

The Influence of Immigration on the Development
of Civic Education in the United States from 1880 - 1925

W. Dean Eastman

A Thesis in the Field of Government for
the Degree of Master of Liberal Arts in Extension Studies

Harvard University

November 1999

Table of Contents

Dedication	iv
Acknowledgements	v
List of Figures and Appendixes	vii
List of Tables	viii
Chapter 1: The Embryonic Stages of Civic Education	1
Introduction	1
The Demand for Civic Education in the Public Schools	6
The Patriotic Education Movement	7
Discovery Days	12
Early Patriotic Groups and Their Impact on Civic Education	13
Chapter 2: The Progressive Era 1900-1915	17
School City	18
Day School and the Immigrant Child	20
Textbooks and Teacher Training	21
The Evening School	26
The Evening Social Center	30
Associated Voluntary Organizations	32
The Playground Movement	34
Chapter 3: World War One and Its Aftermath	36
Americanization	39
Public Day Schools 1915-1920	47
Lawrence Plan	52
Political Debate over the Issues of Civic Education and Immigrant Education 1880-1920	55
Socialist Sunday Schools 1880-1920	64
Chapter 4: The 1920s and the Evolution of Civic Education	67
Lynn Patriotic League	67
Textbook Controversies	69
American Legions	69
Sons of the American Revolution	70
Citizenship Through Character Development Education	77
The Educational Roles of Patriotic and Veterans Groups	
During the 1920s	77
American Citizenship Foundation	77
Character Education	78
Citizenship Through Character Education	79
Chapter 5: Conclusion	85
The Decline of Civic Education	85
Conclusion	90
Figure 1: Ethnic Political Naturalization	92
Figure 2: Level of Civic Knowledge, Beverly, Massachusetts, High School Students	93
Appendix	104
Tables 1-5	110
Bibliography	113

Dedication

To my mother and father
Harriett and Wes Eastman

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge many of the people who have helped me in the long and arduous process of thesis writing. I am indebted to Stephan Thernstrom for all his time, expertise, and patience in his role of thesis director and friend. I would like also to thank Reed Ueda for all his motivation, encouragement, and advice. I would never have enrolled in the ALM program if it weren't for Reed. I would be remiss not to mention the tireless effort of my student and typist, Kevin Harsip. Chris Hamilton always gave me a true sense of belonging during my years at Harvard. Don Ostrowski always made comments and suggestions that were concise and right on the money. To all that have helped me along the way. Thanks.

List of Figures and Appendixes

Figure 1	87
Ethnic Political Naturalization, Civic or Citizenship Organizations as listed in the city directories of Beverly, Boston, Lawrence, Lowell and Salem, Massachusetts, from 1880-1925	
Figure 2	88
Level of Civic Knowledge, Beverly, Massachusetts, High School Students	
Appendix 1	100
1913 Cambridge Evening School Lecture Series Sponsored by the North American Civic League for Immigrants.	
Appendix 2	103
Massachusetts Legislation for Adult Immigrant Education 1919	
Appendix 3	104
Americanization	
Appendix 4	105
Socialist Textbooks, Readers, and Songbooks, used by Socialist Sunday Schools 1900-1920	

List of Tables

Table 1 Civic Survey	106
Table 2 1906 Survey Response Percentage of Students Enrolled in Various Academic Courses	106
Table 3 1906 Percentage of Schools That Offer Civics as an Elective	107
Table 4 Civics Textbooks and Number of High Schools and Where Each is in Use, 1906	107
Table 5 High School Civics Teachers by Gender and Region, 1906	108
Table 6 Percentage Pupil Cost by Subject in Massachusetts, 1919	108

I

The Embryonic Stages of Civic Education

Introduction

The tide of immigration to the United States from eastern and southern Europe between 1880 and 1920 had a dramatic effect on the introduction of civic education and Americanization in the American public schools. Although the United States had always been a magnet for immigrants, it is in this period a majority of native-born Americans came to feel that for the first time these “newer” immigrants were unassimilable into the American fabric. One can certainly argue that America had always had immigrants representing many languages, religions, and cultures. America had previously suffered periods of nativism (1790s, 1850s) toward immigrant groups, but during these periods the native-born majority had always believed that the American culture was so dominant it could always absorb and assimilate the divergent immigrant masses. The period of 1880-1920 presented unique conditions and challenges that led to a re-evaluation of the role of the public school in the process of assimilation. These conditions included: increasing numbers of immigrant children attending parochial or foreign language schools, labor unrest,

economic recessions, the myriad of ills caused by increased urbanization, the fecundity rates of the foreign born (particularly from southern and eastern Europe), the importance of education in an increasingly industrializing world, and eventually the xenophobic paranoia about the “hyphenated American” of World War 1.

Clearly, the immigrant wave of 1880-1920 could not possibly be held responsible for many of these conditions and events but, nevertheless, the “new” immigrants were used as scapegoats by many native-born Americans.

As early as 1880, most of America’s large cities had large majorities of residents that were either foreign born or the children of foreign born including the figures following cities: for Chicago, 87%; for Detroit and for Milwaukee, 84%; for Cleveland and for New York City, 80%; and for Boston, 75%.¹

In 1878 Boston-born historian Francis Parkman had warned:

But now... the villages have grown in a populous city, its acres of tenement houses and thousands and ten thousands of restless workers, foreigners for the most of part to whom Liberty means license and politics to plunder, to whom public good is nothing and their own trivial interests everything, and whose ears are opened to the prompting of every rascally agitator.²

¹ Bernard Bailyn et al., The Great Republic (Lexington: D.C. Heath) 120.

² Edward N. Saveth, American Historians and European Immigrants (New York: Columbia

Francis Amasa Walker, superintendent of the Census Office for 1870 and 1880, began writing articles warning that the Anglo-Saxon stock would be overrun by the high fecundity rate of the unassimilable masses from southern and eastern Europe.

As Hofstadter notes “the rapid industrialization, urbanization and immigration of the late 1800s” ended the relative homogeneity of the population. “The native born were horrified by the conditions under which the new American lived, their slums, their alien tongue and religion, and he was resentful of the use of the local machines made of the immigrant vote.”³

From 1881 to 1905, there were at least 37,000 labor strikes in the United States. Nativists believed that the immigrants were often the cause of these labor disputes and indeed they did figure prominently in many of them.⁴

The period from 1880 to 1895 may have been the first example of an “ethnic revival” in American history. The Anglo-Saxon Americans felt threatened by the increase of foreign born in urban

University Press, 1948) 108.

³ Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Random House, 1955) 177.

⁴ John J. Miller, The Unmaking of Americans: How Multiculturalism Has Underlined the Assimilation Ethic (New York: Free Press, 1998) 46.

areas along with their high fecundity rate helped create a resurgence of “Yankee Pride” and the “Memory,” albeit somewhat inaccurate of an America that had previously been homogeneous. This time period saw the creation of nativist organizations like the American Protective Association and the Immigrant Restriction League.

The American Protective Association was founded in Clinton, Iowa, in 1887. The APA was for the most part a rural, small town anti-Catholic reaction. Its principal political objective was to lobby for state control of parochial schools.

Although this organization principal region of support and influence was in the Mid-West Donald B. Cole in his study of Lawrence, Massachusetts entitled Immigrant City, reports that the APA presented twelve lectures in that city from November 27, 1893, to November 1, 1894.⁵ The overwhelming focus of these lectures was both anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant with attention also paid to topics such as Americanism, the flag, and patriotism.

The Immigration Restriction League, founded in 1894 was organized by “Boston Brahmins” that included Henry Cabot Lodge. These nativists felt that the “new immigrants” were unlike previous

⁵ Donald B. Cole, Immigrant City: Lawrence, Massachusetts 1845-1921 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963) 84-88.

waves of immigration, were unassimilable because of their genetic and culturally inferiority and would not assimilate into the democratic beliefs and traditions of American society. William Z. Ripley's The Races of Europe (1899) provided the Immigration Restriction League with a "scientific justification" for restriction. Ripley divided Europeans into three races: Teutonic, Alpine, and Mediterranean with various characteristics and abilities categorized by race. The southern and eastern European groups were categorized with the characteristics and abilities that were least desirable.

The Immigration Restriction League's principal political objective was to initiate a literacy test in the immigrant's own language as a requisite for immigration to the United States. The Literacy test was seen as a way to screen the undesirable "new immigrant" as many of these were uneducated peasants who could not read or write in their own language. This literacy test, championed in Congress by Henry Cabot Lodge, was passed by Congress in 1896 but vetoed by President Grover Cleveland. Similar bills were passed by Congress in 1913, 1915, and 1917. In 1917, on a second vote, the veto of President Wilson was over-ridden by Congress. The Literacy Test was finally enacted in 1917 on the brink of United States

entrance into World War I.

The rise of “new immigrants” would cause native-born Americans to re-evaluate the melting pot theory and place increasing emphasis on the role of the schools in the process of assimilation. This study employs many primary educational sources of the period with particular emphasis on the evolution of civic education in Massachusetts as a reflection of the evolution nation wide.

The Demand for Civic Education in the Public Schools

Before the Civil War the term “civics” was not used in public education. The literacy test was seen as a way to screen the undesirable “new immigrant” as many of these were uneducated peasants who could not read or write in their own language. Although the literacy test may be looked upon as a nativist tool, in fairness, the literacy test could have demanded proficiency in the English language. The role of schools became increasingly more important in the process of assimilation. Clearly, schools would have to now do something new to achieve this objective. This study employs many primary educational sources of the period with particular emphasis on the evolution of civic education in Massachusetts as a reflection of the

evolution nation wide.

There had never seemed a need for the homogeneous majority to infuse our citizens with the knowledge of citizenship and its responsibilities. Civil government was the only “civics” course taught in our public schools in the three decades prior to 1890. Civil government was a far cry from the more participatory-based civil courses of the early twentieth century. The most popular civil government text was George Martin’s Civil Government. This text, according to Marvin Lazerman, was “concerned with such broad-based concepts as the source of authority in the State, form, function and nature of government and the duties of citizenship. Martin’s book portrayed a self-regulating system with limited problems. Conflict, the threat of division seemed distant and abstract.”⁶

The Patriotic Education Movement

The financial panic of 1884, Chicago’s blame of foreign-born anarchists for the Haymarket Riot in 1886 and the lynching of eleven Italian immigrants in New Orleans in 1891 were the catalyst for the introduction of civic education in American Public schools.

⁶ Marvin Lazerman, Origins of the Urban School (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971) 238.

The term civic education has always been difficult to sharply define. Definitions seem to depend on the influence of the particular groups and events of the period. In its embryonic stage the emphasis of civic education was patriotism. Evolving from this patriotic stage civic education has also come to include such aspects as: citizenship training, study of America's founding documents and heroes, issues in American democracy, character education, and learning by an actual political participation. Civic education in a democracy is education in self-government, which emphasizes active participation.

Cecilla O'Leary credits George Balch and to a lesser extent Margaret Pascal with being the pioneers of the patriotic education movement. In the late 1880s, Colonel George T. Balch, an auditor for the New York City Board of Education launched a campaign to encourage flag salutes, flag days, and the celebration of patriotic holidays in all New York City public schools. Balch was an educator, veteran, and spokesman for the Grand Army of the Republic. Balch, a graduate of West Point, developed a series of flag rituals and rewards that mixed religious fervor and military discipline. Balch wrote the first pledge of allegiance to gain widespread recognition: "We give our heads and hearts to God and our country: One nation, one

language, one flag.”⁷ In 1890 Balch wrote a book that taught patriotism through the flag entitled “Methods for Teaching Patriotism.” Margaret Pascal, a teacher in the New York public schools, worked closely with Balch. Pascal worked primarily with immigrant children. She is credited by the Woman’s Relief Corps as among the first teachers to introduce flag exercises into the classroom.

This patriotic education movement came as a reaction to the increasing nativism prompted by the labor unrest of a radical element of immigrant anarchists that were blamed for the Haymarket Riot of 1886. Balch’s patriotic clarion call sounded for a new civic responsibility in the American public schools to meet and conquer the dangers of foreign radicalism and assume allegiance to American ideals. By the late 1880s, the Massachusetts Legislature became part of this movement by mandating that all public school classrooms would display the America flag and “patriotic holidays” would be celebrated in the schools.

The National Education Association Convention of 1891 recognized the efforts on New York’s Colonel Balch and his patriotic

⁷Cecilla O’Leary, To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism (Princeton: Princeton

flag movement. The N.E.A. encouraged each school in America to display both the United States and State flag and to teach the significance of the flags as symbols of law, justice, protection, liberty, and government. At the same 1891 N.E.A. convention, speakers warned of the

overflow of immigrants, living parasites on the body politic. There is no civic education in effect although it is certainly much needed. True patriots recognize the danger. The public school is the agency that we must rely on. Civic training should start for all students at age ten stressing local government, learning by actually observing its process in person.⁸

Speakers at the 1892 National Education Association

Convention Proceedings again lauded New York's Colonel Balch for the tremendous effect of patriotic education of the foreign born in New York City schools. These speakers also stated that we were in the "midst of a revival of Americanism."⁹ Francis Bellamy, magazine editor of the Youth Companion echoes this sentiment. He felt that the school house flag movement was giving our public schools a "national sense – indicating a rising tide of American feeling."¹⁰ Bellamy warns

University Press, 1999) 153.

⁸ National Education Association Convention Proceedings, (New York: National Educational Association, 1891) 107.

⁹ National Education Association Convention Proceedings (1891) 63.

¹⁰ National Education Association Proceedings (New York: National Educational Association,

that Americanism brings about a duty to touch the immigrant population which is “pouring over our country”. In 1892 the Youth Companion warned its readers that over one-third of the nation’s children between the ages of five and seventeen were either foreign born or children of foreign born. The Youth Companion asserted that “[i]t is the problem of our schools to assimilate these children to an American standard of life and ideals.”¹¹

In addition to urging the support of teachers and students Bellamy received the endorsement and support of both the United States Commissioner of Education and the National Education Association.

Bellamy felt that the pledge developed by Balch to be totally inadequate, “pretty childish” form of words.¹²

It is interesting to note that in the same year, 1892, Bellamy created and published the Pledge of Allegiance in his magazine, Youth Companion, United States President Benjamin Harrison was also quoted at the 1892 Convention: “When I was a boy there was no citizenship training in school – that’s why there are so few statesmen

1892) 38.

¹¹ O’Leary, 156.

¹² O’Leary, 161.

today. Talk about patriotism is not enough. The ideals of citizenship should be made part of the curriculum for both high schools and grammar school.”¹³

Discovery Days

This revival of Americanism in the late nineteenth century can also be attributed to the fervor created by many celebrations and observances of the centennial of the Declaration of Independence and United States Constitution. The National Observance of America’s 400th Anniversary presented an opportunity for the schools to celebrate the occasion through patriotic activities. A precursor to our contemporary Columbus Day was called Discovery Day. Congress recognized the celebration by passing a bill authorizing the president to recommend to the people an observance of the day by suitable exercises in the nation’s schools: “This national demonstration is to be urged as one means to stimulate pure Americanism in the public schools. Wherever, it is followed by increased training in civic matters, the ardor of the celebrations is not likely to be a spasm, but a preserving impulse toward intelligent patriotism.”¹⁴

¹³ O’Leary, 63.

¹⁴ National Education Association Proceedings (1892) 63.

Discovery Day was celebrated on October 21, 1892, by millions of public school children. It was reported at the time that over 100,000 schools had raised flags to help celebrate the 400th anniversary of Columbus' discovery.

Early Patriotic Groups and Their Impact on Civic Education

As a result of the decentralized nature of American education particularly in the late nineteenth century, patriotic groups had a much stronger influence on educational policy and practice than would occur today. The Grand Army of the Republic was instituted by Union Veterans in 1866. The GAR was the first national veterans organization to include both officers and enlisted men. In the early 1880s the female counterpart of the GAR was formed named The Women's Relief Corps. The WRC was the first national organization for patriotic women.

Although the GAR in the late 1880s was staunchly behind the effort of the school house flag movement, the focus of the organizations educational lobbying became more concerned with introducing military drills into the public schools. In 1893 Captain Wallace Foster of the GAR approached the membership of the

Women's Relief Corps asking them to commit themselves to advocating patriotic instruction in the public schools. According to O'Leary, "Foster believed that women were better suited for 'emotional instruction' and could win over the love of the child by natural forces."¹⁵ The WRC became the first organized lobby to push for patriotic education in public schools including Memorial Day outreach programs in the public schools.

In 1900 Charles Skinner, the New York State Education Superintendent, published a 350-page Manual of Patriotism for use in the public schools with the close cooperation and support of the Women's Relief Corp and the GAR.

How much did such national efforts penetrate to the level of the local community? Consider the small town of Beverly, Massachusetts. The minutes of the Beverly School Committee for May 11, 1895, notes that the Finance Committee wishes to arrange a celebration for the Fourth of July in which the school children would sing, read the Declaration of Independence, and recite other such patriotic readings. The Beverly School Committee felt that the objective of these patriotic exercises should be both to spark interest and to instruct the children and the citizens of Beverly in general of

¹⁵ National Education Association Proceedings (1892) 181.

the character and dignity of the celebration.

The federal government also recognized the flag movement by authorizing the President to recommend to the people that a flag day should be celebrated along with Columbus Day and that the patriotic debates should be encouraged in our classrooms. Patriotism and civic training in many public schools across the county seemed to be catching on by the late 1890s. On April 3, 1896, Mrs. Clara A. Trask, President of The Woman's Relief Corps of The Grand Army of the Republic, presented a flag to Beverly's Prospect School. In a short address, Mrs. Trask stated that

when a few short years ago, love of flag and country began to be taught in the public schools, it was watched with a great deal of interest by the loyal men, and women all over the country. Today we see the results. The beautiful stars and stripes are floating from nearly all the school houses. Massachusetts and Illinois I believe claim to be the states first to place the flags over the school buildings. The floating of the stars and stripes over the school houses has undoubtedly been valuable in its lessons of history and patriotism. For even in the smallest child we can see how proudly they carry a flag.¹⁶

It should also be noted that in September of 1896 the Beverly School Committee authorized the purchase of twenty copies of Mowry's Civic Government to be used in classes at Beverly High School. In

¹⁶ April 3, 1896, Minutes of Beverly School Committee.

February of 1897 the Beverly Historical Society donated copies of Gilbert Stuart's portrait of George Washington and a copy of the Declaration of Independence for each school building in Beverly. The problem of assimilation the children of immigrants into the pride of patriotism and responsibility of citizenship was seen by contemporaries as successful and without much controversy. As Congressman Richard Bartholdt stated at the time: "Go and see I our public schools the children of German, Irish, Bohemian and Italian parents, waiving the Stars and Stripes on this glorious Fourth and you will fully appreciate the meaning of my statement, that education is solving the problem."¹⁷

¹⁷ Richard Bartholdt, 19 May 1896, Congressional Record, 54th Congress Session, 5422, House of Representatives.

II

Chapter 2 - The Progressive Era 1900-1915

During the Progressive Era increasing emphasis was placed on the assimilative value of civic education in our public schools. The emphasis did change though, from symbolic displays of patriotism to a more structured educational approach that emphasized a melting pot, which emphasized fusion rather than total assimilation. This fusion approach focused on the contributions of all ethnic groups in the American fabric. The 1906 Progressive Conference of Good City Government stated that there should be “lines” of teaching Civics in the public schools: 1) make history and civics lead to the present and the future; 2) place our ideals in the future and not the past; and 3) have children learn by doing.¹⁸

Following the lead of John Dewey many educators in the Progressive era advocated civic education through active participation.

This approach of “learning by doing” has been first demonstrated at the National Educational Association Convention of 1903. Presenters discussed the educational benefits of the School City

¹⁸ Proceedings of the Good Government Conference (Cincinnati: Good Government Association, 1906) 414-415.

Program in which the school becomes a microcosm of city government with students assuming the roles of mayor, council, judge, and police. This School City approach was probably the precursor of the student government programs in our schools today.¹⁹

School City

In 1897 Wilson Gill, a professor at the State Normal School in New Paltz, New York, first introduced his concept of “School City” to the New York City Public Schools. This innovative educational approach converted the school itself into a municipality. Students elected a mayor, city council, and judge. Departments of health, police, and cleanliness were organized. These students were also encouraged to agitate for cleaner streets and for better housing in their crowded districts. Gill explains:

They were foreigners and the sons of foreigners, and yet such a familiarity have they acquired with the working of city, state and national government, and such splendid zeal has inspired these actions, that one may conclude that the way to acquire civics and good citizenship is to engage in those activities that in themselves constitute good citizenship.²⁰

Gill’s School City approach became popular nationally with some influential advocates. That included President William

¹⁹ National Education Association Convention Proceedings, (Winona, MN: National Educational Association, 1903) 98.

²⁰ National Education Convention Association Proceedings (1903) 98.

McKinley.

General Leonard Wood, when Military Governor of Cuba, instituted the School City model in 3,600 schoolrooms throughout the island. The School City model was also employed in all schools in the Hawaiian Islands.

The School City approach was not without its detractors. In a presentation at the 1908 National Education Association Convention Oliver P. Corman, District Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, stated that at least on the elementary school level many of the claims of success for the City School program were greatly exaggerated. He felt that after the initial novelty of the program had worn off it had little effect on the discipline of the school. The program was much too labor intensive regarding the amount of supervision and control necessary. According to Corman: “Special emphasis on citizenship as usually understood in elementary school is largely wasted time.”²¹

Day School and the Immigrant Child

²¹ National Education Association Proceedings (Winona, MN: National Educational Association, 1908) 293.

At the 1905 National Education Association Convention Julia Richman, District Supervisor of School for New York City, focused on the immigrant child as the most pressing problem in the nation's urban schools. She warned that, in the urban foreign colonies, alien customs were perpetuated. She urged the teachers to rescue not only the child but the whole family "from the traditions which enslave the mind, and furnish some of the most stubborn obstacles to a proper assimilation and Americanization of the alien."²²

Ms. Richman emphasized the need for instruction in civics and lesson in patriotism to demonstrate to these foreign-born students the habits a "true American" child must acquire. Richman acknowledged that the Americanization of the immigrant child through civic education might create an almost unbridgeable gulf between parent and child. To prevent this gulf, parents must be made to understand the importance of attending patriotic school activities. She advised that if the parent will not come to the school, the school or its representative must go to the parent. Parents must be made to realize an obligation in adopting a new country to adopt the language and customs of that country. Richman warns that if parents were not

²² National Education Association Proceedings (Winona, MN: National Educational Association, 1905) 114.

readily willing to Americanize “the day must come when our government must close its gates to their companions who wish to follow.”²³

Citizenship education was no longer rote memorization of the United States Constitution but an activities-based “hands on” approach that emphasized civic participation on the local level. As Lazerman wrote: “The street offered anarchy; the school stood as the ultimate opponent.”²⁴

Textbooks and Teacher Training

In 1908, the American Political Science Association called for mandating Civics classes in both the nation’s secondary and elementary schools. A survey had previously been sent to over 1600 school systems that offered civics as a required course, and elective course, or no course at all. The survey also asked the number of students actually enrolled in Civics courses as compared to other academic courses (See Table 2 and Table 3). According to the surveys, the Southern region reported the highest percentages of schools requiring civics, almost 100%. This extremely high

²³ National Education Association Proceedings (1905) 120.

²⁴ Lazerman, 243.

percentage may be explained by the Civics graduation requirement in most southern states the time of the 1906 survey. Another possible explanation for the South's high percentage may be that, in spite of so few immigrants, the high African-American population created the same paranoid demand for civic education that European Immigration had created in the other regions. The Eastern-Midwest and Western regions report a requirement percentage of 63.9% and 56% respectively.

Another interesting survey result was the percentage of Civics teachers by gender and region (See Table 5). The national average of female civics teachers at this time was 44.9%. These results are particularly interesting in that, at the time of the survey, female civics teachers did not have the right to vote in most elections until the ratification of the nineteenth amendment in 1920. This survey also reports that only 17% of the nation's students are enrolled in Civics classes as compared to an over 50% enrollment in both Algebra and Latin (see Table 2).

Civic Education Pioneer Arthur Dunn's book, The Community and the Citizen, published in 1907 became one of the most popular civics textbook in the country. This seminal civics textbook led to a

course called Community Civics that emphasized activity-based civic education. Dunn believed that the course Community Civics was really training for effective membership in the community. The aim of the course was to help the student to know not merely the facts of government but also the meaning of true community life. To Dunn the use of the term community was quite broad, including not only the local community but also the state, nation, and world. Dunn believed that many educational outcomes could be expected from this course including: 1) developing civil intelligence 2) energize the knowledge acquired and develop participation in the life of the community, and 3) to broaden the sympathies and break down the spirit of group exclusiveness, which he felt was all too prevalent in public life at the time. This course was taught in school systems across the country. The 1915-1916 Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education Reports that of 253 high schools in the commonwealth 148 of these schools indicate that the course, Community Civics, as part of the curriculum. Institutes for teachers of this course were conducted at the Hyannis Normal School for three summers.

The 1916-1917 Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education mentions that the Massachusetts legislature added training

in the duties of citizenship as one of the required subjects to be taught in the Commonwealth's public schools. This report also mentions that Arthur Dunn was hired by the Massachusetts Board of Education in 1917 to help institute teacher development in the field of citizenship training. Dunn's first step was to prepare a bulletin, Training in the Duties of Citizenship. This bulletin emphasized that training in the duties of citizenship was not a simple matter that could be provided by any one formula. Citizenship training must be a continuous process throughout the school career. Dunn states that civic training should be taught across the curriculum and that activities-based education should be utilized to the fullest extent.

A second bulletin, Instruction and Practice in the Duties of Citizenship, was prepared. This bulletin emphasizes that civic education must be taught enthusiastically and with community relevance to be of the greatest value. In addition to being informed concerning his community relationship, the student should also have a strong sense of responsibility to help promote community well being.

Over 25,000 of these bulletins were distributed among school superintendents, normal school teachers and students, principals, and public school faculties.

Dunn made presentations at twenty-eight conferences and conventions throughout the state. These meetings included county teacher conventions, teacher institutes, normal school groups, civics clubs, and faculty meetings.

In addition to these presentations, Dunn conducted two series of conferences in Boston and Springfield in the form of a short course for teachers. These courses emphasized the methods and principles of community civics. These teachers met for five successive weeks for two hours each session. Teacher interest in these courses seemed to be high with attendance averaging 175 teachers in Boston and 60 teachers in Springfield.²⁵

In Arthur Dunn's final report to the Massachusetts Board of Education in 1917, he stated that two-thirds of Massachusetts population was foreign-born, or born of foreign parentage and that it was paramount that citizenship training have an important influence upon the problem of Americanization. Dunn advised that efforts to reach the adult immigrant should not be diminished but the most favorable channel for Americanization should be through the children. Community Civics if properly implemented should be the most

²⁵ Massachusetts Board of Education, 1916-1917 Annual Report (Boston: E.L. Grimes, 1918) 100-101.

powerful influence in the Americanization process. Dunn also urged that college and University courses in civic education should not be relegated for only summer sessions but be offered during the entire school year.

The Evening School

In the early twentieth century the Progressives launched a massive program of adult evening classes. These classes were instituted in urban America via the public schools. As the evening schools began to assume the responsibility of civic education for adult immigrants, the day schools became increasingly more concerned with the civic education and assimilation of the immigrants' children in the classroom. The Progressives recognized the school as the primary vehicle for socialization into the American political culture.

In 1887, Massachusetts was the first state to pass a mandatory educational law for all minors who could not speak, read, or write the English language. This requirement was tied directly to the illiterate minor's right to work. All illiterates between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one were required to attend either day or evening classes when school was open.²⁶

²⁶ Lazerman, 214.

These classes for illiterates inevitably led to special classes for foreign non-English speaking immigrants where both English and Civics were taught. This led to the Massachusetts Evening School becoming the primary agent for instruction for naturalization classes. Special primers were developed for these students. These primers stressed local participation and civic virtue in their everyday life.

In 1907, New Jersey passed legislation to support evening classes for foreign-born adults in both English and Civics. The number of Civics textbooks was dramatically increasing due in part to the rising participation of foreign-born students in both evening and day schools. The 1906 Survey of the American Political Science Association reported that over ten different civics textbooks were in wide use nationally (see Table 4).

In addition to the rigor of Civics and English language instruction, evening schools attempted to add some entertainment to the learning process. Part of the “entertainment” provided was speakers who inspired the foreign-born students through patriotic speeches about America, spoken in the various native languages of the immigrants. In Cambridge, these speakers were provided by the North American Civic League for Immigrants. The North American

Civic League for Immigrants was organized in 1908 to cooperate with the public schools in an extensive educational program designed to promote assimilation by special classes in naturalization and lectures in foreign languages on civic subjects. The League hoped that these programs would help “counteract the teachings of socialists or other radicals.” It also hoped to act as a clearing house for all agencies that assisted immigrants. One annual report of the North American Civic League listed committees or members in forty-eight cities of the United States with twenty-four of these cities located in Massachusetts.²⁷ In the organization’s first year of operation, thirty-six cities in nine states had chapters, including eighteen cities in Massachusetts. “This organization’s sole objective was the Americanization of the immigrants through cooperation with the schools.”²⁸ (see Appendix 1 for the 1913 Cambridge Evening School lecture series sponsored by the NACLI).

The annual school committee report of Cambridge in 1913 uses actual letters from foreign tongued participants in the evening school program to justify the importance and success of the program: “Can

²⁷ Report of the Commission on Immigration. “The Problem of Immigration in Massachusetts.” Massachusetts House of Representatives, No. 2300 (Boston: [no pub. listed], 1913, 208.

²⁸ Cambridge School Committee Annual Report of 1913 (Boston: E.L. Grimes, 1913) 476.

anyone who realizes the importance of Americanizing the immigrant read them (the letters) and wonder if the evening schools are worthwhile?"²⁹

I was born in Russia. I am in this country eleven months. I was attending this evening school three times a week. I learned here to read, write and speak English. Then I learned the life story of the famous Americans as Abraham Lincoln, George Washington and Thomas Edison. Besides that I learned the constitution of this country. This evening school helps me a great deal. The more English I know the more money I make.

Yours Truly,
(Signed) Charles Preedin

I came from Russia two years ago. I could not speak (sic) and write English then I went to evening school every night. I like to learn to speak (sic) and write the English language. I like this book wich (sic) I read this year. It tells about the united States government. I like the injoied electures (sic) in a hall.

Yours Respectfully,
(Signed) Adolf Jossim³⁰

The Lawrence "bread and roses" strike of 1912 brought about a deepening fear of increased labor radicalism from the masses of eastern and southern European immigrants that had become a majority

²⁹ Cambridge School Committee Annual Report of 1913 479-480.

³⁰ Cambridge School Committee Annual Report of 1913 481.

in many Eastern cities. The Cambridge School Committee report of 1913 emphatically expresses this deepening fear of immigrant labor radicalism:

Cambridge is no longer a native American city. The census of 1910 records 34,608 foreign born people within its confines. It is no longer necessary to argue that these men and women must somehow be giving an acquaintance with our language and institutions. The menacing shadow of the IWW hovering over the manufacturing cities of New England has brought this fact home all too clearly. It is idle to bemoan the fact that the foreigner is here. He is, and this may either be a curse or a blessing according to the way the problem is handled. If nothing new is done to assimilate these new arrivals. We cannot complain if they follow the smooth-tongued demagogue.³¹

The Evening Social Center

The Evening Social Center was another approach in the civic education of citizens. The catalyst for this concept was the Gary Plan, introduced by Gary, Indiana, Superintendent of Schools William Wirt in 1907. Public schools in Gary expanded the educational opportunities of the schools by opening them at night, twelve months a year for all ages. The school was to become the true center of the

³¹ Cambridge School Committee Annual Report of 1913, 484.

intellectual and cultural life of the neighborhood. Each school was organized as a miniature community with the long-range goal of community improvement and social progress.

In Massachusetts, these social centers extended the use and prominence of school buildings for the civic education of foreign born in a more relaxed and less academic environment than Gary. Activities such as health talks, dramatics, social dances, and gymnasium privileges were offered to help awaken community spirit. Eventually in East Cambridge, these school centers began the more serious task of attempting to interest the non-English speaking immigrants in the more structured civic objectives of the center. In 1917, a series of three large meetings were held “based on the idea of American patriotism and the value of American citizenship.”³²

³² Cambridge School Committee Annual Report of 1917 (Boston: E.L. Grimes, 1917) 103.

Associated Voluntary Organizations

Waldo H. Sherman of the New York City Young Men's Christian Association another "hands on" role playing model that differed somewhat from Gill's City School. Sherman's program was a YMCA activity that was designed for young men beyond high school age. He organized his class into any imaginary community that performed not only the functions of government but those of business and banking as well. The New England township was the model with officers being elected at town meetings. At these town meetings imaginary highway and public works issues were discussed along with the treatment of the poor and insane and the question of prohibition. Corporations were formed and plans were made for a railroad. At least twenty-five lessons of one-and-a-half hours were required with twenty-five students composing a class.³³

Progressives believed that to achieve success, the control of political parties must be taken from the urban political machines by educating their politically unsophisticated and ignorant immigrant constituents. The Progressives believed that a program of naturalization and citizenship classes for these immigrants would

³³ National Education Association Proceedings (1903) 98.

make them more assimilated into the American mainstream and no longer the puppets of the political bosses. Civic education had now become the focus for immigrants of all ages. Before the Progressive Era the only real attempts at adult civic education had met with mixed results at best. The settlement house movement was the first to attempt a response to the immigrant's need for assimilation. Settlement houses like Jane Addam's Hull House in Chicago placed no special emphasis on English or civics classes. The emphasis of this movement was social assimilation to be achieved by offering immigrants a new "home" in America, rather than the transformation of the immigrants' existing political beliefs.

Nativist organizations like the Daughters of the American Revolution developed patriotic education programs designed to indoctrinate adult immigrants with American loyalty. In addition to lectures in American history and government delivered in foreign languages, the DAR also published a pamphlet, providing information and advice on adjusting to life in America. These pamphlets were printed in fifteen languages and distributed to evening schools, factories, and ethnic social clubs.

The Playground Movement

The Progressive playground movement also became a driving force in the spirit of civic education. Playgrounds could “cultivate the moral nature of children, promoting ‘civic unity’ and supplying the social training and discipline urgently needed among the immigrant masses.”³⁴

The playground was seen by many to be democratic. Many reformers supported the playground’s potential to teach immigrant children “American values.” The term work learned in playground activities was seen as a vehicle for learning lessons in the meaning of law, order, and self-government.

In most instances the first American playgrounds were sponsored by either philanthropic or civic organizations. In Boston, Joseph Lee and the Massachusetts Civic League began to provide areas to be utilized as playgrounds. By 1888, seven Boston school yards were designated as playgrounds and supplied with sand boxes, balls, jump ropes, and bean bags. Muckracker Jacob Riis, author of How the Other Half Lives, was an energetic advocate in the early New York City playground movement. Riis proposed that a

³⁴ National Education Association Proceedings (1903) 250.

playground should be located near every public school. In Chicago, Jane Addams and Florence Kelley of Hull House were instrumental in establishing that city's first playground in 1893. By the turn of the century most municipal governments had realized the need for playgrounds and began to budget money for land acquisitions and equipment for playgrounds. The playground movement became nationalized with the advent of the National Playground Association in 1906 with The Russell Sage Foundation providing financial support. Dr. Luther Gulick was chosen as the association's first president with Joseph Lee and Jane Addams serving as vice presidents. In 1908 the Massachusetts Legislature introduced a bill that would mandate that every city with 10,000 inhabitants was to maintain at least one playground with an additional playground to be provided for every 20,000 inhabitants.

In addition, many cities began to sponsor civic pageants that were designed to symbolically depict the respective city's history and culture. In the public schools, extra curricular activities such as student government, athletics, and band began to assume a civic justification as a character building "hands on" activity.

III

World War One and Its Aftermath

The outbreak of World War in 1914 brought about a more direct form of assimilation for the foreign born – The Americanization School. The Americanization School was now a specific and separate entity within the evening school and factory. The ethnic identification of our foreign born with the warring powers of Europe brought about panic over divided loyalties, also known as “hyphenated Americans.” The goal of these Americanization programs became 100% Americanism. By 1915, both the United States Bureau of Education and Naturalization became involved in the Americanization program.

The advent of Americanization helped frame the debate concerning the homogeneous versus heterogeneous nature of our American identity, a debate that is still raging in our public school today. The term “melting pot” was made popular by a play of that name written by Israel Zangwell in 1908. The term includes two somewhat similar theories. The first being that America is a cauldron that melts all customs and cultures of immigrants into one blend. The other theory would be more in line with the theme of Zangwell's play – that unlike assimilation where the dominant culture swallows up the

minority one, the minority becomes part of a continuous fusion process.

In 1915 Horace Kallen strongly criticized the melting pot theory in a series of articles for the Nation. He wrote that the forced assimilation created by Americanization to be anti-democratic. Kallen expanded these views in his book *Culture and Democracy in the United States*. Kallen emphasized cultural pluralism to be in the best interest of a democratic social order. He believed that unity could be best achieved through diversity not forced assimilation.

The National Americanization Committee was developed by Frances Kellor to help involve the factories in the Americanization process. Kellor had previously served as the head of New York's Bureau of Industries and Immigration. John Miller, in his book The Unmaking of Americans, credits Frances Kellor as clearly understanding that the successful Americanization of immigrants required a measure of national self-confidence among the native born. Miller quotes Kellor stating in 1916: "We shall never have an Americanized foreign-born population until we have an Americanized native born population – nationalization and giving definitely of its

thought, time and strength to making a better America for everybody.”³⁵ By 1915 over 6,000 communities in the country were teaching citizenship training to immigrants in evening schools. This program relied for the most part on the volunteer service of teachers and on private sources to finance the work. The Bureau of Naturalization sent the names of candidates seeking citizenship to the local superintendent of the cooperating communities. A personally addressed letter would then be sent out to each candidate and the candidate’s name would also be sent to his prospective evening school.

Many of the participating communities were hard pressed to finance this volunteer program and sought financial relief from the federal government. Raymond F. Crist, Deputy Commission of Naturalization, addressed this financial plea of the participating communities at the National Education Association Convention in 1916. Crist stated that, while he was not given much thought to federal financial contributions, if any consideration were given it would be to the large cities: “First, in your cities foreign elements is a

³⁵ Miller, The Unmaking of Americans 247-248.

menace. Vice grows up in their midst. Here the influences of foreign sovereignties, institutions, ideas and ideals are the strongest.”³⁶

Americanization

Americanization through education advanced rapidly due primarily to the outbreak of World War I. Emory S. Bogardus in his book Essentials of Americanization (1919) defined Americanization as a phase of assimilation, “a process which transforms unlike attitudes and behavior into like attitude and behavior.” Bogardus, however, had a number of concerns with the Americanization process:

Americanization is teaching foreigners to be satisfied with their jobs Americanization is the suppression by vigorous means of all radical elements in our country Americanization is the reducing of the foreign-born to a uniformity of opinions and beliefs in harmony with Americanism. Americanism means teaching English and civics to foreigners in order to enable them to secure naturalization papers. Americanization is a paternalistic program for helping ignorant foreigners by utilizing the superior ability of the native born.”³⁷

To many Americans the fear of the dual allegiance of many of the foreign born brought home the necessity for providing opportunities

³⁶ National Education Association Proceedings (Ann Arbor, MI: National Educational Association, 1916) 1045.

³⁷ Emory S. Bogardus, Essentials of Americanization (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1919) 82.

for the education and training of the immigrants in the American Language, citizenship and patriotism. Many persons of foreign birth were employed in US war industries. Upon their labor the nation was dependent for food, clothing, coal, and war materials. Many Americans feared that any impediment to the support and allegiance of the immigrant to this country and the cause of the allies could cause ultimate defeat in our war effort. This fear created the organization and formulation of a federal plan for the rapid Americanization of the immigrant.

On February 12, 1918, the Council of National Defense joined with the United States Bureau of Education in formulating a national Americanization Plan.

This plan requested that all State councils of defense engage in Americanization work to appoint Americanization committees and State directors of Americanization.

The Secretary of the Interior hosted a conference on April 3, 1918, of all governors, chairmen of State defence councils and presidents of industrial corporations and chambers of commerce. Approximately 300 persons attended this conference.

A clearing-house service for a variety of publications to be

distributed was established. Over 100,000 individual enrollment blanks were distributed for those immigrants interested in enrolling in the Americanization program. It was estimated that over 25,000 bulletins, pamphlets, etc., were distributed, together with a large quantity of “America First” and flag posters.

The Daughters of the American Revolution were adamant in their belief that the teaching of American history and citizenship was the best method for laying a foundation to develop the best citizens. Local chapters helped achieve this goal by sponsoring patriotic essays and lobbying local school boards to both emphasize and include courses in citizenship, government, and United States History. The Daughters of the American Revolution were particularly active in the Americanization of the foreigner. The DAR believed that it was the duty of the organization to promote the development of what they called an American Consciousness, in all of the nation’s people but especially those of foreign birth and parentage.

The DAR was extremely nativist during the World War in regard to communities where schools taught the German language and citizens could read German language newspapers. The DAR felt that German language classes and newspapers helped “foster a hostile

propaganda and undermined the patriotism of the American people.”³⁸

An attempt was made to better coordinate the activities of unofficial agencies such as patriotic organizations, civic associations, women’s clubs, and fraternal orders. Special cooperative plans were accomplished with the American Bankers Association, Scottish Rites, and National Committee of Patriotic Societies.³⁹

John J. Mahoney, State Supervisor of Americanization for Massachusetts, presents a markedly non-nativist philosophy of Americanization in a United States Bureau bulletin in 1920. Mahoney believed that, to really Americanize America, we must reach both the native-born and the immigrant. To Americanize the newcomer we must first Americanize ourselves. He felt that it had come time for all Americans to re-examine the fundamental civic questions such as: What is democracy? What are our American ideals, aspirations, principles of government, and abiding beliefs?

Mahoney was sincere in his belief that

Americanism to be taught is not a static Americanism belonging exclusively to the native born. America and the American spirit are dynamic, ever changing concepts.

³⁸Bessie Louise Pierce, Citizens Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1933) 18.

³⁹United States Bureau of Education Report (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920) 132-133.

It is not solely the Americanism of the Puritans that we should teach. It is that plus the precious contributions that have come and are coming, and will come to us through the spiritual heritages of the many races that seek our shores. The process of Americanization is a reciprocal one. We give but we must receive as well.⁴⁰

The Americanization class movement of forced assimilation was driven in part by the World War, but also continued into the 1920s and the 1930s as a reaction to the “Red Scare” and the Depression. In Massachusetts, Americanization classes for both public schools and factories were mandated by the state legislature in 1919 (see Appendix 2). These Americanization classes were designed to instill the fundamental principles of government and other subjects that would help prepare the students for the responsibilities of American citizenship. The state of Massachusetts supported fifty percent of the costs for these classes.

According to the Annual Report of the Beverly School Committee in 1920:

Beverly accepted chapter 69 in the fall of 1920. Americanization classes were organized as follows: at the high school building were beginner, intermediate and advanced classes; at the Washington School was beginning French women; at the Farms school was the Italian Ungraded class. Our teachers are trained teachers, certified through taking the teacher training course in

⁴⁰ Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 12 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920) 56.

Americanization, organized and conducted by the Division of University Education of the State Department. Our aim is to make good citizens by teaching American ideas, ideals, aspiration, principles of government and binding beliefs.⁴¹

In Boston, classes for immigrant mothers were conducted in school buildings throughout the city. These classes were held during the hours of the day in which children would be in school. Attendants were provided in a designated room to provide for the care of pre-school children during their mother's class. Mother classes were also introduced in the home because many believed that as wives and mothers, through their nature of children and their influence over men, "the mother does more to train her children for citizenship than any agency in the country."⁴² Beverly was not unique in the home instruction for foreign women. For example, Syracuse, New York, had home classes for foreign women twice a week.

By 1923 when women were now required to acquire their citizenship papers independently of their husbands, it became even more important to reach the women in the home. The Massachusetts Board of Education reported over 150 home classes with an estimated enrollment of 1000 women.

⁴¹ Beverly School Committee Annual Report of 1920 (Beverly, MA: Beverly School Committee, 1920) 273-274.

⁴² Beverly School Committee Annual Report of 1920 276.

Although attendance for adults at the Americanization classes was voluntary, the recruitment for classes was widespread and well organized. In addition to many local organizations and newspapers, the Naturalization Bureau gave the names of any alien who had stated that naturalization intention in each community.

In addition to the Americanization classes there was an attempt at “Socialized Americanization.” The purpose of this program was to “bring together racial (ethnic) groups that are isolated and perpetuated old world methods and thoughts with native born Americans.”⁴³ The vehicle of this socialized Americanization was a series of evening and afternoon social gatherings with the hope that this socialization would create a spirit of loyalty to America for aliens and broaden native born empathy toward the immigration. In Cambridge these social meetings were held under the auspices of the Women’s Americanization Committee.

Americanization classes were also introduced in many factories, in part as a reaction to the labor unrest and “Red Scare” of the 1920s. The factory Americanization classes were presented on site, usually in the evening but in some cases during the lunch hour. There were

⁴³ Cambridge School Committee Annual Report of 1922 (Boston: E.L. Grimes, 1922) 265.

many Greater Boston factories involved with Americanization classes including: The American Rubber company, Knowles Steam Pump Works in Cambridge, The Lovney Company of Everett, the Boston Rubber Shoe Company, and the United Shoe Machinery Corporation of Beverly. All of these companies provided what was considered exemplary programs.

Because of the voluntary nature of the Americanization classes attendance always seemed to be a problem. Many immigrants felt the Americanization Movement to be condescending. Many women thought that too much emphasis was placed on personal hygiene and home economics. Many male immigrants did not like to attend because of the mixing of genders in evening classes. Others felt that these classes were designed solely to prevent the threat to national security.

It is interesting to note that during the time of the United States involvement in the World War, a time of patriotic frenzy, attendance of immigrants in public evening schools decreased dramatically in Cambridge and Beverly, to such an extent that these classes were discontinued in 1917. This lack of attendance in evening Americanization schools was not an isolated problem in

Massachusetts only, it was a national problem mentioned in the 1918 United States Commission of Education Annual Report: “That while the number of opportunities for instruction has very largely increased, yet attendance has not been altogether satisfactory. Labor conditions, overtime work and the pressure of war activities coupled with anti-American propoganda have largely caused a decrease in the average attendance upon public evening schools.”⁴⁴

Public Day Schools 1915-1920

The impending threat of an eventual involvement in the World War had also placed heightened emphasis on the role and prominence of citizenship in our public day schools. In 1912, Dr. David Snedden, Massachusetts Commissioner of Education, had recommended a mandatory civics class for all Massachusetts public schools. By 1915, the study of both civics and American history was mandated by the Massachusetts Legislature and for all public elementary and high schools in the state. At around the same time other states began the push for mandatory civics classes. The State of New Jersey developed subjects such as Community Civics and Problems of

⁴⁴ United States Commissioner of Education, Department of the Interior, Annual Report, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917) 44.

Democracy for all the state's high schools. By 1918, New York and Texas had strengthened the previously optional patriotism laws by requiring that patriotic instruction and exercises be incorporated in the curriculum of all public and private schools. Texas law also required every public school teacher to devote at least ten minutes each day to an instruction designed to inculcate patriotism. By 1918, the display of the flag of the United States on or near every school building was required by about three-quarters of the states.⁴⁵

These legislative mandates coupled with a fear of hyphenated Americans gave Social Studies a special emphasis in the funding of school budgets. This was much the same phenomenon as the increased emphasis on the science curriculum in American schools after the Soviet launch of Sputnik in 1957. By 1919, Social Studies received by far the highest percentage (19%) of pupil costs of any subject in the state of Massachusetts (see Table 6).

It seems self evident that emphasis on civic education would be at a fever pitch in our public schools during the World War, but many of the civic manifestations went far beyond civics courses. Some states banned the teaching of German in the public schools.

⁴⁵ Commissioner of Education, Department of the Interior, Annual Report (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918) 47.

Citizenship was introduced in many schools as a specific grade in addition to academic grades earned in “regular courses.” The behavior of a school child was now linked with loyalty to one’s country.

School gardening became an important wartime activity in many of our public schools. Approximately 100 cities adopted the United State Bureau of Education plan for school-directed victory gardens. Classes for the training of garden teachers were taught by specialists from the Bureau at the Summer Schools of Cornell University and Teachers College of Columbia University. In Beverly, “nearly one thousand school children cared for victory gardens.”⁴⁶ They formed pig clubs. They collected peach pits and nut shells making carbon gas masks. One thousand ninety-seven pounds of this material was shipped in the first collection.⁴⁷ In Cambridge, a high school Signal Corps was instituted.

In March of 1919 the Boston Public Schools Responded to the War with, guest speaker Professor William Starr Myers of Princeton urging Boston public school teachers to realize that democracy was

⁴⁶ United States Commissioner of Education, Department of the Interior, Annual Report (1917) 63.

⁴⁷ Beverly School Committee Annual Report (1918) 143.

still on trial. He observed that for the first time the American people realize the need for education and more specifically for education about our country and its history: “The schools are a tremendous instrument for propaganda through the children back to the homes which they came. There is only one kind of propaganda for which the public schools may rightly and safely be used and that propaganda must be for patriotism.”⁴⁸

On a more positive note, an extremely successful organization, the Patriotic Education League of Lynn, Massachusetts, was formed during the World War to promote understanding between native and foreign born.

By the spring of 1918, correspondence courses in the teaching of patriotism were offered free to teachers by Etta A. Leighton of the National Security League. Ms. Leighton was the author of “Wake Up Teachers of America” and served as the chairman of the Committee on Citizenship in elementary schools of the Bureau of Patriotism through education of the National Security League.

The committee believed that knowledge by the people is the sole basis of national security. The committee hopes to inspire the

⁴⁸ Education Standards, Official Exponent of the Boston Public Schools (Boston: Boston Public Schools, April 18, 1918) 43.

nation's schools to give to the children of America a thorough education in the ideals of true American citizenship.

Leighton claimed that thousands of teachers across the country were sending inquiries as to methods, questions, requests for helpful literature, or advice to the correlation of civics, history, and current events.

Leighton also claimed that the League was able to obtain information concerning every successful experiment then in progress in the teaching of civics, patriotism, or history, and through correspondence to be able to pass on to teachers the result of such work and to explain the techniques used. This service was also offered free. The literature of the National Security League reached 6,000 state and county school superintendents.

Lawrence Plan

The National Security League was also instrumental in instituting the Lawrence Plan for Education in Citizenship at the Oliver School in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in September of 1918. The National Security League worked on this citizenship education plan in conjunction with the State Normal School at Lowell and the school department of Lawrence.

The Lowell Normal School contributed two part-time supervisors for two years of service for the project. It should be noted that for both school years (1918-1919) and (1919-1920) that the financing for this extension of normal school instruction was not financed by Lowell but by both the National and Massachusetts Security Leagues.

The purpose of the Lawrence Plan was to determine through experimentation the changes necessary in subject matter and teaching practices that would best enable the school to engage in the fundamental task of making good citizens in our American democracy.

The Oliver School was a grammar school (grades 1-8) with about 1400 students and 40 teachers, located in the center of

Lawrence.

The general philosophy of the Lawrence Plan was to emphasize direct “hands on” practical activities in civic education as opposed to solely concentrating on the knowledge to be gleaned from school textbooks. Civics could be vitalized and Americanized in terms of the life experiences of the students.

The course of study for civics at the Oliver School was based on the following principles: 1) Education in citizenship should be continuous and cumulative throughout the child’s entire school life. This type of civic education would be a character building process of growth. 2) The study of civics should give the students answers to such questions as: What is Americanism? What is democracy? 3) The civics course should consist of a number of projects for each grade. Each civics project should be a combination of problem study and activity.⁴⁹

An overview of the Lawrence Plan for Education in citizenship written in the 1918-1919 Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education describes as examples two such projects that combine problem study and activity.

A sixth-grade class at the Oliver School was assigned a project

on Naturalization. Students in this class were asked such questions as: Who is a citizen? May any man become a citizen? Am I a citizen even though my father is not? The students were asked to investigate and find the answers to these questions. This investigation prompted visits to naturalization courts and interviews with court officers. They also questioned the principal of the Oliver School who had previously taught naturalization classes. The students also visited the public library and used pamphlets and books in their research. After collecting their data the students discussed and answered the original questions. The report states: “A survey of the class showed that twenty-four fathers and four brothers were not citizens. Those children then determined to use all their influence to persuade their relatives to become American citizens.”⁵⁰

In the eighth-grade history and civics were combined into one course. Among the problems investigated in the school year of 1918-1919 were:

- 1) Bolshevism—The menace of Bolshevism in Lawrence, the United States, and Europe was studied. Its destructive principles were contrasted with the principles of American democracy.
- 2) The problem of immigration

⁴⁹ Massachusetts Board of Education, 1918-1919 Annual Report, 20.

⁵⁰ Massachusetts Board of Education, 1918-1919 Annual Report, 21.

and Americanization. Through this study pupils realize that America is the land of opportunity for men of all races, and appreciate not only the advantages but also the obligations of American citizenship. 3) Problems of labor and capital. The present labor unrest was studied from the standpoint of the rights and duties of both capital and labor.⁵¹

Political Debate over the Issues of Civic Education and Immigrant Education 1880-1920

The tide of immigration from southern and eastern Europe from 1880 to 1920 had a dramatic effect on the introduction of civic education and Americanization in our public schools. Although there are a myriad of sources available on civic education and Americanization, there seems to be a paucity of information on the role of the political parties in this education transformation.

Although immigration restriction and literacy tests were debated by both political parties this would not necessarily indicate that either party was for or against the civic education in the public schools or for adult immigrants in America. As many states began to make naturalization a criterion for voting eligibility it would seem that both parties encouraged civic education to help their political interests.

⁵¹ Massachusetts Board of Education, 1918-1919 Annual Report, 22.

The period of 1880 to 1920 was a time in which the local school districts had tremendous autonomy in determining educational policy. This local autonomy would preclude much political debate on educational issues on the state and federal levels. In the instances where the state and, less frequently, the federal government took legislative action, many of the aspects of civic instruction came as a reaction to labor unrest, economic depression, Presidential assassination, or World War. The patriotic fever during these times would make any argument against civic education or patriotic instruction political suicide for either major party.

The first political party to address the issue of universal education and patriotism was the nativist American Party in their platform of 1888: “Universal education is a necessity of our government and that our American free school system should be maintained as the safeguards of Liberty... and only the national state or Municipal flag shall float on any public building.”⁵²

The Democratic Party platform of 1892 states “that the free common schools are the nursery of good government.”⁵³ The

⁵² Kirk Porter and Donald Johnson, National Party Platforms 1840-1964 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966) 76.

⁵³ Porter and Johnson, 89.

Prohibition Party Platform for 1892 states that only by support of the common school can we hope to become and remain a homogeneous and harmonious people. The Progressive Party Platform of 1912 specifically address immigrant education: “We favor government action in promoting their [the immigrant] assimilation education and advancement.”⁵⁴

The post-war 1920 Democratic Platform favors instruction in citizenship for both native and foreign born while the 1920 Republican Platform states that “whenever federal money is denoted to education, such education must be so directed as to awaken in the youth the spirit of America and a sense of patriotic duty in the United States.”⁵⁵

If there really was any difference in position between the political parties on civic education it may be hidden in the issue of parochial and foreign-language schools, but it would seem that partisan positions on this debate would tend to be more local. A statewide or national party position on this issue would seem divisive when considering the ethnic diversity of both parties. Fuchs argues that the political parties startled the issue of immigration in the early

⁵⁴ Porter and Johnson, 181.

⁵⁵ Porter and Johnson, 219 and 237.

twentieth century because of many conflicting pressures. On the Federal level, Joseph Cannon, Republican Speaker of the House (1902-1910), kept the immigration issue from being fully debated because he feared that the issue might split the Republican party.⁵⁶ It would seem that during this period the development of civic education may have been a bit of bi-partisan political effort, albeit with different political motivations. Bernard Bailyn opines: “Where earlier generations had singled out the political party as the chief agent of assimilation, reformers after 1880 emphasized the school as the chief agency of assimilation.”⁵⁷

By the late nineteenth century the perception of urban political machines duping and intimidating foreign-born voters created an outcry for election reform. The “Australian ballot” increased the necessity for voter information and literacy. Previously, voting was by separate colored ballots to designate each party’s respective candidates. Reformers believed that this type of voting led to voter intimidation and corruption from power machines ward bosses. This “Australian ballot” was a secret ballot that listed the names of all

⁵⁶ Vernon Briggs, Immigration Policy and the American Labor Force (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1984) 36.

⁵⁷ Bailyn, 120.

candidates for each office making straight-ticket voting more difficult. Both native-born and nationalized voters would now need a stronger civic literacy for the process of voting. The Australian ballot was first used in Massachusetts in 1889 and by the turn of the century had been adopted by every state with the exception of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. In addition, other voting reforms such as the adoption of voter registration and residency-length requirements required a much stronger sense of voter energy and commitment.

The Naturalization Act of 1906, which went into effect in 1907, raised the standards for American citizenship for immigrants. For the first time in the history of the United States knowledge of American civics and history was a requirement for naturalization. A test in American civics and history now being a requisite for naturalization, thanks to Progressives belief that the previously uneducated immigrant/citizens were nothing but dupes of the urban political machines. This new civics/history requisite for naturalization posed an interesting problem. Would these newly naturalized citizens now possess a greater civic knowledge than the untested native-born? If so, what would be the consequences? That anomaly suggested the need for universal civic education. These questions would clearly

raise the stakes in the importance of universal civic education.

During this time period ethical naturalization and citizenship clubs became increasingly popular.

This test became a catalyst for the institution of a proliferation of ethnic naturalization and civil and citizens clubs whose objective in part would be the creation of more civically aware members.

Many foreign born became citizens through the process of naturalization. These naturalized citizens votes were readily sought by the urban political machines. For many urban naturalized citizens the vote translated into jobs, political power, and leverage. Donald Cole's study of Lawrence reports that Democratic Party was so anxious for the ethnic vote that they often paid the four-dollar naturalization fee. By 1910, 42 percent of the foreign born in Lawrence were nationalized or had first papers, evidence that the immigrant city was rapidly turning the immigrant into an American.⁵⁸

Ethnic Political Naturalization, Civic or Citizenship Organizations as listed in the city directories of Beverly, Boston, Lawrence, Lowell and Salem, Massachusetts from 1880-1925.

⁵⁸ Cole, Immigrant City, 167.

First Year Listed	Last year listed	Name of organization	city
1880		none listed	
1885		none listed	
1889		Australian Ballot Legislation Enacted by Massachusetts Leg.	
1892	1894	Club Democratique Canado American	Lowell
1893	1894	Scandinavian-American Repub. Club	Lowell
1894	1898	German-American Republican Club	Lowell
1894	1894	French Canadian Naturalization Club	Lowell
1900		Club Des Citoyen American	Lowell
1901	1909	Election Laws League Mass 53 Tremont	Boston
1902		Syrian-Amr. Club	Boston
1902	1903	French Naturalization Club of Ward 6	Lowell
1907		First ever citizenship test for naturalization	
1907	1915	Franco-American Republican Club	Boston
1909	1910	Lithuanian Citizens Club	Lawrence
1912		N. Amer. Civic League for Immigrants	Lawrence
1912	1914	French Naturalization Club	Salem
1912	1912	Italian Amer. Progressive Citizen Club	Boston
1914	1919	Nativist Atmosphere created by questions of divided loyalty	
1915		French Social and Naturalization Club	Lawrence
1915	1922	Italian Citizens Club	Lawrence
1915	1915	Swedish-Amer. Repub. Club of New England	Boston
1916	1920	Polish-Americans Citizen Club	Lowell
1917	1920	Italian Independent Naturalization Club	Beverly
1917	1917	Independent Italian Naturalization Club	Boston
1918	1918	Armenian Const. Democratic Society	Lawrence
1918	1918	Italian Citizens Club of Roxbury	Boston
1918	1918	Naturalization Aid Association of Mass.	Boston
1919		Armenian National. Democratic Party	Lawrence
1919	1919	Colored Civic League of Mass	Boston
1921	1924	First and Second Quota on Immigration Acts	
1921	1925	Columbus Republican Club(Italian)	Beverly
1921	1921	Specific Aid Society for Amer. Preparedness	Boston
1922	1922	Sicilian Political Club	Lawrence
1922		Chinese-American Citizens Club	Boston
1922		Lithuanian American Citizens Club	Boston
1923	1925	Italian Republican Club	Beverly
1923		Can.-Amer.-Naturalization and Social Club	Lawrence
1924	1924	Syrian-Amer. Naturalization and Social Club	Lawrence
1925		Social Naturalization Club (French)	Lawrence
1925		Syrian-Amer. Naturalization and Society	Lawrence
1925		Syrian Democrat Club	Boston

In many of the urban areas of Massachusetts the French-Canadians were the vanguards of orchestrated naturalization and civic awareness

campaigns. The civic fervor of the French Canadians was most likely prompted by the introduction of the Australian ballot in 1889. Ethnic naturalization and political clubs began to flourish around the turn of the century (see Figure 1). In the 1890s the French-Canadians established: the Club Democratique Canado-American-Lowell, the French Canadian Naturalization Club, the Franco-American Independent Club and Le Club Lincoln (both Republican in Lawrence). In 1902 Lowell's French-Canadians organized the Ward Six Naturalization Club. Other ethnic groups also began to institute political clubs with Boston's Armenian Republican Club (1892), Lowell's Scandinavian-American Club (1894) and turn-of-the-century Boston's Syrian-American Citizens Club (1902) and Franco-American Republican Club (1907).

It is interesting to note that there was no mention of ethnic naturalization and political clubs in the city directories of Beverly, Boston, Lawrence, Lowell, or Salem before the implementation of the Australian Ballot in 1889. It is also interesting to note the number of Republican ethnic political clubs.

The North American Civic League was founded in 1908 to help promote the civil awareness and naturalization of immigrants by

teaching civics and English language classes. This organization reached out to a wide number of ethnic groups in many of the Massachusetts communities with large foreign-born populations. In addition, many ethnic groups created their own naturalization, civic, or citizens clubs (see Figure 1). The following naturalization clubs were instituted in Massachusetts from 1908 through the end of the open immigration period in 1924: French Naturalization Club – Salem (1908) Italian Independent Naturalization Club – Beverly (1917) Scandanavian-American Naturalization Club (English Speaking) – Lawrence (1923) and Syrian-American Naturalization and Social Club-Lawrence (1924). Clearly, events such as the naturalization Act (1907), nativist hysteria during World War I, and the end of open immigration helped in the creation of these naturalization clubs.

There were also many ethnic civic and citizens clubs organized during the period including the Lithuanian Citizens Club 1909 (Lawrence), Italian Citizens Club 1915 (Lawrence), Polish-American Citizens Club 1916 (Lowell), Armenian National Democratic Party 1919 (Lawrence), Italian Columbus Republican Club 1921 (Beverly), Italian Republican Club 1923 (Beverly), and the Syrian-American Citizens Society 1925 (Lawrence).

Socialist Sunday Schools 1880-1920

Other than in textbook-selection controversies there is a paucity of evidence that would suggest immigrants were vehemently opposed to civic education and Americanization. Although a possible exception to this generalization may be the radical immigrants who belonged to the Socialist Party. The Socialist Sunday Schools were the first orchestrated Socialist attempt to neutralize what they felt was the exaggerated patriotism of the public schools. The Socialists also accused the public schools of fostering uncritical support for laws and institutions that sustain the inequities of capitalism. The Socialist Sunday Schools (SSS) were modeled after the SSS movement that had starting in England and Scotland in the 1890s. In the United States during the period from 1900 to 1920 there were approximately 100 Socialist Sunday Schools in sixty-four cities from twenty states.⁵⁹ The cities in which these schools were most popular (Milwaukee, New York City, and Rochester, NY) reflected municipalities with large membership in the Socialist Party. A number of these schools were set up by radical immigrant groups that included German, Finnish,

⁵⁹ Kenneth Teitelbaum, Schooling for "Good Rebels": Socialist Education for Children in the United States, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993) 37.

and Ukrainian people. Most of these schools met for two hours on Sunday mornings. There was usually no summer sessions with these schools on May Day, although in 1918 the town of Williamsburg, NY, ran a Socialist Summer school that offered two United States history classes. These classes were obviously taught with a point of view that drastically contrasted with the point of view of the local public schools. The Socialists feared that in public schools young minds would fall prey to “wild patriotism.” The Socialist Sunday Schools were also evident in Massachusetts from approximately 1900 until 1920. A Socialist Sunday School was organized in Boston by the Socialist Women’s Club in 1903. The Boston SSS, located in the West End, recorded seventy-five members at its peak in 1907 but was out of existence by 1911. The Haverhill SSS was quite active from 1908 to 1910 and the Brockton SSS from 1914 to 1918. These schools used a curriculum that employed a variety of textbooks, readers, and songbooks as part of their weekly lessons [see appendix]. Many of the Socialist Sunday School students participated in festivals, plays, and essay contests. In 1915 the Brocton chapter sponsored an essay contest – “Why a Working Man Should Send His Child to a Socialist Sunday School.” The winning student wrote:

The difference between our Socialist Sunday School and our daily public school is: the daily or public school has more power because it is controlled by the ruling class, who try to train the mind of the child to be obedient and patriotic to oath country – They also teach us to love the flag because it stands for high ideals and good principles, but in our SSS we discover that the Stars and Stripes, which we are taught in our daily school to revere does not at the present time represent what it did one hundred odd years ago. But on the contrary, today it stands for the oppression of free speech and assembly. We must teach the workers to do away with the capitalist system and the best place to do this is in a Socialist Sunday School.⁶⁰

By 1919 the American Socialist Sunday School Movement had ceased to be a vital force in the education of young socialists. This SSS expiration was caused in part by the fragmentation of the Socialist Party in splinter groups including the American Communist Party.

⁶⁰ Teitelbaum, 162.

IV

The 1920s and the Evolution of Civic Education

Lynn Patriotic Education League

The permanence and growth of the Lynn plan of Americanization may be attributed in part to the cooperative effort of both native and foreign born. The Lynn Plan Americanization Committee was created in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1918 as one of the many committees that originated during World War I. At war's end this organization was one of the few to survive the receding tide of war time sentiment.

In 1922, the members reorganized under the new name "Patriotic Education League of Lynn." The League stated the following aims: "To promote education of both native and foreign-born; to bring about a better understanding of the contributions made by the foreign-born to American Life; and to encourage aliens to become citizens of the United States."⁶¹

The membership was open to any foreign-born adult of greater Lynn. The many activities of the Patriotic League of Lynn included

⁶¹ National Education Association Convention Proceedings (Washington DC: National Education Association, 1924) 571.

recruitment of pupils for Americanization classes through the distributions of information by means of posters and notices in foreign language newspapers and churches.

The League also set up a series of visits to the various city departments including such places as the police and fire departments, the public library, and the hospital.

Isabelle D. MacLean, City Supervisor of Americanization for Lynn, Massachusetts, in evaluating the overall success of the League wrote that “[a]s a result of these activities many harmful influences that existed in our city have been abolished; radical propaganda has been discouraged; charging of fees for naturalization advice had been discontinued, and much of the indifference of native-born Americans has been overcome.”⁶²

The unique conditions created by the war had opened the doors of the schools to a wide variety of civic activities that were in many cases initiated by outside agencies. A resolution was adopted by the National Education Association in 1920 recognizing the educational value of these programs introduced to the schools by outside agencies. Schools were encouraged to continue the utilization of these programs

⁶² National Education Association Convention Proceedings (1924) 571.

to the fullest possible extent.

In 1920 the United States Bureau of Education issued a teachers leaflet (No. 8) under the title of “Civic Training Through Service.” This leaflet is basically a description of the civics program of the Junior Red Cross. The Bureau of Education also published, with the cooperation of the Junior Red Cross, a series of “Lessons in civics for the six elementary grades of city schools.”

Textbook Controversies

American Legions

The American Legion is a veterans organization that was formed immediately after World War I. From its inception the American Legion believed that public education was one of the cornerstones of democratic government.

At the first convention of the American Legion in Minneapolis in 1919 a resolution was adopted recommending that a course in citizenship be part of every public school curriculum in the country. The Legion also encouraged public schools to be open to the foreign born for evening courses. The convention held that

[t]he spirit of this resolution is the Americanization of America and we feel that if the demands and

recommendations are followed, the next generation will see this country rid of the undesirable element now present in its citizenship, foreign colonies a thing of the past, the true spirit of Americanism prevailing throughout our country.⁶³

By 1920 the American Legion began to take an active role in lobbying for not only civics and history to be offered by for the successful completion of these courses to be required for high school graduation.

The American Legion produced an American history textbook in 1922. The textbook, The Story of Our American People, was published in two volumes (volume 1 covering the Colonial era and volume 2 from 1789 to the present). The American Legion hoped that these textbooks would “preach on every page a vivid love of America that would encourage patriotism, strengthen character, stimulate thought and improve the worth of truth.”⁶⁴

Sons of the American Revolution

In 1917 the Sons of the American Revolution initiated an attack on the popular public school textbooks of David Muzzey and Willis West. The Sons objected to the failure of these textbooks to

⁶³ Pierce, Citizen's Organizations, 35.

⁶⁴ Pierce, 36.

emphasize heroic exploits and the wars in which their ancestors had such a significant contribution. Muzzy's textbook was also singled out as having a strong social bias.

The SAR was extremely critical of any historians who were disparaging any of the SAR's textbook censorship activities. In 1926 Professor Harold Faulkner of Smith College was harshly criticized for an article he wrote in the February 1926 issue of Harper's Magazine entitled "Perverted American History" that was disparaging to the textbook campaign of various patriotic groups. At the 1926 SAR convention a resolution was passed in which Faulkner's views were demonized as socialist and internationalist.

The 1920s also brought about a continuing uproar about the public school textbook, dealing particularly with the subjects of American history and civics. In 1921 the Veterans of Foreign Wars became involved in a campaign for the elimination of "un-American" textbooks. Charles Grant Miller, a columnist for the Hearst newspaper chain, supporting the Veterans of Foreign Wars' attacks on the authors of these unpatriotic textbooks. In 1923 the state of Wisconsin ruled that "any book that defamed our nation's founders or misrepresented the ideals and causes of which they struggled and

sacrificed, or which contained propaganda favorable to any foreign government was to censored.”⁶⁵ A large number of urban school systems including New York and Boston held hearings to investigate charges that certain American history textbooks were “emasculating” American history through a carefully devised alien propaganda: “This propaganda movement has been working through the child to poison the springs of American patriotism by changing, obscuring or altogether omitting the incidents connected with the birth of our nation, and the deeds of our national heroes.”⁶⁶ In New York City in 1922, after hearings held by the school committee, six American History books including one written by D.S. Muzzey and Albert Bushnell were discontinued for use in the New York City Public Schools.

On November 15, 1922, the Boston School Committee held hearings on the removal of certain American History textbooks from use in the public schools. The two books questioned were School History of the United States by Albert Bushnell and American History by D.S. Muzzey. Many patriotic and religious groups stated their

⁶⁵ Steven Yulish, The Search for a Civic Religion: A History of the Character Education Movement in America, 1890-1935 (Washington DC: University Press of America, 1980) 81.

⁶⁶ Boston School Committee, Hearing of Textbook Removal (Boston: E.L. Grimes, 1922) 27.

concerns over the use of these two textbooks in the Boston Public Schools. Among the organizations represented at these hearings were The Knights of Columbus Historical Commission, The Patriotic League for the Preservation of American History, The American Legion, The Veterans of Foreign Wars, The Loyal Coalition, and the Sons of the American Revolution.

Many of these groups felt that the two textbooks gave the students a very misleading interpretation of American history. These groups believed that the texts in question were written from an absolute Anglophile perspective, totally lacking in the American heroic element. The Knights of Columbus felt that these texts, with their Anglophile intentions, were originally written as an attempt to arouse support for the British side in the early dates of World War I. Other groups believed that the American Revolution was portrayed as merely a dispute over taxes and not about basic democratic differences. Muzzey was accused of teaching that it was “a debatable question, namely whether the abuses of the King’s ministers justified armed resistance.”⁶⁷

Bushnell and Muzzey were also accused at the hearing of

⁶⁷ Boston School Committee, 53.

teaching that the

Magna Carta was the real source of our liberties, while the Declaration of Independence exerted no vital force; that the American Revolution was merely a civil war between English people and their German king; that our forefathers were too ignorant to know that they were never oppressed; that Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, John Hancock and other of our most revered heroes were disreputable characters; The United States Constitution and all our free institutions were only borrowed from England and that the Declaration of Independence is largely a plagiarism from the Englishman, John Locke.⁶⁸

In the end, the Boston School Committee ruled that there was not sufficient evidence presented by Hart and Muzzey's critics to justify the exclusion of their books from authorized textbook list. Although the historical arguments of the critics did not convince the Boston School Committee to exclude these texts, the arguments of these critics about the true purpose of American history and civics was not disputed. "The chief value in studying American History is the inculcation of patriotism," states Wallace McCamant, Sons of the American Revolution.⁶⁹ "The purpose of the study of American History is to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom and democracy," said John J. Walsh, State Historian

⁶⁸ Boston School Committee, Hearing on Textbook Removal (1922) 49.

⁶⁹ Boston School Committee, Hearing on Textbook Removal (1922) 15.

of the American Legion.⁷⁰

The American Legion also developed booklets that helped students prepare for special patriotic programs for Memorial Day, Washington's Birthday, and Armistice Day in the public schools.

In 1922, over 50,000 public school students entered the American Legions First National Essay Contest. The topic was "How the American Legion can best serve the nation." By 1926, the American Legion essay contest was discontinued for lack of interest.

The debate over censorship of textbooks brought the American Historical Association to voice a serious protest against textbook censorship. According to Steven Yulish: "The Association demanded a truthful picture of the past and present, not based upon grounds of patriotism but upon grounds of faithfulness to fact. It also resolved that attempts, however well meant, to foster national arrogance and boastfulness and indiscriminate worship of national heroes can only tend to promote a harmful pseudopatriotism."⁷¹

In the 1920s, the Progressive's education maxim of "learn by doing" was increasingly emphasized through the vehicle of activities-based education. Training for citizenship would certainly be realized

⁷⁰ Boston School Committee, Hearing on Textbook Removal (1922) 32.

⁷¹ Yulish, 82.

in more obvious activities like athletics and student government but also in more “commonplace activities of the ordinary recitation period. In schoolroom housekeeping, control of corridor traffic lines, playground activities and safety education.⁷²

It was felt that the myriad of school activities would “inspire loyalty, develop leadership, teach importance of cooperation and most important, train in good citizenship.”⁷³ These activities were generally thought to develop leadership, loyalty, Americanization, and to cultivate a taste for proper entertainment as a worthy use of leisure time.

By the late 1920s, the Americanization movement and the “melting pot” theory became less popular to a growing number of scholars. The forced assimilation of Americanization was now seen by many of these critics to be “un-American” in principle. The idea of cultural pluralism, where diversity and harmony could co-exist became the vogue in American social thought.

⁷² Beverly School Committee Annual Report of 1928, 209.

⁷³ Beverly School Committee Annual Report of 1928, 208.

Citizenship Through Character Development Education
The Educational Roles of Patriotic and Veterans Groups During the
1920s

The Sons of the American Revolution awarded grammar schools medals for good citizenship and ran contests with prizes for the best essays on a variety of patriotic themes. In 1923 the Sons of the American Revolution under the auspices of leading newspapers sponsored National Oratorical contests on the Constitution.

American Citizenship Foundation

In 1926 the Chicago-based American Citizenship Foundation prepared “A Manual of Citizenship” to be used in American night school instruction. This “Manual of Citizenship” was endorsed by organizations that included the American Legion, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Federated Women’s Clubs. Bessie Pierce’s examination of the literature of the patriotic societies in the late 1920s demonstrates “a striking unanimity against radicalism, socialism, and Bolshevism. In some cases the Americanization programs for aliens were based almost entirely on the assumption that

the foreigner was the source of all radical doctrines.”⁷⁴ The American Citizenship Foundation’s view of the gospel of Americanism was quite narrow with much of their organizational energy devoted to citizenship training for youths and adults. Bessie Pierce reported that the programs instituted by this organization were reported abandoned and to have passed “into oblivion.”

Character Education

An expanded vision of character education as opposed to the now overly nativist Citizenship Education now became the educational vogue by the mid 1920s. The antecedent of character education, moral education, began a response to the turbulent changes of American values in the late nineteenth century. These turbulent changes were created in part by the tremendous increase in American urbanization, industrialization, and immigration. To many, the institutions of church and family were seen as increasingly ineffective in maintaining the order and control of the community. In addition, the ever-increasing diversity in language and culture due to increased immigration created the need for a new civic religion that emphasized

⁷⁴ Pierce, Citizens Organizations, 11.

a common ethical cure. Purity and unity were seen as paramount to the success of this new civic religion.

Citizenship Through Character Education

During the 1926-1927 school year the Boston School Committee produced a series of magazines that were based on the “Hutchins’ Code of Morals” that were championed by the Character Education Institute of Chevy Chase, Maryland. These monthly magazines, entitled Citizenship Through Character Development, included classroom activities that would hopefully foster the cause of better citizenship. These magazines were edited by Joseph Egan of The Harvard School in Charlestown and included the following Hutchins’ Laws for each school month:

September – Health	February – Duty
October – Self Control	March – Good Workmanship
November – Self Reliance	April – Team Work
December – Reliability	May – Kindness and Obiedience
January – Clean Play	June – Loyalty ⁷⁵

In 1927 a course of study in Citizenship Through Character

⁷⁵ Joseph Egan, Citizenship Through Character Development (Boston: Boston School Committee, 1926) 8

Development was written by a council of both high school and grammar school principals in the Boston Public Schools. This course was initiated city-wide at the beginning of the 1928 school year. The justification for this course was the concept that the citizen character is the foundation of good government. It was felt that the newly heterogeneous population had caused the disestablishment of Church and State and had secularized education causing a lack of emphasis on moral and civic virtue.

In the Boston Public School Guide to the Choice of Secondary Schools, 1928, East Boston High School proudly emphasizes its course in character education:

With the advent of heterogeneous populations came the disestablishment of Church and STATE [sic] and the secularization of education. Not only has the teaching of religion been swept away, but in many instances instructions in the moral and civic virtues and consequently in good citizenship has been neglected to a subordinate place. Moral instruction is indispensable to good government.⁷⁶

Felix Adler, an early proponent of moral education, founded the Ethical Culture Society in New York City in 1876. Adler believed the

⁷⁶ Boston School Committee, Annual Report of Superintendent, 1928 (Boston: E.L. Grimes, 1928) 11.

basis of a true religion should be the importance of a moral life with little emphasis on theological dogma. Adler was of the opinion that this ethical movement should help “unify diverse groups (radicals, atheists, deists and agnostics). This concept of unity played an important role in the Americanization of the immigrant.”⁷⁷

To Adler, the assimilation of the immigrant was a prerequisite for national unity. He established schools to help immigrants become “useful” members of society. In 1886, Adler helped establish the neighborhood guild, which was the first Settlement house in America. In addition to settlement houses, the Ethical Culture Society created kindergartens for the immigrant children along with a curriculum for moral and ethical training to be implemented in church Sunday schools. It is interesting to note that in 1909 Augustus Klock, a science teacher at Beverly High School, left that position to assume a similar position at the Ethical Culture High School in New York City.

The early twentieth century brought about a new direction in Moral Education. This new hybrid, character education emerged from the womb of moral education. Character Education with a strong emphasis on citizenship training was seen as a means of preserving

⁷⁷ Yulish, 3.

democracy. Yulish writes: “The schools were mandated to preserve the new social order by instilling the values of order, stability, patriotism, duty and citizenship.”⁷⁸

Milton Fairchild, a leading proponent for moral education in the early twentieth century, is representative of this transition. Fairchild, the founder of the National Institute for Moral Education in 1911 later changed the name of this organization to the Character Education Institute.

The growing fear that many immigrants were not assimilating the fundamental ideals of the American character created the unequivocally need for immediate action. In 1908, Reverend T.P. Stevenson stated in an essay entitled “Moral Training in Public Schools” that it was the responsibility of our nation’s public schools to transmit the national character to the new immigrants. In describing these new immigrants, Stevenson stated, “Many of them are not in accord with the distinctive moral features of our national character. Many of them antagonize laws designed to elevate the character and improve the morals of the people. Their attitude makes slower and more difficult the uplift and moral progress of the whole

⁷⁸ Yulish, 58.

nation.”⁷⁹

The nationalistic intensity brought about by World War I helped solidify the transition from moral education to that of character education with a strong emphasis on citizenship, loyalty, and patriotism. After World War I nationalistic fervor somewhat abated. Citizenship Education expanded its mission with objectives that now included the reduction of juvenile delinquency and the development of the whole child and his future life in society. In the mid-1920s the Nebraska State Legislature reflected this expanded vision of character education in enacting a law stating that it was the duty of every public, parochial, and denomination teacher in the state to give special emphasis to: “Common honesty, morality, courtesy, obedience to law, respect for the national flag, the Constitution of the United States and the State of Nebraska, respect for parents in the home, the dignity of necessity of honest labor and other lessons of a steadying influence which tend to promote and develop an upright citizenry.”⁸⁰

In conclusion to the decade of the 1920s it is interesting to note that upon investigation of three prestigious preparatory schools in New England (Phillips Andover Academy, Phillips Exeter Academy,

⁷⁹ Yulish, 58.

⁸⁰ Yulish, 123.

and Taft School) no courses on citizenship, civics, or character education were listed in the course catalogs for these schools during the time period 1890-1930. It is obvious that these courses were not intended for the children of the white upper class.

V

Conclusion

The Decline of Civic Education

The Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 assuaged the nativist fear of a nation controlled by a rising majority of unassailable foreigners. The proponents of cultural pluralism began to exert more influence on the nation's civic education curriculum. By the time of the Great Depression the more pressing economic and political concerns of the time helped put issues of civic education on the back burner. The post-World War II era saw the subtexts of civic education further de-emphasized with the expansion of courses such as sociology, psychology, Black studies, and women's studies to the social studies curriculum. Although one may think that the "Cold War" would promote a stronger sense of national identity and civic education, unfortunately, the opposite effect seems to have occurred. The Soviet launch of Sputnik effected a race for space that placed an over emphasis on the funding and attention to the mathematics and science curriculums in our public schools. Sadly, this new direction in curriculum emphasis helped seal the fate of civic education.

The 1950s and 1960s created a milieu that left civic education

as something out of synch with the trends of the contemporary education curriculum. Although the Civil Rights and Women's Liberation movements of the time sought noble objectives these organizations also led to an increased emphasis on the rights of citizenship with less emphasis on the responsibilities of citizenship. Civil Liberties-type courses like Street Law became course electives that were so popular that many elective civics courses were dropped from social studies curricula for lack of interest.

The distrust and alienation of government that was for many the result of the Vietnam War and Watergate scandal helped create an atmosphere in which patriotism became anachronistic. Civic rituals like the Pledge of Allegiance were no longer required as part of the daily classroom routine. Memorial Day and Veterans Day assembly became forgotten relics of the past.

The Hart-Celler Immigration Act of 1965 dramatically increased immigration to the United States by ending the national origins quota system. These new immigrants include increasingly more immigrants from Asian and Latin American origins. Many of the philanthropic voluntary associations that had previously augmented civic education and Americanization have become non-

existent, increasingly entrepreneurial, or their function has been replaced by government agencies. Georgie Anne Geyer notes a decline in what she coins “mediating institutions” on citizenship training as well as the assimilation of the foreign born. Geyer describes these “mediating institutions” as schools, churches, community and political organizations, settlement houses, and the military. At first glance many of the educational issues of today such as multiculturalism, bilingual, and character education are reminiscent of the many issues that revolved around the melting-pot-versus-cultural-pluralism issue of times past.

Unfortunately, as opposed to the past, contemporary decisions on these issues have arguably contributed to the decline of civic education. In the early twentieth century, Americanization was for the most part embraced by immigrants because it helped them to “belong” more quickly. Sadly, with expanded emphasis on the separatism of multiculturalism, coupled with the enticement of governmental financial support, it may now be in some ways more advantageous for the immigrant to remain a separate cultural entity. The Black Power and Third Generation Ethnic revivals of the 1960s helped promote a multiculturalism that not only emphasized victimization and

oppression but also denigrated the civic beliefs and rituals of the dominant culture.

Character education is also a hotly debated issue today with proponents and opponents from both liberal and conservative circles. These opposing forces have major differences in what they feel the objectives of character education should be. Liberal groups view character education as a vehicle for outcomes-based education while the “religious right” views character education as a way to reintroduce religion into the public schools.

Today’s bilingual education issues are somewhat different when compared to years past. The expanded role of government in ethnic relations has created a bilingual support-system bureaucracy whose jobs depend on its immigrant clients not learning and using English as their vehicle of communication. Many would argue that language acquisition is inextricably tied to Americanization. A command of the English language is necessary to comprehend the essential knowledge about political organization, operation, traditions, and responsibilities necessary for effective citizenship.

The educational outcry in the 1990s for standardized test and curriculum accountability has unintended had a disastrous impact on

civic education. Civic education, which had been at best relegated to elective status, began to face total elimination from the curriculum. School systems front-loaded curriculum requirement to satisfy state testing mandates. For example, in Massachusetts, high school students are only tested in tenth grade, with World History the area in which students are tested. Civics is no longer a curriculum priority or even consideration.

The question that now begs discussion should be “What, if any, is the civic knowledge that all Americans possess?” Immigrants are given a test in American history and civics as part of the naturalization process, but there are no civic knowledge requirements for native-born Americans. While the percentage of immigrants who pass the citizenship test is around 90%, most high school students today would have difficulty passing the same test. One may argue that the adult population at-large would have as much difficulty in passing the test.

This investigator has surveyed the political knowledge of high school civics students over the past five years and compared the results with similar surveys of the adult population over the past fifty years. These survey questions are similar in nature to many of those in the naturalization citizenship test. These results demonstrate that,

although Americans today may be painfully lacking in civic knowledge, there has at least for the past fifty years never been a golden age of civic education (see Figure 2).

These shocking results would lead one to ponder the possible link between civic knowledge and voting participation.

Conclusion

The development of civic education in the United States during the period of 1880-1925 did not occur in a vacuum. This educational evolution was a continuing reaction and adjustment to the larger social, political, and economic influences and events of the period. The wave of immigration from southern and eastern Europe helped serve as a catalyst for the development of civic education. This wave of seemingly unassimilable masses availed America the opportunity to re-evaluate and redefine what it meant to be a citizen and the ensuing responsibilities of this citizenship. All of the prevailing schools of thought during this period: Progressive, melting pot, nativist, Anglo-Saxon radicalism, and cultural had an input in redefining national identity and character. These same questions of national identity and character are being debated today. Educational issues of multi-

culturalism, bilingual education, and character education are again prompting us to continually re-evaluate and redefine these issues. The melting pot is continually simmering and adapting to the various cultures added to the mix.

Figure 1

Ethnic Political Naturalization, Civic or Citizenship Organizations as Listed in the City Directories of Beverly, Boston, Lawrence, Lowell, and Salem, Massachusetts, from 1880-1925.

First Year Listed	Last year listed	Name of organization	City
1880		none listed	
1885		none listed	
1889		Australian Ballot Legislation Enacted by Massachusetts Leg.	
1892	1894	Club Democratique Canad0 American	Lowell
1893	1894	Scandinavian-American Repub. Club	Lowell
1894	1898	German-American Republican Club	Lowell
1894	1894	French Canadian Naturalization Club	Lowell
1900		Club Des Citoyen American	Lowell
1901	1909	Election Laws League Mass 53 Tremont	Boston
1902		Syrian-Amr. Club	Boston
1902	1903	French Naturalization Club of Ward 6	Lowell
1907		First ever citizenship test for naturalization	
1907	1915	Franco-American Republican Club	Boston
1909	1910	Lithuanian Citizens Club	Lawrence
1912		N. Amer. Civic League for Immigrants	Lawrence
1912	1914	French Naturalization Club	Salem
1912	1912	Italian Amer. Progressive Citizen Club	Boston
1914	1919	Nativist Atmosphere created by questions of divided loyalty	
1915		French Social and Naturalization Club	Lawrence
1915	1922	Italian Citizens Club	Lawrence
1915	1915	Swedish-Amer. Repub. Club of New England	Boston
1916	1920	Polish-Americans Citizen Club	Lowell
1917	1920	Italian Independent Naturalization Club	Beverly
1917	1917	Independent Italian Naturalization Club	Boston
1918	1918	Armenian Const. Democratic Society	Lawrence
1918	1918	Italian Citizens Club of Roxbury	Boston
1918	1918	Naturalization Aid Association of Mass.	Boston
1919		Armenian National. Democratic Party	Lawrence
1919	1919	Colored Civic League of Mass	Boston
1921	1924	First and Second Quota on Immigration Acts	
1921	1925	Columbus Republican Club(Italian)	Beverly
1921	1921	Specific Aid Society for Amer. Preparedness	Boston
1922	1922	Sicilian Political Club	Lawrence
1922		Chinese-American Citizens Club	Boston
1922		Lithuanian American Citizens Club	Boston
1923	1925	Italian Republican Club	Beverly
1923		Can.-Amer.-Naturalization and Social Club	Lawrence
1924	1924	Syrian-Amer. Naturalization and Social Club	Lawrence
1925		Social Naturalization Club (French)	Lawrence
1925		Syrian-Amer. Naturalization and Society	Lawrence
1925		Syrian Democrat Club	Boston

Figure 2

Level of Civic Knowledge, Beverly, Massachusetts.High School StudentsGovernment Pretest Eastman 1993-1997 Total 297 students

(Questions and results on the Eastman Pretest are Underlined)

Number out of 397 with correct answer and percentage

1. Who is the mayor of Beverly? 98 67.80%-Beverly High

Other Surveys of a similar nature

1990 Richmond, VA survey knowledge by gender of local politics Michael Delli

Carpini

Percentage male correct 31%

Percentage female correct 28%

2. Who is the Governor of Massachusetts? 211 72.26%-Beverly High

1990 Survey on political knowledge of state and local government-Michael Delli

Carpini

winter Richmond-88% Northern VA-70% Rest of state-75%

summer Richmond-90% Northern VA-66% Rest of state-75%

1989 Survey of political knowledge by group – Michael Delli Carpini

men	women	white	black	upper	middle	lower	pre baby	baby boom boom	post baby boom
81%	66%	76%	62%	82%	79%	67%	78%	71%	62%

1989 Survey of political knowledge by education – Michael Delli Carpini:

No high school diploma 55%	high school diploma 78%	some college 83%	college grad 83%	difference high/low 28%
-------------------------------	----------------------------	---------------------	---------------------	----------------------------

1987 – General Social Survey by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago

Percentage correct answer by gender, male correct – 82%, female correct – 71%

1970-86% AIPO 1987-79% 1989-73%

Michael Delli Carpini p. 313.

1965 – Students (High School Seniors)-88% Parents – 93%

Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi, The Political Character of Adolescence

(Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1974)

1945 – 71% AIPO

3. Name 5 current justices of the Supreme Court

one correct	<u>24</u>	<u>8.21%</u>
two correct	<u>3</u>	<u>01.02%</u>
three correct	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>
four correct	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>
five correct	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>
none correct	<u>265</u>	<u>90.75%</u>

Other surveys of a similar nature

Although there were no other surveys found that asked to name 5 current Supreme Court Justices. There were surveys that either asked the respondent to name the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court-

1970 – 22% correct

1989 – 9% correct

1988 National Election Study- Identify William Rehnquist

No high school diploma	high school diploma	some college	college grad	difference high/low
19%	1%	4%	10%	9%

1984-Warren Burger- 51 %

4) How many members?

A) Senators in U.S. Senate 61 20.89%-Beverly High

Other surveys of a similar nature

Percentage correct

1945-55% 1951-60% 1954-49% 1978-52%

Michael Delli Carpini Sept., 1997 phone survey

Shepardson, Stem and Kaminsky for the national Constitution Center – 50%

B) Representatives in U.S.

House of Representatives 4 1.36%-Beverly High

C) U.S. Supreme Court 24 8.21%-Beverly High

How many Justices on U.S Supreme Court

Other surveys of similar nature

1965- High school seniors- 38% correct

Parents- 23% correct

Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi, The Political Character of Adolescence

(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974) 94.

5) What is an impeachment? 112 38.5%-Beverly High

There was some confusion with my students on what impeachment means. The President being forced to leave office or the correct answer of the President being tried by the Senate. I accepted both answers as correct.

Other surveys of a similar nature

A 1973-1974 survey asked respondents what impeachment meant. 1) The President being forced out of office, 2) The President being tried by the Senate – this is obviously not an open-ended question.

11/73-52% 2/74-57% 3/74-51%. 4/74-61% 5/74-66%

1974- Define Impeachment- 66%

Michael Delli Carpini. p. 310-311 6) What is a referendum? 3

1.02%-Beverly High

No similar survey question was found.

7) Who is your Massachusetts Congressional District U.S. Representative?

12 -4%-Beverly High

Other surveys of a similar nature

1947, August- 38% correct

American Institute of Public Opinion, Hazel Eskine. p.138

1987- 38% correct General Social Survey National Opinion Research, Univ. of Chicago.

1989-29% Survey of Political knowledge- Michael Delli Carpini

By Level of Education

No high school diploma	high school diploma	some college	college grad	difference high/low
22%	25%	37%	41%	19%

By Group

men	women	white	black	upper middle	lower middle	pre baby boom	baby boom	post baby boom	
31%	27%	32%	16%	41%	27%	29%	39%	21%	17%

B) Who are your two Massachusetts U.S. Senators

both correct 20 6.84% -Beverly High

one correct 45 15.41%-Beverly High

<u>One Correct</u>	<u>Both Correct</u>
1989- 55%	1985-35%
1985- 62%	1957- 57%
1957- 44%	1954- 31%
1945- 57%	1945- 35%

Michael Delli Carpini p. 70-74

and for 1945 and 1954

AIPO

The Polls-text knowledge p. 137 AIPO

By age- March 3, 1954- Can you name both U.S. Senators from your state?

% Correct	AIPO
-----------	------

18-20yrs.	29%
-----------	-----

21-29yrs.	24%
-----------	-----

30-39 yrs.	30%
------------	-----

40-49 yrs.	31%
------------	-----

50 yrs.+ over	34%
---------------	-----

1989- Both Senators correct- Survey of Political Knowledge- Michael Delli

Carpini- 25%

By Level of Education:

No high school diploma	high school diploma	some college	college grad	difference high/low
15%	21%	27%	47%	32%

By Group:

men	women	white	black	upper middle	lower middle	pre baby boom	baby boom	post baby boom	
31%	19%	28%	13%	44%	28%	13%	32%	21%	10%

1986- Knowledge of National Politics- Name one of your U.S. Senators

By Group

men	women	white	black	upper	middle	lower	pre baby boom	baby boom	post baby boom
61%	50%	9%	33%	75%	57%	49%	67%	52%	41%

1989- One Senator correct- Survey of Political Knowledge- Michael Delli
Carpini- 55%

8) On which ocean is Beverly located?

248 84.93%-Beverly High

The only survey question that was some what comparable was:

1952- What is the name of the ocean between the United States and England? -

90% Michael Delli Carpini

Beverly, Massachusetts is a seaport on the Atlantic Ocean.

9) Who is the president of the United States

281 96.23%-Beverly High

1986- 99% Michael Delli Carpini

B) Who is the Vice President of the United States?

213 72.94%

Other surveys of a similar nature

AIPO

No high school diploma	57%	high school diploma	80%	some college	89%	college grad	94%
---------------------------	-----	------------------------	-----	-----------------	-----	-----------------	-----

1952-69% 1978-79% 1989-74% Michael Delli Carpini

1989 Survey of Political Knowledge By Education

No high school diploma	high school diploma	some college	college grad	difference high/low
49%	75%	86%	97%	48%

1989 Survey of Political Knowledge by Group

men	women	white	black	upper	middle	lower	pre baby boom	baby boom	post baby boom
79%	69%	80%	57%	91%	83%	8%	79%	71%	67%

Michael Delli Carpini

10) Who is the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives? 28958%Other surveys of a similar nature

Although there were no surveys found in which the question- who is the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives was asked, there have been surveys in which the name of the speaker has been given and the surveyed had to identify by job or political office.

1983- Identify- Tip O'Neill- 66%

1988- Identify- Jim Wright

by Education Level

No high school diploma	high school diploma	some college	college grad	difference high/low
4%	0%	9%	17%	26%

What Job or political office does Tom Foley hold?

1989-14% 1990-12%

Michael Delli Carpini

11) How many amendments are there In the Bill of Rights in the U.S.

Constitution?

76 26.02%-Beverly High

Other surveys of a similar nature

March 3, 1954 National Total correct- 33%

by age group

age	% correct
18-20	67
21-29	49
30-39	49
40-49	29

50 yrs.+ over 22%

AIPO

by time period

1954-53% 1989-46% 1991-43%

1989- Survey of political knowledge- by group

men	women	white	black	upper	middle	lower	pre baby boom	baby boom	post baby boom
53%	39%	50%	13%	66%	48%	37%	46%	51%	51%

1989- Survey of political knowledge- by level of education

No high school diploma	high school diploma	some college	college grad	difference high/low
18%	44%	58%	79%	61%

1991- Chesterfield, VA. County Survey by gender

males- 74% females- 63%

12) In what year was the Declaration of Independence signed? exact year correct

94 32.19%-Beverly High

incorrect but within 25 years 29 9.93%-Beverly High

incorrect but within 50 years 11 3.76%-Beverly High

Date? What happened in 1776? - 88%

Date? What do 17 year olds know? Multiple choice 4 possible answers-67.8%

Ravitch

13) What are the 3 Branches of Government?

all 3 Branches correct 77 26.36%-Beverly High

two Branches correct 53 18.15%-Beverly High

one Branch correct 60 20.54%-Beverly High

none correctly named 102 34.93%-Beverly High

June 7,1952

named all three correct- 19%

named one or two correct- 27%

March 3, 1954-

named all three correct by age group

18-20yrs. 50%

21-29yrs. 20%

30-39 yrs. 22%

40-49 yrs. 23%

50 yrs.+over 15% AIPO

1997- Phone Survey- Sheparson, Stem and Kaminsky for the national Constitution Center Do you know how many Branches The Federal Government has?- 60% correct.

1996 ONLY 46 Total-Beverly High

1) Name your Massachusetts State Representative 8 _____ 18.6%

2) Name your Massachusetts State Senator 2 _____ 4.65% 1965- 28%

Michael Delli Carpini

5) In what year was the U.S. Constitution?

exact year 2 4.3% incorrect but within 25 years

Ravitch- What do Seventeen Year Olds Know?

Multiple choice 4 possible answers

1750-1800 60.8% correct

These survey results are obviously surprising and probably distressing for the students at Beverly High School but even more so for the nation at large.

Although political knowledge is probably the least studied aspect of citizenry, noted political scientist Stephen Bennett, after careful analysis of the available research studies over the past fifty years, is of the opinion that, at best, the level of political knowledge is no better today than immediately after World War II.

Appendix 1

1913 Cambridge Evening School Lecture Series Sponsored by the North American Civic League for Immigrants.

Corlett School

(all lectures in Italian)

Junauary 9, 1913	A Trip Through the United States North American Civil League	Stereoptician Lecture
Lecturer.....	Mr. Angelo Perez	
Music, Italian Orchestra		Attendance: 80
January 23, 1913	Story of America North American Civic League	Stereoptician Lecture
Lecturer.....	Mr. Angelo Perez	
Music, Italian Orchestra		Attendance: 90
February 7, 1913	Abraham Lincoln North American Civic League	Stereoptical Lecture
Lecturer.....	Mr. Angelo Perez	
Music, Italian Orchestra		Attendance: 90
February 27, 1913	Views of Italy North American Civil League	Motion Picture Lecture
March 13, 1913	A Walk Around Boston North American Civil League	Attendance: 95 Stereoptical Lecture
Victrola Concert		Attendance: 90

Kelley School

December 10, 1912		Stereoptical Lecture
	(In Lithuanian)	
	A Trip Through the United States	
	North American Civic League	
Lecturer.....	Mr. P. Leonovicus	Attendance: 210
January 29, 1913		Motion Picture Lecture
	(In Polish)	
	Historical Events of the Revolutionary Period	
	F.H. Thomas Co., Boston, Mass.	
Victrola Concert		Attendance: 225
February 12, 1913		
	(In Lithuanian)	
	The Life of Lincoln	
	North American Civic League	
Lecturer.....	Mr. P. Leonovicus	Attendance: 130
February 19, 1913		Stereoptical Lecture
	(In English)	
	The Life of Washington	
	North American Civic League	
Lecturer.....	Mr. F. J. Ohara Principle	Attendance: 139
Victrola Concert		

Roberts School

November 15, 1912		Stereotypical Lecture
	What Is a Foreigner?	
	North American Civic League	
Lecturer.....	Mr. Hayford	Attendance: 437
January 6, 1913		Motion Picture Lecture
	Historical Events of Revolutionary Period	
	North American Civic League	
	F.H. Thomas Co., Boston, Mass	Attendance: 311
February 19, 1913		Stereoptical Lecture
	Life of Washington	
	North American Civic League	
Lecturer.....	Mr. Lacock	Attendance: 264

Appendix 2

Massachusetts Legislation for Adult Immigrant Education 1919
Chapter 69, General Laws, Sections 9 and 10

Section 9 The department, with the co-operation of any town applying therefor, may provide for such instruction in the use of English for adults unable to speak, read, or write the same, and in the fundamental principles of government and other subjects adopted to fit for American citizenship, as shall jointly be approved by the local school committee and the department. Schools and classes established therefor may be held in public school buildings, in industrial establishments or in such other places as may be approved in like manner. Teacher and supervisors employed therein by a town shall be chosen and their compensation fixed by the school committee, subject to the approval of the department.

Section 10 At the expiration of each school year and on approval by the department, the commonwealth shall pay to every town providing such instruction in conjunction with the department, one-half the amount expended for supervisor and instruction by each town for said year.

The kinds of classes that may be set up and supported on a 50-50 basis are evening and afternoon classes for men and women, classes in the home for mothers and factory classes.

Beverly School Committee, Annual Report, 1920. (Boston: Washington Press, 1920) 273.

Appendix 3 – Americanization

Annual Report Cambridge School Committee 1922, p. 261

A new evening school in Americanization was established at the Thorndike School. The work began auspiciously with organized publicity through the following agencies.

Mass Meeting

Notices in English and Foreign Language newspapers

Posters

Foreign Language fliers

Editorial comment by English and Foreign Language Press

American and Foreign clubs

The clergy

Personal letters

Letters to parents by children in the grades

Personal solicitation

Moving picture slides.

Cambridge Evening School Letter - Appendix 4

I was born in Russia. I am in this country eleven months, I was attending this evening school three times a week. I learned here to read, write and speak English. Then I learned the life story of the famous Americans as Abraham Lincoln, George Washington and Thomas Edison. Besides that I learned the constitution of this country. This evening school helps me a doos (sic) eal. The more English I know the more money I make.

Yours Truly,
(Signed) Charles Preedin

I came from Russia two years ago. I could not speak (sic) and write English then I went to evening school every night. I like to spek (sic) and write the English language. I like this book wich (sic) I read this year. It tells about the United States government. I like the injoied electures (sic) in a hall.

Yours Respectfully,
(Signed) Adolf Jossim

*These letters were adapted from the Annual Report, Cambridge School Committee, 1913, p. 481.

Table 1: Civic Survey
Percentage Response by Geographical Region, 1906

<u>Region</u>	<u>No. Sent</u>	<u>No. Received</u>	<u>& Response</u>
Eastern & Mid West	580	217	38%
Southern	600	203	33%
Western	447	241	54%
Total	1627	661	41.67%

Table 2
1906 Survey Response Percentage of Students Enrolled in Various Academic Courses

<u>Course</u>	<u>1902</u>	<u>1905</u>	<u>1906</u>
American Govt. or Civics	110,921 - 20.51%	122,186 - 17.97%	126,361-17.48%
American History	216,403 - 39.30%	277,864 - 40.88%	306,345-42.39%
Algebra	309,164 - 56.12%	390,893 - 57.51%	419,496-58.06%
Latin	275,674 - 50.17%	341,245 - 50.20%	363,191-50.24%
Physics	96,154 - 17.48%	106,430 - 15.66%	110,345-15.26%

*All data compiled by W. Dean Eastman from the Proceedings of the American Political Science Association (1908).

Table 3
1906 Percentage of Schools That Offer Civics as an Elective

<u>Region</u>	<u>#School Required</u>	<u>Percent#School Elective</u>	<u>Percent</u>
East/Midwest	122	63.54%	70 36.45%
Southern	104	97.19%	3 2.81%
Western	129	56.33%	100 43.66%
Total	355	67.23%	173 32.77%

Table 4
Civics Textbooks and Number of High Schools and Where Each Is in Use, 1906

<u>Textbook Name</u>	<u>West, %</u>	<u>East/Midwest, %</u>	<u>South, %</u>
McCleary	59 - 0.68%	12 - 10.25%	6 - 6.12%
James & Sanford	33 - 22.75%	21 - 17.94%	8 - 8.16%
Fiske	12 - 8.75%	20 - 17.09%	8 - 8.16%
Boyton	11 - 7.58%	8 - 6.83%	3 - 3.06%
Andrews	9 - 6.20%	3 - 2.56%	5 - 5.10%
Peterman	0 - 0%	2 - 1.70%	31 - 31.63%
Hindsdale	7 - 4.27%	3 - 2.56%	15 - 15.20%
Willoughby	0 - 0%	6 - 5.12%	7 - 7.14%
Ashley	4 - 2.75%	25 - 21.36%	5 - 5.10%
Young	5 - 3.48%	9 - 7.69%	6 - 6.12%
Foreman	1 - 0.03%	8 - 6.37%	1 - 1.02%
Townhend	4 - 2.75%	0 - 0%	3 - 3.06%

Table 5
High School Civics Teachers by Gender and
Region, 1906

<u>Region</u>	<u>Male & Percent</u>	<u>Female & Percent</u>
Eastern & Midwestern	118 - 57.84%	86 - 42.14%
Western	120 - 59.11%	83 - 40.89%
Southern	78 - 50.64%	76 - 49.36%
Massachusetts	14 - 50.00%	14 - 50.00%

*Note: In the Western Region, 38 surveys were sent in blank in this category. It is interesting that women at this time for the most part did not have the right to vote in elections. Data compiled by W. Dean Eastman from Proceedings of the American Political Science Association (1908).

Table 6
Percentage Pupil Cost by Subject in
Massachusetts, 1919

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Per Pupil Cost</u>	<u>Percent of Total Cost</u>
English	\$2.10	12.69%
Latin and Greek	\$2.59	15.65%
Math	\$1.95	11.78%
Modern Languages	\$2.25	13.60%
Science	\$1.85	11.18%
Commercial Studies	\$2.60	15.71%
Social Studies	\$3.20	19.34%
Total	\$16.54	

*Data compiled by W. Dean Eastman from Cambridge School Committee Annual School Report (1919), 216.

Bibliography

- Aatzmon, Ezri. "The Educational Programs for Immigrants in the United States." History of Education Journal 9 Sept 1958: 75-80.
- Ames, Edgar W., and Arvie Eldred. Community Civics. New York: Macmillan, 1921.
- Antin, Mary. The Promised Land. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1955.
- Ashley, Roscoe Lewis. The New Civics. New York, Macmillan, 1917.
- Bailey, Carolyn Sherwin. What to Do for Uncle Sam. Chicago: A Flannagan, 1925.
- Bailyn, Bernard, et al. The Great Republic. Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1992.
- Beard, Charles A., and Mary Ritter Beard. American Citizenship. New York: Macmillan, 1925.
- Bendix, Reinhard. Citizenship and Nation Building. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Bennion, Milton. Citizenship. Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book, 1925.
- Berry, Margaret K., and Samuel B. Howe. Actual Democracy. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1923.
- Beverly School Committee. Annual Report, 1920. Boston: Washington Press, 1920.
- Binford, J. H., and E.U. Graff. The Young American Citizen. Richmond: Johnson, 1922.
- Bogardus, Emory S. Essentials of Americanization. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1919.
- Boston School Committee, Annual Report of Superintendent, 1928. Boston: E.L. Grimes, 1928.
- Boston School Committee. Hearing of Textbook Removal. Boston: E.L. Grimes, 1922.
- Boyer, Paul. Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.

Briggs, Vernon M. Immigration Policy and the American Labor Force, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1984.

Brodnar, John. The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America.
Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.

Brooks, Eugene. Our Dual Government. Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1924.

Brooks, John Graham. An American Citizen. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910.

Bryant, Sara Cone. I Am an American. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920.

Burch, Henry Reed, and S. Howard Patterson. American Social Problems. New York: Macmillan, 1922.

Cambridge School Committee Annual Report of 1913. Boston: E.L. Grimes, 1913.

Cambridge School Committee Annual Report of 1917. Boston: E.L. Grimes, 1917.

Cambridge School Committee Annual Report of 1922. Boston: E.L. Grimes, 1922.

Cabot, Ella Lyman, Fannie Fern Andrews, Fanny E. Coe, Mabel Hill, and Mary Mckinnon. A Course in Citizenship. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914, 1924.

Carlson, Robert A. The Quest for Conformity: Americanization Through Research.
New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1975.

Chapman, William E. Roots of Character Education: An Exploration of the American Heritage From the Decade of the 1920's. Schenectady, NY: Character Research Press, 1969.

Cohen, David D. "Immigrants and the Schools." Review of Education Research 40
(February 1970): 13-28.

Cohen, Ronald D. Children of the Mill: Schooling and Society in Gary, Indiana, 1906 - 1960. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Cohen, Sol. Progressive and Urban School Reform. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964.

Cole, Donald B. Immigrant City: Lawrence, Massachusetts 1845-1921. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963.

- Cole, Raymond E. "The City's Responsibility to the Immigrant," Immigrants in American Review, June 1915: 36-41.
- Congressional Record. 54th Congress Session, 5422, House of Representatives.
- Covello, Leonard. "The School as the Center of Community Life in an Immigrant Area", in Samuel Everett, ed., The Community School. New York: D. Appleton, Century, 1938, 125-163.
- Cremin, Lawrence. An American Education: The Metropolitan Experience 1876 - 1980. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.
- Cubberly, Ellwood P. Public Education in the United States, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934.
- Curti, Merle. The Roots of American Loyalty. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946.
- Davis, Sheldon E., and Clarence H. McClure. Our Government. Chicago: Laidlaw Bros., 1922.
- Dawson, Edgar. Organized Self-Government. New York: Henry Holt, 1920.
- Delli Carpini, Michael and Scott Keeter. What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 12, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920) 56.
- Dole, Charles F. The New American Citizen. Boston: D.C. Heath, 1918.
- Dixon, Royal, Americanization. New York: Macmillan, 1916.
- Duncan, Hannibal G. Immigration and Assimilation. Boston: D.C. Heath, 1933.
- Dunn, Arthur M. Community Civics for City Schools. Boston: D.C. Heath, 1921.
- Dunn, Arthur W. Community Civics and Rural Life. Boston: D.C. Heath, 1920.
- E. Allen Richardson. Strangers in This Land: Pluralism and the Response to Diversity in the United States. New York: Pilgrim Press, 1988.
- Eaton, John. Education of the Immigrant. United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin no. 51, Washington, DC, 1913.

- Education Standards, Official Exponent of the Boston Public Schools. Boston, April 18, 1918, and May 1, 1918.
- Egan, Joseph. Citizenship Through Character Development. Boston: Boston School Committee, 1926.
- Elson, Ruth. Guardian of Tradition: American School Books of the Nineteenth Century. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964.
- Erskine, Hazel, "The Polls: The Informed Public." Public Opinion Quarterly 26 (1962): 669-77.
- Erskine, Hazel. "The Polls: Textbook Knowledge." Public Opinion Quarterly 27 (1963): 133-141.
- Erskine, Hazel. "The Polls: Exposure to Domestic Information." Public Opinion Quarterly 27 (1963): 491-500.
- Fass, Paula. Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Finch, Charles Edgar. Everyday Civics. New York: American Book, 1921.
- Fitzgerald, Frances. America Revised: History School Books, in the Twentieth Century. Boston: Little, Brown, 1979.
- Forman, S. E. The American Democracy. New York: Century, 1920.
- _____. The American Republic. New York: Century, 1911.
- _____. First Lessons in Civics. New York: American Book, 1898.
- Fuchs, Lawrence H. The American Kaleidoscope. London: University Press of New England, 1990.
- Garner, James W. Government in the United States. New York: American Book, 1913.
- Gettell, Raymond Garfield. The Constitution of the United States. Boston: Ginn., 1924.
- Geyer, Georgie Anne. Americans No More. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1996.
- Glazer, Nathan. We Are All Multiculturalists Now. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.

- Greenan, Hohn T., and Meredith Albert B. Everyday Problems of American Democracy. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924.
- Guitteau, William Backus. Preparing for Citizenship. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924.
- Handlin, Oscar. John Dewey's Challenge to Education: Historical Perspectives on the Cultural Context. New York: Harpers and Brothers, 1959.
- Hartmann, Edward. The Movement to Americanize the Immigrants. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.
- Hayes, Bridget T. American Democracy. New York: Henry Holt, 1921.
- Hepner, Walter R., and Hepner, Frances K. The Good Citizen. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924.
- Higham, John. Strangers in the Land. New York: Atheneum, 1978.
- Hill, Howard Copeland. Community Life and Civic Problems. Boston: Ginn, 1922.
- Hill, Mabel. Lessons for Junior Citizens. Boston: Ginn, 1906.
- Hofstadter, Richard. The Age of Reform. New York: Random House, 1955.
- Hofstadter, Richard. The Progressive Movement. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1963.
- Hyman, Herbert. "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail." Public Opinion Quarterly 11 (1947): 412-23.
- _____. New Community Civics. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1921.
- _____. A Text-Book in Citizenship. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1924.
- James, James Alton, and Albert Hart Sanford. Our Government in State and Nation. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917.
- Janowitz, Morris. The Reconstruction of Patriotism: Education for Civic Consciousness. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Jenkins, Jeremiah Whipple, and Rufus Samuel Smith. We and Our Government. New York: American Viewpoint Society, 1922.
- Kaestle, Carl and Maris Vinovskis. Education and Social Change in Nineteenth Century Massachusetts. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980.

- Kallen, Horace M. Culture and Democracy in the United States. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924.
- Krassa, Michael. "Political Information, Social Environments and Deviants." Political Behaviors 12 (1990): 315-330.
- Lansing, Robert, and Gary M. Jones. Government: Its Origin, Growth and Form in the United States. New York: Silver, Burdett, 1911.
- Lapp, Hohn A. Our America, the Elements of Civics. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1917.
- Lazerman, Marvin. Origins of the Urban School. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Levis, Ella Cannon. Citizenship. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1923.
- Long, Joseph R. Government and the People. New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1922.
- Magruder, Frank Abott. American Government with a Consideration of the Problems of Democracy. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1921 and 1924.
- Mahoney, John and Charles Herlihy. First Steps in Americanization. Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1918.
- Massachusetts Board of Education, 1916-1917 Annual Report. Boston: E.L. Grimes, 1918.
- Mavity, Arthur Benton, and Nancy Barr Mavity. Responsible Citizenship. Chicago: Benjamin H. Sanborn, 1923.
- Merriam, Charles. Civic Education in the United States. New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1934.
- Miller, Chester F. The March of Democracy. Boston: D.C. Heath, 1925.
- Miller, John J. The Unmaking of Americans: How Multiculturalism Has Underlined the Assimilation Ethic. New York: Free Press, 1998.
- Morehouse, Frances, and Sybil Fleming Graham. American Problems. Boston: Ginn, 1923.
- Morgan, DeWitt S. Living and Working Together. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923.

- Munroe, William Bennett. Current Problems in Citizenship. New York: Macmillan, 1924.
- Munroe, William Bennett, and Charles Eugene Ozanne. Social Civics. New York: Macmillan, 1925.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 188
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. New York: National Educational Association, 1889.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. New York: National Educational Association, 1891.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. New York: National Educational Association, 1892.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. Winona, MN: National Educational Association, 1903.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. Winona, MN: National Educational Association, 1905.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. Winona, MN: National Educational Association, 1908.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. Winona, MN: National Educational Association, 1909.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. Winona, MN and Ann Arbor, MI: National Educational Association, 1915.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. Ann Arbor, MI: National Educational Association, 1916.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. Washington DC: National Educational Association, 1920.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. Washington DC: National Educational Association, 1921.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. Washington DC: National Educational Association, 1922.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. Washington DC: National

- Educational Association, 1923.
- National Education Association Convention Proceedings. Washington DC: National Educational Association, 1924.
- Nearing, Scott. The New Education. Chicago: Row, Peterson, 1915.
- O’Leary, Elizabeth. To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Olneck, Michael R. “Americanization and the Education of Immigrants.” American Journal of Education 1989: 398-423.
- Parsons, Geoffrey. The Land of Fair Play. New York: Charles Scribners’ Sons, 1919.
- Pierce, Bessie Louise. Civic Attitudes in American School. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.
- Pierce, Bessie Louise: Citizens Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth. New York: Charles Scribners’ Sons, 1933.
- Porter, Kirk, National Party Platforms 1840-1964, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966.
- Proceedings and Addresses of the Annual American Institute of Instruction Reports.
- Proceedings of the Good Government Conference. Cincinnati: Good Government Association, 1906.
- Reed, Thomas Harrison. Loyal Citizenship. Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book, 1922.
- Report of the Commission on Immigration. “The Problem of Immigration in Massachusetts.” Massachusetts House of Representatives, No. 2300, (Boston: [no pub. listed], 1913.
- Rexford, Frank A., and Clara Carson. The Constitution of Our Country. New York: American Book, 1924.
- Riley, Eugene B. Economics for Secondary Schools. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924.
- Roberts, Peter. The Problem of Americanization. New York: Macmillan, 1920.
- The Progressive Movement. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1963.
- Saveth, Edward N. American Historians and European Immigrants. New York:

- Columbia University Press, 1948.
- Shepherd, William G. The Boy's Own Book of Politics for Uncle Sam's Young Voters. New York: Macmillan, 1924.
- Smith, Timothy. "Immigrant Social Aspirations and American Education." American Quarterly 21 (Fall 1968): 523-543.
- Southworth, A. T. The Common Sense of the Constitution of the United States. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1924.
- Teitelbaum, Kenneth. Schooling for "Good Rebels": Socialist Education for Children in the United States. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.
- Thernstrom, Stephen, ed. Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- Thompson, Frank. The Schooling of the Immigrant. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.
- Towne, Ezra Thayer. Social Problems. New York: Macmillan, 1924.
- Turkington, Grace A. Community Civics, Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness in the United States. Boston: Ginn, 1924.
- Tyack, David. The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1904.
- _____. My Country: A Textbook in Civics and Patriotism for Young Americans. Boston: Ginn, 1918.
- Ueda, Reed. Avenues to Adulthood: The Origins of the High School and Social Mobility in an American Suburb. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987
- United States Bureau of Education Report: Department of the Interior. Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1920.
- Ward, David. Poverty and Ethnicity and the American City. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Weiss, Bernard J., ed. Americanization Education and the European Immigrant: 1840 - 1940. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982.
- Williamson, Thomas Ross. Problems in American Democracy. Boston: D.C. Heath, 1922.
- Woodburn, James Albert, and Thomas Francis Moran. The Citizen and the Republic.

New York: Longmans, Green, 1918.

Yulish, Stephen M. The Search For a Civic Religion: A History of the Character Education Movement in America, 1890-1935. Washington DC: University Press of America, 1980.

Ziegler, Samuel H., and Helen Jacquette. Our Community. Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1918.

1916-1917 Annual Report – Massachusetts Board of Education.