 180-81.

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science and claimed that success awaited those who behaved in accordance with the accepted manner of sexual behavior. In 1910, Hall[60] discussed a number of methods that were being used to present material in sex hygiene. He said that one of the methods used rather extensively was to give talks about heroes and to connect the fact that they were heroes with their sexual purity.

Duncan,[61] who opposed sex education in the public schools, felt that violation of the moral code was a sin and claimed:

> The question of sex hygiene is in fact not a pedagogical one, nor one to be settled by comprehensive information scattered through the school rooms...In final analysis it concerns the abolishment of sexual sin, and betterment must come through the forces which are allied against sin - not head forces but soul forces.
>
> Let us preserve to the child his native instincts. Teach him, of course; but teach him that purity is possible and ennobling; that vice has it fatal Nemesis, and the seriousness of the punishment is in proportion to the venality of the crime.

In 1914, Blount[62] stated that lectures should be given to warn youth of the dangers of wrong doing. He claimed

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[60] Winfield S. Hall, "The Teaching of Sexual Hygiene: Matter and Methods," School Science and Mathematics, 10 (June, 1910), 469-74.

[61] Fannie Casseday Duncan, "Teaching Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 79 (February 12, 1914), 187.

[62] Ralph E. Blount, "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 80 (August 20, 1914), 129-30.

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that both physical and moral dangers should be pointed out emphatically.

In 1919, MacCaughey[63] and Hubbard[64] discussed how sex information should be taught in the classroom. Both writers suggested that the theme identified as reward and punishment should be used in conjunction with instruction given in the biological sciences. Gruenberg[65] stated that the moral aspects of sex education should not be neglected and that it was the responsibility of the instructor to make these moral aspects clear.

By the early nineteen-twenties, the theme of reward and punishment was used so seldom that writers were calling attention to the need to include it in sex instruction. An editorial appearing in 1927 in Educational Review[66] stressed the need for such information. This article claimed that

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[63] Vaughn MacCaughey, "Sex Education in Biology Classes," School Science and Mathematics, 19 (June, 1919), 509.

[64] H. R. Hubbard, "How Can Sex Instruction, Which High School Boys and Girls Need, Be Given in Connection with Biology?" School Science and Mathematics, 19 (February, 1919), 173-76.

[65] Benjamin C. Gruenberg, "Sex Education in Hygiene and Physical Education," Educational Review, 65 (February, 1923), 80-3.

[66] "Smut and School," Educational Review, 74 (November, 1927), 175-77.

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many people felt lectures giving facts were smut talks and urged more instruction in morals. An article, written in 1938,[67] declared that such instruction had been neglected. The writer of this article felt that some consideration of what was gained through living according to the accepted mode of behavior should be included in courses in which sex instruction was given.

Although the use of the theme of reward and punishment was less frequent after the nineteen-twenties, there was evidence that it was being used in the nineteen-forties. Kirkendall,[68] who was interested in a broad program of personal and social development in sex education which included the teaching of facts and the guidance of emotion, said in 1943 that there were many teachers who "wished to place their chief dependence upon moralizing and ardent persuasion" as a means of instructing in matters of sexual conduct. A year later, he[69] repeated this statement when he said there were many teachers who taught in this field by "issuing severe warnings against certain kinds of sexual behavior."

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[67] "Personal Relationships," Educational Digest, 3 (May, 1938), 1-6.

[68] Lester A. Kirkendall, "Straight Talk on Sex Education," Clearing House, 18 (September, 1943), 7-10.

[69] Lester A. Kirkendall, "Health, Sex, and Human Relations in Education," National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, 28 (November, 1944), 94-100.

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Reward and punishment as identified in books written to help children and young people understand sex.--Perhaps even more clearly than articles in journals some of the early books written for children and young people showed the idea identified as reward and punishment. A large number of the books containing this theme was published before sex education was considered by many people as a function of the public schools. An early example of this idea is found in a book of lectures published by Henry Ward Beecher in the eighteen-forties. In one of these lectures, "The Strange Woman,"[70] Beecher described to his readers the dire results of losing their souls by associating with licentious women. During the eighties and nineties, the literature written for the purpose of giving advice to young people followed to a large extent the theme of reward and punishment. T. S. Arthur, the author of Ten Nights in a Bar Room,[71] wrote another book entitled Advice to Young Ladies,[72] which was filled with stories on the triumph of virtue and the doom of vice. The advice given throughout the book appealed to the emotions.

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[70] Henry Ward Beecher, "The Strange Women," Lectures to Young Men on Various Important Subjects, pp. 170-213. New York: M. H. Newman and Company, 1849.

[71] T. S. Arthur, Ten Nights in a Bar Room and What I Saw There. Philadelphia: J. W. Bradley, 1854.

[72] T. S. Arthur, Advice to Young Ladies. Philadelphia: The Keystone Publishing Company, 1889.

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An example is shown by the following excerpt from a discussion on the selection of male friends:[73]

> In forming an estimate of character, a young lady will always find some difficulty...To a very considerable extent, however, the instinctive perceptions of a virtuous young woman will materially aid her in forming an estimate of the young man...Around the mind of everyone is a sphere of its quality, as certainly as odor surrounds a flower.

A book for boys, published about the same time and written by "An Old Boy," used the hero approach. Many of the references were to earlier books which showed the reader that the "pure" survived. This writer summarized his own book by the use of a phrase from Tom Brown at Oxford[74] which stated "that the crown of all real manliness, of all Christian manliness is purity."[75]

The titles of books for young people published during this early period showed evidence of the use of the theme of moral suasion. Among the books published in the nineties, which were available during the early years of the twentieth century, were: Temptation: Talks to Young Men,[76]

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[73] Ibid., pp. 175.

[74] Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown at Oxford, pp. 386. London: Macmillan and Company, 1879.

[75] "An Old Boy," Notes for Boys, pp. 31. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1890.

[76] J. Stalker, Temptation: Talks to Young Men. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1891.

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Girls: Faults and Ideals,[77] Save the Girls,[78] Crumbs of Comfort for Young Women Living in the World,[79] and Moral Muscle.[80] This last book preached a sermon against "sexual sin." The author of Moral Muscle declared:

> Purity is power. Vice and vigour are as far apart as good and evil. Nothing enfeebles a man like sin... Thousands of men would cut off their right hands to be free from the results of impurity. The memory of their deadly sin is ever before them; ghostly dreams disturb their rest, fear haunts them every hour.

Geikie[81] used the same pattern in an effort to give advice to young people. Early in his book he said:[82]

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77 J. R. Miller, Girls: Faults and Ideals. New York: Thomas Crowell, 1892.

78 M. Long, Save the Girls. New York: The Author, 1894.

79 Xavier Sutton, Crumbs of Comfort for Young Women Living in the World. Philadelphia: Kilner and Company, 1898.

80 F. A. Atkins, Moral Muscle, pp. 28-31. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1890.

81 Cunningham Geikie, Entering on Life. New York: The Columbian Publishing Company, 1891.

82 Ibid., pp. 37.

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To keep your Character pure is no easy task. Let me give you a few hints in aid. Never forget that wrong-doing cannot repay in the end. It may promise pleasure or profit, but it is the old story of Eve's apple over again in every case. Shame, danger, self-reproach, and loss, follow it, as Hell follows Death in Apocalypse...Young men are often led astray by the fine names given to misconduct...It is good fellowship, or spirit, or seeing the world, or wild oats... but after all death is death, whatever name you give it.

Continuing with the same theme, Davidson[83] in 1899 stated the outcome of immoral sexual behavior. He claimed:

There is yet another fool whose portrait my album contains; he is known by many ugly names; libertine, prodigal, sensualist...The pure shrink from his lecherous touch; his very breath blights every innocent thing. Rather would I see a son of mine laid in a pauper's grave than to see him fall into the way of this besotted devil...A Day of Judgment verily antedates the grave, when the remorse-stricken reprobate, looking back on a blasted life and forward to a lost eternity, lifts up his hands in despair, and exclaims, "Behold, I have played the fool!"

During the years 1900 to 1912, many of the books published for children and adolescents duplicated the titles and contents of the books mentioned above which were published prior to 1900. In 1902, The Gospel Trumpet began to publish material directing the attention of parents and young people to the danger of sexual impurity.[84] These books were collections of short sermons exhorting the readers to exercise

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83 Thain Davidson, Thoroughness - Talks to Young Men, pp. 42-43. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1899.

84 J. Teasley, Private Lectures to Mothers and Daughters on Sexual Purity. Anderson, Indiana: Gospel Trumpet, 1902.

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[84] J. Teasley, Private Lectures to Mothers and Daughters on Sexual Purity. Anderson, Indiana: Gospel Trumpet, 1902.

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proper behavior in sex matters. The Purity League also published a great deal of literature of this type. Such books as Talks With the King's Daughters[85] and Talks With the King's Sons[86] urged the readers to avoid sex experiences outside of marriage or suffer as a sinner in the after life. Buck's Soul and Sex in Education,[87] published in 1912, treated the theme of sin. On the other hand, Secrets of Success for Boys and Young Men,[88] written one year later, showed that material success was supposed to be the outcome of sexual continence.

After 1912, other emphases began to appear more frequently in the writing for young people in the area of sex education. Sometimes these books contained references to the theme of reward and punishment as well as other aspects of sex education. Typical among such books was Keeping In Condition,[89] written in 1917. Although this book dealt mostly

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85 National Purity Alliance, Talks with the King's Daughters. New York: The Alliance, 1912.

86 National Purity Alliance, Talks with the King's Sons. New York: The Alliance, 1912.

87 J. D. Buck, Soul and Sex in Education. Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd, 1912.

88 B. J. Kendall, Secrets of Success for Boys and Young Men. Geneva, Illinois: The Author, 1913.

89 Harry H. Moore, Keeping in Condition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917.

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with ways of avoiding infections, the moralistic tone was quite noticeable.

While other emphases in sex education received increasingly more stress in the literature for children and adolescents, during the second quarter of the twentieth century books in which the reader was urged to behave in a certain way in order to be successful were still being published. During the depression years, a number of books appeared under a cloak of comaraderie and free give-and-take between adults on the one hand and children on the other, but these books were actually based on the theme identified in this study as reward and punishment. Such books as Petting, Wise or Otherwise,[90] Letters to Susan,[91] From Father to Son,[92] and Smarter and Smoother,[93] illustrate the way in which the inclusion of the theme of reward and punishment has persisted even though other themes are also being stressed.

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90 E. L. Clarke, Petting, Wise or Otherwise. New York: Association Press, circa. 1938.

91 M. Benning, Letters to Susan. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936.

92 J. S. Bryan, From Father to Son. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937.

93 Maureen Daly, Smarter and Smoother. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1944.

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Moral suasion continued as an influence in books for children to the end of the fifty year period under consideration in this study. Auerbach[94] said in 1949 that books for children and adolescents remained disappointing, although they had appeared in increasing numbers since 1948. She said, "They contain fairly good factual material, but also some misinformation; under the breezy, slangy style is a moralistic tone."

Criticism of the idea of reward and punishment.--Except for a few direct criticisms expressed toward the end of the first period of sex education in the United States as defined in this study (1900-1912), there were very few expressions of opposition to the use of the theme identified as reward and punishment. Rather, after 1912 other approaches to problems of sex education were emphasized more and more and the theme of reward and punishment appeared less frequently. Activities which seemed to indicate that other phases of sex education were necessary were the anti-vice campaigns, such as the one conducted in Chicago.[95] The committee sponsoring this campaign recommended that the schools teach

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[94] Aline B. Auerbach, "Current Trends in Books on Sex Education," Child Study, 26 (Summer, 1949), 103-4.

[95] Graham Taylor, "The Story of the Chicago Vice Commission," The Survey, 26 (May 6, 1911), 239-247.

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facts about sex and venereal disease.

The direct opposition to the theme identified in this study as reward and punishment is illustrated in an article by McCurdy[96] in 1910. At that time, he expressed the opinion that the theme which was identified in this study as reward and punishment had been unsuccessful in the teaching of acceptable sexual conduct. He said that exhortation regarding the salvation of the soul had been ineffective because it was too "preachy" and that the stories told about heroes were not always true. For these reasons, he said that he would minimize moral instruction and increase the use of the gymnasium and playground in order to foster the rugged virtues of clean physical living, honesty, fair play, and self-mastery.

Implications of the idea of reward and punishment for the public schools.--Many issues in the area of moral education are raised by the discussion of the theme identified as the idea of reward and punishment in sex education. Perhaps, the most inclusive problem in this area concerns whether or not the schools have a responsibility for moral instruction. If they do have such a responsibility, another question is raised as to whether or not the theme discussed constitutesa phase of moral education. If moral education is not the responsibility of the schools, the use of such

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[96] J. H. McCurdy, "Instruction of Boys in the Problems of Physical Life," Religious Education, 6 (June, 1911), 189-92.

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promises of reward or such threats of punishment as are discussed in this section may be questionable. Yet they continue to be used. Their use indicates that probably it is necessary to examine this theme to find out just how much good or harm they really do the learner.

After 1912, when the theme of reward and punishment appeared in conjunction with other aspects of sex education, a question was raised regarding whether or not application of moral issues should be included in courses such as biology when they were used for teaching sex facts including reproduction and venereal disease control. Should the stories of people, both living and dead, be used to exemplify the value of certain kinds of sexual behavior, although it is not possible to verify whether or not such behavior was the reason for their success?

During the last few years of the period covered in this investigation, many books have been published which contain in a disguised manner the theme of reward and punishment. In the selection of such books for the school library or for the home room, teachers and librarians are faced with many problems. In the first place, they may question that this moralizing approach is the best approach to sex education. If it is the right approach, then teachers will probably be interested in finding other books with the same theme. If the idea of reward and punishment is not the theme that should be

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emphasized, then the question arises as to how many of such books should be in the library, how many books about other aspects of sex education should be in the library, and what is the function of teachers in pointing out the differences in various approaches to the development of wholesome and happy sexual adjustment. If such stories are used, they pose the question as to whether the teacher should say that they are stories or should emphasize that they are the truth, even when the evidence doesn't indicate that they are.

The Idea of Fear of Consequences

The idea of the fear of consequences as identified in this study refers to the belief that fear of physical and social consequences of sexual misconduct should be instilled in young people by instruction, and should be a central theme of such instruction. Writers who emphasize this idea call attention to the dangers of venereal infection, insanity, sterility, illegitimacy, and social ostracism. It is usually claimed that instruction concerning these dangers should be given along with the presentation of biological facts.

The idea of fear of consequences can be found in the literature published throughout the entire fifty-year period under consideration in this study, but it probably received its greatest emphasis between 1912 and 1918. This idea could be identified primarily in articles found in educational journals. A few textbooks used this approach, at least in

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part, but most of them mentioned the facts while making no effort to point out the dangers. During the first decade of the twentieth century books for children and adolescents stressed fear of consequences. After 1918, although an occasional article mentioned the consequences of misconduct, the majority of the articles, in which the dangers were mentioned at all, were opposed to this approach to sex education.

Fear of consequences as identified in educational journals.--As soon as the anti-vice committees, organized during the first decade of the twentieth century, reported on the prevalence of venereal disease in many cities and the medical profession reported on their findings regarding syphilis and gonorrhea, writers concerned with sex instruction suggested that warnings regarding these dangers should constitute an important phase of sex education. In 1910, Heffron[97] said that the dangers of social diseases should be emphasized. He claimed that seventy-five per cent of the males between eighteen and thirty years of age residing in the larger cities were infected by venereal disease; that seventy-five per cent of the operations on female organs were brought about by these diseases; and that twenty-five to fifty per cent of blindness was due to gonorrhea.

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[97] John L. Heffron, "The Moral Value of the Teaching of the Physiology and Hygiene of Sex in the Public Schools," Religious Education, 4 (February, 1910), 543-49.

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During the same year, Hahn[98] emphasized the same dangers. He pointed out the possibility of venereal disease, insanity, and social ostracism. He said that these were brought about by masturbation and by promiscuous sexual relations. He claimed that sixty per cent of males were afflicted with syphilis and gonorrhea, and that such infection might result in sterility, especially in the wife if she became infected. He also stated that masturbation and promiscuous sexual relations could lead to insanity and thus leave the person unfit to participate in society.

While the idea of warning pupils about the dangers of sexual misconduct continued to be expressed or implied throughout the first half of the twentieth century, such instruction seemed to be given relatively less emphasis as the century progressed. In 1913, Bigelow[99] suggested that either "sex education" or "sex instruction" should be used in place of "sex hygiene" because the latter implied that special attention should be given to describing the dangers of diseases. He felt that warnings regarding dangers had their place in sex instruction, but he expressed the opinion that it was

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[98] Clarence W. Hahn, "Sex Hygiene as a Part of a Course in Biology for Boys and Girls of 13 to 16 years," School Science and Mathematics, 10 (May, 1910), 431-34.

[99] M. A. Bigelow, "Sex Instruction As A Phase of Social Education," Religious Education, 8 (April, 1913), 11-22.

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neither necessary nor desirable to review all of the horrible facts relating to perverted sexuality. He claimed:

> Ten or twenty brief and authoritative statements quoting impressively from medical and social literature ought to give fair warning of lurking dangers in immoral living.

Blount,[100] in 1914, while advocating other methods of sex education, still stressed the element of fear. In a course given at Waller High School in Chicago, which Blount considered to be a model course:

> The pupils have systematic courses in physiology and in biology. Besides the systematic discussion of reproduction, its physiology, its evolutionary development, and its significance in the life of the individual and society, the personal aspect is made very important, the dangers of wrong doing are set forth clearly, and the warnings are made emphatic.

Although the trend seemed to be away from emphasizing fear of consequences, there were a number of writers who continued to stress this idea. Among such writers were Pearse[101] and Richards.[102] Pearse, in 1914, in an address before the Department of Superintendence on the subject of sex hygiene, said that he personally felt that the best way

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[100] Ralph E. Blount, "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 80 (August 20, 1914), 129-30.

[101] C. G. Pearse, "Sex Hygiene-What the Schools Can Do," Journal of Education, 79 (April 9, 1914), 400.

[102] Florence Richards, "Physical Training with Special Corrective Work and Hygiene (Including Sex Hygiene) in Girls' High Schools," School Review, 22 (March, 1914), 157-64.

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to teach this subject was not to teach it at all. He further stated, "When pupils enter high school there is seldom much need for anatomical and biological facts." He then pointed out that the function of the schools was to give warnings. According to Pearse, athletic instruction should impress upon boys the need for continence and the dangers of venereal infection. He said that the coaches of girls should warn them of the possibilities of illegitimacy. Richards, during the same year, described the sex education program in Girls' High School, Cleveland, Ohio. This was one of the earliest attempts by a school to teach girls about sex. Richards reported that the girls were taught the dangers of venereal infection and the effects of it in producing sterility in the wife and blindness and amentia in the children. She also claimed that these diseases and masturbation often resulted in feeblemindedness that was passed on to the unborn children. She warned that, if venereal infection did not result from promiscuous behavior, illegitimacy might. She pointed out that immoral dress and behavior were frequently the cause of girls becoming involved in situations resulting in pre-marital pregnancies or lives of prostitution.

In spite of the accumulated information available as a result of the activities financed by the Chamberlain-Kahn Act, few articles after 1920 advocated fear as a major emphasis in sex education programs. A large number of

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schools, however, continued to stress this approach to sex education. In 1925, Moore[103] reported that a "reasonable number of schools indicated that teaching regarding the pathological effects of misconduct in sex matters was their principal means of sex education."

Although not advocating that the entire program of sex education should be based on fear, a number of writers during the nineteen-thirties expressed the opinion that venereal diseases should be explained, while others insisted that children should be told about the dangers of sexual misconduct. Typical among the first were Funk and Beatty[104] and Babcock,[105] while Leibee[106] illustrated the second approach. Funk and Beatty claimed:

> We try not to dwell on the morbid sides of sex, such as disease and illegitimacy, but if questions are asked, they are answered truthfully.

Babcock said that, in dealing with problems of venereal disease instruction, the students were given a clear understanding of

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[103] Harry H. Moore, "The Attitudes of High School Teachers Toward Sex Education," Educational Review, 70 (September, 1925), 90-4.

[104] Margaret S. Funk and Willard W. Beatty, "Relating Sex to Life," High School Clearing House, 8 (December, 1933), 235-38.

[105] Russell B. Babcock, "A Seventh Grade Course in Sex Education," Progressive Education, 13 (May, 1936), 374-82.

[106] Howard C. Leibee, "A Sex Education Program," Journal of Health and Physical Education, 8 (November, 1937), 547.

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their cause and nature without emphasizing the dangers. On the other hand, Leibee in 1937, reporting on what he considered to be the values of the Chamberlain-Kahn Act passed in 1918, said that it was necessary to warn pupils of the danger of illicit sexual behavior.

During the years 1940 to 1950, those who encouraged schools to develop positive programs of sex education claimed that many schools had no other program of sex instruction than one based on the idea of fear of the consequences of sexual misconduct. Miller and Breakley,[107] in 1940, advocated a positive program of sex education, but claimed that there still was a strong tendency in the public schools to base sex instruction on "coercion and the instillation of a sense of shame or fear of possible illegitimacy or infection." In 1945, Laycock,[108] writing for a Canadian educational journal, pointed out that, although in both the United States and Canada there had been an increased emphasis on family-life education, a large number of schools in these two countries still used as their only method of sex instruction the frightening of their students by telling them of the dire

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[107] Harold A. Miller and Robert S. Breakley, "Sex Education in the Curriculum," Educational Digest, 5 (February, 1940), 37-40.

[108] S. R. Laycock, "New Approaches to Sex Education," School (Secondary Education), 34 (December, 1945), 309-14.

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consequences of certain kinds of sexual behavior.

Fear of consequences as identified in textbooks.-- During the years between 1910 and 1918, textbooks which did include sex information tended to omit references to the consequences of sexual misconduct. After 1918 when the United States Public Health Service, with funds from the Chamberlain-Kahn Act, began to help schools develop programs in sex education aimed at reducing the amount of venereal infection, more textbooks began to contain references to the dangers of illicit sexual behavior. This emphasis was strongest during the nineteen-twenties, but continued throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Typical among textbooks containing warnings were a health book for the upper elementary grades written by Blount[109] in 1924, and a high school textbook in sociology by Black and Ogburn[110] published in 1925. Blount[111] described the dangers of illicit intercourse. He specifically warned girls that premarital sexual relations on their part would be easily recognized and would lead to marital unhappiness if not to

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[109] R. E. Blount, Health as a Heritage, pp. 27. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1924.

[110] N. G. Black and W. F. Ogburn, An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems, pp. 195. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1925.

[111] R. E. Blount, op. cit., pp. 36-39.

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illness due to venereal diseases or to unwanted pregnancies.[112]

Black and Ogburn[113] warned that syphilis was a "social poison." They also said that unapproved sexual behavior was tied up with marital discord. They felt that, if an individual participated in pre-marital and extra-marital relations, it was likely to result in a breakdown of the home. They said syphilis resulted in the weakening of offspring and the lowering of the birthrate. They[114] claimed:

> The moral results are to be seen in the break in the affection between wives and husbands and the destruction of the real unity of family life, leading often to divorce or separation and neglect of children.

The trend during the nineteen-thirties and the nineteen-forties seemed to be not to mention the dangers of sexual misconduct, but to show more objectively the dangers of various diseases including venereal disease. The aim was to make students aware of the existence of several kinds of diseases, but no effort was made to make them particularly afraid of the consequences of contracting them. A typical high school textbook in which syphilis is mentioned quite

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112 Ibid., p. 38.

113 N. G. Black and W. F. Ogburn, op. cit., p. 196.

114 Ibid., p. 193.

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objectively is one in biology written by Moon and Mann.[115] These authors discussed other diseases at the same time and claimed that among the most dangerous of human diseases is syphilis. By the end of the nineteen-forties, both syphilis and gonorrhea were discussed in biology textbooks without attempts to evaluate whether or not they are more dangerous than other diseases. Mueller and Robertson[116] discussed venereal disease very objectively and showed the purpose of having premarital blood tests in the prevention of the spread of these diseases. Baker and Mills[117] discussed how several diseases including syphilis and gonorrhea are spread. They did not make an effort to emphasize that one disease is more dangerous than another, but they tried to show how all of these diseases can be avoided.

Fear of consequences as identified in books written to help children and young people understand sex.--At the time that national interest in problems of venereal disease and their ensuing dangers was high enough to create a national organization to combat these diseases, as was the case in

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[115] T. J. Moon and P. B. Mann, Biology, pp. 242-43. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1938.

[116] G. W. Mueller and E. C. Robertson, Fundamentals of Health and Safety, pp. 276-78. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1948.

[117] A. O. Baker and L. H. Mills, Dynamic Biology Today, pp. 303-12. New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1948.

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1905, a few books for adolescents were devoted almost exclusively to pointing out the dangers of sexual misconduct. At other times, however, writers of these books were more concerned with describing the facts of sex and reproduction or discussing the theme which can be identified as the idea of reward and punishment.

Typical of the books written with the purpose of warning young people of the dangers involved in promiscuity was one of the first publications of the American Society for Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis. In this book Oker-Blum[118] explained reproduction and then devoted the rest of his book to warning the reader of the dangers of venereal disease. He claimed that such infection might prevent the normal process of conception and birth.

This emphasis on the fear of consequences as the principal theme in books written to help children and adolescents understand sex was of short duration. After 1910, national organizations combating venereal disease recognized that programs of sex education in order to be effective had to do more for the pupils than inculcate fear. Some writers used moral suasion with the warnings of physical consequences, other writers stressed the facts of sex and reproduction, and

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118 Maximillian E. G. Oker-Blum, How My Uncle the Doctor Instructed Men in Matters of Sex. New York: American Society for Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, 1906.

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the idea of warning about the dangers of certain kinds of sexual conduct was only incidental.

Criticism of the idea of fear of consequences.--The idea of fear of consequences as identified in this study was criticized as early as 1911. At first, the objections were against the limitations of a program in which pointing out the dangers was the chief approach. After 1939, writers claimed that this approach was not only ineffective but that it was very harmful.

Before World War I, writers claimed that sex instruction based on the development of an attitude of fear was ineffective. In 1911, Hodge[119] condemned what he called "scarecrow" instruction against the evils of self-abuse. He said that emphasis should be placed upon cleanliness and not upon the development of a morbid attitude of fear. Mott[120] suggested a positive program in which reverence for motherhood and a deep love of little children was created. He claimed, "This is not accomplished by developing a fear of the ravages of disease which follow in the wake of immoral social practices." During the same year, Hahn[121]

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[119] C. F. Hodge, "Instruction in Social Hygiene in the Public Schools," School Science and Mathematics, 11 (April, 1911), 304-14.

[120] T. A. Mott, "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 79 (April 9, 1914), 399.

[121] Clarence W. Hahn, "Sex Education for School Children," School Science and Mathematics, 14 (January, 1914), 54-63.

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recognized the limitations of programs whose only purpose was to show existing dangers of sexual misconduct. He said:

> Besides the opportunity which formal instruction offers to forewarn young people of the dangers lurking in self-abuse and venereal diseases there is need for constructive morality...It is highly desirable to cultivate wholesome ideals of personal and public morality.

After World War I, and especially during the nineteen-twenties, there was a definite trend toward substituting other phases of sex education for those that aroused fear. An editorial which appeared in School Review[122] illustrated this trend. In this editorial, which appears in more detail on page 94, it was stated that sex education should consist of more than warnings of the dangers of venereal disease and should include information regarding morals, personal development, and social responsibilities and should emphasize character as well as physical education.

By 1930, Kassoy[123] felt that the sex education movement was fast becoming one of developing a working code of sexual morals practiced because of promised rewards rather than because of probable punishments. During the nineteen-

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[122] "Sex Education," The School Review, 32 (February, 1924), 90-1.

[123] Irving Kassoy, "A History of the Work of the American Social Hygiene Society in Sex Education, 1876-1930," p. 10. Unpublished Master's thesis. New York: College of the City of New York, 1931.

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thirties, opposition to sex education based upon methods that aroused fear continued to grow. By the end of the decade the appeal for particular kinds of behavior through fear was challenged very strongly. An article that appeared in the Educational Digest[124] stated:

> Appeal to fear of disease or conception has an unhealthy negative tone. Appeal to social approval is confusing when approvals conflict in different groups.

Toward the end of the nineteen-thirties, several writers objected to approaches to sex education based on warnings, because they felt that excessive use of these approaches were harmful to the adjustment of children and young people. In 1939, Burkhart[125] pointed out that repeated warnings about sex from parents conditioned many young people against the sex act to such an extent that they became impotent or frigid. At the same time, Parran[126] indicated that venereal disease education that had depended upon fear had been a failure. MacDougall[127] claimed that the fear of venereal diseases was the cause of many unstable

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[124] "Personal Relationships," The Educational Digest, 3 (May, 1938), 1-6.

[125] R. A. Burkhart, "Program of Sex Education," Religious Education, 34 (January, 1939), 43-47.

[126] T. Parran, "Sex Education--A Challenge," National Education Association Journal, 29 (January, 1940), 16-17.

[127] J. I. MacDougall, "Delusions in Sex Education," Phi Delta Kappan, 24 (January, 1942), 229-30.

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individuals becoming completely unbalanced. He also claimed that the fear of the results of masturbation, rather than the act itself, was frequently the source of insanity. Leaders in the field of mental hygiene during the nineteen-thirties and nineteen-forties expressed the opinion that continuous warnings about sexual misconduct were extremely harmful to mental health. The growth of the mental hygiene movement is discussed in more detail in Chapter V.[128]

Implications of the idea of fear of consequences for the public schools.--The idea of the fear of consequences as discussed in this study has raised different kinds of questions during the fifty years covered by this investigation. At first the problems of the school were related to finding ways of warning pupils of dangers, next the problem was that of including such warnings with other aspects of sex education, and finally the task of the schools appeared to be one of showing what the dangers really were without creating a feeling of morbidity.

Toward the end of the first period of sex education, writers were suggesting that the schools warn pupils of the dangers inherent in certain kinds of sexual behavior. If the school personnel followed these suggestions, they

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[128] Infra, p.411.

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probably considered brief talks in which the dangers were pointed out as their sole responsibility in sex education. As writers indicated that warning pupils was ineffective in sex education, school personnel probably recognized that brief lectures had to be expanded so that other aspects of sex education would be included. If the scope of sex education was expanded in a given school, it often meant that less time proportionately was spent on telling pupils what they should not do and more time was spent on helping them to decide what they should do in order to have happy and wholesome sexual lives. Partly as a result of funds granted by the Government in 1918 in an effort to find ways of reducing venereal infection, the public schools for a time became more active in presenting the dangers of these diseases as an aspect of sex education. The indications are that this emphasis was short lived, but that in some schools this emphasis was maintained throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

During the second quarter of the twentieth century, those writing in the field of mental hygiene said that excessive warnings about sexual behavior were injurious to mental health. If the schools accepted these statements, in many cases they probably had to reconsider their programs, especially if they were basing their programs of sex education on the idea of fear of consequences.

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Toward the end of the depression years and during the nineteen-forties, educators increasingly emphasized that each individual should make his own decisions about matters affecting his personal and social life and that he should be well informed, so that the decisions could be made on an intelligent basis. If school faculties became interested in developing programs in which the dangers of certain sexual behavior was to be explained without creating a feeling of morbidity, they would probably expand their offerings in the field of sex education and give children and adolescents an opportunity to see many possibilities of various actions and guide them in making decisions of behavior in terms of this information.

Between the end of World War I and 1950, there were increasing amounts of data released that indicated that certain dangers really did exist and that other experiences were not as harmful as they were at first thought to be. Beginning in the nineteen-twenties and increasing during the nineteen-thirties and nineteen-forties, whenever venereal disease control was discussed in the public schools, it was pointed out that such diseases are among a number of diseases which harm the human body. Before World War II, efforts were made in many schools to teach about venereal diseases in settings which included other diseases and to group other aspects of sex education under family-life education or some similar category.

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The Idea of Factual Instruction

The idea of factual instruction, as identified in this study, includes all approaches to sex education in which accurate information is presented to children and young people, with a view to providing a sound body of knowledge on which conduct may be based. This need for definite information early became a recognized part of many types of proposals for programs of sex education.

Early proposals for teaching facts suggested little else as part of the sex education program, apparently assuming that, if the child were given the facts, he would be able to develop acceptable behavior patterns. Later proposals included this information in programs designed to help children and youth with their problems of personal development.[129] Still later proposals, which stressed the broader aspects of human relations,[130] continued to recognize the need for factual information.

The history of the emphasis on factual instruction has two facets. In the first place, there was a trend toward more frequent statements regarding the presentation of facts in contrast to silence, fear of consequences, and

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[129] Infra., pp. 279-305.

[130] Infra., pp. 305-38.

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promises of reward and punishment. Secondly, there was a change in emphasis on what facts should be presented.

Stress on the need for factual information, whether presented alone or as part of a larger program of sex education, is found in the literature published throughout the fifty-year period considered in this investigation. Toward the end of the first decade, there was seen the beginning of an emphasis to consider facts directly concerned with human beings. In the second period, whenever factual information was given, it was presented without regard for other aspects of sex education. During the third period (1918-1929), attempts were made to teach facts in such a way as to help with the solution of problems of personal adjustment. This trend continued during the depression years and the facts were used in programs of guidance. At this time, there was a trend toward making facts less conspicuous and emphasizing other factors of sex education. During the years, 1940 to 1950, there was an increasing tendency for different groups, both within and outside of the school, to cooperate in the presentation of factual information together with other aspects of sex education.

Most of the types of sources of data for this study revealed emphases on factual instruction. Numerous articles discussed the theoretical aspects of presenting facts to school children, including what facts should be included

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and whether or not they should be given alone or with other facets of sex education. Many books for children and adolescents attempted to give physiological and biological facts. Textbook writers, where they did mention the problem, focussed their attention on the biological aspects of the sex organs and the reproductive function.

Factual instruction as identified in educational journals.--During the fifty years considered in this investigation, several changes in emphasis could be identified in the articles discussing facts. The trend seemed to be from a period when there was an almost complete absence of emphasis on the importance of presenting factual information of this type, through a period of time when sex facts were emphasized as the chief function of sex education programs, to a period when such facts were regarded as an important but not the major emphasis in broader programs aimed at personal and social adjustment.

Between 1900 and 1912, schools began to teach sex facts which included references to many kinds of life, including man. Before the beginning of the twentieth century, no evidence was found in educational journals that indicated that schools should teach sex facts. One of the earliest articles published in an educational journal that suggested that the pupils should know something about sex was written

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by Walter[131] in 1900. In this article, he listed the objectives for teaching biology, but the teaching of sex information was not mentioned in this list. However, in the same article, Walter briefly mentioned the possibility of teaching something about sex when he said, "In botany, the lower forms are studied long enough to develop clearly the idea of the evolution of sex." The preceding article was not specifically concerned with sex education. In 1908, when such education began to be the theme of articles published in educational journals, all forms of life including man were mentioned as possibilities for illustrating factual instruction about sex. Putnam[132] reported that by 1908 several biologists were doing "admirable work" with children from eight to fifteen years of age; "beginning with plant life; continuing through insects, frogs, reptiles, birds, mammals, to man." Putnam continued:

> In the earliest lessons the terms "mother plant" and "father plant" were introduced. In the concluding lessons a frank sex talk was received with the same clear-eyed interest that accompanied the whole fascinating course.

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[131] H. E. Walter, "The Nature and Amount of Biological Work that Can Profitably be Attempted in Secondary Schools," School Review, 8 (February, 1900), 171-76.

[132] Helen C. Putnam, "Biologic Knowledge and Morality," Religious Education, 3 (December, 1908), 180-81.

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At the same time, Hall[133] suggested that rudimentary zoology should be taught in the intermediate grades with the sexes separated. Under some circumstances, he felt the sexes might be instructed together. He proposed teaching facts in an orderly fashion beginning with plants and flowers and ending with a discussion of the relation of egg and sperm in animals. He said that instruction need not be long nor methodical and examinations need not be held in the subject. Heffron,[134] in 1910, pointed out that very few schools touched upon the physiology and the hygiene of sex, but that those which had been successful in the presentation of the subject had used laboratory methods in which living material was carefully studied. Schmitt[135] stated that the purpose of sex education should be "to accustom our youth to hearing natural things spoken of and treated in a natural way and to learn to speak of them naturally themselves." She further stated that such instruction should be a phase of nature study. She would also have included physiology

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[133] G. Stanley Hall, "The Needs and Methods of Educating Young People in the Hygiene of Sex," Pedagogical Seminary, 15 (January, 1908), 82-91.

[134] John L. Heffron, "The Moral Value of the Teaching of the Physiology and Hygiene of Sex in the Public Schools," Journal of Religious Education, 4 (February, 1910), 543-49.

[135] Clara Schmitt, "The Teaching of the Facts of Sex in the Public Schools," Pedagogical Seminary, 17 (June, 1910), 229-41.

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and gross anatomy in high school curricula. In these courses the functions of sex organs and their care would have been discussed.

These articles tended to be rather academic and were not specifically directed at meeting the personal problems of boys and girls. This approach, using various organisms to illustrate sex and reproduction but in a very academic manner, continued throughout most of the second period of sex education, 1912-1918. Among the writers who continued to suggest this approach were Young, Molter, Grinstead, and Fender. Young[136] stated that the only way to teach about sex is through classes in comparative biology. Molter[137] also said that the approach to such instruction was through biology and suggested that a study of the glands should be a way of introducing this topic. He said:

> Make the glands, especially the glands entering into the process of digestion, the starting point. Go then to study the sweat glands and their value. Next study the secretions of the thyroid gland.
>
> From this point it is very easy to proceed to a description of the function of the sexual glands, the care necessary to keep them in health, and the conservation of

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[136] Evangeline W. Young, "Sex and Education," Journal of Education, 76 (July 18, 1912), 93-5.

[137] Harold Molter, "Practical Suggestions for the Teaching of Sex Hygiene," Education, 34 (October, 1913), 95-8.

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the vital fluids, and of the life-giving principle. Such a procedure ought to impress every child with its importance, and furthermore will allow no room for a willful misunderstanding on the part of the child.

He said,"All of the above can be covered in one lesson."

In 1914, both Grinstead[138] and Fender[139] expressed opinions that direct information regarding sex and reproduction in man should be given in the schools more frequently than it had been given in the past. They claimed that, although many writers referred to man in this connection, the statements that were made were often rather vague as far as the reproductive function of man was concerned.

In 1917, just before the end of the second period, articles began to appear which suggested that factual instruction in sex matters should be closely related with the solution of problems faced by children and adolescents in making sexual adjustments. Moore[140] proposed that a study of sex should give the pupil a better understanding of himself. He planned a presentation which would begin by exploring the cross pollination of pop corn and continue by discussing

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138 Wren Jones Grinstead, "Reading for Teachers of Sex Hygiene," School Review, 22 (April, 1914), 249-55.

139 Charles W. Fender, "Some Experiments in the Teaching of Sex Hygiene in a City High School," School Science and Mathematics, 14 (October, 1914), 573-78.

140 Herbert E. Moore, "The Teaching of Sex Hygiene in Our Public Schools," Education, 38 (October, 1917), 112-16.

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the relation of the child's own characteristics to those of his parents and grandparents. With this as background, the teacher should proceed, according to Moore, to discuss the functions of the egg and sperm, the development of the embryo, the process of birth, the importance of breastfeeding, venereal diseases, the practical care of the sex organs, the menses, and nocturnal emissions. Although much of the presentation, according to Moore, was to be very formal, efforts were to be made to relate it to the immediate problems of the adolescent. Another example of the change in teaching sex facts from a rather narrow academic point of view to teaching facts aimed at helping the learner with his present problems is seen in programs planned by Van Buskirk. In one article[141] written in 1919, he claimed that the largest amount of time in a unit on sex education carried out in freshman general science should be devoted to the physiology and hygiene peculiar to puberty and a study of heredity. In this course, he proposed to include a description of venereal diseases. In another article,[142] he claimed that this description could be handled in less

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[141] E. F. Van Buskirk, "How Can Sex Education Be Made a Part of General Science," School Science and Mathematics, 19 (December, 1919), 789-94.

[142] E. F. Van Buskirk, "How Can Sex Education Be Made a Part of Biology," School Science and Mathematics, 19 (April, 1919), 335-43.

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than five minutes.

The trend toward teaching facts for the purpose of solving problems facing growing boys and girls in the area of sexual adjustment is seen in a report of the Committee of Sex Education appointed by the New York Association of Biology Teachers.[143] This committee recommended in 1922: that answers should be given to the natural questions asked by children and youth, that girls should be prepared for the experience of menstruation, that boys should be given information about nocturnal emissions, and that all this information should be given to the child before he enters high school.

During the depression years, two distinct positions on factual instruction can be observed. On the one hand, there were those who proposed to teach only those facts that seemed necessary for the child and adolescent to know in order to make good sexual adjustment. In this case, the facts in themselves were only a minor part of the whole program. On the other hand, there were those who claimed that children and youth should have many facts, whether or not the need for them was apparent at the time that they were presented. Those who took this position assigned a major role to factual instruction.

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143 "An Outline for Sex Education in the High School," School and Society, 15 (June 10, 1922), 650-52.

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Typical among the writers pointing out that the presentation of facts was a small but important phase of guidance in sexual adjustment were Funk and Beatty,[144] Michener,[145] and Orton.[146] Funk and Beatty said that the presentation of facts became a minor issue, but that the guidance of young people in making wholesome sexual adjustment was of paramount importance. Michener, in 1938, described an attempt to relate the facts of reproduction to broader aspects of the subject. In this effort a class was taught by two faculty members, one of them a science teacher and the other a social science teacher. The biological and physiological facts that were presented included: the function of sex, the human reproductive system, the facts of reproduction, the psychology and physiology of sex, and venereal disease. The social science information that was given included: procedures to follow in dating and courtship, reasons for marriage, and ways of being happy and successful with one's peers, present family, and future family. The instruction was definite and non-technical.

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[144] Margaret S. Funk and Willard W. Beatty, "Relating Sex to Life," The Clearing House, 8 (December, 1933), 235-38.

[145] J. A. Michener, "Sex Education: A Success in Our Social-Studies Classes," Clearing House, 12 (April, 1938), 461-65.

[146] Dwayne Orton, "Method is All-Important in Sex Education," California Journal of Secondary Education, 14 (April, 1939), 208-10.

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The lectures were thirty minutes in length with an equal amount of time for discussions. Michener's report illustrates a trend toward cooperation in sex education that was to increase during the nineteen-forties. In 1939, Orton stated that instructors should give only those facts which children and adolescents expressed a definite desire to know. He claimed that the instructor, for the most part, should provide syllabi, keep discussions moving, and summarize and encourage individual thinking. In 1944, Gardner[147] pointed out not only that children and adolescents should be given those facts which they desire to know, but also that they might request the same facts at different ages. This problem is related to the idea of personal development and will be discussed later in this chapter.

Proposals for programs of sex education in which the presentation of facts was of paramount importance were made throughout the depression and well into the nineteen-forties. Typical of such proposals was one by Goudey,[148] in 1936. He suggested that a biology teacher of each sex should be kept on high school faculties for the purpose of teaching their

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[147] George E. Gardner, "A Factor in the Sex Education of Children," Mental Hygiene, 28 (January, 1944), 55-63.

[148] E. S. Goudey, "Questions That Are Not Asked," Progressive Education, 13 (May, 1936), 383-88.

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respective sexes the life functions of mammals. Articles published in the nineteen-forties by Wertman[149] and Wilshin[150] indicate that there were those who felt that the primary function of the schools in the area of sex education was to give factual instruction. Wertman stated that conception, pregnancy, and the process of birth should be treated through lectures. Wilshin claimed that the school was the only place where physiological sex instruction could be given, because it was free from the emotional blocks which stood in the way of the homes in being objective about the subject.

Other writers, who suggested that sex education was a cooperative task, declared that the home was important in factual instruction. Gruenberg[151] stated in 1949 that one of the better teaching aids, a film entitled "Human Growth," shows the relation of the home and the schools in handling sex instruction. The film starts in the family circle and carries on into the classroom the questions raised at home

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[149] D. Wertman, "Our Successful Lecture Series on Sex Education," Clearing House, 19 (November, 1944), 174-76.

[150] Ione E. Wilshin, "Sex Education: Whose Job Is It?" National Education Association Journal, 24 (December, 1945), 201-2.

[151] Sidonie M. Gruenberg, "Sex Education Today," Educational Digest, 15 (December, 1949), 32-4.

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as well as other questions that the children want cleared up. This film was developed under the guidance of the University of Oregon and sponsored by the board of education of that state.[152]

Factual instruction as identified in textbooks.--While theoretical discussions relative to problems of teaching facts of sex and reproduction in the public schools were being considered by those writing for educational journals, textbook writers were trying to approach sex instruction in several ways, including presenting factual information.

As early as 1903, Colton,[153] in an advanced zoology text for the secondary schools, carefully described the reproduction of the amoeba, paramecium, and vorticella. All of these are members of the phylum protozoa, the lowest form of animal life. During the same year, in another advanced book, for the upper secondary or lower collegiate levels, Jordan and others[154] included charts of the embryonic

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[152] Supra, p. 150.

[153] Buel P. Colton, Zoology: Descriptive and Practical, pp. 164-68. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1903.

[154] David Starr Jordan and Others, Animal Studies, p. 263. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1903.

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development of rabbits and pointed out:[155]

> Some animals do not lay eggs, that is they do not deposit the fertilized egg cell outside of the body, but allow the development of the new individual to go on inside the body of the mother for a longer or shorter period. The mammals and some other animals have this habit. When such an animal issues from the body of the mother, it is said to be born.

During the early years of the twentieth century, writers attempted to explain to what extent, in their opinion, biological facts of sex and reproduction should be related to the sex problems of human beings. In a textbook, written in 1904 for teacher training, Lloyd and Bigelow[156] gave their thoughts as to what teachers should do about showing this relationship. They said:

> Botany is especially adapted to give knowledge of reproduction...The absence of highly specialized secondary sexual characters makes it easy to avoid any pointed or suggestive discussion while the main facts are sufficiently obvious...Let it be understood that it is the biological aspects of the matter alone with which the teacher has to do. His duty may be said to be done when he has made this phase of physiology as clear as he is expected to make other facts. For the rest we place our trust in the belief that right and pure ideas will assert themselves, and that the mind of the pupil will be more frank and open to the exercise of moral living.

Even before 1912 there were indications that some writers thought that the relationships should be made more

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[155] Ibid., p. 256.

[156] F. E. Lloyd and M. A. Bigelow, The Teaching of Biology, p. 79. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1904.

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clear. This point of view is illustrated by a statement in a teacher's manual published in 1912 by Bigelow,[157] who was one of the earliest leaders in the sex education movement and a professor of zoology at Columbia University. This manual accompanied Applied Biology,[158] a textbook written for the secondary school. In the teacher's manual, Bigelow said:

> The text of the Applied Biology presents the life-histories of vertebrates more extensively than is done in other books for high school, because the authors are convinced that biology is the only logical approach to the kind of sex instruction that is now generally recognized as an important part of education...Nothing is clearer than that it is inadequate to leave students to make their own application of biological ideas to human life. The demonstrated fact is that most of them do not.

Although the writers of Applied Biology used diagrams showing human embryological development, most textbook writers were content to refer only indirectly to man until the nineteen-twenties. However, by 1912 there was a noticeable increase both in the amount of space in textbooks devoted to sex and the functions of sex and in the number of high school textbooks that included references to mammals.

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[157] M. A. Bigelow and A. N. Bigelow, Teachers' Manual of Biology, pp. 73-75. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1912.

[158] M. A. Bigelow and A. N. Bigelow, Applied Biology, p. 163. New York: Macmillan Company, 1911.

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In 1911, Davenport[159] discussed the sex organs of the mouse. He stated, "the testes and ovaries are small organs lying in young animals in the dorsal part of the abdominal cavity." He used the term "oviduct" and the phrase "being born alive."

During the years 1912 to 1918, although textbooks contained more facts about sex, relating them to human beings was left very much to the teachers. For example, Hegner[160] discussed the testes and ovaries in his high school textbook, but used such animals as coelenterates, jelly fish, and hydra to illustrate his points. In his college textbook in zoology, Hegner[161] used mammals and he wrote:

> Mammals are separated into male and female individuals. The essential organs of the male are two testes in which the spermatazoa arise and the ducts which carry the spermatozoa to the outside. The female organs in which the eggs are produced are the two ovaries. Connected with these ovaries is an egg duct, the oviduct, into which the fully grown egg passes. Here it is fertilized by a spermatazoon. In most cases the eggs develop within the egg tubes of the mother. The young embryo becomes connected with the wall of the egg tube by a strand of membranes and blood vessels called the placenta. Through the placenta,

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159 G. C. Davenport, Elements of Zoology, pp. 437-38. New York: Macmillan Company, 1911.

160 R. W. Hegner, Practical Zoology for High School, p. 203. New York: Macmillan Company, 1913.

161 R. W. Hegner, College Practical Zoology, p. 410. New York: Macmillan Company, 1915.

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nourishment from the blood of the mother is carried to the growing young. The interval between fertilization and the birth of the young which develop from the fertilized egg is known as the period of gestation. This period varies in different species; in the rabbit it is 30 days. From one to eight or ten young may be produced at birth, and, in the case of rabbits, several litters may be born during the year.

Other examples of the use of animals to explain sex and reproduction were seen throughout the fifty years covered in this investigation. Although a change of emphasis was noted in the nineteen-twenties, the use of animals continued to be popular. In 1915, Pease[162] used the frog to show the egg and sperm cells; in 1926, Bennett[163] used insects; in 1939, Beauchamp and others[164] used lower animals and chicks; in 1941, they[165] introduced mammalian reproduction in terms of a rabbit; and in 1946 Curtis and others[166] used

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[162] C. A. Pease, A First Year Course in General Science, p. 229. New York: Charles E. Merril Company, 1915.

[163] Mary A. Bennett, Laboratory Exercises to Accompany Waggoner's Modern Biology, pp. 63-68. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1926.

[164] W. L. Beauchamp and Others, Science Problems, pp. 438-40. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1939.

[165] W. L. Beauchamp and Others, A Study-Book for Science Problems, pp. 111-31. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1941.

[166] F. D. Curtis and Others, Everyday Biology, pp. 563-70. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1946.

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spirogyra for the majority of their illustrations.

Although Bigelow had pointed out to biology teachers that pupils would not make transfer from plants and animals to themselves without help,[167] it was not until about 1925 that many school textbooks faced the problem of human reproduction in a very direct manner. In that year, Clement[168] published a laboratory guide and notebook which followed the New York State Syllabus in Biology. This syllabus required application of biologic principles to human interests. The principal organs of the body, including the sex organs, were to be illustrated by manikins, models or charts. A science book written by Webb and Didcoct[169] in 1927 illustrates the increased tendency to refer to human beings. In this book the authors state, "the hatching and part of the development may take place inside the body of the mother, as in all four-footed animals and mankind."

During the nineteen-thirties and continuing through

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167 M. A. Bigelow and A. N. Bigelow, Teachers' Manual of Biology, pp. 73-75. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1912.

168 A. G. Clement, A Laboratory Guide and Notebook in Biology, p. v. Syracuse: Iroquois Publishing Company, 1925.

169 H. A. Webb and J. J. Didcoct, Early Steps in Science, p. 603. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1927.

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the nineteen-forties, there was a trend toward using biological information to answer some of the questions raised by adolescents regarding problems of sexual adjustment. Many high school textbooks not only included more facts about human reproduction but also discussed the effects of the sex glands on the secondary sex characteristics. Typical of this emphasis was a book by Wheat and Fitzpatrick[170] which was published in 1932 and which introduced a short discussion on the results of glandular secretions on the development of men and women.

Following the second world war, more and more facts illustrated with direct references to human beings were included in biology textbooks for the secondary schools. One of the books carrying the most complete descriptions and illustrations of sex in reference to man was Smith's[171] Exploring Biology, which was published in 1949. In this book, she gave a very full description of the birth process with schematic drawings of the female sex organs. Her book explained the function of the uterus and gave a diagram of

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170 F. M. Wheat and E. T. Fitzpatrick, General Biology, p. 272. New York: American Book Company, 1932.

171 Ella Thea Smith, Exploring Biology, Third Edition. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949.

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the embryo developing within the uterus.[172] At the same time she explained the gestation period of the human by saying, "normally it takes nine months for the human child to develop to a point where it is ready to leave the mother's body." She pointed out the dangers of venereal infection and urged that physical examinations be made before marriage.

Before 1928, textbooks for the elementary school child that referred to sex were very few in number. The illustrations used in these textbooks were either plants or very low animal life. Typical among such books was one on health published in 1917 by Winslow.[173] In this book the life cycle of the insect was discussed. Another illustration was a science book by Buskirk and Smith[174] published in 1919 in which all references were to plants.

After 1928, science books for primary and elementary school children contained references to the reproductive functions of somewhat higher animals. The number of books

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172 Ibid., p. 399.

173 C. E. A. Winslow, Healthy Living, pp. 203-4. New York: Charles E. Merrill Company, 1917.

174 E. F. Buskirk and E. L. Smith, The Science of Everyday Life, pp. 377-81. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919.

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containing such references also increased. In 1928, in the Mother Nature Series for the primary grades, Dunn and Troxelle[175] discussed toads and their eggs. In 1930, Du Puy[176] mentioned the selective breeding of guinea pigs. His book was planned for the upper elementary grades.

It was not until the nineteen-forties, however, that many elementary textbooks discussed sex and reproduction in terms of human beings. An example was a book by Baruch and others[177] written in 1948 which described the sex glands as follows:

> Some of these glands help you to be a man or a woman. These are called sex glands....The sex glands cause boys, as they grow, to become men, ready to be husbands and fathers. These glands cause girls, as they grow, to become women, ready to be wives and mothers.
>
> If you are a boy, the sex glands will some day help your voice to become deeper and will cause hair, or a beard, to grow on your face. If you are a girl, the glands will help make your hips become wider, help round out your body, and help keep your face smooth and hairless.

Another elementary textbook discussing human implications

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[175] F. W. Dunn and E. Troxelle, By the Roadside, pp. 31-38. Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1928.

[176] W. A. Du Puy, Wonders of the Animal World, p. 42. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1930.

[177] Dorothy Baruch and Others, You, pp. 256-57. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1948.

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of sex was a health book by Mueller and Robertson.[178] They discussed the sex glands, used the terms testes and ovaries, and talked about blood tests in relation to venereal disease control. This textbook, written for the seventh and eighth grades, represented a different approach to sex education on the elementary school level from an emphasis based on discussing plants and simple animals, which had been the case during the nineteen-twenties.

Factual instruction as identified in books written to help children and young people understand sex.--Books written for the specific purpose of helping children and youth understand sex provided factual information much earlier than did textbooks for school use. Some of these books were written for parents and others were written for children and youth. Emphasis on facts in textbooks increased as the schools assumed responsibility for sex education. The idea that factual information was important appeared much earlier in children's literature. Even before 1892 children's literature appeared to be based on the assumption that if children were given the facts their sexual curiosity would abate. Barnes,[179] in 1892, summarized the

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[178] G. W. Mueller and E. C. Robertson, Fundamentals of Health and Safety, pp. 276-78. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1948.

[179] Earl Barnes, "Feelings and Ideas of Sex in Children," Pedagogical Seminary, 2 (February, 1892), 199-203.

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literature available for young people as follows:

> There is also a considerable number of books intended to introduce children from ten to fifteen years old into the mysteries of sex. Some of these have had remarkable sale. One intended for girls, has reached its twentieth edition. Some of these books are direct and coarse, while others hide the facts they wish to impart under such a mass of botanical and zoological comparisons that they simply awaken a curiosity which they do not satisfy.

It was not until 1912, however, that many books described the process of reproduction of human beings. Prior to this time, the themes included had been principally reward and punishment and fear of consequences. In fact, as soon as factual evidence was available, authoritarian claims regarding possible punishments seemed to give way to statements regarding the consequences of promiscuous behavior. Between 1900 and 1912, factual instruction was primarily directed at pointing out the dangers of misconduct. This was explained in an earlier section in this chapter.[180]

Between 1912 and 1918, an increasing number of books appeared that explained the origin of human beings. Some writers of books for older children went into elaborate details about the structure of the sexual systems.[181] Others tried to write books that elementary school children could

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[180] Supra, p. 203.

[181] Winfield S. Hall, Life's Beginnings. New York: Association Press, 1912.

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read and understand.[182]

Still other writers attempted to help parents with the problem of teaching their own children about the sex organs and reproduction.[183, 184]

Books for children and adolescents published during the years, 1912 to 1918, used somewhat technical language and presented about the same facts regardless of the age level of the reader. During the nineteen-twenties, efforts were made to relate the facts to the immediate problems of different age groups and to use a minimum of technical knowledge.[185, 186, 187] During these same years, books for parents attempted to give answers for children's questions which were more clearly related to the actual needs of

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[182] B. L. Cady and V. M. Cady, The Way Life Begins. New York: American Social Hygiene Association, 1918.

[183] H. H. Heller, What to Say in Telling the Story of Life's Renewal to Children. Nasheville: Abingdon Press, 1914.

[184] R. W. Chapman, How Shall I Tell My Child? New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1912.

[185] Margaret Sanger, What Every Boy and Girl Should Know. New York: Brentano's Inc., 1927.

[186] M. Allen, What a Young Girl Ought to Know. London: Virtue Publishers, 1928.

[187] M. Allen, What a Young Boy Ought to Know. London: Virtue Publishers, 1928.

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children than were the more technical books of the preceding period. Auerbach[188] claimed that the writers of such books were probably aided by the findings in psychoanalysis and child study. Books to be read to children were based to some extent upon such findings. Such writers as Cady,[189] Lamson,[190] and De Schweinitz,[191] who published books to be read to children, showed that they were influenced by these findings. The book by De Schweinitz discussed the development of the human baby from an egg and the birth process in simple terms. Over thirty pictures and illustrations were used. This book was written so as to answer questions raised by children just before or just after they enter school. The psychoanalysts had pointed out that it is at this age level that children need help in understanding their origin and in understanding and accepting their sex roles.

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188 Aline B. Auerbach, "Current Trends in Books on Sex Education," Child Study, 26 (Summer, 1949), 103-4.

189 B. L. Cady, Story of Life. New York: American Social Hygiene Society, 1925.

190 A. Lamson, How I Came to Be. New York: Macmillan and Company, 1926.

191 Karl De Schweinitz, Growing Up. New York: Macmillan and Company, 1928.

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The emphasis on giving children books to read or on reading to them, in order that they might have satisfactory answers to the problems concerning them about their own origin and that of other children, continued throughout the nineteen-thirties. During these years a number of books for the elementary school child appeared.[192, 193, 194, 195] In them attempts were made to recognize the child's feelings, as well as to satisfy his intellectual curiosity and attention was focussed more on family relationships than on biological and physiological functions. At the same time, books appearing for parents, not only gave them answers for their children's questions, but also tried to help them overcome their own self consciousness by showing them that their attitude in answering the questions was as important

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192 Karl De Schweinitz, How a Baby is Born. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1932.

193 V. C. Barclay, Peter and Veronica Growing Up. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1935.

194 Francis B. Strain, Being Born. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936.

195 E. S. Bell and E. Faragoh, The New Baby. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1938.

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as what they said.[196, 197]

Between 1940 and 1950, children's books, while not neglecting the biology and physiology of sex, dwelt more on meeting the child's emotional needs.[198] Two books by Levine and Seligmann[199, 200] and one by Lorenz[201] tried to show, in story form suitable for reading to the kindergarten-age child, the beauty and creativeness of the birth process. Books for parents such as one by Whitman[202] asked parents not to neglect the facts, but urged them to help their children understand the problems of other people.

Criticism of the idea of factual instruction.-- Factual instruction was criticized on the basis that the imparting of information in and of itself would not assure

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196 Francis B. Strain, New Patterns of Sex Teaching. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1934.

197 E. H. Swift, Step by Step in Sex Education. New York: Macmillan and Company, 1938.

198 Aline B. Auerbach, op. cit., pp. 103-4.

199 M. I. Levine and J. H. Seligmann, Wonder of Life. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1940.

200 M. I. Levine and J. H. Seligmann, A Baby is Born. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1949.

201 M. Lorenz, Tina and Jimmy Learn How They Were Born. New York: Boar's Head Books, 1948.

202 Howard Whitman, Let's Tell the Truth About Sex. New York: Pelligrini and Cudahy, 1948.

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that children and adolescents would make satisfactory sexual adjustment.

During the years, 1912 to 1918, when emphasis was on the teaching of sex facts without consciously relating them to different aspects of sexual adjustment, a few writers objected to calling such teaching sex education. Even before this period, Greene,[203] speaking before the National Education Association, questioned the efficacy of teaching sex information. He said that giving such information was not necessarily sex education. The editors of the Journal of Education[204] said in 1913, "Teachers should never assume... that more knowledge means of itself more safety or self-control." A year later, Strachan[205] objected to teachers giving facts of sex "just as they would teach arithmetic."

After 1920, objections were raised with increasing frequency to sex education which stressed facts as the major

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[203] Frances M. Greene, "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, pp. 917-925. Winona, Minnesota: The Association, 1911.

[204] "Sex Topics in the Schools," Journal of Education, 78 (November 27, 1913), 538.

[205] Grace C. Strachan, "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, pp. 317-18. Ann Arbor: The Association, 1914.

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purpose. In 1921, Gruenberg,[206] in an address before the National Education Association, emphasized that "knowledge does not supply purpose" and that purpose must come from emotions. He said that, while teaching the facts of reproduction and sex, the interpretation of life on the sex side should not be avoided. He claimed that history, civics, economics, social problems, and literature offered the best opportunities in that connection.

In 1929, Edson[207] tried to summarize the trend away from facts as follows:

> This new trend is based on the thesis that if education is preparation of the child for life situations, sex education is his preparation for life situations in which sex is a factor....The child is being sex educated anyway...."Therefore," says the new trend, "Let us give this child the best sex education possible. Let us not be content with the school of the gutter, but let us help this growing child to meet his sex situations through life with correct facts, sane interpretations, worthy ideals, and sound conduct. This means that no modicum of facts about reproduction or sex hygiene will achieve the results.

Zachry,[208] in 1932, expressed somewhat the same point

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[206] Benjamin C. Gruenberg, "Sex Education in the Secondary Schools," Journal of Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, pp. 675-76. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1921.

[207] Newell W. Edson, "Children are Entitled to Best Human Experiences in Sex Education," School Life, 14 (April, 1929), 152-53.

[208] Caroline B. Zachry, "Social Adjustment and Sex Education," National Education Association Journal, 21 (January, 1932), 5-6.

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of view when she said:

> The tendency on the whole is to think of sex education far too narrowly. What the educator means by sex education is sex information. From the point of view of mental hygiene, sound sex education is something broader than mere information in regard to sex functions...The biological information, no matter how scientifically presented, will not in itself help him to make adequate adjustment on the love side of his life.

Roberts[209] in 1935 declared:

> Mere knowledge of the anatomy or physiology of sex is not enough...even more important than a knowledge about facts is the emotional attitude to them.

Laton[210] criticized the lack of balance in sex education. She said that in some cases those teaching facts failed to extend them to include human beings. On the other hand, others rushed to the other extreme. They tried to place before children all the facts about human beings without consideration of the emotional backgrounds of the students.

In 1941, Zachry[211] pointed out the need for education

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209 W. H. Roberts, "We Study Life," Journal of Higher Education, 6 (October, 1935), 376-81.

210 A. D. Laton, "Approaches to Sex Education in the Schools," University High School Journal, 16 (April, 1938), 147-55.

211 Caroline B. Zachry, "Sex Education: Facts and Attitudes," Child Study, 18 (Winter, 1940), 39-41.

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of the emotions when she said, "Sex education is more than 'fact giving,' more than 'good moral lessons.' It is in essence an attempt to educate the emotions."

In 1944, Auerbach[212] claimed that the wave of teaching about sex based on facts alone came during the rise of behaviorism. She pointed out that psychologists of this school warned of the evils of too much affection. She concluded:

> Giving the "facts" is the easiest part of sex education. It is the unconscious attitudes and feelings that children absorb...in day to day living which are important.

Again in 1949, Auerbach[213] discussed the "intellectual approach." She questioned the assumptions implicit in this approach, namely, that sex matters were impersonal and objective, and that, if one answered children's questions, their curiosity would be "satisfied" and would pass away.

Implications of the idea of factual instruction for the public schools.--As far as the public schools are concerned, the idea of factual instruction is one of the most controversial of the ideas identified in this study. This idea seems to be closely related to a number of basic

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[212] Aline B. Auerbach, "Sex Attitudes Begin at Home," Child Study, 22 (November, 1944), 3-5 ff.

[213] Aline B. Auerbach, "Current Trends in Books on Sex Education," Child Study, 26 (Summer, 1949), 103-4.

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curricular problems, namely: what sex facts should the schools teach, at what age or maturity level should these facts be taught, by whom should they be taught, and what methods should be used to teach them?

As problems of the curriculum in general became major issues of the school, similar problems regarding sex education likewise became problems of school personnel. Schools were commonly regarded in 1900 as institutions for the teaching of facts. The teaching methods were predominantly lectures combined with questions and answers. Girls and boys were frequently separated. The notion that sex education should consist primarily of instruction in facts, given usually by outside lecturers to boys and girls in separate groups, was in line with these earlier conceptions of the school, but it is certainly out of keeping with the present.

In addition to teaching facts, other functions have been added to the school during the first half of the twentieth century. The Gestalt emphasis upon the total pattern of child life, the mental hygiene stress upon the emotions of the school child, and the development of integrated units of work in the elementary and secondary schools suggest the narrowness of any plan for sex education that omits the feelings and attitudes of the pupils. These trends, hardly manifest in the first decade of the century, are now

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commonly recognized. Like the teaching of facts in social studies and natural science, the giving of information in the field of sex has been recognized in the last decade as only part of the curricular task.

While these trends are general, the various emphases given to the presentation of factual information pertaining to sex can be observed in different schools. This varies from the omission of any factual instruction to the teaching of a large number of facts regarding sex and reproduction. The extent to which facts are part of sex education programs seems to be reflected in the different philosophies of these different schools. Proposals for sex education programs must be consistent with these different philosophies. The questions of whether boys and girls should be taught together, whether lectures should be the principal technique used, whether outside speakers should be considered, whether teaching aids should be employed, and whether sex instruction should be confined to the secondary school must be resolved in terms of the ultimate objectives of a given school.

The Idea of Ethical Understanding

Arguments that children needed facts regarding sex in order to make wholesome adjustments often included statements that a sex education program should develop ethical values in relation to various aspects of sex. The idea of ethical

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understanding is considered in this study to include statements indicating that part of the function of the sex education program should be to develop concepts regarding the responsibility of the individual for the race, the benefits of monogamic marriage, the sanctity of the home, the aesthetics of sex, and the development of character. This emphasis differs from the idea of reward and punishment in that the latter concepts depended to a large extent on dogmatic statements, while persons emphasizing the need for the development of ethical understanding argued for a basis of factual information. The differences among the ideas of ethical understanding, personal development, and human relations are, for the most part, differences in emphasis rather than content. Those writers emphasizing ethical understanding were primarily concerned with the development of attitudes, but such growth could not take place without some change in personal development and frequently such growth meant better understanding of human relationships.

Throughout the entire period of this investigation, writers were concerned with the development of ethical attitudes toward sexual behavior. However, the most frequent emphasis in the literature came between 1910 and the end of World War I, when factual instruction was also first strongly emphasized, and between 1935 and 1950, when writers were considering the broader ethical interpretations of

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different behavior patterns.

In every type of literature studied for the purpose of identifying ideas expressed or implied regarding sex education, the idea of ethical understanding was found. It appeared in educational periodicals and in elementary and secondary textbooks throughout the entire fifty-year period covered in this investigation. Books written to help children and young people make wholesome sexual adjustments emphasized this idea as an objective of guidance during and following the nineteen-thirties.

Ethical understanding as identified in educational journals.--During the fifty-year period included in this study, two major changes were noted in the articles concerned with themes identified as part of the idea of ethical understanding. There was a shift from an emphasis on ethical understanding as a by-product of factual instruction to an emphasis in which facts and information were considered less important than the development of attitudes. There was also a shift from an emphasis on the values inherent in different kinds of subject matter to an emphasis on how to guide the child in understanding the ethical aspects of sex.

An article written by G. Stanley Hall[214] was among

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[214] G. Stanley Hall, "The Needs and Methods of Educating Young People in the Hygiene of Sex," Pedagogical Seminary, 15 (January, 1908), 82-91.

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the earliest to discuss themes defined as ethical understanding. In 1908, in his discussion of reasons for school participation in sex education, Hall claimed that the most important reason was the development of a better race as defined by the eugenicists.

McCurdy[215] and Parkinson,[216] in two other early articles, also proposed as important objectives of sex education themes defined as ethical understanding. These writers represented those who tried to show that certain of these objectives were obtained through specific courses. Both McCurdy and Parkinson stated that the most important objective of sex education should be the improvement of the character of the individual. McCurdy would "foster the rugged virtues of clean physical living, honesty, fair play and self-mastery" through physical education and physical examinations. Parkinson would develop "clean" attitudes through the use of domestic science, gardening, and home "tinkering."

In 1913, Bigelow,[217] while urging that sex instruction

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[215] J. H. McCurdy, "Instruction of Boys in the Problems of Physical Life," Religious Education, 6 (June, 1911), 189-192.

[216] William D. Parkinson, "Sex and Education," Educational Review, 41 (January, 1911), 42-59.

[217] M. A. Bigelow, "Sex Instruction as a Phase of Social Education," Religious Education, 8 (April, 1913), 11-12.

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should be carried on in biology classes,pointed out that the chief value of biological facts regarding reproduction and heredity was in the development of an understanding of the ethical principles of behavior and not in the application of the facts learned. He said:

> I have recently come to believe that the teaching concerning heredity and eugenics, which should be a standard part of the best sex-instruction, has its value in the ethical appeal, and not in the direct biological application of the laws of heredity which underly eugenics. There is a widespread opinion among science teachers that high-school biology should present some of the best established facts of heredity; and that these should be eugenically applied to human life by the means of such illustrations as those afforded in the histories of certain degenerate families, such as the well-known Jukes and Kallikaks.

Bigelow further emphasized that biological facts in themselves were inadequate and that the ethical and social aspects of the problem of sex adjustment had to be considered. He would include, along with facts of biology, all "scientific, ethical, social, and religious instruction which helps young people prepare to solve problems." Bigelow concluded his article by stating that one of the aims of sex education should be the presentation of "the hygienic, ethical, and physical laws that promote physical and mental health in monogamic marriage."

Bigelow's ideas were a few years ahead of most writers. He implied that many subjects could be used to develop what we have called ethical understanding. Other writers recognized this in part, but emphasized in their writings only

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one subject at a time. In 1914, a number of writers were stressing subjects other than biology as vehicles for carrying information designed to develop an understanding of the ethical implications of sex education. Balliet,[218] Mott,[219] and Coleman[220] represent this group of writers. Balliet suggested the use of love stories from literature for the development of ethical understanding on matters of sex, while Mott described how stories from history and art might be used for the same purpose. Coleman proposed that Biblical stories might be used instead of love stories and stories from history.

During the third period, 1918 to 1929, an increasing number of writers pointed out that both facts and ethical understanding were important and that it was necessary for many courses to be used to present sex instruction that would meet both of these aspects of sex education. In 1919, MacCaughey[221] stated that teachers of many different courses

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[218] T. M. Balliet, "Points of Attack in Sex Education," Journal of Education, 79 (January 22, 1914), 87-90.

[219] T. A. Mott, "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 79 (April 9, 1914), 399.

[220] N. F. Coleman, "Moral and Religious Phases of Social Hygiene," Religious Education, 9 (February, 1914), 54-60.

[221] Vaughn MacCaughey, "Sex Education in Biology Classes," School Science and Mathematics, 19 (June, 1919), 509.

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should help children and youth make good life adjustments. He went on to say that such adjustment was defined in terms of good mental health attitudes and included an ethical as well as a scientific point of view toward sex. MacCaughey did not attempt to list what courses he thought would help develop wholesome attitudes toward sex, but in 1925 Moore[222] suggested a number of courses that he thought would contribute to the development of such attitudes. In order to secure a more valid basis for his statements, Moore asked the opinion of a number of teachers regarding the subject areas they thought could contribute to sex education. The majority of the teachers questioned felt that sex education should be coordinated with ethical aims. Most of them felt that sex education should not be limited to the biological field. They urged the use of such subject areas as physical education, English, sociology, social sciences, science, home economics, physiology, history, agriculture, civics, athletics, business education, health, citizenship, Bible study, and animal husbandry.

A new emphasis on the ethical understanding phase of sex education seemed to appear about 1935. In this new emphasis, ethical understanding of sexual behavior seemed

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[222] Harry H. Moore, "The Attitudes of High School Teachers Toward Sex Education," Educational Review, 70 (September, 1925), 90-4.

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to be an aspect of better understanding of oneself. As such, the idea of ethical understanding was closely related to the idea of personal development, the former representing a small but important segment of the latter. For example, Richmond [223] said that it was the function of the high school to help clarify for the adolescent the social, personal, and ethical implications of sex information. She pointed out that the teachers of social sciences had an important challenge to help children understand these larger implications. She urged that psychology should be taught in the high schools to help adolescents become aware of the broader concepts of sex education.

An increased number of writers who suggested the use of the techniques of guidance was noted in the literature published during the last ten years of the period under consideration in this investigation. In 1940, Parran, [224] then the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, discussed the work to be done in combating venereal disease. He said, "Fear alone will never control venereal disease." He went on to say that a good guidance program

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[223] Winifred V. Richmond, "Sex Problems of Adolescence," Journal of Educational Sociology, 8 (February, 1935), 332-41.

[224] Thomas Parran, "Sex Education-A Challenge," National Education Association Journal, 29 (January, 1940), 16-17.

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was necessary, if we would give young people a healthy attitude toward sex. He said that this guidance program should provide help in understanding ethical problems and should give young people knowledge that would help them direct the sex force toward socially desirable ends. Williams[225] felt that schools should help students to see the outcomes of different kinds of behavior and to develop wholesome attitudes toward those kinds of sexual behavior from which they would receive ultimately the most benefits. He went on to say that, if college students had not had help in seeing the ethical implications of sexual adjustment before coming to college, their problems of personal adjustment were increased. Pigg[226] claimed that the task of guiding high school pupils toward the development of wholesome attitudes concerning sex knowledge was more important than the knowledge itself.

When the state of Oklahoma with the assistance of Kirkendall attempted to develop a state-wide program in 1944, the curriculum committee concluded that guidance in the development of attitudes toward sex and sexual behavior was

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[225] G. W. Williams, "College Student's Dilemma," Education Forum, 4 (March, 1940), 283-88.

[226] Ewell G. Pigg, "Sex Education In High School Science," School Science and Mathematics, 41 (December, 1941), 851-54.

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the more important function of sex instruction. As the plans for a state program emerged, they included the integration of sex education material in all of the existing courses in the curricula and put emphasis on meeting individual needs through guidance both by the expert and by the classroom teacher. The state curriculum committee of Oklahoma did not publish a syllabus on sex education, but instead presented the schools with the following suggestions as to how they might go about handling the problem of sex instruction:[227]

1. Instruction must be based upon the psychological, sociological, personality, and health phases. It must not be "preachy" or highly emotionalized.

2. An important outcome should be improved attitudes, values and philosophy of life.

3. Social-hygiene education is not to be construed narrowly, but as a broad phase of education emphasizing the improvement of attitudes, acceptance of social responsibilities, and the improvement of human relations.

4. The approach should be an educational one emphasizing positive, constructive values of living.

5. Sex should be recognized as a normal phase of living, which can make valuable contributions to wholesome living.

6. Social-hygiene education must be a continuous process throughout life.

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227 Lester A. Kirkendall, "Sex Education in Nine Cooperating High Schools," The Clearing House, 18 (March, 1944), 387-91.

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7. In the education of children and youth full and complete information, suitable to their development level, is desirable....

8. References to topics with social hygiene or sex implications must be neither dragged into the curriculum needlessly, nor excluded when they enter naturally.

Lesher,[228] in an address before the southeastern division of the Pennsylvania State Education Association in 1945, emphasized the function of guidance and counseling in programs of sex instruction in the schools. He said:

> Such a program should be designed to give an appreciative understanding of the normality, universality, and potential value of the creative force of sex in life, and to help the individual to bring his sex life into harmony with a truly happy and social scheme of living.

The use of guidance in the development of ethical understanding was advocated by Sidonie M. Gruenberg[229] in 1949. She said that she considered education with regard to sex "as a guidance of attitudes and feelings, integrated with all the experiences and influences that shape the child's character." In the same article, in discussing the Kinsey report which she said indicated that past sex instruction based on facts alone had been ineffective in changing sexual

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228 M. G. Lesher, "Role of the School in Homemaking and Parenthood," Schoolmen's Week Proceedings, p. 234. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania, 1945.

229 Sidonie M. Gruenberg, "Sex Education Today," Educational Digest, 15 (December, 1949), 32-4.

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patterns, she stated:[230]

> The famous Kinsey Report dismisses sex instruction-that is, factual information on the anatomy and mechanics of reproduction-as having little or no effect on patterns of sexual behavior. "Patterns of behavior," they write, "are products of attitudes, and attitudes may begin shaping long before the child has acquired very much, if any, factual information."...
>
> More and more teachers and others working with children are coming to think of purposeful education with regard to sex as a guidance of attitudes and feelings, integrated with all the experiences and influences that shape the child's character and personality...Our education and guidance must consider these feelings, attitudes, values, and maturing of the individual child.

By 1950, leaders of programs of sex education tried to utilize all experiences and knowledge available on the topic in order to handle programs of individual guidance in such a way that children and young people would be helped to develop socially accepted attitudes toward sex.

Ethical understanding as identified in textbooks.--Beginning in the second period and continuing throughout the remainder of the fifty years considered in this investigation, the facts concerned with heredity, sex organs, reproduction, and venereal diseases were frequently presented in science, health, and biology textbooks in order to develop wholesome attitudes toward the functions of sex. Although, between 1912 and 1950, the use of facts to develop

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[230] Ibid., pp. 32-4.

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ethical understanding appeared to be the aim of a number of textbook writers, the emphasis on this approach to sex education seemed to be greater from 1912 to 1918, and from 1935 to 1950. Writers, during the years 1919 to 1935, did use facts to point out ethical implications, but were turning to the idea of personal development.

During the second period of sex education, writers were interested in developing a feeling of responsibility for the perpetuation of the human race. The approach was somewhat academic and impersonal. In 1913, Bigelow and Bigelow[231] discussed the technical aspects of heredity in a biology book for the tenth grade. They explained to the students why it was desirable to maintain healthy germ cells if a healthy race were to be reproduced. During the same period, Caldwell and Eikenberry[232] mentioned in a general science text that young people had a responsibility of seeing that the knowledge of heredity was used not only to perpetuate the race but to improve it as well. In another general science book, Pease[233] presented evidence from

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[231] M. A. Bigelow and A. N. Bigelow, Introduction to Biology, pp. 368-414. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913.

[232] O. W. Caldwell and W. L. Eikenberry, Elements of General Science, p. 394. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1914.

[233] C. A. Pease, A First Year Course in General Science, pp. 298-99. New York: Charles E. Merrill Co., 1915.

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studies in heredity to help his readers recognize their responsibility for the perpetuation of the race. He emphasized the necessity of reproduction for race preservation and said, "The power of reproduction is not essential to the life of an individual...but it is essential to the continuation of the race."

Efforts to develop a feeling of responsibility for the perpetuation of the race continued during the nineteen-twenties and early thirties. Occasionally a writer would attempt to use the facts to develop an appreciation for living things in general or a feeling of responsibility for the welfare of other people with whom the pupil comes in contact, including his immediate family. Although objectives concerned with giving birth to healthier children were related to those concerned with the perpetuation and improvement of the race, textbooks in which the next generation was discussed seemed more personal than those discussing an improved race to be developed at some future date. Peabody and Hunt[234] in a biology textbook written for the secondary level discussed the responsibility of the student for preventing the spread of communicable diseases including venereal disease. The results of venereal disease were described

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[234] James E. Peabody and A. E. Hunt, Biology and Human Welfare, p. vi. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924.

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in detail. Clement,[235] in a laboratory guide and notebook published in 1925 and based on the New York State Syllabus in Biology, stated that it is not only important to know about the organs of sex and the function of reproduction, but it is essential for the reader to appreciate that all life depends on this function for its survival. Clement also included a discussion of eugenics and the principles of heredity.[236] Reports of the Edwards, Jukes, and Kallikak families were used to demonstrate the principles discussed.

That efforts continued to be made to develop an appreciation of one's responsibility for race perpetuation and improvement is seen in textbooks written by a number of authors during the early years of the nineteen-thirties. For example, in 1931 Hunter[237] devoted an entire section of his biology book to the problems of heredity and ended it with a statement of the necessity of applying these principles to the development of better human beings. Webb and

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[235] A. G. Clement, A Laboratory Guide and Note Book in Biology, pp. 17-25. Syracuse: Iroquois Publishing Company, Inc., 1925.

[236] Ibid., pp. 32-41.

[237] G. W. Hunter, Problems in Biology, pp. 620-25. New York: American Book Company, 1931.

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Beauchamp[238] in 1935 not only discussed heredity, but also stated that the attitudes that one developed toward heredity as one grew up determined what the human race eventually would become.

During the latter part of the nineteen-thirties and during the nineteen-forties, there was a trend toward emphasizing the development of attitudes toward personal development. The importance of sound health in the formation of ideals was the theme of a secondary textbook for physiology written in 1937 by Burkhard and others.[239] This book claims that participation in wholesome activities goes a long way toward formation of character. Burkhard further stated that healthful activities in which both sexes could participate were important in the selection of mates and in the perpetuation of the race. Baker and Mills[240] in a high school biology book showed how venereal disease prevents the development of healthy bodies and well-rounded

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[238] H. A. Webb and R. O. Beauchamp, Science, pp. 585-601. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935.

[239] W. E. Burkhard and Others, Health and Human Welfare, pp. 252-265. Chicago: Lyons and Carahan, 1937.

[240] A. O. Baker and L. H. Mills, Dynamic Biology Today, p. 303. New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1948.

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personalities and pointed out that every citizen is responsible for preventing its spread. They claimed that, if every citizen had the correct attitude regarding all communicable disease, venereal disease would diminish. In another biology book, Smith[241] described the dangers of syphilis and gonorrhea for new born babies and explained the value of pre-marital examinations. The discussion pointed up that one of the ways to fulfill the desires of the personality was a successful and happy marriage. A fuller description of the use of biological facts in the development of the personality was found in a biology textbook by Curtis and Urban.[242] This book contained extensive discussions of heredity, venereal disease, sex-linked characteristics, Rh factors, community welfare, and the perpetuation and improvement of the race.

The idea of ethical understanding was not very clearly shown in elementary school textbooks. During the years from 1912 to 1918, the ethical implications were not typically discussed when facts about sex were presented. In the nineteen-thirties and the nineteen-forties, writers were

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[241] Ella Thea Smith, Exploring Biology, pp. 399-401. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949.

[242] F. D. Curtis and John Urban, Biology in Daily Life, pp. 442-44. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1949.

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more concerned with the techniques of personal and social development and as far as the pupils were concerned did not openly discuss with them the building of attitudes toward such development. During the nineteen-twenties, a few writers were more direct in their attempts to help elementary school children see the reason for developing certain attitudes toward socially acceptable behavior. In an upper grade science textbook Snyder[243] tried to show children that they needed to know about diseases, including venereal disease, so that they could help prevent the spread of these diseases among their fellow men. In the primary grades, books with stories of animal families pointed out to children the values of certain kinds of behavior such as doing one's share of the family work. For the most part, these stories were very sentimental and unrealistic and no evidence of the extent of transfer from the behavior of the animal families to the behavior of human families is available. A typical example of such books as these is Baby Animals by Troxell and Dunn,[244] which seemed to suggest to children that they should develop a responsibility toward members of the

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[243] W. H. Snyder, Everyday Science, p. iii. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1919.

[244] E. Troxelle and F. W. Dunn, Baby Animals. Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1928.

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family and an appreciation for the contributions of different members of the family. The value of such books in sex education is not known at this time.

Textbooks as a whole have been quite conservative in the area of ethical understanding. The trend, however, has been in general away from treating the themes identified in this study as the idea of ethical understanding in a strictly academic manner and away from relating the ethical implications to future events. The trend has been toward the presentation of the material in a more personal manner by tying the ethical implications to problems involving oneself, one's family, or one's neighbors.

Ethical understanding as identified in books written to help children and young people understand sex.--Books written for the guidance of children and young people, either for them to read or for their counselors, did not, in general, use approaches that could be said to emphasize ethical understanding. Auerbach[245] in 1949 stated that she was disappointed in the scarcity of books for children and adolescents that discussed the development of sound attitudes and tried to develop appreciations of the purpose of sex as well as to present facts regarding its function.

Before 1935 the emphasis typically was on moral

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[245] Aline B. Auerbach, "Current Trends in Books on Sex Education," Child Study, 26 (Summer, 1949), 103-4.

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suasion, or pointing out what patterns of conduct should be followed without giving factual information upon which the child or adolescent could base his reasons for such conduct. Although the number of books providing factual information increased rapidly at both elementary and secondary levels after that time, the approach to the development of attitudes was tied up closely with personal development in general.

One of the earliest books that discussed themes classified under the idea of ethical understanding together with themes described under the discussion of the idea of personal development was a book written for counselors in 1935 by Burnham and others.[246] In this book, the activities in which adolescent boys participate most frequently were described. This book discussed ways in which the counselor might help boys develop a wholesome attitude toward acceptable activities. As far as activities with the opposite sex are concerned, these writers[247] felt that the appreciation a boy had for his own family was an important factor in the adjustment he would make in his own sex life.

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[246] Helen A. Burnham and Others, The Boy and His Daily Living. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1935.

[247] Ibid., pp. 245-62.

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A book for adolescents in which some factual information was presented in such a way as to show the value of happy home relationships was written by Allen and Briggs[248] in 1937. A small portion of this book points out the aesthetics of such a relationship and suggests that a happy home relationship should be one of the goals of every boy and girl. However, for the most part the emphasis of this book is on arbitrarily telling young people what kind of behavior the authors thought proper and socially acceptable without giving reasons.

Another attempt to get away from the "preachy" type of book was a pamphlet written by Exner[249] and published by the American Social Hygiene Society about 1938. This pamphlet presented the problem of petting, from various points of view. Exner's treatment of the topic is objective, and he gives factual information to support his position. He tries to show his readers that petting often causes the petters to lose appreciation for the beautiful aspects of sex.

A book intended to tell primary school children about

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[248] Betty Allen and M. P. Briggs, Behave Yourself. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937.

[249] M. J. Exner, The Question of Petting. New York: The American Social Hygiene Association, circa 1933.

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their own creation, in such a way as to develop an appreciation for the beauty of this story was written by Ets[250] in 1939. This book is illustrated with beautiful colored prints and tells the story of conception and birth in simple language.

During the nineteen-forties, several books written to help adolescents find solutions to their problems of growing up devoted at least one chapter to the development of value systems against which the adolescent might judge his own behavior. The last chapter of Coming of Age by Lloyd-Jones and Fedder[251] is an example of this approach to the problem of sexual adjustment. These writers point out to young people that what they expect to get out of life will determine, to a large extent, what their behavior will be.

Toward the end of the nineteen-forties, whole books rather than single chapters were based on the theme of developing value systems or were devoted to presenting facts in such a way as to permit the reader to develop ethical understanding of the implications of some of the patterns of

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[250] Marie Hall Ets, The Story of a Baby. New York: Viking Press, 1939.

[251] Esther Lloyd-Jones and Ruth Fedder, Coming of Age. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1941.

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sexual conduct. Three books published in 1948 take up this theme. Leuba's Ethics in Sex Conduct[252] was designed to help young people develop standards of conduct for themselves in the sexual area of life. Stokes[253] wrote with a similar purpose and, although his book was written for young people contemplating marriage in the near future, it can also be used by adults who wish to help children develop acceptable concepts regarding sex and marriage. Another book for adults, especially parents, to use in guiding young people is Whitman's Let's Tell the Truth About Sex.[254] In the book, the author stressed the development of an appreciation of sex and gave facts regarding the functions of sex.

Criticism of the idea of ethical understanding.--At least two kinds of criticism were raised against the concept of sex education defined as the idea of ethical understanding. One kind came from those who felt that many writers advocating ethical understanding treated factual information in such a way as to develop their own points of view, even if it

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[252] Clarence Leuba, Ethics in Sex Conduct: A Manual on Youth, Sex and Marriage. New York: Association Press, 1948.

[253] Walter Stokes, Modern Pattern for Marriage. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1948.

[254] Howard Whitman, Let's Tell the Truth About Sex. New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1948.

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meant overlooking some of the facts. The other criticism came from those who felt that advocates of ethical understanding did not go far enough in the development of programs of sex education.

One of the earliest writers to question the selection and teaching of particular sex facts in order to promote a specific ethical point of view was Walter.[255] In 1911, he claimed that, when the only facts of sex taught were those that substantiated a particular position and when other facts were omitted, such teaching was no better than sex education based on dogmatic statements. He went on to say that sex was biological and training in regard to sex should be based on all of the biological facts available and not on a few selected for developing any given position.

Another writer who cautioned that one should not ignore the biological facts in order to develop ethical understanding was Balliet,[256] who in 1915 claimed that he recognized the ethical implications of sex information, but felt that the biological facts were the most important factors in sex education. He said:

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[255] Herbert E. Walter, "High School Biology and Sex Hygiene," Education, 32 (September, 1911), 26-34.

[256] T. M. Balliet, "Sex Hygiene and Sex Morality as the Aim of Sex Education," Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association, pp. 148-52. Ann Arbor: The Association, 1915.

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The aim of sex education is twofold: it has for its purpose hygienic living and moral character and conduct. Sex hygiene and sex morality are its objects; all other purposes are subordinate.

The biological and physiological facts in regard to sex in the human sphere should, therefore, be taught solely as reasons for hygienic and moral living.

The basis of such education must, therefore, be scientific and not merely dogmatic, neither in a philosophical or in a theological sense. Such scientific instruction cannot be too strongly reinforced by religious motives but these must not be made its chief basis.

The less children and youth think about matters of sex the more wholesome their lives are; therefore one aim of sex education must be to reduce sex consciousness to a minimum.

In the late nineteen-thirties and nineteen-forties, when the idea identified as ethical understanding came to the foreground once more, criticisms were raised against limiting sex education to the teaching and the interpretation of sex facts. Opponents of the idea of ethical understanding claimed that the approach was too narrow and often led to misunderstandings and confusion. In 1938, in an editorial appearing in the Educational Digest,[257] it was stated that any effort to use factual information to show the value of approved social behavior frequently was quite confusing, because behavior approved by one group conflicted with behavior acceptable to another group. Another example

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[257] "Personal Relationships," The Educational Digest, 3 (May, 1938), 1-6.

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of this criticism appeared in an article by Burkhart,[258] a protestant minister from Columbus, Ohio, who pointed out that holding one set of ideals, no matter what facts were used to establish the ideals, frequently led to severe mental conflicts. He went on to say that the teaching of ideals based upon facts was not enough. The understanding of biological information, according to Burkhart, had to be strengthened by the development of habit patterns to support the ideals.

The use of biological facts to develop ethical understanding was challenged by Kinsey[259] in the early nineteen-forties. He questioned whether biological information should be united with the teaching of ethical understanding, especially if this were to be done by biology teachers. At a meeting of the National Association of Biology Teachers in 1941, Kinsey said:

> It is the function of a scientist to observe and analyze the material universe, and science is not qualified to evaluate or pass moral judgments on behavior. The sex instruction which is gradually creeping into our science classrooms is animated by a desire to impose particular systems of morality, and as such, does not belong in our science teaching. The biology of reproduction is a

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[258] Roy A. Burkhart, "Program of Sex Education," Religious Education, 34 (January, 1939), 43-7.

[259] "Sex Instruction in School Opposed as Unscientific," School Science and Mathematics, 41 (February, 1941), 114.

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fundamental part of biology and should be presented as scientific data without reference to its social implications.

Efforts to meet the criticisms of the idea of ethical understanding were started very shortly after World War I and continued throughout the remainder of the fifty-year period included in the present investigation. As the idea of ethical understanding merged with the idea of personal development and human relations, the criticisms of the idea of ethical understanding as a major emphasis in the field of sex education became less apparent.

Implications of the idea of ethical understanding for the public schools.--The idea of ethical understanding implies that the schools have a dual responsibility in this field: to present accurate and adequate information about sex and to develop desirable attitudes toward sex. The phase of sex life concerning which it is most practicable to give information is the biological. Hence instruction in biological science would tend to become especially important for sex education, in the view of adherents of the idea of ethical understanding. To make this approach effective, the schools would require carefully prepared materials, including books that combine scientifically sound information with an appeal to ethical idealism.

The attitudes that the child develops toward sex are probably formed very early in life, even before he has

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started his formal education. This implies that schools will probably be concerned with the question of articulation between the home and the school. This would require solutions to many problems of parental cooperation and education.

The fact that attitudes are learned early in the life of the child raises a question concerning the extent to which attitudes are learned by association with other people. If association with others is important in the development of an ethical understanding of sex, then the attitudes of teachers toward the subject might be significant.

One kind of criticism raised against instruction directed at developing ethical understanding was concerned with the imposition of particular attitudes. This objection raises a question of whether or not schools might help youngsters think through the problems of sexual behavior and develop ethical bases for such behavior without defining and imposing exact attitudes.

A program of sex education in which the various questions mentioned above are considered is in line with the gradual development in the last quarter-century of concern for the "whole" child, of principles from Gestalt psychology as a basis for teaching, of concern over the concomitant learning of knowledge and emotional attitudes,

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of a recognition of the need for parental cooperation and education, of concern for the mental health of teachers as well as pupils, and of recognition of the rights of the individual to determine his own destination in terms of a democratic society.

The Idea of Personal Development

The idea of personal development, as considered in this study, is the belief that instruction in sex should be a part of a guidance program through which the individual child or adolescent may develop a wholesome, balanced life. In general, this approach identifies sex education as a phase of the problem of developing and maintaining mental health and runs counter to programs that present sex instruction as a separate phase of education. Writers advocating this idea tried to point out to their readers that the problems of sexual adjustment were best handled when their existence was recognized, when one tried to solve these problems himself with help given him in the form of guidance, and when one could express his feelings and anxieties about these problems to a confidante. Advocates of the idea of personal development have commonly tried to find ways to teach these and other mental hygiene principles to young people.

The idea of personal development may be compared and

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contrasted with such ideas as ethical understanding and factual instruction described earlier in this chapter. It must be recognized that the classification of ideas in this chapter is an artificial device established for the purpose of discussing the development of closely related emphases. Writers did not consciously adhere to the positions that have been discussed. Frequently one author presented a concept of the nature and purpose of sex education that encompassed several of the ideas set up as a basis for discussing the data treated in this study. In the preceding section of this chapter, it was pointed out that the idea of ethical understanding was, in a sense, one emphasis in the idea of personal development as used in this study. In the themes classified as the idea of ethical understanding, the emphasis was upon relating ethical idealism to a body of knowledge, usually biological. In the themes classified as belonging under the idea of personal development, the emphasis is upon meeting the problems that an individual child or adolescent has in the field of sex and selecting the information necessary to help the child or adolescent meet these problems. Both of these emphases were concerned with providing boys and girls with sound factual information and frequently the same author was concerned with both ideas. The idea of personal development emphasizes individual needs rather than the relation of the individual to

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society; the values sought are those of individual growth rather than of social conformity or adjustment.

From the early years of the twentieth century, some writers were emphasizing the idea of personal development. The idea was not expressed fully until the period of the depression, which began in 1929. During these years, such themes appeared with increasing frequency in journals. It was not until the nineteen-forties, however, that full expression of this idea was found in textbooks.

Personal development as identified in educational journals.--While the idea of personal development was emphasized in journals after 1929, a few examples were found in the literature published before the first World War. Notable among such exceptions were the writings of Dresslar,[260] Galloway,[261] and Grinstead.[262]

Dresslar, in a paper read before the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography in 1913, emphasized the need to scale sex information to the needs

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[260] Fletcher B. Dresslar, "Sex Hygiene," United States Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 18, pp. 35-38. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1913.

[261] T. W. Galloway, "Sex Hygiene," Journal of Education, 78 (July 24, 1913), 95.

[262] Wren Jones Grinstead, "Reading for Teachers of Sex Hygiene," The School Review, 22 (April, 1914), 249-55.

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of each child.

Galloway, who also wrote in 1913, stated:

> Those who are advocating that our children shall be educated in respect to the basal facts of sex mean by this ...such clean and reliable knowledge and training as will enable boys and girls, step by step, not merely to escape the mistakes and pitfalls, but to avail themselves of all the constructive and inspiring facts of sex and its mental and spiritual contributions to full and normal life.

Grinstead, a year later, pointed out the need to teach more than biological information in the field of sex education when he said:

> The positive aims of sexual education, on its more elemental side, are physical and biological. They look toward sound physique and function, normal marriage, and a reasonable number of healthy offspring. These are cardinal, and we do right to direct primary attention to them. But it is a great mistake to suppose that they express the whole of sexual education...Primary sexual functioning, in man even more than in lower animals, normally falls into a comparatively inconspicuous place among his life-activities.

A few statements were made between 1910 and World War I that indicated that some writers were aware of the place of parents in personal adjustment of their children and of the need for the schools to help parents carry out their functions, especially where sex was a factor in this personal adjustment.

In 1914, Knight[263] suggested that each school should train an advisory committee, which would, in turn, instruct

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[263] M. B. Knight, "Saving Second Thought," Journal of Education, 79 (February, 1914), 228-29.

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all of the parents of a given school in matters of imparting sex information to their own children. Gregory,[264] in 1915, said that all efforts in sex education should be directed toward the teaching of mothers and not children.

Articles containing themes identified as related to aspects of personal adjustment began to appear in increasing numbers toward the end of the nineteen-twenties and early nineteen-thirties. They contained references to mental hygiene, guidance, and parental education.

Many of these articles pointed out the relationship of sex education to mental hygiene. Wells[265] in 1926 discussed the function of personality adjustment and sound sex life. In 1931, De Schweinitz[266] discussed the function of the parent in the establishment of security for the child. He said that the time had arrived when sex education in the public schools should be coordinated with child study and parent education.

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[264] E. R. Gregory, "Instruction in Social Hygiene," School and Society, 2 (September 4, 1915), 354.

[265] F. L. Wells, "The General Personality and Certain Features of Sex Life," Mental Hygiene, 10 (April, 1926), 345-54.

[266] Karl De Schweinitz, "The Dangers and Advantages of Sex Instruction for Children," Mental Hygiene, 15 (July, 1931), 561-69.

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Wile,[268] in 1934, described the relation of sex education to both mental and social hygiene.[269] Wile stated, "Mental hygiene and social hygiene alike are concerned with the guidance of the sexual drives in the interests of self and society, and this constitutes the basis of sex education."

He further declared:

> The mental-hygienist would employ sex education, not merely for informative purposes but for its larger benefits to personal and social attitudes...Sex education should prepare for normal functioning at all ages...sex education should prepare young people to meet the problems and difficulties of life that center about, and grow out of, the sex instincts....sex education is a factor in facilitating the development of normal personality, in lessening the likelihood of neurosis, and in preventing the limitations or reduction of the ego.

Most writers pointed out early in the thirties that the problem of sex education for parents as well as the school was less the imparting of facts and more the guidance of personal development. The problems of personal development seemed to be related to ethical understanding on the

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[268] Ira S. Wile, "Sex Education in Relation to Mental and Social Hygiene," Mental Hygiene, 18 (January, 1934), 40-50.

[269] Many writers used the term "social hygiene" as synonymous with "sex education." This use of "social hygiene" was especially prevalent among those who thought of sex education as a means of eradicating the social diseases or as a way of imparting biological information regarding the anatomy and physiology of sex. There were some writers who tried to include everything that helped a child or adolescent make adequate sexual adjustment in the term "social hygiene." Wile apparently interpreted "social hygiene" in the first or narrower sense.

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one hand and an understanding of human relations on the other. Bigelow[270] in his discussion of "Sex Education in Parental Education" described these several aspects of sex education as follows:

> In short, the whole American sex-education movement, as distinguished from certain mere sex-information or sex hygiene campaigns, centers in the greatest good or well-being which may come to individuals and society from sex life culminating in affection as the basis of monogamic life.

It should not be inferred from this that sex information was not considered important or that leaders in the field thought it should be eliminated from sex education. It probably meant that sex-information had to be viewed in its proper perspective. Gruenberg[271] declared, "Although information is necessary, it is not itself sufficient and must not be allowed to serve as a substitute for more intimate and subtle emotional guidance."

From 1935 to 1945, much of the mental hygiene literature concerned with sex education dealt with the problems of sexual adjustment. One of the problems faced by adolescents was the time span between sexual

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[270] M. A. Bigelow, "Sex Education in Parental Education," Teachers College Record, 31 (March, 1930), 522-7.

[271] Sidonie M. Gruenberg, "Parent's Problems in Sex Education," Journal of Educational Sociology, 8 (February, 1935), 323-32.

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maturing and marriage. Parran,[272] in 1940, while Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, stated:

> Conditions have so changed that the need for sex education....is greater than it ever was before...Thirty years ago...the lag between physical maturity and the ability to establish and support a family was relatively short.

Another problem seemed to be the demand by the child for the same information at different times. Gardner[273] pointed out in 1944 that studies tended to show that sex information had to be given over and over again as the child grew older. He said that this was not morbid curiosity on the part of the children but represented the opposite. He called it a "resistance on the part of children to acceptance of the truth regarding sex and sex differences...[after they had developed their own ideas]... and their future adult sex roles." Gardner concluded that the function of mental hygiene in personal development demanded that more information be known about the motives behind the questions that children ask. He said that it was not merely important, from the mental health point of view, to know what questions were being asked, but it was

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[272] Thomas Parran, "Sex Education-A Challenge," National Education Association Journal, 29 (January, 1940), 16-17.

[273] George E. Gardner, "A Factor in the Sex Education of Children," Mental Hygiene, 28 (January, 1944), 55-63.

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more important to know why they were asked. One of the best methods for doing this, according to Gardner, was to educate parents so that they could better understand the motives which lay behind the questions asked by their own children.

Since all students do not reach the same point in their emotional growth at the same time, many of the leaders in sex education began to feel that individual guidance was the best means for assisting students in making adjustments in this area. Some felt that this guidance should be integrated with the child's own experiences.[274] Such a program would not be directed toward instruction in the biological aspects of sex but would turn toward guidance "in which personal and social needs of a healthy adjustment to sex are adequately met."[275]

At different stages in the development of children and adolescents, they turn to different adults for help with the problems they face in sexual adjustment. Shannon[276]

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[274] "Current Attitudes Toward Sex Education," Child Study, 22 (November, 1944), 2.

[275] Ibid., p. 2.

[276] J. R. Shannon, "Sex Education," Teachers College Record, 15 (January, 1944), 64-5.

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enlarged upon this point and its implications for guidance when he said:

> Children, properly instructed in reproduction and sex at home during childhood, are normally reluctant to continue their education with their parents after the maturing of adolescence gives their experience and curiosity an emotional tone. It is at this time that the school finds its turn to proceed with instruction in the subject...Like many other topics, sex should be taught chiefly by individual instruction...The readiness necessary for successful treatment of this potentially emotionalized topic cannot be expected from all pupils in a class at one time or from any individual pupil at all times.

By the nineteen-forties, the idea of personal development, as identified in this study, seemed to emphasize many of the points that are considered to be included in general education. Among the points in which this aspect of sex education and general education are similar are: appreciation of the different needs of the individual child at different levels of development, relation of sound sexual adjustment as well as other phases of adjustment to good mental health, cooperation between the home and other community institutions in the development of an educational program, and recognition of the need for a readiness program in sex education as well as in other areas of learning.

Personal development as identified in textbooks.--The idea of personal development did not find full expression in textbooks until the nineteen-forties. There were, however, a few examples of this type of emphasis before this time.

Some of the earliest of these books were written for

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the elementary school. Although these books themselves contained no references to this aspect of sex education, the teacher's manuals accompanying them frequently suggested that the material lent itself to the discussion of some of the themes in sex education described in this study as being phases of the problem of personal development. Among the earliest of such textbooks was a series of health readers for the elementary grades published by the World Book Company from 1927 through 1932.[277] These readers touched upon physical health, mental health, and emotional health, but did not specifically touch upon sex. The writers of the textbooks, however, were aware of the problem and in the teachers' guide[278] to accompany the books the problem was discussed at length. They declared that instruction in areas of sex could best be given by parents,

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[277] J. I. Lummis and Williedell Schawe, The Safety Hill of Health. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company, 1927.

J. I. Lummis and Williedell Schawe, Building My House of Health. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company, 1927.

J. I. Lummis and Williedell Schawe, The Road of Health to Grown-Up Town. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company, 1929.

Williedell Schawe, A Journey to Many Lands, Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company, 1932.

[278] J. I. Lummis and Williedell Schawe, Guide for a Health Program, pp. 10-17. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company, 1929.

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but they said that the parents were not well trained for the task. They claimed that parents must have an understanding of the mental and emotional development of their children before they can do an adequate job. They further stated that, where children have an understanding of their development before they come to school, they make better adjustment, and where they have not received this help from the home, the teachers must supply it. Efforts were made by the writers of the teacher's manual to show how various topics discussed in the textbooks could be used in sex instruction.

After 1940, an increasing number of writers made an effort to answer questions about the problems of growing up that troubled adolescents. The opinion of these writers seemed to be that, if they could give adolescents answers to these important problems, these young people would be in a better position to make wholesome emotional adjustments. Silver and Ryan[279] devoted considerable time to these problems. They explained that the physiological changes and emotional feelings encountered were a part of the process of growing up.

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[279] Fern Silver and M. G. Ryan, Foundations for Living. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943.

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Brace[280] in a unit entitled "Information Please" tried to give the adolescent material that would help him understand the changes occurring during puberty and discussed positive and constructive ways in which young people might solve the problems of sex. Programs of health education, including coeducational activities, were suggested.

Arnold[281] tried to make young people aware of individual differences. He pointed out the place of emotions and intelligence in personal development. The same approach was used in a textbook by Pierce[282] written in 1948. The problems of sex were given a place with the other problems that young people face. It was shown that the methods used to solve these other problems frequently could help solve problems having sexual components.

At the end of the fifty-year period considered in this study, textbooks in which sex education was an objective apparently were influenced by the need to help young people make wholesome emotional adjustments. As a whole

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280 David K. Brace, Health and Physical Education. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1948.

281 J. I. Arnold, Challenges to American Youth. New York: Row, Peterson, and Company, 1948.

282 W. G. Pierce, Youth Comes of Age. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948.

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the writers in 1950 were concerned with the part that sex plays in both personal and interpersonal adjustment. Even writers who were still primarily concerned with the teaching of biological facts or ethical understanding attempted to show the value of such information in personal development.

Personal development as identified in books written to help children and young people understand sex.--Between 1930 and 1950, a number of books were written to aid children and adolescents with their personal problems of sexual adjustment. Some of these books were written for the learner to use himself; others were written for parents in order that they might help their children. Many of the writers of these books presented the biological facts regarding the physiology and anatomy of sex that they felt boys and girls needed in order to made adequate personal adjustment. Other writers emphasized the importance of developing ethical understanding of sexual behavior, and still other writers claimed that good personal development was difficult without the development of wholesome interpersonal relations.

Although the largest number of books designed to help children understand their own problems appeared after 1930, there were exceptions. A book by Overstreet[283] in

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[283] Harry Overstreet, About Ourselves. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1927.

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1927 seems to have been a pioneer in this kind of literature for adolescents.

Many of the books in the nineteen-thirties continued to be highly biological or physiological in content. There were exceptions. Strain's [284] Being Born discusses personality development in simple language, although it does not neglect the physiological aspect. Another book of the same type, written from the point of view of personal development, is Keliher's [285] Life and Growth. Two other books written between 1930 and 1940 that discuss problems of individual differences, needs of individuals, and various types of adjustment mechanisms were those of Fedder[286] and Marsh.[287]

Books written after 1940 with the idea of helping adolescents with the problems of personal adjustment are too abundant to discuss fully in this study. A few typical ones, however, can be mentioned. Richmond's Making the Most

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[284] Frances Bruce Strain, Being Born. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1936.

[285] Alice Keliher, Life and Growth. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1938.

[286] Ruth Fedder, A Girl Grows Up. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939.

[287] Hattie M. Marsh, Building Your Personality. New York: Prentice-Hall Company, 1939.

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of Your Personality,[288] Strain's Teen Days,[289] Crawford and Woodward's Better Ways of Growing Up,[290] and Shacter's How Personalities Grow[291] are good illustrations. These books give advice to adolescents on problems occurring during puberty, help the adolescent make choices of ways of behaving, but do not present a permissive attitude toward any and all kinds of sex behavior in children and adolescents. They represent very well those books that were written for the purpose of helping young people solve problems of personal development. Schacter,[292] for example, stated that, although participation in many kinds of activities might help suppress sex desires, developing a balanced personality was more fundamental. Having developed this personality, participation in activities was a natural

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288 Winifred V. Richmond, Making the Most of Your Personality, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1942.

289 Frances Bruce Strain, Teen Days. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1946.

290 John E. Crawford and Luther E. Woodward, Better Ways of Growing Up. Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1948.

291 Helen Schacter, How Personalities Grow. Bloomington, Illinois: McKnight and McKnight, 1949.

292 Ibid., p. 24.

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sequence. Shacter stated that personal development was a long process and she warned her readers:

> You cannot change a personality over night, of course. It has taken you all the years you have lived to become what you are today. You must have patience....

Another effort to help adolescents was the publishing of a large amount of material in pamphlet form. As a guidance technique, the introduction and use of inexpensive pamphlets seems to be an important step in sex education. Samples of these pamphlets show a decided trend toward emphasis on personal development. Faegre's Understanding Ourselves[293] is rather biological, but it describes the adjustment problems of both sexes. Menninger's Understanding Yourself[294] follows the mental hygiene approach, while Kirkendall's Understanding Sex,[295] although presenting some excellent anatomical illustrations, deals mostly with attitudes and the questions facing the maturing adolescent.

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[293] Marion L. Faegre, Understanding Ourselves, Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1943.

[294] William C. Menninger, Understanding Yourself, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1948.

[295] Lester A. Kirkendall, Understanding Sex, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1947.

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Strong's Investing in Yourself[296] is a unit of study for high school students. It considers such problems as values, goals, education, scheduling time, work, and the development of personality. One of the features of this pamphlet is a self-rating scale.[297] Most of the items on the scale refer to those points which might be or should be considered in personal development. Most of the items refer to major problem areas that the adolescent faces in his adjustment.

Books designed to help parents with the guidance of their children in solving their personality problems were quite numerous after 1930. As early as 1923, however, Gruenberg[298] published a book that gave parents an idea of their children's normal interests and made suggestions as to how parents might tell their children about sex.

In 1932, this book by Gruenberg was revised.[299] Within a few years, many other helpful books and pamphlets for parents were released. One of them was written by Strain[300]

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[296] Ruth Strang, Investing in Yourself, Washington, D. C.: National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1945.

[297] Ibid, pp. 29-32.

[298] Benjamin C. Gruenberg, Parents and Sex Education. New York: The American Social Hygiene Association, Inc., 1923.

[299] Benjamin C. Gruenberg, Parents and Sex Education, Third Revised Edition. New York: The Viking Press, 1932.

[300] Frances Bruce Strain, New Patterns of Sex Teaching. New York: D. Appleton Century Company, 1934.

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in 1934. The purpose of this book was to help parents overcome their own self consciousness by giving them answers to questions which children were apt to ask.

Myers,[301] in 1935, after describing the problems of proper sex vocabulary development, methods for answering questions regarding sex as they arise, techniques for treating masturbation, and many of the other facets of sex education, declared that sex education was primarily a personality problem. He said:

> Most people seem to think of sensible sex education in the home as a moral problem. Indirectly it may be but it is primarily a personality problem. There perhaps is no other matter about which the average child feels more insecure. Growing up in the home where there are hushed, embarrassed looks and condemnations when he asks the normal questions about life's beginnings, as if it were something awful, his curiosity is whetted, and he seeks its satisfaction elsewhere. But as he does he feels he has committed a great wrong. At the mere mention or thought of anything bordering on sex matters, he suffers from remorse and from all sorts of inhibitions toward his parents. He also imagines what his loved ones would think of him if they "really knew." His suffering is most severe if he has been discovered in self-abuse and has, in the usual silly, sobbing manner, been shamed or punished by parents. In any event, his remorse, self-condemnation and fear of imagined or real disapproval by his parents stir up in him interminable fears and anxieties which cause him to withdraw from them, face them less comfortably and readily, looking sheepish, feeling sheepish. Undoubtedly the secondary effects from these distressing attitudes and emotions are many times more harmful than a bad habit itself.

Another book with a similar purpose, written entirely

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[301] Garry Cleveland Myers, Sex Education at Home, Parent-Child Pamphlet Number 15, p. 9. Chicago: Child Development Foundation, 1935.

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in dialogue, is a volume by Swift[302] published in 1938. This latter book carries a discussion of the problems of sex from birth to marriage.

During the decade of 1940-1950, at least three sources of literature were available to help parents. Books similar to those mentioned in the preceding paragraph continued to be published; books on child care in general contained sections or chapters on the personality adjustment of children; and pamphlets were written to give parents a quick view of the subject.

An example of the books planned for parents to use in the guidance of children in personality adjustment is Strains's Normal Sex Interests of Children.[303] This book, based on careful observations, shows the sex interests of children from infancy to adolescence. Strain[304] stated, "The sex interest and activities of children are not the interests of the adult performer, yet children are more than idle observers."

Among the general books on child care written for

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[302] Edith Hale Swift, Step by Step in Sex Education. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938.

[303] Frances Bruce Strain, The Normal Sex Interests of Children. New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, Inc., 1948.

[304] Ibid., p. 3.

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parents during the nineteen-forties which contained large sections devoted to the problems of sex education, those written by the following authors are examples: Metcalf,[305] Chittenden,[306] Lane,[307] Dreikurs,[308] Powdermaker and Grimes,[309] and Spock.[310] The last mentioned book is probably the most popular book today in the general area of child care.

Among the innumerable pamphlets attempting to handle this problem are those published by the Child Study Association of America under the direction of Sidonie M. Gruenberg. One of the typical pamphlets of this group, When Children Ask About Sex,[311] was published in 1943. The preface emphasizes that the attitude of parents and the relationship existing between parent and child are more important than

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[305] Dorry Metcalf, Bringing Up Children, pp. 90-96. New York: The Pilot Press, 1947.

[306] Gertrude E. Chittenden, Living With Children, pp. 90-98. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944.

[307] Homer Lane, Talks to Parents and Teachers, pp. 104-06. New York: The Hermitage Press, Inc., 1949.

[308] Rudolf Dreikurs, The Challenge of Parenthood, pp. 170-79. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearse, 1948.

[309] Florence Powdermaker and Louise Ireland Grimes, Children in the Family, pp. 162-84. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1940.

[310] Benjamin Spock, The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care, pp. 304-11. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearse, 1946.

[311] Child Study Association of America, When Children Ask About Sex. New York: The Association, 1943.

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the exact words with which a particular question is answered.

As the first half of the twentieth century ended, the emphasis was clearly upon the development of wholesome attitudes as an important phase of personal development. Books for adults, as well as for children and adolescents, stressed a need for sound mental health both for those who attempted to teach about sex and for those who wanted to learn about sex.

Criticism of the idea of personal development.--There are at least two kinds of criticism of the idea of personal development as discussed in this investigation. On the one hand, objections were raised to such programs, because it was felt that the schools were incapable of carrying out such a program. On the other hand, objections were raised to the narrowness of a program of individual development. Those who took the latter position claimed that the schools should broaden their offerings in sex education to include the development of better interpersonal relations as well as the development of the individual personality.

In the early nineteen-forties, the question of the school's ability to handle the personal development objective of sex education became quite vocal. Among the people who raised this objection was Dr. Joseph Miller,

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chairman of the mental hygiene committee of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. He urged, because he felt that the schools were not equipped for the task, that all such teaching should be confined to the home.[312] Miller represented a minority opinion of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. This group, in 1944, while Miller was objecting to such programs, voted approval of a resolution which indicated that throughout the entire educable life of a person, whether pre-school, in-school, or post-school, effort should be made by both the school and the home to provide a full program of social hygiene.[313]

Almost as soon as personal development became an important issue in the literature of sex education, questions were raised regarding whether it was possible to develop the individual unless he understood the needs of others. Those who took this position claimed: that a sound program of sex education must be a broad one; that it had to include more than personal development; that it had to encompass the entire field of human relations; and that personal development could not possibly take place unless the learner

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[312] "What About Sex Instruction?" The Nation's Schools, 33 (June, 1944), 49.

[313] Bess N. Rosa, "Social Hygiene," Proceedings of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Volume 48, pp. 339. Chicago: The Congress, 1944.

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developed socially as well. In 1929, Elliott and Bone[314] indicated that personal unification is almost, if not entirely, impossible without some love relationship with another personality. Another illustration of the need for a broader interpretation of sex education was the statement by Geisel[315] who in 1943 said, "An important part of... personality development must be an increasing social ability in dealing with members of the opposite sex." This emphasis on the interpersonal aspect of human relations, perhaps the broadest of all ideas regarding the purposes of sex education that have been proposed to date, is discussed in the next section of this study.

Implications of the idea of personal development for the public schools.--The personal development concept in sex education raises a number of problems for the public schools. This idea of sex education suggests that the needs of individual pupils must be met. If the schools adopt such a program, it means that they are faced with the problem of determining what those needs are and how they should be satisfied. If help is going to be given to

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[314] Grace Elliott and Harry Bone, The Sex Side of Youth, p. 30. New York: The Association Press, 1929.

[315] John B. Geisel, Personal Problems and Morale, p. 269. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943.

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children and young people in finding solutions to problems of sexual adjustment, schools will probably have to consider programs through which this help can be given. This suggests the necessity of reviewing guidance programs at all levels of education. If the schools recognize individual differences in sexual adjustment as well as in other aspects of adjustment, they will have to be concerned with planning programs which will meet the various phases of sexual development of the individual child and, in order that the child may attain a particular stage of development, the problem of providing special assistance may have to be considered.

The rise of the guidance movement has been very important in the development of programs where the personal development idea was considered in sex education. If the school recognizes this idea of sex education, it will probably be necessary to consider the possibility of each child in the school having an adult to whom he can turn with his problems. The many differences in the personalities of the adults and the children suggest need for many kinds of adult personalities to whom the children may turn. It has been suggested that everyone in the school should be a guidance person. If the schools take this approach to guidance, then the entire problem of teacher education and selection must be reviewed. This approach suggests need

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for a good mental health program including courses in the pre-service and in-service training of teachers and supplemented with psychologists and psychiatrists to whom the teachers can make referral.

The complexity of personal development raises a question of the school's adequacy in meeting the problems involved. It also raises the question as to how the home can be made a partner in helping the child solve his problems. If the school recognizes the value of the parents in handling this problem, questions may be raised regarding how the school can best help parents so that they may better guide their own children. These questions are in line with the increasing emphasis on parental education which has been evident during the second quarter of the twentieth century. If the schools desire to help parents, closer relationship between the home and the school is suggested. Study groups in which both parents and teachers participate might be considered. Schools might also consider places for parents and teachers to meet and the leadership personnel for such meetings, as well as the problem of supplying reading material to the parents for study purposes.

If the schools are going to consider the needs of all children and adolescents, they will have to be aware of many problems of adjustment facing pupils during the years between physical maturity and marriage. If the school

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recognizes this as a problem, it will probably face many questions as to how to find ways for the older adolescent to direct his energy during these years.

The Idea of Human Relations

The idea of human relations is considered for the purposes of this study to include those statements concerned with the place of sexual adjustment in the development of better interpersonal relations. While some writers consider sex education as one aspect of a program for better human relations and other writers consider sex education synonymous with human relations, no attempt is made in this investigation to separate these different interpretations. As long as the stress is upon the development of better relationships between the sexes, it is classified in this study as an idea of human relations. This definition would include those themes concerned with the development of better relationships with other members of the family group, with members of the peer group, and with other people in general wherever sexual adjustment is a factor in such relationships. Although a sharp line cannot be drawn between the ideas of personal development and human relations, the idea of personal development as defined in this study is primarily concerned with the guidance of the individual, while the idea of human relations stresses the interplay between

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and among individuals.

Concepts concerned with sex education and human relations found expression in the literature most frequently after 1930, but there is evidence that throughout a large part of the period under consideration in this study a few writers were concerned with phases of sex education that would improve human relations. After 1930 more writers began to urge a broad program in sex education encompassing factual information, the development of ethical standards, personal development, and the development of ability to secure good interpersonal relationships. Those persons who were concerned with this broad conception of the purposes of sex education typically included emphases similar to those identified in the preceding sections of this thesis. In a sense, to the extent that each of the previously discussed ideas contributed to a better understanding among human beings, it could be said that it was a part of the concept of human relations.

The idea of human relations can be identified in the same types of literature in which the preceding ideas were found. During the years between 1912 and 1918, a few writers in periodicals and in books for adolescents to read in order to understand sex indicated that social adjustment and marital happiness should be considered along with venereal disease control as important objectives of sex education.

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The emphasis on human relations did not begin to show up clearly either in articles found in periodicals, in books written to help children and young people understand about sex, or in textbooks until the latter part of the nineteen-twenties. Although textbooks in the biological sciences were important sources of data, the idea of human relations became an important topic in the social sciences after 1920.

Human relations as identified in educational journals.--References to themes classified as part of the idea of human relations by writers interested in sex education were found in many educational periodicals published during the greater part of the period under consideration in this study. Two kinds of articles furnished the sources of statements encompassed by this idea. On the one hand, writers discussed the place of sex instruction in the betterment of interpersonal relations. To some extent, this type of presentation was theoretical. On the other hand, other writers attempted a more practical approach to the problem and reported on courses of study in which the idea of human relations was an important objective of those interested in promoting sex education.

Although most of the literature stressing the importance of a sex education program which aimed to develop better human relations was written after 1930, a few articles

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appeared before this time. Grinstead,[316] in 1914, implied that he recognized, as one of the objectives of sex education, the need for young people to learn better interpersonal relations. He said:

> The range of secondary sexual activity has been immensely increased in man, and has tinged many other phases of life with such numerous and varied colors that we cannot ignore sex if we would. It is absurd to suppose that these are not fit subjects for the attention of education since they so profoundly affect life. We do not hesitate to assign as a part of sexual education that the youth shall learn the graces of social life.

An article appearing in School and Society[317] in 1922 was more specific and limited the discussion of the development of interpersonal relations to those concerned with happy marital relationships. One of the eight objectives of a sex education program, according to this article, was the giving to young men and women some conception of the responsibilities of parenthood and some understanding of the conditions under which happy married life may be achieved.

After 1925, there was a tendency in courses on marriage and homemaking to deemphasize the teaching of information and skills characterized by domestic science and to

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[316] Wren Jones Grinstead, "Reading for Teachers of Sex Hygiene," School Review, 22 (April, 1914), 249-55.

[317] "An Outline for Sex Education in the High School," School and Society, 15 (June 10, 1922), 650-52.

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emphasize the human-relations aspects of family-life education.[318] Such courses, as reported in various educational journals, attempted to provide education for the interpersonal relationships of marriage. Funk and Beatty[319] stated the objective of a course of this type which they developed in 1926, as follows:

> There is a recognition of the need to prepare the preadolescent and the adolescent child for the human relationships he will be called upon to sustain in ordinary social courtship, marriage, and parenthood.

These same writers hinted at the possibility of human-relations education directed toward aiding day-to-day adjustment of adolescents. The course that they proposed, however, was directed at the teaching of the economic and psychological factors of married life.

In the early nineteen-thirties, some writers expressed the idea that,without social adjustment, sex education was very difficult. Zachry,[320] in 1932, stated:

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[318] Abraham Stone, "Marriage Education and Marriage Counseling in the United States," Marriage and Family Living, 11 (Spring, 1949), 38.

[319] Margaret S. Funk and Willard W. Beatty, "Relating Sex to Life," High School Clearing House, 8 (December, 1933), 235-38.

[320] Caroline B. Zachry, "Social Adjustment and Sex Education," National Education Association Journal, 21 (January, 1932), 5-6.

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Sex is not an isolated part of life, concerned only with certain biological functions and the emotional reactions tied up with them. The sex side of life involves the individual's total social adjustment. Sex education from this broader point of view involves the child's social education as well as his sex information.

Seiler,[321] writing at about the same time, emphasized this point of view when he said:

> Those in the mental hygiene movement are realizing more and more that the enormous task of preventing mental and social maladjustments in individual children entails the reeducation of their parents as well as the instruction of the children....Leaders in this movement pointed out that there is only one way promising quick and thorough results in the prevention of neurosis, delinquency, and sex failures, and that is to train teachers to become instruments of treatment and of the development of social attitudes among the endangered students....Modern psychology is corroborating with increasing confidence the observation that sex deviations and sex failures do not occur among people with mature social adjustment.

In 1938, Laton[322] said that sex education should include the study of personal relationships. Such a study, according to Laton, would consider, in addition to family relationships and responsibilities, how to get along happily with other members of one's peer group.

Although many writers expressed the need for schools to help children and young people solve their daily problems of dealing with their peers, courses of study that were

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[321] E. S. Seiler, "New View Points for Sex Education in High School," The High School Teacher, 8 (September, 1932), 271-73.

[322] A. D. Laton, "Approaches to Sex Education in the Schools," University High School Journal, 16 (April, 1938), 147-55.

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described during the nineteen-thirties continued to emphasize preparation for future marriage. Typical among such courses for the secondary schools was a series of ten lectures proposed by Michener.[323] These lectures were entitled:

The Function of Sex
The Human Reproduction System
The Facts of Reproduction
The Psychology and Physiology of Sex
Venereal Diseases
Why Do People Get Married?
Courtship
Happy Married Life
Unhappy Married Life
Successful Family Life

About 1939, there was an increasing emphasis on including in courses for marriage units pertaining to present-day relationships of adolescents. For example, Tracy[324] devoted one section out of twelve to the problem of "Petting and Youth Organizations" and another section to "Conditioning in Sex Through Early Experiences." The remainder of the sections were focussed on future life adjustment. Orton[325] used one topic out of seventeen for discussing the

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[323] J. A. Michener, "Sex Education: A Success in Our Social-Studies Classes," Clearing House, 12 (April, 1938), 461-65.

[324] H. H. Tracy, "Junior College Course in Family Relations," Junior College Journal, 10 (November, 1939), 127-35.

[325] Dwayne Orton, "Method is All-Important in Sex Education," California Journal of Secondary Education, 14 (April, 1939), 208-10.

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formation of adolescent friendships. The other sixteen were concerned with the problems of courtship and marriage.

During the nineteen-forties, an increasing number of articles appearing in educational periodicals suggested the encouragement of education directed toward meeting the present day-to-day problems of adolescents in their adjustment with members of the opposite sex. There was also an increasing number of articles which described courses of study in which a major objective was considered to be the helping of young people to meet these day-to-day social situations. For example, Zachry,[326] in 1940 in an article in Child Study, urged the schools to adapt their sex education to the real needs of the younger generation. According to her, this would include guiding boys and girls in the development of "sound attitudes toward themselves as males and females, toward the opposite sex and toward a wholesome acceptance of the subtle and far reaching role of sex." Kirkendall,[327] in helping to develop social hygiene courses in Oklahoma during 1944, listed the development of good boy-girl relationships as one of the major objectives

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[326] Caroline B. Zachry, "Sex Education: Facts and Attitudes," Child Study, 18 (Winter, 1940), 39-41.

[327] Lester A. Kirkendall, "Sex Education in Nine Co-operating High Schools," Clearing House, 18 (March, 1944), 387-91.

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of the courses. The next year, Kirkendall[328] summarized what he thought was the attitude of the leaders in regard to what should be included in sex education programs. He said that the main task was the development of wholesome interpersonal relationships. He pointed out that the schools should help children and young people to make and to accept friends whose influence is positive and wholesome.

One of the indications that by the nineteen-forties school personnel who were concerned with sex education were also concerned with human relations was the change in terminology used to describe the offerings of the school. In 1941, Bigelow[329] found that many school administrators and teachers were eliminating "sex education" and "social hygiene education" and using such terms as "family-life education" and "human-relations education" to designate that phase of the curriculum dealing with problems of sex adjustment. These terms were used interchangeably by many writers. According to Bigelow, they had evolved, to a large extent, to meet the need for more descriptive terms by those working

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[328] Lester A. Kirkendall, "Sex Education Today," National Parent Teachers, 39 (February, 1945), 4-7.

[329] M. A. Bigelow, "Health Education in Relation to Venereal Disease Control Education," Journal of Social Hygiene, 27 (February, 1941), 49-69.

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in the field.

During the years from 1940 to 1950, there was an increasing tendency to write about sex education as if it concerned the whole problem of education for improving interpersonal relationships. In 1941, Zachry[330] stated, "Attitudes toward sex involve the whole of human relations." Two years later Kirkendall[331] repeated the essence of the same statement. He said:

> It cannot be stressed too strongly that while information for the individual has its place, the great need is for an adequate understanding of human interrelationships.

In 1944, Kirkendall[332] again wrote about aspects of sex education considered in this study as ideas of human relations and noted that the outcome of a comprehensive and adequate program of human-relations education should include:

> 1. Improved personal adjustments and attitudes.
> 2. An increased awareness and keener sense of social responsibility
> 3. A clear understanding of human interdependence
> 4. A motivation and an inspiration to adjust in such a manner as to avoid situations inimical to one's own welfare, and in which others are exploited.

Toward the end of the first half of the twentieth century there was a definite trend toward recognizing that

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[330] Caroline B. Zachry, "Sex Education in the Schools," Harvard Educational Review, 11 (January, 1941), 68-75.

[331] Lester A. Kirkendall, "Straight Talk on Sex Education," Clearing House, 18 (September, 1943), 7-10.

[332] Lester A. Kirkendall, "Health, Sex, and Human Relations in Education," National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin, 28 (November, 1944), 94-100.

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a full program of education must include a broad understanding of human relations including all aspects and problems of interpersonal relationships. The full breadth of human relations in such education was shown in a report of the Committee on Education for Marriage and Family Living of the National Council on Family Relations.[333] This group made the following statement:

> Children will have a difficult time achieving interpersonal, domestic satisfactions unless they have some real comprehension of society. Many problems which were once called "family problems" are now seen to be community, state or national problems.
>
> Schools will do the home a great service if they will show children how to make everyday home living interesting; teach them the real meaning of mature love; help them develop attitudes of responsible independence and the ability to distinguish between license and liberty; help them understand their own personalities as a basis for choosing congenial mates, to bring their own motives and drives into clear focus; teach them how to approach problems and use all available resources in solving them.

As a whole, by 1950 those advocating programs of sex education in the public schools were at least making verbal statements which indicated that the giving of facts about sex organs and reproduction was only one phase of such programs. During the fifty-year period considered in this investigation, writers on the subject have advanced from the presentation of a few isolated facts to boys and girls to

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[333] "Committee on Education for Marriage and Family Living in the Schools," Marriage and Family Living, 11 (Winter, 1949), 8-9.

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the development of educational programs designed to help them make better sexual adjustment through an understanding of many phases of interpersonal behavior.

Human relations as identified in textbooks.--Many textbooks, especially those published after about nineteen-twenty, covered, as part of their treatment of sex education, the problems of interpersonal adjustment which have been identified in this study under the idea of human relations in sex education. Some of these textbooks have already been discussed in earlier sections.

Two trends were especially noted in the contents of textbooks. At first writers discussed the problems of marital adjustment with which the reader was to deal at some distant date in his life. Later the material contained references on how to solve present-day problems. On the elementary school level, toward the end of the period under consideration in this study, there was a trend to combine hygiene, social studies, and some elementary and practical information about how to get along with others in a single textbook.

A second trend that stands out regarding the idea of human relations as defined in this study is that of including in many different kinds of books references pertaining to the interpersonal adjustment aspects of sex education.

At the time that courses in marriage were first

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being organized,[334] or in the early nineteen-twenties, a number of textbooks for the secondary and collegiate levels were published on topics which included at least one section on the family. For the most part, these books emphasized educating young men and women so that they might be prepared to meet their responsibilities in their future married lives. Two college textbooks that are typical of this approach are the sociology books written by Spencer[335] and Hart.[336] Spencer claimed that her book turns specific attention to the problem of making married life and parenthood successful. Hart discussed the institution of marriage and the breakdown of the family through divorce and other causes. He made no effort to discuss questions relative to the present interpersonal roles of young men and women. Typical among high school textbooks taking the approach that the purpose of teaching about interpersonal adjustment should be to prepare for future marriage was a book designed for a class in problems of democracy and written by Williamson in

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[334] Supra, p. 97.

[335] Anna Garlin Spencer, The Family and Its Members, pp. 8-10. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1923.

[336] J. K. Hart, Social Life and Institutions, pp. 231-45. Yonkers-on-Hudson: The World Book Company, 1924.

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1925.[337] He emphasized the importance of marriage and the necessity for one to prepare oneself for its responsibilities.

Textbooks in sociology and related fields tended to take a more or less academic approach to the problem of interpersonal adjustment throughout the period from 1929 to 1941. That is, the writers of these textbooks tended to stress preparation for future marriage.

During the years 1941 to 1950, social studies books for the secondary schools contained an increasing number of references to present-day problems of adolescents. Silver and Ryan[338] dealt with problems of personal and social relations and attempted to answer questions that trouble adolescents in their efforts toward getting along with others. Pierce[339] treated at length such problems as getting along with others, dating, and the selection of a mate.

During the depression years and the nineteen-forties, a change was noted in the content of high school general science, biological science, and health science textbooks.

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[337] T. R. Williamson, Problems in American Democracy, pp. 225-26. Boston: D. C. Heath Company, 1925.

[338] Fern Silver and M. G. Ryan, Foundations for Living. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943.

[339] W. G. Pierce, Youth Comes of Age. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948.

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This change, at first, was represented by a presentation of biological information in such a manner as to stress preparation for future marriage, including the care of infants and children. Such books as those by Wheat and Fitzpatrick[340] and Webb and Beauchamp[341] are examples. Toward the end of the depression period, emphasis was placed on the use of biological knowledge in day-to-day, interpersonal relationships. Typical of this approach is Burkhard and others, Health and Human Relations.[342] A section in this health book is devoted to a discussion of how to select companionship of the opposite sex and describes the kinds of socially acceptable positive activities that are conducive to this selection. This trend of including help with personal and social adjustment problems in books of science and health continued so that, by 1950, a large number of textbooks carrying titles aimed at appealing to the reader were really textbooks that combined health, biology, and social science. A junior high school textbook, You're

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[340] F. M. Wheat and E. T. Fitzpatrick, General Biology. New York: American Book Company, 1932.

[341] H. A. Webb and R. O. Beauchamp, Science. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935.

[342] W. E. Burkhard and Others, Health and Human Welfare, pp. 254-63. Chicago: Lyons and Carnaham, 1937.

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Growing Up,[343] is an example of this trend. The authors treat problems of diseases and safety which are often considered in health books; such life development as the protozoa and such problems as the laws of heredity usually found in biology textbooks; and the problems of growing up and the responsibilities of getting along with others in different kinds of social groups usually considered to be a part of social studies.

In the elementary grades two groups of books were available to help with programs of sex education in which the understanding of human relations was an objective. One group consisted of a collection of animal and nature stories. The other group was made up of a large number of health readers.

It is questionable whether or not stories of the relationships between animals help children understand the same relationships between human beings. In the late nineteen twenties, when interest was developing in areas identified in this study as the human relations idea of sex education, there were published a number of books for children in which stories of animals were used to show family responsibilities including the care and love of babies. In

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[343] Helen Shacter and Others, You're Growing Up. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1950.

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1925, Hawksworth's[344] A Year in the Wonderland of Birds was published. This book contained factual information about birds woven into a story which attempted to humanize these facts. It contained several stories on courtship and marriage, housekeeping duties and preparation for babies. This book also included a very good non-technical description of the hatching of a bird and the responsibility of members of the family toward the baby bird. Other books of the same caliber were written by Brown and Waterbury[345] in 1928 and DuPuy[346] in 1930. These kinds of stories continued to be published during the depression years and throughout the nineteen-forties. Typical examples include a book by Craig and Burke[347] published in 1932 and pamphlets by Freeland[348] and Blough[349] published in 1935 and 1948 respectively. This

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344 Hallom Hawksworth, A Year in the Wonderland of Birds. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925.

345 F. W. Brown and E. A. Waterbury, Nature Story Hours, pp. 51-66. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1928.

346 W. A. DuPuy, Wonders of the Animal World, pp. 80-86. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1930.

347 G. S. Craig and A. Burke, Our Wide Wide World, pp. 67-79. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1932.

348 I. V. Freeland, Animal Families. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1935.

349 G. O. Blough, Animals that Live Together. Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1948.

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material in pamphlet form began to be very popular during the latter years of the depression and continued to be popular in the nineteen-forties.

A large number of health books for elementary school children, published between 1929 and 1950, contained units which are called, in this study, human relations. These books frequently were published as a series and writers often brought out books for the lower grades first. Therefore, the publication dates of certain ideas regarding human relations in health education appeared in elementary textbooks for the lower grades a year or two before they appeared in textbooks for the upper grades or the high school. A typical example of such a health series published during the early years of the depression was written by Whitcomb and others. Such aspects of the problem of human relations as developing better home relationships, better peer relationships, and better understanding of people in general were handled as units within different books of the series. Responsibility of the child to the family were discussed in the first book in a section entitled, "Helping Mother." [350] The development of better relationships with others was

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[350] C. T. Whitcomb and Others. My Health Habits, Book I, pp. 54-57. New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1929.

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explained in the second book of the series under the title, "Politeness." [351] In Book Three, an effort was made to help the child grasp the meaning of broader human relationships through a chapter called, "Letters from Different Lands."[352] The major portions of the books were devoted to an academic treatment of health problems, presenting many of the facts of health and safety without making an effort to solve the problems facing children and pre-adolescents in these areas. Even the units suggested in the above paragraph were not written in such a way as to answer children's questions; the units were slanted toward telling them what they should do, without explaining to them why they should.

During the nineteen-forties, the trend was toward helping children find answers to their problems of interpersonal adjustment and toward helping them to understand why certain kinds of behavior are more conducive in the development of good relationships with others. These health readers were changed in other respects. The titles of the books emphasized the problems of growing up rather than the formal subjects of health or hygiene. Information which

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[351] C. T. Whitcomb and Others. My Health Habits, Book II, pp. 120-26. New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1929.

[352] C. T. Whitcomb and Others. My Health Habits, Book III, pp. 176-84. New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1929.

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might be considered as part of social studies was found with biological and health information. Typical among the books of this kind was the Health and Personal Development Series which came out in the latter part of the nineteen-forties. This series had as one of its objectives "learning to live in harmony with others" and throughout the different volumes stressed ways of developing better relationships with family, peers, and people in general. Each of these books was aimed at meeting the needs of respective age groups in terms of physical health, mental health, and safety and first aid. The titles given to the books suggest an interest in the problems of the readers and the contents bear out this impression.[353]

As the first half of the twentieth century ended, most of the textbooks, in which human relations as defined in this study were mentioned, were concerned with the present-day as well as the future needs of the readers. A large

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[353] These books are as follows: For Grade I, Helen Shacter and Others, Happy Days With Our Friends. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1946. _____, Good Times With Our Friends. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1946. For Grade II, _____, Three Friends. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1947. For Grade III, _____, Five in the Family. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1947. For Grade IV, _____, The Girl Next Door. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1947. For Grade V, _____, You. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1948. For Grade VI, _____, You and Others. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1949.

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proportion of these books and especially those on the upper elementary and lower secondary levels tended to call upon many subject areas in order to solve the problems of children and young people in the area of interpersonal relationships.

Human relations as identified in books written to help children and young people understand sex.-- Many of the books written about other aspects of sex education such as ethical understanding, reward and punishment, factual instruction, and personal development also touched upon topics considered to be within the area of human relations as defined in this study. Some of these books which seemed unusually valuable in stressing preparation for marital adjustment and the development of peer relationships are discussed in this section of this chapter.

An early attempt, in a book for late adolescents, to treat some aspects of human relations together with ideas of reward and punishment and factual information was written by Cocks[354] in 1913. This book deals with moral attitudes desirable during courtship and marriage and emphasizes the rewards to be gained by the proper conduct as described. The writer also dealt with the effect of venereal diseases upon marital happiness. A small portion of the book was

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[354] Orrin G. Cocks, Engagement and Marriage. New York: Association Press, 1913.

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concerned with ways of developing better understanding between husband and wife through the development of good manners and the use of known ways of being courteous.

Although some writers such as Cocks did touch upon human relations, for the most part books concerned with such aspects of human relations as family-life education and peer relationships did not begin to appear until the nineteen-thirties. It must be remembered, however, that Groves did not begin his course in marriage on the college level until about 1924[355] and that Washburne did not start his course on the high school level until about 1926.[356]

Three books published in the nineteen-thirties are examples of those books concerned both with the idea of personal development and with the idea of human relations. A book for early teen agers, Brockman's[357] What Is She Like? considers the individual girl and makes comparisions in terms of what the author thinks the ideal girl should be like. The objective of the book is to help in the

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355 Supra, pp. 96-97.

356 Supra, p. 109.

357 M. Brockman, What is She Like? New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936.

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development of good peer relationships. A book on manners by Hadida[358] with a title that seemed appealing to adolescents and adults was specifically suited for high school and junior college readers. The book is based upon the popular notion that personality is the social acceptance value of the individual. Suggestions are made on how to develop charm and appeal. The writer concluded, however, that personality cannot grow unless there is interaction with other personalities. Another approach to the problem was made by Kunkel,[359] who tried to show young people who were passing through puberty that a full and happy life was impossible without a mutual sharing experience with another personality. This concept was built around the idea of "we" psychology of which Kunkel was one of the chief exponents.

In 1938, two books that moved in the direction of giving more definite help to young people in their late teens or early twenties on the problems of marriage were published. Straus[360] emphasized the points where marriages might break

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[358] Sophie Hadida, Manners for Millions. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1932.

[359] Fritz Kunkel, What It Means to Grow Up. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936.

[360] F. Strauss, So You're Going to Get Married. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1938.

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down because of a lack of appreciation and consideration of one partner for the other. He tried to show how young people might prepare themselves so that they might avoid these breakdowns in their own marriages. The other book, following a similar pattern, was written by Folsom.[361] He went on to show what each partner could do to prepare to make marriage a success.

A book describing the kinds of activities in which young people should participate in developing socially acceptable heterosexual relationships at different stages from the casual date through betrothal and marriage was written for adolescents by Burkhart[362] in 1938. He tried to answer questions that were asked most frequently by young people about these various relationships. In some spots in the book a heavy religious tone is noticeable and probably reflects the interest of the writer, who is a minister in Columbus, Ohio. Other efforts to answer the questions of young people regarding how to develop happy relationships with the opposite sex are Strain's[363] Love at the Threshold

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[361] Joseph K. Folsom, Plan for Marriage. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938.

[362] R. A. Burkhart, From Friendship to Marriage. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938.

[362] Frances Bruce Strain, Love at the Threshold. New York: Appleton-Century Company, 1940.

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and Keliher's[364] Life and Growth. Both are written for the high school reader.

Between 1940 and 1950, there was an increase in books published to show adolescents how to develop better peer relationships and how to prepare for the interpersonal adjustment of marriage. Although primarily concerned with the development of better human relations, these books included many references to personal development and the attainment of socially acceptable attitudes. Among the books illustrating these points of view published during these years were: If You Please,[365] Boys Will Be Men,[366] Learning to Live With Others,[367] and Effective Personality Building.[368]

The present investigation revealed very few publications except those mentioned in the preceding section

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[364] Alice Keliher, Life and Growth. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1938.

[365] Betty Allen and M. P. Briggs, If You Please. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1945.

[366] Helen A. Burnham and Others, Boys Will Be Men. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1942.

[367] Lester D. Crow and Alice Crow, Learning to Live With Others. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1944.

[368] Gwenyth Vaughn and Charles B. Roth, Effective Personality Building. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947.

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under textbooks that were designed for elementary school children to read which contained information about the idea of human relations as defined in this study. Among the exceptions was a pamphlet published about 1938 by the American Social Hygiene Society[369] and circulated extensively during the nineteen-forties. This pamphlet was published with the expressed idea that a better understanding of other people would help the child to recognize the need to develop wholesome attitudes toward care of his sex organs and choice of behavior. This pamphlet consisted of a series of stories about getting along with others and especially with members of one's own family. It pointed out the kinds of tasks that each member of the family should do in an apparent effort to create an appreciation for other members of the family. Some factual information about the sex organs and the process of reproduction was woven into the stories and some of the punishments for sexual misconduct were strongly suggested.

As the first half of the twentieth century closed, books for children and young people to read, in order that they might better understand the idea of human relations as

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[369] T. W. Galloway, The Human Nature Studies for the Early Grades. New York: The American Social Hygiene Association, circa 1938.

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defined in this study, were not too numerous. Those that were written usually contained some reference to the problems of human relations along with discussions of the other ideas described earlier in this chapter. There were indications in the periodical literature that an increasing number of books would be published in which the emphasis would be on describing ways of developing better inter-personal relationships.

Criticism of the idea of human relations.-- The idea of human relations in sex education is newer than some of the other concepts considered in this investigation. The criticisms of this approach to sex education are not as numerous as those voiced against some of the other ideas identified in this chapter. The objections are of two kinds. Some writers opposed the suggestion of excluding factual instruction from this phase of sex education and thus leaving the questions that children and young people ask about the sex organs and reproduction unanswered. Other writers pointed out that, since the human relations aspect could be taught in every class by every teacher, frequently nothing was done about sex education at all, and if anything was done it was frequently so fragmentary and unrelated to the whole picture that the pupils could not draw implications for successful and happy living.

A number of writers expressed concern over the

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omission of factual instruction from programs of sex education. In 1935, Wilson,[370] while pointing out that guidance was important in all stages of sex education, also pointed out that children were seeking the answers to certain questions and this information should not be denied to them. Spranger[371] in 1944 said, "Sex information is only a part of sex education, but it is an important part and should not be left out." Redl[372] claimed that scientific terminology regarding sex and the relations between the sexes is necessary if the child is going to think through problems in this area. He added that such terminology should not be taught in isolation, but as the child needs the terms. Landis[373] stated that many decisions bearing on personal and social adjustment cannot be made without an adequate knowledge of the sex facts. Both Folsom[374] and Kirkendall[375]

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370 Frank T. Wilson, Guiding Our Children, p. 91. New York: Globe Book Company, 1935.

371 Otto Spranger, "The Dilemma of the Adolescent," Child Study, 22 (November, 1944), 12-14.

372 Fritz Redl, "The Technique of Sex Information," Child Study, 22 (November, 1944), 9-11.

373 Paul H. Landis, Adolescence and Youth, p. 260. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945.

374 Joseph K. Folsom, The Family and Democratic Society. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1943.

375 "Committee on Education for Marriage and Family Living in the School," Marriage and Family Living, 11 (Winter, 1949), 8-9.

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claimed that the biological and physiological aspects should not be omitted from sex education, but that the broader aspects should be considered as the most important. Folsom[376] pointed out that a full course in human relations must include the biological facts generally associated with sex education, plus home and consumer education and education for interpersonal relationships.

Even as the idea of human relations was becoming an important idea in sex education, some writers were recognizing dangers in a program in which instruction on such personal problems as sex was left to the various departments of the school, if no effort was made to coordinate the program. In 1935, Strain[377] wrote:

> Shall we integrate human reproduction into the various studies in which it occurs naturally so that it need no longer stand stripped of the sheltering arms of its kinsfolk-zoology, botany, and the rest. Will integration be sufficient after the adolescent age is reached? I doubt it. The sexual impulse in itself is of too great significance, it strikes too deep into human emotions and human affairs for knowledge concerning it to be merely a by-product of other subjects....In any high school where sex teaching is to be inaugurated, there is urgent need for a unifying agent...who stands in relation to other teachers much as the supervisors of art, music, and drama stand.

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376 Joseph K. Folsom, op. cit., pp. 651-56.

377 Frances Bruce Strain, "New Patterns in High School Sex Teaching," Journal of Educational Sociology, 8 (February, 1935), 342-52.

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In 1936, Goudey[378] stated that, if left to incidental teaching, sex education would not be handled in many classrooms. In this connection he said, "The two great classroom tragedies in America today are the questions that teachers dare not answer, and the questions that children will not ask."

Writers in the nineteen-forties expressed similar concern over the possibility that much sex instruction might be weakened or omitted if not properly coordinated. Wilshin[379] and Ashplant[380] in 1945 cautioned against leaving sex education to chance. Wilshin claimed, "Incidental instruction is most often so incidental that it is an incident to the teacher too." Ashplant claimed that, if the material is to be taught in different courses, it will not be integrated unless someone takes the leadership in helping pupils draw the threads of the total picture of sexual adjustment together.

On the whole, writers in the field agree that

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[378] E. S. Goudey, "Questions That Are Not Asked," Progressive Education, 13 (May, 1936), 383-88.

[379] Ione E. Wilshin, "Sex Education: Whose Job Is It?" National Education Association Journal, 34 (December, 1945), 201-2.

[380] W. Ashplant, "Whose Job is Sex Education?" Schools (Secondary Education), 34 (October, 1945), 140-42.

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emphasis on the human relations aspect of sex education is highly desirable. Their main criticism is that sometimes educators neglect factual information which is necessary for understanding oneself and others.

Implications of the idea of human relations for the public schools.--By 1950, the concepts of sex education expressed most frequently in the literature were those classified in this study under the idea of human relations. An observation of the material published on this idea reveals that, if this approach to sex education is made, schools will have to adopt a rather holistic conception of education. A large proportion of the writers included at least a few of the other ideas described in this chapter and, at the same time, sought the promotion of the idea of human relations in sex education in many activities of the school.

Since the presentation of material identified as human relations in sex education cuts across a number of areas in the curriculum, if the public schools accept as their objective the promotion of this idea, school personnel will have to consider the possibility of such presentations in terms of different curriculum organizations. Likewise, if a number of divisions are to be responsible for sex education, some plans will have to be made to coordinate, at least within broad areas, the efforts of different people concerned with sex education.

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Since the idea of human relations in sex education incorporated many of the other ideas of sex education, many of the problems that the schools faced in dealing with these ideas must also be considered in a program aimed at developing better interpersonal relationships where an understanding of sex is important. If the schools accept the idea of human relations in sex education, and if such education includes the other ideas mentioned in this chapter, school personnel will probably be concerned with determining the extent and place of factual instruction, the best ways of developing ethical understanding, the place of describing the dangers involved in certain kinds of behavior, the function of developing sound mental health, the place of religious emphasis, and a multitude of similar problems that have been discussed in earlier sections of this study.

Since the idea of human relations in sex education seems to be complex, it appears as if many individuals and groups must cooperate,if the concept is to be fully carried out. If the schools are to take the lead in this program, it appears as if the school personnel must find ways of working out an understanding between such institutions as the home and the church regarding the function of each in programs of sex education. A few of the institutions and organizations which are concerned, in some way, with the development of sex education are discussed in Chapter V.

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Since many aspects of our culture are changing and since the problem of developing better human relations in the area of sexual behavior might be altered by some of these changes, schools will probably have to recognize such changes and develop programs flexible enough to meet such problems as the mobility of population, the changes in socio-economic status, the shift of moral standards, the discovery of new scientific and technological aids - especially in medicine, and the growth of new sex roles. For example, the new role of women as members of the working force suggests that, if schools are concerned with the development of better homes and happier families, programs will have to be considered that will give both sexes an opportunity to learn the skills formerly associated with the other sex. If such training is found to be necessary, it will also probably be necessary to develop appreciation for the value of different tasks in the smooth functioning of family life.

Since the idea of human relations as defined in this study appears subject to change in the light of varying socio-economic conditions, it seems that, if school faculties wish to do an efficient job in this area, they will have to continuously evaluate what should be included in programs designed to meet the needs for instruction in areas classified as human relations. Such a demand on the schools

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suggests the need for ways of studying what has been done and what is being done so that future plans for sex education in the schools can be effectively developed.

Summary

Seven major ideas of sex education were identified and their development traced from 1900 to 1950 through educational journals, school textbooks, and books written to help children and adolescents understand sex. In addition each idea was criticized and some of the implications for the public schools were discussed. The ideas identified were called the ideas of: silence, reward and punishment, fear, factual instruction, ethical understanding, personal development, and human relations. These ideas were not generally stated explicitly, but provided useful ways of classifying concepts regarding sex education. They were not mutually exclusive, nor did they replace each other in a chronological sequence. At different times, during the years covered by this investigation, one or more of the ideas were more dominant than others. Sometimes individual writers stated positions which were aspects of more than one idea.

The idea of silence.--The idea of silence, as identified in this study, includes both statements opposing sex education and omissions of sex information from literature where such information seems to belong. Articles expressing objections to sex education did not appear in

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educational literature until after the schools were beginning to accept some of the responsibility for such instruction. During the years 1912 to 1918, the number of objections voiced seemed to be more prominent than during other periods. During the second quarter of the twentieth century, there were fewer objections to sex education in general and more objections to conditions under which sex education was given. By 1950 the objections to sex education were much less than they were in 1900.

Silence was identified in textbooks by the omission of references to sex which might conveniently be handled in certain books.

The trend was from almost no references to sex and reproduction in biology and physiology textbooks at the beginning of the twentieth century to references to these topics being included in almost all such textbooks at the end of the fifty years considered in this investigation.

The idea of silence, because it became contrary to general thought and social trends, was subject to considerable opposition and other ideas were expressed more frequently during the fifty years considered in this study.

Sometimes laws and attitudes of communities have kept sex education out of the schools; sometimes school personnel was unprepared for such teaching. Such problems raise the question of the responsibility of schools

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personnel to change such laws and attitudes.

The idea of reward and punishment.-- The idea of reward and punishment was based on the promise of rewards for one kind of behavior and the threat of punishment for others. This idea had been popular during the nineteenth century and continued to be popular during the first period of the twentieth century. It was promoted by moral suasion and included threats of punishment for sin and promises of becoming a hero. Although losing some of its popularity, the idea continued to be expressed throughout the first half of the twentieth century, occasionally by those who were concerned with presenting anatomical and physiological information about sex.

The idea was seen in books written to help children and young people understand sex. This idea was the main theme of such books between 1900 and 1912, but continued to appear in the literature until 1950, sometimes under a cloak of comaraderie and free give-and-take and often in books written with a breezy slangy tone.

The idea was criticized because it was ineffective. Those who opposed the use of such ideas said that it had failed because the ideas were presented in a "preachy" style and many of the statements that were made were not true.

The idea is related to moral education and a question

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arises whether or not such education is a function of the schools. Since some of the material used in presenting this idea is not factual, it raised another question concerning the possibility of such teaching in classes where the other information is factual without leaving false impressions with the learners.

The idea of fear of consequences.--The idea of fear of consequences was identified in statements aimed at arousing fear of physical and moral consequences of certain kinds of sexual behavior by stressing such dangers as infection, insanity, sterility, illegitimacy, and social ostracism. The idea often appeared in conjunction with the idea of factual instruction.

The idea appeared most frequently during the years 1912 to 1918, but even during this period some writers wanted to de-emphasize the pathological aspects. The idea, however, continued to be found in the periodical literature and during the nineteen-forties there were reports that frightening students was the only approach used by many high schools to handle sex education.

Although there seemed to be a decrease in periodical literature of the idea of fear by the beginning of the third period, during this same period there was a noticeable increase in the use of such themes in textbooks. During the thirties and forties, the idea appeared less frequently in textbooks and there was an effort to create an awareness

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without creating a fear.

Except for the occasional books written for the purpose of curbing the venereal disease rate, few books for children and adolescents were based exclusively on the idea of fear. Those that were, appeared between 1915 and 1918.

The idea of fear was opposed for two reasons. On the one hand, it was considered too narrow and negative. On the other hand, writers claimed that this approach, if overused, could be harmful to the adjustment of the individual.

The idea of fear suggests that the schools might have a responsibility for warning pupils of dangers without creating a feeling of morbidity. It suggests the possibility of programs where children and adolescents can be made aware of the different choices that can be made in different situations and the probable result of each of these choices.

The idea of factual instruction.-- Emphasis on the presentation of anatomical and physiological information was called the idea of factual instruction, whether such instruction was given as the whole program of sex education or in conjunction with other approaches to sex education.

Articles found in journals changed during the fifty years studied from suggesting that no facts should be taught, through a period when only facts were presented, to a period when biological information became a part of

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the larger problem of personal and social development. At the beginning of the century, the work was academic and based on describing reproduction of plants and lower animals with an occasional reference to mammals and even less reference to man. About the time of the World War I, heredity was a popular topic and,in the twenties, the physiological changes of puberty were frequently used as starting points in discussions. During the nineteen-thirties and nineteen-forties, some writers would give children only those facts that they needed at a given age, while others would give them all the facts that they would accept.

While some textbooks for the elementary schools, especially in nature study, contained facts regarding reproduction as early as 1928, the human implications were not made clear until after 1940.

Before the twentieth century, a few of the books for children and adolescents to read,in order better to understand sex, included facts on reproduction and sex, but for the most part, it was not until the end of the second period that human processes were discussed at all. During the fourth and fifth periods, factual instruction was given to help the child overcome his own self-consciousness.

The chief criticism was against the use of facts alone. It was pointed out that such instruction did not assure adjustment and frequently was so academic that it

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was unrelated to the problems of human beings.

The idea of factual instruction raises a number of questions. The answer to these questions is determined, in part, by the philosophy of the school and the attitude of the community. If the function of the school is thought to be the imparting of facts, then sex information might be given in lectures by outsiders who are unconcerned about relating these facts to the rest of the educational program. If the philosophy of the school is such that the emotional problems of the child are considered, then handling the facts through a process of guidance is appropriate.

The idea of ethical understanding.--The idea of ethical understanding was expressed by those concerned with the use of facts to develop such ethical attitudes as responsibility for the race, monogamic marriage, sanctity of the home, aesthetics of sex, and development of character.

Two changes in the idea were noted. At first, ethical understanding was secondary to the facts; later, attitudes were more important than facts. At first, efforts were toward showing the values in a given subject; later, writers selected the material that would help the child with his problems.

The emphasis in ethical understanding changed during the years included in this investigation. Toward the end

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of the first period, the objectives were racial improvement and character building. During the second period, other attitudes became important with most of the articles found in periodicals devoted to showing what values could be obtained from different kinds of literature. In the third period, the objective was mental health. The objective of the fourth period was understanding oneself, and in the fifth period, the purpose seemed to be better relations with other people.

Early in the second period, biology textbooks frequently presented descriptions of heredity, sex organs, reproduction, and venereal disease with an emphasis on the development of proper attitudes. The presentation was academic and impersonal. During the twenties and thirties, biology books were concerned with developing an appreciation of life in general and an understanding of sex in human welfare. By 1950 many biological facts were used to help develop attitudes toward personal development, common welfare, and the perpetuation and improvement of the race.

This idea did not appear clearly in elementary school textbooks. A few books, in the nineteen-twenties, did try to point out the responsibility of the child for others. Some animal stories were used, but their effect on the development of values is open to question.

It was not until after 1935 that the idea of ethical

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understanding could be clearly identified in books written to help children and young people understand sex. Before this time, the approach was chiefly through moral suasion. In the thirties, statements began to appear on the values of family life and the aesthetics of certain kinds of sexual behavior. The latter idea appeared in the illustrations used in a number of the books written for children. During the nineteen-forties, books for adolescents contained chapters on the formation of value systems, and by 1950 entire books were devoted to this problem.

The idea of ethical understanding was criticized for two reasons. In order to present a particular pattern of ethical adjustment, some writers omitted facts that were contrary to their beliefs. At other times a possible ethical position was stressed without helping the child develop adequate behavior patterns so that he might handle what he was taught.

The idea of ethical understanding poses a double responsibility for the schools, namely, teaching accurate information and developing wholesome attitudes. Such a responsibility raises questions regarding developing articulations between the home and the school, selection of the kind of personnel with whom children should associate for the purpose of developing ethical understanding, and helping pupils develop ways of forming patterns of ethical conduct

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without defining and imposing exact attitudes.

The idea of personal development.--The idea of personal development places emphasis upon programs designed to meet individual needs and values and upon ways of guiding children and adolescents in the solution of their own problems. This idea often appeared in the literature with the ideas of human relations and ethical understanding.

Although the idea appeared in the periodical literature most frequently after 1930, there were some articles written which contained this concept of sex education as early as the second period of sex education. At that time, writers expressed the need for parents to help their children with their adjustment problems. In the nineteen-twenties, there were a few references to the problem of developing sound attitudes regarding sex through programs of guidance and parental education.

Between 1935 and 1945, a large proportion of sex education literature dealt with such problems as guiding young people during the years between puberty and marriage, establishing programs in which the correct amount of information for each maturity level was determined, and ascertaining the motives behind children's sex questions. By 1950 many of the aspects of general education that were concerned with personal development were also considered whenever sex education was discussed.

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Very few textbooks published before the nineteen-forties gave full expression to the idea of personal development. A few teacher's manuals written to accompany elementary health books pointed out that, where parents had failed to help their children understand sex, such teaching was a function of the schools. An effort was made to show how the material in the health readers could be used for this purpose. After 1940, an increasing number of biology books appeared that were supposed to help adolescents solve some of their problems in the area of sexual adjustment. The approach most frequently used was to show that other adolescents faced similar problems and that the solution to many of their sex problems was similar to the solution of their other problems.

Some of the books written to help children and adolescents understand sex also were written for parents. Those for parents began to appear about 1918, but did not become very numerous until the nineteen-thirties. These books described the normal activities of children, told parents how to help their children, and helped parents overcome their own self-consciousness. From 1940 to 1950, a number of pamphlets also were published to help parents.

During the nineteen-thirties, books written for adolescents to read were highly biological and very few touched upon problems of individual differences, needs of individuals,

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and adjustment mechanisms. After 1940, the amount of such literature became more abundant and advised adolescents on these problems in addition to answering questions regarding their own development, the selection of values, choice of goals, education, work, and popularity. In addition, a few pamphlets began to appear on the same subjects.

The idea of personal development was criticized, because some felt that the schools were not equipped to handle the complex problems of personal adjustment and others felt that the approach would not be effective unless the problems of interpersonal adjustment also were considered.

The idea of personal development poses a number of problems for the public schools. Since such a program is built around the development of the individual, many of the questions pertaining to the organization and operation of guidance programs must be faced, if the schools are going to participate, to any extent, in this aspect of sex education. The complexity of such programs suggests need for careful selection of teaching personnel, wider use of community resources, and closer home-school relationships. The problems of sexual adjustment brought about by the increasing span between puberty and marriage challenge the school to develop post-high school education for older adolescents.

The idea of human relations.--The idea of human relations was defined in this study to include any statements

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pertaining to sex education in which the chief purpose was the development of better interpersonal relationships, between two or more human beings. Although different writers have attached different meanings to human relations when discussing sex education, all such definitions have the common element of a concern for creating better relationships between different people. The idea was emphasized more after 1930 than before that date.

In the periodical literature published toward the end of the nineteen-twenties, articles describing the value of sex instruction in the betterment of interpersonal relations and articles discussing courses of study in which such betterment was an objective began to appear. At the same time, there was a shift of emphasis in courses of marriage from teaching household skills to guidance in the understanding of interpersonal relationships. In the early nineteen-thirties, it was suggested that education for day-to-day adjustment was important, but such education was not reflected in the reports of courses of study. During the nineteen-forties, this point of view was reflected in courses of study. By 1950, this concept of human relations as sex education was considered to be very broad and included almost all of the concepts mentioned earlier in this chapter.

During the nineteen-twenties, textbooks began to appear that touched upon some aspects of human relations.

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At first these books presented material designed to help the reader make future adjustments. During the second quarter of the twentieth century, there was a gradual trend toward teaching for present-day adjustment, as well as for future adjustment. In some areas, especially in the elementary school, books combined such subjects as health, safety, and personal relations. On the secondary level, both social science books and biology books shifted from meeting only future needs to meeting needs of the present day as well. For the most part, this change in emphasis took place between 1930 and 1950. By 1950, the titles of some of these books were such as to suggest answers to the questions that young people might have in different areas of adjustment.

On the elementary level some of the readers contained references to animal families and pointed out such relationships as love and care of children and family responsibilities. The value of these stories for sex education is open to question.

Of more value to sex education were elementary health books which, during the years between 1929 and 1950, contained units on how to get along with other people. The presentation during the nineteen-thirties was academic, but during the forties answers to children's questions were given more directly and a single text would select material from

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several subject areas in order to answer the questions. The titles of a few of these books were selected with the idea of appealing to the reader.

As early as 1913, some aspects of interpersonal adjustment were touched upon in books written for adolescents. Frequently, the idea of human relations was tied up with the idea of reward and punishment. Most of the books on human relations for adolescents began to appear during the depression years. These books included information on dating, the development of charm and personality, and ways of mutually sharing experiences. Such books increased during the nineteen-forties and were supplemented with pamphlets. Books of this type for elementary school children were limited.

The idea of human relations was criticized when those who emphasized interpersonal relationships tended to treat less frequently physiological and anatomical information. The idea was also criticized because it was felt that, when many members of a faculty could contribute to sex education, often nothing tangible was done because no effort was made to coordinate the activities.

Since other ideas of sex education often contribute to the idea of human relations, the problems of these other ideas often become the problems of human relations. Since human relations cut across many subject areas, several

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problems are raised regarding what can be done with different curriculum organizations to promote such sex education. In some instances the problem includes ways of coordinating the various facets of such education. The complexity of a program of human relations suggests need for developing cooperation between the school and other institutions and organizations, for recognizing the changes in the social climate of the community, and for evaluating programs of human-relations education continuously in order to measure how well the schools are meeting these changing conditions.

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CHAPTER V

THE INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL SETTING OF SEX EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Introduction

Purpose of chapter.--Calverton[1] concluded a discussion regarding sex by stating that "a study of sex as if it were unrelated to social struggle would be meaningless and absurd." It is the purpose of this chapter to describe the intellectual and social setting of sex education in the public schools and to show the significance of that setting to the development of sex education.

However, it is not the intent of this chapter to trace cause and effect relationships. The aspects of the setting are so interrelated that the isolation of causes would probably be impossible.

Data for chapter.--Many sources were used in the preparation of this chapter. All the literature reviewed in Chapters III and IV was analyzed. Histories of many social problems and groups provided valuable material. Among those referred to were histories of ethics, morals, the women's movement, crime, freedom of speech, colleges,

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[1] V. F. Calverton, "Sex and Social Struggle," Sex in Civilization, p. 284. Edited by V. F. Calverton and S. D. Schmalhausen. Garden City: Garden City Publishing Company, Inc., 1929.

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churches, and religious orders. Whenever sex or sex education was mentioned in these histories, the particular section in which this topic appeared was studied. Periodicals sponsored or published by groups interested in social problems also supplied evidence for this chapter. Reports of the National Education Association, the National Catholic Education Association, and the National Society for the Study of Education, as well as of other learned societies, were studied. The proceedings and addresses of the national meetings of some of these groups were examined for additional information. Educational journals and yearbooks of educational associations were also studied. Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education and bulletins of the Bureau and Office of Education proved valuable. The published results of scientific investigations into sex in terms of broader social implications threw light on the present study. In addition, information was obtained from secondary and college textbooks, books on philosophy, sociology, methodology, curriculum and psychology, essays, non-fictional books written primarily for popular reading, United States laws, state laws, biographies, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and papal encyclicals.

Organization of chapter.--The choice of topics to be discussed in this chapter was difficult, because a thorough evaluation of the contribution of each movement to sex

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education in the public schools was not practicable. The number of possible trends that would have to be studied is phenomenal. One such monumental investigation was reported in 1933. This report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends[2] revealed twenty-nine separate investigations.[3] Bossard[4] said in 1934 that these, and probably many more, were important phases of our changing society.

The themes eventually selected in order to show the social setting of sex education were chosen because they appeared most frequently in the literature used as sources of data for Chapters III and IV. From these sources, it was found that sex education was frequently discussed in connection with changes in public education, family adjustment, science, individual freedom, ethical conduct, and religion. These were selected as the broad areas to be discussed in this chapter and the following brief statements are made in justification of the choice of these six themes.

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[2] President's Research Committee on Social Trends, Recent Social Trends in the United States, New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1933.

[3] Ibid., pp. vii-ix.

[4] James H. S. Bossard, Social Change and Social Problems, p. 63. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934.

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1. Educational changes.--Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, writers attempted to show that sex education had to be considered in terms of such changes in public education as took place in educational philosophy, in educational psychology, and in the school curriculum. The following statements take this point of view:

> The sphere of sexual education must be considered as a fraction merely of the general education field...A good general education will not be given unless a good sexual education is also given. [5]

> We in America are just beginning to realize that if our aim of education is to develop the whole child, then we must not and cannot neglect the education of his sex life. [6]

> Sex education is a part of life, it cannot be isolated from the school curriculum. [7]

2. Family adjustment.--One of the repeated areas of discussion regarding sex education during the fifty years of this study was concerned with the relative responsibilities of the home and the school in giving sex instruction to children and adolescents. It was suggested in these

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[5] E. Sterheim, "Sex Problems in Education," Education Review, 50 (October, 1915), 259-78.

[6] Howard C. Leibee, "A Sex Education Program," The Journal of Health and Physical Education, 8 (November, 1937), 537 f.

[7] Caroline B. Zachry and Others, "Sex Education: Facts and Attitudes," Child Study, 18 (Winter, 1940), 39-41.

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writings that the changing patterns of the family were significant in the development of sex education in the schools. Many statements, such as the following, were made during the time interval of this study:

> If women's clubs would take up the work of instructing mothers in sex education, it would prove valuable and effective. [8]

> In the wake of the industrial revolution, the family has lost many of its educational and recreational functions... The time seems to have arrived when the schools must teach something of the meaning and conduct of the home. [9]

> Reasons for the need of a sex education program include...the breakdown of the home, the increase in divorce and juvenile delinquency, and the increase in sex crimes.[10]

3. Scientific discoveries.--Between 1900 and 1950, a number of important discoveries were made that had some bearing on sex education. As such discoveries became more universally known, the general attitude toward sex education in the public schools became more scientific. The following brief statements show some of the ways in which science underlies sex education:

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[8] E. R. Gregory, "Instruction in Social Hygiene," School and Society, 2 (September 4, 1915), 354.

[9] Benjamin C. Gruenberg, editor, High Schools and Sex Education, p. 2. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1922.

[10] Howard C. Leibee, op. cit., p. 537 f.

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The entire [sex education] movement in recent years started with the medical profession. [11]

Both general science and sex instruction are... closely connected.[12]

A wider interpretation of sex education came from the growing field of child development and research.[13]

4. Personal freedom.--During the years from 1900 to 1950, there appeared to be an increase in the amount of personal freedom permitted in dealing with some aspects of sex. This apparent increase in personal freedom regarding sex was revealed in such statements as:

There was an increasing frankness of discussion about sex relationships.[14]

Sex education is...one aspect of a world-wide movement which has many aspects and many names, but is in essence the refusal to admit any longer the old "divine right" claims.[15]

5. Ethical attitudes.--All of the aspects of the social setting for sex education are tied up very closely

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[11] Charles R. Henderson, Education With Reference to Sex, p. 9. The Eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909.

[12] E. F. Van Buskirk, "How Can Sex Education Be Made a Part of General Science," School Science and Mathematics, 19 (December, 1919), 789-94.

[13] Aline B. Auerbach, "Current Trends in Books on Sex Education," Child Study, 26 (Summer, 1949), 103-4.

[14] Newell W. Edson, "Children Are Entitled to the Best Human Experience in Sex Education," School Life, 14 (April, 1929), 152-53.

[15] E. Sterheim, op. cit., pp. 259-78.

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with the changes that have occurred in the attitudes of American people toward moral and ethical concepts. At all times during the fifty-year period under consideration, writers were aware that discussion regarding sex education frequently reflected ethical and moral problems. The following quotations point up the preceding statement:

> All instruction bearing on sex hygiene must be co-ordinated with moral and ethical aims.[16]

> "Sex education" is useless unless it reflects both the scientific thought and the morals of a particular time and clime.[17]

6. Religious beliefs.--The attitude of churches and other religious groups toward sex and sexual relations seemed to be important in the setting for the development of sex education in the public schools. Whether writers were leaders of a church or whether they were laymen, they often wrote to show the significance of religion to sex education as is seen in the following statements:

> The problems of sex will never be solved until the sacredness of sex is recognized, for sex is vitally and indissoluably bound up with the greatest facts that you and

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[16] William Trufant Foster, "Agencies, Materials, and Ideals of Sex Education," School Review, 22 (April, 1914), 256-61.

[17] Aline B. Auerbach, "Sex Attitudes Begin at Home," Child Study, 22 (November, 1944), 3-5.

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I know.[18]

Religious bias projects itself into few areas with the force that it employs on questions of sex conduct.[19]

Each of the six areas defined above is described in this chapter. First, some of the changes that have taken place in a few of the subdivisions of the broader areas are pointed out; then, the significance of these changes to sex education is discussed.

Changes in Scope and Purpose of Public Education and Their Significance for Sex Education

During the period included in this investigation, there were changes in the scope and purpose of public education. Sex education must be viewed in the light of these changes.

Since sex education is treated in this study from the standpoint of its relation to the public schools, many of the changes in other aspects of public education were reflected in the trends in sex education. In this chapter, philosophy, psychology, and curriculum are selected to

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[18] W. G. Scanlon, "Values of Three-day Retreats for High School," National Catholic Education Association Proceedings, pp. 126-36. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1935.

[19] Dwayne Orton, "Method is All-Important in Sex Education," California Journal of Secondary Education, 14 (April, 1939), 208-10.

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point up the place of sex education within this larger framework.

Changes in educational philosophy.--During the fifty year period considered in this study, changes in educational philosophy have influenced many programs of the school including those designed to meet the needs of pupils in the area of sexual adjustment. The elaboration of these changes is not within the scope of the present investigation. It is the purpose of this part of this chapter to show briefly some of the trends in educational philosophy that have taken place between 1900 and 1950.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, many educators were developing or discussing educational activities that were to be important in the development of different programs of sex education. When the twentieth century began, William T. Harris was the United States Commissioner of Education. He had written in 1898 that pupils must understand the human institutions of the past, if they are to understand the human institutions of the present.[20] Harris advocated a formal historical approach to teaching. He was a follower of Froebel, who had claimed that children could develop an understanding of many complex concepts

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[20] John T. Wahlquist, The Philosophy of American Education, pp. 52-3. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1942.

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through the use of formal procedures. At the time that Harris was United States Commissioner of Education, John Dewey was teaching in an experimental school in Chicago. He proposed a school in which children might work as well as listen.[21] He did not stress the importance of understanding the past, but he pointed out that pupils should first understand those things that were about them in their environments and with which they had to cope. Also during the first decade of the twentieth century, Thorndike[22] and others began to consider ways of measuring what was being learned, how well it was being learned, and what part of the material was being used in adult life. By developing and using objective measures to determine content and procedures, it was thought that programs could be designed to meet individual needs. To a large extent, such educational programs would depend upon developing in the child proper behavior patterns as determined by the examination of the child and his environment.

Throughout much of the twentieth century, programs of sex education were determined by people holding one or the other of the positions suggested above. Sometimes the

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[21] Ibid., p. 85.

[22] Ibid., p. 68.

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schools were influenced more by one position and then by another. To some extent, the background for the different positions taken on educational matters can be seen in terms of some of the controversies taking place in the field of educational philosophy.

There were frequent claims that one of the positions predominated the educational programs of the schools. Wilds[23] claimed that in 1910:

> Much of the older empirical and speculative thinking of educational leaders had given way to inquiries made in a rigid spirit and pursued by the accurate and precise methods of modern science.

Butts,[24] on the other hand, pointed out that there was no agreement among educators regarding the function and value of scientific methods in education. He went on to say that such leaders as Norton, Sherman, and Shorey opposed the emphasis on social and scientific theories during most of the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Following World War I, educators again developed programs or expressed points of view in accordance with

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[23] Elmer Harrison Wilds, The Foundations of Modern Education, p. 507. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1942.

[24] R. Freeman Butts, A Cultural History of Education, p. 599. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947.

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various philosophic positions. The school of educational philosophy that had grown out of the work of Dewey came to the foreground with the organization of the Progressive Education Association in 1918. The dominant interest of this group was developing methods and activities that would release the individual capacities of pupils in the schools. According to Butts,[25] "Character and moral development are prime requisites for education." He went on to say that the Progressive Education Association conceived of character as arising from the interaction of the individual with his cultural environment and of moral conduct as being achieved by intelligent participation in the democratic processes.

During the nineteen-twenties, discussions continued on the relative merits of the scientific approach to education. In 1922, Bagley assailed the extreme position that claimed measurement could predetermine the place of the child in society.[26] In a speech before the Society of College Teachers of Education on the topic, "Educational Determinism; or Democracy and the I.Q.," he said that this position of the educational scientist cast a shadow across

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[25] R. Freeman Butts, op. cit., p. 643.

[26] Elmer Harrison Wilds, op. cit., p. 520.

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the hopes of democracy.[27] In 1928, Finney[28] also opposed the extreme scientific approach and wrote, "The needs of the individual life are to be satisfied through participation in the institutions of society." In 1929, Pius XI[29] in his encyclical on "Christian Education of Youth" criticized both the approach to education that was based on scientific analysis and the approach based on present day interests and needs as expressed by the child as being too materialistic and lacking in spiritual values.

The discussions in educational philosophy continued during the depression years. In 1937, Hopkins[30] claimed that the battle of the philosophies was over and that the pragmatists had won. However, as he wrote, there were disagreements appearing among the followers of Dewey. Dewey, himself, reinterpreted his philosophy and admitted the

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[27] William C. Bagley, "Educational Determinism; or Democracy of the IQ," Educational Monographs of the Society of College Teachers of Education, pp. 26-40. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company, 1922.

[28] Ross L. Finney, A Sociological Philosophy of Education, pp. 86-87. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928.

[29] Pius XI, "Encyclical Letter on Christian Education of Youth," Four Great Encyclicals, pp. 59-60. New York: The Paulist Press, 1931.

[30] L. Thomas Hopkins and Others, Integration-Its Meaning and Application, p. 197. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1937.

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existence of some regulative and persistent values.[31] Many of his followers would not concede this point. As Hopkins claimed victory, other schools of philosophic thought were active. Such men as Hutchins, Adler, Barr, and Buchanan were turning to the liberal arts for their educational direction.[32] They were suggesting programs in which subject matter was logically presented. Another group of philosophers under the leadership of Bagley opposed the pragmatic school and in 1939 issued the "Essentialists Manifesto." [33] In this paper they severely criticized the teachings of John Dewey and the work of his followers.

During the nineteen-forties, different educational philosophies continued to be presented. Brubacher[34] declared that these various points of view made educational progress possible. Because different positions exist, different kinds of curricula have been developed. Within the framework of these different curricula, different kinds

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[31] Robert Ulich, History of Educational Thought, p. 335. New York: American Book Company, 1945.

[32] R. Freeman Butts, op. cit., p. 602.

[33] John T. Wahlquist, op. cit., p. 119.

[34] John S. Brubacher, "Philosophy of Education," Encyclopedia of Educational Research, p. 820. Edited by Walter S. Monroe. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950.

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of programs for sex education have been attempted.

As the first half of the twentieth century ended, two possible trends in educational philosophy were suggested. Murphy[35] claimed that there is a trend away from the scientific approach and the child-centered approach to the curriculum and toward a subject-centered approach. According to Murphy, the ideals of the liberal arts are worth teaching and conserving. The other possible trend was pointed out by Brubacher,[36] who claimed that there is a movement toward greater agreement "among warring educational philosophies" and suggested that an eclectic philosophy might be in the making. At the present time, there is insufficient evidence to substantiate a belief that such tendencies are really trends.

Changes in educational psychology.--During the first half of the twentieth century, educational psychology moved from an interest in measurement of minute aspects of human behavior to concern for the evaluation of the total pattern of behavior. At the same time, there was a trend away from the development of theories based on laboratory investigations

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[35] Arthur E. Murphy, "Twentieth Century Philosophy in the United States," Collier's Encyclopedia, Volume XV, pp. 692-93. Edited by Charles P. Barry and Others. New York: P. F. Collier and Son Corporation, 1950.

[36] John S. Brubacher, Modern Philosophies of Education, p. 327. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950.

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and toward the study of children and adolescents in the school situation. All of these changes in educational psychology influenced the curriculum and, in turn, programs of sex education.

Although educational psychology may be said to have attained independent status at about 1900, a number of activities during the later years of the nineteenth century set the stage for developments in this area. In 1879 Wundt, in Leipzig, Germany, had established the first psychological laboratory, in which many Americans who were to influence growth in educational psychology became students. During the eighties and nineties, G. Stanley Hall fostered a child-study movement and asked teachers to return to him considerable information on their pupils. These questionnaire studies were very crude in terms of present-day standards. By 1900, statistical tools had been developed by the English biometrists such as Galton and Pearson. By this time also, an interest had developed in the measurement of individual differences. Cattell had worked in this area, and Rice had developed an objective test to measure such differences in spelling.

The interest in individual differences continued into the twentieth century and additional efforts were made to measure these differences. A book by Thorndike[37] on

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[37] E. L. Thorndike, An Introduction to the Theory of Mental and Social Measurements. New York: The Science Press, 1904.

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measurement appeared in 1904. In 1908, Binet published his mental age scale in France. It soon was translated in the United States and adapted for use with American children. Group tests were developed during World War I and used thereafter in schools with a high degree of success.

During the early years of the century, Thorndike and Watson used objective laboratory methods with animals to study aspects of learning and other psychological phenomena. By 1914, Watson was studying human infants. He stressed conditioning and the influence of the environment on the personality. During the first World War, Kohler used apes in studies basic to a theory in which learning was interpreted in terms of insight.

Before 1910, an interest had been shown in the dynamics of human behavior. Psychoanalysis had been introduced into the United States and McDougall was exploring the field of hormic psychology, which considered instincts to be the basis for human conduct. Both McDougall and the psychoanalysts were interested in motivation and personal development. The force of their work began to be felt more strongly following World War I.

Between 1930 and 1940, measurements developed into evaluation, a broad attempt to ascertain whether or not objectives of the school had been met. At the same time, an effort was made to measure moral knowledge, attitudes,

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interest, and personality, and devices for exploring personality came to the foreground, such as projective techniques, anecdotal records, sociometric scales, and new statistical tools.

During the nineteen-thirties, there seemed to be a shift in emphasis from the conditioning of Watson and the connectionism of Thorndike, which stressed the study of minute aspects of human behavior, to organismic theories in which the individual was studied as a whole.

A number of the educational philosophers attempted to justify their positions in terms of theories of psychology. One example of this was Kilpatrick,[38] who tried first to justify his position in terms of connectionism, but later switched to the Gestalt theory.

Toward the end of the fifty years under consideration, psychoanalysis, connectionism, topological or field theory (a type of Gestalt psychology), and behaviorism seemed to be active to some extent. In 1950, Hendrickson and Blair[39] identified the following trends in educational psychology:

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[38] John T. Wahlquist, The Philosophy of American Education, p. 97. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1942.

[39] Gordon Hendrickson and Glenn M. Blair, "Educational Psychology," Encyclopedia of Educational Research, p. 350. Edited by Walter S. Monroe. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950.

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1. Integration of psychological schools and theories is incomplete but proceeding rapidly...

2. The organism as a whole is regarded increasingly as the fundamental unit for the study of behavior rather than the reflex arc or some other subunit of the organism.

3. The concept of interaction between growth and learning and between nature and nurture is replacing the sharp distinctions formerly drawn...

4. Newer concepts in the field of learning, such as insight (Gestalt psychology), belongingness (Thorndike), and goal-reactions (Hull), give fresh importance to a biological, functional conception of mind, in contrast to views which regard learning as essentially mechanical in character and which disregard mental processes.

5. The biological theme of adjustment has become central for the understanding of personality and character. The mental-hygiene movement, which now largely embraces so-called character education, and the guidance movement in education set adjustment as a fundamental goal.

6. The dynamics of behavior, especially of social behavior, are increasingly emphasized. An extensive literature deals with motivation.

7. Various indications point to the clarification of concepts and to the establishment of a precise vocabulary in psychology...

8. The function of educational psychology in teacher education appears to be to provide the teacher not with rule-of-thumb procedures or abstract principles but with aid in developing insights into the nature of learning, individual differences, personality and character, and other aspects of child growth...

Changes in curriculum development.--The many changes in educational psychology and educational philosophy were reflected in changing concepts of curriculum organization. At first this organization was chiefly designed to permit the memorization of specific items and the learning of definite skills. The trend has been toward emphasizing social

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values in which facts and skills were learned as they helped the individual and society.

According to Bristow,[40] the task of curriculum development was relatively simple in 1900. In fact, there was little difference, if any, between curriculum construction and the organization of a course of study. The objectives of education, at this time, were, for the most part, the acquisition of a stock of skills and information and the development of the powers of the mind. These aims seemed to meet the needs of the children attending school at that time. As the school population increased and became less homogeneous, many additional and diversified needs had to be considered in the development of the curriculum. This growth in enrollment has been tremendous between 1890 and 1940. For example, the number of high school graduates in 1890 was 43,731, while in 1940 the number of graduates had risen to 1,221,475.[41] During the same years the population of the United States had increased from about sixty-two million to about one hundred thirty-one million.[42] In

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[40] William H. Bristow, "Curriculum Development," Encyclopedia of Educational Research, p. 307. Edited by Walter S. Monroe. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950.

[41] United States Office of Education, "Statistical Summary of Education," Biennial Survey of Education, Number 2, p. 11. Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1942.

[42] The World Almanac and Book of Facts, p. 397. New York: New York World-Telegram and The Sun, 1951.

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other words, while the population of the United States doubled, the number of pupils graduating from high school increased about 3000 per cent.

Shortly after 1900, research by Thorndike and others on transfer of training raised questions regarding training the powers of the mind, or mental discipline. There was a shift to a social utility emphasis and contents of the curriculum were selected in terms of studies conducted to ascertain how such contents were used in current society.[43]

At the same time, there was a parallel growth in a point of view frequently referred to as child-centered. For those who held this idea, the needs and interests of the child became the dominating criterion of curriculum construction.

After 1930, there seemed to be an increasing emphasis upon the idea that anyone concerned with the curriculum should share in its development. This was commonly called the democratic ideal in curriculum construction and recognized the continuity of development in the individual and in society and the emergent nature of the individual. At the same time, there was a questioning attitude regarding the value or necessity of drilling, memorizing, and doing

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[43] National Society for the Study of Education, Curriculum Making: Past and Present. Twenty-sixth Yearbook, Part I. Chicago: The Society, 1926.

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tasks instead of participating in experiences productive to the learner.[44]

In surveying curriculum development toward the end of the fifty-year period considered in this investigation, several trends are noticeable.[45] There has been a shift from traditional subjects taught for the purposes of mental discipline to a concern for child growth and development with insights into present-day needs and problems of the child or adolescent. Another trend is toward developing a curriculum by basing it on studies rather than by turning to authorities for its development. A third trend seems to be toward an organization where the material is functional and usable by the learner and toward coordination with other subjects including the learning experiences possible in the community. There also seems to be a trend toward the consideration of attitudes, appreciations, methods of work and thinking, and ability to use facts in relation to behavior. In recent years, there seems to be an effort to use many kinds of existing curriculum organizations to meet

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[44] L. J. Brueckner and Others, The Changing Elementary School Curriculum. New York: Inor Publishing Company, 1939.

[45] William H. Bristow, op. cit., pp. 307-8.

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the same or similar over-all objectives.[46]

Significance of changes in public education for sex education.--Changes in educational philosophy, educational psychology, and curriculum organization are interrelated and have individually and collectively influenced sex education. Although no attempt is made to show cause and effect relationships between these changes and sex education, parallel trends are noted.

During the years between 1900 and the end of World War I, there was an increased emphasis on the scientific approach to the curriculum. Experiments in psychology and writings in philosophy stressed this development. During the same period, sex education was beginning to stress factual information rather than threatening the learner with moral consequences. As those who stressed the idea of factual instruction were criticized for failing to teach certain ethical values, those who would develop curricula through the scientific approach were likewise opposed, because it seemed to adherents of other philosophies that the scientific approach neglected to teach certain values.

Immediately following World War I and continuing through the nineteen-twenties, psychologists were increasingly

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[46] Harl R. Douglass, Education for Life Adjustment. New York: The Ronald Press, 1950.

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concerned with individual development. This was shown by the increased number of guidance clinics and by the growth of hormic psychology and psychoanalysis. At the same time, the number of followers of Dewey had become so numerous that the Progressive Education Association was formed. This group advocated meeting the immediate needs as well as the future needs of children and adolescents. Many of the ideas of these psychologists and philosophers were incorporated into the curricula of a large number of school systems. Leaders in sex education, during these years, were interested in developing programs aimed at guiding children and young people to find answers to their own problems of sexual adjustment. These same leaders planned programs in which adults, especially parents, were given help in guiding children in solving these problems.

During the nineteen-thirties, a number of philosophers and psychologists showed an interest in the development of interpersonal relationships among boys and girls. A large proportion of the schools introduced courses in which adolescents were taught how to cope with certain social problems. Many schools accepted this task as one of their functions. During the nineteen-thirties and nineteen-forties, sex education was frequently referred to as human relations education. As such those aspects of sexual behavior important in the development of better human relationships became

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paramount in sex education programs.

As the first half of the twentieth century ended, there was doubt as to which educational philosophy, educational psychology, or curriculum organization would be most influential in the schools of the future. At the same time, there was no universal opinion of what should constitute a program of sex education. An examination of the seven major ideas used to classify various opinions expressed or implied regarding sex education in the public schools shows that all ideas existed to some extent throughout most of the period investigated. While different philosophies, psychologies, and curriculum organizations seemed to be more favorably accepted at one time or another, all seemed to have influenced schools throughout the entire fifty-year period. The half century closed with proponents of each of the philosophies, psychologies, and curriculum positions still trying to emphasize the superiority of their own viewpoints. Advocates of the different opinions regarding sex education programs were also stressing their respective points of view.

Changes in Organization and Function of the Family and Their Significance for Sex Education

During the years 1900 to 1950, at least three changes took place in the American family. First, the family organization became less stable with increasingly frequent breakdowns of the family as a social unit. Second, women devoted

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a smaller proportion of their time to their homes and a greater proportion of their time to activities outside of the home. Third, children and adolescents seemed to have fewer responsibilities toward the end of this period for the functioning of the family and, at the same time, there seemed to be a decreasing amount of authoritarian control exercised over these same children and adolescents.

According to Overton,[46] this changing pattern of family organization and function dated from the time of the Industrial Revolution. She pointed out that this revolution made it possible for individual members of the family to seek their own careers away from the family circle. Prior to this time, all members of the family had united to produce their own food, shelter, and clothing.

Other forces, however, seem to be, in part, responsible for bringing about a changing pattern of family relationships. To what extent each of many socio-economic forces contributed to this change is a moot question. It is a question whether or not the movement of education from the home to public and private schools was a contributing factor in bringing about this change. The amount of leisure time and the kinds of recreational activities also might have been

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[46] Grace Sloan Overton, The Home in a Changing Culture, pp. 37-9. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1935.

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a contributing factor. Recreation, at one time an integral part of family life, is now carried out by so many outside organizations that, except in the wide-open areas, merely making a choice among possible activities becomes a burden. Participation in many of the recreational and educational activities available today has resulted in the problem of how to maintain family loyalties while encompassing a larger number of outside groups. The effect of such inventions as the automobile on the changing relationships of the different members of the family might also be considered. The automobile has caused a shift of the interest of the family away from the social activities of the home. It has brought with it better roads and has increased the ease of movement from place to place. The effect of such inventions as television also needs to be appraised. Little is known of the effect of this invention, but its nature suggests the possibility of reversing the trend and making for more family stability.

Changes in family stability.--Perhaps the most important problem pertaining to the change in the stability of the family is divorce. The history of divorce is as long as the history of marriage. Lichtenberger[47] stated:

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[47] J. P. Lichtenberger, Divorce: A Social Interpretation, pp. 20-21. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931.

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Divorce is a social phenomenon. It is the only way, aside from death, by which the legal bond of marriage can be dissolved. Divorce, therefore, cannot be considered apart from marriage. Marriage as a social institution everywhere is surrounded by custom and law, by means of which the group expresses its approval of the means of entrance into the connubial relationship and of the newly created status of the persons concerned. In the event that this relationship is terminated prior to the death of one of the parties, as frequently is the case, then the habitual method of release acquires social approval also and the status of the free individuals must be redefined. This is divorce.

With few exceptions, most of the states in the United States of America permitted divorce from the time of their founding. The regulation of divorce was delegated to the civil courts from earliest colonial days. The number of divorces remained relatively low until after the Civil War. In 1867, there were only 10,000 divorces in the United States.[48] Since the population was about 38,000,000, the divorce rate was less than 0.25 per thousand. In 1900 when the population was about 76,000,000, the rate increased to 0.7 per thousand when there were about 56,000 divorces. The rate increased steadily becoming 1.0 per thousand in 1911, 2.0 per thousand in 1940, and reaching a peak of 4.3 per thousand in 1946. In this year, there were about 610,000 divorces in a population of 140,000,000. After 1946, the rate began to drop and by 1950 the rate reached 2.5 and represented 385,000 divorces in a population of 150,000,000.[49]

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[48] Ibid., p. 104.

[49] Bulletin Almanac, p188. Philadelphia: The Bulletin Company, 1952.

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Writers in the area of family relations have contributed many reasons for the increase in the divorce rate. Brown,[50] who represented the Catholic position, stated that the increased tolerance since 1906 reflected in the increased number of grounds for divorce was an important factor. He claimed that this was brought about by:

1. The rejection of the sacramental character of marriage.
2. The selfish assertion of individual interests
3. The growing economic independence of women
4. The demoralizing influence of two global wars
5. The infiltration of secularism in family life
6. The failure to understand the disastrous consequences of divorce.

Hankins[51] pointed out that economics plays an important part in the increase and decrease of divorce. He cited the fact that divorce, while apparently a simple matter among some groups, was deterred by the costs involved. He also cited the drop in the divorce rate during the early years of the depression. He also considered the long period necessary for young people to make economic adjustment as an important factor and showed that the largest number of divorces occur

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[50] Brendon F. Brown, "Divorce in Civil Jurisprudence Since 1906." The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume II, pp. 1-7. Edited by Vincent C. Hopkins. New York: The Gilmary Corporation, 1950.

[51] Frank H. Hankins, "Divorce," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, p. 177-78. Edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931.

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during the early years of marriage. Landis[52] emphasized this same point and pointed out that the median age of brides had lowered from 22 in 1890 to 20.3 in 1950 and the median age of bridegrooms had lowered from 26 in 1890 to 22.7 in 1950. Hankins[53] further stated that the movement toward urbanization was a factor and the trend toward professional life seemed to mean more divorces. He said that the divorce rate of farmers was below the national rate, that the rate of workers in manufacturing plants was at the national rate, and that the rate of professional persons was above the national rate. In addition, he claimed that the following contributed to the rapid rise of divorce:

1. Progress in science
2. Emancipation of women
3. Decline of patriarchial institutions
4. Rationalism that undermines religious beliefs and institutions imbued with the doctrine of inferiority of women
5. Decrease in the size of the family and the increase in the state as a superparent
6. Increase in leisure time
7. Increased opportunities for sex stimulation and experimentation
8. Lack of authority and increased discord regarding sex mores
9. Economic bonds within family weakened
10. Individualism and universal education that prevented the subordination of one personality by another.

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[52] Paul H. Landis, "Marriage and Divorce," The Americana Annual, p. 435. Edited by Lavinia P. Dudley and John J. Smith. New York: The Americana Corporation, 1950.

[53] Frank H. Hankins, op. cit., p. 180.

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The stated reasons for desiring a divorce vary with the legal grounds permitted in each state.[54] As a result, it is difficult to determine causes of divorce directly from an analysis of figures given in reports concerning divorce. However, many of the causes and the reasons given for divorce appear to be associated with the inability of two personalities to adjust under the strain of the changes taking place in our society. Since this is so, the National Conference on Family Life in 1948 suggested that divorce courts should follow the example of the juvenile courts by using psychiatrists and psychologists as consultants.[55] Hankins[56] stated that he felt that courses regarding marriage would be helpful in lessening divorce and that adult education and counseling after marriage would be helpful in many instances. He said, however, that the increase in tensions due to the military situation and industrial migration would probably cause a new rise in the divorce rate.

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[54] A. H. McDannald, Editor, "Divorce," The Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. IX, pp. 206-7. New York: Americana Corporation, 1947.

[55] Brendon F. Brown, op. cit., p. 5.

[56] Frank H. Hankins, op. cit., p. 181.

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Groves[57] claimed that it was only a matter of time until divorces would be granted on the grounds of mutual consent. In this case, he said, marriage would be bound by harmonious interpersonal relationships. Then, according to Groves, education directed at the development of better human relations would become an important factor in developing better understanding between husband and wife.

Changes in the status of women.--Closely related to the problem of divorce is the changing status of women. The change in the position of women in the organization and function of the family seemed to be one of the results of the industrial revolution. Durant[58] said:

> The "emancipation" of women was an incident of the Industrial Revolution. For, first, it brought the industrialization of women on a scale unknown and undreamed of before. They were cheaper labor than men; the employer preferred them as employees to their more costly and rebellious males. A century ago, in England, men found it hard to get work, but placards invited them to send their wives and children to the factory gate. Employers must think in terms of profits and dividends, and must not be distracted by the consideration of morals, institutions, or states. The men who unwittingly conspired to "destroy the homes" were the patriotic manufacturers of nineteenth-century England.

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[57] Ernest R. Groves, "Marriage and Divorce," Ten Eventful Years, Vol. III, pp. 102-3. Edited by Walter Yust. Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1947.

[58] Will Durant, The Mansions of Philosophy, pp. 196-197. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1929.

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Woody[59] claimed that the effects of the industrial revolution on the structure of families in the United States were not felt until after the Civil War. He said that this war resulted in the "unsettling of the usual relations of the sexes in the field of labor." First, the excess number of women over men made it necessary for women to seek gainful activity, since they were not to become housewives. In addition, tasks that, before the Civil War, had been carried on by women in their own homes were done in small shops and many women went to these shops to work at these tasks.

Between 1900 and 1950, the rise in the employment of women continued. In 1946, the faculty of Bryn Mawr College published a report in which this growth was analyzed.[60] The authors of this report stated that, in 1900, only 5.4 million women were employed. In 1944, the number had risen to almost 17 million of whom 1.5 million had children under ten years of age. This figure did not include the women serving in the armed forces where they held ranks as high as colonel. The authors of the study predicted that the number of women working in industry would exceed 20 million in 1950

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[59] Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States, Volume II, p. 3-8. New York: The Science Press, 1929.

[60] Bryn Mawr College, Women During the War and After, p. 3. Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania: The College, 1945.

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and that more than two million of these women would be mothers of children under ten years of age.

The struggle of women for more independence in determining their own roles can be viewed in terms of what is frequently called the feminist movement and the activities of those who were part of this movement. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the two major problems that occupied the attention of the feminists were the questions of coeducation and woman suffrage. Although Oberlin College in Ohio had admitted women on an equal basis with men in 1834,[61] struggle for coeducation continued to be an important issue throughout the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. The fight for woman suffrage began early in the nineteenth century and by 1869 it had become a national issue. From that date until 1919, when the Nineteenth Amendment was passed, a bill granting women the right to vote was introduced into every session of the United States Congress. Since this amendment gives women the right to vote, but does not give them equal rights, women have continued to agitate for additional amendments to the Constitution which would grant such rights. A bill called the "Legal Status of Women Bill" was introduced into

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[61] Robert S. Fletcher, A History of Oberlin College, Volume I, pp. 373-85. Oberlin: Oberlin College, 1943.

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the House of Representatives in 1947. It was returned to the committee in charge of such legislation, who in turn appointed a nine-member commission to study the matter in more detail.

As the feminist movement gathered momentum, its leaders were concerned more and more with social and moral issues, especially those affecting the home. One of the first of such problems attacked by the feminists was the question of intemperance. On December 24, 1873, the women of Hillsboro, Ohio, formed the Woman's Crusade for the purpose of fighting the evils of alcohol. Less than a year later, November 18, 1874, sixteen states sent delegates to Cleveland, Ohio and founded the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.[62]

The problems of prostitution and white slavery were also attacked by women's groups. During the last quarter of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries, women fought for positive methods to stamp out prostitution and white slavery. Several groups of women opposed such negative measures as the "Acts of Regulation", which they claimed were one sided because such acts did not treat both sexes equally.[63]

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[62] Henry W. Blair, The Temperance Movement, pp. 504-13, Boston: William E. Smythe Company, 1887.

[63] Supra, pp. 42-43.

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In the twentieth century, birth control became an important element in determining the function of women in the family. Birth control has resulted in many married women having the privilege of determining whether they want children or a career outside of the home. Das,[64] who took a very liberal position on the question of controlled parenthood, stated:

> Voluntary motherhood has been a great benefit to society in general and women in particular...It has given a woman a chance to enter into matrimony and at the same time to avoid maternity in case it interferes with her personal career.

According to Das,[65] the birth control movement began in England early in the nineteenth century and could be traced to the neo-Malthusian movement. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the birth-control movement developed in America, but it did not become wide spread until after the arrest of Margaret Sanger in 1914 for distributing a pamphlet on family limitation. In 1914 a national birth-control league was founded and in 1942 the Planned Parenthood Federation was formed. Both groups had the same objective, the education of adults regarding

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[64] Sonya Ruth Das, The American Woman in Modern Marriage, p. 13. New York: Philosophical Library, 1948.

[65] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

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reasons for family limitation and methods of controlling the number of children born in any family.

By the end of the first half of the twentieth century, women were exercising their right to determine their own destinies in a number of ways. For example, they were engaged in almost every kind of work. In 1949, about 22,000,000 women above the age of fourteen worked for pay or profit. This figure was above the number predicted in 1944 by the Bryn Mawr study reported earlier in this section of this study. The number of men above fourteen years of age working in 1949 was about 46,000,000.[66] Women also were serving in the various armed services and were receiving all the rights and privileges of male members of these services for similar duties and responsibilities.[67]

Changes in the family relationships of children and young people.--While the structure of the traditional family was becoming less stable and the position and function of women were changing in relation to the family, the relationship of children and adolescents to the family was also undergoing a change.

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[66] The World Almanac and Book of Facts, p. 429. New York: The New York World-Telegram and The Sun, 1951.

[67] Ibid., pp. 508-13.

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The changing role of children and adolescents in family life came gradually with the shift from an agrarian to an urban-industrial society.[68] Landis[69] attempted to show the difference between the child living in an agrarian society and one living in an urban-industrial culture. He said:

> In agrarian cultures...childhood is lengthened because the child constitutes a capital asset to the family. He is desired for his contributions to the labor of the household and the farm. Discipline is designed to mature him quickly into a useful member of the family groups. His obligation to the parent may even extend beyond death and be expressed in the form of ancestor worship.
>
> In the urban-industrial organization...the child is an entity in himself. The training period is long and is used in developing the child into a self-sufficient adult. At maturity he is to be an independent individual able to take his place entirely outside the family group. The parent loses all claim. Consequently, during adolescence and youth authority is reduced to a minimum, being maintained only with the view to escorting the child safely to the point where he will have an adult sense of judgment and responsibility and be able to choose his own course. Only in this kind of society is there an adolescent-youth period in the true sense.

Landis[70] tried to explain these differences in terms of the amount of participation in primary and secondary groups. Under the old agrarian system, the adolescent seldom

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[68] Paul H. Landis, Adolescence and Youth, p. 61. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945.

[69] Ibid., p. 61.

[70] Ibid., p. 63.

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got far from a primary group. This was the group which was relatively permanent and in which the individual had more or less face-to-face contact with others.[71] Landis said:

> Secondary groups introduce the youth for the first time to new liberties. In them there is a greater degree of immunity from criticism. It is easier to escape the consequences of acts that are condemned by the primary group. It is in the secondary group, therefore, that the youth first faces moral responsibility in its true sense. He is able to choose a course of conduct, rather than continue to follow in the groove with the primary group. He is able to do this because he has no established reputation in the secondary group.
>
> It is therefore through secondary-group experiences that the adolescent and youth have an opportunity to take the first step toward moral maturity. The dangers of this transition depend in considerable part on the extent to which the adolescent has been allowed some freedom of choice within the primary group itself and the suddenness with which he was thrust outside.

Young people living in 1950 were able to move about more easily, faster, and further than young people living at the turn of the century. The former were permitted to make more of their own choices regarding their own affairs. On the other hand, young men found it more difficult in 1950 than in 1900 to secure employment in order to finance their decisions.

There are at least three ways in which the mobility of young people in 1950 differed from the mobility of young

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[71] Ibid., p. 66.

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people in 1900. These must be recognized when considering the problems of adolescents in present-day society. One is "immediate" mobility, or the moving about quickly from place to place by modern transportation. Another type of mobility consists of movement from rural to urban areas. Still another is the struggle to move to a higher cultural level.

Children and adolescents living in 1950 had more freedom than those living in 1900 in the direction of their own activities. Some of the decisions that these children and adolescents made during the latter part of this fifty year period frequently resulted in delinquency which, according to Lindsey and Evans,[72] represented a revolt against tradition. This revolt of youth against tradition was further illustrated by Dell[73] who, in 1930, contrasted adolescents living in that year with adolescents living in 1880 in terms of the increased freedom of choice in matters of personal conduct which the former possessed. Dell said that in 1880 a daughter could not refuse to give up her aspirations in order to take care of her parents. In 1930, he said, such a refusal would not have been unnatural. He stated that in

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[72] Ben B. Lindsey and Wainwright Evans, The Revolt of Modern Youth. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925.

[73] Floyd Dell, Love in the Machine Age, p. 103. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1930.

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1880 frequently parents permitted a daughter to marry only if she continued to live with them. In 1930, he claimed the daughter had several choices. She might leave home and set up her own home, elope, or marry secretly.

During the second quarter of the twentieth century, there was some tendency on the part of the leaders of children and adolescents to urge the guidance of children and young people in their choice of activities within the limits of their freedom. Baruch,[74] in a pamphlet published in 1949, seemed to stress several points regarding freedom of choice by the child. Throughout the pamphlet she implied that the child should be given freedom according to his ability to handle it, that the child should be taught his limitations, and that, whenever the child had difficulty in working freely within these limits, it was the function of the adult to study the reasons for this inability to adjust and to help the child overcome these difficulties through guidance and not through authoritarian demands. This approach is very similar to the position taken by a number of child psychiatrists. Krug-Brady,[75] a child psychiatrist,

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[74] Dorothy W. Baruch, How to Discipline Your Children, pp. 1-30. New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1949.

[75] Othilda Krug-Brady, "Emotional Security for Children," Cincinnati Journal of Medicine, 29 (August, 1948), 427-31.

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suggested that such choice is best where the child feels secure because his parents love him, because they permit more choices as he matures, and because they also set limits within which he can exercise his choice of behavior.

Although adolescents were gaining more rights of personal choice, they were becoming less free economically to make such choices. Many social forces were at work excluding youth from earning a living. The American Council on Education[76] pointed out that these forces had been developing for many years. Among the social forces discussed in this connection by the Council were:

1. The shift from an agricultural to an industrial economy.

2. The long battle for child labor laws coupled with longer periods of compulsory education.

3. The growth of labor unions with their adherence to seniority rights.

4. The continuous replacement of men by machinery in modern industry.

Although it was stated earlier in this section that the problems faced by youth were the result of many decades

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[76] American Council on Education, Youth and the Future, pp. 3-27. Washington, D. C.: The Council, 1942.

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of social changes, Melvin[77] stated that these various trends "flowed together during the 1920's." Morris[78] claimed that the peak of the revolt against sexual taboos was reached during the period between the end of World War I and the depression.

From 1929 to 1950, however, there were many socio-economic forces which affected the adjustment of young people. Between 1929 and 1941, the years of the depression, many adolescents had to leave home because their parents could not support them. Some were absorbed by government agencies such as the Civilian Conservation Corps. Others became tramps.[79] Sex adjustment was a problem for those who remained at home as well as for those who did not. Those who remained at home either had to put off marriage until they were financially prepared, thus preventing the use of normal outlets for the sexual drive, or they did marry and lived with their elders. Frequently, these arrangements were

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[77] Bruce L. Melvin, Youth-Millions too Many? p. 29. New York: Association Press, 1940.

[78] Richard B. Morris, "Sex Relations," Dictionary of American History, Vol. V, pp. 61-2. Edited by James Truslow Adams. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940.

[79] Thomas Minehan, Boy and Girl Tramps of America. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1934.

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very unsatisfactory.[80]

Between 1941 and 1950, World War II and the "cold wars" added to the insecurity of adolescents. During this period "Zoot suiters" and "victory girls" were given considerable newspaper publicity.[81]

Significance of changes in the organization and function of the family for sex education.--Parallels between the changes in the structure and the function of the family and the changing function of sex education in the public schools are many. While cause and effect relationships cannot be clearly shown, it is helpful to look at some of the possible influences of the decreasing stability of the family, the evolving position of women in the home, and the changing status of children and adolescents.

As the home became less stable and no longer performed the functions that it formerly did in orienting and instructing children and adolescents for their sex roles, parents and educators began to realize that the schools would have to supply some of this guidance. In many homes before the end of the nineteenth century, children and

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[80] Homer P. Rainey and Others, How Fare American Youth? pp. 141-43. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937.

[81] Ralph S. Banay, Youth in Despair, p. 31. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1948.

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adolescents learned through association the many aspects of home-making, child care, and the responsibilities of each member of the family for the others. During the twentieth century opportunities for such associations became increasingly less. At the same time, schools began to give more aid to children in attaining appreciation of the function of the family and of the values of family co-operation through such means as literature for children and courses in home economics, industrial arts, marriage, the family, and child care for adolescents.

Another aspect of the instability of the family had been the divorce rate. This seems to have had a bearing on sex education in at least two ways. First a large number of articles have contained suggestions that, if children and adolescents were given adequate sex education, divorce would become less frequent in the future. Such education was not only to consist of instruction regarding the anatomy and physiology of sex but it was also to include help in the development of values and guidance in development of personal adjustment and interpersonal relationships. Almost all of the ideas discussed in Chapter IV have been mentioned in connection with the reduction of divorce. Second, numerous articles have been devoted to the problem of dealing with children of divorced parents. Many of these children have personality problems. They are often rejected or have

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divided loyalties.[82] Frequently, they need help in developing wholesome heterosexual relationships, in understanding the significance of marriage and family life, and in appreciating the real contribution that each sex makes to the organization and function of the family. Since it is very difficult for children of disorganized families to secure education in these matters at home, it suggests that perhaps the schools have a responsibility to furnish such help to these children and adolescents.

The evolving status of women in America appears to have had considerable influence upon sex education in the public schools. As women gained more freedom and had more voice in social affairs they became more interested in reform movements. Among such reform movements were those concerned with the reduction of vice, especially prostitution. Through the activities of women in these reform movements, programs of sex education were developed which were aimed at the reduction of prostitution and the venereal disease rate with which it appeared to be closely related. Women, individually and in groups, urged the development of education aimed at helping the child become better adjusted - socially, emotionally, physically, and mentally. In such

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[82] Ernest R. Groves, The Family and Its Functions, pp. 424-32. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1940.

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education, an understanding of the place and function of sex was not to be neglected. Concern with the problems of family adjustment has been a strong motive for adult education which included parental education in which child study was important. In such study, the sex needs of the growing child were frequently considered. As the educational level of women improved, there was a noticeable increase in the number of them who contributed leadership to sex education through the writings and speeches of individuals, the activities and publications of women's organizations, and the policies and editorials of women's journals.

The spread of birth control information appeared to be a factor in sex education. Such information made it possible for married women to determine when they wanted to give up their careers or activities outside of the home and when they wanted to bear children. The possibility of making such decisions appeared to be a possible factor in determining the function of women in the family. Whether or not the control of conception is beneficial either to the individual family or to society remains a question that is beyond the scope of the present investigation. Another problem, and perhaps a more important one as far as the schools are concerned, that rose out of the distribution of information regarding controlled conception is the lifting of a barrier to sexual promiscuity on the part of adolescents.

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As information regarding contraception became more widespread, attempts to teach certain patterns of sexual behavior by warning young people of the possibilities of unwanted pregnancies became less effective. Other reasons for developing socially acceptable patterns of sexual behavior had to be emphasized by the schools. Such objectives as the improvement of ethical understanding on matters pertaining to sex, the development of wholesome and well-adjusted personalities, and the betterment of interpersonal relationships became increasingly important in programs of sex education promoted by the public schools.

The changing status of children and adolescents seemed to have an effect on sex education in the public schools. As children and adolescents were given increasing amounts of freedom in the decisions regarding their own behavior, it appeared as if they were too frequently making incorrect choices which resulted in an increase in juvenile delinquency. Some writers began to express opinions that children and young people made many of their errors because they lacked adequate and accurate information regarding the possible outcomes of different behavior patterns and because they had failed to develop sound attitudes regarding the desirability of certain kinds of conduct. Other writers pointed out that many problems of children and young people arose because they were unprepared to make the adjustments

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necessary due to changing social conditions such as the depression and Second World War. Young people, themselves, were very often aware of a need for assistance in this area and sought help in solving some of their problems of heterosexual adjustment, especially those brought about by unsettled socio-economic conditions and by unpredictable military activities.

The public schools attempted to help young people with some of these problems. The schools developed recreation programs in which both sexes could participate in an effort to develop wholesome and socially acceptable relationships between the sexes. Conferences were set up where young people could talk over their problems in an effort to find answers. Guidance programs were developed in an effort to give children and young people adults to whom they might turn for counsel. Courses were offered in which sex facts were learned, in which ethical values in certain behavior were analyzed, in which ways of developing acceptable personalities were described, and in which techniques of making adjustments with other personalities were studied.

Changes in the Development and Understanding of Science and Their Significance for Sex Education

Compton,[83] in an address at the Massachusetts

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[83] Karl Compton, "State of Science," Mid-Century: The Social Implications of Scientific Progress, p. 26. Edited by John Ely Burchard. New York: The Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1950.

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Institute of Technology, during the "Mid-Century Convocation on the Social Implications of Scientific Progress," stated that one of the great lessons of science emphasized during the first half of the twentieth century was the:

> ...increasing extent to which a basic advance in theory or technique in one branch of science is likely to provide new concepts, or new tools, which can open up new frontiers for exploration and expdoitation in other fields of science and art.

Sex education does not appear to be an exception. Its development in the public schools was influenced to a large extent by the discoveries in some of the sciences. The tremendous growth in sex education during the last fifty years can probably be attributed, in no small measure, to the growth in "cultural skills...intellectual achievements, and the social gains" made during that period.[84]

In this section, evolution, medicine, and mental hygiene are discussed. These areas are not mutually exclusive, but seem to complement each other. All of them are significant in the development of sex education.

Changes in theories of evolution.--In the eighteenth century, Lord Monboddo, a Scottish Judge and anthropologist, became the laughing stock of his contemporaries when he stated a theory of evolution quite similar to that stated by

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[84] Ibid., pp. ix.

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Darwin in 1859.[85] In that year, Darwin published Origin of Species, which set forth his ideas of evolution.[86] Looking back over the first half of the twentieth century, Burchard[87] claimed that this book had given a tremendous impetus to biological sciences during these fifty years. The theory expressed in this book caused many biologists, and through them many of the general public, to abandon the former belief in the immutability of species, and to accept the view that all different kinds of animals have been developed by variation out of a common ancestry.[88]

According to some writers, social conditions apparently were right during the second half of the nineteenth century for the development of the doctrine of evolution. Russell,[89] a liberal writer in England, discussed this theory

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[85] Bertrand Russell, A History of Western Philosophy, p. 624. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945.

[86] Charles Darwin, On the Origin of Species. London: Down, Beckenham and Kent, 1859.

[87] John Ely Burchard, "State of Science," Mid-Century: The Social Implications of Scientific Progress, p. 21. Edited by John Ely Burchard. New York: The Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1950.

[88] Bertrand Russell, The Scientific Outlook, p. 42. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1931.

[89] Bertrand Russell, A History of Western Philosophy, pp. 725-26. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945.

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in terms of what he thought were the reasons it was accepted by so many people during the last half of the nineteenth century. According to Russell:

> Darwin's theory had two parts. On the one hand, there was the doctrine of evolution, which maintained that the different forms of life had developed gradually from a common ancestry. This doctrine, which is now generally accepted, was not new. It had been maintained by Lamarck and by Darwin's grandfather, Erasmus, not to mention Anaximander. Darwin supplied an immense mass of evidence for the doctrine, and in the second part of his theory believed himself to have discovered the cause of evolution. He thus gave to the doctrine a popularity and a scientific force which it had not previously possessed, but he by no means originated it.
>
> The second part of Darwin's theory was the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. All animals and plants multiply faster than nature can provide for them; therefore in each generation many perish before the age for reproducing themselves. What determines which will survive? To some extent, no doubt, sheer luck, but there is another cause of more importance. Animals and plants are, as a rule, not exactly like their parents, but differ slightly by excess or defect in every measurable characteristic. In a given environment, members of the same species compete for survival, and those best adapted to the environment have the best chance.
>
> This part of Darwin's theory has been disputed, and is regarded by most biologists as subject to many important qualifications. From the historical point of view, what is interesting is Darwin's extension to the whole of life of the economics that characterized the philosophical radicals. The motive force of evolution, according to him, is a kind of biological economics in a world of free competition. It was Malthus's doctrine of population extended to the world of animals and plants, that suggested to Darwin the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest as the source of evolution.

The theory of evolution created many problems in the field of theology and raised questions regarding certain of the fundamental tenets of many religious groups. This

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problem is discussed later in this chapter.[90] In 1913, Myers[91] said:

> This theory has been...a powerful dissolvent of a large part of the body of medieval theology and hence of that part of morality dependent upon this system of thought.

Another area of human thought concerned with the development of the race is eugenics. It differs from evolution in that eugenics is concerned with where the race is going rather than with where it has come from. However, students in each of these fields were helped by students in the others. In 1936, Garbedian[92] wrote:

> The story of evolution, biologists are finding out with ever increasing certitude, may be unraveled in the gripping tale of how characteristics and variations are handed down from one generation to another.

Although ideas of racial improvement are very old, the present ideas of eugenics stem from the work of such men as Galton and Pearson, who studied the problems by making continuous measurements of human beings and noting the differences from one generation to the next. In order to

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[90] Infra., p. 446.

[91] Philip Van Ness Myers, History As Past Ethics, pp. 342. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1913.

[92] H. Gordon Garbedian, The March of Science, p. 116. New York: Covici-Friede, 1936.

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carry out this work, known as biometry, they had to develop and refine statistics. These men did their work during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the early years of the twentieth century, the research of Mendel on heredity was available for workers in this field. Galton in 1883 defined the work of this group as not being primarily concerned with judicious mating, but as including everything that helps to improve the race. This eventually was interpreted to include rights for mothers, care of infants, character development, education for parenthood, and the development of sound discipline.[93]

The theory of evolution contributed to many fields where an understanding of individual differences is important. The principle of individual differences is fundamental in the work of mental hygienists and school counselors. In 1950, Brubacher[94] claimed that the contributions the theory of evolution had made to the recognition of the importance of individual differences were among the most important aspects of the work of Darwin. He said:

One of the chief channels through which an emergent evolution works is that of individual differences. Both

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[93] Caleb Williams Saleeby, The Progress of Eugenics, p. 88. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1914.

[94] John S. Brubacher, Modern Philosophies of Education, p. 299. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950.

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biological and social reproduction always occurs with variations. Each variation, each species, however, is not necessarily a new genus. Yet, on the other hand, neither does subsuming the species under a genus exhaust the unique individuality of the species. Its individuality is still incomparably precious. Without it, there could be no progress at all. Consequently, the stress laid by progressive education on a cultivation of individual differences of pupils is easily understood. Their development is not only indispensible to self-realization but of inestimable value as a social resource.

Many of the contributions of the theory of evolution were made through its affect on other disciplines. The influence of Darwinism in science, religion, eugenics, mental hygiene, and counseling has been discussed. Many other disciplines have likewise been affected by this theory.

Changes in medicine.--Henderson,[95] as editor of the eighth yearbook of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education, gave the medical profession full credit for starting sex education. He stated:

> The entire movement of recent years started with the medical profession, because physicians were alarmed at the horrible consequences of venereal disease, at the physical miseries which spring from prostitution, and especially the suffering of good women.

The changes in medicine have been many, especially during the years considered in this investigation. During the nineteenth century, medicine had risen from an atmosphere of quackery and superstitions to become firmly established as a science.

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[95] Charles R. Henderson, Education With Reference to Sex, p. 9. The Eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909.

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For generations the medical profession has been concerned with venereal disease. Becker,[96] Associate Professor of Dermatology and Syphilology at the University of Chicago, claimed that this concern dated back to 1493, when, some historians claim, syphilis was introduced into Spain from America. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century, however, that the medical profession knew enough about the cause of the disease to give any positive leadership.

Medical progress in the diagnosis and treatment of venereal diseases was very slow. For several centuries, syphilis was considered a disease of the blood. It was not until the later years of the eighteenth century that Metchnikoff discovered the important functions of the white blood cells. It was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that sufficient information was available about the blood for Wassermann to develop a blood test for determining whether or not a person actually was infected with syphilis. It was also during the first decade of the twentieth century that Ehrlich discovered a chemical treatment for this disease.

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[96] S. William Becker, Ten Million Americans Have It, p. 31. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937.

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During the twentieth century, medical research produced a number of chemical compounds and other kinds of medicines for the treatment of diseases. Many of these have been used with varying degrees of success in the treatment of venereal diseases. In the nineteen-thirties, "sulpha drugs" were discovered. In the nineteen-forties, antibiotics, substances that originate from living organisms, such as molds, and are antagonistic to bacteria, were discovered. Although these usually do not kill microorganisms, they do prevent their growth and reproduction.[97] Penicillin, streptomycin, and auremycin have been used in treating cases of venereal infection.

The knowledge of the properties of the blood has increased during the first half of the twentieth century. Such knowledge has contributed to our understanding of a number of problems of sexual adjustment. For example, Landsteiner's discovery of blood groups has given us additional information regarding heredity.

Another area of medical research, endocrinology, has revealed that the lack or over abundance of certain hormones causes many pathologic conditions. The male and female hormones have been isolated and they have been used to treat

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[97] Beatrice Van Rosen, "History of Medicine," Collier's Encyclopedia, Volume XIII, p. 359. Edited by Charles P. Barry and Others. New York: P. F. Collier and Son Corporation, 1950.

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certain problems of sexual development.

The medical profession also has attempted to control venereal diseases by giving leadership to social improvement,[98] by aiding in the development of groups such as the social hygiene societies,[99] and by giving lectures to school children.[100]

Changes in mental hygiene.--During the first half of the twentieth century, there were many changes in mental hygiene. The shift was primarily from emphasis on therapy to an interest in prevention of maladjustment.

Attempts at the humane treatment of the mentally ill began about two centuries ago. Grotjahn and Gabe,[101] in discussing the history of psychotherapy, said:

> The spirit of the eighteenth century that produced American Independence and the French Revolution, also asserted itself in the realm of the treatment of the insane.

The earlier attitude of the people toward the treatment of the insane is seen in a paragraph that appeared in

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[98] Supra, p. 43.

[99] Supra, p. 51.

[100] Supra, p. 53.

[101] Martin Grotjahn and Sigmund Gabe, "Psychotherapy-Outline of Its History and Present Situation," Modern Abnormal Psychology, p. 31. Edited by W. H. Mikesell. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950.

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the New York Nation in 1908.[102] An excerpt from this article is as follows:

> To spend a merry afternoon at the madhouse watching the antics of the maniacs in their chains seemed natural and reasonable to civilized Englishmen not so many generations ago. It has become absolutely unthinkable.

Several men exerted great efforts during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to bring about better conditions in the treatment of the insane. Such men as Pinel in France and Tuke in England tried to better conditions within mental institutions. In the nineteenth century Kraeplin, Charcot, Janet, and others tried to classify and treat various kinds of mental disorders.

In the twentieth century, however, there was an increasing popular interest shown in problems of mental maladjustment. Freud reported his hypotheses during the first decade of this century, and Beers stimulated the development of the mental hygiene movement, which was to enlist the aid of laymen as well as professional people.

Freud reported his discoveries about the unconscious, the sexual etiology of neuroses, and the existence of infantile sexuality between 1896 and 1906.[103] American

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[102] "Amusement at the Abnormal," The New York Nation, 86 (March 19, 1908), 254.

[103] Martin Grotjahn and Sigmund Gabe, op. cit., p. 40.

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psychiatry, however, did not accept psychoanalysis, to any extent, until after World War I. Whitehorn[104] said:

> To most American psychiatrists psychoanalysis remained a topic for cloak-room wise cracks or parlor discussions and did not markedly influence the course of research until the postwar period.

Whitehorn's statement does suggest a rather important contribution of psychoanalysis to the understanding of human behavior. The so-called cloak-room and parlor discussions brought many behavior problems out into the open and gave lay people as well as physicians a vocabulary with which to describe many kinds of adjustment problems, including those in which sex was a factor.

After World War I, there was an increased interest in personality on the part of psychiatrists. Campbell[105] said:

> The problem of the psychiatrist was no longer to identify a clinical picture but to get to grips with the actual dynamic situation and to reconstruct in detail the life history, with attention to the sensitizing or conditioning influence of environmental factors and with due appreciation of the nature of emotional disturbances, of substitutive and evasive reactions, of symbolic expressions, of the various modes of getting satisfaction for the complicated needs of the individual.

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[104] John C. Whitehorn, "A Century of Psychiatric Research in America," One Hundred Years of American Psychiatry, p. 174. Edited by J. K. Hall and Others. New York: The American Psychiatric Association by Columbia University, 1944.

[105] Charles Macfie Campbell, Destiny and Disease in Mental Disorders, pp. 33-37. New York: W. W. Norton Company, 1935.

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The knowledge of the personality derived from the clinic was valid for the personality in all human relations, psychiatry stepped outside the clinic to survey the field of human relations in general.

It was after World War I that there was a union of psychoanalysis and the mental hygiene movement on a project significant both to them and to sex education. It was at that time that there was an increasing interest in child guidance clinics. Although some clinics had been established before this time, the name and the activities now associated with the clinics were not attached to this project until 1922.[106]

Stevenson and Smith described the work that the child guidance clinic attempted to accomplish. They said:[107]

> The child guidance clinic has attempted to make "a modest and specific contribution" to the welfare of children by studying and treating patients, by seeking to interest other community agencies in the prevention of behavior and personality disorders in children, and by attempting to reveal to the community, through the first-hand study of individual children, the unmet needs of groups of children. In its correlating of certain resources for the care of children handicapped in personality or behavior, the child guidance clinic represents an effort toward bridging "the gap between a period when delinquency, dependency, and mental disease were attacked single-handed

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[106] Henry A. Bunker, "Psychiatry as a Specialty," One Hundred Years of American Psychiatry, p. 497. Edited by J. K. Hall and Others. New York: The American Psychiatric Association by Columbia University Press, 1944.

[107] George S. Stevenson and Geddes Smith, Child Guidance Clinics; A Quarter Century of Development, p. 155. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1934.

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by separate professional groups, and a future in which mental health may be as well guarded at danger points by an integrated social program as physical health begins to be." The major postulate of the child guidance clinic movement is that behavior problems in childhood arise from a variety of causes and demand a variety of techniques for their solution.

Whereas the humanitarian approach to the treatment of the insane began about the same time that men were seeking freedom from despotic governments, the mental health movement began at the turn of the twentieth century when there was much activity around problems of medical and social welfare. Deutsch[108] described this situation as follows:

> The turn of the present century was a propitious time for the launching of health and humanitarian movements. There were great stirrings in the worlds of medicine and social welfare. The revolutionary progress in preventive medicine during the few brief decades following Pasteur's formulation of the germ theory of disease had created a wave of tremendous optimism. As dread scourges were one after another brought under control in the western world, unlimited horizons seemed to open up in the field of preventive medicine. If one disease could be conquered through the sudden and dramatic discovery of its cause, why not another? Why not all, including the most baffling of all human ailments, mental disease?
>
> The period was, at the same time, the golden age of social reform. Young men burning with the desire for a better America were traveling through the length and breadth of the land, exposing to the light of day the evils and abuses, the injustices and inhumanities, that characterized many American institutions.

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108 Albert Deutsch, "History of Mental Hygiene," One Hundred Years of American Psychiatry, p. 355. Edited by J. K. Hall and Others. New York: The American Psychiatric Association by Columbia University Press, 1944.

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There were movements for abolishing slums, for decent housing for the poor, against evils of child labor and unsanitary factory conditions, for improved wages and hours for working people, against political corruption in municipal government, for better protection of infant and maternal health, for the fuller utilization of known public health principles to build a sturdier, happier nation. More significant is the fact that, more and more, these trends found organized expression.

It was in this favored climate that the mental hygiene movement was founded.

In 1900, Clifford Beers was committed to a mental hospital. He was subjected to gross brutalities and countless humiliations at the hands of inhuman attendants and indifferent medical officers. He decided to do something about these indignities. He was deeply impressed with the role that the book Uncle Tom's Cabin[109] had played in the antislavery movement. He decided to write a book of his own experiences with the hope that it would be a springboard for a movement aimed at bettering conditions in mental institutions. As a result, A Mind That Found Itself[110] was published in 1908.

In terms of Beers' objective, the book was a success. The Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene was

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[109] Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901.

[110] Clifford W. Beers, A Mind That Found Itself. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1908.

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founded in New Haven in May, 1908. On February 19, 1909, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene was formed in New York City.[111]

During and after World War I, there was a trend to unite social work and mental hygiene. Deutsch[112] stated:

> World War I gave a great impetus to the mental hygiene movement. It dramatized the need for a positive program of mental health...The War also focussed attention on the relationship between psychiatry and various fields dealing with matters of social maladjustment.
>
> In no other field was the impact of the mental hygiene movement felt as strongly as in social work. Factors operating during and after World War I brought to a climax the trend toward convergence of mental hygiene and social work that had been in motion for many decades.
>
> The founding of the mental hygiene movement by Clifford Beers greatly accelerated the trend toward convergence of mental hygiene and social work. Social workers were prominently identified with the movement from the start.

After World War I and during the nineteen-twenties, there was a rise in popular interest in mental hygiene. Part of this interest probably came as a result of the increasing number of mental health clinics that were developing throughout the country. Another factor contributing to greater popular interest was the rise of mental hygiene societies.

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[111] Albert Deutsch, op. cit., p. 359.

[112] Ibid., p. 361.

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By 1944, according to Deutsch,[113] the number of these societies had increased to seventy-eight in thirty-two states.

Two major problems arose during the second quarter of the twentieth century to make for increased difficulty in maintaining mental health - the depression and World War II. During the depression, the mental hygiene program provided social agencies with many valuable hints on handling personal and family problems. It was during this period that family-life-adjustment as well as personal-adjustment phases of sex education were developed with increasing vigor.

During and following World War II, the mental hygienists made several contributions to the war effort and the readjustment program. One of the fields of utility, as defined by Deutsch,[114] was the "maintenance and strengthening of morale." Much of this problem of morale was related to the problem of sexual adjustment.

Significance of changes in the development and understanding of science for sex education.--The sex education movement was influenced in its development by

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[113] Ibid., p. 364.

[114] Ibid., p. 364.

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discoveries made in the biological sciences. One of the most important factors in the growth of the sex education movement was the doctrine of evolution. For the most part, the effect of this doctrine was felt through its bearing on other theories, sciences, and disciplines dealing more directly with sex instruction. One of the vehicles used to carry the content of sex education was biological science; evolution was important in changing courses in this science from comparative and descriptive to developmental. Evolution was important in the theories of eugenicists whose purpose in advocating sex education was to preserve and improve the race. Statistics developed in eugenics were important tools in reporting the vice conditions at the beginning of the century, which in turn stimulated the formation of programs for venereal disease control. The theory of evolution contributed to the thinking about individual differences which was reflected in more opportunities to help children and adolescents with their own sexual adjustment problems through guidance and counseling. Of inestimable value in the launching of sex education programs at the beginning of the century were the writings of G. Stanley Hall, who believed in teaching the proper sex facts at different ages. He based his ideas regarding when these ages should occur on a child development theory based on the doctrine of evolution.

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Sex education was influenced also by the discoveries in medicine and the work of members of the medical profession. Research conducted early in the twentieth century which led to isolating causes of venereal infection resulted in reports which in turn were used as source material in early sex education programs. Other studies showing the prevalence of these diseases were used for the same purpose. Treatments for venereal infection were discovered and ,as they became known to the general public, there was a decline in the influence of the kind of sex education in which the source of motivation was fear of these diseases.

Members of the medical profession gave leadership to the formation of social hygiene societies and anti-vice campaigns. In school districts where lectures on phases of sex and reproduction constitute the offerings of the schools, physicians have contributed their services as lecturers. As the emphasis shifted from the pathological sexual conditions to the adjustment problems of the individual, the medical profession as such became progressively less important in sex education.

On the other hand, as adjustment problems became more important, so did mental hygiene. At first, through psychoanalysis, the pathological aspects were stressed, but at the same time the popularizing of this branch of

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psychiatry gave the public an interest in adjustment problems and a language with which to discuss them, especially those with a sexual component. The interest of many lay groups was turned toward a program which would help the child and adolescent make wholesome adjustments. The approach of the mental hygienists, including the techniques of guidance, was used by many people in programs of sex education. Toward the end of the fifty years studied, group techniques were used in some schools to help young people understand that others have problems that are similar to theirs, especially in areas of sexual maturity. Such group techniques contributed to both personal and social adjustment.

Changes in Freedom and Character of Expression and Their Significance for Sex Education

During the first half of the twentieth century, there were efforts to decrease the censorship imposed on literature and other materials. Throughout history, there have been many bans on written material. There is definite evidence that such censorship was imposed on some books more than sixteen hundred years ago.[115]

Between 1900 and 1950, efforts to increase freedom

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[115] Frances S. Betten, The Roman Index of Forbidden Books Briefly Explained, p. 8. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1932.

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of expression resulted in a continuous fight between two forces. On the one hand, there were those who felt that it was their duty to protect other people by imposing bans on what they read. On the other hand, there were those who felt that people should be their own judges of written material. The debates were intense, frequently ending in the courts for their decision.

Although many kinds of censorship were imposed during the years considered in this investigation and although many kinds of efforts were exerted to gain freedom of speech, their inclusion in this study is impractical and is not attempted. A report of the struggle to obtain the freedom to write and exhibit materials that contain references to sex is sufficient to illustrate the efforts exerted against censorship. First, changes in censorship of literature and art in general are discussed. This is followed by a description of changes in censorship in sex education literature.

Changes in censorship of literature and art in general.--Some of the earliest censorship of written material was imposed by the churches. Both the Roman Catholic Church and protestant groups banned literature. According to Betten,[116] the Roman Catholic Church banned Arius's book

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[116] Ibid., pp. 7-10.

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Thalia as heresy in the year 325 A.D. It was not until after 1520 A.D., however, that this church began to issue statements forbidding the circulation of books. About the same time, 1526 A.D., Henry VIII, the titular head of the English protestant church, began to issue decrees against the publication of books that he deemed objectionable.

In the United States the censorship of materials bearing on sex and reproduction grew rapidly after the Civil War. Much of the activity in this area can be attributed to the influence of Anthony Comstock. He worked in this area as a special postal inspector from 1873 until the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century.

The Comstock prosecutions were to evolve in the courts a definition of obscenity which was used to secure convictions in many cases. This definition stated that anything was obscene if it had a tendency to suggest impure and libidinous thoughts to the young and inexperienced.[117]

Under this ruling, Comstock made several prosecutions of people possessing literature and other materials in which the contents were sexual. In 1872, he arrested George F. Train for sending obscene material through the

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[117] Heywood Broun and Margaret Leech, Anthony Comstock, p. 87. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1927.

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mails.[118] The material consisted of quotations from the Bible. John B. Wise was arrested and fined for a similar offense in 1895. In 1899, a candy-dealer was ordered by Comstock to remove from his store window a reproduction of Han Makart's "The Triumph of Charles the Fifth." Charles is represented as riding into Antwerp, and the horses are being led by nude boys.[119]

The power of Comstock can be ascertained from the fact that the American Medical Association in 1899 refused to print a speech given by a Dr. Lewis on the technical aspects of gynecology, because they feared that they would be prosecuted for sending obscene literature through the mails.[120]

After 1900, Comstock continued his active crusade to ban certain materials. This action included, among others, the seizure of pictures and manuscripts collected on an exploration trip made in China for Columbia University.[121]

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[118] Theodore Schroeder, "Obscene" Literature and Constitutional Law, p. 65. New York: Privately Printed, 1911.

[119] Ibid., p. 49.

[120] Ibid., p. 52.

[121] Heywood Braun and Margaret Leech, op. cit., p. 72.

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After the death of Anthony Comstock in 1915, leadership in the movement to suppress "obscene" literature passed to John Sumner, secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice.

Sumner ran into his first difficulty in 1916, when he arrested a bookseller named Halsey for retailing Gautier's Mademoiselle de Maupin.[122] The magistrate of one of the courts dismissed the complaint. Another permitted the trial to be held, but Halsey was acquitted. He then sued the Vice Society for malicious prosecution. The case was carried to the highest court in the State of New York in 1922. The court upheld Halsey, and the Vice Society was made to pay Halsey $2500 and interest.[123] Although this established the precedent that classics were not to be judged by standards applicable to ordinary works, sex education literature was not to receive such consideration for some time.

In 1929, Sumner attempted to prove that Radclyffe Hall's The Well of Loneliness[124] was obscene, because it

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[122] Theophile Gautier, Mademoiselle de Maupin. Chicago: Laird and Lee, 1890.

[123] Morris L. Ernst and Alexander Lindey, The Censor Marches On, pp. 3-4. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1940.

[124] Radclyffe Hall, The Well of Loneliness. New York: Covici-Friede, 1928.

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contained the theme of Lesbianism. The magistrate convicted the publishers, Covidi-Friede, but a higher court reversed the decision and exonerated the book and the publishers.[125]

In 1933, Sumner brought criminal proceedings against Erskine Caldwell's God's Little Acre.[126] The book was taken to court because it contained references to certain sexual practices. Magistrate Greenspun,[127] who heard the case, said:

> This is not a book where vice and lewdness are treated as virtues, or which would tend to incite lustful desires in the normal mind. There is no way of anticipating its effect upon a disordered or diseased mind, and if the courts were to exclude books from sale merely because they might incite lust to disordered minds, our entire literature would very likely be reduced to a relatively small number of uninteresting and barren books. The greater part of the classics would certainly be excluded. Those who see ugliness and not the beauty in a piece of work are unable to see the forest for the trees.

After succeeding Comstock, Sumner tried a new approach to censorship. He began to urge publishers not to

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[125] Morris L. Ernst and Alexander Lindey, op. cit., p. 7.

[126] Erskine Caldwell, God's Little Acre. New York: The Viking Press, 1933.

[127] Morris L. Ernst and Alexander Lindey, op. cit., p. 17.

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print certain materials. He would tell the publisher that he was going to prosecute because he thought the material was objectionable. He pointed out the high costs of court trials. He further emphasized the chances that one ran of being convicted and sentenced to jail or to pay a large fine.

Many books were thus kept from publication. It was easier to avoid trouble by not printing the books questioned than to fight for the right of publishing them. When Sumner moved against The Well of Loneliness, mentioned in an earlier paragraph, this technique was employed. The publishers, Covici-Friede, defied him and won out in court.[128]

Changes in censorship in sex education literature.-- Sex education literature as well as literature in general was banned by Comstock and his followers. For example, in 1897, the book, Almost Fourteen, which had been written by a school principal named Warren[129] in 1892, was condemned by the "Comstockery" group. This book was an attempt to give "facts of life" to young adolescents. It had been approved by prominent ministers including the Reverend L. A. Pope, then pastor of the Baptist Church of Newburyport,

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[128] Ibid., p. 244.

[129] Theodore Schroeder, op. cit., p. 63.

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Massachusetts. The pressure of the censors was great enough not only to stop the publication of this book but also to cause Warren to lose his position. The moral reform leader, Mrs. Carrie Nation,[130] wrote advice for young boys in her paper and was arrested in Oklahoma City in 1906 and charged with sending obscene matter through the mails. The case was never brought to court.

An important case involving sex education literature was brought to judicial authorities in 1928 when Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett was arrested for sending obscene literature through the United States mails. In 1916, she had written a short article on elementary sex information for her adolescent sons. Later the material was published in the Medical Review of Reviews. At the suggestion of the editors of this journal, Mrs. Dennett published the material in pamphlet form. This pamphlet contained detailed charts of male and female sex organs. The publication was approved by many religious and social organizations including the Y.M.C.A.[131]

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[130] Ibid., p. 64.

[131] Mary Ware Dennett, The Sex Side of Life: An Explanation for Young People, Tenth Edition. Astoria, New York: The Author, 1928.

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In 1922, the postal authorities ruled that the pamphlet was unmailable, but they did not give Mrs. Dennett reason for their actions. Six years later, she was arrested for sending a copy of the book through the mails. She went on trial in April, 1929, and was found guilty.

The reaction of the public was one of protest. Ernst and Lindey[132] quoted the Detroit Free Press as follows:

> The atrociousness of this conviction is less surprising than the fact that an intelligent and earnest mother can be exposed to such a sentence for no greater a crime than attempting to give boys and girls the benefit of mature experience on the most important subject in life. The mentality of those responsible for the prosecution of Mrs. Dennett is that of the first fifteen centuries of the Christian Era. Neither the doctors nor enlightened laymen have been able to break down the barriers that keep from youth the truth about marriage and parenthood. The process of racial reproduction is still regarded as a divine mystery, which it is impertinence on the part of man to penetrate.

In March, 1930, the Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously reversed the conviction and freed Mrs. Dennett. The opinion, written by Judge Hand, constituted the first outspoken judicial recognition of the social need for sexual enlightenment. Hand[133] ruled:

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[132] Morris L. Ernst and Alexander Lindey, op. cit., p. 42.

[133] Morris L. Ernst and Alexander Lindey, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

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It may be assumed that any article dealing with the sex side of life and explaining the functions of the sex organs is capable in some circumstances of arousing lust...But it can hardly be said that because of the risk of arousing sex impulses there should be no instruction of the young in sex matters, and that the risk of imparting instruction outweighs the disadvantages of leaving them to grope about in mystery and morbid curiosity, and of requiring them to secure such information as they may be able to obtain from ill-informed and often foul-minded companions, rather than from intelligent and high-minded sources.

The statute we have to construe was never thought to bar from the mails everything which might stimulate sex impulses. If so, much chaste poetry and fiction, as well as many useful medical works, would be under the ban. Like everything else this law must be construed reasonably with a view to the general objects aimed at...The defendant's discussion of the phenomena of sex is written with sincerity of feeling and with an idealization of the marriage relations rather than to arouse lust...Accurate information, rather than mystery and curiosity, is better in the long run, and is less likely to occasion lascivious thought than ignorant anxiety.

The Post Office Department continued to stop the shipment of sex education literature through the mails. In October, 1942, the Post Office Department banned from the mails a pamphlet, written by Popenoe, which had been sent through the mails for several years.[134] This pamphlet, Preparing for Marriage,[135] had been on the reading lists of the American Social Hygiene Association. In May, 1945,

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[134] Reba Rayburn, "National Events," Journal of Social Hygiene, 31 (June, 1945), 343-55.

[135] Paul Popenoe, Preparing for Marriage. Los Angeles: The Author, 1938.

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the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia supported the right of the pamphlet to go through the mails.

The trend in the thinking of this court is probably best summed up in the concluding statement made one week after the above decision in a case involving Esquire Magazine. The Postmaster General had revoked the second-class mailing privileges of this journal because it did not conform to his "notions of the public good." [136] The courts reversed the decision of the Postmaster General. Judge Arnold[137] after a long discussion of the case closed his opinion with these words:

> Little more need be said to decide this case. Nevertheless, since we hope that this is the last time that a government agency will attempt to compel the acceptance of its literary or moral standards relating to material admittedly not obscene, the voluminous record may serve as a useful reminder of the kind of mental confusion which always accompanies such censorship.

Significance of changes in freedom and character of expression for sex education.--During the years between 1900 and 1950, the censorship of printed material containing references to sex diminished. As writers and publishers

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[136] Reba Rayburn, op. cit., pp. 343-55.

[137] Ibid., pp. 343-55.

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were less afraid of prosecutions for publishing material that might be considered obscene, they were willing to bring out more books and pamphlets that would help children and adolescents in solving their problems of sexual adjustment. At the same time, euphemisms began to drop out of this writing and more of the information that boys and girls wanted was stated in words that were meaningful to them. The shift in legal interpretation of what constitutes obscenity in sex education literature not only openly granted more liberty in this area, but tended to give guidance as to what legal obscenity really is and what could legally be included in books designed to help boys and girls understand sex.

Changes in Theories and Expressions of Moral and Ethical Behavior and Their Significance for Sex Education

Morality is such a complex area that its discussion is difficult. Yet to understand sex education in the public schools, some of the changes in points of view regarding what is moral behavior must be described.

The problem of changing morality has a long history that is not attempted in this chapter. In this section, after a few introductory remarks relative to the forces apparently affecting changes in this field, only the somewhat more obvious changes in moral and ethical behavior are described.

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During the fifty years covered by this study, many types of behavior which were generally regarded in 1900 as unacceptable on moral grounds have come to be widely accepted or tolerated. Among the changes in types of behavior or attitudes which might be cited as evidence of changing modes of expression of ethical and moral behavior are those concerning the amount of sex freedom, the acceptance of birth control, and the tolerance of divorce. In addition, the changes were reflected in new ideas regarding clothing and dancing, the introduction of the sex theme into advertising, and the reduction of euphemism in dealing with topics about sex. Such changes were beginning to take place during the first decade of the twentieth century. By the end of the second decade, changes in the popular expressions of morals were more definite and more numerous. During the nineteen-twenties, extreme changes in modes of behavior were taking place. Many of these represented revolts against accepted ways of behaving that were almost violent in intensity. After 1930, changed behavior patterns met with less violent reactions and did not seem to create the furor that earlier changes had created. Perhaps fewer people were shocked at the changes.

Changes in theoretical ideas regarding ethics and morals.--During the last half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, many ideas were

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discussed that apparently affected points of view held regarding morals and ethics.

The publication of Darwin's Origin of Species in 1859 influenced those concerned with ethical behavior to reorient their thinking.[138] On the one hand were those who approved the biological approach to morals.[139] On the other hand were those who opposed what they called "biological moralists."[140]

Ethics was viewed from a scientific point of view by Comte[141] and Spencer.[142] Comte suggested that sociology should become a science; Spencer tried to make the statement true. He claimed that both sociology and ethics had an evolutionary development analagous to that of organic life and he interpreted morality in terms of this growth.

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[138] Louise Saxe Eby, The Quest for Moral Law, p. 160. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944.

[139] Bertrand Russell, A History of Western Philosophy, p. 729. New York: Simon and Shuster, 1945.

[140] Cecil DeBoer, The If's and Ought's of Ethics, p. 141. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, 1936.

[141] Auguste Comte, Early Essays on Social Philosophy. Translated by Henry Dix Hutton. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1911.

[142] Herbert Spencer, The Data of Ethics, pp. 62-63. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1879.

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This utilitarian point of view was strengthened by the work of students of sociology and anthropology, such as Westermarck,[143] Mead,[144] and Malinowski,[145] who analyzed the development of morality of many primitive peoples in terms of Spencer's ideas. The ideas of Spencer were also supplemented by the rise of pragmatism, which claimed that truth received verification through experience.

Another intellectual idea apparently affecting changes in morals and ethics was the rise of relativism during the early years of the twentieth century. The theories of relativity implied that the universe runs on statistical probabilities rather than absolute laws.[146]

The movement away from absolutism was continuously criticized, especially by many of the leaders of religion. This opposition to beliefs in relative values will be considered more fully when changes in tenets and positions of churches are discussed.

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[143] Edvard A. Westermarck, Marriage Cermonies in Morocco. London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1914.

[144] Margaret Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Tribes. New York: W. Morrow and Company, 1935.

[145] Bronislaw Malinowski, Sex and Repression in Savage Society. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927.

[146] Louise Saxe Eby, op. cit., p. 186.

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Changes in popular expressions regarding ethics and morals.--While philosophers discussed the problems of morals and ethics, the mass of the population was also changing its point of view regarding sex relationships. Eby[147] described this changing pattern and pointed to its dangers:

> The intellectual currents set in motion by the transformation in scientific thought and the philosophical influence of pragmatism thus dovetailed to produce emphasis on empiricism and relativism in place of the former rationalism and absolutism. Though this purely intellectual influence was felt in ethics, the real challenges of the twentieth century to morals have been practical instead of theoretical. They have been destructive rather than constructive. While the thought of the nineteenth century had undermined many of the foundations of the popular moral code, its practical breakdown did not come until the new century. The Victorian era, radical in thought, remained as conservative in practice as the queen whose name it bears. However, the practical upheaval of World War I administered a more severe blow to the popular code of respectability than all the theories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries combined. The post-war period of the 1920's revealed both in literature and in conduct the effects and extent of the relaxation of the old rules that for generations had been regarded as unshakable absolutes in their own right. There followed the world-wide depression of the 1930's and upon its heels the outbreak of World War II, with its threat to civilization.

After World War II, Kinsey[148] reported evidence which indicated that American men did not observe in practice

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[147] Ibid., pp. 187-88.

[148] Alfred Kinsey and Others, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, pp. 216-62. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948.

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the traditional modes of behavior to an extent that it was thought that they did. He interpreted his data to mean that human behavior is more largely governed by animal impulses than people have admitted. This investigation is being challenged on the manner in which the data were collected. Among such critics is Terman,[149] who has conducted investigations in the field of human sex relations.[150]

An analysis of the attitudes expressed in journals regarding sex freedom, birth control, and divorce, made in connection with President Hoover's research committee to study social trends, revealed a trend toward more freedom on most issues. Hart[151] stated that the attitude toward sex freedom became more liberal after 1900. In 1925-1929, the wave of rebellion against traditional sex attitudes was at its height. After 1929, according to Hart, the opposition to traditional patterns of behavior was less violent. Research conducted during the nineteen-forties

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[149] Lewis M. Terman, "Kinsey's 'Sexual Behavior in the Human Male': Some Comments and Criticisms," Psychological Bulletin, 45 (September, 1948), 443-59.

[150] Lewis M. Terman and Others, Sex and Personality. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936.

[151] Hornell Hart, "Changing Social Attitudes and Interests," Recent Social Trends in the United States, pp. 414-423. Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933.

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revealed that various groups residing within the United States had different conceptions as to what constitutes an acceptable pattern of sexual behavior.[152]

Hart[153] revealed that there was very little reference to birth control in the periodical literature prior to 1909. In that year, it was first indexed in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature. The issue of birth control became more controversial during the years 1915-1918. After World War I, more and more articles appeared favoring controlled parenthood. Between 1923 and 1927, more writers[154] asserted that:

> ...love, not marriage, was the only justification of sex relations, that sexual intercourse was a private matter in which society had no concern as long as children were avoided, that celibacy was abnormal and deleterious and the like.

The continuous growth in the acceptance of birth control is reflected in replies made to the question, "Do you believe in the teaching and practice of birth control?"

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[152] Supra, p. 139.

[153] Hornell Hart, op. cit., p. 415.

[154] Ibid., p. 418.

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An analysis of polls made in 1936, 1938, and 1943 respectively showed that sixty-three per cent of the women replying answered, "Yes" in 1936, seventy-nine per cent did so in 1938 and almost eighty-five per cent answered in the affirmative in 1943.[155]

The question of divorce was discussed earlier in this chapter.[156] The controversy seemed to reach a peak about 1925. The divorce rates, however, continued to grow, but the rebellious attitude present earlier in the century was absent. In 1949, Thorman[157] pointed out that new values and new ethical standards had made divorce more acceptable. He said:

> A marriage is no longer "good" just because it lasts...There is a growing conviction that a sound marriage must be built on the sharing of common goals and common interests. All this represents a comparatively new attitude toward marriage, giving rise to new expectation.... It has resulted in dissatisfaction with many marriages which would have been regarded as successful a half-century ago. That is why our increasing divorce rate does not necessarily mean that there are more unhappy marriages.

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[155] Herbert Yahraes, Planning Your Family, p. 9. New York: Public Affairs Council, Inc., 1948.

[156] Supra, p. 380-85.

[157] George Thorman, "Divorce and Desertion," Social Problems in America, p. 236. Edited by Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Brian Lee. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1949.

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It may simply mean that more people who are unhappily married seek divorce than before because they find less reasons to stay married...Many marriages which were once held together by the external pressure of economic necessity or of social disapproval will fall apart once these props are removed. A modern marriage must be held together from within, rather than from without.

Hart[158] stated that there were many reasons for the change in attitude regarding sex. He said that some credit had to be given to the anti-vice campaigns conducted at the beginning of the twentieth century. He pointed out that some credit should also be given to the psychoanalysts who seemed to have reached their peak between 1925 and 1928. He also stated that modified action in the area of sex was aided by the continuous rise of the mental health movement. Hart[159] further stated:

Changes in sex attitudes have probably been connected to some extent with technological developments, such as the introduction of the automobile and the dissemination of birth control devices; with the results of industrial development such as the growth of cities; with the transfer of functions from the home to the factory; and with the disintegration of patriarchial family conceptions...The evidence presented...suggests...that a major factor in recent shifts of attitudes toward sex behavior has been the breakdown of traditional religious control and the partially worked out attempts to substitute scientific criteria.

Frequently, people did not argue the relative merits of sex freedom, birth control, or divorce. Often they

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[158] Hornell Hart, op. cit., p. 421.

[159] Ibid., p. 421.

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indicated their feelings regarding tradition by other means. For example, after 1900 there seemed to be some rebellion against the type of clothes that one was supposed to wear. Although there had been incidents of similar rebellion in clothing, for example the Bloomer movement of the eighteen-fifties which had followed the official initiation of the feminist movement, in the twentieth century, more extreme changes in clothing began to appear. At first the changes took place slowly. In the early years of the century, women were arrested for exposing a few inches of the lower leg. In 1913, peek-a-boo waists appeared, but as late as 1919, legs were still not revealed. During the latter part of this year, however, there began to appear the tendency to shorten skirts and hair.[160] After the nineteen-twenties, according to Markun,[161] changes were not as startling and reaction was less violent.

Mixed dancing was opposed in many quarters on the grounds that it was symbolical and provocative. Before the second decade of the twentieth century, America, as a whole, had not gone in for erotic steps.[162] Beginning in 1914,

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[160] Leo Markun, Mrs. Grundy, pp. 614-15. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1930.

[161] Ibid., p. 616.

[162] Ibid., p. 629.

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there was a tendency to move in this direction with the shuffle, the bunny-hug, and the turkey trot. Reaction was forthcoming and the Castles attempted to substitute the gavotte, the polka, and the waltz. During the nineteen-twenties, there were developed dances that made the 1914 varieties seem almost sedate. During the second quarter of the twentieth century, mixed dancing was more universally accepted. Many new steps were introduced without much criticism. Such steps, if introduced in the beginning of the century, would have been vigorously opposed.

Changes in advertisements reflected the change in morals and ethics. After 1920, "even conservative magazines found no impropriety in accepting advertisements containing pictures of women who frankly possessed legs as well as arms." [163] In 1949, Bernard[164] raised the question of whether or not advertising had changed moral behavior. He did not commit himself to an answer, but he said:

> Mores, almost by definition cannot be purposely changed. They do change, of course. Witness, for example, the attitudes toward smoking by women, chaperonage, exposure of the body on beaches, the use of cosmetics. But whether or not they can be changed deliberately is still a moot question among social scientists. Did advertising change our attitude toward smoking by women? We know that there

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[163] Ibid., p. 632.

[164] Jessie Bernard, American Community Behavior, p. 63. New York: The Dryden Press, 1949.

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is a direct relationship between the amount of tobacco consumed and the amount spent on advertising. It was a difficult assignment to induce women to smoke, but "Bowman Gray, of the Reynolds Company found ways and means of selling them as few objects in history have ever been sold." A cleverly graduated series of advertisements, beginning with women looking on admiringly while men smoked, advancing toward a housewife buying cigarettes, and ending with a women shown herself smoking, finally overcame "the toughest obstacle the cigarette industry had to hurdle...the old bugaboo that nice girls did not smoke."

When advertisers are charged by critics with responsibility for having changed the mores, they modestly disclaim the credit. They say that advertising cannot put over anything the public is not ready for, that they have merely followed the procession, that the First World War accustomed us to smoking by women, and that they merely capitalized on the change.

The changing attitudes of the people as a whole regarding sex were revealed by a decrease in the use of euphemisms. Psychoanalysis seems to have helped bring about fewer verbal taboos in the twentieth century. Although Krafft-Ebing and others had used such words as homosexual, sadism and exhibitionism, the words were not common until popular works of Freud began to appear.[165] By 1950, such euphemisms as "lady of easy virtue" for "prostitute" were seen and heard less often. This represented great strides from the beginning of the century when the use of "the dickens" by a woman was considered vulgar.[166]

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[165] Leo Markun, op. cit., p. 617.

[166] Ibid., p. 582.

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Significance of changes in theories and expressions of moral and ethical behavior for sex education.--Although many intellectual discussions regarding moral and ethical conduct that indirectly had an effect upon sex education were influenced in part by the publication of Origin of Species in 1859, many of these effects were not clearly discernible until after World War I. The influences of theories of evolution on biological science have already been noted. However, it should also be noted that, during the last half of the nineteenth century, men like Comte and Spencer, who were influenced by the doctrine of evolution, were turning their attention to the social sciences. The first courses in marriage and the family given in the nineteen-twenties were influenced by the findings in anthropology and social science. As more programs were set up to help children and adolescents with their problems of interpersonal and social adjustment and with their development of a philosophy of life rather than giving them facts alone, social science classes began to play an increasingly important part in the sex education movement.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the theory of relativity was proposed and was discussed by laymen as well as by scientists. Those who accepted this theory believed that it showed that there was no absolute law and that everything operated in terms of probability.

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This was one kind of thinking that challenged Victorian customs which had set up a definite standard of conduct for all people to follow. Gradually educators began to plan the type of courses that would help youth to understand the various ways of dealing with sex problems and the probable consequences of each of the ways of behaving.

Many of the forces operating to liberalize sex conduct united during the nineteen-twenties and this period resulted in an upheaval of patterns of acceptable conduct. To cope with these problems, it seemed advisable to inform youth of the dangers of promiscuity and to help them see the values of monogamous family relations. Courses in the family began to appear and parents, desiring to help their children make wholesome adjustments, began to discuss ways and means of guiding their children's sexual adjustment.

While there was an increase in the liberal attitude toward sex conduct, there seemed to be a rise in the development of sex education programs in which the development of attitudes was considered an objective. Guidance, as well as programs of education designed to give specific information, was suggested.

The changing attitudes toward divorce and other family problems increased the need for guidance in social adjustment. Opportunities were set up for children and adolescents to have more experiences in social relations,

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especially with their own peers.

Discussion of sex topics, previously considered taboo, became easier with changes in clothing and advertising which made the exhibition of some parts of the body seem natural. The presence of sex stimuli continuously present in the lives of children and adolescents raised the question in some quarters of how to develop ethical values in sex education programs so that these children and adolescents might make the correct adjustment to these stimuli.

Changes in Tenets and Positions of Churches and Their Significance for Sex Education

Between 1900 and 1950, there were shifts in the attitudes of some religious sects regarding what they considered to be the acceptable patterns of sexual behavior. In order better to understand changes in sex education, the positions taken by churches on various questions of sex are reviewed.

To understand fully the positions taken by many of the churches regarding sex and reproduction, it would be necessary to trace the growth of each church from its origin. This is not attempted in this study and, with the exception of a brief statement describing events before 1900, the discussion is limited to the period between 1900 and 1950.

A complete analysis of the position of the churches on matters of sex would necessitate tracing the changing attitudes of each denomination regarding this subject.

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Probably no two denominations have, or have had at any given time during the fifty years considered in this investigation, identical opinions of what the acceptable pattern of sexual behavior should be. In the succeeding pages of this study, changes in the Roman Catholic position and in the protestant positions will be discussed. The latter positions vary more widely than the former. No attempt is made to discuss the Jewish position, although leaders of this church have taken an active part in discussing questions pertaining to sexual adjustment. In general their position is similar to that of the liberal protestant groups.

Changes in Catholic tenets and positions.--The Catholic position on matters of sexual conduct has been less changeable than the positions taken by protestant groups. A rather definite attitude toward matters dealing with sex behavior and reproduction was developed quite early by the Catholic Church leaders and was interpreted by subsequent members of the clergy. Both Augustine (354-430) and Aquinas (1225-74) explained the Catholic position in these matters. Russell,[167] a liberal English philosopher, quoted Augustine as follows:

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[167] Bertrand Russell, A History of Western Philosophy, pp. 359-60. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945.

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It must be admitted that sexual intercourse in marriage is not sinful, provided the intention is to beget offspring. Yet even in marriage, a virtuous man will wish that he could manage without lust. Even in marriage, as the desire for privacy shows, people are ashamed of sexual intercourse, because "this lawful act of nature is (from our first parents) accompanied with our penal shame."... What is shameful about lust is its independence of the will. Adam and Eve, before the fall, could have had sexual intercourse without lust, though in fact they did not..if only he had kept away from the apple tree, Adam could have performed the business of sex without the emotions that it now demands. The sexual members like the rest of the body, would have obeyed the will. The need for lust in sexual intercourse is a punishment for Adam's sin, but for which sex might have been divorced from pleasure.

Russell[168] also explained the position of Aquinas by quoting from his writings as follows:

Divine Law directs us to love God; also, in a lesser degree, our neighbor. It forbids fornication, because the father should stay with the mother while the children are being reared. It forbids birth control, as being against nature; it does not, however, on this account forbid life-long celibacy. Matrimony should be indissoluable, because the father is needed in the education of the children, both as more rational than the mother and as having more physical strength when punishment is required. Not all carnal intercourse is sinful, since it is natural; but to think the married state as good as continence is to fall into the heresy of Jovinian. There must be strict monogamy...Incest is to be forbidden.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, several members of the Catholic clergy began to criticize the teachings of Catholicism. Those who challenged the traditional teaching were called modernists by Pope Pius X in

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168 Ibid., p. 459.

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his encyclical "Pascendi" in 1907.[169] According to Parks,[170] modernism seemed to rise in countries that were predominantly Catholic such as Italy and France, after the Franco-Prussian War when devout Catholics were attempting to adjust themselves to the new political conditions. At the same time, philosophers began to question whether the ultimate reality could be revealed only by external authority. There were also new and critical investigations of historical documents which led to a reinvestigation of the origins of Christianity.

Some of the nineteenth century European modernists were excommunicated or denied privileges of the Church. During the first decade of the twentieth century, a similar type of questioning attitude arose in America, but with the encyclical of Pius X and the excommunication and death of the European leaders of the movement, "Americanism," as Pius X called the movement, was short lived.[171]

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[169] J. Macbride Sterrett, Modernism in Religion, p. 1. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922.

[170] Leighton Parks, What is Modernism? p. 1. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924.

[171] Conde B. Pallen and John J. Wynne, Editors, The New Catholic Dictionary, p. 641. New York: The Universal Knowledge Foundation, 1928.

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For the most part, during the fifty years under consideration in this study, the Catholic Church has taken a consistent stand on such matters as naturalistic education, the women's movement, co-education, birth control, divorce, evolution, and sex education.

The Catholic Church criticized what its leaders called naturalistic education, because such education, they claimed, was based on a philosophy that did not accept the bases of morals held by Catholicism. In his Encyclical, "Christian Education of Youth," Pius XI[172] set forth the official position of the Roman Catholic Church regarding naturalistic education:

> Hence every form of pedagogic naturalism which in any way excludes or weakens supernatural Christian formation in the teaching of youth, is false. Every method of education founded, wholly or in part, on the denial or forgetfulness of original sin and of grace, and relying on the sole power of human nature, is unsound. Such, generally speaking, are those modern systems bearing various names which appeal to a pretended self-government and unrestrained freedom on the part of the child, and which diminish or even suppress the teacher's authority and action, attributing to the child an exclusive primacy of initiative, and an activity independent of any higher law, natural or divine, in the work of his education.

The Roman Catholic Church questioned the woman's rights movement almost as soon as the problems of woman

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[172] Pius XI, "Encyclical Letter on the Christian Education of Youth," The Four Great Encyclicals, pp. 56-7. New York: The Paulist Press, 1931.

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suffrage were considered by the United States Congress in 1869. In that year, The Catholic World,[173] an approved periodical of the Church, claimed that woman suffrage would not only be harmful for the country but it would also be sinful for any woman to participate in the act of voting.

The official position of the Catholic Church regarding equality of the sexes was set forth in 1929 by Pius XI in his "Encyclical on Marriage:" [174]

> The same false teachers who try to dim the lustre of conjugal faith and purity do not scruple to do away with the honorable and trusting obedience which woman owes to the man. Many of them even go further and assert that such a subjection of one party to the other is unworthy of human dignity, that the rights of husband and wife are equal; wherefore, they boldly proclaim, the emancipation of women has been or ought to be effected. This emancipation in their ideas must be threefold, in the ruling of the domestic society, in the administration of family affairs and in the rearing of children. It must be social, economic, physiological:--physiological, that is to say, the woman is to be freed at her own good pleasure from the burdensome duties properly belonging to a wife as companion and mother (We have already said that this is not an emancipation but a crime); social, inasmuch as the wife being freed from the care of children and family, should, to the neglect of these, be able to follow her own bent and devote herself to business and even public affairs; finally economic, whereby the woman even without the knowledge and against the wish of her husband may be at liberty to conduct and administer her own affairs, giving her attention chiefly to these rather than to children, husband and family.

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[173] "The Woman Question," The Catholic World, 9 (May, 1869), 145-57.

[174] Pius XI, "Encyclical Letter on Christian Marriage," pp. 97-99. The Four Encyclicals, New York: The Paulist Press, 1931.

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This, however, is not the true emancipation of woman, nor that rational and exalted liberty which belongs to the noble office of a Christian woman and wife; it is rather the debasing of the womanly character and the dignity of motherhood, and indeed of the whole family, as a result of which the husband suffers the loss of his wife, the children of their mother, and the home and the whole family of an ever watchful guardian.

This belief of the Catholic Church regarding the differences between man and woman resulted in separate parochial schools for each sex. Pius XI[175] in his "Encyclical on Education" stated the position of the Catholic Church on co-education:

False also and harmful to Christian education is the so-called method of "co-education." This too, by many of its supporters, is founded upon naturalism and the denial of original sin; but by all, upon a deplorable confusion of ideas that mistakes a leveling promiscuity and equality, for the legitimate association of the sexes. The Creator has ordained and disposed perfect union of the sexes only in matrimony, and, with varying degrees of contact, in the family and in society...These principles, with due regard to time and place, must in accordance with Christian prudence, be applied to all schools, particularly in the most delicate and decisive period of formation, that, namely, of adolescence; and in gymnastic exercises and deportment, special care must be had of Christian modesty in young women and girls, which is so gravely impaired by any kind of exhibition in public.

In accordance with the position taken by Aquinas on birth control, the Catholic Church has opposed planned parenthood in which scientific devices would prevent

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[175] Pius XI, "Encyclical Letter on the Christian Education of Youth," The Four Great Encyclicals, pp. 59-60. New York: The Paulist Press, 1931.

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conception. In 1928, Bruehl,[176] a follower of the Catholic faith, explained the position of the Catholic Church regarding birth control. He claimed that there was no absolute right guaranteed all people to marry. Therefore, according to Bruehl, those who can bring into the world only diseased and defective progeny should forego the right to marriage. Monsignor Ryan,[177] at a series of hearing held before the Seventy-third Congress of the United States in March, 1934, described the attitude of his church regarding contraceptives. He said:

> National welfare is in the long run identical with sound morality. To fulfill the moral law is to ensure the welfare of the race...This is the law which pronounces contraception intrinsically wrong, wrong in itself, wrong always and everywhere, regardless of circumstances, conditions, or effects. Contraception is against nature, an outrage upon nature, a perversion of nature, because it involves a frustrative use of nature. A human faculty is exercised in such a way that its purpose is frustrated, its primary end thwarted, in the very exercise of the faculty. The normal processes of nature are set at naught by human artifice.

During the second quarter of the twentieth century, a rhythmic method, limiting sexual relations in marriage to sterile periods in the menstrual cycle, was advocated by some leaders of the Church. Other members of the Catholic

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[176] Charles P. Bruehl, Birth Control and Eugenics, p. 174. New York: J. F. Wagner, Inc., 1928.

[177] John A. Ryan, "Opposition to Contraception," Social Problems in America, p. 167. Edited by Alfred Mc Clung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1949.

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clergy questioned the right of Catholics to use the rhythm method of birth control. In 1948, Calkins,[178] a priest, criticized those who contend that this method has the blessing of the Church. He stated that the Church "merely tolerates" the method and permits its use under several conditions: "a sufficiently serious reason," complete agreement on the part of both the husband and wife, and the assurance that the period of continence necessary will not lead to "sins against chastity."

The Roman Catholic Church continued to be unswerving in its traditional beliefs regarding the sacrament of marriage. The church held that there should be no exception to the marriage laws and that no divorce should be permitted. Jung,[179] at the State University of Iowa, reported the position of Pope Leo XII, who said in his Encyclical "Arcanum Divinae," "Divorce once being tolerated there will be no restraint powerful enough to keep it within the limits fixed or foreseen." Sait,[180] professor of philosophy in Claremont

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[178] "The 'Rhythm Mentality'," Time 51 (May 31, 1948), 44.

[179] Moses Jung, Editor, Modern Marriage, p. 328. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1940.

[180] Una Bernard Sait, New Horizons for the Family, p. 567. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938.

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colleges, reviewed the Catholic position on divorce and stated the words of Pius XI in his Encyclical "Casti Connubii," who said that the sacrament of marriage carries with it:

> ...a perpetual and indissoluable bond which cannot be dissolved by civil law....Christ, by virtue of His supreme legislative power...restored the primeval law in its integrity by those words which must never be forgotten: "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."

Although not permitting divorce, the Catholic Church does permit annulment of marriages on some grounds including impotence, consanguinity, affinity, "disparity of worship," clandestinity, defective consent, and terrorism.[181]

The influence of the doctrine of evolution was discussed earlier in this chapter. The position of the Roman Catholic Church regarding this theory does not seem to be as clear as the attitude of the Church on many other social questions. In 1893, Armistead[182] claimed that evolution was not in accord with the teaching of the Catholic Church. Father Wasmann,[183] in 1912, explained that evolution

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[181] Moses Jung, Editor, op. cit., p. 328.

[182] C. S. Armistead, "Common Sense Objections to the Postulates and Conclusions of Extreme Evolutionists," The American Catholic Quarterly Review, 18 (July, 1893), 495-518.

[183] Erick Wasmann, The Problem of Evolution, p. 7. London: Paul and Company, 1912.

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was a theory. He said:

> It is essentially a theory based upon a group of hypotheses which are in harmony with one another, and afford the most probable explanation of the origin of organic species. We cannot demand to see the evolution of species taking place before our eyes, in such a way as to give us a direct confirmation of the theory of evolution.

The leaders of the Catholic Church, however, have not officially committed themselves to a policy regarding evolution. Conway[184] stated:

> As the Church has made no pronouncement upon evolution, Catholics are perfectly free to accept evolution, either as a scientific hypothesis or as a philosophical speculation...It is good to remember that evolution is not a proven fact, despite the assertions of many pseudo-scientists.

Conway[185] gave the unofficial position of the Church when he concluded that evolution:

> While not intrinsically impossible, this theory, although never condemned by any of the Roman Congregations, seems to be contrary to the general mind of the Church.

Since there has been no official pronouncement regarding evolution, the position of the Roman Catholic Church on this theory remains about the same today as it was in 1893. As late as 1940, however, some members of the Roman Catholic clergy were quite antagonistic to the

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[184] Bertrand L. Conway, The Question Box, pp. 8-9. New York: The Paulist Press, 1929.

[185] Ibid., p. 10.

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theory. The Jesuit biologist, Carroll,[186] concluded his study of the subject by claiming that any Catholic believing in evolution was a heretic. He claimed that the evolutionists' answer to life was "irritating, erroneous, unproved, and unprovable."

It has been stated earlier in the present study that the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church felt that sex education could not be left to the layman.[187] Conway,[188] a Paulist priest, wrote, "Her Bishops in Germany, France and the United States and her moralists everywhere have been most outspoken in their opposition to the teaching of sex hygiene in the schools." The Church has not been against sex instruction by Catholic priests and the parents of the children involved.[189]

Catholic clergymen have promoted sex education in several ways. They have counseled parents on the proper procedures to use with their children in sex education and

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[186] Paul L. Carroll, "Survey of Textbooks of College Biology," Catholic Education Association Bulletin, 37 (August, 1940), 221-58.

[187] Supra, p. 76.

[188] Bertrand L. Conway, op. cit., p. 428.

[189] Supra, p. 76.

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have given these parents answers which they can use in replying to their children's questions.[190] Priests have led retreats and organized activities under the Catholic Youth Organizations at which Catholic young people could consult with priests regarding problems of sex and reproduction as well as regarding other personal problems that were troubling them.[191] According to Folsom,[192] perhaps the most continuous help given by the Catholic church in the field of sexual adjustment has been the confessional through which family guidance and answers to personal problems are given to parishioners.

Changes in protestant tenets and positions.--The positions taken by protestant denominations regarding matters of sexual conduct have varied widely. Some protestant sects have interpreted sexual behavior in much the same way as the Roman Catholic Church; other protestant groups have varied from this interpretation in many ways.

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[190] Robert C. Dexter, "The Church, Religious Education and the Family," Religious Education, 25 (December, 1930), 934-35.

[191] W. C. Scanlon, "Values of Three-Day Retreats for High School," National Catholic Educational Association XXXII, pp. 126-36. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1935.

[192] Joseph Kirk Folsom, The Family, p. 538. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1934.

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The Reformation, which brought about protestantism, brought little change to the concept that participation in sexual acts was sinful. However, one of the principles of protestantism was that each individual had the right to interpret the scriptures for himself and thus many interpretations were forthcoming. Martin Luther (1483-1546) had wanted to enforce strict morality, but his work led to a general relaxation in behavior.[193] He denounced celibacy, but others who followed him were not so certain about it. Calvin (1509-64) condemned sexual intercourse and felt that it should be indulged in only to fulfill "the divine command to increase and multiply."[194] John Wesley (1703-91), although he finally married, maintained that the Bible advised celibacy as a means of attaining holiness. He insisted that men and women should sit apart during the administration of communion.[195] In America, at about the same time, Edwards spoke out against sexual immorality and from this preaching came a religious revival aimed at lessening the amount of bundling and illegitimacy then

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[193] Leo Markun, Mrs. Grundy, pp. 24-25. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1930.

[194] Ibid., p. 48.

[195] Ibid., pp. 212-13.

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common in New England.[196]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, two theories of moral education developed.[197] Brubacher[198] discussed these theories as follows:

> At the opening of the twentieth century one might say that two theories of moral education were developing side by side, one in the Sunday school and the other in the secular school. In the former the curriculum of Christian faith and practice was considered as already known or revealed in the Bible. Education was by evangelism; it was a bringing of these known religious and moral truths to the child and securing his acceptance and application of them. Church pedagogy...was...more interested in God's approach to man through grace than it was in man's approach to God through education. It still looked on man more as a fallen angel than as a rising primate. In the latter, the secular school, the approach to moral character was educational rather than evangelical. There moral education took its point of departure in the on-going experience of the child in a social situation. Moral education was the result of choosing between alternate ends of conduct and evaluating them in the light of their outcomes or consequences.

As a result of the discussions of these two points of view, religious educators, public school men, and laymen--Catholic, Jewish, and protestant--gathered in 1903 to form the Religious Education Association. This organization

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196 Ibid., p. 381.

197 John S. Brubacher, A History of the Problems of Education, p. 346. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947.

198 Ibid., p. 347.

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was very important in the early days of sex education.[199] Five years later the International Moral Education Congress met in London, England.[200] These associations insisted upon the educational rather than the evangelical approach to religious instruction.

Brubacher[201] pointed out the events leading to this new emphasis:

> To begin, this was a period of general dissatisfaction with and protest against existing conditions. Men were discontented with political and economic circumstances as well as with educational ones. Social reform was in the air, as witness the presidential campaigns from 1896 to 1912. Educational reform was not far behind. Experimental schools were starting, which in the second decade of the century were to form the Progressive Education Association. The scientific study of education through the new science of psychology was making marked headway in capturing the imagination of secular educators.
>
> Similar stirrings were not unnoticed in the churches. A scientific psychology of religion was coming into being. The higher criticism of the Bible in the light of modern historical study was demanding a reexamination of popular beliefs. Caught in the undertow of current political and economic reform, religion came to take greater interest in ethical than in metaphysical problems. There was more preaching of the social gospel. Spurred by new confidence in what man could do with his institutions by taking thought, numerous associations sprang up for the purpose of promoting moral education. Already toward the end of the nineteenth

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199 Supra, p. 52.

200 John S. Brubacher, op. cit., pp. 347-48.

201 Ibid., p. 348.

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century Felix Adler (1851-1935) had formed the Society for Ethical Culture and, five years after the formation of the Religious Education Association the first International Moral Education Congress met in London.

One of the leading spirits of the Religious Education Association was George Albert Coe, whose book, A Social Theory of Religious Education,[202] set the progressive pattern for religious education. He felt that the principal feature of religious education should be the growing experiences of the child in social situations. The child was no longer to be told what to believe but was to be given opportunities to learn through social participation.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, protestant leaders also were objecting to orthodoxy and a protestant form of Modernism developed. If the entire history of Modernism from the protestant point of view were to be discussed, it would be necessary to begin with the publication of the Copernican system of astronomy in 1543. Present day criticism of orthodoxy seemed to rise, however, after the Civil War. After that time, men began to consider the implications of evolution on religious tenets. Rice,[203]

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[202] George Albert Coe, A Social Theory of Religious Education. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917.

[203] Frank H. Foster, The Modern Movement in American Theology, p. 43. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1939.

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in 1867, at Wesleyan University, defended the scientific point of view. He said:

> The whole history of philosophy--the shameful retreat from point to point after each vain endeavour to check the progress of science--the noble minds who after each scientific discovery have been led to reject the faith which its recognized expounders had founded on scientific error--driven into infidelity not by the supposed infidel tendencies of science, but by the folly of Christian teachers--ought long ago to have taught the lesson which the Church seems still so slow to learn. For the sake of religion as well as of science, let scientific questions be discussed and settled on purely scientific grounds. Theology may then use the results of scientific research to illustrate and enforce the truths of religion.

Those who believed that the scientific and the religious points of view could be reconciled were considered by some churchmen as materialistic and atheistic. For example, Hodge,[204] one of the Presbyterian theologians of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, answered the question, "What is Darwinism?" with, "It is Atheism." As late as 1939, many Methodists declared Darwinism to be atheistic.

There were other movements that opposed dogmatism, ecclesiasticism, and formalism of both the Jewish synagogues and the Christian churches during the second half of the nineteenth century. One of these was led by Felix

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[204] Horace J. Bridges, Editor, Aspects of Ethical Religion, p. 72. New York: The American Ethical Union, 1926.

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Adler[206] in 1876 and was known as the ethical culture movement. The leaders of this movement were also opposed to confirmed materialists. The basic premise of the movement seemed to be that:[207]

> ...since morality is independent of theology and since there is no theology on which all good men agree, but only a morality upon which all are agreed, it follows that it is possible to organize a fellowship on the basis of that morality.

Ethical religion, according to some of its adherents, called for absolute intellectual sincerity.[208] Leaders in the movement were opposed to fundamentalism. One[209] of them said:

> The conflicts between religions that have arisen because of their creedal, ecclesiastical or ritualistic features, based on supernaturalism, have made dark chapters in human history. Our present-day fundamentalists are those who are trying to perpetuate the theological dogmas formulated in by-gone times, from which they see the world drifting away. If their interest and their energy were centered on the great essentials in which all religions agree, namely, the fundamental ethical verities, they would be helping the intellectual, moral, and spiritual progress of humanity, instead of retarding it, as their efforts are now doing.

In the nineteen-twenties, the Religious Education

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206 Horace J: Bridges, Editor, op. cit., p. 88.

207 Ibid., p. 408.

208 Ibid., p. 406.

209 Ibid., p. 402.

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Association initiated the Character Education Inquiry with the financial assistance of the Institute for Social and Religious Research. The inquiry, concluded just before the depression, revealed that conventional ways of teaching character were, for the most part, ineffective. It contradicted the "ancient notion of Aristotle that character was an aggregate of traits or good habits." [210]

During the twentieth century, many of the same issues faced by the Roman Catholic Church were also problems of the protestant denominations. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, however, the protestants held at least two distinct positions. The two attitudes of protestant clergymen toward evolution have already been discussed. Other problems on which they were divided included those related to naturalistic education, woman's rights, birth control, and sex education.

While many Protestant churches did not actively oppose naturalism, some protestant groups did. In the early nineteen-thirties, the National Association of Evangelicals [211] continued to criticize naturalism at several

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[210] John S. Brubacher, op. cit., p. 352.

[211] Frank E. Gaebelein, Christian Education in a Democracy, p. 21. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951.

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points. This body contended that the Christian point of view stood apart from all others, all of which were secular and naturalistic.[212] In other words, "naturalism and Christian supernaturalism are the extremes."[213] The Evangelicals implied that the advocacy of naturalism as a religious philosophy is a violent infringement of the Constitution.[214]

Within a given Protestant denomination, there frequently were violent differences of opinion on some questions concerning the behavior of the sexes. In 1929, Morgan,[215] a Baptist minister who recognized woman's rights, described a situation that occurred at a convention of his own church. He reported the incident as follows:

> Not in the last decade do I recall another incident at once so singular, so out of date, and so regrettable as the heated debate before the Southern Baptist Convention in Memphis a few days ago on Woman's right to speak in public, reaching its pathetic climax when Dr. J. W. Porter of Lexington, Kentucky, picked up his hat and walked out of the convention hall. As widely paraded in the press, Mrs. W. J. Cox, the honored and eloquent president of the Baptist Woman's Missionary Union of the South, was scheduled to speak, and her right to do so was challenged. By an

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[212] Ibid., p. 21.

[213] Ibid., p. 71.

[214] Ibid., p. 87.

[215] S. L. Morgan, "Paul and Woman's Right to Speak in Churches," Readings in the Family, pp. 145-46. Edited by Ernest R. Groves and Lee M. Brooks. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934.

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over-whelming vote the convention asked that she be allowed to speak. It was in protest against her speaking that Dr. Porter stalked out, followed by others. As reported, he used language most regrettable for its absurd extravagance. Basing his argument on Paul's charge to the church in Corinth and to Timothy, which forbade women to speak in public, Dr. Porter charged that the invitation to Mrs. Cox to speak was "a move to please our sisters and get more money," and that "it was trading God for gold," the initiative coming, not from the women themselves, but from the "petticoated preachers."

The entire incident, coming in a day of recognized woman's rights, is a most remarkable anachronism. For such an incident to occur before thousands from all over the Southland, and then to be paraded through the press before all the world, fills me with grief and shame. I wish I could apologize to all the world for an incident so blind and so stupid, staged by the greatest convention of Baptists in the world.

The Protestant churches are divided on the issue of birth control.[216] The trend from 1920 until World War II seemed to be toward a more liberal attitude on the question. Since that time, however, the attitude seems to have become more conservative.

As late as 1920, the Lambeth Conference of the Bishops of the Anglican Church uttered an emphatic warning against artificial means for the control of conception, while at the 1930 Conference there was recognition of the need for family limitation, and the use of contraceptive

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[216] C. Luther Fry and Mary Frost Jessup, "Changes in Religious Organization," Recent Social Trends in the United States, p. 1016. Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933.

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methods was deemed, under certain conditions, not incompatible with Christian principles. The Protestant Episcopal Church in America took a similar action in the early nineteen-thirties. The vote on this issue was forty-four to thirty-eight.[217]

In 1931, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America reported in favor of birth control, but during the next few years, many churches repudiated this stand. Such churches as the Lutherans and some sections of the Presbyterian Church were among those opposing birth control.

De Boer,[218] in 1936, described the conservative protestant point of view in the following manner:

> The more conservative ecclesiastical bodies have condemned the practice...In its general outlines, the Catholic view of birth prevention is probably representative of the view of all orthodox Protestant bodies. However, none of these denominations, with the exception of some of the smaller ones, have taken the decisive and militant stand taken by the Catholic Church. The larger and more inclusive conservative Protestant churches tend to avoid the question as far as possible. This is perhaps largely due to three factors: First, the majority of the leaders still believe that an official stand in favor of the program of birth prevention would sanction a policy which would be at best a mere circumvention of the moral problem of producing better homes; second, they realize that the practice is a firmly established one with large numbers of their

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[217] Charles S. Brown, "The Protestant Churches and Birth Control," Readings in the Family, p. 178. Edited by Ernest R. Groves and Lee M. Brooks. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934.

[218] Cecil De Boer, The If's and Oughts of Ethics, p. 357. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, 1936.

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communicants, whom they do not wish to offend, and so they hope against hope that the problem will eventually solve itself..; and, finally, many of them are honestly uncertain as to whether birth prevention on the part of the married is really a violation of the Christian ideal of the family.

The attitude of the conservative churches on the problem of divorce was quite similar to their attitude toward birth control. Although there were examples of modifications by some churches of their strict rules against divorce--for example, the increase in the number of acceptable reasons for divorce listed by the Methodist Church in 1928 [219]-- for the most part the Protestant churches have become increasingly more stringent in their enactments regarding divorce of their communicants.[220]

During the nineteen-thirties there was a reaction against the scientific approach in dealing with personal problems and against the religious education movement. Many protestants felt that religious education was really character education, and this type of education was secularizing education too much. Many leaders also objected to the excessive optimism that the scientific approach to

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[219] William F. Ogburn and Clark Tibbits, "The Family and Its Functions," Recent Social Trends in the United States, p. 695. Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933.

[220] J. P. Lichtenberger, Divorce, p. 243. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1931.

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religious education had created.[221]

This conservative reaction continued into the nineteen-forties. Bosley[222] commented on this reaction as follows:

> There was a time, not long ago, when many thought and some said "Science will sire our ethics." I have not heard that mentioned since August, 1945! Evidently a good many things were destroyed by the blast of that bomb besides the lives and buildings of the unhappy people in the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
>
> An ethic without religion is like a machine without power. To be sure, noble ethical systems have been founded on philosophical principles, but, at least, they have been able to do no more than the Ethical Culture movement in several eastern cities of this country. They gather a few choice spirits into their fellowship, but miss the masses whose corporate thought and life must be changed if we are to be saved.

In 1930, Dexter[223] reported that there existed a considerable diversity of opinion among churchmen on the question of whether or not specific sex instruction should be given in the church or in the church school. By 1945, however, Rockwood and Ford[224] reported that church groups

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[221] John S. Brubacher, A History of the Problems of Education, p. 354. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947.

[222] Harold A. Bosley, A Firm Faith for Today, p. 19. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1950.

[223] Robert C. Dexter, "The Church, Religious Education and the Family," Religious Education, 25 (December, 1930), 934-35.

[224] Lemo D. Rockwood and Mary E. N. Ford, Youth, Marriage and Parenthood, p. 29. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1945.

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ranked third as a source of information regarding problems of courtship and marriage.

Parker[225] described the contributions other than formal sex instruction that the churches make in the area of sex education. One of them, he claimed, is in bringing young people together under wholesome influences, making the church the center for young people. Churches also take a leadership in the sponsorship of other youth groups, which include the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts and the Y's. Parker reported further:

> The most important work in this field is a good young people's society....These societies should discuss honestly the great problems of life as they find it.... Recreations also play a part in their program. Although it is true that only disappointment awaits the minister who expects to lure young people into the Christian faith by inviting them to a party, it is also true that dramatics, hikes, summer camps and conferences, socials, even occasional dances and cards may have a value....
>
> In this it is well to bear in mind that we are trying to develop all sides of our young people's lives. The personal influence of the minister must be felt through friendship and through counsel sought by his own young people....The object is not numbers, nor is it mere diversion, but the one purpose is to help them attain the richest, finest, most understanding manhood and womanhood.

On the more formal side of sex education, many

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225 Fletcher Douglas Parker, "The Church and Courtship," Readings in the Family, pp. 270-73. Edited by Ernest R. Groves and Lee M. Brooks. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934.

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churches are developing counseling services. In fact, the Harts,[226] in 1941, claimed:

> Next to social workers, protestant ministers receive, probably, more calls for help on marriage and family problems than do the members of any other profession.

The Harts[227] also went on to say that some of the protestant ministers were studying the possibility of using something similar to the Catholic confessional, but the Harts claimed, "unless reinforced with scientific training and with adequate case-work methods,...the confessional interview has a limited function.

In order to help ministers carry out their functions as counselor in matters pertaining to sexual relationships, many groups suggested training in this area. The Committee on Social Service of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has recommended that ministers be qualified to provide sex instruction and personal guidance to young people at whose marriages they officiate. The Protestant Episcopal Church has made such instruction obligatory.[228]

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[226] Hornell Hart and Ella B. Hart, Personality and the Family, p. 437. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1941.

[227] Ibid., p. 438.

[228] Una Bernard Sait, New Horizons for the Family, p. 605. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938.

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Significance of the changes in tenets and positions of churches for sex education.--Although church leaders differ in what they consider to be proper sexual behavior, a large proportion of them seem to be interested in helping their members to make the best possible sexual adjustment. Each leader will be influenced in determining what constitutes the best adjustment by the tenets of his respective church. Therefore, the different church groups in a given community may hold various ideas on the subject of sexual behavior, and in some cases they hold positions that seem unlikely to be changed materially. Since no evidence was found that places without question any one position regarding acceptable sexual behavior above another, then it seems essential that the public schools should find ways of working with all church groups in the guidance of members of the community in the solution of their sex problems.

If schools and other community groups, including the churches, are to unite in order to help pupils make wholesome adjustments, it seems as if the better each group understands the other groups the more effectively they can work together. This suggests need, not only for a good public relations program in which each group points up its outstanding characteristics, but also for channels of communication by which each group can keep the others informed of any changes in their thinking regarding matters

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pertaining to sexual adjustment.

If many groups in the community are to work together successfully, it appears that some evaluation of the contributions of these groups to the solution of problems of sex education, individually and collectively, must continuously be made. This suggests both the adaptation of old techniques of evaluation to new problems and the development of new techniques to meet special situations arising when many groups within a community work on a similar problem.

Broader programs of sex education in which all members of the community play a part seem to have many possibilities not yet explored. It might be necessary to consider a sex education program in which the schools furnish a large part of the factual instruction and in which the churches give moral interpretation to the facts according to their various and separate doctrines.

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Summary

It is the purpose of this chapter to describe the intellectual and social setting of sex education in the public schools and to show the significance of that setting in the development of sex education. Since all changes in society cannot be discussed, the following areas which seem to bear most directly on sex education are selected: education, family adjustment, science, individual freedom, ethical conduct, and religion.

Changes in education.--Changes in education are described in terms of changes in educational philosophy, educational psychology, and curriculum development. These aspects are interrelated and changes in one often affect the others. During the first half of the twentieth century, several philosophic positions were taken, several schools of psychology were advocated, and a number of curriculum organizations were formed. While evidences of almost any philosophic position, school of psychology, or curriculum organization can be found in some public schools today, certain trends seem to stand out when one reviews changes in these areas. There seems to be an effort on the part of school officials to recognize individual differences, to develop programs to meet these individual needs, to study the problems of children in terms of many aspects of their development and in terms of many forces operating in

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the community, to teach for social utility, to find ways of developing insight regarding how to use materials functionally, to coordinate many learning experiences, to consider attitudes and appreciations, and to establish methods of work and ways of thinking.

Sex education likewise changed during the first half of the twentieth century. While almost all ideas expressed concerning sex education can be found somewhere in the public schools, there are tendencies to employ guidance techniques rather than mass instruction, to teach for appreciations and understandings rather than to teach information only, to help children and adolescents to make wholesome present-day adjustments rather than to tell them what they should not do in the future, and to draw upon all the resources of the school to help children and young people make wholesome adjustments in their sexual development.

Changes in family adjustment.--Changes in the organization and function of the family seemed to underlie and parallel developments in sex education. These changes began to occur in the early days of the industrial revolution but were not easily recognized in the United States until after the Civil War.

Among the most significant changes seemed to be: a gradually increasing divorce rate, an increasing amount

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of employment among women, especially married women, and an increasing activity of women in social and civic affairs. Within the family itself, there appeared a trend toward changing roles of children and young people as evidenced by increasing opportunity for them to make their own decisions, the increasing number of juvenile delinquents, and the increasing resistance of children and young people in conforming to patterns of sexual behavior based on taboos.

Although it is not possible to predict exact cause and effect relationships, the foregoing changes seemed to be reflected in such ways as: the development of methods for teaching attitudes, the guidance of children and young people in the appreciation and understanding of personal and interpersonal relationships and in ways of making wholesome adjustments in a changing society, the giving of accurate information to children and adolescents so that they may make their own decisions, the development of recreation programs in which both sexes participate, and the organization of courses and conferences in which problems of personal adjustment and marriage can be discussed.

Changes in science.--Sex education seemed to be influenced by changes in many aspects of science including the theory of evolution, medicine, and mental hygiene.

The theory of evolution seemed to be important in some of the sciences that were in turn important in sex

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education. Among the sciences affected by evolution were biology, heredity, and eugenics. Attempts to study the latter influenced the development of statistics.

Medical science contributed to sex education by isolating the causes of venereal diseases, by developing methods for their diagnosis, and by discovering ways of treating them. In addition, research in blood chemistry and endocrinology was important. Members of the medical profession gave personal leadership to social hygiene societies and delivered lectures on topics of sex education.

The mental hygiene movement was principally concerned with the prevention of mental maladjustments and the development of popular interest in such conditions. After World War I, the mental hygiene work was closely associated with child guidance clinics. During the depression years and the nineteen-forties, leaders in mental hygiene furnished information on ways of meeting problems concerning sex and relationships between the sexes.

Changes in science were reflected in sex education by the introduction of courses on venereal disease control, by the development of the lecture method for presenting sex information, by the organization of biology as one of the principal vehicles for sex instruction, by the addition of eugenics and heredity to a number of high school curricula, and by the development of programs in which

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personal adjustment was an objective and in which the techniques of guidance and counseling were used.

Changes in individual freedom.--Changes in individual freedom were noted in terms of changes in censorship. Such control of art and literature had been carried on for centuries by both religious and secular leaders. In the United States, official censorship became increasingly more pronounced after 1873. Through this censorship, many books and pictures - a number of which could be classified as scientific, artistic, or religious - were kept from circulation. During the twentieth century, action was taken against books written on topics considered to be obscene, and publishers were threatened with punishment if they distributed such books. Following World War I, there was a gradual decrease in the extent of censorship.

Literature dealing with problems of sex education was also banned and many early leaders in sex education were arrested for distributing it.

The changing attitudes of the court toward sex education literature came about gradually. In 1929, the Court of Appeals officially recognized the need for sex education literature and in 1945 it ruled that the federal government should not attempt to compel the acceptance of literary and moral standards by writers of material admittedly not obscene.

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While direct cause and effect relationships cannot be shown, certain changes stand out. As the strictness of censorship diminished, writers and publishers brought forth more literature pertaining to sex education. At the same time, the material that was published was more meaningful and contained fewer euphemisms. The legal interpretations of censorship encouraged writers because the need for sex education material was officially recognized.

Changes in ethical conduct.--The changes in ethical conduct that seemed to bear most directly on sex education in the public schools appeared after the publication of Origin of Species. Changes were noted both in theory and in popular expressions.

Following the Civil War, there was much discussion over whether or not there was an evolutionary basis to morals. Those who felt that there was such a basis received support from some anthropologists and from some philosophers who advocated relativism and pragmatism. Those who felt differently were supported by a large number of theologians and by some philosophers accepting the principles of idealism.

Popular expressions of changes in morals and ethics were seen in the wider acceptance of sexual freedom, birth control, and divorce. Further evidence of changes in moral and ethical behavior was found in new styles of clothing,

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in the increasing tendency toward nudeness, in increasing participation in mixed dancing, and in the decreasing use of euphemisms. There was also an increasing tendency for advertisers to appeal to sexual needs.

Changes in moral and ethical behavior seemed to be significant for sex education in the following ways: the need to help children and young people to understand the various ways of dealing with sex problems seemed apparent; the need to help them recognize the dangers of promiscuity seemed important; the need to help them see the values of marriage was recognized; the need to give parents help seemed important; and since there was an increasing amount of sexual stimuli in the environment, the need to help children and young people to develop value systems by which to judge their own behavior was suggested.

Changes in religion.--The different positions taken by the churches on topics of sex seemed to underlie and parallel sex education. Some churches maintained consistent positions from the time of their founding, while others tended to modify their positions from time to time.

The Roman Catholic Church consistently considered certain patterns of sexual behavior to be sinful. This church opposed naturalistic education, the woman's movement, coeducation, birth control, divorce, and sex education in the public schools. In the Protestant churches, since their

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very nature permits various interpretations, a wide range of positions on such topics were taken. During the early years of the twentieth century, differences in opinion on these subjects were widened by the debate over whether or not there could be a scientific approach to religion. Those accepting the position that there could be such a basis claimed that moral education should be based on social experiences. This group formed the Religious Education Association and promoted the Character Education Inquiry.

The Roman Catholic Church claimed that sex education belonged in the home or the church, counseled parents on ways of handling the sex problems of their children, conducted retreats where advice on sex matters was given, and offered guidance for the solution of family and personal problems through confessionals.

Protestant ministers expressed the opinion that sex education should be handled in the churches as well as in the schools by bringing children and young people together in wholesome surroundings, by sponsoring organizations for young people, and by developing counseling services.

While different churches approached the problem of sexual adjustment differently, a large number of them wanted to help their members make adequate adjustments. There were a number of instances of cooperation between the churches and the schools to develop programs of sex education designed

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to meet the needs of individual children and young people. Such cooperation is in line with the idea that the solution of sex problems is a function of the entire community in which everyone and every institution contributes in areas of greatest strength.

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CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Purpose and Plan of Study

Purpose of study.--It is the purpose of this study to survey educational and related literature to determine to what extent, if any, the ideas regarding sex education in the public schools of the United States have changed; to identify and trace the history of these ideas during the years from 1900 to 1950; and to describe the principal intellectual and social movements underlying and paralleling sex education during the same period. In order to do this, the following questions are investigated:

1. What is the chronological development of the sex education movement in the public schools during the period 1900 to 1950?

2. What were the principal ideas expressed regarding sex education in the public schools during the period 1900 to 1950, and to what extent, if any, have these ideas changed?

3. What was the intellectual and social setting in which sex education developed in the public schools of the United States during the period 1900 to 1950?

Basic assumptions.- This investigation is predicated on the assumption that the ideas can be identified and that the underlying and parallelling intellectual and social

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movements can also be identified.

Definition of terms.--Several words and phrases are defined in order to clarify their use in this study. The phrase "sex education" is used to refer to all educational measures which "may help humans of any age, especially in childhood and youth, to meet life problems which result from the natural relations of the sexes."[1] The phrase "educational and related literature" is defined to include any literature that a teacher interested in sex education might read in order better to understand this topic. "Public schools," for the most part, are considered to be tax supported institutions of the elementary and secondary levels. The public schools, however, extend into the community and any problem of sexual adjustment which is in anyway a problem of the schools is considered in this investigation. For the purposes of this study, the "ideas" discussed are those relating to the beliefs and concepts held regarding what sex education should be in the public schools.

Justification of study.--Many school administrators, teachers, and students of education are in need of orientation in the field of sex education and help in the interpretation of developments in the field. Both curriculum trends and social trends require the public schools to participate more and more in this area. Because many of

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[1] M. A. Bigelow, "Sex Education in America Today," Journal of Social Hygiene, 24 (December, 1938), 527-32.

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the problems directly or indirectly related to the development of sex education programs in the public schools have emotional components, the interpretation of these problems should be more objective if shown in terms of historical trends and factors related to these trends. In order to understand overall problems in this area, ideas and concepts are emphasized rather than events, although the latter play an important function in this understanding. In addition to the aforementioned justifications for this research, no publication has been found that shows the historical growth of the ideas of sex education in terms of their intellectual and social setting. Since sufficient time to allow for definite changes has elapsed, it seems that it is time to make a comprehensive study in order to trace these changes and to identify the important aspects of the social setting in which these changes took place.

Limitations of study.--This study is concerned with the ideas expressed or implied in educational and related literature regarding sex education in the public schools of the United States during the period 1900 to 1950. The literature investigated consists primarily of books and articles written for educators and the pupils themselves to read. Related literature discussing the intellectual and social movements underlying and parallelling sex education was covered only as it was needed to throw light on

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this setting. The present research is not particularly concerned with the extent to which the ideas expressed or implied actually influenced practice. The study is also restricted in that it covers only those parallelling intellectual and social movements that seem most significant as a part of the setting for sex education.

Procedure of study.--After a survey of the literature, which determined that no study similar to the present research had been conducted, a comprehensive bibliography of sex education was developed. This bibliography became the initial reading list and included all educational literature on the topic of sex education published between 1850 and 1950. Each article was read. In some cases notes were made; in other cases a complete abstract was made. The kinds of ideas expressed regarding sex education were specifically noted. In the reading of the articles appearing in the initial bibliography, further references were located. These additional references were treated in the same manner as those that appeared on the initial reading list. Whenever several authors claimed that certain materials, not necessarily regarding sex education, were helpful, these materials were investigated. For example, studies were made of books for children and adolescents, of courses of study, of textbooks, of reports of anti-vice campaigns, and of books in such areas as eugenics, evolution,

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marriage, and the family. In addition, the activities of leaders in sex education and of different national societies were studied. As the reading progressed, certain underlying intellectual and social movements began to appear. These were investigated. In addition, as other questions arose that seemed to bear on the problem, they were studied.

Classification of data of study.--Both primary and secondary sources are used in this study. When the ideas expressed or implied are those of the author who wrote the article, the source is considered as being primary. When the article was written to explain the ideas of others, the source is considered as being secondary. Sometimes the same source is considered both primary and secondary depending on its use.

Review of Related Literature

A review of the literature failed to reveal a history of sex education which was as extensive as the present investigation and which was focussed on the public schools. Three kinds of studies were found that bore on the topic of this dissertation, namely: (1) reports showing the development of aspects of the sex education movement, (2) histories of developments in areas related to sex other than sex education, and (3) reports illustrating attempts to identify ideas and major emphases

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in the field of sex education.

Reports showing the development of aspects of the sex education movement consist of short articles in journals and parts of longer studies such as dissertations, theses, and surveys. These reports provided brief statements regarding such areas as the history of family-life education, the history of parental education, the history of the eugenics movement, the history of moral education, the development of the activities of the social hygiene societies, and the development of programs of venereal disease control. This material was valuable for the present investigation because it furnished dates and periods as points of reference, traced some of the trends, related work in sex education to activities of groups other than school personnel, suggested techniques of value for the present investigation, helped to point out the social and intellectual bases for sex education, and gave evaluations of a number of the areas of the sex education program at different times during the fifty-year period considered in this study.

Histories of developments in areas related to sex other than sex education were, for the most part, comprehensive and scholarly studies of such problems as prostitution, marriage and family life, and changing attitudes toward sex. These studies aided the present investigation

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by giving background for understanding the place of sex education in terms of larger social implications, by showing how sex education originated out of the activities of social groups interested in these problems, and by giving dates and techniques against which to compare dates and methods used in the present study.

Reports illustrating attempts to identify ideas and major emphases in the field of sex education were limited to short articles in journals of education and sociology and to introductory chapters in books on sex education. These reports indicated the ideas held by leaders in the field of sex education, the ways in which a number of these ideas changed, and methods of classifying ideas of sex education. These reports were most important as sources against which to check the classification of ideas found in the present study.

A History of Sex Education in the Public Schools

In the organization of this study, a history of the development of sex education in the public schools precedes the discussion of the development of ideas over the fifty-year period. This seemed necessary in order to provide a clear historical frame of reference for the discussion of ideas, and the subsequent discussion of the social setting of the sex education movement. Actually such an arrangement is

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arbitrary, and points discussed in the history of the sex education movement are referred to again as needed in other parts of the study.

In order to write the history of sex education, a chronology was first developed. This chronology contained all the dates which referred to any phase of sex education and which were mentioned in the material read. The problem then became one of selecting periods for the purpose of organizing the history of sex education. The problem of selecting historical periods is a perennial one. For example, Beard[2] had to deal with the same problem in setting the limits of historical events occurring during the nineteenth century. Although the years between 1800 and 1900 marked off the century, she felt that the dates 1815 to 1914 were better for historical purposes. A similar problem arose in reporting the history of sex education. Although five periods of ten years each might have been convenient, it seemed more appropriate to select time limits which encompassed groups of more closely related events.

A first period of sex education in the twentieth century seemed to open in 1900 with international meetings

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[2]Mary R. Beard, Women As Force in History, p. 1. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946.

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organized for the purpose of curtailing venereal disease and to close in 1912 when definite programs were suggested for the participation of school personnel in the promotion of sex education. The chief contribution to sex education during the first period was the development of statements regarding the need for such programs. Reports from anti-vice campaigns and the many discoveries in medicine pertaining to venereal disease emphasized this need. Several national and international groups were organized for the purpose of promoting, at least in part, programs of sex education.

During the second period, dated for the purposes of this study from 1912 to 1918, school personnel became more actively concerned with programs of sex education. This period followed the meeting of the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography at which a program of sex education requiring the participation of school personnel was planned. During the second period, there was an increase in the number of articles appearing in educational periodicals and in bulletins and reports of the Bureau of Education. These articles described ways that teachers might handle sex education. There was also an increasing amount of research designed to find out what schools should do in this area. At the same time, teaching materials and aids were developed to help teachers, and the National Education Association

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encouraged teachers to participate in sex education programs. A few cities began to experiment with programs in sex education. While there was increased participation of school personnel in programs of sex education, there was also an increasing number of protests against school personnel helping children with their problems of sexual adjustment. The period ended in 1918 with the federal government beginning to participate officially in programs of sex education.

The years 1918 to 1929, the period between the end of World War I and the beginning of the economic depression, seemed to mark a third period. During these years, there seemed to be two parallel emphases in sex education. Following World War I, the federal government took an official interest in venereal disease control. At the same time, nongovernmental groups became increasingly interested in sex education as a factor in family-life and individual adjustment. The federal government, through funds allocated under the Chamberlain-Kahn Act, held conferences at high schools and colleges in order to devise programs of sex education, issued syllabi and pamphlets pointing out how high school subjects could be used in this area, distributed aids for teachers, and made surveys on the need for and the extent of sex education programs in the public schools. Nongovernmental groups urged the development of school programs aimed at guiding individuals in meeting their personal problems in

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the area of sexual adjustment, the organization and presentation of high school and college courses in marriage and the family, and the formation of courses for parents so that they might work with the schools in helping their children to understand sex. During the third period, there was a trend toward teaching sex information in the elementary schools and teaching many kinds of information necessary for family life adjustment in the high schools.

The fourth period corresponded to the economic depression, beginning in 1929 and ending in 1941. The period was marked by the increased emphasis on those aspects of human relations in which sexual adjustment is important and by the decrease in the emphasis placed on such topics as the sex organs, reproduction, and venereal disease control. A number of leaders in the sex education movement claimed that venereal disease control was really a phase of courses devoted to communicable diseases and not a phase of sex education. During the fourth period, many national groups united in an effort to help individuals and families to make wholesome adjustments. These groups were joined by the federal government. Schools emphasized broad programs in which the objectives were aimed at guiding children and young people in making wholesome adjustments with their peers and in developing socially acceptable attitudes toward sex and relations between the sexes.

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The fifth period considered in this study extended from 1941 to 1950. This period was characterized by the broadening of programs of human-relations education and the stressing of the specific needs of local areas. While in the fourth period, national groups united to promote programs of sex education, during the fifth period, community groups united to develop specific programs for particular areas. Programs for the public schools were planned to meet local needs with all parts of the school curriculum contributing to meeting these needs. To a large extent, these courses were concerned with broad aspects of human relations and were encouraged by leadership from the United States Office of Education. The broader aspect of sex education was encouraged by national organizations that developed courses of study for parents so that they might help their children. While some writers, during the fifth period, wanted to eliminate sex facts entirely from programs of sex education in the public schools, others wanted to include in such programs anything that would help children and young people to make more wholesome adjustments. This included instruction in venereal disease control, the need for which was emphasized by reports of casualties due to such diseases among the personnel of World War II.

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Ideas Expressed or Implied Regarding Sex Education in the Public Schools

An examination of the notes and abstracts made on the literature read for this investigation revealed many kinds of ideas regarding sex education in the public schools. While there were many such ideas, they seemed to fall into seven categories which, for the purpose of this study, are called the ideas of: silence, reward and punishment, fear, factual instruction, ethical understanding, personal development, and human relations.

Although many of the ideas were expressed throughout the entire time interval considered in this study, there were differences in the times at which each first appeared frequently in the literature. This made it possible to arrange them in chronological order. Those which were mentioned more frequently earlier in the century are discussed first.

The idea of silence is identified in this study to mean both the omission of sex information from curricular materials where it seems to belong and the direct statements which claimed that sex education is not a function of the public schools. The absence of information regarding sex and reproduction from biology and physiology books was most apparent during the years 1900 to 1912. After this date, there was an increasing tendency to include information of this kind and to point out the human implications. As the schools began to participate more directly in the promotion

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of sex education programs during the years 1912 to 1918, the number of articles opposing the teaching of such information increased. Following World War I, this idea was identified less frequently, although there still remained many writers who expressed the opinion that sex education should not be handled by the public schools.

Another group of expressions regarding sex education that was relatively more important in the earlier years of the twentieth century than later in the century is defined in this study as the idea of reward and punishment. This idea includes any expression which points out that there are extrinsic rewards to be earned by those following the socially accepted pattern of conduct and that there are punishments for those who do not. Sometimes the rewards or punishments are to be received in the hereafter, and at other times, they are to be given out during one's lifetime. Frequently, those approaching sex education in this manner used techniques of moral suasion and stories of heroes. This approach to sex education was used more frequently by other groups than it was by school personnel, and articles on this treatment of the subject were found oftener in material published for and by such groups than it was found in literature published specifically for the schools. Although this was the principal approach to sex education in 1900, by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, other

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approaches were being used more frequently. Later during the fifty-year period, when many writers recognized need for emphasizing moral and ethical values, they tended to base their approach on presenting factual information rather than moral suasion.

The idea of fear is defined as the emphasis upon warning children and young people of the physical and social dangers of promiscuous sexual conduct. This idea was emphasized after the first decade of the twentieth century when those holding opinions characterized as the idea of fear received reports from anti-vice campaigns and from men working in medical research regarding the extent of prostitution and venereal disease. While the idea of fear appeared more frequently in the literature during the years between 1912 and 1918 than at any other time during the period investigated, approaches to sex education that resulted in the development of fear on the part of the learner continued to be used throughout the years of the first half of the twentieth century. Such approaches seemed to be emphasized after the release of reports that indicated the high prevalence of venereal disease. Such reports were issued during World War I and World War II. Besides pointing out the dangers of disease, warnings were given regarding the possibilities of insanity, sterility, blindness, and illegitimacy. Following World War I, an increasing number of writers

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claimed that the use of methods that instilled fear was a negative approach to sex education. These writers recommended an approach in which the development of positive values of sex would be emphasized.

The idea of factual instruction is defined as the assumption that,if children and young people are given the facts of sex and reproduction, they will make adequate and socially accepted sexual adjustment. This approach to sex education was identified very frequently in textbooks and other books for children and adolescents in which an understanding of the biological and physiological aspects of sex was important. During the first decade of the twentieth century, the facts presented were those pertaining to plants and animals and no attempt was made to point out human implications. During the second decade, some writers suggested that the implications of such information for human beings should be specifically explained to the students. The illustrations continued to be drawn, for the most part, from plants and lower animals throughout the fifty years considered in this study. Beginning in the second decade there was some tendency toward using higher animals and mammals, and during the third decade this trend was quite noticeable. As the illustrations became increasingly more specific regarding the functions of sex and reproduction in man, there were more and more objections to approaches

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defined as factual instruction and an increasing number of suggestions that facts should be discussed in terms of ethical values.

The idea of ethical understanding was attributed to writers who stated that virtue was not necessarily an outcome obtained from factual instruction. These writers were especially interested in the emotional aspects of sex education and in the development of proper attitudes. A number of these writers stated that everyone has a responsibility for the improvement of the race. Other writers wished to develop through sex education an appreciation of the values of monogamous marital relations. This idea was also identified frequently in articles in educational journals in which the objectives of sex education were stated, and in articles in which objections were raised to the practice of presenting sex facts without pointing out the values in certain kinds of sexual behavior. During the second decade of the twentieth century, this approach to sex education stood out clearly. From the end of World War I to 1950, many writers continued to emphasize the need to help children and young people develop ethical values in the area of sex. This idea seemed to be interrelated during the second quarter of the twentieth century with ideas classified as personal development and human relations. During the nineteen-forties emphasis began to be upon the

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development of values to guide actions rather than upon the arbitrary insistence upon behavior patterns, the reasons for which were not always understood.

Statements in which writers expressed interest in the development of the individual rather than in social improvement were classified in this study as ideas of personal development. One of the principal objectives of those considered as holding this idea seemed to be the development of sound mental health. Leaders who suggested this approach to sex education were probably influenced by the work of the psychoanalysts, people interested in mental hygiene, and people concerned with the development of child guidance clinics. The amount of written material expressing this idea seemed to rise slowly after World War I, to increase rapidly during the nineteen-twenties, to reach a peak during the nineteen-thirties, and to remain at this high peak throughout the balance of the years under consideration. Those who used the approach to sex education considered in this study under the idea of personal development emphasized the use of guidance techniques, of parent education, and of newer educational and psychological procedures aimed at meeting the individual needs of children and adolescents. Many books for children and young people to read on sex education used this theme and articles and books for parents and teachers emphasized

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need to personalize the approach to sex education in order to promote better individual adjustment.

The idea of human relations was attributed to those writers who were concerned with sex education as a factor in dealing with such social problems as delinquency, divorce, family-life adjustment, and the development of wholesome interpersonal relationships. The idea of human relations in sex education is so closely related to the idea of personal development that the two ideas cannot always be separated. In fact, both of these ideas can be identified in many of the same sources. While there had been evidence of efforts to teach skills that would help improve family life even before the twentieth century, there was little effort to consider and teach the human aspects of heterosexual adjustment until the nineteen-twenties. At first such education was concerned primarily with making better homes in the future. During the depression, however, when many problems of interpersonal adjustment became evident, an increasing amount of instruction was aimed at helping children and young people make adequate and wholesome adjustments with other people in their day-to-day activities. During the nineteen-forties, a large number of writers expressed the opinion that the only approach to sex education was through using procedures that would improve interpersonal relationships.

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A few writers stated that the facts of sex and reproduction in themselves were relatively unimportant and that schools should make no direct effort to teach them.

The Intellectual and Social Setting Underlying Sex Education in the Public Schools

In order to gain a better perspective of sex education in the public schools, it seemed necessary to view its development in terms of changes in the intellectual and social setting. A review of the literature used as a source of data for this study indicated that sex education is a part of a larger setting. Since all aspects of this setting could not be described, those areas which were mentioned most frequently in connection with sex education and which seemed to bear most closely on this topic were chosen. The topics selected include: education, family life, science, individual freedom, moral and ethical behavior, and religion.

During the fifty years covered in this investigation, many changes have occurred in several aspects of education, including philosophy, psychology, and the curriculum. During these years many philosophic positions have been expressed and each of these positions has influenced education to some extent. Although advocates of each school of philosophy, at one time or another, have claimed their philosophy to be the answer to most problems in American

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education, as the first half of the twentieth century ended, it was not possible to consider any position as being the dominant one. Between 1900 and 1950, several schools of psychology have arisen and like the schools of educational philosophy have continued throughout the period under consideration to influence education. Likewise several kinds of curriculum organization have been developed and each plan, at least in a modified form, can be found operating in the schools today. While the different philosophies, psychologies, and curriculum organizations have influenced education throughout the first half of the twentieth century, several trends can be noted. By 1950, there was a noticeable increase in the treatment of problems other than academic by the schools. There was a decrease in the teaching of facts as ends in themselves, and there was more effort to relate the facts to other facts, to values of many kinds, and to current as well as future needs of the pupils. There was a trend toward viewing education in larger units specifically directed toward meeting the particular needs of individuals. Similar changes can be noted in sex education. Facts of sex and reproduction were taught first as ends in themselves, next in terms of other values, then in terms of solving future problems, and finally in terms of helping with present-day adjustment. There is a growing tendency to consider sex education

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as broader than the mere imparting of sex facts, to encourage many approaches to the topic, to solicit the cooperation of many people in such education, and to emphasize personal and social needs of individual pupils.

The fifty-year period under discussion, during which time schools gradually came to offer courses in marriage and family adjustment and courses aimed at meeting the problems of adjustment of children and young people, was marked by significant changes in the organization and function of the family. The family became increasingly less stable as seen in the increasing number of women working outside of the home, in the increasing number of leisure-time interests outside of the home, in the increasing opportunities for transportation to get away from the home, and in the increasing rate of divorce. Women expressed an increasing amount of interest in social and moral problems, especially those touching upon the home. During these years, younger members of the family were changing their attitudes toward social conventions, and were given more opportunities to make their own decisions, but were often faced with the lack of financial assets to meet their decisions. As the twentieth century progressed, a number of social changes increased the feeling of insecurity among young people. A large number of writers felt that sex education could be a factor in the solution of many of the problems of family adjustment, but they emphasized the need for programs in

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which sex behavior was interpreted rather than for courses in which only biological and physiological facts were given.

Perhaps of all the aspects of the social setting, the contribution of science to the sex education movement is the most clearly identifiable. Among the areas of science discussed are evolution, medical research, and mental hygiene. These three areas were chosen because of three important but distinct emphases. Theories of evolution influenced sciences and philosophies which in turn affected the development of sex education. The theory of evolution stimulated the growth of the biological sciences, the social sciences, and eugenics, and raised a number of moral and theological questions. Medical science, for its part, contributed to sex education through its research in venereal disease control. Medical men and women, early in the century, gave talks to school children on the dangers of venereal disease. These efforts led to attempts by the public schools to give sex instruction. Many activities of the mental hygiene movement were important in sex education. This movement grew as a result of a need for more humane treatment of persons afflicted with mental ailments. Some members of the movement were concerned with the function of sexual adjustment in personality development; others were interested in the development of child guidance clinics designed to help children make suitable and wholesome

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adjustments in many areas of life; and still others were involved in the solution of problems of individual and group morale. All three groups made suggestions regarding programs of sex education in the public schools.

Changes in individual freedom had important relationships to the sex education movement because as a whole such changes led to more open discussions of problems of sexual adjustment. Under the rigid censorship laws, known as the Comstock laws, literature touching upon the subject of sex and reproduction had been banned from the United States mails. Included in this literature was material written to aid children and young people understand sex. As court actions lifted these bans, it was possible for publishers to distribute an increasing amount of literature written for the purpose of giving sex instruction.

During the fifty-year period considered in this study, several changes occurring in the concepts held regarding ethics and morals had important bearing on the developments in sex education. Efforts were made to determine ethical principles by the use of science. Findings from such areas as biology, sociology, psychology, psychoanalysis, and anthropology aided the scientific approach to the study of conduct. The rise of pragmatism and relativism raised questions regarding morals that were based on absolutism. While philosophers were discussing

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changes in ethics, laymen were also expressing a new attitude toward sexual behavior. A more liberal attitude was noted among the masses of the people regarding such questions as divorce, sex freedom, birth control, clothing and dancing, sex in advertising, and verbal taboos.

Closely related to changes in ethical and moral concepts were changes in religious tenets. While some churches, during the period investigated, held to their traditional beliefs regarding sexual conduct, other churches began to permit their members more freedom in selecting their own behavior patterns. Those churches which retained their traditional beliefs opposed, in varying degrees, naturalistic education, the changing status of women, birth control, divorce, evolution, and sex education. Those churches that were changing from their original points of view allowed their communicants various amounts of freedom within these areas. At the same time, two moral theories were being advocated by churchmen and interested laymen-one was promoted through evangelism, the other by reporting research studies. The proponents of the latter theory formed the Religious Education Association, which was important to sex education in two ways. The association's journal was one of the first to publish articles in sex education and the association was important in the organization and promotion of the Character Education Inquiry.

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This was a study that revealed the ineffectiveness of conventional ways of teaching morals. While disagreeing on the place of sex education in the public schools, a large number of the church leaders attempted to help children and young people to make wholesome sexual adjustments by different kinds of programs set up for the children and young people themselves or for their parents.

Conclusions

It was the purpose of this investigation to analyze educational literature in an effort to answer three questions pertaining to the growth of sex education in the public schools of the United States from 1900 to 1950. The conclusions arrived at in this study are reported in terms of the answers to the following questions:

(1) <u>What is the chronological development of the sex education movement in the public schools during the period 1900 to 1950</u>?--Five periods in the development of sex education in the public schools during the first half of the twentieth century were identified. During the first period (1900-1912), the foundations for sex education were laid; during the second period (1912-1918), the schools began to assume responsibility for programs of sex education; during the third period (1918-1929), an interest in preparation for marriage was important in sex education programs;

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during the fourth period (1929-1941), emphasis was upon personal and familial adjustment; and during the fifth period (1941-1950), encouragement was given to programs designed to help children and young people understand the broad aspects of human relations. Throughout this development, sex education in the public schools has grown in several ways. Although the acceptance of sex education in the public schools was by no means universal, this investigation suggests that in 1950 a proportionally larger number of people accepted such education as a function of the schools than did so in 1900. The evidence seemed to indicate that fewer people openly resisted such instruction on the part of the schools in 1950 than opposed such teaching in 1900. The contents of sex education during the first period was primarily limited to the biological and physiological facts of sex and reproduction as seen in plants and lower animals and to warnings of moral and physical dangers of certain kinds of behavior. As the first half of the twentieth century ended, a large number of the subject areas contributed to programs of sex education. In addition, areas of the curriculum were specifically designed to help pupils find answers to their many problems of personal and social adjustment including those concerning sex. The time devoted to sex education in the public schools has increased during the fifty years under consideration. Toward the end of the period covered

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in this investigation, sex education was given over a wider age-grade range and more space was devoted to the topic in textbooks and other materials available to children.

(2) <u>What were the principal ideas expressed regarding sex education in the public schools during the period 1900 to 1950, and to what extent, if any, have these ideas changed?</u>--Seven major ideas were identified and discussed in this study. They were the ideas of silence, reward and punishment, fear, factual instruction, ethical understanding, personal development, and human relations. None of the ideas was expressed or implied for the first time during the fifty years studied in this investigation, but most of them were emphasized more during this period than during earlier years. During each of the five periods between 1900 and 1950, certain of the ideas were expressed or implied more frequently than other ideas, but no idea replaced the others completely. In 1900, the prevalent idea was not to have the public schools handle problems of sex education. In fact, any public instruction in this area, whether by the schools or other institutions, consisted primarily of descriptions of rewards and punishments. During the intervening years to 1950, facts were emphasized, the dangers of veneral disease were stressed, and the ethical implications were pointed out. As the period under investigation ended, sex education was recognized by a large number of educators

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and laymen as a function of the public schools. The emphasis in 1950 was upon the development of better human relations and improved personal adjustment. There were a few writers in 1950 who would eliminate biological and physiological information from such education, but they were not numerous. Much of the discussion of sex education found in the literature published during the fifty years covered in this study was based on the various ideas held by different people regarding such education. Many of the problems in this area seemed to rise from these differences in opinion.

(3) What was the intellectual and social setting in which sex education developed in the public schools of the United States during the period 1900 to 1950?--Changes in many intellectual and social areas seemed to parallel and underlie the changes in sex education. The number of such areas is very large, but of all those that might have been discussed the following areas were chosen, because they seemed to be the most significant to sex education: education, the family, science, individual freedom, ethics and morals, and religion. In 1900 activities and beliefs in any of these areas were rather rigidly and narrowly defined. By 1950 these activities and beliefs were broader in scope. At the beginning of the century, the function of education was to teach the fundamental skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic and to prepare students for college. As the

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first half of the century ended, the task of the school was becoming that of helping the individual child to make the best possible adjustment to life. At the close of the nineteenth century, the American family was organized as a close-knit, well-defined unit in which conformity was the rule. By the end of the first fifty years of the twentieth century, the organization of the family was less well defined and the development of individuality was becoming of paramount concern. During the first period of sex education, scientific research was beginning to make discoveries applicable to adjustment in which sex plays an important role. While at first there was a tendency to apply these findings to the improvement of social conditions, as the second quarter of the century ended an increasing amount of attention was focussed on using the results of experimentation to help individuals to make wholesome personal and interpersonal adjustments. Early in the twentieth century, censorship of written materials was carried on extensively whenever sex was the topic and, at the same time, people did not openly discuss the subject. By 1950, many of the bans had been lifted and people openly discussed many of the topics formerly considered taboo. In 1900, the pattern of moral behavior was definitely prescribed; by 1950 considerable freedom within wide limits was permitted in the choice of patterns of behavior that were considered both

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wholesome and socially acceptable. At the beginning of the twentieth century, churches were very traditional in their interpretations of acceptable behavior. As many of these churches began to reevaluate their doctrines in terms of scientific research, they began to allow their communicants more individual freedom. By 1950, a large number of church people could maintain their memberships and yet behave in ways quite unacceptable to their churches in 1900. Sex education at first was interpreted very narrowly with considerable emphasis on social improvement. By 1950, programs of sex education, like programs in other social areas, had broadened and were increasingly concerned with the personal and interpersonal adjustment of the individual.

Trends

Several trends were revealed by the present investigation. These are as follows:

1. There was a decrease in the emphasis on factual information and an increase in the emphasis on the development of attitudes, understandings, and appreciations.

2. There was a movement toward lowering the age-grade level where sex education should be handled in the public schools.

3. There was an increase in the number of school subjects that were used to help develop an understanding of

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sex and relationships between the sexes.

4. There was a decrease in the arguments regarding what group was responsible for sex education and an increase in discussions regarding how different community organizations and institutions could unite in developing a comprehensive program for helping children and young people with their problems pertaining to sex.

5. There was an increasing tendency for writers in a single article to describe more than one approach to or more than one purpose for sex education. Frequently, toward the end of the period under consideration, an article could be used to illustrate many of the ideas under which the different approaches to sex education were classified in this investigation.

6. There was a trend toward helping the individual to solve his present-day problems of sexual adjustment rather than urging him to devote his full time to preparation for meeting his future problems.

Suggestions for Further Research

The present investigation is a type of survey that covers a wide area of the field of sex education but does not analyze intensively specific phases of the problem. A review of the data presented in this dissertation reveals the need for more research in the field of sex education.

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Among topics or themes for such needed studies are the following.

1. Programs of sex education actually developed in the schools

2. Origins of each of the several ideas regarding sex education

3. Biographies of the early contributors to the sex education movement

4. Investigations of methods for developing better attitudes toward sex and better relationships between the sexes

5. Histories of the development of sex education in such institutions as the church and the private school

6. Histories of the laws affecting sex education in the forty-eight states and in the United States as a whole

7. Methods and techniques for determining when a child is ready for particular kinds of sex instruction

8. Ways to determine what sex knowledge different children need at different points in their maturity

9. Simple tools and techniques that would be useful in measuring community reaction to sex education and for predicting possible changes toward sex education

10. Surveys of how parents who have had guidance and training in matters pertaining to sex meet the sex problems of their own children

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11. Determination of the effect of the number and character of siblings on the kind of sex education needed for particular children

12. Determination of the sex education needs of children from broken homes

13. Evaluation of stories written for children in order to ascertain what they offer to the development of an understanding and appreciation of sex

14. Development and analysis of plans for training parents to handle the sex problems of their children

15. Analysis of sex education needs of different sub-groups within the present society of the United States

16. Ways of helping children develop value systems without attempting to promote specific patterns of behavior.

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