

## **Boyd H. Bode and the Social Aims of Education**

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At a time when public education is under attack in the US, and when democracy has been reduced to a system for expressing individual choice and schooling to a consumer good, there is a sore need to rekindle discussion of the wider social purposes of education. Periodic acts of reclamation are required if the link between schooling and the historical aspirations of Americans is to remain vital and vibrant. One such effort was led by John Dewey and Boyd Bode who, “prior to 1930...were almost alone in considering *democracy* an important factor in determining educational objectives”<sup>1</sup> Dewey is well-remembered, but Bode, his dear friend, is not. A life is an argument, and Bode’s life makes the case for a view of the universe as open and expansive, not fixed and certain, and for democracy as both a theory of education and a way of life consistent with such a view.

### ***Early Life***

Born in Ridott, Illinois, in 1873 to immigrant parents, Boyd H. Bode’s first language was Dutch, then German, and finally, sometime after age eight, he learned to speak English. Steeped in a deep Calvinist faith, Bode was the only child of eight allowed to pursue an education by his minister father who hoped his son would follow him into the pulpit. A dutiful son and bookish child, who stayed in from recess to read unless a baseball game was underway—which became a lifelong passion—Bode took full advantage of the rather meager early educational opportunities available to him eventually earning an A.B. in 1896 at Penn College. In 1897 he earned as a scholarship student a second A.B. from the University of Michigan and completed his Ph.D. at Cornell University in 1900. Away from home and despite his dutifully attending chapel, Bode’s parents worried their son would someday fall into unbelief. While at Cornell he wrote letters of reassurance in colloquial Dutch to his father that his religious faith was secure, even though he had chosen to study philosophy rather than theology, a decision his father found troubling: “Your letter gave me the impression that you still have the fear that I—after all—will still lapse into unbelief. Let me again put your mind at ease that there is little danger for that. Skepticism does not appeal to me, especially not now as I begin to see from where it exists... It appears to me that morals without religion does not mean much.”<sup>2</sup> What other possible grounding

for morals could there be? Even as Bode professed faith, his doubts were growing. Later, reflecting on his time at Cornell, Bode concluded he was “sold a bill of goods,” referring to the idealist philosophy he imbibed. During the years immediately following graduation Bode engaged in a slow, often torturous, process that ultimately led to thinking his way out of idealism and into pragmatism, out of absolute idealism and toward a reliance on human experience as the basis for making moral judgments. From Cornell, Bode received an appointment in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Wisconsin where Max Otto and V.T. Thayer became his students and later friends. It was at Wisconsin where Bode’s struggles with idealism sharpened and intensified, but he could not find a resolution. Reflecting on those times Otto wrote that “Bode was working like the devil on the material that obsessed him in class because it was an aspect of getting his mind cleared upon where he stood, or slithered around, for it wasn’t a *stand*—that was just the trouble—he didn’t have a standing ground!”<sup>3</sup> Bode would not settle until 1913, four years after leaving Wisconsin for the University of Illinois, when he proclaimed to Otto, “It has been a great year for yours truly. I have covered considerable ground and am now a confirmed pragmatist.... I am beginning to feel respectable, as tho [sic] my work were not all a bluff.”<sup>4</sup> With this change, Bode gave up his belief in ultimate Truth and came to recognize ordinary human experience as the basis for all value systems. With this turn in understanding came an increased interest in democratic social institutions and in education as essential means for realizing human values. As a 19 year old, Bode had taught in a one-room, rural, schoolhouse for a short time in 1892, but then he saw little if any connection between democracy and education.

### ***Moving to Education***

Bode’s move to Illinois was facilitated by letters of support from James Hayden Tufts, William James, and John Dewey, among others. Of the then still idealist Bode, James wrote: “As a writer he impresses me *very* favorably, being acute, original and independent. Certainly among the foremost of our rising philosophers.”<sup>5</sup> Dewey wrote: “Bode seems to me from the standpoint of philosophic originality one of the two or three strongest of his generation in this country.”<sup>6</sup> These were generous endorsements, considering that both James and Dewey had been objects of Bode’s critical writing. Even though they became dear friends, Bode never was fully satisfied with Dewey’s definition of democracy or his conception of growth as the aim of education—too individualist as an aim, Bode thought.

At Illinois, Bode was reunited with his fellow Cornell graduate and close friend, William Chandler Bagley, a prolific writer and distinguished educator who later led the “Essentialist” movement in education as a counter to educational progressivism.<sup>7</sup> Bagley encouraged and nurtured Bode’s interest in education, and provided him opportunities to wrestle with educational issues, including team-teaching a course on educational theory in 1916. At Bagley’s invitation, Bode became a regular participant in the annual high school conference sponsored

by the university and regularly he was on “loan” to the education department. It is certain that Bode’s move to pragmatism profoundly changed his understanding of philosophy and its purposes, and that these changes stimulated an expanded involvement in education. As a pragmatist Bode took to heart Dewey’s claim that the “most penetrating definition of philosophy which can be given is...that it is the theory of education in its most general phase.”<sup>8</sup> One result of so many changes was that Bode’s became increasingly dissatisfied with his teaching assignment. Logic courses, “horse sense made asinine,” as he called it, left him cold. He longed for a philosophy that made a difference—“philosophy brought down to earth, and centered in education.”<sup>9</sup> “Philosophy,” he said, “needed some work to do,” and came to believe that education was the place to do it.<sup>10</sup>

Despite a loud outcry from students and colleagues at the University of Illinois, Bode resigned his position in the philosophy department and in 1921 became head of the Department of Principles and Practices of Education at Ohio State University. This was a stunning and completely unanticipated move, one that Bode never regretted but one that most assuredly took him out of the established and prestigious academic circles to which he had worked so long and so diligently to belong. Academically, this was a steep step downwards, a step taken at a time when his reputation in philosophy was well established and still growing. In 1917 *Creative Intelligence* was published, arguably the most significant and influential early collection of writings in the still developing pragmatist philosophical position. It appears that Bode assumed leadership in the effort that produced the volume, and which included among the co-authors (in addition to Bode) Dewey, Addison Moore, Harold Brown, George Herbert Mead, Stuart Waldgrave, James Hayden Tufts and Horace Kallen. His own long chapter, “Consciousness and Psychology,” is an impressive explication of consciousness as purposeful and experimental and as the proper concern of psychology.

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Regardless of what others claimed, Bode thought he never left philosophy but merely focused his philosophical work where it could do most good, in education. Besides, questions of academic status meant little, if anything, to Bode who spent his entire adult life quite amazed that the son of Reverend Bode had traveled so far and experienced so much beyond anything he had ever imagined possible. This was the wonder of America and of living within a democratic and open society.

Academic reputation may have mattered little to Bode, but his reputation certainly mattered a great deal to college and university leaders who greeted joyously the announcement that he would be leaving Illinois for Columbus, Ohio. Ironically, it is likely few education faculty members were fully aware of Bode’s work although they may have been aware of his reputation. The department he would lead was composed of a small group of what was then called “school men,” practitioners who knew their way around schools and the state of Ohio. Nevertheless, the impact of Bode’s move on the department and college was felt

almost immediately. That year *Fundamentals of Education* was published as part of Bagley's influential Modern Teachers' Series and included chapters on several pressing educational issues, including the importance of democracy as a guiding educational ideal, transfer of training, the process of thinking, and on the nature and relationships of interest, duty, and effort. In 1927 the widely adopted and much praised *Modern Educational Theories* was published, also as part of the volume brings Bode's devastating analytical abilities to bear on virtually all of the major curriculum trends of the time, including the project method and the method of activity analysis. It also contains critical chapters on a range of additional pressing issues such as mental tests and measurements, which he found deeply troubling. Bode's analysis of the project method, worked out with his graduate student, Harold Albery, remains the most penetrating of the many published criticisms of the approach and foreshadows his later criticism of needs as a basis for curriculum design. Years later, even Kilpatrick admitted that it was Bode who convinced him that he had his psychology wrong, that Thorndike's connectionism and Dewey's functionalism could not live side by side comfortably as he thought (see Kilpatrick's *Foundations of Method*). In 1929 the classic, *Conflicting psychologies of Learning* was published which displayed Bode's keen understanding of how conceptions of mind profoundly influence educational practice.

There was, Bode said, lots of important work that needed to be done by philosophy in education and he intended to do. But getting started was not easy—he had to build a department and a faculty from scratch. Reflecting on his new home in education, Bode once wryly wrote, “I found everybody all dressed up, but with no place to go. It was just the right kind of situation for [me] even though it did involve listening to an incredible amount of bunk from pedagogs (sic) who should have stayed with dad on the farm to look after the cows. But at that, it was no worse than listening to disquisitions on epistemology and symbolic logic by a person whom I would hesitate to trust with cows if the cows belonged to me.”<sup>11</sup> Bode built slowly but well, and within a few years his department gained an international reputation and graduate students flocked to Columbus in growing numbers. Undergraduate enrollments in the philosophy of education also rapidly grew, and philosophy became “hot stuff,” as Bode said, necessitating a move to larger facilities.

Bode was a skilled advisor and a masterful, Socratic, teacher. When Dean Arps of Ohio State was actively courting Bode to join his faculty, Bagley wrote to him, describing Bode as a “remarkable teacher—by far the most effective, I am sure, at the University of Illinois. He has this year over one thousand students in his classes.”<sup>12</sup> One student and graduate assistant of Bode's recalled that upon entering Bode's classroom “[students] had to stack up their souls at the door.”<sup>13</sup> Another wrote: “If we had been complacent when we came to him, we were soon aroused, and it wasn't long before he had us sitting on the edge of our seats wondering what was ‘around the next curve.’ He came, not as an emissary of compromise and appeasement, but

with ‘fire and sword’, and we soon learned both to be wary of and to delight in the barbed wit that flowed through his lectures.”<sup>14</sup>

Bode became a highly effective and much sought after conference presenter. Frequently he spoke at national and regional meetings of the PEA, and nearly always about the relationship of democracy and education. Bertha Melkonian, for example, heard Bode speak at a regional meeting of the Progressive Education Association in 1937 and commented that, “To have heard Dr. Boyd Bode...poke linguistic rapiers, sheathed in salving humor, into every sacred tradition of society, democracy, and theology, was to have experienced an awakening. Shocking it was at times—challenging every minute—and disturbingly logical.”<sup>15</sup>

It was not only the power of Bode’s intellect that influenced students but also his personal presence. One of his students, Wilfred Eberhart, who served as an associate on the Evaluation Staff of the Eight Year Study, tried to capture this ineffable quality in a letter: “There *was* something special about Bode. Telling someone else exactly what it was is difficult, but let me take a shot at it. First of all, there was his physical appearance—tall, lanky, raw-boned, with a head of disheveled hair, a [large] mustache, a rumpled suit, a tie an inch or two off center, but somehow he cut a distinguished figure. His nose was strong and straight, his eyes sparkled, and he had a ready chuckle and an infectious grin. His attitude was like Robert Frost’s in the lines: ‘Forgive, O Lord, my little jokes on Thee, And I’ll forgive thy great big joke on me.’ Or, there was his [Bode’s] own quip: ‘Be philosophical—don’t think about it.’ You got the feeling from him that philosophy—and its stepchild, philosophy of education—was a lively adventure, a lot of fun, a part of the human comedy, and yet it dealt with a lot of big questions.”<sup>16</sup> Another student, James Skipper, described Bode in these words: “Boyd Bode had the compassion of Abraham Lincoln and the beguiling humility of Socrates. His flashing brown eyes and personal magnetism was as important as his message...Dr. Bode was a maverick. He was not a scholar in the [traditional, narrow]University mold.”<sup>17</sup> And, Bode was funny, a brilliant story teller who drew on Abraham Lincoln and the humor of Peter Finley Dunn and his fictitious character, Mr. Dooley, an Irish-American saloon keeper in Chicago, to make his points. To this day, Bode remains one of the few philosophers who successfully used humor to make serious points in print.

...the teacher must breathe life into the dead bones [of subject matter], and it is the teacher’s task to create and foster the spirit of open-minded inquiry, the attitude of sympathetic yet critical interest in all matters of human concern, which is the finest fruit of education. When this fact is apparently overlooked, and reliance is placed instead upon machinery (technologies of teaching), one is tempted to agree with the spirit of Mr. Dooley’s remark, to the effect that when you are sick it does not matter much whether you call in a physician or a Christian Science practitioner, as long as you have a good nurse.<sup>18</sup>

Bode was a most uncommon, common man—simple mannered, yet dignified; unassuming, yet commanding; tolerant of differing opinions, yet dogged and determined in argument. The later quality was once aptly described in this way:

Bode was a philosopher who “nudged ideas about as a dog does a bone, with the idea he decided to pounce upon having no more chance of survival than does the bone a dog gets after seriously.”<sup>19</sup> Perhaps it was this sense of himself as a common man—a child of the American middle west and of transplanted European ideals and values—who struggled to make America his own, that made him so passionate about democracy as the only social system within which a common person stood a chance of growing and developing to full potential.

## *Living Democratically*

While in Munich Bode completed *Democracy as a Way of Life* (1937) which lays out his democratic vision and his faith. Perhaps writing to the sound of marching soldiers echoing in the background, Bode wrote:

...the contention that a program which encourages every normal person to engage in an independent reconstruction of experience will lead to unity in thought and action has the appearance of paradox. But paradox, as someone has said, is truth standing on its head in order to attract attention. Like every other program in this field, the democratic program of education is an adventure in faith. It rests on the faith that if the reconstruction of experience goes hand in hand with sincerity and careful self-criticism, the basis of understanding among men will be continuously widened.... [Democracy] stands or falls by its faith in the common man.”<sup>20</sup>

For Bode, who thought of himself as a common man, democracy became a driving faith, almost a religion.

It was this faith that Bode preached to Frederick Redefer, Executive Director of the Progressive Education Association, as the two of them traveled to a progressive education conference the summer of 1936 in Cheltenham, England. Bode pressed Redefer, arguing that the Association needed to clarify its aims and link those aims to the future of democracy in America. A social philosophy was needed to guide educational decision making and to shape the life lived in school. As Bode wrote, “Systems of education are necessarily and inevitably bound up with some way of life.”<sup>21</sup> Resistant at first, but softened by events in Europe, Redefer eventually found Bode’s arguments compelling. Redefer claimed that Bode convinced him that the “next job of the [PEA] was to make democracy meaningful to the American people.” In Redefer’s memoir he writes: “when I returned from the European trip....I was full of a new crusade....We must give democracy a meaning to young people.”<sup>22</sup> Democracy could not be, as it had so often become, merely an add on, an afterthought, a topic studied in social studies classes but no where else. Instead, it had to become a way of life, the center point from which all education decisions in a school were made from how the day is organized to what is studied and how it is studied. Redefer came to agree with Bode, the school must represent “the embodiment of the democratic idea.”<sup>23</sup> Redefer’s new commitment first found direction in the activities of the PEA during 1937 when eight conferences were planned on the philosophy of education. Other PEA-sponsored efforts soon followed.

## *The Ohio School of Democracy*

By the late 1930s Bode's view of the proper place of school in a democracy came to be called the "Ohio School of Democracy." By this time, his views had been soundly attacked, starting in 1933 and throughout the rest of the decade and thereafter. Among his attackers was his friend, John Childs, who took issue with Bode on the pages of the *Social Frontier*. As a social reconstructionist, Childs insisted the schools should create a "new tradition in American life," as Counts wrote in his famous address of 1932 given at the annual meeting of the Progressive Education Association in Baltimore.<sup>24</sup> Childs thought the outlines of this tradition were already clear, and that the future belonged to cooperative planning and formation of a workers' society. Bode balked. So did Dewey, although Dewey did not enter the fray directly.<sup>25</sup> For Bode, the frame of reference is never fixed, but is evolving—Democracy, he said, is "like inheriting a lawsuit...constantly we must do battle for it." He did not believe that the future was as clear as his opponents believed, and instead put his faith in the democratic process—of well-informed intelligence, freed, and marshaled to confront the challenges of the age, challenges which inevitably evolve and change over time. One could never be certain of what the future held. Truly, for Bode, the universe had its lid off.

During the time of this exchange with Childs, Norman Woelfel, who later became a colleague of Bode's at Ohio State, was Associated Editor of the *Educational Frontier* and a strident critic of Bode's views, concluding he was a member of the "conservative wing of the followers of Dewey."<sup>26</sup> In 1933 Woelfel's dissertation study was published under the title of *Molders of the American Mind*. The subtitle, "a critical review of the social attitudes of seventeen leaders in American education," describes what the study was about. Of Bode, one of the 17, Woelfel wrote: "Bode's attempt to straddle a middle ground between extreme current tendencies in American education, and thus to appear at once progressive and practical, is a profoundly safe conservative strategy.... The main issue today lies...between those educators who respect their professional integrity enough to accept social responsibility commensurate with their powers and those who will continue to allow themselves to be used slavishly in the serve of fading and ignoble ideals."<sup>27</sup> He continued to attack Bode, suggesting that he lacked professional integrity especially for arguing that disciplinary knowledge in the form of school subjects must have an important place in the curriculum. Bode never was quite comfortable being called a progressive, and his defense of the essential value of disciplinary knowledge to a democratic society was one reason for his discomfort. He was always an outside/insider.

For Bode, a democratic frame of reference for education represented a unique point of departure because it involves "an attitude of generous give-and-take, or reciprocity and sharing [and an] intellectual outlook...a clear recognition that common interests have right of way over special interests."<sup>28</sup> There is, then, a

peculiar and particular democratic social ethic or ethnos that is self-critical and stands in stark contrast to other ethical systems, including all those grounded in one or another absolute—religion, idealism of the sort he had been taught at Cornell, fascism, and communism. The particular challenge of general education in a democracy was to “cultivate both this attitude and this outlook” and to do this young people needed to understand democracy as a set of principles and internalize a set distinctive attitudes, values, and habits indicative of living a unique way of life, one that acknowledges uncertainty and encourages agency. This way of life would and should be practiced and also criticized in school—“Teaching democracy in the abstract is on a par with teaching swimming by correspondence.”<sup>29</sup> That Bode was likely looking down on the streets of Munich as he wrote these words perhaps helps explain the sense of urgency apparent in his writing: “The school is, *par excellence*, the institution to which a democratic society is entitled to look for clarification of the meaning of democracy. In other words, the school is peculiarly the institution in which democracy becomes conscious of itself.”<sup>30</sup>

### ***Being Recognized and Embarrassed***

In October, 1938, in an article published in *Time* magazine on the progress of progressive education written to commemorate the PEA’s twentieth birthday, Bode was prominently featured. No doubt he was simultaneously pleased and probably a bit embarrassed by the attention received. Certainly he blushed when reading these words, “Recently Progressive Education’s No. 1 present-day philosopher, Ohio State’s gaunt Professor Boyd Henry Bode, in a book called *Progressive Education at the Crossroads*, declared that nothing but chaos could result from exclusive attention to children’s individual needs, interests and learning. Progressive schools, he insisted, must lead their pupils to oppose dictatorship and make democracy ‘a way of life, and he defined democracy as ‘continuous extension of common interests.’”<sup>31</sup> When these words were written, Bode was heavily involved in the Eight Year Study as a member of the Directing Committee.<sup>32</sup> Through his and others’ influence, most notably Ralph Tyler’s Evaluation Staff and the group of Curriculum Associates lead by Bode’s colleague and former student, Harold Albery, the participating schools of the Study increasingly were focusing their efforts on developing guiding democratic philosophies. Ongoing consideration of and conversation about the aims of education came to be seen as an essential part of the teacher’s work.

In 1947, *Time* once again featured Bode, but this time for receiving the Kilpatrick Award for Philosophy of Education. This occasion drew 1100 people who gathered at the Horace Mann Auditorium at Teachers College, Columbia University. Among the speakers was Dewey, then 88 years old, who expressed sincere appreciation to his friend, noting that “whatever came to him (Bode) from any source somehow came out different after it had passed through his mind with its unfailing instinct for clarity, his sense of humor, and his constant visions of where and how the ideas in question should and could enter the life stream of

human beings.”<sup>33</sup> Dewey was correct, and for this reason Bode probably should be counted among the founders of American pragmatism. Bode felt compelled to attend the ceremony, but found the praise decidedly disquieting. Afterwards, he wrote to Max Otto describing the event as “an hour of suffering...and if you’d been there, you would have felt proud to say that you too were personally acquainted with the ‘dear departed.’”<sup>34</sup>

## *To Teach, To Live a Life*

When Bode was under consideration for the philosophy position at the University of Illinois, his mentor, James Creighton wrote a glowing letter of recommendation. In the letter, there was one negative comment—that while at Wisconsin Bode had spent too much time teaching and working to improve his classroom teaching. Creighton excused this error of the young man Bode, saying that it was a common fault among beginning faculty members and perhaps, after all, he really was not to blame. Creighton did not fully understand. Bode never lost his passion for teaching because he never lost his desire to better understand his world. Like Dewey, Bode believed “Democracy begins in conversation,” and teaching was a means for furthering the cause of democracy.<sup>35</sup> The goal was to keep the conversation about the social purposes of education lively and ever expanding. After retiring from Ohio State in 1944 Bode continued to teach, including a year in Cairo, Egypt, under horrendous work conditions following the war, and later at several American universities where he and Mrs. Bode invited another generation of students into their lives, including a number of Chinese students whom he especially enjoyed.<sup>36</sup> Up until near the time of his death of cancer in 1953, Bode kept the conversation going, holding graduate seminars in his living room in Gainesville, Florida, where he and his wife lived with their daughter, a professor of secondary education at the University of Florida, and her family. Lying on a sofa, trying to find relief from pain, or sitting in a wheel chair, Bode continued to invite young people to join him in the exploration of the persistent issues of education, including those that had dominated his career—issues of direction and purpose in a democratic society.

## *Conclusion*

At Bode’s funeral, H. Gordon Hullfish nicely summarized his mentor’s lifelong journey: “[Bode’s] was a continuing request. He wanted always to locate better than he or others had done the conditions that give rise to democratic growth. It was his hypothesis that democracy is present in human association wherever men so respect others that they may hopefully undertake to build a common life on the base of their differences.”<sup>37</sup> Bode’s call was to what Dewey described as “effective freedom,” “a freedom which is power: power to frame purposes, to judge wisely, to evaluate desires by the consequences which will result from acting upon them; power to select and order means to carry chosen ends into operation.”<sup>38</sup> To the end of his life, he worked to help others see that young people do not merely attend

school, but enter a culture and a way of life and that this way of life should represent the best that is known about the practice of freedom.

## Notes

<sup>7</sup>J. Wesley Null, *A disciplined progressive educators: The life and career of William Chandler Bagley* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003).

<sup>8</sup>John Dewey, *Democracy and education* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 386.

<sup>9</sup>Boyd H. Bode to Max Otto, 3 March 1922, Otto Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

<sup>10</sup>H. Gordon Hullfish to Hendrik Bode, 29 February 1956, Hullfish Papers, Rare Book Room, William Oxley Thompson Memorial Library, The Ohio State University.

<sup>11</sup>Boyd H. Bode to Max Otto, 11 March 1937, Otto Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

<sup>12</sup>William Chandler Bagley to George F. Arps, 15 March 1921, Thompson Papers, College of Education Files, The Ohio State University Archives, RG 3/e.

<sup>13</sup>H. Gordon Hullfish, "A great teacher and colleague," *Teachers College Record*, 47, January, 1948): 268.

<sup>14</sup>Frederick Neff. "Boyd Henry Bode: Philosopher of democracy," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 40 (April, 1954): 229.

<sup>15</sup>Bertha Melkonian. "Dr. Bode shocks, stimulates, electrifies educators at Progressive Education Conference," *San Francisco Teachers Bulletin*, 21 (November, 1937): 11.

<sup>16</sup>Wilfred Eberhart to Bullough, 24 February, 1977, private collection.

<sup>17</sup>James K. Skipper to Bullough, 12 March, 1977, private collection.

<sup>18</sup>Boyd H. Bode, *Fundamentals of education* (New York: Macmillan, 1921), 40-41.

<sup>19</sup>Max Otto to H. Gordon Hullfish, 14 October 1957, Hullfish Papers, Rare Book Room, William Oxley Thompson Memorial Library, The Ohio State University..

<sup>20</sup>Boyd H. Bode, *Democracy as a way of life* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 114.

<sup>21</sup>Boyd H. Bode, *Democracy as a way of life* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 12.

<sup>22</sup>Frederick L. Redefier, *The education of an uneducated man* (unpublished autobiography), F. L. Redefier Professional Papers, Museum of Education, University of South Carolina: 57.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>24</sup>George S. Counts. "Dare Progressive Education be progressive?," *Progressive Education*, 9, (April, 1932): 262.

<sup>25</sup>John Dewey to Boyd H. Bode, 4 June 1950, Center for Dewey Studies, Southern Illinois University.

<sup>26</sup>Norman Woelfel, *Molders of the American mind* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), 220.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Boyd H. Bode. "Dr. Childs and education for democracy," *The Social Frontier*, 5 (November, 1938): 39.

<sup>29</sup>Boyd H. Bode, *Democracy as a way of life* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 75.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>31</sup>"Progressive's progress," *Time*, 31 October 1938, 35.

<sup>32</sup>Craig Kridel & Robert V. Bullough, Jr. "Conceptions and misperceptions of the Eight-Year Study," *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, 18, (2003): 63-82..

<sup>33</sup>John Dewey. "Boyd H. Bode: An appreciation," *Teachers College Record*, 48 (January, 1948): 266-7.

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<sup>34</sup>Boyd H. Bode to Max Otto, 12 November 1947, Otto Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

<sup>35</sup>Corliss Lamont, *Dialogue on John Dewey* (New York: Horizon Press, 1959), 58.

<sup>36</sup>See, H.C. Sun, *Boyd H. Bode and the reform of American education: Recollections and correspondence* (Author, 1977). Bode was pleased that *Modern educational theories* had been translated into Chinese and published in Shanghai and was well known among Chinese educators, although under Chairman Mao's leadership, pragmatism fell on hard times.

<sup>37</sup>H. Gordon Hullfish. "In memoriam, Boyd H. Bode—1873-1953," *Progressive*

*Education*, 30 (1953): 208.

<sup>38</sup> Boyd H. Bode, *Progressive Education at the xroads* (New York: Newson & Company, 1938): 74.