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Messages of childhood : transmission of cultural values in selected primary reading textbooks of the Chicago Public Schools, from 1900-1950

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MESSAGES OF CHILDHOOD: TRANSMISSION OF CULTURAL VALUES IN SELECTED PRIMARY READING TEXTBOOKS OF THE CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS, FROM 1900-1950

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PREFACE

> A large proportion of twentieth-century economic leaders-like school managers of that era-grew up in rural communities where they learned the folklore of capitalism taught in textbooks like McGuffey's (Readers). It is perhaps no accident that one of the industrialists who did most to change the organization of production, Henry Ford, so idealized the one-room school and McGuffey that he enshrined them in a museum near Detroit.[1]
>
> David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot

Chicago at the beginning of the twentieth century was comprised mostly of immigrants from all parts of Europe. They brought with them their own religions, cultures and dreams, but in the span of one or two generations these divergent groups understood and accepted the values of the dominant American culture. One way these values were transmitted was through the school system. Nearly all the children of immigrant families attended school for some part of their early life, and during this time learned to read from primary reading textbooks.

Primary reading textbooks provided visual and textual images that shaped the thoughts and beliefs of the children who read them Readers unlike other reading material were read over and over again. First, the

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[1] David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, Managers of Virtue (New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, 1982), 24, 25.

child struggled to make the symbols into words and then to give the words meaning. As reading success grew, the child read the stories over and over again for confidence and satisfaction. The contents of the stories and the values they contained were not accidental but carefully planned as stated in the prefaces and forwards of the reading books.

The chapters of this dissertation were divided into decades as a convenient time frame in which to show change or development. It must be remembered that some children may have been taught to read from earlier reading textbooks, but the changes in educational methods and philosophies as well as the way childhood was perceived did occur in most schools and the reading textbooks were usually adapted to these new ideas. Therefore, an awareness of what educators were thinking and doing were crucial to the values that were being imparted by these primary reading books.

In order to provide a setting for the reading textbooks, it was necessary to understand the political, economic and social climate of the nation, and importantly the city of Chicago. Although the students most commonly introduced to primary reading textbooks were young, ranging in age from six through nine, they did not enter school unaware of the factors that influenced their families and their own expectations. The values being

taught would be accepted or rejected on the basis of reality or deferred as an ideal for a later time.

As the reading textbooks were examined, certain reoccurring themes began to emerge that reflected the goals of society and demonstrated the changes in societal values. The main focus of most reading series was the family as this was of most concern to the student. The reading books were concerned about: the roles of mothers and daughters and fathers and sons; technology in the home and community; the interaction and interdependence of the nuclear family; and the values of cooperation, helpfulness and understanding within the family.

The texts were also concerned with other issues. One of these was nature which in some cases was an euphemism for God. Later, this strand was transformed into science, hygiene and safety. The value of work, both for monetary rewards as well as intrinsic rewards, permeated most reading series. Along with work came the virtues of honesty, perseverance, loyalty and duty. The theme of patriotism and citizenship began as idealized stories of great men and developed into the need for good citizenship on the part of every individual. Other strands could have been selected for analysis, but those chosen seem to have had the most impact on the child's life. The values imparted by the primary reading textbooks were influential in providing a point of reference by which all Americans could understand one another and share a common experience.

The selected primary reading textbooks were all used in the Chicago Public Schools from the years 1900 to 1950. The list was compiled by going through the Chicago Board of Education Proceedings in order to see what reading series were purchased. Most of the readers were obtained from Center For Research Libraries.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

1900-1920
THE SPIRIT OF MORALITY

The beginning of the twentieth century found the United States grappling with many changes. The country was now a great industrial power with holdings beyond its borders. Along with power, prestige and economic riches came unfair business practices, exploitation, the need for conservation of the country's natural resources, and a rising immigrant class that was poor and culturally diverse. Cities with their promise of economic opportunity became home to thousands of immigrants, who lived in overcrowded and unsanitary conditions, trying to eke out a meager living. An awareness of these problems led to the cry for reform.

Every faction, group and perhaps even every individual had his or her own conception of the goal and method of reform. However, the underlying philosophy of this reform movement seemed to be that the United States should return to the idealistic foundations of its past, and create a society that would be democratic, ethical and humane. One where all people would have liberty, freedom and justice under the law. As in the past, this did not include African Americans or Native Americans. The reform movement or

Progressive Movement was to influence nearly all of America's institutions--political, economic, social and most importantly educational.

In the early years of the republic some of the founding fathers such as Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson believed that the institution of education should assume the obligation of teaching political responsibility and help to form America's cultural identity. During the common school movement (1820-1860), schools continued to teach the immigrants about the responsibility of citizenship, and added to the curricula the values of economic productivity, and ethical and moral conduct. Thus it is not surprising that the Progressive Movement looked to education as a long term solution for political and social reform. However, education also needed to be restructured.

Educational reform was to be influenced by new scientific developments. The increasing use of technology and scientific discovery, and the reverence the United States had for big business influenced all aspects of education. Students were no longer to be taught by rote and memorization. Now the curriculum was to be planned according to grade level; the results measured and replicated. Schools were to be managed as if they were businesses and use scientific management practices. Learning was no longer esoteric, but practical. The purpose of education was to equip the individual to become a productive member of the community.

The scientific method did more than change the way Americans looked at teaching, curriculum and school management. It changed the way we looked at children. The studies conducted by G. Stanley Hall (1844-1924), a leader in the child study movement, brought a new understanding of the psychological and physical stages of development and their relationship to a child's readiness to learn. His impact on education cannot be diminished. Childhood was now viewed as a recognized stage of development. According to Neil Postman, "By the turn of the century childhood had come to be regarded as every person's birthright, an ideal that transcended social and economic class. Inevitably, childhood came to be defined as a biological category, not a product of culture."[1]

Childhood/Child Rearing

Science not only established childhood as a developmental stage, but also fostered the belief that children could be shaped and molded into socially accepted human beings that would take their places in society. According to Margaret Wood,

> The idea that children could be trained to exhibit the character and personality determined by adults was reinforced by Pavlov's work once it became known in the English speaking world in about 1912. Watson (John B.) who did so much to popularize Pavlovian ideas, is famous for his remark that he could condition a child to become whatever he, Watson desired it to become; and the ideal end product of child training in the early part of the twentieth century was not dissimilar to the mid-nineteenth century ideal. Character training was still the important aim, and Sir Truby King used the ideas inherent in conditioning to evolve a system of a regular regime of eating, sleeping and defecating. If good bodily habits could be established in the child, it was assumed that 'good mental habits' was

> to be the realization by the young baby that adults were in charge of his life and that his desires would not be indulged.[2]

Dr. L. Emmett Hold M.D. wrote a clear concise and readable book for mothers, The Care and Feeding of Children. The book was first printed in 1844 and by 1915 was in its eighth edition. This manual addressed the care and feeding of children from birth through twenty-four months of life. Emphasis was placed on the schedule of feeding, emptying of bowels, sleep habits and exercise. From the date of birth and through early childhood the youngster was to be trained in habits of neatness, order, routine and mental concentration.

Childhood in Chicago

The population of the United States increased from about fifty-seven million in 1885 to over one hundred million in 1915.

> These were the years of the 'new migration' accounting for the rise from 334,000 entering the country in 1886 to 1,027,000 in 1905, with at least 750,000 for each year until 1914, when an additional 1,218,000 arrived; between 1900-1915 the total was 15 million. Primarily from Eastern and Southern Europe, Catholic, Orthodox and Jewish in religion, mostly children and young adults the new immigrants tended to settle in urban areas in the Northeast and North Central States. A parallel internal move by both blacks and whites from farm to city, added to the rapid shift from an agrarian to an urban society. It 1890 the rural population was almost twice as large as the urban population: by 1910 they were approaching parity, with about 50 million in the countryside and 42 million in the cities.[3]

Ten years later, there would be three million more in the cities.

In the year 1900, Chicago was the second largest city in the country and the sixth largest city in the world. It had a population of over

1,500,000 people, 75 percent of whom were European immigrants and their American born children. There were many changes in the early 1900s. The Sanitary and Ship canal made it possible to provide safe drinking water for Chicago's inhabitants. The lakefront was being developed as a cultural and recreational facility in accordance with the City Beautiful movement. However the growth of the city also produced housing and social conditions that were plagued with disease, overcrowding and hunger.[4]

At this time 300,000 Chicagoans lived in overcrowded conditions. This was about 17.5 per cent of the total population. It was estimated that there were 900 people per acre in the worst slums which proportionately meant that the whole of the Western Hemisphere could have been housed in Chicago. The central city area was fundamentally transient and as soon as possible the inhabitants would escape into the edges of the city which were not so densely populated.[5] According to Selma Berrol,

> Childhood was not for the children of the immigrants. If he came to the United States before his tenth birthday an immigrant boy was more likely to spend his time in school; if he came at a later age, he was more likely to go to work. This was true even if his family settled in a state with compulsory education laws because during the nineteenth century and for a good portion of the twentieth these laws were erratically enforced. Girls regardless of age arrival were even less likely to go to school for any length of time.[6]

If immigrant children did not attend school, it did not mean they spent their days in play. Boys were usually employed as unskilled workers outside the home, girls became surrogate mothers to younger children. Even children who went to school had little time for play. Most youngsters,

especially boys, often worked after school either in cottage industries within the home or in street trades as newspaper boys, bootblacks and the like.[7]

As in the past, it became the job of the public schools to educate and assimilate these divergent populations into the mainstream and to instill the American ideas and culture. One of Chicago's prominent educators of the time, Ella Flagg Young voiced her concern "for children of immigrants of the tenements and of the street who made up sixty-seven per cent of the pupils in Chicago Schools in 1909. . . . The public schools must be for the poor and the rich, native and immigrant, all faiths and races, all meeting on a common ground"[8] One of the tools used by educators to perpetuate cultural uniformity, goals and visions for the American society was through primary reading textbooks.

The Mission of the Primary Reading Textbooks

In the prefaces and introductions of the primary reading textbooks, the authors and publishers clearly stated their objectives. The chief objective of the primary reading textbook was to teach the child to read. The methods varied as some educators advocated developing a strong sight vocabulary while others stressed the phonetic approach to reading and still others promoted a combination of approaches. The secondary objectives which were stated just as explicitly were to develop the moral character of the child through story and illustration, to idealize the joys and pleasures of childhood and to assimilate the child into American culture.

The reading textbooks during the first decade of the twentieth century were still rooted in the ideals and values of the late nineteenth century. The emphasis was on moral character and moral truths. Harper's Second Reader (1888) stated that the lessons in the reader were those of moral truths: the love of right doing, and an appreciation of the beautiful in nature. "Subjects relating to the history and resources of our country and the achievement of the American people thus aiding to cultivate a spirit of patriotism and the love for American institutions."[9] The Jones Reader Book Three (1904) stated:

> The chief value of a school reader lies in the quality of the reading matter which it gives to the pupils. The literature supplied in such books should be sane, pure, wholesome and stimulating. It should present models of thought, examples of simple but heroic living and in every way prepare the children to strive after what is worthy rather than to drift in the direction in which a chance current of life may lead them.[10]

The authors of reading textbooks recognized that the schools were taking on additional roles as they sought to instruct and blend a new and culturally different immigrant population into the mainstream of American life. The Cyr Reader, Book Three (1902) gave some indication on how this was to be accomplished. "A large share of the pupils in our public schools have no intelligent means for selecting books from the public libraries; the reading book should be the means of introducing such authors as have written wholesome books for children."[11]

The Natural Method Reader Book III (1916) stated, "The authors believe that the teacher will find that Third Reader to be not only an efficient tool for the teaching of reading, but also an influence for culture in the life of the child."[12]

By the second decade of the twentieth century the reading textbook indicated an awareness that some of the students for whom the reader was designed did not speak English or that the English language was not the child's first language. The Aldine Reader Book One (1916) addressed this problem. "through it [the reader] hundreds of thousands of children non-English as well as English speaking have learned to read quickly and intelligently."[13]

The Natural Method Readers First Book (1914) suggested a method by which the pronunciation of words could be improved "Children should be encouraged to read aloud at home with good expression and articulation. The expression will be improved by the consciousness of having interested listeners and the articulation, which should be one of the results of the phonic drills, will be improved by the practice."[14]

As scholars and scientists were beginning to recognize childhood as an important stage of development so did the reading textbooks. The reader through text and illustration depicted what an ideal childhood should be. The childhood of play, innocence, discovery and games was an aspiration and not yet a reality for most immigrant children in Chicago. The Howe

Primer (1909) stated in the preface the importance of childhood: "This Primer recognizes that a child's vocabulary must follow his natural interests in his pets, toys, games, sports, his playmates, family ties, and his relation with the postman, fireman, farmer, soldier and other familiar representatives of industrial, civic and institutional life."[15]

The Aldine Readers Book One (1916) stated that one of the objectives of the reader was to present content that children would enjoy and that would become part of their experience.

> The content of happy life of childhood. Here are bees butterflies and grasshoppers; here are birds - little birds in their nests; here are flowers...spring, fall, summer, and winter and the delightful things the seasons bring...here are giants and fairies...here are stories and events in which all these delightful companions of childhood take part.[16]

Rooted in Calvinistic teachings the American primary reading textbooks were now to be influenced by the scientific movement and a changing society. The authors and publishers were concerned with what was grade appropriate for the child, a growing urban population, and an immigrant population that was religiously and culturally different. All of these factors had to be considered and yet the aim was to perpetuate the principles and tenets of the existing mainstream society. How this was to be achieved is demonstrated in the analysis of the content of the primary reading textbooks.

The Family

The children's literature of the latter half of the nineteenth century depicted mother as ruling the family with a wise and yet firm hand. The American reader during the first two decades of the twentieth century continued to portray mother as a gentle, kind, loving, forgiving, self-sacrificing and virtuous woman to whom a child owed obedience and devotion. It was through the image of the "sainted mother" that many of the moral and ethical virtues were to be instilled in the child.

The Harper Third Reader (1888) showed the role of the mother in two diverse stories. In one story Lillie and her brother were quarreling. Mother, upon hearing the angry voices of her children, came to find out the source of the problem. Instead of mediating the argument, she gave both her children a short poem about kindness and love to memorize. In one-half hour she returned to the children. "They felt very much ashamed, but she (mother) did not scold them. Her eye and voice were as kind as ever, and she listened quietly to them as they spoke...'And now Lillie,' said mother, 'you may tell your side of the story first, as you are the lady."[17]

Not only did the mother teach her children that displays of anger were improper behavior and that they must always show love and kindness to one another, she also defined the gender roles of the children. Lillie, as the girl, was to present her story first, and implicit in that request was the idea that women have a gentler nature and should not allow quarrels to

develop. The son followed with his statement that only he was to blame. The manly thing to do was to accept all the blame and protect the women.

The roles of brothers and sisters were influenced by the examples set forth them by their parents. This example showed the relationship between brothers and sisters. It also demonstrated how even playthings were given a gender denotation.

> Fred is Nell's brother.
> He loves his little sister.
> He is good and kind to her.
> He helps her in her play.
> Nell loves her brother.
> She lets him take her ball.
> Fred lets her spin his top.
> She helps him fly his kite.
> Fred takes her in his boat.
> She cannot help him row.
> They are kind to their pets.[18]

In another story, in the same reader there was a glimpse of why motherhood was so revered. The mother would sacrifice anything, including her life, to protect her children. In this story a mother endeavored to save her child who had been abducted by an eagle.

> She climbed up steep rocks where no one had ever dared to go. Her hands were scratched and torn with briers and thorns; her feet were bleeding, being cut by sharp rocks. Yet she did not think of any of these things for her child was in the eagle's nest...'Truly,' said an old man, who had seen it all, 'Truly, God was with her, to guide her up the steep mountain-side and keep all harm out of her way.[19]

The self sacrifice of mothers and the arousal of guilt and shame were not the only ways mothers were able to instill virtues in their children. Sometimes the mothers in the readers allowed the natural consequence of

an action to teach the child a lesson. In one story Prissy found a doll and returned it to the rightful owner. "Nelly would like to give you the dolly,' said Mrs. Hunt. 'She left her out on the rocks. I hope you will not be such a careless mama as she was."[20] Once again we have seen that mother in the story was role model for the daughter. Mothers were never careless with their children.

Mothers expected their children to be obedient. The readers often presented the tragic consequences of disobedience. An example of the dire results of disobedience. An example of the dire results of disobedience appeared in the Jones Third Reader (1904). "I am surely dying,' thought Little Quiver. 'I wish mother could know how sorry I am that I disobeyed her.' Then everything grew dark about him."[21]

In some of the readers, mother became personified in animals, thereby exposing their young readers to a natural surrounding. In one of these stories a baby squirrel learned the importance of obedience. Billy was told to stay in the nest, but ventured out to look for nuts. A hawk appeared overhead and the baby squirrel had to hide quickly. Later the frightened squirrel acknowledged his mother's wisdom and promised to never disobey again.

Children were not only to be obedient, but were also expected to help their parents willingly and cheerfully. They were never to frown or express their own personal needs. Children were expected to please their parents

and most readers had stories where the children on their own initiative provided the parents with a treat or pleasant surprise. A child was sometimes called upon to sacrifice something very dear for the sake of a parent. In one reader, a young boy killed his pet dove so his sick mother could have the needed broth to make her well.

It was not that the reader neglected fatherhood, but that father took a lesser role. His primary responsibility was to protect and provide for the family. He was shown as a companion for his children taking them camping or sailing. Moral teaching was the province of mother sublime, but father was the ultimate ruler of his household and even mother bowed to his judgment. In one story the child Lulu was missing, both mother and nurse searched for the child but to no avail. Father arrived "You can be of no use here,' he said. 'Go in and stay with little Willie. He needs you.' I (mother) obeyed him casting but one glance at his face which was pale and anxious."[22]

The following poem appeared in several of the readers of the time and perhaps best sums up the virtues boys and girls were to attain in order to be worthy adults.

> Good morrow, fair maid with lashes brown,
> Can you tell me the way to Womanhood town?
> Oh this way and that way, never stop;
> 'Tis picking up stitches grandma will drop,
> 'Tis kissing the baby's troubles away,
> 'Tis learning that cross words never will pay,
> 'Tis helping mother, 'tis sewing up rents
> 'Tis reading and playing, 'tis saving the cents,

'Tis loving and smiling, forgetting to frown,-
Oh, that is the way to Womanhood town!
Just wait, my brave lad, one moment, I pray.
Where is Manhood town? Can you tell me the way?
Oh, by toiling and trying we reach the land-
A bit with the head, a bit with the hand!
'Tis by climbing up the steep hill Work,
'Tis by keeping out of the wide street Shirk,
'Tis by always taking the weak one's part,
'Tis by giving the mother happy heart,
'Tis by keeping bad thoughts and action down,
Oh, that is the way to Manhood town![23]

Thus, the saintly, virtuous mother and the strong, very protective, extremely responsible, hardworking father became role models for boys and girls to follow.

Nature and Science

Much of the content of the readers were based on nature. It was through the love of nature that children were to learn kindness, patience, responsibility and the love of beauty. The story rarely presented scientific information about nature, but rather the content was more fanciful and poetic. The animals and plants often had human characteristics and traits. The stories taught a moral, inspired respect for life, and appreciation for the beauty of living things and the miracle of growth.

Pets played an important role in teaching values. Through the reader, children learned that pets would learn to be gentle if they were treated with kindness and patience. They also learned that they were responsible for the care and feeding of their pets and the reading textbooks would often illustrate the result of neglect or careless behavior. Sometimes

pets were substitutes for toys or friends as depicted in one story. Tim found a bird with a broken wing and even after the bird's wing was mended he was glad that it continued to stay. He taught the bird tricks and bird became his playmate and companion.[24]

Preservation of nature was valued, and readers taught children to avoid hurting or disturbing plants or animals in their natural environment unless it was for food or some necessity. This story appeared in a first grade reader. A group of boys built a bird house and placed it in a tree. "How glad the birds will be! No harm can come to them now. The boys will be kind to the birds. They will give them crumbs."[25] In another reader, a bluebird was talking to an iris about a girl. "She never throws pebbles in the water to disturb the minnows, nor breaks the ferns only to let them die, nor troubles us as we work and play as most children do."[26]

However, not all stories commended children. Some of the stories chided them for their carelessness and hurtful behavior toward plants and animals. One tale was about elves that ran a hospital for bruised and hurt plants and animals. "In your world children often torment and kill poor birds and worms and flies and pick flowers to throw away, and chase butterflies till their poor wings are broken. All these we care for and our magic makes them live again."[27] Throughout the readers wrong doing was portrayed as producing torment to the spirit. A boy killed a woodchuck and realizing that the family would starve repented by caring for the babies. A

girl through carelessness caused the death of a parrot and was forced to remember the incident always. The young reader became imbued with the ideas that all life was valuable, and though humans were stronger they had an obligation to those weaker and more helpless.

Other nature stories encouraged students to do some critical thinking. Harry found some squirrels and took them home. The story then asked the question, "Do you think the squirrels are as happy as they would be in the woods?" The child was allowed to arrive at the conclusion that life in the woods was better for the squirrels and that the boy was selfish to place his own delight and pleasure over what was best for the squirrels.

Reading textbooks in the nineteenth century often stressed religious teachings and the love of God. As the school population became more diverse and students came from various religious and ethnic backgrounds, schools by necessity became more secular and concerned with the separation of church and state. A gradual change became apparent in the reader. The role of nature became more synonymous with God.

Many stories thanked nature for the things that provided us with the necessities of life. There was a recognition that God and all nature were one. Children read stories about the changing of the seasons and the miracle of growth. In the prefaces and forwards of the readers, it was stated that nature stories were included because they were of interest to the child, but the underlying messages were that God was very much a part of

the child's world and could be viewed in the world around the child. It would seem that nature became a veneer for nineteenth century Protestantism.

The Work Ethic

All through the readers, the value of work was stressed, and it was manifested in many different kinds of stories. Children were shown the pleasure derived by helping their parents. The stories showed children watering plants, doing household chores and helping with younger children. In a first grade reader, a little girl baked a cake for her father. "He will say, 'Here is my little girl.' I shall say, 'Here is a cake for you.' Then he will eat the cake. He will say, 'How good it is. I am glad you can make cake.' This will make me glad."[28] Work also provided a purpose in the child's life. A mother asked her daughter to sing her sister to sleep. The child didn't want to do this. She wanted to play instead. However she could not find anyone to play with because everyone was busy. Alice went to her mother and said, "Mother I came home. I could not find any playmates. No one could play all day. I do not want to play all day. I will sing sister to sleep.[29]

Throughout all the readers were fables and adages that pointed out the value of work and its importance to others. One of the best examples of this appeared in Harper's Third Reader. A king came upon an old man planting fig trees in his garden. The king asked the old man why he

worked so hard and old man answered: "I shall still do what my hands find to do, hoping that I shall never be a burden to the world." Later in the story when the king pointed out that the old man would never see the results of his labors. The old man replied, "Did not my forefathers plant trees for me, and shall I not do the same for my children and grandchildren."[30]

The value of work was not the only virtue taught in the reader; also stressed were the qualities that one must have in order to be a good worker. Hard work and virtue were always rewarded. A good worker was responsible and did not neglect his duty. One such story told about a hunter who while lost in the woods came upon a little shepherd boy. He offered the shepherd a great reward if he would show him the way out of the woods. The boy refused because he couldn't leave his sheep and betray his master. The hunter was really a prince in disguise and adopted the boy as a member of his family.[31]

A good worker was clean and practiced good hygiene. Petro, an immigrant child was a newspaper boy who had been taught cleanliness by one of his patrons: "One day the man at the head of the newsboys, said to him. 'Petro how should you like to stay here and be my head boy? You sell your papers so well and are so neat and tidy. I think I shall try you at the stand for a while."[32] Petro did not forget to thank his kind benefactor. Thus, this story not only pointed out the value of being clean and neat on

the job, but also revealed the stereotyped thinking that people had about immigrants. It also conveyed to its readers the possibility that with help immigrants could become assets to the society.

The important value of honesty appeared over and over again in various themes and stories. The person was tempted to keep the money that was found, but in the end he returned it to the rightful owner. Thus he was rewarded not only with riches but also with a light heart. An adage such as "honesty is the best policy," "money can't buy happiness" or "contentment is better than riches" usually followed the story. The young reader was to realize the value of self respect and the righteous heart.

The books also showed the results of not working. The fable of the "Little Red Hen" was repeated in many of the readers. Its theme of "if you don't work you don't eat" was clearly explained to the young reader. A variation of this story appeared in the Jones First Reader. "The girls didn't help gather eggs for the cake. Little Fred did. 'Here is a cake for my boy, who is never too busy to help his mama."[33] Laziness was also something children were cautioned to avoid. A rooster woke his master very early in the morning. The man got up and weeded his garden, but he was angry with the rooster and eventually the man gave the rooster away: "That night the man went to sleep early. He had a long sleep. The next night he had a long sleep. And the next night. And the next night and the next. But the weeds grew up and filled his garden."[34]

Even though the United States was becoming increasingly urbanized most of the stories had their origins in rural America. However, the themes showed that hard work was always rewarded, and that success was dependent on personal qualities of integrity, work habits, honesty and doing your best which were all values important to an industrial society. It is interesting to note that the stories did not expect the children (or more accurately the boys) to become entrepreneurs, managers or professional men such as doctors, teachers or lawyers. Perhaps the authors of these readers believed this was an impossible dream for their young readers, who for the most part, were children of the working classes.

Patriotism and Citizenship

The immigrants, who flooded the shores of the United States from the middle of the nineteenth century to the third decade of the twentieth century, came as all did to find a better way of life for themselves and their children. It probably wasn't necessary to teach love of country to people to whom this land offered the hope of opportunity, but it was necessary that these immigrants share the same ideals and knowledge of history.

Prior to 1905 most readers included heroic stories about American patriots and pioneers, but these readers were more interested in teaching morals and developing ethical character of which love of country was only a part. Patriotism became important about 1905 and reached greater proportions just before and after World War I. The authors of the Elson

Readers stated in the preface to the first reader that in addition to the regular stories themselves, this reader also included, "present day stories, rich in ideals of home and country and of helpfulness to others- ideals to which World War had given new meaning that the school reader should perpetuate."[35] Socialization, a sense of community, and the need for Americans to become less regional and more unified were forces that stimulated this new style of patriotism.

For children, perhaps the most important symbol of the United States was the flag. Usually in evidence in every classroom, the flag was a visible reminder of their country and its ideals of freedom and liberty. Stories and poems about the flag appeared in a first grade reader: "This is our flag. It is the flag we love. It is red, white and blue. There are stars on our flag."[36] The flag was described in other readers as being brave and pure and true. Children were taught that the flag must be protected and defended.

Idealized stories about Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln appeared in many readers. The stories usually portrayed these great men as being heroic or having strong moral character. The story which follows was unusual because it showed the tenderness and humanity of a great man. A tall man went for a ride. As he was going along a country road, he saw two baby birds that had fallen from their nest. The mother bird was helplessly flying about. The tall man jumped from his

horse and returned the birds to their nest. "Tweet-tweet, tweet-tweet!' said the mother bird. She was trying to thank the man. Then the tall man jumped on his horse. He soon caught up with his friends. 'I had to help the bird,' he said. 'I could not have slept tonight if I had not helped her."[37] The tall man was Abraham Lincoln.

Other stories about the Pilgrims and national holidays were scattered throughout most readers. The reading textbooks were to inspire students so that they might become good Americans and develop pride in the country's past accomplishments. In turn, the child was to fulfill the American dream and be faithful to the country's ideals.

Commentary

The ideals of family life and childhood as presented in primary readers were seemingly a contradiction from the reality of life for over two-thirds of the school population of Chicago, but was it really? The immigrants from southern and eastern Europe brought with them religions, traditions and cultures that were different from the prevailing society. Although their values may not have been white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, they were rooted in the Judaic-Christian ethic. Crowded conditions and poverty did not diminish the value of the family. The role of mother as the instructor of religion and morals and father as the provider and head of the household were as esteemed by these new arrivals as they were by the established milieu.

The concept of the childhood filled with play and toys was a luxury the immigrant family could not afford. According to Selma Berrol, immigrant children were not to waste their time in frivolous behavior. Time was better spent in studying or working. For most families, economic needs were of the utmost importance and the pennies brought home by the children were often needed to supplement the family income. Perhaps the idea of play would lie dormant until the next generation of children.

The value of work and the work ethic was simply reinforced by the reading textbook. Work was not a stranger to new Americans, but what was new was the belief that hard work, diligence, responsibility and honesty would bring about a change in class status and a better way of life. The dream was that the possibilities for success were unlimited. It was this dream that spurred the immigrants and lower class worker.

Most new arrivals to this country had already been imbued with the ideas of freedom and economic opportunity. Patriotism and citizenship as taught in the readers only reinforced already established values and aspirations. This was the land of hope. True, life was not easy and would not be easy, but the future was to be brighter for generations that would follow. According to Henry Parkers:

> The mass migration of Europeans across the Atlantic during the period of American industrial growth was the largest such movement in all history. Yet although it radically altered the racial composition of the American people so that by 1920 only forty per cent of them were of Anglo-Saxon descent, it had remarkably little effect on their culture and mores. Regarding the United States as a higher

> civilization, the immigrants were anxious to become Americanized and assimilated as rapidly as possible... This vast process of assimilation by which many millions of individuals learnt to repudiate the traditions of their blood and ancestry and to assume for themselves the memories of the Mayflower and the Declaration of Independence was carried through chiefly by the public schools.[38]

An Italian sociologist and economist Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) stated:

> Among animals social behavior is instinctive, but that human beings require a motive for it in their thought. The individual member of human society must often be reconciled to the roles he is called on to play in it, roles that involve, for example, subordination, the performance of unpleasant or fatiguing tasks, the running of physical dangers, the acceptance of burdensome responsibilities, the renunciation of sexual freedom. To some extent the individual does this under compulsion; to some extent he is induced to do so by rewards; but to an important extent also his cooperation is voluntary, and this is only possible because of the way he perceives himself in relation to his social universe.[39]

The immigrants may have wanted to preserve their own traditions and institutions, but most importantly they also wanted to become Americans and proudly proclaimed their allegiance to this country. They wanted to become part of mainstream America. Society was the teacher, the reading textbook provided the method, and the immigrant was the apt and cooperative student.

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CHAPTER 2

1920 - 1929
POST-WAR ADJUSTMENTS AND PROSPERITY

On 6 April 1917, the United States Congress declared war against Germany. The war brought the country together in a unity of purpose that was heightened by propaganda and patriotic zeal. When the war ended 1 November 1918, America had lost 115,000 lives, with 236,000 wounded and over twenty-two million dollars in immediate costs.[1]

The post war years were a letdown. There was not to be the dawning of a new age. "Indeed the market slumped, jobs for veterans were scarce, farm prices slid. The economic recession of 1921 left almost five million unemployed."[2] The United States retreated to its position of isolationism-America first, but with a new awareness that what happened in Europe would also affect life in America.

President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) believed that the United States interests would best be served under the doctrine of internationalism. His opponents sought to continue the tenets of isolationism that were conceived by the founders of our nation. Isolationism was furthered by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia followed by the Soviets campaign against the Western nations. It wasn't until the Workers'

Party, later to become the Communist Party, was established in 1919 in the United States that laws, repression and deportations against radicals were to occur. This was known as the Red Scare. The Red Scare was one of the contributing factors that led to the quota laws of 1921 and 1924 which limited immigration, especially immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe.

> The Red Scare held significant implications for education in both the informal and formal sense. Committees of citizens were formed to examine school textbooks and libraries to eliminate anti-Americanism, as they defined the term. Textbooks in history and the social studies were scrutinized for 'unpatriotic' and 'un-American' passages. Patriotic organizations wanted more military history. Fundamentalist religious groups sought to prevent discussions of evolution in biology textbooks.[3]

After 1921, business enjoyed almost a decade of prosperty. This economic growth was due to the creation of an efficient commerce department which catered to business, the growth of the automobile industry, and the expanding uses of electricity and electrical appliances. There were eight million cars on the road in 1920 and use of electric power had risen from two percent in 1889 to thirty-one percent in 1919.

With increasing use of the automobile, rural life and city life began to blur. The automobile led to the rise of suburbia and made the city available to those living on outlying farms. Roads were built from town to town and from state to state. The automobile also changed the buying habits and credit practices of Americans. The days when buying on credit were

considered a sin were soon to pass. In 1925, three-quarters of American cars were purchased on time.[4]

The home, itself, was invaded by the development of the radio and this helped to further integrate city and rural behavior patterns.

> In 1922 Americans purchased more than $60,000,000 worth of radio equipment. the figure soared to $136,000,000 in 1923 and in 1925 Americans were spending $430,000,000. . . Radio brought to the backlands not only a greater exposure to politics, but also a new kind of music, a slightly more sophisticated brand of humor, and a better standard of speech.[5]

Religious fundamentalists viewed these changes with alarm and believed America was on the way to ruin and damnation. In order to counteract what they regarded as threatening trends, many supported the Ku Klux Klan. The year 1920 saw the Klan reach its peak strength of five million members. The Klan focused its activities against African Americans, Catholics, Jews and immigrants and ideas, that threatened fundamentalist thinking such as birth control, internationalism, Darwinism and the repeal of prohibition. By 1923, a series of articles appeared in newspapers that gave evidence of the Klan's agenda of murder and torture. In 1925, the Indiana Klan's Grand Dragon, David C. Stephenson, was convicted of murder in the second degree, and by 1926 Klan membership was on the decline.

Changes in technology and industrial power slowly changed the way America viewed itself. While large sectors still preserved its nineteenth

century rural view of life, many individuals still saw the United States rooted in the fundamentalist philosophy that its national culture should be white Anglo-Saxon Protestant. However, the presence of other cultures and societies now existed in sufficient numbers that they could no longer be ignored by the dominant group. The national culture now consisted of a variety of ethnic, racial, and language groups.

The theory that some groups were inherently better intellectually and socially was supported by the work of Robert M. Yerkes of Harvard University who organized the army's mental testing program during World War I.

> By 1921 when the results of the army tests became known, they suggested a hierarchy of races or nativity groups according to presumed innate endowments. . . . It was even used by immigration restrictionists to push restrictionist legislation through the Congress. . . . The restrictionist accomplished their objectives in 1924 with the passage of the National Origins Act.[6]

Changes in Chicago

Immigration was all but halted during World War I, and the immigration laws of the twenties did much to curtail continued immigration from Europe. Thus, the 1920s saw Chicago change from a city of immigrants to a city of the children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren of immigrants.

> The new settlements of second and third generation Polish, German, Irish, Swedish, Italian and Czech populations were scattered across the city, less orientated to the old country, less homogeneous. . . . Nevertheless family traditions, religion, social culture and kitchen

> customs were largely maintained even though the old languages were rapidly being lost.[7]

World War I brought about the expansion of industry and the growth of business. In 1923, Chicago's Loop was being developed. There were 163 skyscrapers and about 300,000 workers. In the years 1917 to 1927, Chicago's population grew by 910,000.

> This growth was the result of a sharp increase in the migration of black workers from the South, the return of war veterans, the movement of white workers from smaller cities and rural areas where opportunity was limited, new immigration and the birth of children and grandchildren of the people who had come to Chicago in the great migrations of the late Nineteenth Century. [8]

The migration of African Americans from the South began to cause tensions in Chicago. Housing for these new Chicagoans was at a premium. "On a single day in 1918 the Urban League processed 664 applications for housing; only fifty-five units could be found. The migrants crowded what little space was available until it was overflowing. Whole families jammed into single rooms; everything that could be converted into living space was occupied."[9] This shift in the city's racial balance precipitated a devastating race riot in 1919.

The riot lasted five days and left in its wake many injuries and six dead. Peace was restored but there still remained feelings of hate and bigotry. The ghetto remained with its increasing pressure to expand but was always met with antagonism and hostility by citizens of surrounding neighborhoods. "Most Negroes took the matter philosophically if not

fatalistically--unless pushed too hard. . . .Usually they avoided trouble spots and enjoyed the city in situations where they didn't have to bother with white folks."[10]

During the twenties, a city began to grow within the city. The Black Belt grew and prospered on eight square miles of land.

> Here were colored policemen, firemen, aldermen, and precinct captains, state representatives, doctors, lawyers, and teachers. Colored children were attending the public schools and the city's junior colleges. . . It seemed reasonable to assume that this development would continue with more and more Negroes getting ahead and becoming educated. There were prophets of doom in the twenties, but a general air of optimism pervaded the Black Belt, as it did the whole city.[11]

Many African Americans believed that it mattered little if the white population wanted to ignore them. They would support their own businesses and institutions, but, to some, the dream was to someday become fully integrated in the American way of life.

Traditionally, schools would have taken on the responsibility of helping to urbanize and assimilate any new group of migrants or immigrants to Chicago. The problems of African American children were never addressed. The focus of education now turned to scientific research and data gathering.

Education and Childhood

In the beginning of the twentieth century, scientific educational research and social reform were the prime influences of educational thought. The cry of reform had taken precedence over research for almost

two decades of the century, but the growth of technology provided the impetus that changed the educational focus. Just before World War I, educational research in the form of tests and measurements came to the forefront.

Schools were studied by educational experts in order to become more productive and efficient. The curriculum was thought to be the plan or design for education. Franklin Bobbitt (1924) said, "Education was preparation for adulthood; hence the job of the curriculum maker was to classify and detail the full range of human experience with a view to building a curriculum that would prepare for it
. . .attention should be fixed upon the actual activities of mankind."[12] George S. Counts believed that educators could no longer educate for a rural agrarian society that no longer existed, but must now teach for a new technological society.

As in the first two decades of the twentieth century, child rearing was influenced by behaviorists, who believed, that through conditioning and training, behavior could be determined. John B. Watson (1878-1958) stated, "Give me a dozen healthy infants, well formed and my own specified world to bring them up in and I'll guarantee to take one at random and train him to become any type specialist I might select."[13]

Most mothers continued to rear their children according to the tenets of behaviorists such as J. B. Watson and L. Emmett Holt, but a small

number were influenced by the ideas of Sigmund Freud. The Freudians viewed the child as being in the state of developing and resolving unconscious inner conflicts. It would not be until the next decade that these ideas of child rearing would be espoused by a significant number of mothers.

The Freudians believed that children needed patience, gentleness, and friendliness, and should be encouraged to explore their environment. The new perception of childhood led some educators to establish child-centered schools where the child's own interests and needs became the curriculum. Child-centered schools were most often private, but glimmers of this approach were reflected in the philosophy of some of the primary reading textbooks of the time.

The curriculum was not the only concern of educators. Edward L. Thorndike wrote in 1918 that education was concerned with change, and this change can be recorded and measured.

> By 1918 when the National Society for the Study of Education published its yearbook on The Measurement of Educational Products, Walter S. Monroe described over a hundred standardized tests designed to measure achievements in the principle elementary and secondary school subjects.[14]

Harold Rugg declared that facts were gathered, interpreted and digested by new quantitative techniques. "We lived in one long orgy of tabulation."[15]

The Design of the Primary Reading Textbooks

The writers of primary reading textbooks, during the 1920's, were concerned with four main themes: educational research, curriculum planning, the measurement of learning progress, and to a lesser degree, child centered education. The introductions and prefaces of these textbooks not only reflected these themes but also cited experts and studies that substantiated and justified the authors position on the teaching of reading. The authors of the teacher's manual for the Aldine Readers demonstrated how these reading textbooks were developed.

> The method described is not the outgrowth of untried theories of teaching reading. It is rather the description of certain processes for accomplishing certain results, processes founded on sound psychological principles, wrought out and perfected in thousands of schoolrooms during the last fifteen years. These processes have not been tested simply in a few exercises, with a few pupils; hundreds of thousands have been taught solely in accordance with the principles and plans set forth in this manual.[16]

Primary reading textbooks were no longer solely influenced by literature and moral teachings. Reading had now become recognized as a central tool that was necessary to all school subjects. Therefore, it was necessary that the reading textbook broaden its scope to include factual information. The writers of primary reading textbooks recognized that different reading purposes were dependent upon different skills. The authors of The Learn To Study: Readers Book I isolated the elements necessary to achieve reading mastery. These abilities were to locate

information, to comprehend the reading material, to organize data, and to remember what had been read.[17]

Oral reading with its emphasis on enunciation and expression was no longer as important to the teaching of reading. Rather silent reading with its accent on comprehension and informational material become the focus for reading instruction.

> Such reading is not merely to be contrasted with oral reading, it is to be sharply contrasted with the silent leisurely reading of literary selections. Its watchword is work rather than recreation. Its emphasis is not so much on appreciation as on comprehension, soundness of judgment, and skill in remembering.[18]

Almost all of the readers emphasized the importance of speed as an essential reading component.

> At first glance it would seem that comprehension would be inversely proportional to speed; that is, the greater the speed the poorer the comprehension and vice versa. The standard test of Gray, Courtis, Kelly and Monroe, however, which have been given to thousands of children, prove exactly the reverse. The rapid silent readers have almost invariably shown the best understanding of the matter read.[19]

The teachers of reading were interested in evaluating the student so that they could measure reading progress. Most primary reading textbooks provided a means for this evaluation in the form of tests. Some of the tests provided an additional learning experience as students were asked to read directions and interpret questions without the aid of a teacher. Comprehension and speed were two measurable elements of reading and so they were the components most often tested. Some tests helped the teacher

monitor the individual progress of a student. Other tests allowed the teacher to compare the individual student with the class.

Although most public schools were not child-centered, most primary reading textbooks were concerned that the reading content of the book be of interest to the student. In the introduction to the Lincoln Primer we can see the influence of child centered educators.

> Learning to read is learning to think. Reading like thinking, therefore, should grow out of some life situation which demands it as a means of enriching that experience. By placing emphasis upon the familiar and developing the method of inquiry and investigation which applies to both the familiar and the remote we enrich and enlarge experience.[20]

As the stories of the reading textbook were examined, it can be noted how it was influenced by changes in educational thought, technological advancements, expansion of industry, growth of cities, shifts in population and prosperity. It can be further noted that less emphasis was placed on the family and moral teachings. The world of the child was expanded to include school and the community.

The Family

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, it will be recalled, mother was portrayed as being approachable but distant. An illustration in Harper's Second Reader (1888) shows mother seated on a comfortable chair. Her daughter with head slightly bowed was presenting her with some cherries.[21] The Howe Primer (1908) pictures mother as sitting in her chair sewing. Her child was sitting at her feet playing with

doll furniture and a doll.[22] In both pictures, the children were placed in submissive positions near mother but not quite touching her.

As the content of the American primary reading textbooks of the 1920s depicted family life, it was evident that some subtle changes were occurring in the relationships between parents and children. Children were still expected to be helpful, kind and obedient, but the family was shown to be more intimate and sharing. An illustration in the Lincoln Primer (1926) showed a picture of a family. Mother was seated in a low chair surrounded by three young children who were sitting very close to her. Mother's head was slightly bowed as she was smiling down at the baby in her arms. The baby had her hand on the mother's cheek. Standing close by, but not touching mother, was father with his arm around an older daughter looking proudly at his other children.[23]

In the past, pictures of father were seldom seen in readers. He was the shadowy distant decision maker of the family. However, the readers of the 1920's showed pictures of father almost as often as they showed pictures of mother. The concern was the family unit and how it worked together. Two pictures in the Learn to Study Readers: Book I (1926) illustrated how the family unit worked. In one picture, mother was seated on a chair holding the baby. The daughter was leaning toward the baby holding a rattle in her hand. Father was seated at a desk slightly behind and to the right of mother looking at some papers. Standing nearby was the son facing

his father holding a book. The other drawing showed father and the family helping about the house. Father was mowing the lawn while his son was raking and his daughter was kneeling on the ground putting grass clippings in a basket. Mother was in the background. She was on the porch seated in her chair sewing.[24]

Gender often determined the role of each member of the family. Mothers and daughters were shown together with babies or doing tasks that were considered to be women's work such as cooking or sewing. Boys and their fathers were shown working in yard or in the garage. Even toys and games were given gender designations. An example of this can be seen in the Thought Test Readers: Grade Two (1926). "Grandma came to see Betty and John. She brought them pretty toys. Betty said, 'I know the book and doll are mine.' John said, 'You may have them, but the top and ball are mine.'"[25] In the same reader, we saw how games also had gender connotations. "The girls hurry through their work. They sew for their dolls and play house. When they are tired of this, they say, 'Let's have a tea party. . . . The boys play cowboy and have Indian wars."[26] The realm of mothers and daughters were deemed to be much smaller and they were portrayed as less aggressive than fathers and sons. Fathers and sons were physically more active and their spheres were widened beyond the home into the community and the world. Home changed as technological inventions became part of every life.

Home and Technology

With the emphasis on factual information, the reading textbook sought to prepare the child to live in a world that made work easier and provided faster means of communication. This information was based on the child's experience within the home and community. The Child's Own Way: Third Reader (1927) demonstrated some of the appliances that were used by mother.

> This is Mrs. Smith. She is a very busy woman. Every Monday morning, Mrs. Smith washes. She uses a washing machine. On Tuesday, she irons with an electric iron. She cooks for the family every day on a fine gas stove. Some days she sews for the family.[27]

Many homes in the 1920s began to have electric doorbells. The Learn To Study Readers Book One: Grade Two (1924) gave an example of how a child would answer the doorbell.

> When the doorbell rings at our house, I run quickly to open the door. I say 'How do you do?' If it is someone to see my mother, I say, 'Won't you come in?' Then I find a chair for the caller, I say, 'Please take this chair. I will call mother.'[28]

Not only did this excerpt show how a child was to answer the doorbell, it also showed a time when children were taught to be more trusting. The child was never cautioned to ask the identity of the caller nor to admit only someone that was known and expected by the family.

This same reader had undertaken the task of instructing their young readers in the use and etiquette of using the telephone.

> I answer the telephone at our house. This helps mother and father very much. When the bell rings, I run quickly to the telephone. I

> take the receiver off the hook. I say, 'Hello.' If some one wishes to speak to my mother, I say, 'I will call her.' Then I tell mother that some one wishes to speak to her on the telephone.[29]

However it was the radio that brought the world into the home and made listening an important tool for learning. The primary reading textbook used the experience of listening to stories over the radio as a preparation for silent reading, but more importantly it taught the child how to listen carefully, pay attention to detail and to develop visual imagery. The Silent Readers: First Reader Manual (1924) provided information on how this was accomplished.

> Let the pupils discuss their experiences of listening to stories over the radio. This will show the need for an announcer, as well as a story teller. Also discuss the two ways of listening. i.e., by means of ear phones and a loud speaker . . . .After the pupils have discussed their radio experiences, let them read the questions silently, and be ready to give the answers orally. . . . The pupils ingenuity may be tested by the way they play radio. some classes are able to make this a very realistic exercise, by announcing the name of the station, by having the performers hidden from sight, by each listener adjusting his own receiving set.[30]

Transportation

While the radio and telephone shortened distance through instant verbal communication, faster means of transportation permitted the family to explore new avenues of travel and recreation. Perhaps the most important mode of transportation to change the life of the family was the automobile. It even influenced the way mother functioned. Mother, who had been shown to be the perfect homemaker at the turn of the century,

was now depicted as less than perfect due in part to the automobile. This was shown by the Thought Test Readers: Second Grade (1926).

> 'The children will be very hungry. I am sorry supper will be late,' mother was saying to Aunt Kate. 'I have had such a wonderful drive.' Then the children shouted 'Surprise!' from the darkened dining room.[31]

The automobile allowed the family to leave the city and visit the countryside. A picture in the Child's Own Way: Primer (1926) showed a father behind the wheel of a black car. Mother and the two children were exiting the car. The text explained that the family went to the farm every week to get milk and eggs.[32] The family also left the city to find pleasure and recreation. The Study Readers: A Primer (1929) depicted a family picnic.

> It is time for the picnic. Here they go, away, away. Father likes to ride on the new road. He says 'This is a fine road.' Mother says, 'Do not go too fast. There are many new things to see.' The children talk about the things they see. They have fun with Father.[33]

The same reading textbook used the child's interest in the automobile to teach reading. An illustration showed four road signs: stop, danger, chicken dinner and road closed. Beneath the picture were a series of questions. "Which one says 'Stop the automobile'? Which one says 'Do not use the road'? Which one tells about something to eat'? Which one says 'Be careful?"[34]

Reading textbooks of the first two decades of the twentieth century instructed the child about the care and feeding of pets. The third decade

was concerned that the child understood the needs of the automobile. The Study Readers: First Year (1926) stated "These are things that the automobile needs. (1.) gasoline to make it go (2.) water to keep it cool (3.) oil to make it run well. How many things did the automobile Need? What are they?"[35]

Children were also taught that the automobile could be a source of danger as presented by the Learn To Study Readers Book One: Grade Two (1924)

> Sometimes those who drive automobiles are to blame when children are hurt. Sometimes the children are to blame. What can you do to keep from being hit by a car? Do not play in the street. Do not roller-skate in the street. Before crossing the street, look both ways to see if a car is coming. Cross the street only at crossings. When in the street, do not stop to look around. If your hat blows into the street, look for cars before you go after it. If your ball rolls into the street, look carefully before you run to pick it up.[36]

Chicago's primary means of public transportation was its street railway system. In 1929 the volume of this traffic soared to 890 million.[37] The reading textbooks didn't mention the street railways, but did mention buses which were used to a lesser degree in Chicago. The Child Story Readers: Grade 2 (1927) introduced young children to the bus.

> 'When you go down town, you may not always go in Uncle Rob's car,' said Mother. 'There is something lots nicer than the street car to go in. It is the bus. The bus is really a great big automobile with many seats in it. It has an upstairs as well as a downstairs.'[38]

Reading books also discussed modes of transportation that helped people go long distances quickly and safely. The Child's Own Way: Third Reader described an ocean liner.

> This is the boat that brought Aunt Martha across the ocean. It is the largest boat in the world. It is 956 feet long. It has nine decks. It can carry five thousand people. It takes five days for it to come from Europe to America.[39]

The airplane was fast becoming a new and exciting way to travel. The Learn to Study Readers: Book I (1926) devoted several pages to the airplane and its parts.

> Who guides the airplane? The pilot guides the airplane. This is the pilot with his airplane. Find the pilot. What kinds of clothes has he? What do you think he is going to do? Do you know the parts of an airplane? Point to the propeller. Point to the tail. Point to the wings. Point to the wheels. Show where the engine is. Name the parts that you know.[40]

The train was probably a more familiar means of long distance transportation. The Learn To Study Readers: Book I described and illustrated the various kinds of train cars such as the baggage car, day coach car, mail car, sleeping car and dining car. Under the drawing of the dining car was the following text:

> What kind of car is this? What do people do in this car? There is a kitchen in the end of this car. The food is cooked in the kitchen. Find the man who brings the food to the people. This man is called the waiter.[41]

The production of consumer goods coupled with efficient transportation and faster methods of communication led the American public to view the acquisition and investment of money in a new way.

Accumulation and Conservation of Money

The reading textbooks of the first two decades of the twentieth century praised the value of work. The work ethic was imbued with intrinsic gains that were the result of a job well done. In the past, children were shown to willingly help and serve their parents and as a reward the children were pleased to receive a smile or a grateful thank you. This shifted in the 1920s and money became the reward. An example of this change can be found in The Thought Test Readers: First Grade (1926).

> Tom has his own little bank book. Every week he takes a dime to school for his bank. 'How would you like two dimes' asked father. 'Oh fine' shouted Tom. 'You may have them if you help me,' said father. How proud Tom was to take two dimes to school.[42]

The thrust of schooling was to prepare the student for life. Money and business were the motivating forces of the country during the decade of the 1920s. Therefore students as good citizens were taught money was valuable, was to be conserved and was not to be wasted. The Silent Readers: Book II (1924) gave us an example of how children were encouraged to save money.

> Our school has a Banking Day. We always know when Banking Day is coming. Our teacher hangs up a sign, 'Banking Day To-Morrow.' We bring our money to school with our bank books. Our teacher writes in our bank books how much money we bring. Then all the money is taken to bank down-town. The men in the bank count the money and save it for us.
>
> Every week we try to put some money in our banks. Every penny counts. A little money saved each week grows and grows. It is not easy to save money. Sometimes we spend too much money. Then we have no money left to put in the bank.

> If we want to have money when we are older, we must save now. We must take care of the money that is given to us or that we earn.[43]

Money was now used as a vehicle to teach honesty, morals and ethics which in the past were taught through the importance of work. This was demonstrated in the Child Story Readers: 2nd Grade (1927).

> What Should You Do
> When you find money and know to whom it belongs?
> When your mother has given you money for lunch and you see candy which you want very much?
> When you are buying something and receive too much change?[44]

Another example was found in the Learn To Study Readers: Book I (1926).

> This boy has found some money. He found it in the school yard. He did not see any one drop it. Should he keep the money? What should he do with it? What should you do if you found some money?[45]

In addition to these changes, the 1920s saw another major shift in the content of the reading textbooks. Nature and science began to take a lesser role. The emphasis was now on health and hygiene.

Health and Hygiene

At the turn of the century, educators were concerned for the health and welfare of their students. Schools were built that provided proper ventilation, heat and sanitary conditions. However, it wasn't until the army draft (1917-18) that it became apparent how many American men between the ages of twenty-one to thirty were rejected for physical defects. Cubberly stated that "over all, approximately one-third of those called for military service were found to be suffering from physical defects with the largest percentages rejected coming from cities and manufacturing states."[46]

Recognizing the need to better the health of the nation, many states began health and physical development programs for their school systems. According to Cubberly, schools were

> embracing schoolhouse construction and sanitation; physical education with a view to corrective work and the elimination of faulty posture and curable developmental defects; health supervision, to program for guarding and guiding the health of children; health training and instruction, to develop right attitudes and train in sound health habits;[47]

Addie Cain stated that "as science education moved into the twentieth century, a strong utilitarian motive was evident in such developments as the rise of civic biology courses, sometimes called 'toothbrush biology,' which was oriented toward improving unsanitary and poor health conditions of that time.[48] This was evidenced in the primary reading textbooks of the 1920s where stories repeatedly emphasized the need for good health practices and good nutrition.

The reading textbooks repeatedly stressed the importance of drinking milk. A story in The Child's Own Way: Third Reader (1927) entitled "Milk-The Most Perfect Food," began by relating an incident that occurred on a World War I ship. The crew became ill (even though they ate three meals daily) because they lacked fresh fruit, vegetables and milk.

> Milk is one of these necessary foods. In fact, it is the most perfect food for children. They can do without all other foods for a long time and still be plump and strong if they have plenty of milk to drink. They need to drink at least one quart of milk a day. Do you drink as much milk as you should each day?

The same story provided the reader with scientific information upon which they based their premise that milk was an essential food in a child's diet.

> This is what some doctors did to prove what a necessary food milk is. They took little twin rats which were so alike that they could not be told apart, and put them into separate cages. They fed these rats the same diet except that one little rat had no milk. How do you suppose the rats looked at the end of several weeks? The little rat-that-had-milk had grown into a big plump rat with bright eyes and a healthy glossy coat of fur. But the little-rat-that-had-none was a small half-starved creature with dull unhealthy fur. However, as soon he was given milk to drink, he began to grow.[49]

Another reader explained how the components in milk made you healthy and strong. This story could be found in the Learn To Study Readers: Book One Grade Two (1924).

> The sugar is called milk sugar. It is not quite like the sugar in candy. It gives you strength so that you can run and play. It helps you work harder. The fat in milk helps to keep your body warm. Fat is the part of the milk that butter is made of. The lime in the milk makes your bones hard and strong. If your bones were soft, you could not stand up.[50]

The reading textbooks taught the child the importance of cleanliness by using a variety of methods. One method was to show what could happen if the child failed to use good hygiene. The Learn To Study Readers: Book I (1926) illustrated this method. The pictures in the story "Your Teeth" showed two boys. One boy was smiling and happy, the other boy was grim faced. Under the latter picture was this text.

> Why should you keep your teeth clean? This boy has holes in his teeth. He did not keep his teeth clean. Why are his teeth not pretty? How can you have clean teeth? Brush your teeth every morning. Brush them every night.[51]

Further in the story was another picture it showed a side view of a boy with protruding teeth. Beneath this picture was this text.

> Why should you keep your thumb out of your mouth? When you close your mouth, your teeth should fit together. Your teeth should fit together so you can chew your food. If you keep your thumb or fingers in your mouth, you will soon push your teeth out of place. What do you think the boy in the picture did to his teeth?[52]

The Study Readers: Second Year (1928) stressed the importance of clean hands by using scare tactics.

> Your two hands do many things for you every day. You could not play or eat without them. What would you do at school if you found one day that you left your hands at home? Could you write or hold your book? Your hands are like friends. They are always doing something for you. Your hands need to be kept clean. dirty hands will make your food dirty. The dirt may get into your mouth. Dirty hands will make your books dirty. Your hands need to be washed many times a day.[53]

Some readers used the child's interest in fairy tales to promote cleanliness in their students. An example of this was in the Thought Test Readers: Second Grade (1926). The tale is about the "Soap Bubble Queen" and her enemy the "Black Dirt King."

> When the children get out of bed in the morning the Queen says, "Here is clear cold water. Dash it on your faces and shoo the sleep away." She makes them comb and brush their hair. Before they come to the table for dinner and supper, some messenger of the Queen again reminds forgetful children by saying, "Here, scrub your hands and faces." Again before they go to bed a messenger comes with hot water, soap, brush, face cloth and towel. All this work is done by our lovely Queen. But how sad it is when a little girl or boy loves the Black Dirt King and does as he says! This wicked fellow whispers to the child, "Sneak off to school without washing your face and don't comb your hair."[54]

Another method of teaching cleanliness and good health habits was to help the child develop a time management system. this method was demonstrated in the Child Story Readers: Grade Two (1927). Children were expected to take more than one full bath weekly, and to brush their teeth each evening and morning. Children were to sleep ten hours with their windows open and play out of doors a part of each day. They were to drink as much milk as possible but were not to drink tea or coffee. Children were required to eat some vegetables and fruit every day. As part of their regime, children were to have a bowel movement every morning.[55] Ultimately being healthy was tied to being a good citizen. Citizenship and patriotism were very important lessons taught in the reading textbooks.

Citizenship and Patriotism

One way the reading textbooks taught children love of country and good citizenship were through the examples of Abraham Lincoln and George Washington. Being brave and accomplishing your task was one way of being a good citizen. The Field's Advanced: Second Reader told the story of the teenage George Washington. The message was that important men showed the qualities that had made them great at an early age. In the story "Lord Fairfax gave George a job to measure land. This was to be a long journey. George accepted the task. On the way he met with Indians, gallantly faced inclement weather and the danger of wild animals."[56]

> Washington measured the land as he went and wrote all that he had done in a little book. When the boys reached home, Lord Fairfax was

> much pleased. He said, "Washington is a brave boy. He will be a great man some day." And he was.[57]

While George Washington was usually portrayed as having been courageous, Abraham Lincoln was depicted as having been kind. This excerpt from The Learn To Study Readers: Book One Grade Two (1924) demonstrated this fact of Lincoln's character.

> All children loved Abraham Lincoln. Do you know why? He was kind to children and grown-up people. He was kind to animals too. He could not bear to see an animal suffer.[58]

The story of how Lincoln rescued a tiny bird that had fallen from the nest was often used in the reading text books.

Lincoln's honesty was another familiar theme. The Thought Test Readers: Second Grade (1926) told the story of a book that was ruined by snow coming in between the logs of the cabin when Lincoln lived. Young Lincoln walked miles through the snow so that he might make restitution for the damaged book. This same reader emphasized his wisdom and honesty.

> People came to him for help to settle their quarrels because he was honest. Then when our country needed a man who was as wise as he was honest, Abraham Lincoln was chosen President. He kept our country safe through a terrible war and earned the love of all good Americans.[59]

The flag was a frequent patriotic symbol in the reading textbooks. It appeared in pictures, stories and poems. The Learn To Study Reading Series (1924-1926) had as their "Frontispiece" an illustration of students saluting the American flag. A large flag dominated the top half of the

picture dwarfing the figures of the children located in the lower third of the drawing. The "Frontispiece" of the Bobbs-Merrill Readers (1923-1924) showed two children, a boy and a girl saluting the flag. Once again the flag was the focal point of the picture. Underneath the illustration were the words to "The Pledge of Allegiance." These images gave the students the impression that flag and country were more important the individual.

The reading textbooks taught children that being chosen to care for and protect the American flag was an honor and a privilege. The Thought Test Readers: First Grade (1926) gave this example. "Miss Brown is my teacher. Yesterday she said, 'Tom you have been at school every day this month. You may carry the flag."[60] The text of the Field First Reader (1921) showed how the flag was a source of pride, beauty and love of country:

> Each of the Boy Scouts took care of the flag in turn. Frank was always very happy when his turn came. He loved the flag. He was glad to take care of it. He got up before sunrise. He went down where the flag was. He took it out of the box where it was kept. He pulled the rope that held it. Then up, up, up, it would go. The breeze would catch it, and it would wave in the sunrise. O, it was beautiful![61]

Although the Natural Method Readers were published in 1916, they weren't purchased by the Chicago Board of Education until the early 1920s. A poem about the flag which appeared in this series (Book 3) summed up the importance of the flag to Americans.

Your flag and my flag,
And how it flies today
In your land and my land
And half the world away.
Rose red and blood red
Its stripes forever gleam,
Soul white and snow white
The good forefathers' dream.
Sky blue and true blue,
With stars to gleam aright,
A golden guidon in the day,
A shelter through the night.[62]

Commentary

The 1920s produced enormous changes in the way Americans viewed themselves and the American Dream. The American Dream shifted from the desire to become a business owner or an entrepreneur to that of a worker with a steady job which provided means for advancement or steady salary increments. There was also a shift in the way people viewed money. The saving of money was no longer encouraged. People now purchased a variety of consumer goods. Most of all there was more leisure time to spend with family and friends. Thus the 1920s saw the rise of the white collar worker leaving heavy labor to the new immigrants and the growing African-American population.[63]

Between 1920 and 1930, about ten thousand African American women, who came to Chicago, worked in the white community as domestic servants. They tended to replace the foreign born immigrants who were securing better jobs.[64] The reading textbook seldom portrayed African American women, but when they did, they were usually shown to be happy

and contented servants. The Child's Own Way: Third Reader (1927) in a section on industry discussed the cotton plantation. A picture showed an African American woman in the doorway of a kitchen cooking. A young white girl was sitting on the step just outside the kitchen door holding a glass of milk.

> "I declare it seems good to have white children around the place," she said breaking some eggs into a china bowl and beginning to beat them vigorously with a long-handled spoon. "I'm just going to beat you up a little cake for luncheon, 'Missy'," she continued smiling. "Land sakes, seems like old times to see a little girl sitting in my kitchen door."[65]

According to Sinclair Drake, the African American porter was an American institution. In 1936 there were nine thousand porters in America. About four thousand lived in Chicago. This prompted an editorial to appear in a Chicago Negro weekly in 1925 expressing disapproval of this monopoly.[66] The Learn To Study Readers: Book One (1926) showed a picture of an African American porter preparing a berth on a train.

> What kind of car is this? What do people use this car for? What is this man doing? He is called the porter. Have you ever slept on the train? Did you sleep in a car like this?[67]

The reading textbook presented African American men and women as they were most frequently seen by the white population. The readers did not address social issues or the racial changes in the city. Rather the focus was on faster means of communication and transportation, health and nutrition, the use of money and family life.

The nation during the 1920s was flourishing economically. Technology had given rise to numerous labor saving devices, and faster means of travel and communication brought the country closer together. Americans had renewed their faith in the American way of life and were confident that the future was to be even better. However, this was not to be, for the end of the decade saw the nation in crisis.

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CHAPTER 3

1930 - 1939
DEPRESSION YEARS AND RECOVERY

The optimistic and heedless practices of American business and finance that pervaded the United States of the 1920s ended with the stock market crash on 24 October 1929. However, the seeds of disaster had already been planted. According to one historian,

> the truth was that by October 1929, the crash was long overdue. American business for more than a decade had teetered on the verge of disaster, for while American productivity and real wealth grew, beneath the surface prosperity there lurked cancerous economic weakness in the form of continuing farm depression, unequal distribution of personal incomes, shaky credit and speculative practices bordering on outright fraud by the great men of Wall Street.[1]

Although signs of economic crisis were there to be seen, the stock market crash was unexpected by most of the nation's leaders. Business men such as Andrew Mellon and the head of Bethlehem Steel believed that American business was sound and that this was a downward thrust of the business cycle. True there would be economic suffering, but given time prosperity would return. President Hoover also believed the economy to be basically sound but took steps to prevent the depression from spreading by providing cuts in personal and corporate income taxes and by making small

appropriations for public works. Unfortunately, these efforts did not prevent the depression from deepening. By mid 1932 industrial production had fallen 51 percent and unemployment had risen to 11 million. The country was in economic despair.[2]

In 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected president bringing with him a series of proposals for economic and social reform called the New Deal. The initial phase of the New Deal (1933-1935) was aimed primarily at relief and recovery. Legislation was enacted that affected banking, industry, agriculture, labor and unemployment relief.[3] The second phase of the New Deal was begun in 1935. It was a program of social reform that had three major goals: to insure jobs through the better use of national resources, to insure that the problems of unemployment, old age, illness and dependency were addressed; and that slums were cleared and better housing was provided. President Roosevelt proposed a national works program that would provide jobs for the needy unemployed. The Second New Deal benefitted labor and the small farmer.[4]

The Depression did more than cause economic havoc. It shook the very basic beliefs of the people. Convictions that were shared by almost everyone were no longer valid: if a man failed to make good it was no longer considered to be always his own fault; hard work did not always bring about success; and private enterprise and American know-how were

able to be defeated; and even a college education gave little hope for employment.[5] According to one historian:

> A 1934 survey of graduates of fifty-four colleges and universities revealed 12,420 unemployed teachers, 2,845 unemployed engineers, 2,436 unemployed business executives. Of the colleges listing unemployed alumni, Ohio State led with 2,097. The University of Chicago reported 1,798 and even lordly Princeton 450. Disenchantment with the 'system' was not hard to explain.[6]

As people sought ways to understand their plight, they began to doubt the soundness of the economic system. In an atmosphere where millions of people were unemployed yearly, the Marxist doctrine which taught that avarice, hunger and scarcity were innate to the fabric of capitalism began to gain ground in the United States. Communism attracted intellectuals rather than workers and each group disliked the other thereby decreasing its effectiveness as a major force in American policies. However, the Communist Party was a vocal but limited minority influence with the New Deal.

A more important threat to the government were the millions of people who were without the basic needs of food, shelter, clothing and medical care, and who had little hope for the future. A number of demagogues appeared each with a different agenda for saving the United States and its citizens. Dr. Francis E. Townsend created a plan to help elderly by giving each person over sixty a stipend of two hundred dollars to be spent in thirty days. Father Charles E. Coughlin (radio priest) wanted to nationalize resources and to control private property for the public good.

Probably the most vocal and with the largest following was Senator Huey Long, who wanted fortunes to be limited, people to have guaranteed annual incomes, free education for all, old age pensions, veteran bonuses and cheap food through government purchases and farm surpluses.[7]

The grim reality of the Depression was relieved by the movies. For twenty-five cents Americans could escape to the movies and a double feature with movie subjects that ran the gamut from comedy to romance, from the high life to martyrdom, and from gangster to horror films. In the thirties about eighty-five million Americans were attending movies every week. Movie stars and their private lives became the idols of the masses.[8]

The movie messages of the early thirties were characterized by the gangster and confession films which gave the impression that legal ethics and business honor were breaking down and that under the stress of economic panic American moral institutions were also falling apart. By the middle of the thirties the New Deal began to effect the economy and the public began to feel more confident in the government and future. This was reflected by movies that were spiritual and family oriented and provided escapism. Through the films' depiction of depression conditions, the social consciousness of many Americans was awakened. Warner Brothers, whose motto was "Good films-good citizenship", produced a series of biographical films that were tributes to democracy and the lives of healers, scientists, reporters, and humble revolutionaries. The success of these films

encouraged the studio to produce movies that addressed such national issues as strikes, lynchings, slums, vigilantism and migratory workers. In other words movies became the social literature of their time, but were not the only source of entertainment.[9]

Radio with its spell binding voice and little cost entered the homes of people throughout the country and even during difficult economic times attracted millions of new listeners. Radio of the 1930's began to broaden its scope through the development of networks. It could not only entertain but could also bring news and events as they happened into homes across the nation. In March 1930, NBC officials and Admiral Byrd had a two way conversation upon his arrival in New Zealand. In 1931, the American public heard Benito Mussolini state he had no designs on other countries and in 1932 a nation listened as CBS covered the election returns. According to Settel

> One of the important developments during the radio network's first decade of operation was the growth of radio's use as a means of direct contact between the people of the United States and their government. During his first nine months in office in 1932, President Roosevelt was heard on radio twenty times.[10] Franklin Delano Roosevelt was known as the "radio President". Only eight days after his inauguration, he began his fireside chats. He spoke directly and simply to the people as he encouraged them not to lose hope or faith in their government thereby inspiring their confidence and support.[11]

The calming influence of radio and movies may have done much to quell anxieties and prevent civil disruption, but it did little to ease the

suffering of the people. No where in the country were the ramifications of the economic depression felt more keenly than in Chicago.

> By 1933 employment in the city's industry had been cut in half; payrolls were down seventy-five per cent. Foreclosures jumped from 3,148 in 1929 to 15,201 four years later; over 163 banks, most located in the outlying areas closed their doors. Land values which had reached the five billion dollar level in 1928 dropped to two billion dollars at the beginning of 1933.[12]

The people of Chicago were in despair. In the first half of 1931, 1,400 families were evicted. "The Urban League reported on 25 August 1931 that every dry spot of ground and every bench on the west side of Washington Park between Fifty-First and Sixty-First street was covered by sleepers."[13]

Contrasted to hunger, hopelessness and desperation, Chicago opened a World Fair, The Century of Progress, (1933) to celebrate its centennial. The Chicago Tribune's Reuben D. Cahn thought the fair was needed to promote the return to a more normal way of life. He believed Chicago was leading the country back to prosperity.[14] The Fair opened 27 May 1933. President Roosevelt, who could not attend the opening day ceremonies, gave a message that spoke of world cooperation without economic depression. He extolled his belief that mankind's intelligence and ingenuity could and would find solutions for the economic ills that plagued civilization. He stated in his speech that:

> The advance of science and the evolution of humanity and charity made it known to us that whatever is the result of human agency is capable of correction by human intelligence. Who is there of so little faith as to believe that man is so limited that he will not find a

> remedy for the industrial ills that periodically make the world shiver with doubt and terror.[15]

Lastly, Roosevelt congratulated Chicago and wished the participating nations success.

After the Century of Progress closed, Chicago still remained a city of gloom.

> There was little building; federal works projects were more or less the prime instrument by which the city built and grew in its various aspects. There were, as in past depressions and the aftermaths, periods of bitterness and conflict, strikes and affiliated tragedies that damaged not only the industries and workers involved but the city itself.[16]

But even during the depression, a few industries prospered. The construction of gas filling stations continued proving that automobiles were still important to Chicagoans. Another thriving business based in Chicago with names such as Mars, Reed, E. J. Brach and Son and Cracker Jack was the candy industry. In hard times a five cent candy bar could become a meal.[17] Education in Chicago did not fare so well during the Great Depression.

Education and Childhood

During the 1920s schools and education were impacted and modeled after big business and corporate practices. The emphasis of education was on individualism, competition and belief in the free enterprise system. Schools were to prepare the student to use the new technology, to become an investor, a corporate leader or an entrepreneur. The economic crisis of

the 1930s caused educators to question the purpose of education. The progressives, social reconstructionists and social reformers saw education as a catalyst for social change. The existentialist believed that the purpose of education was to transmit the existing values of society and the basic curricula of reading, writing and arithmetic.[18] This debate was to continue through the decade.

The 1930s saw a dramatic change in child rearing practices from those of the past decade. The latter were influenced by John B. Watson and others who believed a child was born with organic reflexes and innate feelings of love, anger and fear, but by controlling the environment, behavior could also be controlled. These attitudes about children were replaced by the theories of Sigmund Freud.

> Self-realization, personal growth, social adjustment were the key phrases. Freud's ideas were beginning to make themselves felt in America. Such concepts as infant sexuality, the unconscious, the effects of repression, the lifelong potency of physical drives shocked and frightened many people in an America where the Puritan ethic had perhaps gone underground but had never disappeared. To the more sophisticated and intellectual members, Freudian concepts came with the force of revelation.[19]

In the late 1930s, C. Andrews Aldrich, professor of pediatrics at the University of Minnesota, and Mary M. Aldrich published a book entitled Babies are Human Beings: An Interpretation of Growth. This book made a significant impression upon the way children were perceived. According to Leroy Ashby:

> The book emphasized the needs of children and urged parents to respond warmly to those needs. In the words of the Aldriches, 'most spoiled children are those who as babies have been denied essential gratifications in a mistaken attempt to fit them into a rigid regime.' The child who insisted on attention was one who had not received it. 'A satisfied baby does not need to develop those methods of wresting his comforts from an unresponsive world. It is axiomatic that satisfied people never start a revolution.'[20]

The movement from a rigid and sometimes severe child rearing practice to one that considered the child's natural development and needs was necessary as society changed. In the past the United States was a growing economy which needed entrepreneurs and a dedicated work force. As the economy matured, it needed consumers and workers that would be able to function in service occupations. Permissive child rearing practices seemed the best way to produce people who could work with each other and who could become indulgent consumers. Parents were now concerned whether or not their children liked them whereas in past decades they feared losing their respect.[21]

During the Depression years, there was a recognition of the rights and needs of children and youth. In the past children were obliged to be happy and cheerful regardless of the circumstances. The 1930s saw a shift in responsibility. The parent or guardian now became responsible for the child's happiness. In 1930 the United States Department of Labor issued a pamphlet entitled, Are You Training Your Child to be Happy? (Washington D.C. Government Printing Office No. 202).[22]

The Goals of the Primary Reading Textbooks

The concept that children ought to be happy was reflected in the prefaces and introductions of the reading textbooks. The Webster Readers: Easy New Stories, An Easy First Reader (1932) stated in the section To The Teacher that "One result (after a trial use in a relatively large number of classrooms) has been the elimination of material not having a strong interest appeal or not sufficiently easy to facilitate joyful reading".[23] The Elson Basic Readers: Book Two (1931) said in its preface that "the literary source was to supply selections of superior charm."[24] Most of the readers used words such as play or fun within the titles of their stories.

As in the past, the goal of the primary reading textbooks was to teach children to read. During the 1920s the reading books were influenced by scientific studies, measurement of achievement, and the components that led to the acquisition of reading skills. The 1930s saw the authors and publishers of readers still interested in measurement, but with a major difference. Tests for speed, comprehension and vocabulary had been used to measure achievement, but now tests in these areas were also used as diagnostic tools. An example of this could be found in the Bolenious Readers: The Boys and Girls Second Reader (1923). These books were purchased by the Chicago Board of Education during the 1933-1934 school year. (Chicago Board of Education Proceedings: 12 July 1933 - 2 July 1934)

> Speed, comprehension and vocabulary tests for diagnostic purposes adapted to classroom use, are adequately provided and made the basis of effective drills, carefully planned to correct any defects or weaknesses revealed by the tests.[25]

An important focus in the reading textbooks of the 1930s was that children must learn to solve problems and work together in group situations. This was expressed in the Unit Activity Reading Series: Teacher's Guide for the First Year.

> The demand is that of providing experiences in which children may have opportunities to develop those qualities which they will need most in solving the problems that are bound to arise in their lives and in making the satisfactory social adjustments which they will be called upon to make as the society in which they live continues to change. . . .If children are to be prepared to manage their group affairs successfully in life then they must learn as children to work effectually with groups that are concerned with a common interest.[26]

The Unit Activity was one of the ways in which reading books were used to broaden their scope beyond the written page and into group work. Some textbooks tried to create a bridge from the more traditional methods of teaching reading to the unit activity program. The New Silent Readers Book I (1930) demonstrated how this might be achieved.

> Several of the units described projects or activities carried on by groups of first grade children. The authors realize that 'accounts' of activities are in no sense a substitute for original activities such as are being carried on in many progressive schools throughout the country. However, these accounts are a direct method of introducing the idea to the great mass of children who have not yet had an opportunity to take part in an actual activity program.[27]

Some reading textbooks stressed the unit activity program and gave detailed information on how a unit could be implemented. The Unit

Activity Reading Series: Teachers' Guide for the Second Year suggested a variety of ways a unit could be developed.

> Some teachers may wish to have an activity unit on the general topic of food. Others may wish to develop a unit either large or small, on some one phase of the food topic, such as: constructing a play dairy; conducting a play public market; preparing certain articles of food in school, such as bread, butter, or jelly; preparing a simple lunch for a picnic; preparing and packing for some family a Thanksgiving basket containing a well-balanced dinner; studying foods as a part of a health unit, etc.[28]

The reading books not only recognized that children needed to work, plan and cooperate in groups but that they also had to function in an even larger group, the society in which they lived. Citizenship continued to be an important element in the content of the readers. This was stated in The New Winston Second Reader Manual (1929).

> Today we recognized that even young children are citizens, just as much as adults are, and that what is wanted is not training for citizenship but training in citizenship. Moreover, we believe that the 'good citizen' is one who is good for something in all the relationships of life.[29]

The Family

The first group the child encountered and became part of was the family. Stories about home and family were a component in the primary reading textbooks. The emphasis was on how the family worked together as a team and helped one another. This was shown in a story in The Curriculum Foundation Series, Elson-Gray Basic Readers: Book One (1936).

> Molly was a happy little girl. She had a father and a mother, a grandfather and a grandmother. Each of them had some work to do. Father and Grandfather liked to work in the yard. Mother and Grandmother did the work in the house. Molly helped them all. she ran errands for them. . . .Molly ran into the house. Mother, Father, Grandmother and Grandfather were ready to sit down at the supper table. 'Molly dear you are just in time with my bread', said Mother. 'You got my seed', said Father. 'And my string', said Grandfather. 'And my pins', said Grandmother. Then Grandfather took some money from his pocket and said, 'Here Molly. Tomorrow you may go to the store and do an errand for Molly'.[30]

This story also demonstrated two important themes of the readers of the 1930s: That children were to be happy and were to be made happy by the family; and that men and women were to continue to play traditional roles in the family structure.

In the past decades, father was portrayed as a distant patriarchal figure and mother as submissive yielding to father's decisions. The 1930s saw mother making family decisions as well as father. This was illustrated both in picture and word in a story in the Elson Basic Primer (1930). The first picture saw Billy talking to father. Father had been sitting on the porch reading his newspaper, but put the paper down to talk to Billy. the text under the picture was as follows: "Billy ran to Father. 'Oh Father!' he said. 'I want a dog. I saw a little dog. He wants to play. His name is Happy'." The second picture showed mother standing to the right facing Billy and Father. Her presence dominated the picture. She wore an apron and her arms were crossed just about the waist. Father and Billy were in the center but were in the background. The text under the picture stated:

"Father said, 'Oh Mother! Billy wants a dog'. Mother said, 'We will see. A birthday is coming. A birthday is coming soon. We will see'."[31]

Children were also depicted as having traditional roles. Boys were to be helpful and protective toward girls and girls were to be grateful. This can be seen in a story in the same reader. "Billy ran to the tree. He said, 'I will get Spot. I will go up the tree'. Up, up he went. Soon he had Spot. Down, down they came. 'Here we are!' said Billy. 'Oh thank you!' said Nancy."[32]

The aspirations of little girls were to have a home and children when they grew up. A poem in the Citizenship Readers, The Good Citizens Club: Book Three gave this illustration:

What Shall I Be?

'I shall be a lady
As pretty as you please,
And I shall have a garden,
With lots of flowers and trees,
A pretty little kitchen
With rows of shining pots,
A hothouse full of peaches,
And a nursery full of cots.'

Rose Fyleman[33]

As in the reading books at the beginning of the twentieth century, children were to think of others, but in the readers of the 1930s children were not only to think of others, but were to predict outcomes of an action. An example of this could be found in the Webster Readers: Joyful Reading, An Easy Second Reader (1932).

> 'Hello!' said the milkman. 'Your mother has not marked her milk card. Do you know how much milk she wants today?' Mother was busy at the telephone. Billy was thinking. Mrs. Smith and May were coming for dinner. So mother would need more milk. 'Three quarts today, I think,' said Billy. Then off he skated. And off went the milkman too. Mother came to the back door. 'Oh dear,' she said, 'I wanted more milk today. But I know I missed the milkman.' There stood three quarts of milk. 'Why how did he know I wanted three quarts?' she said to herself. Billy skated home for his lunch. 'Was the milk all right?' he asked. 'The milkman asked me, and I told him three quarts.' 'Good for you,' said his mother. 'It was just right. I am glad you used your thinking cap.'[34]

The idea of planning and decision making continued in stories about school and peer interactions.

School and Friends

The primary reading textbooks emphasized the importance of making decisions based on what would be good for others. In another story in the Webster Readers, Joyful Reading: An Easy Second Reader, a boy named Tom was sledding down a hill when a small boy fell directly into his path.

> Tom was going too fast to stop. He did not want to hurt the little boy. He had to turn out or he would run into him. But there were bushes and rocks on one side. there were boys and girls on the other side. Tom had to think quickly. He turned to the bushes and rocks. He put his arms over his face and rolled off the sled. He rolled over and over like a snowball. On went the sled. It went bump into the bushes. All the boys and girls came running. But Tom was not hurt. The sled was not hurt. The little boy was not hurt.[35]

Children were to be compassionate and willing to share with their friends. A story in the Citizenship Readers, City and Country: Book One provided this example. Robert was knocked down by a car and his leg was

broken. Miss Brown, his teacher, took some of his friends to visit Robert in the hospital.

> How happy Robert was when he saw the children with their toys! Donald gave him his fire-engine, and Pat gave him his truck. Dorothy gave him her Teddy-bear, and little Molly gave him her picture book.[36]

The text of a story in the New Winston Third Reader (1929) showed how students could have provided a Thanksgiving Day dinner for children that were less fortunate. Every member of the classroom was expected to help according to their means

> Most boys and girls have a fine dinner that day. But in every place there are some boys and girls who do not have such good dinners. Would you like to know how you could help them on Thanksgiving Day? This is one way. The pupils in you school may plan a dinner for some family. Every child should take part in the planning. You need to know how many are in the family. Then plan to give the family good things to eat. Write the list of food on the board. Some children may bring some of the food from home. Others may bring their savings to buy the rest.[37]

School children were able to suggest and plan activities with their teacher and classmates. The Child Development Readers, Every Day Friends: Book One (1935) gave this illustration.

> 'The children in Miss Smith's room are going to have a garden. I wish we could have one.' 'Why not?' said Miss Lee. 'Let's go back to our room and talk about it.' So the children went back to their room to make plans for their garden. They said they wanted to have a flower garden. They talked about flowers they would plant. They talked about the tools they would need.[38]

The classroom and the school widened its scope and began to go out into the community. In a story in the Do and Learn Readers, Boys and

Girls At Work and Play: Primer (1930) Miss Green and some of her students visited a grocery store.

> The grocer said, 'Good morning. What will you have?' Paul said, 'We want some sugar.' Mary Alice said, 'We want some butter,' Betty said, "We want some eggs.' Bob said, 'We want some milk.' Miss Green told the grocer how much they wanted. They wanted some apples for the party, too. Miss Green said, 'How much are they?' She told Paul to take the sugar. She told Bob to take the butter and eggs. Mary Alice said, 'Give me the milk.' Miss Green said, 'I will take the apples.' They all went back to school.[39]

Some classrooms took even longer trips. The Child Development Readers, Every Day Fun: Primer (1935) depicted children and their teacher taking a bus and visiting a farm.

> 'All aboard! All aboard for the farm,' called Billy again. 'Is Miss Allen ready too?' asked Mary Jane. 'Here she comes,' said Billy. 'Here she comes with the lunch.' Then away went the bus. Away it went with the children and Miss Allen and the lunch. 'Please make the bus go fast,' said Billy to the man. 'Not too fast,' said Miss Allen.[40]

As children became more concerned with society and its needs and their role in its structure, safety and health became very important.

Safety and Health

The primary reading textbooks continued the importance of group responsibility into the area of safety. The protection of one person was of consequence as illustrated in the Curriculum Foundation Series, Elson-Gray Basic Readers: Book One (1936).

> Some of the boys in the school yard were playing ball. Bill wanted to play with them. He saw the cars coming. But he thought he could get across the street if he ran very fast. So he started to run. Just then a big boy caught Billy and stopped him. The big boy had a

> white band on his coat. He said, 'Look out, little boy, or a car will run over you. Watch the light up there. When it says red, it says STOP. When it is yellow, it says WAIT. when it is green, it says GO.' Billy said, 'Thank you! I will do what the light tells me to do.'[41]

The "big boy" in the story was a patrol boy whose job it was to see that children arrived and departed school safely. The story also showed the obligation an older child had toward a younger child as a role model. An older child serviced the school and helped to protect others.

Consideration for the safety of others did not have to be directed to any particular individual as was shown in the New Winston: Third Reader (1929). "A nail is sticking out of a board in the walk. Jack sees it. He goes back to the house, gets a hammer, and drives it in. He says, 'Someone might have stepped on it."[42] Group safety was very important and sometimes took fast thinking and courage. The Bolenius, Boys' and Girls' Readers: Third Reader (1923) described the way a young boy and his drum saved the lives of the children in his school.

> The smoke was thickening, and the cry of children from above and below was an awful sound. It was but a few seconds that the horror lasted, for a drum-beat sent courage to all. Little Winthrop was beating his drum. 'Beat harder!' cried the teacher. The children were shocked and calmed all at once. That any one should beat a drum while the house was on fire surprised them so much that it made them stand still. 'Now!' said the teacher in a loud firm voice. 'March in two's. Fall in line. Left, right! Left, right!' The teacher beat with her foot. She gave them a fast even step that carried them out into the hall, across the passage, to the head of the stairs. There another stream of children met them. . . . 'Do what the drum says. Left, right, left, right'! On the stairs was the greatest danger. If they reached the foot in good order, they were safe. . . . At the end little Winthrop marched out besides his teacher still beating his drum. It

> had taken two minutes and a half for the three hundred boys and girls to set foot in safety in the school yard. . . . The fire department saved the building, but Winthrop and his drum had saved the children. That was what the teacher told his mother.[43]

Children also had the responsibility to themselves and to the group to follow safety rules. This was shown in The New Winston Second Reader (1929).

> What I Can Do For My Safety
>
> I can look before I cross the street. I can play in safe places. I can stay away from matches and fire. I can stay away from cans of gasoline. I can stay out of buildings that are being built. I can stay away from places where I see the sign DANGER. I can stay out of places where I see the sign KEEP OUT.[44]

The readers stressed the traditional health lessons of the past with one significant difference. The maintenance of good health was necessary not only to the individual but also to society. This example was given in The New Winston: Second Reader Manual (1929).

> What I Can Do For My Health
>
> I can keep myself neat and clean. I can eat slowly. I can sit and stand right. I can play out of doors often. I can stay away from anyone who has a cold or other sickness. I can keep dry on rainy days. I can go to bed early. I can sleep with the window in my room open.[45]

Safety and health were part of good citizenship as stated in the same reader by J. Lynn Barnard.

> Obedience, cleanliness, orderliness, courtesy, helpfulness, punctuality, truthfulness, care of property, fair play, thoroughness, honesty, respect, courage, self-control, perseverance, thrift, kindness to animals, 'safety first'--these are the fundamental civic virtues which make for good citizen ship in the years to come.[46]

Citizenship

The primary reading textbooks of the 1930s were concerned with the individual's ability to make good decisions, and they expected children to be thoughtful in the decision making process. In a section entitled "What Would You Do If--in The New Winston: Third Reader (1929), questions were posed and students were to discuss the possible answers. Some of these questions were as follows:

> You went home and found your mother had been called away? There was no lunch ready and you and your small brother were hungry? You broke a neighbor's window when you were playing ball? Your teacher praised you for a kind act that you did not do? A boy was at home sick with the measles and his sister told you to go to see him?[47]

A similar section could be found in the Citizenship Readers, School Days: Book Two (1930). However these questions were concerned with interpersonal relationships.

> How should you treat a child that is younger than you are? How should you treat those who are old or crippled? Should you stare or point at such people? To whom should you give your seat in the street car? What can you do to help those who cannot see well?[48]

Being a good citizen meant helping to make group decisions. This was achieved by voting. A story in the same reader told about school children who wanted to have a sale. There were three suggestions and the class voted for the one they thought would be best. Then the readers of this book were given the opportunity to discuss the voting process.

> Did the children decide to have a flower sale, a candy sale, or a sandwich sale? How many children were in the room that day? Do

> you ever vote to decide what to do? Why? If your side does not win, what should you do? Do grown-up people vote? What do they vote for?[49]

Children did not only vote when they had to make group decisions, but they were to consider those qualifications that would make good elected officials. In the Citizenship Readers, The Good Citizens Club: Book Three (1930), the students were nominating a president for their club--

> 'Let us elect our president first of all,' said Billy. 'I nominate David. He will make a good president, for he keeps all the rules of the school.' 'I nominate Harvey,' said Glenn, 'because he always tells the truth.' 'I nominate Grace,' said Shirley. 'She is a good thinker and she always plays fair.' Grace had the most votes, so she took the president's chair.[50]

After the election of club officers, committees were appointed. The Traffic Committee, whose job was to keep order in the halls and on the grounds, was accused of abuse of power.

> 'The children on the Traffic Committee are not playing fair! They are not standing in line to take their turns in swinging on the rings!' 'Well,' said David, 'who has a better right on the rings than the Traffic Committee? We're in charge of the rings, and that gives us the right to go first!' 'I think you are wrong,' said Virginia. 'You are there to see that everybody plays fair. When you go first you are not playing fair. You should take you turn with the others.'[51]

The story helped the students understand the rights and duties of elected officials.

Children were to know, that in group living, rules and laws were made so that everyone would be protected and treated fairly. The text in the New Silent Readers, The Wonder World: Book III (1930) told the story of a group of school children who planned a room library. They had made

the book shelves and were now to decide how the books were to be distributed.

> You must decide upon certain rules before the books are taken from your library shelves. Here are a few ideas for you to think about: Decide what the librarian must do. Decide upon a plan for taking out books. Decide how you are to know which books are out and which books are in the library. Decide how long books may be kept out. Decide what you will do about 'overdue' books.[52]

The textbooks also showed the possible consequence of breaking the law as demonstrated in the Citizenship Readers, School Days: Book Two. The story told about a dog, Pedro, that led a blind old man along the streets. Pedro carefully helped the man cross busy intersections. This question was posed at the end of the story. "What might have happened if Pedro had started across the street and some careless driver had not obeyed the signal?"[53]

It was the obligation of each person to be a good citizen within the group. Failure to do this harmed everyone within the group. This example was in The Do and Learn Readers: Second Reader.

> 'Girls are never on time,' scolded Harold. At last Mary came. 'I wanted to wear my new dress and it was not finished,' she said. 'I am sorry that you are so late' said Mr. Brown as they reached the farm. 'We will not have time to go the hayfield as I had planned.'[54]

The qualities that made a good citizen were also valuable in the area of work.

Work and Money

The primary reading textbooks of the 1930s placed great emphasis on work. The messages were that work proceeded play and that laziness was not fun. These were themes reminiscent of the reading books used in the first two decades of the century. An example of working before playing appeared in The Webster Readers, Joyful Reading, An Easy Second Reader (1932).

> Ben was picking apples. He had a basket to fill. But Ben did not want to work. He wanted to play. 'I want to play,' Ben said. 'I shall get May to play with me.' He put his basket under the tree, and ran to May's house. 'May! May! he called. 'Will you come out and play? I want you to play with me.' But May was helping Mother. 'After I do my work, I may play. Have you no work to do?'[55]

The Curriculum Series, Elson-Gray Basic Readers: Book One described how a little bear felt about doing nothing.

> 'I think that I will do nothing tomorrow,' said Paddy. 'Maybe I will just be lazy.' 'Do you think that you will like to be lazy?' asked Mother Bear. 'I'll try it now and see,' said Paddy. So he sat down under a tree. He sat there for a long, long time. But he did not like that. 'Oh, my oh, me!' thought Paddy. 'I am tired of doing nothing. It is not fun to be lazy.'[56]

Children helped mother in a variety of ways. One way was to go to the store. A story in the Child Development Readers, Everyday Fun: Primer (1935) told about Jack and Mary Jane's trip to Mr. Brown's store. At the end of the story was a pictorial representation of some coins, two quarters, a dime, and a nickel. The implication was that children were being taught to identify coins.[57]

Whereas work in the earlier reading books was its own reward, work in the primary reading books of the 1930s was given a material reward. A story in The Curriculum Series, Elson-Gray Basic Readers: Book Two showed how Billy's work was rewarded.

> That evening Billy helped his father rake the leaves. They raked them into a big pile. Then they carried them to the garden and burned them. 'I could do more work,' said Billy, 'if I had a big red wagon.' George's father was raking leaves, too. He needed a helper, but George was in the park, playing ball. The two boys would often meet at the toy store. One day when they saw the big red wagon, it had a green card on it. 'Oh look, said George. 'The card says sold. Some boy is going to get the red wagon.' The boys walked home slowly. They felt sad because the red wagon was sold. . . . Billy opened on eye. Then he opened the other eye. He saw something in his room that made him very wide awake. There was the big red wagon! It had a card on it, but this card did not say sold. It said, 'Happy Birthday to a good helper who needs a red wagon.'[58]

The story not only showed why and how Billy earned his reward, but also demonstrated why George was not rewarded.

Although work was rewarded with money or a present, it did not mean that values had changed. Honesty was still highly prized. An example of honesty could be found in the Reading Foundation Series Round About: Book One (1936).

> 'A penny a pear,' said Jack. 'All right,' said Mr. Green, 'here are the pennies, Jack. Twenty pennies for twenty pears. And one penny for the pear that Pauline ate. 'No! No!' said Jack. 'Just twenty pennies, Mr. Green. I gave that pear to Pauline.'[59]

Once children earned money, they had to decide what to do with it. A verse in the Newson Readers, Good Times: Book One (1927) gave this choice to children.

> Jack has a penny.
> Father gave it.
> Will Jack spend it?
> Will he save it?[60]

A story in the Citizenship Readers: City and Country: Book One (1930) showed children saving money and spending money.

> 'Oh, Mother, see our little bank! It is full of money,' said Donald. 'I sold some papers to the ragman. He gave me ten cents.' 'And Donald and I sold peas and beans from our garden,' said Dorothy. . . . 'What are you going to do with your money?' asked Mother. 'I know!' said Dorothy. 'Let us go down town on Saturday and buy Father a birthday present.'[61]

Money was valuable and spending decisions were to be made wisely. This story appeared in the Bolenius Readers, The Boys' and Girls' Second Reader (1923). Molly's cousin gave her ten cents. In a letter, Molly was told to spend her ten cents on something she really wanted. She wanted paper doll furniture, but instead selected the grab bag and was disappointed. "Never spend money,' said Aunt Mary, 'unless you know what you are getting for it!"[62]

Getting fair value for your money and knowing what you would get for it was illustrated in the Friendly Hour Readers, Book Three: Friends To Know.

> 'I believe I know the answer to Miss Bell's question now,' he continued. 'We need all our messengers. I do not think that one of them is better than any other. You can send a postcard for a penny, or a letter for three cents. It costs much more to send a telegram, but the message travels much faster. A cablegram is very expensive, but it will soon cross the ocean with its message. You can say a great deal in a letter, but a telegram and a cablegram must be short. The telephone helps us to send our messages, but it is expensive to send

> telephone messages to people who live very far away. The radio can carry a message to many people at the same time.[63]

Faster means of travel and communication made the peoples of the world closer together. The authors and publishers of the primary reading textbooks wanted children to gain an appreciation and understanding of other cultures.

Children of Other Lands

The primary reading textbooks of the 1930s pointed out the similarities in cultures and wanted to promote understanding on the part of the children of the United States. This was stated to the teacher in The Unit Activity Reading Series: Teachers' Guide for the First Year (1935).

> We wish of course to develop strong national patriotism, but we wish also to go further and to develop the right attitudes toward all nations of the world as well. We cannot achieve this latter goal so long as we attempt to develop our own national ideals by pointing out the 'funny' and 'strange' things which other people do. Usually these 'funny' and 'strange' things are really ingenious adjustments which these people have made to their environment and should be recognized and commended as such, rather than being held up to unfavorable comparisons with modes of life in our continent where environmental conditions are quite different.[64]

In a book, an another reading series, The Webster Readers, New Trails in Reading: An Easy Third Reader (1932), explained the same idea to students.

> Of course, after all, boys and girls all over the world are very much alike, even if they do have some differences. One thing is sure. When you really come to know the best things about the boys and girls of other countries, you come to like these boys and girls.[65]

The textbooks wanted to show children that sometimes that fear of those who are different from ourselves was caused by not knowing or understanding. A story in The New Winston: Second Reader (1929) gave this example.

> 'Indians came, Mother' cried Mary. 'They made faces at me! They shook their fingers at me!' 'We met the Indians,' said her father. 'They are our friends. They did not shake their fingers at you. But they just wished to tell you that they wanted matches. What they wished to say was 'see, strike match. Give us some'. Then Mary knew that the Indians did not wish to hurt her.[66]

The readers emphasized the similarities of various cultures. The New Winston: Third Reader (1929) told how rice was grown in Japan and later compared rice to the food children ate in the United States. "The boys and girls of India, China and Japan eat rice as you do bread and potatoes. The boys and girls of this country eat a great deal of rice, too."[67]

Stories about other cultures related to subjects that would be familiar to children. Two stories in The Friendly Hour, Book Two: Indoors and Out (1935) told about the lives of Indian (Native American) boys and girls. The first story was about the work and play of Native American girls.

> Indian mothers were very careful to teach their little girls how to do all kinds of work. . . . Indian mothers knew that their little girls must know how to do this work. They gave the girls toy dishes and dolls. They taught them to make baskets and bowls and all kinds of clothing for their dolls. As the girls grew older, they learned to help their mothers with the tepee.

The second story was about Native American boys.

> Indian fathers were very busy teaching the boys. The boys were taught to play games which made them quick and strong. They

> listened to the stories of great hunters and brave fighters, and they learned not to be afraid of anything. As soon as he was large enough to hold it, the boy was given a bow and arrow and was taught to shoot it. Later he learned to make his own bows and his own arrow heads.[68]

A story about toothbrushes in the Citizenship Readers, The Good Citizens Club: Book Three (1930) pointed out how children all over the world were concerned about the health of their teeth. It showed how the materials available were used to make toothbrushes.

> Just a small stick of bamboo with the fibers at one end all frazzled out like a brush. With this funny affair, little Samo San of old Japan would rub and polish her teeth till they were as clean as she could get them. But the little Arab boy's 'tooth-cleaner' is made of a twig of sweet-scented myrtle or a lily root or a strip of palm wood. . . . Away down in Africa lives black Mahdi, who is a caravan runner. . . . Mahdi's toothbrush is made of reed or a stalk cut from the bullrushes along the stream.[69]

Another story in the same reader showed how an immigrant boy from Italy could be successful in the United States.

> But Carlo always looks smiling and happy about something. The children buy his balloons every day and every night he carries home a pocket full of silver. Carlo is growing rich. And now his little sister Nita has come across the sea to be with him.[70]

Learning about other countries and cultures did not lessen the idea that the United States offered its people opportunities and advantages.

Commentary

The Economic Depression of the 1930s shook the foundation of the American people. They could no longer believe that their nation would continue to grow and prosper on a continuum. What was needed were

adults who could make decisions based on information and could be flexible to function in an ever changing world. This was expressed in The Unit Activity Reading Series: Teachers' Guide For The Third Year (1937).

> We are living in a century of change. Science and technology are revolutionizing our basic customs and sentiments. The accompanying breaks with tradition are bringing with them a train of confusions and conflicts which shake the very foundation of our present social order. Under these critical conditions we need to develop future citizens for America who have the disposition, the information and the insight necessary to take an active and intelligent part in the management of the affairs of this ever-changing society in which they will live.[71]

An interesting story in The Winston Third Reader (1929) prophesized what the world might be like for the children in the future.

> You may go over to see your little grand-daughter and make the trip in your own airplane. Who knows, you may reach her house just as the school airplane is taking off after having brought her home. Fifty years from now Margaret will be able to telephone Catherine and as they talk, they will be able to see each other. Today, when you telephone, you talk with the person you call, but you cannot see her face. In the days to come, when we have television, you will be able to talk and see at the same time. If Margaret is wearing a new dress, she won't have to tell you what color it is. You will see what color it is.[72]

The immediate future was not to be so full of promise. The close of the decade saw a world in turmoil as it faced the prospect of another world war.

NOTES

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CHAPTER 4

1940 - 1950
WORLD WAR II AND POST WAR ADAPTATIONS

Just as the United States was emerging from the Great Economic Depression of the 1930s, a new danger loomed on the horizon that was to bring chaos and destruction to the world. On 1 September 1939, Germany invaded Poland. The countries of Great Britain and France declared war on Germany, but the United States continued to remain neutral. In a fireside chat to the nation on 3 September 1939, President Roosevelt stated, "This nation will remain a neutral nation, but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well"[1]

American sympathy was with the Allies but they felt protected by the great distance which separated them from the war in Europe. However after the fall of France to Germany in June 1940, and Hitler's threat to invade the British Isles, many Americans began to fear for their national security. It was the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941 that forced the hand of the United States. On 8 December 1941 the United States declared war on Japan and on 11 December 1941 the American government declared war against Italy and Germany. The United States

had to defend itself on two fronts: the Pacific and Far East; and Europe and the Mediterranean. The nation began to mobilize for war.

In April 1941, the War Manpower Commission was established to utilize the country's manpower resources and to administer the Selective Service. All men between the ages of eighteen to thirty-eight were subject to military service. Women were encouraged to serve in noncombat duties in the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (WACS), Women Appointed for Voluntary Emergency Service (WAVES), Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS), and Sempar Paratus Always Ready Service (SPARS). The Office of Price Administration (OPA) was formed to control prices and to conserve the national resources for the war effort. The OPA began rationing automobile tires on 27 December 1941. Later, items such as sugar, coffee, gasoline, meat, fats, oils, butter, cheese, processed foods, and shoes were also rationed. At its peak there were thirteen rationing programs.[2]

As men went off to the armed services, a shortage of manpower developed. This was relieved when millions of women entered the work force in industry and war production where their talents and dedication impressed the country. African-Americans moved from rural to industrial sections of the country in order to work and support the war effort. This was facilitated by the establishment of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, founded in June 1941 and aimed at curbing discrimination in

war production and government employment. In May 1943, it was strengthened to stop discrimination in hiring.[3]

World War II lasted four years. The war in Europe ended 8 May 1945. Germany was placed under the Allied Control Council and divided into four occupational zones. The war in the Pacific and Asia continued until the atomic bomb was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima (6 August 1945). Three days later another atomic bomb was dropped on the naval base of Nagasaki. The Japanese surrendered 15 August 1945. Almost as soon as World War II ended a new war was to begin, The Cold War.

The war ended leaving two major world powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. the Soviet Union had been devastated by the war, but soon began to rebuild its economy and regain its military strength. President Harry Truman and his administration saw the world divided between two opposing forces. On one side was the Soviet Union which was represented as being ruled by a minority that used terror, oppression, and suppression to gain its ends, and on the other side stood the United States which was ruled by the will of the majority and its free institutions. In the Unites States this (1) created an atmosphere of fear concerning Communism, and (2) bolstered the American economy by maintaining war production. These two policies permitted aggressive actions outside the country and repressive actions within the country.[4]

Thus the question of loyalty to the United States became an important issue in government. On 22 March 1947, President Truman ordered the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Civil Service Commission to investigate the loyalty of everyone working for the federal government. Under this Loyalty Order anyone could be dismissed if the investigation showed there were "reasonable grounds" to suspect disloyalty to the nation.[5]

At the end of the World War II the United States economy was booming, Unemployment was down and industrial and agricultural profits were high. "Corporate profits, as estimated by the Wall Street Journal, were at fifty-five billion."[6] This nest egg would help to finance peacetime production. However, with the coming of peace and the return of more than eleven million military personnel, the question was, "would there be enough jobs". The answer was, "yes". The American economy expanded beyond wartime levels. "Employment soared from fifty-four million civilian jobs at the wartime peak to sixty million by 1947 and still continued to increase."[7]

During the war years, movies continued to be a major form of entertainment for the American public. Although comedies and musicals were able to provide an escape from reality, the themes of most films were war. They depicted self-sacrifice, patriotism, war propaganda and military battles. After the war, movies began to appeal to more mature audiences.

Unlike the message in movies of the 1930s, these films showed Americans as they faced the problems of the modern world.

In the late forties, films began to make social statements about racial injustice. Although they were criticized by intellectual African-Americans for being evasive and filled with compromises, they were daring and courageous for their time. The cycle ended abruptly as the public became inundated with this type of motion picture. Examples of this kind of film were Pinky and Intruder in the Dust. However, the result was that these issues were brought before the American public.[8] Still, the most popular media for information and entertainment was the radio.

By 1940 radio was so important that it influenced other fields of entertainment. Radio personalities, who were sometimes more well known than stage and movie performers, began appearing in movies. From 1941 through 1945, the networks sent war correspondents to cover the events of the war. Listeners on the homefront heard eyewitness accounts of war activities, listened to uninterrupted reports of the invasion of Normandy and were able to hear General McArthur accept the surrender of the Japanese as he stood on the deck of the battleship Missouri. All the while the country was still being entertained by music, comedy, mystery, drama programs, and a new phenomena, the game show. After the war, radio continued to grow, develop and prosper. The end of the decade saw a great change in the American public's listening habits as television began to come

into its own.[9] The people of Chicago saw many of these changes during the fourth decade of the Twentieth Century.

Chicago: War and Peace

In a very short span of time World War II changed the economy, the community, and the family in Chicago. The economic Depression of the 1930s was replaced by a soaring wartime economy caused by billions of dollars in defense contracts. Chicagoans were now being paid more money than at any other time in the century, and this money was distributed to the many and not the few. Elementary teachers were making from $1,387 to $2,312.50.[10] However, this abundance of wealth was off set by shortages in almost everything including housing, consumer goods, and raw materials.[11]

As more and more people came to find jobs in the war industries of Chicago, housing became a severe problem. City and federal agencies took measures to help alleviate this crisis. The federal government imposed rent controls on landlords who had to register their properties and could only increase rent rates if it could be shown that the property had been improved. In order to improve a property, the owner had to provide new appliances or had to make structural changes. The Chicago City Council altered building codes so that homes and apartments could be subdivided thereby making more housing available.

On 9 December 1941, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) broke ground for Cabrini Homes near Chicago Avenue and Oak Street. Soon other housing projects followed. Federal regulations stated that these projects had to mirror the racial make-up of the neighborhood. Therefore, most of the projects were over-whelmingly white, and war workers had a priority for this housing. Many industrial complexes and existing factories that were involved in the war effort had been built on the outskirts of the city or in suburban areas. Transportation shortages made commuting difficult and nearby housing was in scarce supply. In the spring of 1942 work began on some housing developments to alleviate this problem and by 1945 nearly twenty thousand units were built. These subdivisions were located at least eight miles from the center of the city.[12]

The war altered the family and how it functioned. In the early years of the war women remained in the home, but by the end of 1943, one hundred and thirty thousand families had wives and mothers in the work force. By 1944, 43 percent of Chicago area women held jobs outside the home. Sociologists worried about how this would influence the family.[13]

As mothers went to work in defense industries, the protection and shelter of children became a major issue. Stories of children locked up for an entire day in trailers or in cars were published by the press. According to the Juvenile Protective Association, forty-five hundred youngsters were being left without adequate supervision. Some children were being cared

for by neighbors or older family members, and some industrial plants provided day-care, but many parents had to rely on publically funded day care centers. There were 117 publically funded day care facilities. The Chicago Board of Education operated 48 of them, but they were often short staffed. 69 of 117 centers violated fire and health codes.[14]

Chicagoans had much to endure during the war years, but it was the African-American community that suffered even greater hardships because of discrimination. They paid 3 percent more for food and 25 percent more for housing. Crowded housing conditions caused the Chicago Public Schools to hold half-day classes. At first, Mayor Kelly ignored these conditions, but in the summer of 1943 riots broke out in the cities of Detroit and New York. Mayor Kelly then established the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations which were composed of six white and five African-American civic leaders. Later this committee became a permanent city department. This plan of action was successful and Chicago avoided violence.[15]

At last the war was over and Chicago began to convert from a wartime economy to a consumer economy. Families became more traditional as women were encouraged to leave their jobs and return to their homes. Consumerism was flourishing as more items became available. The construction industry was booming. The amount of new construction in the city was minimal but there was an increasing demand for new housing in the suburbs. Chicago feared this drift away from the city, but by the end

of the 1940s and into the early 1950s, there was a civic revival as the city tackled the problem of slum clearance, improved transportation, and developed new apartment complexes that would attract middle and upper income urbanites.[16]

The Child and Education

The deprivation of the Great Depression, coupled with scarcities produced by the war, changed the way parents viewed childhood. The war permeated children's lives as military toys became part of the child's play. Helping in the war effort became part of the child's work, and being responsible children as mothers and fathers went off to work, became a way of life. Then as the war ended this attitude changed dramatically. Parents of the post war era elected to have large families and placed the children at the center of their lives. Families in effect had become child centered, parents raised the healthiest, best fed, best clothed, and best housed generation (with some exceptions) the nation had ever seen.[17] According to Charles E. Strickland and Andrew M. Ambrose

> Postwar parents seemed ready to give their children everything, whether or not it was precisely what the children wished at that moment. For many parents everything meant material things; for others, it meant the advantages of an education; for still others, it meant 'permissive' upbringing; for most it meant at least that they would give a good deal of thought to their children's needs and interests.[18]

The mechanical and rigid child training methods of past decades were drastically altered by Dr. Benjamin Spock, a pediatrician and educator. In

his book Baby an Child Care first published in 1945, Dr. Spock advised parents to be permissive in their handling of the child and more importantly implied that proper child care required thought and time on the part of both mother and child. This book became the symbol for child rearing practices for the next several decades.[19]

The individual child and not children in general were the focus of attention in the 1940s. The concern was for healthy emotional and social growth and the person's ability to adjust to life's situations. Erik Erikson, a Neo-Freudian, outlined the psychosocial issues or crises that occurred in each of his eight stages of human development. While the developmental pattern began at birth and ended in old age, the progression from one step to another varied in length and intensity from individual to individual.[20] Erikson's key word was balance. This need had to be achieved "between the child's own desires and aspirations and those of his/her environmental surrounding in order for a positive sense of self to evolve."[21] The Ruggles Street Nursery Training School of Boston (1944) stressed the need for personalities to be well balanced. Some of the balancing traits were: security versus growing independence; self-expression versus self-control; awareness of self versus social awareness; growth in freedom versus growth in responsibility; and the opportunity to create versus ability to conform.[22]

During the 1940s, some educators believed that primary grade teachers lacked knowledge in the areas of child growth and development.

This led the American Council on Education to establish the Commission on Teacher Education which provided research data to be used in teacher education, and also furnished consultants to work with teachers in specific schools in order to improve teacher and student interactions. The teacher was to study the child by gathering data from the home, school, peer group, and early records. The research helped the educator to understand a youngster's behavior and the developmental tasks to be mastered.[23] Child study procedures and the child developmental point of view influenced curriculum planning by placing emphasis on maturation (physical and psychological), readiness, and level of development. These concerns were addressed in the primary reading textbooks.

As always the main goal of the primary reader was to teach reading, but the focus now shifted to the personal growth of the individual child. This was stated in the teacher's edition of Happy Days With Our Friends, Primer (1948). "Educators today feel an urgent responsibility for the development of sound personalities in sound bodies. Mental hygiene, social relationships, human adjustments--the factors of personal development--have become basic considerations in curriculum planning."[24] In order to make teachers more sensitive to the children they will instruct, this same reading book devoted a section to the characteristics and needs of six year olds. The theme was one of readiness and recognition of individual differences, and its impact on learning.

> If we expect more of a six year old than he is ready to give, then tensions may be set up to slow the process of learning and to color the child's relationship to the total school situation. The importance of a flexible program to meet the needs of all the children in the first grade cannot be overemphasized if each child is to have a good start in school.[25]

The emphasis on the individual was also stressed in the Teacher's Edition: Fun with Dick and Jane (1940).

> The methods of teaching used, vary with the abilities and needs of the pupils, and with the purpose for which they read. Differences in pupil progress and ability are recognized and provided for through flexible grouping, individual guidance, and variations in the reading material used. The achievements and needs of the pupils are studied regularly, and continuous effort is made to provide needed help and stimulation.[26]

Although the reading textbook provided instructional methods to help the individual student, the aim continued to be teaching reading as can be seen in the following:

> Reading aids in developing insight, in making the lives of readers richer and more meaningful, in developing social competence, in promoting a broad common culture, and in stimulating a growing appreciation of the finer elements in contemporary life. . . . As society grows more and more complex, efficient reading habits assume increasing importance in promoting individual development and in securing social progress.[27]

The authors of the guidebooks for readers books were aware that they were teaching a complete child and that home and school had to work together. This was explained in the Guidebook: Happy Days With Our Friends.

> Securing the cooperation of the home is essential if a school program is to be of real significance in the lives of children. The recognition of mutual interests and responsibilities makes a sound basis for

> establishing home and school relationships. . . . Individual conferences, friendly visits, group meetings, and informal letters are all means of winning parent participation in the school program. The assistance thus gained insures that both the school and the home are working together toward the common goal--happy, healthy lives for all children.[28]

The school was to be an extension of the home. It was assumed that teachers of primary grade students were women and that they would provide a homelike atmosphere within the classroom. This was stated in the same reader. "Although fashions in school decoration do change, homemaking is still an art every teacher needs."[29] Home and family were very important components in the primary reading textbooks of the 1940s.

Home and Family

Drawings of home, in the reading books, had a feeling of suburbia rather than city life. The houses were too close together to be farm houses and yet they were well spaced with paths, fences, and front yards. An example of this can be found in On Cherry Street: First Reader (1948).[30] A story in Sharing Together: Grade Three (1949) told why Pete and his family moved to Woodland which was most likely a fictionalized suburb.

> Pete had lived in a very crowded part of a big city. Before he came to live in Woodland, he had never played out of doors very much. Neither had his brother Billy, nor his sister Ann. There was no playground near where they lived. There was not even a back yard where the three of them could play. Of course they could not play in the street.[31]

The primary readers of the 1940s did not discuss new appliances or new means of communication for the home. It was probably assumed that

families were accustomed to having radios and telephones in their homes. However, one story in More Friends and Neighbors: Grade Two (1941) told about the freezer section of a refrigerator (icebox).

> Bobby was excited about the icebox, because a machine inside it made ice. He watched Mother fill the little pans with water. Then he carried them back to the icebox and put them inside. 'Now', he said, 'the icebox machine will make the water colder and colder until it turns to ice.'[32]

The family composed of mother, father and children were the focal point of the primary reading textbook of this decade.

Although many mothers left the home to join the work force during World War II, the reading textbooks continued to portray them in the traditional role of homemakers. The illustrations showed mothers in pretty dresses, which were sometimes covered by aprons, tending babies, sewing, shopping, or working in kitchens. Fathers remained the economic providers, heads of households, and helpers to the families, but the image of fathers had changed. Father was no longer the formidable distant member of the household, but was someone that could be the point of amusement as illustrated in a story in The Little White House: Primer (1948). The cat, Frisky, was in the branches of a tree. "'I will help', said father. 'Here is the big red ladder. I can get Frisky now.'"[33] Father goes up the ladder, but as he does the cat climbs down. "See Frisky come down. Father is up in the tree. And Frisky has come down!"[34]

Whereas mother was still almost perfect and not allowed to show frailties, father was far more human as presented in a story which appeared in Happy Days With Our Friends: Primer (1948). The family's planned picnic is ruined by rain. They decide to stay at home and have their picnic in the living room. Father builds a fire in the fireplace and they all eat and play. Later father falls asleep in an easy chair with the dog asleep at his feet. "Sally said, 'Oh mother. Father will not come. He and Spot will sleep here'.[35]

A story in More Friends and Neighbors: Grade Two (1941) demonstrated how father learned he could not do mother's tasks and succeed. A farmer worked very hard in his fields. One day he asked his wife what she did all day and she answered keep house. The farmer thought this was much easier than his work. The wife said, "tomorrow I'll change work with you. I'll go out in the fields to work, and you shall keep house and watch the baby." After a series of misadventures, the husband was rescued by his wife. "Never again did he try to keep house."[36] Father was not the only member of the family to be viewed in a new way. The primary reading textbooks began to characterize children in a more realistic manner.

In the past, the reading books never portrayed children as being unhappy, disappointed, lonesome, or disobedient. This was to change in the 1940s as reading textbooks began to present stories that showed children in

real situations. A story in The New Through the Green Gate: Grade 2 (1948) told about Bobby who was anxiously awaiting the arrival of the circus. Unhappily he became ill with the measles and had to be quarantined. Some weeks later the doctor visited Bobby and told him he could go out to play, but no one was around to play with him.

> Out to play! There was no one to play with. Bobby sat down on the front steps with his head in his hands. He had all the bad luck in the world. And no one cared a thing about him! No one cared a dime! He picked up a stick from the grass and began playing with it. What could a boy do all by himself? Of course if he had a boat and some oars, he could go out upon the river and fish. He had always wanted to be a fisherman. But he didn't have a boat. He didn't even have a fishline. He wished he had a dog. A cross dog that would snap at everyone! Now, of course Bobby didn't really want a snapping dog. He just thought that because he was feeling so lonesome.[37]

Another story in Sharing Together Grade 3 (1949) described a grumpy unhappy boy named Mike. Although the story allows Mike to feel angry, it doesn't allow him to remain that way for long.

> Grandmother kept humming a gay little tune. 'What is that you are humming?' Mike asked crossly. Grandmother sang the words, 'When you arise and don't feel gay, Do something for someone right away.' Just then Mike heard a 'Cheep! Cheep! Cheep!' 'Something is wrong with that bird,' Mike thought. He ran to the window and saw that his cat, Blackie, was trying to catch a young robin. The little bird was just learning to fly. Quickly Mike ran to Blackie and made him go away from the robin. The little bird flew into a tree. Mike had come in time to save its life. Already Mike felt a little better. Maybe those words of Grandmother's song weren't so silly after all. Grandmother wouldn't be singing them if they were.[38]

An amusing story appeared in Our New Friends Grade One (1940). Patty was trying to put the baby to sleep by reading a story. However, the

baby wasn't very cooperative. This was very different from past readers when babies always obeyed their older sisters.

> Patty said, 'Oh Baby, don't talk. It is time to go to sleep. Please hurry and go to sleep.' Patty began to read slower. Baby did not laugh and talk. He did not jump up and down. But he did not go to sleep. Then Patty began to read slower and slower and slower. At last Mother came in. Baby said, 'See Patty! Patty went to sleep!'[39]

Children's play and toys were important sections of the reading books. Toys had become more varied and interesting especially in the latter part of the 1940s.

Play and Toys

The reading textbooks emphasized toys and play in their stories. It was an opportunity to practice adult roles. these roles were usually assigned according to gender. Playing "house" was one way children pretended to be grown-up. This was shown in a story in Fun With Dick and Jane: Grade One (1940). The children, Tom and Susan, make a tent house out of a clothesline and a blanket.

> Tom said, 'Hello, Dick. Hello, Jane and Sally. Come and see our house' 'Oh yes,' said Susan. 'Come and play. Come into our house and play. I am the mother Tom is the father.' Jane said, 'Oh Susan. We are the children. Dick is the boy. I am the girl, and Sally is the baby!'[40]

In another reader, Happy Days With Our Friends: Primer (1948), Susan and Jane put on their mothers' high heels, dresses and hats. "Hello,' said Susan. 'I came to play house." The story illustrations showed the girls pretending to be mothers as they cared for their dolls (children).[41]

Toys had become more complex and interesting. An example of an old toy that was given added features was the doll. A story in More Friends and Neighbors: Grade Two (1941) described a doll. "Molly was going to take the doll with eyes that opened and shut. It had a nice smile, and it could say ma-ma, ma-ma."[42] A story presented in The Little White House: Primer (1948) depicted a wind-up toy duck.

> Betty said, 'See my toy duck. I can make the duck walk. It is ready to go now.' Away walked the toy duck. Up and down it walked. The toy duck said, 'Quack, quack.' 'This is a funny duck,' said Susan. 'It can walk and it can quack.' 'Look, look!' said Tom. 'See the toy duck walk. It can walk fast.'[43]

A new toy appeared in Fun With Dick and Jane: Grade One (1940). It was the toy telephone. The word telephone did not appear in the story. However, the drawing above the text showed Sally holding a small red telephone for Spot, the dog, to see. "Sally said, 'Look Spot. Here is my new toy. I can have fun with it. I can talk on it. I can talk to Father. I can say hello to Father.'"[44]

Boys still played with boats, toy trucks, wagons, and airplanes. Girls still played with dolls, doll buggies, paints, and puzzles. Some toys were played with by both boys and girls. These toys were usually bicycles, sleds, swings, slides, and roller skates. Now however girls dressed differently. Illustrations in Happy Days With Our Friends: Primer (1948), showed Dick, Jane and Sally playing with their own playground equipment, which included a swing, rings, chinning bar, and a slide. One picture showed Jane

swinging on the chinning bar, in the next picture Dick was swinging upside down on the rings, and lastly we saw Sally going down the slide. The girls, Sally and Jane, were wearing trousers instead of their usual pretty dresses.[45]

Sharing and consideration for others were still being taught in the reading textbooks. This was presented in two stories in More Friends and Neighbors: Grade Two (1941).

> Today, it [toy corner] was full of all kinds of toys. Each boy and girl brought something for the other children to play with. There were drums, trains, and boats. There were dolls, books, and games, too. This was the day to pick out a toy or story book or game to take home. After two days it would be brought back to the corner. And the next time the children would take other things.[46]

In the other story, children were making a great deal of noise as they roller-skated along the walk and woke Mrs. Brown's baby. Molly wondered why the baby cried and asked Mrs. Brown if she could take the baby for a ride [wheel the buggy]. "Thank you Molly,' said Mrs. Brown. 'This is the time for my baby to sleep, but when you skate past, he wakes up.'"[47] Molly figured out a way to solve this problem by making a sign:

> Near the corner of Mrs. Brown's yard stood a large white sign. There it stood right by the sidewalk. And painted on it were some words in large black letters. The children stopped and read the words, 'Quiet! Baby sleeping. Please detour.' 'Our roller skates wake the baby up,' said Molly. 'So we must detour and go another way while the baby is sleeping. We can skate on the old sidewalks.'[48]

The reading textbooks also stressed the value of work and citizenship.

Work and Citizenship

As most stories in the primary reading textbooks of the 1940s revolved around the family, it was important to see how they regarded the issue of work. This story appeared in Our New Friends: Grade One (1940). "Oh, look!' said Father. 'See what time it is. It is time for me to go to work. I must hurry.' So Father said good-by to all the family. And away he went to work." Mother had to do the marketing. "Look! Look!' said Mother. 'It is time for me to go to the store. My family must have something good to eat. I must buy things for dinner." the children's tasks were to help mother.

> 'Come, Dick,' said Jane. 'It is time to help Mother. We must hurry and take things out to her.' In and out went Dick and Jane. In and out! In and out! At last Dick said, 'Come Jane. This is all we can do now. It is time for us to go to school.' So, away ran Dick and Jane.

Even the baby Sally wanted to help. "Little Sally was happy. She said, 'I can work, too. It is time for me to work now. I can take the basket to the store for Mother."[49]

Children were to do their chores willingly and derive pleasure from their successful completion. Helping others was the child's occupation. The text of a story in More Friends and Neighbors told how the children Tom, Nancy, and Tim were anxiously waiting for lunch and the delicious pumpkin pies that were baking in the oven. While they waited, Tom helped by carrying in wood for the fire. Nancy washed pots and pans, and Tim sat and watched the clock.

> Now it was time for lunch. So they all got ready to sit down at the table. 'It didn't seem very long until noon,' said Nancy, as she took off her apron. 'No,' said Tom. 'Noon came quickly because we were very busy. Time really goes fast for busy people.' 'I was busy, too,' said Tim. 'I was learning to tell time.'[50]

The youngsters were to learn that work was a commitment. This was expressed in the same reader.

> 'Thanks, Billy,' said Jim with a smile. 'Having sand on the walks really helps. But didn't you get cold when you carried all that heavy sand?' 'Oh, yes," said Billy. 'I got very cold, but carrying sand was my work today. And work can't stop for weather! I learned that this morning.'[51]

Children also learned that if you wanted something you had to work for it. This was explained in a story in The Wishing Well (1943).

> 'But I did not find that boat down here in my Wishing Well,' said Old Captain Mac. 'I had to go out and work for it—I did.' 'Oh! said Peter. 'I see! Wish and work! That is what I must do.' 'That is what you must do,' said Old Captain Mac. Peter ran down to the sea. A big boat had just come in. Peter saw a man on the boat. 'Have you some work for me to do?' Peter called out. 'I am wishing for a little blue boat with a big white sail. Now I must work to get my wish.'[52]

Along with understanding the importance of work, children were to be honest and show responsibility. This was expressed in the reading book Sharing Together: Grade Three (1949). Judy had been walking along slowly thinking of Jiggs, a puppy she wanted to buy, when she found a small purse containing two dollars and forty cents and a shopping list for Mr. White, the grocer. Judy was tempted to keep the money and buy Jiggs, but a little voice said that she should find the owner. So Judy went to Mr.

White's grocery store and there found a little girl crying because she had lost her purse. Judy returned the purse to the now smiling girl.

> 'I wanted that money, Mother,' Judy said. 'I wanted it to buy Jiggs, but it was not mine.' That little girl's mother needed money for food,' said Judy's mother. 'Yes, I know,' said Judy. 'I'm glad that I took it to Mr. White's store.' 'You did just right,' said Mother. 'You know, finders are not keepers.'[53]

Later, Father bought Jiggs for Judy. Judy took a book from the library that told her how to care for Jiggs.

> 'A pet is a responsibility,' Judy said. 'My! My!' said Father. 'I didn't know you could use such a big word, Judy. Do you know what responsibility means?' 'Yes,' said Judy. 'It means that I must feed and water Jiggs every day. I must not forget to do it a single day. Jiggs is my responsibility.'[54]

The Different Child

In a subtle way the primary reading textbooks of the 1940s began to show how children were different, but the differences did not make the child less valuable. This can be seen in the text and illustrations of a story in Happy Days With Our Friends (1948). The drawing above the text showed Don and Dick playing with a toy parachute. A slightly older boy using a crutch was watching them play. The picture on the next page showed the parachute stuck in the tree, and Don and Dick were unable to reach it.

> Don said, 'Oh Dick. Here comes the new boy. Can be help? Can he get the toy down?' 'No, Dick said. 'The new boy can not help.' The new boy said, 'Hello. Do you want me to help you?' Dick said, 'What can you do?' 'Look,' said the new boy. 'I can get the toy down.' And he did. Dick said, 'Oh thank you. You did get the toy down. Come and play.'[55]

The boy was able to use his crutch to disengage the toy parachute. The text of the story never mentioned that the boy was different. The message of the story was entirely visual.

In another story about Judy in Sharing Together (1949), Judy has to wear glasses. Her understanding family made her feel good about wearing them.

> 'Hello, Judy,' said Jim. 'Where did you get the glasses? You look all right. I like them.' 'Thank you,' Judy said. Soon Father came in. 'Why Judy!' he said. 'You look pretty nice in those glasses. Why didn't we think of getting them before?'

Later, Jiggs, the dog entered the room, jumped on Judy's lap and tried to lick her face. "Jiggs!' Judy said. 'I thought that you would notice. I am wearing my new glasses, and you don't even look at them. Why don't you notice when I have something new?"[56] The child who read the story learned that with or without glasses, Judy was the same person.

The authors of the reading textbooks recognized that all children were not alike in many ways. Sometime they were timid or frightened. A story in The New Through The Green Gate (1948) explained how Jim felt because he was afraid to ride the frisky pony, Bang. He also knew he was being compared to Joe who had ridden the pony in the past. He overheard Jack, the farm hand talking to Bang. "Jim is not like Joe, Bang. He rides an old horse and leaves you in the barn." Jim sensed he had disappointed his father. "He thinks I'm afraid! He thinks I'm no good!' thought Jim.

"Eventually Bang was turned out to pasture. Jim decided he was going to ride Bang and finally he did.

> Every night when he brought Bang into the barn, he stopped and said to Jack, 'Am I as good a rider as Joe?' And Jack always answered with a smile that went from ear to ear, 'Not by a long ways! But you are coming!' And even that made Jim very happy.[57]

The student was to understand that Jim could never be as good as Joe, but Jim was doing his best and that was what really mattered.

Commentary

Not many primary reading textbooks were purchased during the 1940s. This dearth of reading textbooks was partly due to World War II which caused a shortage in manpower and paper; and the fact that in June 1936, three text book companies, Allyn Bacon, Ginn and Company and Harcourt Brace announced that they would no longer do business with the Chicago Board of Education. These companies cited the board's unfair payment plan as the reason for this decision. Some book companies were paid within a reasonable span of time while other companies had to wait years to get compensation. There were allegations suggesting underworld connections, but nothing was ever proven. The withdrawal of these book companies persisted until the purchasing department was reorganized in 1947. Textbooks, at this time, were chosen by committees of principals and teachers each selected for competency in their subject area. No book company member was allowed to approach any individual committee member.[58]

The selected primary reading textbooks focused on the family with the emphasis on children. The authors and illustrators depicted children as real people with anxieties, angry feelings, disappointments and physical differences. The drawings showed children that were rounder and freer in movement and less like little adults. The stories were written for their appeal to children and to help them make the right choices and decisions. Some components that had been important in the past had disappeared from the reading books of the 1940s. Patriotism was no longer mentioned nor was the flag represented either in picture or text. Stories of Abraham Lincoln and George Washington were also excluded. Other omissions were poetry and the beauty of nature. The stress was on the real, the practical and the individual.

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4. Howard Zinn, A People's History of the United States (New York: Harper Perennial, 1990), 416-417.

5. Dumas Malone and Basil Rauch, America and World Leadership: 1940-1965, 108.

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10. Mary Herrick, The Chicago Schools: A Social and Political History (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1971), 404, 405.

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17. John M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner, American Childhood (London: Greenwood Press, 1985), 533.

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24. Elizabeth Montgomery and W.W. Bauer M.D., Guidebook: Happy Days With Our Friends Primer (Chicago: Scott Foresman and Company, 1948), 5.

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26. William S. Gray and May Hill Arbuthnot, Teacher's Edition: Fun With Dick and Jane, Grade One (Chicago: Scott Foresman and Company, 1940), 12.

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30. Odille Ousley and David H. Russell, On Cherry Street, First Reader (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1948), 4, 5.

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32. William S. Gray and May Hill Arbuthnot, More Friends and Neighbors: Grade 2 (Chicago: Scott Foresman and Company, 1941), 191.

33. Odille Ousley and David H. Russell, The Little White House: Primer (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1948), 34.

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36. William S. Gray and May Hill Arbuthnot, More Friends and Neighbors: Grade 2, 212-219.

37. Mabel O'Donnell, The New Through the Green Gate (Evanston, Illinois: Row Peterson and Company, 1948), 132-147.

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39. William S. Gray and May Hill Arbuthnot, Our New Friends (Chicago: Scott Foresman and Company, 1940), 80.

40. William S. Gray and May Hill Arbuthnot, Fun With Dick and Jane, 130-131.

41. Elizabeth Montgomery and W. W. Bauer M.D., Happy Days With Our Friends, 62-63.

42. William S. Gray and May Hill Arbuthnot, More Friends and Neighbors, 17.

43. Odille Ousley and David H. Russell, The Little White House, 130-131.

44. William S. Gray and May Hill Arbuthnot, Fun With Dick and Jane, 100.

45. Elizabeth Montgomery and W. w. Bauer M.D., Happy days With Our Friends, 46-48.

46. William S. Gray and May Hill Arbuthnot, More Friends and Neighbors, 16.

47. Ibid., 41.

48. Ibid., 42-43.

49. William S. Gray and May Hill Arbuthnot, Our New Friends, 48-51.

50. William S. Gray and May Hill Arbuthnot, More Friends and Neighbors, 158-159.

51. Ibid., 166.

52. Selma Coughlan and Mabel O'Donnell, The Wishing Well (Evanston, Illinois: Row Peterson and Company, 1943), 12-13.

53. Seward E. Daw, Jessie F. McKee and Edna M. Aldredge, Sharing Together, 22, 23.

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EPILOG

The fifty years between 1900 to 1950 were ones of change politically, economically and socially. The United States went from an agrarian to an industrial society; from the melting pot theory to the realization that it was a pluralist nation; and from an isolationist country to a great world power. America had fought in two world wars and traveled on an economic roller coaster of prosperity, depression, and prosperity again. The impetus for most of these developments were science, scientific ideology and technology. The latter revolutionized communication and transportation; and these in turn blurred regional differences and brought the world into the home. All these factors influenced or were mirrored in the child's first reading text books.

The underpinnings of the primary reading textbooks were revealed in the forwards, prefaces and teaching manuals of the various reading series. It was here that the values and goals of education were always clearly presented. Undoubtedly, educators had their differences, but almost all of the reading books of the time shared similar values, accepted the current educational theories, and perceived children and childhood in the same way.

The first two decades of the Twentieth Century were concerned with the "Americanization" of the immigrant child. Following the behaviorists approach

to child rearing which believed that a child could be molded into the type of adult society needed, the readers taught morality, virtue, lofty ideals and the work ethic. Childhood was recognized, but children were still considered to be little adults whose job was to serve mother and obey father. The illustrations portrayed children in stiff poses or looking beatified. Pictures were always framed and some had an etching-like quality similar to fine art. The page was usually crowded with text and the print was fairly small.

Toward the end of the second decade and through the 1920s, scientific child rearing practices, scientific methods of education, and techniques of big business were to influence primary reading textbooks. Unseen in the child's reader but carefully described in the teachers' manuals were the ways in which reading was to be taught and the manner in which the skills of comprehension and speed were to be tested, and measured and replicated. Learning skills were equated to the productivity of big business. The teacher was the worker and the child was the product. The reading books also began to present many stories that taught good health and safety habits. This was prompted by World War I and the discovery that many immigrants and children of immigrants had to be exempted from service because of poor health.

Although some psychologists espoused Freudian theories, most educators and parents still followed the behaviorists who thought children ought to be trained and put on a rigid schedule. This would teach youngsters to delay gratification and not to expect their every want to be indulged. There was a

shift in family interaction. Father still seemed distant, but mother was much more approachable. This was probably due to the appliances that entered the home and allowed mother more leisure time to spend with her children.

Most reading books showed children at play, but only after work or chores had been completed. The pictures were still mostly small and nearly always framed. Children, however, looked rounder and less constrained. The biggest change was in the printing style. Print was larger and fewer words appeared on the page.

The 1930s saw dynamic changes in primary reading textbooks in the ares of educational philosophy, childhood, and the family. Influenced by Freudian theories of child developmental states, testing became less data gathering and more diagnostic. Education evolved from seeing the child as a product into the child as a member of society. Socialization skills become very important. The child was taught to be prepared for change, democratic processes, decision making, citizenship and concern for others.

In the past children were supposed to be happy and cheerful under all circumstances, and were even expected to make their parents happy. The 1930s saw a change in focus as parents became more responsible for their children's happiness, but children were still to work and do chores. Illustrations in the reading books portrayed children as more relaxed, and there was even some humor in the drawings, but most pictures were still framed and there continued to be a hard line around each figure.

The educators of the 1940s further developed the ideologies of the 1930s. Diagnostic testing evolved into the child study movement in an effort to provide for individual differences. The primary reading textbooks were concerned about grouping children and recognizing that age was not the sole factor in development. The stories within the readers showed children who had problems, felt sad, were different and still could be accepted. It is in this decade that children became the center of the family and play became important. The drawings in the textbooks were quite large and very free having a watercolor quality about them.

After the 1950s, there did not seem to be a consensus of values for society. People no longer shared a common vocabulary. Reading textbooks of the late 1950s and 1960s were concerned with pluralism and most stories were about families from a variety of races, cultures and ethnic groups. An effort was made to show the similarities among diverse families and to help the child understand the differences. In the 1970s, authors tried to make school books culture and value free so that no one sector of the population could impose their values onto another group.

Reading textbooks of the 1980s and 1990s have found it difficult to portray one image of the family. Which image would speak to most children: the nuclear family, single parent family, blended families or a divorced family with shared custody? Instead, primary reading textbooks depended on stories

from the bible, fairy tales, Aesop's Fables, and stories about scientists, inventors and outstanding leaders which proved basic values remained eternal.

During the first fifty years of the twentieth century, children were not exposed to as much visual stimuli which made pictures in books much more powerful. The first images as presented in the primary reading textbooks may in some measures have shaped the houses we live in, our society and the jobs we chose as adults. Most children in Chicago lived in small apartment buildings or two flat homes. Reading textbooks seldom showed city life. The books showed single family dwellings with large yards and quiet streets where children played without fear of traffic. After World War II, the city children, now adults, were living in suburban neighborhoods that looked very much like the ones presented in their reading books.

Perhaps the values of the nineteen thirties and forties which taught respect for the individual and social justice laid the foundation and provided the climate for the Civil Rights Movement. Maybe the picture of father in his suit and tie coming home from the office encouraged most young boys to aspire to white collar jobs rather than jobs in factories. Regardless of the validity of these speculations, primary reading textbooks were a vehicle by which children were able to receive societal messages, and how they accepted, modified, idealized or rejected these values influenced future generations and the direction of society.

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7 June 1993
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