INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or “target” for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is “Missing Page(s)”. If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted you will find a target note listing the pages in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in “sectioning” the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.

5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

University Microfilms International
300 N. ZEEB RD., ANN ARBOR, MI 48106
Pusey, Stephen Mark

THE URBAN REINTERPRETATION OF AMERICAN HISTORY: A
CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL AMERICAN HISTORY
TEXTBOOKS

The Ohio State University  Ph.D.  1981

University
Microfilms
International  300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1981
by
Pusey, Stephen Mark
All Rights Reserved
THE URBAN REINTERPRETATION OF AMERICAN HISTORY:
A Content Analysis of Senior
High School American History Textbooks

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of The Ohio
State University

By

Stephen Mark Pusey, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1981

Reading Committee:
Dr. Raymond H. Muessig
Dr. M. Eugene Gilliom
Dr. Robert H. Bremner

Approved By

Adviser
Department of Humanities Education
To Gail,

who with patience and understanding
has been my support,

this dissertation is dedicated with love.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Acknowledgment is greatly extended to the following:

Dr. Raymond H. Muessig for his guidance and support throughout the doctoral program and his constructive criticism of this manuscript

Dr. M. Eugene Gilliom for his much appreciated encouragement

Dr. Robert H. Bremner for his humaneness and willing cooperation beyond the call of duty

Dr. Donald Wood for his friendship as well as his comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this project

Mr. Joe Bennington whose careful and critical reading of the initial draft added immeasurably to its prose style

In addition to the above, my special thanks must be expressed to Gail, Andrea, and Paula who have sacrificed the total commitment of a husband and a father in order that this project could be completed. To them, I will be forever indebted.
VITA

November 5, 1953 . . . . Born - Des Moines, Iowa

1975 . . . . . . . . . B.A., Olivet Nazarene College, Kankakee, Illinois

1975-1976 . . . . Graduate Teaching Assistant, Department of History, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona

1976 . . . . . . . . . M.A., Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona

1976-1978 . . . . Social Studies Teacher, Teays Valley High School, Ashville, Ohio

1978-1979 . . . . Graduate Teaching Associate, College of Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1979-1980 . . . . Department Chairman and Social Studies Teacher, Teays Valley High School, Ashville, Ohio


PUBLICATIONS


FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Social Studies Education. Professor Raymond H. Muessig

Minor Fields: Teacher Education. Professor Donald R. Cruickshank

United States History. Professor Robert H. Bremner
TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.  INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. DESIGN AND PROCEDURE OF THE STUDY</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Instrument</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sample</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of Social Studies Textbook Research</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE ORGANIZATION OF CONTENT MATERIAL</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Histories</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American History Textbooks</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. THE PROCESS OF URBANIZATION</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Planning</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburbanization</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Population Mobility</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Transformation</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.  PERSPECTIVES ON THE IMPACT OF URBANIZATION ON NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter | Page
--- | ---
Urban Problems | 137
Urban Leadership | 155
Summary | 177
VI. MAKING THE AMERICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOK AN EFFECTIVE TOOL FOR TEACHING ABOUT THE CITY | 188
Rationales for the Use of Urban History | 189
The Textbook as an Instructional Tool | 201
Suggestions for Teachers | 210
Summary | 237
VII. CONCLUSIONS | 242
APPENDICES
A. A Guide to the Study of Local History | 253
B. Coding Sheet | 266
C. Compilation of Coding Sheets | 269
D. Letter to State Supervisors of Social Studies Education | 271
BIBLIOGRAPHY | 273
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Organization of Urban Histories</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Organization of the City in American History Textbooks</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Organization of the City in American History Textbooks (Sublett Study, 1972)</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Urban Planning in American History Textbooks</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The 1920 Federal Population Census revealed that for the first time more Americans lived in urban than in rural regions.¹ The demographic shift from countryside to city had taken over three hundred years; however, it increased at an ever-rapid pace in the half century following 1920. By the 1970's, over two thirds of all Americans lived in metropolitan areas or in middle and small-sized towns. The United States had become an urban nation.

Determining the point in the history of the country when the city became the dominant influencing factor over cultural, political, economic, and social affairs is difficult. However, one cannot deny that it currently holds such a position. The extent to which the city overshadows almost all aspects of American life was suggested by Jean Fair, former president of the National Council of the Social Studies, when she wrote in 1972, "... even the countryside is urbanized."² This acknowledgment by Fair emphasizes the need to teach about the city in the public schools of this nation. If the city

¹

²
has become such an integral part of the American existence, then perhaps an understanding of urban America is a pre-determinant for an understanding of American life.

Even while the city was experiencing its most rapid growth, its influence on the development of the United States appeared to have gone unnoticed for a long time by those writing the history of the nation. The earliest studies on the American city were conducted by sociologists, economists, and geographers. Only in the past forty years or so have American historians begun to add their energies, their methodological approaches, and their perspectives to the study of the cities, the forces that created them, and their role in the development and growth of the United States.

Interest in the cities and the way they developed was not a part of a changing focus on history at the turn of the century. Much of the emphasis of American history was, in fact, at that time being directed away from the city toward the frontier and the influence that Frederick Jackson Turner and his followers claimed that it had on the development of the nation. For them, the city played a minor role. This "frontier thesis" was to set the tone for a generation or more of American historians and their students.

Attention was diverted farther away from the city with Charles A. Beard's economic interpretation of American history. According to Beard it was the factory system,
technological innovation, and modern organization that transformed a simple rural nation into a highly industrial society. He saw the development of cities as being only an indirect result of this economic process.⁴

These practitioners of the "New History" were not totally insensitive to urban development. Turner saw the rise of towns and cities as the last stage of frontier settlement. After the 1920 census returns, he commented on the possibility of "an urban reinterpretation of our history."⁵ This noted historian contemplated accomplishing that task himself, but he never put such plans into reality.⁶ While Beard certainly had not failed to see the growth of cities as important to the growth of the nation in the period after the Civil War, he had welded the process of urbanization with that of industrialization. By treating them as one process, Beard failed to distinguish the uniqueness of each. As a result, his reader finds it difficult to comprehend the impact and influence that one had upon the other. To a follower of Beard, the city simply becomes a consequence of the Industrial Revolution.

It is not surprising that two of the most important scholarly works setting a groundwork for the study of urban history came to print during the 1930's. Lewis Mumford examined the role of the city in world history in The Culture of Cities (1938). The monumental project was later supported by Mumford's The City in History in 1961.⁷
was another work, however, printed a half decade before The Culture of Cities that actually was the catalyst for more in-depth studies in American urban history. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr. declared in The Rise of the City (1933) that urban growth was a unifying theme in American history during the period from 1878 to 1898. Seven years later in his essay "The City in American History," Schlesinger submitted a plan for a total "... reconstruction of American history from the urban point of view." He emphasized national events within an urban framework. This later study became the model for most general essays about the city in American history.

From the late 1930's through the early 1960's, urban historians conducted a large amount of research on the development and growth of individual cities. Other historians undertook research on topics such as urban rivalry and transportation, municipal reform, and urban immigrants. Still others were concerned with the growth of cities during specific time periods such as the Colonial era and the frontier west. Many of these early projects were criticized by the urban historian Charles N. Glaab for their "lack of precise definition both in subject matter and method." Glaab further contended that "much of the scholarship that ... fell within its vague limits could not easily be disassociated from antiquarian local history." Urban study in this period was attacked, Glaab noted, by
social scientists who recognized "its potential value, but who were revolted by its seeming chaos," and ordinary academic historians who dismissed it "as a gaudy frill which may desecrate an old fashioned humanistic discipline."

Thus, while urban historical studies had greatly increased in number by the early 1960's, the area of study itself had failed to gain much academic recognition and respectability.

Such criticism led urban scholars of the 1960's toward a new direction. An economic historian, Eric Lampard, suggested in a 1961 American Historical Review article that urban historians should align themselves closely with economists and sociologists and should attempt the study of urbanization as a societal process. His article established the foundation for what has been termed the "New Urban History." The first use of this phrase appeared in Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History (1969). The editors of the book, Stephan Thernstrom and Richard Sennett, characterized the "new" urban history as having three related traits: an interest in linking sociological theory to historical data, moving back and forth across the boundaries separating the traditional disciplines; an understanding of the uses of quantitative materials; and an eagerness to broaden the scope of urban studies to embrace the social experience of ordinary people.
The new urbanists examined tax rolls, manuscript censuses, city directories, building permits, and other data which could be charted, quantified, graphed, coded, and compiled. Methodological rigor, model building, and the relating of historical materials to sociological theory characterized the new approach. Topics studied included such subjects as urban stratification, social mobility, and spatial patterns. While many of these procedures were not totally new to urban history, Bruce Stave emphasized that what was new was "the style in which quantification was used, the methodological constructs employed, and the heavy emphasis on an amazing machine [the computer]." Urban history was slowly gaining a measure of academic respectability.

During the 1960's and 1970's, American colleges and universities began to offer an increasingly large number of programs in urban history, while publishers issued many urban history textbooks and general surveys. Texts such as Green's *The Rise of Urban America*, Glaab's *The American City*, Glaab and Brown's *A History of Urban America*, Warner's *The Urban Wilderness*, Miller's *The Urbanization of Modern America*, McKelvey's *American Urbanization: A Comparative History*, and Chudacoff's *The Evolution of American Urban Society* synthesized and interpreted America's urban experience. These authors intended not only to examine the character of city expansion, but also, more importantly, to
explore the relationships between this growth and other phases of American history.

Concurrent with the publication of textbooks in urban history, articles, interpretative syntheses, and documents were reprinted or appeared for the first time in readers such as Callow's *American History*, Jackson and Schultz's *Cities in American History*, Mohl and Richardson's *The Urban Experience*, Wakstein's *The Urbanization of America*, and Still's *Urban America*. By the middle 1970's, therefore, an abundance of materials had become available for college classroom use. The subject area had become established as a valid one of historical scholarship, and research within the field was an ongoing process.

With added scholarly interest in urban history, one would expect that the city and its complexities as well as its influences on national history would have increasingly become topics in senior high school American history textbooks and that the history of urban America would take its rightful place beside textbook discussions of Presidential elections, wars, treaties, and famous individuals. Such, however, has not been the case. Allen Davis noted in a 1965 article in *The Social Studies*, "The American Historian vs. the City," that "despite the growing importance of urban history . . . the impact has not reached most American history textbooks, nor has it influenced the teaching of most American history courses." Davis revealed that many
college and high school teachers still emphasized the importance of the frontier. Collier Sublett noted in a 1972 report of his analytical study of eleventh-grade American histories that while the city had received more attention in the textbooks during the 1960's than in earlier periods, the total percentage (4.2%) of space given the city was still disproportionate to its actual importance.18

Frances FitzGerald in her America Revised (1979) provided a clear and timely analysis of the treatment of the city in American history textbooks. She remarked that as late as the early 1960's American history texts included almost no information about the growth and development of cities in the United States. She noted that the textbooks were continuing to describe rural and small-town America as both "the condition and the ideal of American life." FitzGerald added that cities were mentioned "merely to describe what was wrong with them--from poor sanitation to political corruption." She revealed that only after the riots of the late 1960's did the schoolbooks begin to give the cities themselves some attention. However, she felt that the treatment was still rather scattered in textbooks published over a decade later. FitzGerald concluded:

Current texts discuss the growth of the cities in the late nineteenth century and their condition today. In both periods, the cities seem to be little except a source of problems for the society --air pollution, crime, poverty, and so on. There is no discussion of the importance of cities or the advantages of living in them, nor is there a
suggestion that most "city problems" like poverty, are really problems of the nation as a whole.19

The tendency of textbook writers to present the city in a negative light was also accentuated by Sublett. Both he and FitzGerald noted that little appeared to have been included in the textbooks of the past to present the positive attributes of the city and that virtually nothing had been included to demonstrate the degree to which the urbanization process had influenced the development and growth of the United States.

The obvious question at this point and one which must be dealt with briefly is: "Why has the city received such little attention in American history textbooks?" This researcher discovered that no major study has addressed itself to this particular subject-matter area. While any such discussion will not include much more than a listing of assumptions as to the causes of textbook deficiencies, the reasons are certainly more complex and far-reaching than have been suggested by a number of early researchers of social studies textbooks. For example, Edward N. Saveth concluded in 1944, after examining American history textbooks in regard to their treatment of the immigrant, that many of the distortions in the books analyzed were the results of "sheer human ignorance, stupidity, and lethargy."20 Donn V. Hart decided after an earlier study of American schoolbooks concerning the topic of Latin America that errors existed as the result of "carelessness,
ignorance, or thoughtlessness." Such shallow interpretation on the part of these researchers was an insult not only to textbook writers, but also to professional historians, teachers, and publishers as well. It further showed a lack of understanding about the processes involved in textbook development. A synthesis of more thoughtful analyses of reasons for textbook errors follows.

One reason why secondary American history textbooks lack up-to-date information and interpretations is because new scholarship trickles down extremely slowly into secondary school textbooks. Irene Blythe estimated in 1932 that the time-lag between the moment an idea or an approach gained currency in the academic community and the moment it reached the school textbooks was about six years. FitzGerald estimated that on the average it took about fifteen years for a development from historical research to find its way into history textbooks for the secondary schools. She suggested that this is because current research must disseminate down through college texts. Perhaps a more accurate explanation for this lag is the actual time needed for development of a new textbook. After a textbook is commissioned by a publishing company, it usually follows a procedure of a number of rewrites and constant reviews by outside readers. Thus, due to this extensive process, a new text will not be published until, at minimum, three to five years after work has begun on it. Considering the rate at which new information is being uncovered in almost
every area of academic study, a text may actually be outdated before it reaches the hands of its first students. The task of keeping a textbook current may be near to impossible. Textbook critics must realize that up-dating textbooks is only one part of the evolutionary process of schoolbook development.

Second, fallacies often result because of the wide scope of material that must be covered in general-survey textbooks. In order to discuss the vast amount of content necessary to provide students with an overall introduction to American history, authors are forced to present complex issues in a simple and condensed fashion. After analyzing the treatment of the Reconstruction period in American history texts, Mark Krug argued that such an approach leads to "superficiality" in the books. The problem is intensified as authors are forced to sacrifice their own in-depth analysis for a level students can comprehend. Since publishing companies are in business to make money, it would make little sense for them to print a book which the average student could not read nor understand. Furthermore, in order to produce a textbook that secondary school students and teacher can examine in one school year, textbook writers and publishers cannot include every event, notable person, and interpretation that they understand to be important to the development and growth of the United States. While certainly very important in a defense of textbook writers,
these revelations do little to appease critics who feel their interests have been slighted in favor of less important issues.

Third, misinterpretations may exist in textbooks because authors have failed to keep abreast of current historical scholarship. A committee in the middle 1960's which examined national bias in Anglo-American history texts concluded that this was the cause of the most frequent distortions in the textbooks they analyzed. According to their report, textbook writers may be guilty of unconscious falsification or of failure to understand the total context of their subjects. This may be a problem that is difficult to solve, for certainly no textbook writer can be expected to be an authority in every area of history discussed.

A recommended solution to this problem is for publishing companies to commission a committee of historians and social studies educators, experts in a wide spectrum of historical study, to collaborate on the writing of a textbook. For instance, an authority in modern business history should be commissioned to research and to write that portion of the history text if adequate and accurate treatment is to be given to the textbook. The same should be done for American foreign relations, urban history, the American Civil War, and other areas of history.

The sacrifice for such a "team" approach to developing textbooks, however, may be too much for the sake of
historical writing itself. What is at stake is the loss of individual style in textbook writing. In the process of cutting, chopping, and tying various interpretations together, the textbook often becomes a very impersonal narrative. This is possibly why students already complain that history textbooks are uninteresting and uninspiring. The exciting, humorous, and adventurous accounts of history told by historians such as David Saville Muzzey, however biased and one-sided, have given way to straight-forward narratives that provide little enjoyment reading.

A second possible solution to the problem of keeping the textbooks current in all areas of historical research would be for a single author to rely on a large number of consultants. But again, without the craftsmanship and genius of a good editor, the result would be just another dull history book.

Fourth, current interpretations are often not included in many texts, not because the author has failed to keep abreast of new information, but because he or she disagrees with the interpretation. In the same way, what one individual may see as a distortion may not be seen as such by another. For example, historians disagree as to the main cause of the Civil War or the extent to which that conflict served as a catalyst for the Industrial Revolution.

Fifth, distortions exist in American history textbooks because what is included in schoolbooks is often
shaped by many other considerations other than what scholars have discovered about the past. FitzGerald suggested that what is included in textbooks is affected more by the social, economic, and political climate of the day than it is by academicians. This same hypothesis was earlier advanced by Sublett. He stated that between 1890 and 1917 the rise of the city and the battle for municipal reform may have prompted text writers to include the city in their books. After 1917 the decline of reform may have caused the decline of urban history in the textbooks. In the 1960's the emergence of the megalopolis, the continuing development of urban studies in the social science disciplines, the revival of urban criticism and municipal reform, and the growth of literature in American urban history may have influenced the return of urban history to the texts.

Pressure from private interest groups, state textbook adoption committees, publishers' marketing departments, and the weight of tradition have also heavily influenced the content in history textbooks. FitzGerald felt that pressures coming from outside the academic community are so influential on textbook development that "on the scale of publishing priorities the pursuit of truth appears somewhere near the bottom." After examining United States history texts, Jean Anyon asserted that the expression of group interest in textbooks was quite often manifested by omitting facts and interpretations. She noted that many publishers
excluded important knowledge from schoolbooks in an attempt to avoid controversy because they feared public reaction. Matthew T. Downey reported in a recent article in *The History Teacher* that the result of this pressure is "bland and tepid" books which try to avoid offending the sensibilities of every important group. Texts describe social problems without mentioning the human agencies responsible for them, and they seldom provide any competent and serious analysis of how American society really works and is structured.

Finally, textbooks are weak in their interpretations because of a lack of interest and participation from the academic community itself in regard to the writing of high school textbooks. This is a consequence, in part, of a failure of publishers to solicit the advice of an adequate number of historians while developing a text. FitzGerald explained that even the historian whose name appears on the cover of a book may have had a minor role in its development. Specification for the manuscript of a text, decisions about prose, style, reading level, and the choice of content to be highlighted may be largely determined by the in-house social studies editor rather than by the authors.

FitzGerald's assertion that most scholars do not make it a practice to read high school textbooks in their subject area concentration is an unsubstantiated judgment; however, it may at least hint at part of the problem. Her
contention that no academic journal reviews textbooks on a regular basis is untrue. But, the fact that The History Teacher is the only current publication to do so really does little to ease the pain of her criticism. Why the major history and social studies journals should regard textbooks as less legitimate than other history books is unfathomable, especially considering that most Americans will read at least one American history textbook in their lifetime. Possibly no other form of historical literature is read with the same degree of frequency.

One important consequence that FitzGerald saw resulting from the lack of involvement by historians in the development of schoolbooks is that there is "no real check on the intellectual quality--or even the factual accuracy--of schoolbooks." Downey suggested that one way in which scholars can become more involved in the development of textbook materials is through the writing of competent reviews on a regular basis in a forum which is accessible to secondary school teachers and professional historians.

Developing a list of causes for textbook deficiencies is not a difficult task; however, motivating publishers, writers, educators, and special interest groups to get involved in the development of accurate texts is much more difficult. Ultimately, these individuals must accept partial responsibility for inadequate textbook materials. Only with that realization can they proceed in effective action toward
their improvement. This appears especially important considering that the textbook is the dominant instructional tool used in most history classrooms. While many teacher educators have urged teachers to rely less on textbooks in instruction, several studies have recently revealed that teachers continue to depend heavily on the textbook and that classroom instruction is primarily large-group, teacher-controlled recitation and lecture, based almost totally on that text. 34

Studies have given little attention to the role of cities in American history textbooks. FitzGerald devoted only one paragraph to this topic in her 240 page treatise on the history of American history textbooks in the twentieth century. Sublett's dissertation project was almost entirely a quantitative study. He examined only the amount of space devoted to the city and the factors responsible for influencing its treatment in different periods of the twentieth century. Sublett revealed little of what was actually said about cities in the period from 1900 to 1970. Davis' historiographical work on urban history mentioned only briefly the textbook treatment of the city and urbanization.

After the above review it appears that the city has not been given adequate treatment in history textbooks in the high schools of the United States. What is needed is a more thorough analysis of current senior high school American history textbooks to determine what is said about the city and the impact that urbanization has had on the
development and growth of the United States. An attempt must be made to bridge the gap between scholarly historical research and the content in secondary school history texts. The first step must be to determine just how wide that gap is; how current, accurate and interpretative the content is on urbanization. That was the objective of the study.

Those who have conducted research in social studies education have been criticized for failing to develop methods by which their conclusions can contribute to more effective classroom learning. This writer has therefore included with the report of the study some suggested instructional approaches that can be employed by the teacher in using the textbook to teach more effectively about the role of the city in American history. It is hoped that the dissertation can be helpful to teachers in that regard.

The study of textbooks for the treatment of the city has several ramifications. First, the writer hopes that if the textbook treatment of the influence of urbanization on American history is inadequate, the study may promote the inclusion of more scholarly interpretations in future texts, both by persuading publishers to be more accurate and by urging urban historians to become actively involved in the writing of school histories.

Second, the writer anticipates that the study will increase interest in teaching about the urban world in the senior high school. In a nation where over seventy percent
of the total population lives in cities, many people are forced to cope with problems associated with transportation, employment, racial attitudes, mental health, alienation, overcrowding, education, and poor financial support. Perhaps a greater knowledge of urban history will help individuals become better able to understand and solve these problems. Also, a more thorough examination of urbanization and the cities in American history may help students develop a deeper appreciation of the positive contributions that the cities have made to the United States.

Finally, the study has direct implications for the American history teacher. The author hopes that through the use of its findings, the teacher will not only gain a more accurate understanding of the role that the city has played in shaping American history, but also will acquire an awareness of how the textbook treatment of the city can be used in a constructive teaching approach.

Outline of the Report

The dissertation is arranged into seven chapters. The introduction, Chapter I, has presented the problem to be studied. Chapter II outlines the design of the study and examines supportive literature. It is followed by three chapters in which the textbook treatment of urbanization and the city is compared to scholarly works in urban history. These chapters are divided according to categorical units which are developed in the next chapter. Chapter III is
concerned with the organizational approach taken by both urban historians and textbook writers as they examine the city. Chapter IV examines elements within the urbanization process. Chapter V surveys the role the city has played in cultural, economic, and political growth within its own region and the nation. The chapter further deals with urban problems.

Chapter VI is divided into three parts. In the first section rationales for the inclusion of urban history in the American history course are discussed. The second part examines the role of the teacher in the learning process. The last part of the chapter consists of suggestions and recommendations arising from the findings of the study for methods the history teacher can employ in making more effective use of the textbook while presenting an accurate picture of the city in American history. Chapter VII presents conclusions of the study.
FOOTNOTES


5Turner in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., "The City in American History," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXVII (June, 1940), 43-68.

6Bayrd Still in Stave, pp. 67-68.


8Schlesinger, p. 43.


14 Stave, p. 20.


17 Allen F. Davis, "The American Historian vs. the City," The Social Studies, LVI, Part I (March, 1965), 91-96; Part II (April, 1965), 127-135.


22 Irene T. Blythe, "The Textbooks and the New Discoveries, Emphases and Viewpoints in American History," Historical Outlook, XXIII (October, 1932), 395-402.

23 FitzGerald, p. 43.


27 FitzGerald, p. 43.

28 Sublett, pp. 314-315.

29 FitzGerald, p. 43.


32 FitzGerald, p. 43.

33 Downey, p. 63.


Chapter II

DESIGN AND PROCEDURE OF THE STUDY

The study used content analysis as a research technique, incorporating both quantitative and qualitative systems of analysis. The form of quantitative analysis employed was non-frequency analysis in which the procedure was concerned with the presence or absence of a referent. The quantities used in such a study are, therefore, either zero or one. Relative magnitudes above one are considered insignificant for interpretation.¹

The second type of analysis used was qualitative. Bernard Berelson stated that this form of analysis consists primarily of "reading plus a judgment as to what the content means" or "reading plus interpretation in the traditional sense."² He suggested that a more descriptive term of this type of analysis might be "content assessment."³

During the formulation of the study, the investigator reviewed the subject matter of urban history in order to define the universe that was to be analyzed and then partitioned that subject matter content into appropriate analytical categories. The next step was to develop in each of those categories a list of subtopics which could serve as the units for analysis.
Two analytical tasks were required for the study. The first was an identification of representative themes that urban historians saw as essential in understanding what contributions urbanization and the city have made to American history. In order to do this, the researcher examined eight general survey works about urban history recommended by Stave and also Glaab and Brown. These works took a middle of the road position between the urban historians who defined American urban history as the study of the urbanization process and those who assessed the place of the city in American history, while emphasizing the influence that America's historical events have had on its cities. The following works served as the foundation for the study: Chaduoff's The Evolution of American Urban Society (1975); Glaab and Brown's A History of Urban America (1976); Green's The Rise of Urban America (1965); McKelvey's The Urbanization of America: 1860-1915 (1963); The Emergence of Metropolitan America: 1915-1966 (1968); and American Urbanization: A Comparative History (1973); Miller's The Urbanization of Modern America (1973); and Warner's The Urban Wilderness (1972).

These survey works were examined for themes that made assertions about the role of the city or urbanization in American history. After carefully examining these books, this investigator used in the study those themes that were
included in at least two of the urban histories.

A second analytical task involved the construction of an instrument designed to analyze the content of senior high school American history textbooks. To accomplish this, the subject matter in the urban histories was partitioned into broad topical categories. The measuring instrument used in the study contained four such categories, each having an operational definition and illustrative examples taken from the scholarly works surveyed. The categories are discussed in later chapters of this dissertation.

The researcher has attempted to include subtopics which were representative of the role of the city and urbanization in all phases and time periods of American history. Assertions made or implied by urban historians under each of these categories and subtopics served as the basis of analyzing the treatment of the city in senior high school American histories. The following general categories and subtopics were employed in the study:

I. The organization of content material

II. Elements of the urbanization process
   A. Urban planning
   B. Suburbanization
   C. Urban population mobility
   D. Cultural transformation
III. Urban problems
   A. Social problems
   B. Municipal needs and services

IV. Role of the city in regional and national development
   A. Urban imperialism
   B. City and the frontier
   C. City and reform

The coding sheet was the instrument against which ten textbooks were analyzed. The inclusion or absence in the textbooks of assertive statements or implications made by urban historians was noted. Each of the texts used in the study was read in its entirety. All references to the city and the urbanization process were summarized on note cards. The above outline was used to organize these statements. It was with the aid of the note cards that the coding sheets were completed. Evaluative judgments about the American history textbooks were offered after a compilation of all ten coding sheets was made. A copy of the coding sheet is included in Appendix B of this report.

Compiled data are presented in Appendix C. A few sample statements taken from the coding instrument are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASSERTIONS MADE BY URBAN HISTORIANS</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

II. Elements of the Urbanization Process
   A. Urban Planning
1. Many colonial towns were planned communities.

2. Most founders of colonial settlements patterned their towns after European traditions.

3. The businessman was especially important to urban planning after the American Revolution

The Sample

The researcher wrote to all state departments of education in the United States and requested from them a list of senior high school American history textbooks that were required or recommended for use in their respective states. Representatives from thirty-six state departments responded to the survey. Of that number, twenty respondents replied that their state had no adopted or recommended list for textbooks, five listed the texts that they assumed were being used to the greatest extent in their states, and fourteen forwarded a list of their state's adopted social studies textbooks (see Appendix D). From these nineteen lists, the sample for the study was determined.

The investigator used for the study the ten textbooks that were listed with the greatest frequency by state departments of education and met the following criteria:

1. The book must be a single-volume history of the United States.
2. The text must be recommended by state departments for senior high school American history classes.

3. The work must cover the whole range of United States history from the Colonial period to the contemporary age.

4. The American history textbook must be the latest edition of the work and published since 1976.

The textbooks listed below met the established criteria and were used as the sample in the study:


Although the project does not contain all the textbooks that form the basis for instruction in senior high school American history classes, an attempt was made to use the most recent editions and to include a variety of publishers. The selected textbooks are considered representative of those used across the nation. No evidence was collected to assess the extent to which each book is currently being used by individual school districts in the United States.

The names of several distinguished historians such as Richard Hofstadter and Merle Curti appear on the covers of these American history textbooks. Of the twenty-three individuals who are credited for writing these ten texts, fourteen are professional historians. The books also bear the names of professors of education, high school teachers, school administrators, and in the case of Terry L. Haywoode, a sociologist. The most versatile book in regard to its authorship is The American Experience which includes a representative from each of the above mentioned groups except for a sociologist.
Three of the ten texts were attributed to single authors; two of these textbooks are unique in other ways. The American Dream is the only textbook which does not include an historian as its author. Lew Smith is a high school teacher in New York. The American Dream is also the only so-called "inquiry" or "discovery" textbook in the sample. This book is chronologically organized, thereby meeting the basic requirements for inclusion in the sample, but it cannot be considered comprehensive in that it deals with a limited number of specific issues. Jack Abramowitz's American History was written by the former Columbia University historian for the benefit of disadvantaged students. The unique characteristics of each of these two books had a significant impact upon their treatment of the city in American history.

According to the sample survey, the most widely adopted American history in the United States is Paul Lewis Todd and Merle Curti's The Rise of the American Nation. It is also the oldest of the ten texts. The book was first published in 1950 and went through a rapid series of revisions with new copyrights in 1961, 1964, 1966, and 1969. It was later revised in 1972 and 1977. The large number of revisions of this text at such rapid pace may reflect as much about the tumultuousness of the decade of the 1960's as it does about the difficulty of keeping textbooks up to date.
Frances FitzGerald contended that textbooks are now "developed" rather than "written" and that what is included between their covers may be far removed from the authors' point of view. She argued that textbooks published in the last fifty years have acquired a universal "textbook prose" which is quite dull and unimaginative. This is done in an attempt to make them readable for the majority of American high school students. Because of the need by publishers to make their texts universally acceptable, FitzGerald argued that discrepancies quite often exist between the idea which the author may have attempted to convey in his original writing and the idea which radiates from the final published version of the book.5

Certainly a textbook writer's authority is important in any study of textbooks, for it is the author who must ultimately take the credit or blame for the content of the book which bears his name. However, because of the complex process involved in textbook development, a critic of textbooks does not know where to direct his attack. If textbooks are ever to be adequately improved, then the process of their development must be made known.

The study discussed in this report was not designed as an expose' of the high school textbook industry. The author's concern is with what is currently being included in American history textbooks in regard to the city. More important are suggestions as to how teachers can effectively
use textbooks in teaching about urban America. Similar studies have been conducted on social studies texts and cover a wide variety of topics. A synthesis of some of that research follows.

Review of Social Studies Textbook Research

Content analysis has been used to study almost every kind of communication, both verbal and non-verbal: music, gestures, maps, and art. Most early studies using content analysis examined the content of newspapers. The modal study was a description of what subjects were included and how much space they were given. Later studies dealt with other media of communication such as radio, movies, books, magazines, letters, speeches, leaflets, diaries, and conversation.

Content analysis studies have been used for a variety of purposes. Berelson listed seventeen:

1. To describe trends in communication content.
2. To trace the development of scholarship.
3. To disclose international differences in communication content.
4. To compare media or "levels" of communication.
5. To audit communication content against objectives.
6. To construct and apply communication standards.
7. To aid in technical research operations.
8. To explore propaganda techniques.
9. To measure the "readability" of communication materials.
10. To discover stylistic features.
11. To identify the intentions and other characteristics of the communicators.
12. To determine the psychological state of persons and groups.
13. To detect the existence of propaganda.
14. To secure political and military intelligence.
15. To reflect attitudes, interests, and values of population groups.
16. To describe in a systematic fashion the focus of attention of various groups of people on different subjects.
17. To describe attitudinal and behavioral responses to communications.

Simon Marcson examined the techniques of textbook analysis and came to the conclusion that most content analysis studies were concerned with answering primarily two types of questions: "What does the communication say?" and "What effect does it have?" The findings of numerous analytical studies pertaining to social studies textbooks have been printed as doctoral dissertations or published as articles in various academic journals. Many of the articles were actually summations of the dissertations. It would be a tedious and unnecessary task to list all of these research projects; however, a brief survey of the topics studied should sufficiently provide the reader with an awareness of the wide variety of research that has been undertaken. Works on the historiography of urban history as well as surveys and readers were mentioned previously
in this report and are included in its bibliographical section.

Between 1933 and 1977, 131 doctoral dissertations were content analysis studies of textbooks written for the various social science disciplines. These included five in the period from 1933 to 1939, twelve in the 1940's, twenty-seven during the 1950's, and twenty-nine in the decade of the 1960's. Between 1970 and 1977 there were fifty-nine such studies. In compiling these projects, the researcher discovered that sixty-five analyzed social studies materials used in specific grades and schools, forty-nine examined American history texts, seven were concerned with what is said in world histories, five with geography textbooks, four with economic books, and one with American government texts.

Generally, all of the research studies fell into one of three broad classifications: the project was designed to study the development of textual materials in a particular social science discipline; it was developed to detect the existence of bias in such works; or it was designed to learn whether or not certain specified content was to be found in the texts. A few studies dealt with the reading levels of particular textbooks.

Most of the early studies in each subject matter area were of the first category. While these studies dealing with the development of textbooks in a specified subject
matter area were produced in the 1930's for both American history and geography texts, it was not until the 1950's that they appeared for economic texts and world histories. American government texts were examined as early as 1944, but no other studies followed.

Content analyses on American histories have dealt with the treatment in those books of such subjects as blacks, social movements, the Great Depression, religion, foreign affairs, instructional teaching approaches, and the Cold War. Many of the topics mirrored the social and economic atmosphere of the time period in which they were produced. For example, studies in the 1960's dealt with subjects such as women, minorities, Vietnam, and violence.

Four of the seven studies on world history texts were concerned with the treatment of specific countries in those books--the Middle Eastern Arab states, India, East Asia, and the Soviet Union. Two of the studies were historical in nature and the remaining analyses dealt with religious content in world histories. Two of the geography works were textbook development studies, two were concerned with reading levels, and one with religious content. All of the economic textbook projects dealt with the early development of schoolbooks in that subject area.

Many of the research projects were concerned with discovering what is included in social studies textbooks adopted or used by selected grade levels, schools, or
states. Some dealt with the reading difficulty of selected books, some with specific topics in these texts, and some with instructional methodology. Examples of topics include international relations, quantitative content, social science generalizations, human behavior concepts, population concepts, racial bias, levels of questioning, expressed values, and civic attitudes.

Many of the above described projects may have contributed to updating content in some current textbooks. Success is most evident in regard to the treatment of minority groups. The newer editions include inserted sections with sub-headings such as "Blackmen in the Revolution," "Women in Industry," and "The New Americans From China." In the newer first-edition texts, references to such groups are usually written more subtly into the content discussion. Further evidence of the success of interest groups pressure is shown in the visuals that are included in the texts.

One can see that studies of social studies textbooks have produced positive results. However, negative consequences arise when publishers go too far in attempting to placate special interest groups. While these groups and critics may aid in updating social studies materials, they quite often force authors and publishers to do so at the expense of more reliable and consistent analyses and interpretations. It seems impossible to ever discover the
"truth" of history, yet textbook writers and publishers should dedicate themselves toward reaching that goal without being academically restrained by specific groups or individuals. Textbook reviewers and critics, too, must be able to produce under a blanket of academic freedom. They must strive to eliminate themselves from as much bias as possible and reach toward discovering the "truth" about America's past. The failure to do so completely degrades the discipline of history itself.

The findings presented in this report are limited by the nature and design of the study. First, it must be remembered that the categorical units used as the basis of analysis were derived exclusively from the eight urban histories surveyed. Therefore, the generalizations are applicable only to those works. In the same way, conclusions from the study are limited only to those ten textbooks which were chosen for analysis. The use of another sample may have resulted in conclusions different from those reached; however, it was hoped that the method used for selecting the sample of the study would provide textbooks which were representative of the majority of texts used in senior high school American history classrooms. The research design was not developed with the intention of analyzing any specific books, but rather to serve as an examination of the general treatment of the city in representative American history texts.
This researcher does not see the city and urbanization as the only or even the most important entity which has affected and influenced the history of the United States. The writer is aware of the fact that history does not allow for single factor interpretations to complex events. It was therefore not his intention to make, as William Diamond warned against as early as 1941, the "city" another "frontier" in American history. This author's expectation was simply to examine the treatment that recently published senior high school textbooks on United States history afforded the city and its impact on the nation's history and further determine the extent to which scholarly research and the writings of urban historians have influenced these texts. If a gap exists, the writer hopes that the study can make a significant contribution in helping to narrow that gap.
FOOTNOTES


3 Ibid.


5 Frances FitzGerald, America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), p. 44.

6 Berelson, pp. 21-23.


Chapter III

THE ORGANIZATION OF CONTENT MATERIAL

Cities have always been a vital part of the American experience. From the beginning of colonial settlement in the New World, those who established permanent homes in British North America, realized the practical need for permanent communities. Even though a whole continent was opened before them, the colonists still had to utilize central places for defense, administration, trade, worship, and socialization. However, the colonists were motivated to establish cities by more than the towns' practical aspects, for these early settlers themselves were from experience an "urban-minded people."\(^1\) As one urban historian has aptly phrased it, "There was little doubt among the colonists that the town and the city was man's proper habitat."\(^2\) The natural movement by the colonists toward developing urban communities in the New World was further reinforced by the British government. The mercantilistic power supported the establishment of cities because they provided a strong base for political control and for promoting trade and business.\(^3\)

European and Asiatic cities have long histories as urban centers. Quite often the values and traditions of
the distant past have restrained these towns from adjusting to changing economic and political conditions. For instance, ancient traditions—in housing, street patterns, and local government—have hindered such urban centers as Rome, Tokyo, Amsterdam, Edinburgh, Vienna, and others from adjusting to modern industrial development. While such modern urban features as zonal restrictions were eventually established in most of these cities, they were slow in being accepted. The result was relatively uncontrolled competition for space.

The rise in influence of other cities in Europe such as Manchester in England was stifled by the continuing power of the landed gentry. Social, political, and economic restraints placed on growing urban centers were difficult to overcome. The conflict which eventually arose between the emerging classes in the cities and the old landed gentry was best manifested in the revolutionary movements that occurred in Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While violence never erupted on a large scale in Great Britain during these two centuries, it was diverted only because Parliament took the initiative in reforming the system of election to its own body to include more equal representation from urban and rural areas. Thus, it was difficult for the cities to break out of a traditional mold established in an earlier agriculturally-based society.
Compared to the older towns and cities of Europe and Asia, the American colonial communities started at an advanced stage of urban development. They were actually transplanted European settlements, and unlike many of their world counterparts they did not exist because of an earlier development of farming. Rather, the colonial cities served in a position that allowed activities such as agriculture and the fur trade to spread inland without losing connection with the Old World. Howard Chudacoff in his The Evolution of American Urban Society portrayed the cities in the new American wilderness as "bridgeheads, vanguards of settlement, which linked the Old World to the New." Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown in A History of Urban America noted that the "unique roots of American urbanization go back to the day of the first permanent settlement." According to Blake McKelvey in his work American Urbanization, these roots quickly added "to the distinctive characteristics of America's urban society."

The primary objective of urban historians has been to explain the history of the United States through a microscopic analysis of the history of American cities and an examination of the processes of urbanization. In taking this approach, these urban scholars have not completely disregarded the influence of rural America and the frontier; however, their practice of examining American history within a narrow framework can easily cause the
authors' readers to misunderstand their intentions. Possibly much of the criticism aimed at their approach is justified. When urbanization is identified with everything, it can explain nothing. It ceases to be an independent source of variation. Diamond's warning of the danger of making the "city" another "frontier" in American history, is one that urban historians should become conscious of avoiding.

The authors whose works served as a basis for the study treated American urban history as national history. It is not surprising that these authors arranged their discussions of the city into the conventional chronological pattern of American history such as the city during the Colonial period, the city during the Jacksonian period, and the city in the post-World War II period. Their approach is illustrated in Table 1.

The writers made little distinction between historical developments taking place in cities and historical developments taking place in the nation as a whole. What they were doing with the city was making it "a stage upon which national political struggles were resolved, industrial expansion occurred, and reform programs arose and declined."8

Beyond the chronological ordering of urban history, the urban scholars examined various topics of national social, intellectual, and economic life in American cities.
### Table 1

Organization of Urban Histories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>URBAN HISTORY</th>
<th>1600-1790</th>
<th>1790-1825</th>
<th>1825-1860</th>
<th>1865-1900</th>
<th>1900-1917</th>
<th>1917-1945</th>
<th>1945-1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chudacoff: The Evolution of Urban Society</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glaab and Brown: A History of Urban America</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green: The Rise of Urban America</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McKelvey: The Urbanization of America; The Emergence of Metropolitan America; American Urbanization</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller: The Urbanization of Modern America</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warner: The Urban Wilderness</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both the growth of the national population and population migration, for example, were examined through studying the development of cities. In the same way, the city was used to investigate the industrial transformation of America in the nineteenth century, the problems of national growth, and liberal reform in the United States. The problems associated with national growth were depicted as problems arising from uncontrolled urban growth, and reform was explained largely as a reaction to these problems. In addition, the urban historians suggested that the more positive aspects of American civilization such as advances in education, literary achievements, and improved technology were developments that took place most notably in American cities. While it seemed that quite often they simply belabored the obvious, it was against the backdrop of the city that urban historians attempted to explain adequately the evolution of American culture.

Jacques Barzun and Henry F. Graff in The Modern Researcher criticized American historians for isolating their interpretations of American history from the mainstream of world historical developments. American historians, for example, have studied Jacksonian democracy without relating it to the contemporaneous reform movements that culminated in revolutions in nineteenth-century Belgium and France and in the Reform Bill of 1832 in Great Britain. In the same way, these two authors noted that despite all
that has been written about the American Civil War, it has never been studied as an aspect of national unification that had its counterpart in Germany and Italy.\textsuperscript{10}

In presenting the history of the American city as national history, American historians failed to break out of the mold described by Barzun and Graff. The urban scholars did not examine, for example, the so-called Progressive era in the context of similar changes occurring elsewhere. Similarly, industrialization was examined exclusively as an American development and the impetus provided for it by such factors as world-wide market demands and technological advances in other countries was ignored. Consequently, this limited interpretation of urbanization by urban historians causes their readers to misunderstand the complete process of what actually took place in the United States. Only through an examination of the world-wide process can the American city's uniqueness be uncovered and understood. One can possibly conclude after reading the work of American urban historians that the city was exclusively an American innovation. Certainly, this is not so. Lewis Mumford contended that all of the essential features of the city were already in being by 2500 B.C.\textsuperscript{11} Urban historians must strive to comprehend how the American city has fit into the already established pattern of urbanization. Studies should be directed toward discovering how aspects of American
urbanization such as immigration, suburbanization, industrialization, and hinterland relationships conform to or deviate from the norm. By taking this approach, urban historians can provide in-depth analyses of the American city and the process of urbanization.

A second major difficulty confronting American urban history is that it lacks coherence and well-defined objectives. At the root of this problem is the failure of urban historians to agree upon basic concepts such as "urbanization" and "city." Because of the absence of a workable frame of reference within urban history, not one of the urban historians whose works were used in the study attempted to define "city" and "urbanization" in the context of their research. Their constant quotation of Federal census reports would suggest that they were referring to the city as any community with a minimum population size of 2,500; however, the basic approach appeared to be that of selecting communities that were undeniably recognized as cities today and tracing their historical development. Those communities which failed to obtain "city" status were left unmentioned, as were the reasons for their failures. It was difficult to determine the point at which each city reached the suggested population figure (2,500) established by the census bureau. In other words, the urban historians seemed to have accepted the premise that those communities which are today considered to be
cities have always been cities. As a result, urban historians have in many cases actually examined rural communities before they obtained city status. Urban historians have therefore not limited their study to the history of cities in the United States, but have in fact examined the history of communities. The failure to define the term "city" has left a vagueness which makes it difficult to determine exactly what is a city and what is not. The consequence is that the urban historians attributed to the city much of what was really a part of rural village and small-town America. Of course, Turner did the same thing in his exploration of the final stage of frontier development in which he included towns and villages as part of rural America.

In contrast, the sociologist Louis Wirth provided a workable definition of "city" for those scholars within his discipline. He defined the city as "a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals." The fact that the third criterion is added to those of size and density excludes such settlements as peasant villages, mining camps, prisons, and military installations from the term "city." Urban historians should agree upon a common definition for the sake of consistency and to avoid confusion.

A third shortcoming evident in the urban histories was overgeneralization. As the historians organized their
examination of the city into national historic periods, many of them tended to over-emphasize certain urban traits in specific periods. As a result, the unsuspecting reader can be left with the impression that all cities in the Colonial period were commercial ports, all cities in the early 1800's were frontier towns, and that all cities which emerged after the Civil War did so as industrial centers. After reading the works of the urban historians, one may easily forget that cities vary considerably in age, growth rate, range of community problems, and resources available to deal with those problems. For example, New York, Los Angeles, Miami, and Birmingham are not easily comparable because of differing periods and patterns of growth. Consequently, it is worthwhile to posit stages or phases in urban development only if the divisions are used as a means of comparing and differentiating specific urban centers. An examination of those cities which deviate from the norm should prove to be as beneficial as studying those which conform to it.

If used cautiously, periodic divisions do provide a useful function in examining American cities. For the purpose of the current study, the researcher used the categorical units established by Glaab and Brown in their survey work. The treatment of the city was divided by them into four periods: the Colonial city (1607-1781), the city in the developing nation (1781-1865), the
industrial city (1865-1917), and the modern city (1917-1980).

A fourth difficulty that is inherent in the work of the urban historians lies with the term "urban," which seems to imply that urban history is a distinctive specialized area of historical inquiry, which it is not. Stephan Thernstrom, after evaluating urban history in 1971, reflected that the boundaries of the "field" of urban history are elusive:

What united this large and disparate body of work . . . is unclear. Urban history apparently deals with cities, or with city-dwellers, or with events that transpire in cities, or with attitudes toward cities—which makes one wonder what is not urban history.  

Urban history, therefore, is not a distinct division of history, but a part of other segments such as social history and economic history and needs to be treated as such. Even though there are characteristics peculiar to the city, one may question the practicality of classifying the city as a unique historical category even for the sake of convenience. It is important to recognize that many of the subjects that have been examined by urban historians are not confined to the city and should not be approached as if they were. It is inaccurate to associate such elements as poverty, crime, immigration, education, technological change, and cultural advancement solely with cities. These matters involve the workings of society as
a whole though, of course, they are manifested differently in communities which vary in size and type.

In the same regard, determining the extent to which American culture, for example, has been influenced more by urban than rural lifestyles is nearly impossible. It is unwise, though, to deny that both have not worked together as catalysts in the total process. The fact that American self-conception still draws heavily on the folklore of the agrarian society of the early days of national existence should not cause many historians to overlook the benefits of rural America in their quest for more scholarly interpretations of the history of the United States. The attempt to divide American history into the two realms of "urban" and "rural" may hinder historians from acquiring a more accurate picture of America's past. Certainly, the American character is a blending of the two.

With these thoughts, it is appropriate now to turn to the treatment of the city provided by urban historians.

Urban Histories

The Colonial City

Many of the Colonial cities were seaports which faced outward across the water toward the metropolitan mother country. Commerce and trade, rather than manufacturing, sustained their growth. Because of these commercial activities, many of the earliest urban residents in the
New World had more communication and connection with foreigners than they did with colonists living in other American towns.

As previously noted, most of the original settlers in the colonies became town dwellers out of necessity and habit. However, the percentage of urban residents in the total population began to decrease quickly and continued to decline throughout the Colonial period. As late as 1690, about ten percent of the American population was classified as urban. Seven percent of all town residents was estimated to be living in the five largest cities of Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Charleston, and Newport. In 1790 the first Federal census revealed twenty-four towns with more than 2,500 inhabitants, but these people accounted for only 5.1 percent of the total population.

The Colonial ports were an integral part of an expanding British system of cities. By 1742 Philadelphia became not only the foremost city in the colonies, but also the second largest city in the English speaking world. Along with the other port cities, it remained a "unifying center . . . of colonial life."

The Developing City

In the second period of American urban history, that of the developing nation, the proportion of urban dwellers in the nation remained fairly stable until 1820 when the percentage began to rise significantly. By 1830
the figure was back to where it had been 140 years earlier.\textsuperscript{18} During this period, the rate of urbanization compared favorably with that of Great Britain and probably exceeded that of any other nation.\textsuperscript{19} While industrial and technological developments were beginning to have an increasing impact on urban growth in America, most of its cities during this second period were still more concerned with and powerfully influenced by commercial rather than industrial innovations.\textsuperscript{20} The growth in urbanization after 1840, however, was matched by a comparable growth in the rate of industrialization. This was to be retarded only by the advent of the Civil War.\textsuperscript{21}

Much of the increase in national population during this period resulted from an influx of foreign immigrants who found homes, particularly in the northeastern cities. This movement was met by rapid migration into the expanding West, which was evident in the development of the tramontane cities. A six-fold increase in the population of the Old and New West in the three decades after 1830 was nearly overshadowed by a thirty-fold upsurge in the population of western cities, many of which also grew in size as a direct result of immigration.\textsuperscript{22} Glaab and Brown, in particular, noted that, "American expansion was largely a function of urban expansion, and . . . the civilization that pushed the edge of wilderness always toward the Pacific, drew its impulses from cities."\textsuperscript{23}
Urbanization proceeded in the South during this period at a less-rapid pace; however, much faster than the rate of southern industrialization. City life itself, during this period in the South, tended to lessen the rigidity of the section's reliance on agriculture and its plantation system of slavery.\textsuperscript{24}

The Industrial City

The urbanization process acquired a new dimension in the United States with the rise of industrial cities after 1860. While historians debate which was more responsible for the development of the other, the two processes of urbanization and industrialization were quite compatible. In examining the factors which promoted urban growth, a distinction was made between those forces which encouraged the expansion of modern cities to unprecedented size and those which caused the foundation and spread of cities before the Industrial Revolution. Between 1860 and 1910, the United States was transformed from a primarily rural nation to a predominantly urban one. Glaab and Brown commented on this change, "Throughout the period the urban trend was unmistakable; the United States was clearly becoming a nation of cities and city dwellers."\textsuperscript{25} Urbanization during this period was affected by several general transforming trends: urban technology, suburbanization, commercial foundations of growth, business leadership, and energetic promotion.
While the industrialization of America is a separate story, the impetus given to that development by the rise of the city cannot be overlooked. Several factors influenced industrial development. Of utmost importance was the financial backing for the enormous industrial expansion. Most of this support came through the agency of big city banks.26 Also of primary importance was the increasing number of immigrants who moved to the cities. This immigrant base provided a replenishing labor force in the factories and further supplied much of its entrepreneurial talent. Historians differ on which came first, the labor force or the factories, yet few argue as to the importance that this element had in promoting industrial development in the United States. Blake McKelvey believed that industry was able to develop because of the resources already available in the city. McKelvey wrote, "Long before the full ramifications of the industrial revolution had become evident, most of its basic ingredients had crossed the Atlantic and become established in several of the new cities of America."27

The construction of railroads and canals, the increased use of waterpower and steam engines, and the introduction of the factory system in the Northeast by 1850 were also important in laying the foundation for industrial growth. After the Civil War, transcontinental transportation links and the proliferation of urban sites
created a mass national market for goods and services.

The productive energies of the American cities were evident, and their innovations generally promoted further urbanization. Numerous specialized technological and economic developments such as National Cash Register in Dayton, Ohio, and General Electric in Schenectady, New York, contributed to the successful growth of individual cities. Other towns grew because of specialized manufacturers. These include Holyoke, Massachusetts, (paper); Corning, New York, (glassware); and Hershey, Pennsylvania, (candy). In every part of the country some cities similarly emerged by developing a specialty based upon a local asset, such as the oil industry in Cleveland, wheatmilling in Minneapolis, brewery industry in Milwaukee, and cotton-seed oil production in Memphis.

Despite its own urban boom and the sometimes spectacular growth of some of its individual cities, the South remained throughout this period primarily a rural region. The section, however, was still affected by the general transforming trends. Its process of urbanization paralleled closely that of the national process but with a fifty year time lag. Thus, "Despite its much-emphasized agrarian tradition, the region was shaped by the forces that led to the growth of cities throughout the nation." Much of the capital for this expansion came from the North
and the chief labor force was native born rather than foreign.29

Chaduoff warned that when examining the industrial city it is important to keep aware that "urbanization and industrialization were not the same process [but, rather] as the place that centralized resources, labor, transportation, and communications, the city became the chief arena of industrial growth."30 He further reflected that:

Cities had grown long before modern manufacturing was possible, and factories could and did develop outside of urban areas. But by the onset of the Civil War, urban and industrial growth were bound tightly together. The commercial cities and transportation revolution of the early nineteenth century bred the manufacturing cities and industrial revolution of the late nineteenth century. The twin forces of urbanization and industrialization now fed upon each other; each reinforced and modified the course of the other. Together they induced unprecedented economic change . . . .31

The Modern City

The modern city was characterized by what McKelvey termed "metropolitan regionalism" and defined as "the progressive urbanization of entire regions."32 The period from 1917 to 1973 was marked by uncontrolled expansion of established cities spurred on by the use of the automobile, the growth of suburbs, and annexation of new territories to provide municipal services to those living on the outskirts of the old cities.
McKelvey revealed that the automobile was matched by no other physical agent in its influence on the development of the metropolis in modern America. As the number of automobiles increased, so did the number of immigrants to the suburbs. During the 1920's the rate of suburban growth doubled that of the central cities. Specialized suburbs developed as the automobile enabled both the wealthy and those of modest circumstances to find congenial neighborhoods. Thus, as McKelvey noted, "Some of the welding influences of the old central cities were lost as metropolitan expansion occurred." 33 The metropolis was further characterized as the place of the shopping center, the traffic jam, the ghetto and urban decay. A 1961 study listed thirteen of these extended metropolitan regions in the United States. 34

By the late 1950's urbanization had expanded to a point where students of the city had begun to speculate on the emergence of an even larger urban region--the megalopolis. There were a number of special economic characteristics of this developing phenomenon: considerable sharing of business among many urban centers; highly specialized economic facilities dispersed throughout the region; relatively low population density; and an array of land uses including shopping centers, industrial parks, and varying residential suburbs occupied along class lines. 35
expanded urban centers were to set the framework for the city of the future.

**American History Textbooks**

The method used by textbook authors of organizing their discussions of the city within the conventional periods of United States history was the first example of similarities between the treatment of the city in the schoolbooks and the treatment of the city in the urban histories. In assessing the extent to which such an approach was used by textbook authors, each of the ten books was examined, within the authors' periodic presentation, for significant references to the subject of the city and the urbanization process. A "significant" reference was regarded as a statement which went beyond a mere recognition of the city's existence to include interpretative and analytical judgments about the city and its role in shaping the historical development of that period. For example, Madgic in his *The American Experience* made a statement concerning the punishment that the citizens of Boston were given for their involvement in the so-called Boston Tea Party. 36 This statement did not make any evaluation of the role of the city in the period and therefore did not merit inclusion in the study. On the other hand, earlier in their examination the author made the following statement about the cities in this period: "Boston, New
York, and Philadelphia became centers of revolutionary ideas and activities. In that sentence the authors emphasized the impact made by the city during the period. This statement was thus considered a "significant" reference to the city. Table 2 shows the findings of the initial inquiry. What was especially revealing was that four of the ten textbooks gave some interpretative reference to the city in each of the eight chronological periods examined. Four of the remaining texts made mention of the role of the city in all but one chronological period. Such findings initially suggested that the scope of the treatment given the city in the textbooks adequately covered the span of the city's existence. Smith's *The American Dream* was the only text which ignored the city until after the Civil War.

In his 1972 study of American history textbooks, Collier Sublett analyzed when the city was given mention in texts published between 1960 and 1970. His findings are reproduced in Table 3. Sublett did not include the Colonial period as a part of his survey.

One important inference can be made when the findings presented in these two charts are compared for the periods beginning 1790 and continuing to the present. Seemingly, recent writers have given the city treatment in more periods following the Civil War than did those authors whose books were published less than two decades.
Table 2

Organization of the City in American History Textbooks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXTBOOK</th>
<th>1600-1790-1825</th>
<th>1825-1860</th>
<th>1865-1900</th>
<th>1900-1917</th>
<th>1917-1945</th>
<th>1945-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abramowitz: American History (1979)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bass et. al.: Our American Heritage (1979)</td>
<td>X X X X X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linden et. al.: A History of Our American Republic (1979)</td>
<td>X X X X X X X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madgic et. al.: The American Experience (1979)</td>
<td>X X X X X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risjord and Haywood: People and Our Country (1978)</td>
<td>X X X X X X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shenton et. al.: These United States (1978)</td>
<td>X X X X X X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith: The American Dream (1977)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X X X X X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Todd and Ourti: Rise of the American Nation (1977)</td>
<td>X X X X X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ver Steeg and Hofstadter: A People and A Nation (1977)</td>
<td>X X X X X X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weisberger: The Impact of Our Past (1976)</td>
<td>X X X X X X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3

**Organization of the City in American History Textbooks (Sublett Study, 1972)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXTBOOK</th>
<th>1790-1825</th>
<th>1825-1860</th>
<th>1865-1900</th>
<th>1900-1917</th>
<th>1917-1945</th>
<th>1945-1972</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ver Steeg: <em>The American People</em> (1962)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freidel and Drewry: <em>America, A Modern History</em> (1970)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hofstadter et. al.: <em>The United States</em> (1966)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bragdon and McCutcheon: <em>History of a Free People</em> (1969)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wade et. al.: <em>A History of the United States</em> (1968)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shafer et. al.: <em>U.S. History for High Schools</em> (1966)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graff and Krout: <em>Adventure of the American People</em> (1966)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link and Muzzey: <em>Our American Republic</em> (1966)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
earlier. The amount of textbook coverage of the city in the two periods leading to 1865 has not changed significantly since the 1960's.

Several reasons can be suggested for the increased emphasis on the city after the Civil War. First, the change may simply be a reflection of the population shift from rural to urban areas. Second, it may be an indirect consequence of the increased social awareness that focused on the cities during the 1960's and which was too contemporary to be included in texts published during that decade. Third, scholarly work completed in the area of urban history may have had an impact on the writing of senior high school American histories. Finally, it is possible that recent textbook authors have more of an urban frame of reference than those academians of a few years ago since many of the newer writers were more likely to have been born, lived, and worked in cities than earlier ones.

The similarities between the chronological organization of the city in the senior high school texts in both the current study and that conducted earlier by Sublett and the chronological organization of the history of the city in the urban histories are apparent when Tables 2 and 3 are compared to Table 1. Once again, the major emphasis of the textbook discussion of cities was placed on the periods after 1865. Tables 1 and 2 reveal that all of the textbook authors and all of the urban
scholars gave significant examination to the city in each period after that date. Three of the urban historians and four of the textbook writers significantly treated the city in all of the periods of the nation's history. McKelvey was the only urban historian who neglected the city before the Civil War.

While it is important to understand the time period in which the city was covered in the texts, what was actually said about the city is more relevant. It only seems logical that if textbook authors were indeed influenced by the work of urban historians in writing urban history as national history, they would have included within their historical interpretations many of the same periodic themes employed by urban historians. In the following pages an analysis of the city's treatment in the four periods outlined earlier in this dissertation is presented. Only after this evidence has sufficiently been examined is it possible to make a judgment as to whether or not urban historians have influenced the writing of high school textbooks.

The Colonial City

The history that an individual learns from his American history textbook probably contributes a large part toward shaping the historical perspective that he or she carries with him or her throughout life. The content of that textbook is especially important if it is the only
book about American history that an individual may ever read. Even though educators would not like to admit the likelihood of this happening, it is a possibility. If this is so, then it only reemphasizes the need for history educators to take an in-depth look at what is and is not included in senior high school American history texts.

It may be particularly disturbing to discover that some textbook writers completely ignored any significant mention of the city in specific time periods. For example, if a student were to read the first few chapters of either Smith's *The American Dream* or Abramowitz's *American History* and base his or her conception of what Colonial America was like on either of those texts, he or she would not gain an awareness that cities ever existed or held an important position in the Colonial period. As it might be expected, the treatment of cities in Colonial America varied considerably in the textbooks used in the study. In the judgment of this researcher, the most up-to-date analysis of the city in this period was given in Bernard Weisberger's *The Impact of Our Past*.

One of the themes that emerged from the second chapter of Weisberger's text was that religious toleration and encouragement exerted an important role in attracting talented and energetic men and women to the colonial cities. These cities also served an important function in helping tie the colonies together. Roads built by town residents
were responsible for encouraging trade between the colonies.\(^{38}\) Along with other writers, Weisberger saw the towns as important in linking the Old World to the New. Weisberger did not neglect the southern city and, in particular, devoted much attention to the position and leadership role that Charleston assumed within its own region.\(^{39}\)

Risjord and Haywoode and also Madgic noted the influence that the port cities exercised over much of colonial society. To a large extent these cities basically mirrored European society. According to Risjord and Haywoode, the cities "published the newspapers and printed the books, supported the doctors and lawyers and were centers of government."\(^{40}\) These printed materials were seen by Madgic as the "early forums for the expression of ideas" throughout the colonies. The cities were further recognized by the author as being the financial centers of the colonies and the major source of manufactured goods.\(^{41}\)

While these two textbooks provided adequate analysis of the role the city played in colonial affairs, they gave little insight as to how the cities developed and subsequently how this development fit into the total process of urbanization.

This was a problem which was not unique to these two texts nor to this one period. Quite often the textbook authors did not adequately develop a problem or a
situation, and then mysteriously the city burgeoned or a problem needed to be solved. The lack of recurrent themes and systematic relationships in regard to the textbook treatment of the city can create for the reader a bewildering and frustrating experience. For example, when Linden and his associates began to discuss in A History of Our American Republic the elite social structure that had existed in Boston prior to the American Revolution, the reader may be puzzled, for it is the first time in the book that the authors referred in any way to Boston. In fact, only at two other points in their discussion of Colonial America did the writers mention Boston—both of which referred to the acts of resistance associated with the residents of that port city (namely, the Boston Massacre and the Tea Party). It is surprising that in the 117 pages devoted to Colonial America in their text, the authors mentioned the most important and vital city in colonial society only three times. Further perplexing was that when it was given recognition it was done so only in passing. Certainly, the authors needed to give more attention to the development of the role of that city and its residents in their discussion.

Furthermore, while Linden provided a good description of the formation of Colonial commercial industry in the northeast section of the United States, he seemed to expect the reader to assume that such activities were
developing in cities. According to his evaluation "commerce and trade were outgrowths of both industry and agriculture." While they excluded from their content material an adequate analysis as to the importance of the city in developing commercial industry, they did include a map which illustrated Colonial economic development. If properly interpreted, this map could be used to show that a strong relationship existed between the Colonial cities and the approaching pattern of industrialization. Only through chance though may the reader be able to associate the two.

Todd and Curti and also Bass projected a view that agriculture and the rural populace were by far the most important elements shaping the character of Colonial America. Todd and Curti argued that most of the people lived in the countryside and "even as late as the 1750's American colonists produced few manufacturing goods." Bass saw the cities only adding one more side to the many opportunities of America:

For one thing, the trade and commerce of the cities was next only to farming in importance in the colonial economy. For another, the cities provided a good living for skilled and unskilled workers, merchants, and seamen.

Merle Curti's insistence upon the importance of rural America was not surprising. His 1959 study, The Making of an American Community--which dealt not with a city, but with a rural county in Wisconsin--was an effort
to test Turner's thesis. Stephan Thernstrom noted that it was this rural study which actually marked the beginning of the so-called "new urban" history. It was the first effort to unite social history by tracing every resident of a community from census to census for as long as he remained in that community, and it was the first study to employ mechanical data processing methods for such purposes. The fundamental issues with which it dealt—migration and population turnover, economic and social mobility, the distribution of political power—were precisely the matters the new urban historians sought to explore in larger settings. It is really not paradoxical that the earliest study in the "new urban" history was actually conducted in a rural community, for it simply manifests the problem that exists in distinguishing that which is rural from that which is urban and that which is urban from that which is non-urban.

Shenton provided little more than an awareness that cities did in fact exist in Colonial America. The author dealt generally only with the population size of the five major ports and made particular effort to boast of Philadelphia's second place position in the whole of the British Empire.

While Ver Steeg and Hofstadter provided probably the best over-all treatment of the American city in their textbook, they made little mention of the city in the
Colonial period except for a brief statement that asserted the city as the cultural leader of its own region. They also recognized the existence of at least one city (Charleston) in the South. 49

In assessing collectively the textbook treatment of the Colonial city, it is easy to question whether or not the majority of the authors really took the city seriously during this period. While they admitted the existence of cities, they conveyed an attitude that they did not add to the vital development and well being of Colonial America. Cities were generally presented as having no dominant role in Colonial social, political, cultural, and economic affairs. Later in this work, the writer will show that it was not until after the Civil War the cities emerged as having been important in these areas.

The Developing City

Smith was the only textbook writer who completely disregarded the city in its second period of growth. Those authors who did give the city some space in their treatment of this period, however, did not yet present them emerging as the focal point for social, political, economic, and intellectual life in the United States. In almost all of the texts, the city was in some way connected with the growth of industrialization. The city was seen not as a direct result of this economic shift but as a place for its foundation.
Ver Steeg and Hofstadter interpreted the large increase in immigration during this period as being a direct result of the attraction that the urban regions with their large number of jobs had for foreigners. Not all of the immigrants, however, settled in the northeastern cities. Many took advantage of the opportunities awaiting them in the West. There they found homes not only on the agricultural frontier, but also in cities such as St. Louis, Cincinnati, Louisville, and Milwaukee.50

These interior cities, according to Shenton, also existed primarily for reasons of manufacturing.51 The growing wealth of the interior meant greater prosperity for the eastern cities as they competed for trade, but the western cities, noted Weisberger, quickly emerged as the cultural and economic leaders in their own regions.52 Linden saw these cities as being "busy centers of trade, manufacturing, and cultural activities."53 The author devoted a great amount of space to Cincinnati's influence within its own region. Abramowitz provided an adequate discussion of cities in the Far West which developed along cattle trails and grew out of mission sites and mining communities.54 He failed, however, to examine many vital elements such as the promoters who were catalysts in many of these cities' successes.

Ver Steeg and Hofstadter noted that rural migration to the city began to increase substantially during the
early nineteenth century. The subsequent growth in urban population was viewed by these authors as having provided a great impetus to agricultural activities primarily because it created a larger market for rural produce. The rapidly improving transportation system was seen by Todd and Curti as important in this process. No textbook examined the role that the urban promoter played in the development of this transportation network.

Increased immigration to the northern cities and the resultant growth were very important factors, according to Ver Steeg and Hofstadter and Todd and Curti, in the creation of a political base in the North that was much different from that in the South. As a result, sectional differences were gradually intensified after 1815.

Madgic quoted Glaab and Brown in stating that the major reason urbanization was slower in the South during this period was because of slavery and the plantation system. Madgic further noted that while cities flourished in the South as elsewhere in the nation, they were not as numerous, and they did not expand as rapidly as in other parts of the country. The early port cities of Baltimore, Norfolk, Richmond, Charleston, Mobile, Savannah, and New Orleans, according to Madgic and Shenton, did give the South an urban base upon which to build its economy. Risjord and Haywoode and also Shenton saw urbanization and industrialization in the South contributing
significantly to the breaking down of the institution of slavery.\textsuperscript{59}

The interpretation made by many of the textbook authors in regard to industrialization and urbanization and the catalytic role played by the Civil War in those processes appeared at times to be rather simplistic. A case in point is the explanation offered by Risjord and Haywoode:

"Before the war, America appeared to be a nation of farms and villages with vast empty spaces of unconquered wilderness. After the war, the tourist's eye met cities and factories, railroads and large steamships.\textsuperscript{60}"

Such a statement overemphasized the impact made by the Civil War and can do little to develop in students an awareness of multiple causation in explaining complex historical processes and events.

Actually, the transformation had been going on for some time before the Civil War and the pace of change merely was quickened by that conflict. A number of factors were involved in the total process. The period after 1865 witnessed a large increase in the rate of industrialization which, of course, changed the character of those cities which were associated with it. The authors sometimes failed to develop a distinction between the forces which encouraged the expansion of modern industrial cities and those which caused the foundation and spread of cities before the Industrial Revolution. In their failure to do
so, they quite often equated the growth of cities with industrialization, and consequently neglected the city in the pre-industrial era.

The Industrial City

The history of the city came of age in the high school American history textbooks during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Each of the authors of the texts used in the study devoted a complete unit or chapter exclusively to an examination of the industrial city. The textbook writers used the city in their treatment of this period to symbolize the tremendous industrial growth of the United States and also as the specter of its social problems.

The Civil War was viewed by most of the textbook writers as a watershed for industrial development and consequently urban growth in the United States. Bass was the only author who expressed any doubt about the Civil War serving as a catalyst for industrialization: "Some evidence seems to show that industrial development might have gone further if there had been peace instead of war."61

The picture of two Americas split by the Civil War was further supported by Todd and Curti in the introduction to their chapter on industrial growth. They saw the Civil War period as a time of rapid change "from a rural, agricultural economy to an urban, industrial way of life." Symbols of the new life were "the rapidly growing cities
Madgic saw the Civil War as highlighting the importance of cities and contributing to their growth.63

America's amazing industrial surge was attributed by the textbook authors to a number of interacting forces. According to Todd and Curti, it was possible only because of immense improvements in transportation, the development of power-driven machines, the construction of giant factories and other industrial plants, the development of more efficient production techniques, and the rapid increase in the number of workers. The immigrant was seen as a very important element in this transformation. Todd and Curti contended that both "immigrant muscles and brains helped to transform the United States . . . ."64 Linden saw improved technology and immigration as being the two most important factors which helped in this industrial growth. Also of major importance were the availability of natural resources, the growth of markets, and "the friendly attitude by all levels of government."65

Ver Steeg and Hofstadter interpreted industrial growth as being a major cause of urban expansion after 1860:

The growth of cities was the result of many revolutionary developments, including the discovery of new sources of power, the application of hundreds of new inventions and new processes, and the enormous expansion of the nation's transportation and communication network.66
Ver Steeg and Hofstadter saw the city as "the heart of an industrial society while the routes of transportation are the veins and arteries." 67

Todd and Curti made a special note of the "remarkable development" of industry in the "new" South after the Civil War and its result—"the growth of cities." 68 Bass also supported the urban historian's contention that industry was developing in the South in the post-war period but at a much slower rate than in the North. He noted that although new cities such as Birmingham appeared in the 1880's and 1890's and older cities such as Atlanta grew much larger, the South "of many factories and booming cities was still . . . years away . . . ." 69

The textbook writers recognized the enormity of social, political, and economic problems which were found in cities. They saw these problems developing in the industrial period primarily as a consequence of rapid unplanned growth. Generally, the image of the city presented in the texts was quite negative. Few authors presented the merits of the city, and when they did, the positive aspects of the city were quite often attributed to industrialization. Abramowitz saw great improvement in the quality of American life because of city-centered technology. 70 The greatest defenders of the industrial city, however, were Todd and Curti. They believed that those who were a part of the late nineteenth-century city failed
to see its greatest accomplishments:

In years to come the Industrial Revolution would help to unite the American people. It would help solve problems of transportation by binding the nation together with a web of steel rails. It would provide Americans with unheard of labor saving devices. It would profoundly affect the roles and status of both women and men in American life. It would help America conquer the wilderness, make use of the rich resources of forest and sea and soil, and transform the United States into the wealthiest country on earth.

Many of the problems of America seemed to converge in the city, and it was there that they had to be solved. The textbook writers depicted the late nineteenth and early twentieth century city as the place where the battles for better government were fought and where a literary and intellectual war against social problems was centered. These aspects of the city are discussed later in this dissertation.

The Modern City

The senior high school American history textbook writers presented the twentieth-century city as being important in two stages— in the Great Depression of the 1930's where the effects of that economic collapse were most noticeable and in an examination of the social and ecological tensions that developed after World War II.

Todd and Curti related the history of changes in American social life after 1920 to the history of such changes in the city. For example, the problems of the Negro were problems of the Negro in the urban slum.
Cultural history was presented by Todd and Curti during this period through an examination of the development of urban art, music, journalism, and motion pictures. The increase in the power of the Federal government after World War I was seen as a response to the needs of the cities.73

Except for being used as a showcase for the Great Depression and Roosevelt's New Deal, the city was generally neglected by the textbook writers in the first three decades after World War I. In their discussion of the post-World War II period, the writers concentrated on showing the city as being characterized by the growth of suburbs and the decay of its older core. According to many of the authors, the flight to suburbia caused enormous problems in transportation, land use, and in attempts to provide good government, both in suburbs and in the central cities. Slum decay and racial conflict brought on city riots and resulted in the formation of Federal renewal programs and agencies such as the Department of Housing and Urban Development, in reforms by city government, and in an increased awareness by Americans of city problems.74

The textbook writers apparently regarded the formation of the metropolis as a post-World War II development. The new urban structures were termed by Todd and Curti as "supercities" which they saw as neither "urban nor suburban, [but] a mixture of both." The two authors discussed
the problems which were common to entire metropolitan regions such as coordination of different governments, traffic congestion, pollution, and public services. 75 Only Linden discussed the prediction made by demographers for the development of expanded metropolitan regions known as megalopolises. In addition, Linden made note of several recent population trends; namely, the movement of many Americans out of the cities into rural areas and the growth of many cities in the South and Southwest. He questioned whether these trends would be permanent or short-term phenomena. 76

Summary

By examining the authors' method of chronologically arranging American urban history in their text into the framework of national history, it is possible to see one similarity between the high school textbooks' treatment of the city and that made by urban historians. Since urban history has, in fact, become a part of national history in many of these texts, it would seem that the following picture of the city in American history is presented to the high school student who studies the "typical" American history textbook.

The city was seen in the Colonial period as an initial point of settlement in the new continent; however, its importance in Colonial affairs gradually diminished
as the frontier was opened up and as a larger percentage of settlers moved into agricultural areas. The American city was suddenly and almost unexpectedly reborn after the Civil War. Urban development was presented as a product of, and not a catalyst within, the dramatic post-war economic and industrial boom. Rapid and uncontrolled urban growth created a milieu of problems within the cities, and they soon served as stages for reform. By the time World War I had ended, the processes of urbanization and industrialization had become such a part of American life that most textbook writers simply took them for granted, and the city basically dropped out of any discussion of economic, political, cultural, and social affairs. Finally, the American city emerged again after World War II as a point of departure for the rise of suburbia, social problems, urban sprawl, and the metropolis. It had once again become the center for social and political action.

The study of the past is a continuous story, and dividing American history into periods for convenience of study is in some respects a dangerous practice. First, it tends to fix within one's mind an illusory notion of disconnectedness in the urbanization process, and second it tends to make one exaggerate the importance of particular dates and events such as the Civil War. It is therefore important that urbanization be studied as a
continuous process. Urban historians have examined many important elements within that process. Several of these factors will be discussed in Chapter IV. In that chapter an assessment is made as to the extent to which urbanization factors are present in senior high school American history textbooks.
FOOTNOTES


3 Ibid.


5 Chudacoff, p. 1.

6 Glaab, p. 3.

7 McKelvey, American Urbanization, p. 1.


9 Ibid., p. 236.


15 Glaab, p. 21.


17 Ibid.

18 Glaab, pp. 21-22.

19 McKelvey, American Urbanization, p. 15.


21 Green, p. 88.


23 Glaab, p. 42.

24 Ibid., p. 29.


26 Green, pp. 98-99.

27 Glaab, pp. 118-119.

28 Ibid., p. 119.

29 Green, pp. 97-98.

30 Chudacoff, pp. 86-88.

31 Ibid., p. 88.

33 Ibid., pp. 112-113.

34 Glaab, p. 293.


37 Ibid., p. 37.


40 Risjord, p. 51.

41 Madgic, p. 209.


43 Ibid., p. 70.

44 Ibid., p. 87.


47 Thernstrom, pp. 361-362, 373.


50 Ibid., pp. 192, 286.

51 Shenton, p. 224.

52 Weisberger, p. 350.

53 Linden, p. 193.


56 Todd, p. 249.

57 Todd, p. 264; Ver Steeg, p. 192.

58 Madgic, p. 216.

59 Risjord, p. 257; Shenton, p. 248.

60 Risjord, p. 371.

61 Bass, p. 472.

62 Todd, p. 407.

63 Madgic, p. 217.

64 Todd, pp. 439, 443.

65 Linden, pp. 279-281, 431.
66 Ver Steeg, p. 408.
67 Ibid.
68 Todd, pp. 371-372.
69 Bass, p. 384.
70 Abramowitz, p. 518.
71 Todd, p. 219.
72 Ibid., p. 650.
73 Ibid., pp. 650-654.
74 Shenton, pp. 624-627; Todd, pp. 800-801; Weisberger, pp. 726-729.
75 Todd, p. 711.
76 Linden, p. 695.
Chapter IV

THE PROCESS OF URBANIZATION

Nearly two decades ago Eric Lampard attempted to bring some order to the chaos surrounding urban history by offering a series of suggestions for the systematic historical study not of the "city," but "urbanization as a societal process." Lampard promoted the "comparative study of communities" in a "framework of human ecology." It was his intention not to promote urban history as a distinct field but rather as a part of social history. He concluded his critique with the declaration that his aim was "to provide a more certain and systematic foundation for the writing of American social history."1

Lampard's article, as previously noted, established the framework for what has been termed the "new" urban history. While it was never the source of a major book about "urbanization as a societal process," it pointed urban scholars toward a new direction--that of attempting to construct a model for the process of urbanization rather than merely relating the story of individual communities. Since Lampard made his proposal, historians have fairly well agreed upon certain traits that they see
as characteristic of the urbanization process in the United States. Of course, these historians did not fail to recognize that individual cities may deviate from the pattern and that such factors as land use, occupational structure, location, and time of development are important in the distinctive character of each community's growth. Much too often urban historians have associated this process with the industrial city while neglecting those communities that have had slightly different patterns such as Miami, Washington, and Dallas.

This chapter examines four elements that historians have evaluated as vital to the total process of urbanization—urban planning, suburbanization, population mobility, and cultural transformation. The researcher has made an assessment as to the extent to which such topics are treated in senior high school American history textbooks.

**Urban Planning**

Most American cities did not just happen. Usually there was some degree of planning important to the initial development of each city which brought its success. The lack of foresight in planning may have also led to some of the city's greatest failures.

Planning signifies the importance of the human element in the development and growth of cities. Certainly, there were those communities which seemed to grow almost
spontaneously out of the wilderness usually near the fork of a river or alongside the railroad. However, quite often, the survival of those settlements depended on the resourcefulness and ingenuity of their early residents. Most of the communities were faced with problems associated with rapid growth and confronted by the need for necessary services. Location alone could not guarantee the success of a town.

Whenever a dominant political, economic, or religious elite has had conceptions of what ends a city should serve, a kind of planning has emerged. Columbus, Ohio, for example, is a city which was actually developed with a specific purpose in mind—to serve as the capital of the state. Lewis Mumford contended that even the medieval cities of Europe were not haphazard growths. They were given shape by the demands of fortification and defense and by the preeminence of major institutions, especially the church, the guildhall, and the market place. Medieval town-planning, Mumford explained, supported and symbolized the established social order.²

Town planning in the United States has been classified by the urban sociologist Alvin Borkoff into two types: creative and corrective.³ The first is associated with the initial settlement and laying out of a community and the second is associated with solving the problems related to growth. Sam Bass Warner suggested that it was the
failure of this first type of planning which has necessitated the second: "To plan without regard for the processes of change is inevitably to fail." Orderly communities gradually eroded under the twin pressures of population growth and economic competition.

Until recent years, city planning in the United States has been seen as largely a local responsibility. Cities are incorporated through charters granted by states. However, quite often cities actually preceded state and Federal governments into new regions. In general, state governments have not been sympathetic to urban problems within their borders, nor have they encouraged any comprehensive approach to city and regional planning. Individuals have been very important in the process of urban planning. Until the late nineteenth century, businessmen and local politicians usually took the initiative in organizing new communities and planning them to insure their future success. After the Civil War, politicians, reformers, and a class of professional city planners emerged to transform the city.

Beginning about the turn of the century and especially since the late 1940's, the Federal government increasingly assumed an influential role in corrective city planning. In a sense, the Federal government came to engage in planning by indirection. While the government attempted to encourage local planning, it controlled
such efforts through its power to withhold federal funds for local redevelopment programs. Much of the recent intrusion by the Federal government into local planning has been a consequence of housing and slum clearance legislation.5

**Urban Histories**

Two points were emphasized by the urban historians concerning urban planning in Colonial America. First, urban historians contended that most of the Colonial cities and towns "were planned communities in origin."6 Second, they noted that the founders of the Colonial settlements patterned their towns after older urban traditions.7 The urban geographer James Johnson explained in *Urban Geography: An Introductory Analysis* that these two elements are traditionally common to all colonial cities. He maintained that colonial cities are associated with the occupation of an area for the first time "by people with urban life as a part of their culture." In such cities, building is commenced from nothing and "the original settlement tends to possess an over-all plan, rather than be the result of a gradual process of accretion."8 Warner asserted that the New England towns of the early seventeenth century were the most completely planned settlements in American history. He contended, however, that the failure of their early leaders to plan
without looking toward future developments eventually brought decay to many of these communities.\(^9\)

Street design was important to the planning of new settlements. In a remarkable number of cases in America a grid plan with straight streets set at right angles was adopted. This "gridiron" street layout was first used in Greek colonial cities in the eighth century B.C. It was later employed throughout Europe by the Romans.\(^{10}\) The plan was especially appealing to those organizing new communities in this country for four reasons: it could easily be laid out with the services of only slightly skilled surveyors, the plots which it created were of a good shape for the erection of buildings, it was easily adapted as a city extended beyond its original limits, and it quite often included a town square. Most town promoters aspiring for their communities to become county seats, in hopes of assuring them of some prosperity, reserved at least one square for court buildings.\(^{11}\)

The gridiron plan did not follow unrelentingly in all colonization. Early Spanish towns in the New World were not built on this form, and in New York the first Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam had a quite irregular street plan. The earliest English communities such as Boston grew so rapidly at first that it was impossible to implement an orderly street design. Only after Philadelphia had adopted the gridiron plan in 1682 did it begin
to dominate urban street patterns in the United States. As civilization moved westward, "the gridiron plan marched across North America with the course of settlement, stamping itself on the form of the American city." 13

Even in established cities the gridiron plan was adapted to newly acquired annexations. In New York, for example, a commission appointed in 1811 proposed a rigid gridiron street pattern for the extension of the city along Manhattan Island. 14

The plan has proved to be enormously unsuccessful in some cities such as in San Francisco where the topography is particularly broken, and full of disadvantages in others; for example, in large cities where space is at a premium (e.g., Manhattan). Streets arranged in the plan tend to take up unnecessarily large proportions of land. The plan further has caused inconveniences in traveling and created numerous intersections which have been responsible for impeding traffic. 15 The plan has also made natural boundaries for implementing racial and ethnic segregation.

Especially important to urban planning after the American Revolution was the role of the businessman. Unlike most Colonial urban centers of the 1600's and early 1700's, the towns established beyond the Alleghenies were founded by wealthy land speculators and professional town builders. These individuals were usually involved in real
estate speculation, in promoting commercial and industrial activities, or in providing various services to the populace. Even though they may have been motivated to such action by the hopes of personal profit, community progress was quite often the result of their actions. These town boosters further sought to control the city's hinterland. Competition between cities for hinterland control promoted internal improvements throughout the United States.  

American frontier communities founded on the Great Plains and in the West during the second half of the nineteenth century more closely resembled the trans-Allegheny communities than those of Colonial times. Communities that became cities did so rapidly—more rapidly, in fact, than those of the earlier frontiers.

The rapid and uncontrolled growth of the city during its industrial period intensified old problems and brought a multitude of new ones such as overcrowded slums, traffic congestion, crime, and poor sanitation. These problems brought forth not only political machines and later the reformers, but also a group of architects and landscape designers, some of whom began calling themselves planners, to order the physical growth of the city. Emerging from this attempt came organizations, experts, and a formal planning movement shortly after the turn of the century. The movement was supported by the view that planning should promote enterprise and suburbanization, and as Glaab and
Brown reflected, "Its broad design was thus in accord with the existing pattern of American metropolitan development." This movement initiated corrective planning in American cities. Modern city planning thus had its origin in the dreams of the reformers.

The urban reformers and professional planners expressed an anti-urban attitude. They seemed to see the city as evil and all that was non-urban as good. Many of these idealists wanted to do away with the distinctive characteristics of the city--its social structure, political organizations, and immigrant neighborhoods. They proposed such ideas as the "garden city" and the "city beautiful" to solve the problems associated with urbanism.

Much of the increased involvement of the Federal government in cities throughout the twentieth century has been a consequence of New Deal policies. The urban historian Zane Miller noted that programs which have changed the face of the American city were concerned with the revival of the residential "garden city" suburban trend, home financing through the Federal Housing Administration, and slum clearance.

The Federal-urban bond was, in some ways, weakened slightly during the Eisenhower years, but it received new life in the urban renewal programs of the 1960's. The programs fell basically into three legislative parts each of which echoed earlier approaches to solving urban
problems. One phase reactivated the neighborhood preservation and participation aspect of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century local planning tradition. It consisted of an attack on the poverty, discrimination, and the sense of powerlessness that plagued the central city slums. The second phase of Federal activity drew on the premises of the comprehensive metropolitan planners and sought to mitigate the confusion and inefficiency of metropolitan fragmentation and to bridge the gap between city and suburban governments. The third phase of urban legislation was a revival of some of the regional-planning notions of the 1930's. It hoped to alleviate crowding and poverty in the big cities and to reverse the rural-to-urban population flow by promoting economic development and urban growth in the depressed sections of the countryside and by making farm and small-town life more attractive. While positive planning was the goal, Miller evaluated these programs of the 1960's as failures. The net result, he contended, "was metropolitan sprawl, a sharpening of the racial division, and animosity between the cities and suburbs."^20

Warner insisted that the concept of private ownership of land in the American system has hindered governments at all levels to take action in planning. He wrote:

Despite immense public works, the stretching of old common-law concepts, the invention of zoning, and the institution of the practice of
city planning, the tradition of private land usage has proved unable either to meet the new need to treat land as a social resource or to defend the old reliance on land as the basis of personal freedom.21

Warner concluded that only democratic social planning can make American cities humane and just and undo all the mischief created by a dozen generations of mistaken policies adopted by every level of American government.

American History Textbooks

In order to analyze the treatment given urban planning in the senior high school American history textbooks used in the study, this researcher summarized the discussions of urban planning provided by the urban historians. The summary included four basic assertions which covered the scope of the four chronological periods previously outlined. First, many of the towns in Colonial America were planned communities based on English models. Second, the human element, in the form of land speculators and professional townbuilders, was especially important to the success of settlements in the period after 1790. Third, professional city planners arose during the post-Civil War period to correct problems associated with the city's rapid and uncontrolled growth. Finally, throughout the twentieth century, there emerged an increasingly stronger Federal-urban partnership as exemplified by New Deal and Great Society programs. The textbooks were examined for the inclusion of these four themes. Results
of the inquiry are presented in Table 4. Basically, planning was depicted in the textbooks as being a responsibility of the national government to solve the problems of the modern city.

Only two textbooks dealt with the planning of urban communities in the Colonial period and then only with cities in New England. Weisberger noted that these communities were carefully planned for future growth as can be evidenced by the "gridiron pattern which became the standard for American towns and cities." Todd and Curti further maintained that in these communities European influence could be seen in almost all features of town life. What these influences and features were, the authors neglected to say.22

While Weisberger presented a good treatment of planning in the earliest period of American history, he totally disregarded the importance of planning in the frontier city of the early nineteenth century. In fact, in all of the textbooks, the foremost position that speculators and town promoters played in the development of the West was never adequately presented. Two textbooks revealed how internal improvements in the United States came as a result of direct action by town boosters and the subsequent rivalry that grew up between towns.24 In most texts, these improvements were depicted as being the results of actions taken by individual states. Agricultural growth
### Table 4

Urban Planning in American History Textbooks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXTBOOK</th>
<th>Colonial City</th>
<th>Developing City</th>
<th>Industrial City</th>
<th>Modern City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abramowitz: American History (1979)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bass et. al.: Our American Heritage (1979)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linden et. al.: A History of Our American Republic (1979)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madgic et. al.: The American Experience (1979)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risjord and Haywoode: People and Our Country (1978)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shenton et. al.: These United States (1978)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith: The American Dream (1977)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Todd and Curti: Rise of the American Nation (1977)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ver Steeg and Hofstadter: A People and A Nation (1977)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weisberger: The Impact of Our Past (1976)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in the West was viewed as a consequence of industrial expansion and improved farm machinery, and not as a result of urbanization.²⁵ Linden saw the national government as very important in promoting industrial growth.²⁶ All of the textbook writers recognized the Federal government as becoming increasingly important in urban planning throughout the course of the twentieth century. Madgic argued that what made the Great Depression such an economic calamity was that by 1930 the majority of Americans were living in the cities. The author noted that many citizens were no longer self-sufficient in that they worked in factories or businesses. Life for most Americans thus depended on a wage, and when the income stopped the masses in the cities suffered a crisis. The Federal government was seen as having to accept a new responsibility. "Frontier individualism and self-reliance seemed irrelevant to an industrial nation in a depression."²⁷ The Federal government, Linden exclaimed, had to take the initiative in providing jobs for people.²⁸ A complete new view of public responsibility, according to Weisberger and Abramowitz, was forged.²⁹ Todd and Curti examined the continuation and intensification of many of these government programs after World War II.³⁰

The treatment of urban planning in the senior high school textbooks was seemingly very inadequate for an understanding of urbanization. However, speculating as to why
the textbook writers emphasized the role of the Federal
government in urban planning programs at the expense of
local initiative would be difficult and of little benefit.
As will be examined next, the treatment afforded suburbani-
ization was not significantly better.

Suburbanization

Suburbanization is not new to the American city nor
is it unique to the industrialized city. Mumford main-
tained that suburbs became visible almost as early as the
city itself. Glaab and Brown noted that from the begin-
ning of American settlement, the suburbs were an "enduring
feature of American urban life—a constant in the process
of urbanization." They further reflected that Americans
early saw "the possibility of combining the benefits of
the country with the advantages of the city" and therefore
the suburbs have always been "a part of the American con-
ception of community."  

Urban Histories

In synthesizing the treatment of the suburb pro-
vided by urban historians, the following four generaliza-
tions about the role of the suburbs in the American
urbanization process were made.

First, suburban areas exhibited significant economic
and social changes in a very visible way. The earliest
residents in the suburbs were "pioneer" families from the
established upper socio-economic classes who could afford the relatively scarce housing facilities and the cost of commuting necessitated by living on the outskirts of the central city. Howard Chudacoff noted that it was in the suburb that the wealthy could escape the crowded, walking city and live in attractive surroundings.\textsuperscript{33}

Suburbs began to serve as "bedroom" communities only when improved transportation systems allowed members of the middle class to move beyond the borders of the cities. Following this second suburban invasion came marginal families who were primarily small proprietors, unskilled workers, and semi-skilled clerical employees. Finally in suburban areas where commercial and industrial developments followed the population trends just described, a second wave of professional, managerial, and technically proficient occupational categories tended to augment the pattern of diversification. This new suburban form was manifested in developments such as high-rise apartments, shopping centers, and industrial estates.

As the trend toward suburbia intensified during the twentieth century, it began to encompass more than the upper and even middle class segments of society. Suburban communities such as Evanston north of Chicago began to be comprised of lower class individuals. Many of the most notorious slums in the country, such as Harlem in New York, had once been fashionable suburbs. This trend began during
the late nineteenth century when the growth of trunk lines out of the city decentralized manufacturing and led to the creation of manufacturing suburbs that were very much unlike the traditional wealthy dormitory communities. McKelvey noted that by 1920 most suburbs were supplying industrial manpower to their own factories as well as industrial and business commuters to the central city.

Not all suburbs conformed to the pattern described above. Examples of other types of suburbs are industrial communities and planned communities for the poor. In the same way that no two cities are exactly alike in their growth patterns, neither are suburbs.

Secondly, central cities themselves are resultant of long-term annexation of suburban settlements. By 1860, Boston, like New York, was already surrounded by a ring of thriving suburbs. Other communities such as Philadelphia and Baltimore had already annexed their suburban communities, which partially explains their rapid population growth during the first half of the nineteenth century. Sam Bass Warner in his examination of the suburbs of Boston provided a good description of what these early suburbs were like:

In a number of respects the Boston suburbs were drab and monotonous. Architecture was undistinguished; each house looked much like the one next to it—not because of municipal zoning measures or building codes, which were virtually nonexistent at the time, but because of the natural tendency of an individual to build
approximately what his neighbor had built. There was little civic vitality, little diversity of life. But in spite of this, the Boston suburbs were a source of great contemporary pride. Buildings were new, and the area was bright, clean, and healthy.36

Until well into the twentieth century, the cities faced opposition in trying to annex suburbs. This resulted partially from rapid growth, the problem of providing basic public services, and the protest of wealthy and powerful individuals who moved to the suburbs to escape the city.

A third generalization about suburbs included in the urban histories was that the most spectacular suburban growth in the United States came after 1865. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, suburbs of Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and Chicago actually increased more rapidly in population than did the nearby city. Ferries, trolleys, and railroads made the outlying areas easily accessible. Chudacoff explained that crowding, social tensions, crime, and various other problems within the old walking cities made a move to suburbia desirable.37 The Federal census first recognized the suburbs at New York in 1880, but statisticians did not apply them more generally or record their development in tables until the 1910 report.38

The suburb acquired a new character in the twentieth century. The number of residents classified as suburban increased from five to seven million in the first decade
after 1910. In the 1920 census, suburbanites comprised approximately twenty-five percent of the total inhabitants of the twenty-nine metropolitan districts in the United States.\textsuperscript{39}

According to Green, the key to understanding the twentieth-century suburb was the automobile. She wrote that, as a result of this new invention, an increasing number of Americans were permitted the luxuries of suburban life:

With the automobiles at their doorsteps, some thousands of city dwellers turned into suburbanites, leaving their old city houses to be occupied by careless families or converted to commercial use.\textsuperscript{40}

Glaab and Brown noted that during the 1930's the possibilities of home ownership were extended to an ever-widening social class group and added a big impetus to suburban growth.\textsuperscript{41}

In the period after World War II, the suburbs continued to grow at a much more rapid pace than the cities. People moved from the center of the metropolitan areas primarily out of dissatisfaction with various aspects of urban life such as poor schools, neglected neighborhoods, and racial conflicts. Prosperity after the war contributed to increased suburbanization. Improved transportation facilities such as public highways made travel between the dormitory suburb and working city much more convenient and thus a better alternative for metropolitan families.\textsuperscript{42}
The final generalization about suburbs noted in the urban history books was that through time many suburbs tended to become indistinguishable in operation from portions of the central city. By the late 1960's the control by cities over traditional cultural activities had become decentralized, and suburban areas assumed a leadership role. Cinemas, theaters, and symphony orchestras in the outlying regions became quite common. Dinner theaters and night clubs increasingly were located away from the central cities. A phenomenon of particular attention was the tendency to build sport facilities such as professional sports arenas some distances from the central core of cities at suburban sites. People in the suburbs eventually developed their own sources of recreation, educational institutions, retail services, and banking services. Consequently, whatever distinctive features suburbs may have possessed initially—relative homogeneity, commuting patterns, spaciousness, low taxes—seemed to be transitional. Functionally, suburbs usually began as spatial additions to urban cores. Gradually they tended to become distinct subcenters of urban populations and activities. The only distinction of any meaning seemed to be political independence through incorporation.

In the 1970 census reports, it was discovered that more Americans lived in suburbs than in cities. The suburban population increased two and a half times between
1950 and 1970. The metropolis was further expanded, and as Chudacoff noted, "The centrifugal dynamics of urban sprawl, created in the 1850's, had become the predominating force of population movement."¹⁴

American History Textbooks

The treatment given the suburbs in the American histories was limited. Every textbook made some reference to the growth of suburbs; however, they were presented almost exclusively as a twentieth-century phenomenon. Here again, we may simply be examining a consequence of the limited space in textbooks which forced authors to exclude many complex interpretations. Text writers are likely aware of the various types of suburban communities, but the suburb which emerged out of the textbooks was basically of one type— that of a bedroom community for industrial centers. The suburb was not depicted as being a vital part of the total process of urbanization.

The textbooks written by Shenton and Risjord and Haywoode were the only two which discussed the importance of suburbia to urban growth prior to the twentieth century.⁴⁵ However, even in these books, the suburbs were explained as being products of increased industrialization after the Civil War. Shenton explained suburbanization as a middle-class movement in this period as these families took advantage of the new commuter lines and escaped "the hordes of immigrants filling the downtown neighborhoods."⁴⁶
The textbook writers concentrated their discussions of suburbs on more recent movements to the outskirts of the city. The automobile was given the most credit for making the suburb after 1920. Ver Steeg and Hofstadter asserted, "It put the suburbs within the reach of millions who could come and go when they wished in their own cars." Suburban growth after 1920 was seen by the textbook writers as being especially detrimental to the future of the cities and the suburbs themselves. Smith believed that while the suburb seemed to symbolize success, it also meant boredom and conformity.

Shenton explained that one of the biggest changes that took place in the post-World War II years was a population shift from cities to suburbs which affected the character of cities and suburbs as well. Many of the central cities actually lost population as white families moved out. Superhighways, after 1950, stretched past new industrial parks and shopping centers to the distant white suburbs. Shenton further noted that when blacks moved in to fill the void, racially related problems and poverty were greatly intensified.

Improper planning, argued Linden, caused numerous problems as the suburbs faced uncontrolled growth. These problems were many of the same which had plagued the cities for years such as crime, transportation links, congestion, and lack of public utilities.
Only Weisberger attempted to make his readers aware of a recent change in the constituency making up the suburbs. While most suburbs had been largely or entirely white, the census of 1970 showed an important change in this pattern. Between 1965 and 1970 nearly 800,000 blacks had moved to the suburbs.\textsuperscript{52}

In summary, suburbs in the American history textbooks used in the study were presented primarily as being products of the industrial city and modern transport innovations. Discussion dealing with the problems associated with and caused by suburban growth outweighed any mention of the positive traits of suburban growth to urban regions. Suburbs were never depicted as being sub-centers of the city.

_Urban Population Mobility_

Frederick Jackson Turner gave eloquent expression to the view that the supply of free land in the frontier West assured free movement and that the city throughout the nineteenth century maintained a closed, confining, and static environment. However, research conducted by urban historians in recent years has provided a different perspective. In fact, urban historians have suggested that, if anything, the urban population was more volatile than the rural population. Contrary to long-held beliefs,
urbanization did not lead to the creation of permanent and stable communities.

Sociologist Alvin Boskoff explained that migration and mobility are usually distinguishable into urban-building and urban-dispersion types. Urban migration thus consists of two aspects: incoming migrant categories, such as those from rural America and foreign countries, and migrant patterns among existing urban populations.53

Also important to an understanding of the complex and dynamic process of migration is an awareness that only a minority of newcomers appeared to have permanently settled in the communities they first entered. Stephan Thernstrom argued that while cities grew rapidly as a consequence of net "in-migration," gross "in-migration" was several times higher than that for there was massive "out-migration" at the same time. He used Boston as an example. Between 1880 and 1890 Boston gained 65,000 new residents from net migration; however, during that decade more than one million people moved through the city to produce that net gain.54

Urban Histories

The contention that cities have always had a high rate of turnover was offered by the urban historians. Glaab and Brown pointed out that it has been "flux and motion" rather than "permanence and stability" which has characterized the pattern of American life. These two
historians noted that recent scholarship, particularly Peter Knight's study of Boston, has suggested there has always been an incredible amount of movement and rapid turnover of population going on in American cities. Chudacoff expressed a belief, which very likely grew out of his own research on Omaha, that residential mobility within cities of the past may have been more frequent than it is today. He believed there was an "impermanence that characterized almost every city." McKelvey examined Thernstrom's study of Newburyport, Massachusetts, in which the researcher discovered that less than a fifth of the families living there in 1650 were still represented in 1880. Miller estimated that residents of the industrial city moved on the average three times before settling somewhere at middle age. He claimed that the "more volatile elements scarcely settled anywhere." Glaab and Brown observed that the turnover rate in most industrial cities stood at well above fifty percent for any ten-year period. McKelvey's work on Rochester further supported this statistic.

Stability was not a characteristic of cities in the industrial period; Chudacoff remarked that colonial urban society was in constant flux as steady streams of people moved in and out. Migration, rather than natural increase, was seen as accounting for most of the population growth in these towns. Many who migrated from these
communities were considered part of the so-called "floating proletariat." These were unskilled workers who migrated from place to place looking to improve their condition. Other groups, such as laborers and artisans, moved from the city hoping to improve their personal situations by entering a craft or opening a shop elsewhere.\textsuperscript{61}

A great deal of the mobility within cities was seen by Glaab and Brown as resulting from individuals attempting to improve their economic conditions. They noted that population studies have revealed a considerable amount of opportunity and upward mobility for almost all groups residing within cities—"with the exception of the Negro. Black migration into the city differed from other groups. Unlike much white migration, that of blacks usually consisted of moves directly from the farm to the city. White movement was generally progressive. People usually moved from rural areas to a local hamlet, then to a town or small city, and finally perhaps to a New York, Philadelphia, or Chicago.\textsuperscript{62} Green noted that the lack of stability in the cities only contributed to the difficulties that accompanied the solving of the many problems plaguing them.\textsuperscript{63}

\textbf{American History Textbooks}

Most of the high school textbooks used in the study lacked any discussion of urban impermanence. Only Ver
Steeg and Hofstadter, Risjord and Haywood, and Bass included the conclusions of the urban historians in regard to this characteristic of the urbanization process. Ver Steeg and Hofstadter noted that social scientists who examined city directories at the turn of the century found that ten percent of the persons listed one year were gone the next. That, in itself, was a weak argument because the mortality rate alone may have been that high. The authors further suggested that even the urban ghetto experienced great turnover: "The ghetto remained, but the people came and went." In the majority of the textbooks, mobility was depicted as being one sided as individuals, immigrant and rural, moved into the city in an increasing proportion after the Civil War. The textbooks offered the view that cities grew by attracting outsiders into them. The reason for the incessant flow of people into and out of cities was never really examined.

Two conclusions of importance can be drawn from this finding. First, when textbook writers present cities as being static and permanent with few opportunities for advancement for those individuals living within them, the writers can do little to encourage urban high school students who might, quite often, feel trapped by the conditions in cities. Second, the extreme volatility of urban populations most certainly contributed to social, economic, and political problems facing cities and the difficulties
of trying to solve them. A discussion of population mobility will aid in giving students a clearer picture of why cities are confronted with seemingly unsolvable problems.

Cultural Transformation

A very integral part of the process of urbanization in the United States was the role that the cities played in shaping American culture and education. Mumford argued that this function was inseparable from an understanding of the urbanization process. Likewise, Glaab and Brown contended that urbanization was partly defined as "a process of furnishing cultural amenities." They saw the city as the place where "American culture was taking root and maturing." It was in their discussion of the role that the cities played in cultural transformation that the American history textbook writers best captured the essence of the city in American history. Most of the authors adequately presented the city as assuming a position of leadership in developing cultural, educational, and recreational innovations throughout its various periods of existence.

Urban Histories

Since libraries, schools, newspapers, colleges, and printers need a substantial clientele and supporting services, cities and larger towns have always tended to serve as centers for such activities. Very early the
cities began to display leadership in these areas to such an extent that Glaab and Brown could assert that "American civilization has always been a product of the towns, the cities, and new and changing forms of urban settlement." Constance Green ascertained that individuals who pursued such cultural and educational activities were "inevitably gravitated city-ward." These observations were rather superficial. It is not surprising that it was in the city that artists, scientists, architects, actors, educators, and other such professionals met and organized to carry forth their work. It also seemed meaningless for urban historians to argue that many of these activities took place in towns and cities because only in those settings did the populations exist that were needed to insure the success of the programs.

Urban historians made note of two other factors which contributed to making cities the centers of recreational, educational, and cultural activities. There existed in the cities an abundant amount of wealth, supplied primarily by the upper class, to patronize the arts and other forms of cultural expression. Second, the cities came to be the centers of recreational and cultural activities because it was only there that citizens had the time for such leisurely functions. While there is merit to the first observation, the second is not totally valid. The historian Foster Rhea Dulles in America Learns to Play:
A History of Popular Recreation, 1607-1940 examined the large number of social activities that have always been available to rural dwellers.\textsuperscript{70} A more recent study on a rural community in Pickaway County, Ohio, discovered that neither lack of facilities nor problems with distance, could stop the residents' craving for companionship or their need for amusement. Throughout the nineteenth century, log rollings, quilting bees, barbeques, camp meetings, hunting, and fishing gave way to lodge meetings, sports events, community plays and dances, farmers' institutes, lectures, traveling shows, and chautauquas. The lack of time seemed to be of little hindrance to these rural people in their quest for "culture."\textsuperscript{71}

While the impact made by rural areas cannot be overlooked, it was in the cities, especially after the Civil War, that American culture took shape. Norman F. Cantor and Michael S. Werthman clearly presented this view in The History of Popular Culture Since 1815.\textsuperscript{72} Blake McKelvey reflected that some cultural and recreational innovations responded to new needs in the industrial cities, some sprang from the creative forces that gathered in these urban centers, and others received timely support from the energies that such communities released.\textsuperscript{73}

The role that cities have played in intellectual leadership was exemplified by the urban historians in their examinations of the prominent position that urbanites have
held in bringing forth educational innovations. Quite early in the history of the United States the school, along with the church and the family, became one of the most important institutions in New England towns. Tax-supported schools, compulsory attendance laws, high schools, kindergartens, vocational training programs, intelligence and achievement testing, and Progressive education were only some of the changes in education which originated in cities and were designed for the needs of urban life. The outcome of such innovations was a distinct improvement in the quality of education offered both in urban areas and in the countryside.

Glaab and Brown and McKelvey suggested that a renewed emphasis on education in the industrial period was primarily a response to industrialization, and much of it was aimed at the social and technical participation of the new immigrant groups who were flooding the cities. The school was recognized by many nineteenth-century reformers as the one institution that could provide the means to enable the immigrant, or anyone else, to make a satisfactory adjustment to American society. While much of the movement toward improvements in education was promoted by business executives, politicians, and reformers, some of its impetus, such as that manifested through the development of the night-school, came through the efforts of immigrant associations.
American History Textbooks

A majority of the American history textbooks used in the study sufficiently presented the city as the center of culture and education. Ver Steeg and Hofstadter contended that very early the cities had become the "hub of culture and scientific inquiry" in the colonies. Ver Steeg and Hofstadter explained that the cities controlled the colonial newspaper networks and housed the schools and colleges. Such activities, Risjord and Haywoode argued, were not unique only to northern cities. They noted that Charleston, South Carolina, supported America's oldest and best musical society and maintained the most active theater on the continent. Linden asserted that social, intellectual, and educational activities were reflected in Colonial American cities by the wealth and leisure of the upper class. In Charleston, the children of the wealthy were educated by French tutors.

The earliest American educational institutions were located in the New England towns where education was seen as a public responsibility. Todd and Curti stated that this was a direct consequence of congregated living which naturally afforded "townspeople more opportunities than farmers or frontiersmen to secure an education." Town residents also became informed of news and ideas in public meetings, gatherings at taverns, and debating societies. It was in these meetings, Todd and Curti noted, that "many
colonial townspeople learned to think for themselves and to express their opinions."  

While educational practices in the colonies had a European flavor, the institution quickly acquired its own distinctive characteristics in the northern cities—-that of a vocational nature. Todd and Curti attributed this interest in vocational training to city merchants, who, having become quite powerful, began to pressure the urban schools and colleges to provide more practical courses of study, such as work in navigation, geography, modern languages, accounting, and commercial law.

In 1821 the first public high school in the United States was opened in Boston. By the time the Civil War began, most of the cities and larger towns in America had local high schools. Ver Steeg and Hofstadter noted that by 1910 education through high school was a normal expectation for the masses of American youth in towns and cities.

Linden reasoned that by 1840 industrialization in the northeastern cities had created the wealth, the populace, the education, and the leisure time needed for many cultural activities. An expanded transportation network made it possible for residents of cities in the West to enjoy these same pleasures. Increased industrialization had a big influence on educational curricula and practices. As science and industry began to transform American life
and as the urban population grew, some reformers demanded new programs of education which would be better suited to the industrial age. Educators began to see that in order to survive in an industrial society, citizens needed to have some skill or trade that would help them find jobs. Therefore, courses which were more practical and useful—home economics, shopwork, bookkeeping, typing, stenography, and manual arts—came into existence. Urban-based educators such as Colonel Francis Parker and John Dewey urged schools to improve life for all citizens in a democratic urban society through the use of subjects that met the needs and abilities of the students. Viewing education as a growth process, they began to devise programs aimed to engage the child's interest and to develop each learner's full capabilities.

Higher education was also substantially influenced by increased urbanization and industrialization. Its response, as Risjord and Haywoode saw it, was the modern college—a complex of disciplines and professors. Todd and Curti examined the marked progress that was made in the professional studies of medicine and law simply because an increased population base in the cities demanded higher standards of service in these areas.

Urbanization and improvements in education created a demand for a variety of reading materials. Newspapers, magazines, and books were published in greater numbers at
low costs. These publications helped to educate not only urban but also rural peoples about events in the world, and helped to excite public interest in reform.86

Risjord and Haywoode asserted that American art in the industrial period reflected the new urban industrial age.87 New architectural designs, such as skyscrapers and private homes, were also manifestations of the influences of the growing cities.88 Todd and Curti noted that while themes in art had little to do with the growing industrial society, "Improving standards of American art . . . rested in part in the ability and willingness of wealthy Americans to collect masterpieces, to establish art schools, and to buy the works of American artists.89

Recreation was also transformed by the new urban-industrial age. This was reflected in the growth of spectator sports, traveling circuses, vaudeville shows, and in the construction of golf courses, tennis courts, and amusement parks.90

The city had an influence on religion during its industrial age. An important aspect of American Protestantism after the Civil War was the emphasis of revivalism in the city. This was seen in the texts as being not only a reflection of increased urbanization, but also of the emotional and religious needs of city dwellers. Protestants visualized the city as a new mission field. It was from these movements that the so-called Social Gospel
developed and from which the reform impulse at the end of the nineteenth century was generated. 91

The city also had major implications for twentieth-century educational practices. According to Todd and Curti, the curriculum saw continual changes and it soon emphasized highly specialized skills, such as mathematics, engineering, science, literature, art, architecture, and recreation. The automobile, the radio, and the telephone were innovations which brought rural life closer with that of urban. 92 Linden noted that recreational activities associated with the automobile and movies became popular during the early years of the twentieth century. Ver Steeg and Hofstadter maintained that other forms of cultural expression, namely art, the theater, the symphony, and the ballet, became increasingly popular in American cities after World War II. 93

Summary

Viewing the city as a process, urban historians have noted there has been a continuity of themes that was important to the complete process of urbanization in America. Four of the elements of that process were examined in this chapter. The first point was that of planning. Whether planning was of a creative or corrective nature and whether it was put forth through individual initiative or government action, it has been a vital aspect of community
development in the United States. Second, the process of suburbanization has always complemented the growth of urban communities. Third, life in the cities has been far from static; a great amount of social, economic, and physical mobility has existed in American cities. Finally, the theme was emphasized that cities have played such an important role in cultural transformation in America that an understanding of this element is inseparable from an understanding of urbanization itself.

The textbook writers' treatment of these aforementioned elements of the urbanization process was far from comprehensive. The image portrayed in the texts was one of the city being accidentally born in the wilderness and thereafter growing in a haphazardly and uncontrolled manner. Not until the twentieth century did the national government emerge to bring some order to the chaos. The textbook writers generally interpreted government actions as being the most important element in city planning. Suburbs were also explained as twentieth-century developments resulting primarily from a technological innovation—the automobile. White migration to the outskirts of the cities after World War II was blamed for the advent of urban decay. Finally, there was little in the textbooks which suggested the extent to which mobility existed in American cities. Urban life was depicted as static—especially in the black and immigrant ghettos.
It was in their discussion of the role of the city in cultural transformation that the textbook writers best presented the concept of urbanization. They examined the resources available in towns for such activities and the scope of innovations developed for adjusting to urban life. It was in the authors' treatment of culture that the American city emerged in the American history textbooks.
FOOTNOTES


5 Boskoff, pp. 332, 347-48.


9 Warner, p. 7.


11 McKelvey, The Emergence, pp. 10-11.

12 Ibid.

14Ibid.

15Ibid.

16Glaab, p. 6.


19Ibid., p. 204.


21Warner, p. 25.


25Todd, p. 252.


28Linden, p. 542.


30Todd, pp. 641-671.


32Glaab, p. 146.


34Glaab, p. 299.


36Sam Bass Warner in Glaab, pp. 147-148.

37Chudacoff, p. 238.

38McKelvey, The Emergence, p. 51.

39Ibid., p. 241.


41Glaab, p. 275.

42Ibid., p. 295.

43Ibid., p. 301.

44Chudacoff, p. 238.

46. Shenton, pp. 380-381.

47. Ver Steeg, p. 522.


49. Smith, p. 540.

50. Shenton, p. 627.

51. Linden, p. 611.

52. Weisberger, p. 726.

53. Boskoff, p. 70.


55. Glaab, pp. 76-77.

56. Chudacoff, p. 83.


58. Miller, p. 38.

59. Glaab, p. 128.


61. Chudacoff, p. 16.

Green, p. 185.

Ver Steeg, p. 460.


Glaab, p. 84.

Ibid., p. 315.

Green, p. 83.

Chudacoff, p. 266; Glaab, pp. 17, 84; McKelvey, *The Emergence*, p. 14.


Ver Steeg, pp. 20, 51-52.

Risjord, pp. 51-52.

Linden, p. 81.

Todd, pp. 75-76.
80 Ibid., p. 74.

81 Ver Steeg, p. 467.

82 Linden, pp. 316, 467; Todd, p. 456.

83 Linden, p. 467; Todd, p. 456; Ver Steeg, pp. 467-468.

84 Risjord, p. 468.

85 Todd, p. 256.

86 Linden, pp. 316-317; Risjord, p. 472; Todd, p. 457; Ver Steeg, p. 471.

87 Risjord, p. 473.

88 Todd, pp. 459-460; Ver Steeg, p. 464.

89 Todd, p. 460.

90 Linden, p. 375; Todd, p. 460.

91 Linden, p. 455; Risjord, p. 482; Shenton, p. 384; Ver Steeg, p. 469.

92 Todd, pp. 494, 582-586.

93 Ver Steeg, pp. 782-784.
Chapter V

PERSPECTIVES ON THE IMPACT OF URBANIZATION ON NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH

Howard Chudacoff characterized the city in America's past as the place which has promised "the highest achievements as well as the most threatening evils" of American democratic life.¹ Certainly Frederick Jackson Turner would have objected to at least part of his argument. Urban historians themselves have disagreed as to the extent which Chudacoff's statement accurately portrays the city's influence in American history. For example, Chudacoff contended that it was the polarization between the city's merits and its evils that has "directed the course of American civilization."² Lewis Mumford presented the city as practically synonymous with world civilization and progress. Constance Green mirrored that attitude in her examination of American cities.

On the other hand, Sam Bass Warner saw the past as one "long tradition of endless failures of Americans to build and maintain humane cities."³ His work The Urban Wilderness was really not a history of American cities, but a discussion of the need to transform them. Warner used history to find the origins of contemporary problems.
and to trace their development over successive years. In their survey textbook about American urban history, Glaab and Brown almost completely avoided committing themselves as to whether or not the net moral effect of urbanization was positive or negative. Blake McKelvey took a similar approach in his works. Had these historians devoted more attention to the ideas of thinkers such as William James, Robert Park, Jane Addams, and John Dewey, they might have recorded more vividly the discontent that sensitive minds felt about the decline of community during the periods of unprecedented industrial and urban growth following the American Civil War.

The positive-negative polarization to which Chuda-coff referred has contributed to the formation of two opposing views in regard to the position that the city has held in America's development. While neither the urban historians nor the textbook writers whose books were used in the study sided with either extreme viewpoint, a brief synopsis of these two opposing perspectives can provide a frame of reference from which to examine each body of writing.

At the one extreme, the city in American history has been presented as a core of unsurmountable problems marked by decadence and corruption. Industrialization, while recognized as the creator of the modern city, was also branded as the major culprit. Rapid, unexpected, and
uncontrolled growth was blamed for bringing on problems that local citizens, both through private and government action, could not handle. The Federal government was depicted as taking an active role in local affairs in the twentieth century in order to solve these problems; however, the government had little more success. Poverty was presented as arising out of increased industrialization. While immigration was recognized as being a key element in promoting industrial growth in the United States, little evidence was provided to suggest that the immigrants themselves made important and lasting contributions to the nation's development.

Those who have advocated a more positive view of the city have readily admitted the existence of problems in the urban regions of the United States. On the other hand, these optimists have also contended that cities contributed a great deal to American development because it was in the urban setting where those problems could best be solved. For example, the city was the place where racial and labor problems were most conspicuous; therefore the issues had to be addressed. Likewise, it was in the city where the majority of immigrants were to be fitted into American society. Consequently, there, adjustments to a heterogeneous society had to be made. Finally, the city was the place where poverty was most readily seen—the place where it could not be ignored.
Those who hold this second view argue that the city has served as the breeding ground where new ideas, revolutionary in impact, originated. In urban areas, social practices under pressure by problems generated by people living in close proximity have changed to fit new experiences. Innovation, hence change and sometimes progress, in both social and intellectual spheres were a product of city life. Some of the contributions made by cities in American history were the foundations of settlement, particularly in the West; the responsibility for triggering the revolution, especially in Boston; hinterland development; the promotion of economic growth through city rivalry in the nineteenth century; the development of techniques of political manipulation such as boss rule; and reactions to this manipulation such as Progressive reform.

In this chapter the writer will discuss the degree to which textbook writers and urban historians support these two views in their published works. The first to be examined is urban problems.

Urban Problems

In the past few decades the phrase "urban crisis" has become common to the American public vocabulary. The urban historian Richard Wade reflected that to many, the phrase may suggest that something new has entered the life
of the metropolis that was not there before. Of course, behind this perception is the notion that conditions in the cities are much worse today than they were thirty, fifty, or one hundred years ago. Although inaccurate, many Americans seem to believe that all of the failures of contemporary American society have gathered in its cities and that these are functions of very recent times. The emphasized association of problems with urban life may cause one to overlook the fact that rural America has been confronted by its own difficulties. Rural poverty, disease, ignorance, crime, and alcoholism have shared much in common with similar problems in cities.

Actually, Americans have always been plagued by an "urban crisis" although the dilemmas of urban life appear more acute today than ever before. From their very conception, local governments have felt the pressures of urban growth, and Americans living in cities have had difficulties with such things as massive poverty, government inefficiency, rampant crime, insufficient police and fire protection, acquisition of water and utilities, sewage disposal, unsanitary living conditions, inadequate education, and poor public transportation. The extent to which these problems occur has increased and become more visual as a larger percentage of Americans have congregated in cities. Americans, both individually and collectively, and on the local, state, and federal levels, have sought
the most workable solutions to these complex problems.

Urban Histories

With the exception of Warner, the urban historians whose works were used in the study emphasized in their discussions of urban problems the ability of urbanites to effectively cope with the most pressing difficulties confronting them in cities. Progress was viewed as an inevitable consequence of local action. Warner saw the cities failing to eliminate their most nagging social and physical problems. In the opinion of this researcher, Chudacoff presented the most balanced view of urban problems.

Much of the burden for dealing with problems facing the Colonial city was placed in the hands of its most prosperous citizens; however, individual effort quickly gave way to government action. Blake McKelvey maintained that "enterprising merchants" prompted the "advance in city services."\(^5\) Howard Chudacoff and Constance Green explained that very early in the city's existence in America local residents came to realize the importance of collective action—"often surrendering private initiative to government direction."\(^6\) Glaab and Brown saw in this citizen response to local problems "political and administrative techniques that were fairly sophisticated in the world of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."\(^7\) City governments often took the initiative for providing
streets, sewers, and bridges. They established regulatory powers for fire codes, police and fire protection, trash disposal, control of the poor, and sanitation control.

Local governments were forced to adjust their programs and practices to demands created by rapidly growing populations. Green, for example, explained that for protection against crime, the traditional night watch, dating back to medieval times, became insufficient security for life and property in a growing seaport, and, therefore, a town constable was employed in most of the port cities to serve during the day. By the mid-point of the nineteenth century, most cities found even this informal system to be inadequate. The new response was a centrally organized police force such as was first established in New York City in 1844.

The same was true for fire protection. Laws requiring all families to equip themselves with buckets for firefighting and adult males to join bucket brigades soon gave way to organized and well-equipped fire departments—at first, volunteer and eventually professional. The provision of such services was judged by Glaab and Brown to simply be a part of the process of urbanization: "In the provision of such . . . municipal services . . . cities moved from an era when municipalities were villages to form programs that were entirely a part of government." McKelvey supported this contention: "The quelling of fires
and the suppression of crimes were essential aspects of the urbanization process."  

Green maintained that municipal services failed to expand proportionally as problems caused by swelling urban populations, after 1790, became progressively acute. For only a short time after the turn of the century, she argued, were the administrative methods of the Colonial era sufficient for meeting urban problems and needs.  

Further, she noted, while the pressures of Jacksonian democracy permitted a larger segment of American society to involve themselves in politics and even hold public office, the movement drastically changed the character of city administrators. It weakened the obligation that many of the educated and capable upper class individuals felt toward civic responsibility. Many of the city's capable and well-qualified residents turned their attention to industry and business.  

In the industrial period, American cities developed and made use of technological advances for improvements in internal communication, transportation, and construction. While these innovations were credited for solving some of the city's more pressing problems, they were blamed for instituting a new imbalance and thus new problems. McKelvey and Miller maintained that innovation associated with industrialization contributed to the dissolution of the old walking city and added significantly to the lack
of order in urban areas. Glaab and Brown argued, however, that the character of a city was formed by its unique response to these new technological developments. They reasoned that the cities underwent a transformation after the Civil War, not so much from a result of technological change, but that change came about as a response to increased urbanization. The cities were viewed as continually stimulating creative innovations such as the elevator, balloon frame construction, central heating, skyscrapers, and mass transit systems.

In the second half of the nineteenth century a mounting flux of immigrants poured into America's industrial centers. McKelvey expressed an opinion that this movement of foreigners into American cities supplied one of the unique characteristics of the urbanizing process in the United States. As a result, McKelvey asserted that American cities acquired a more heterogeneous population than any city in Europe and that such a population mixture had a drastic influence on economic, cultural, and social developments. Both the European peasant and the American migrant from the rural area faced a number of problems in adjusting to a rapidly changing urban environment. However, according to Glaab and Brown, immigrants "were a vital element in that process of change."

Immigrants tended to live in large cities, and as a result of that movement, the total percentage of foreign
born in American cities increased directly with categories of city size. Subsequently, Glaab and Brown saw the residential areas of the largest urban regions in the United States forming after 1860 a mosaic of immigrant neighborhoods and ethnic ghettos. Miller believed that the increased heterogeneity of the American cities, in combination with high population mobility and widespread economic insecurity, actually constituted the major elements out of which the "urban crisis" emerged.

Immigrants were often depicted in the urban histories as being serious catalysts in the outbreak of violence in American cities, especially in periods of economic depression or labor struggles. Their great numbers posed a threat to native workers, and their clashing cultural traditions aggravated feelings of distrust and alienation. Glaab and Brown emphasized that much of the past disorder in American cities "stemmed from ethnic and racial tensions and frictions that were a part of urban life." Miller noted that along with the growth and diversification of urban populations came serious problems of poverty and crime and widespread confusion about the role and status of the various ethnic, racial, and socio-economic groups. Much of the confusion was manifested in violence which Miller felt city dwellers saw as "the court of final resort." Initially the conflict was anti-Catholic and
anti-Jewish. Gradually it became more nativist as the Negro became the major element of attack.

Despite all the problems of the city associated with increased immigration, the cities did serve a viable function in Americanizing, primarily through education, enormous numbers of immigrants. Foreign-born Americans were recognized by urban historians as having made positive and long-lasting contributions to urban and industrial growth in the United States.

Political machines and bosses were explained in the urban history books as having been consequences of three related trends: the vacuum left as upper class elites took their attention away from local government; the multiplication of urban problems after the Civil War; and the increased number of immigrants living in cities. The authors examined the positive benefits of bossism. At whatever the price under the bosses, streets did get paved; lighting, heat, telephone and transportation services were provided. In addition, fire and police departments grew. Green noted, however, that while most local services were expensive, they were also poor in quality. Glaab and Brown agreed. They maintained that the combination of expanding municipal needs coming in the same period as deteriorating city government "inevitably meant bad local services . . . and . . . expensive government." Here lay the seeds for later reform which Glaab and Brown affirmed
was just as "expensive as corruption."²⁶

During the twentieth century, the movement of businesses and industry and many of the city's prosperous residents to the suburbs cut into the tax base of cities and led to serious financial difficulties. It became increasingly difficult for local governments to provide the services needed in urban areas. Glaab and Brown noted that although social and economic inequalities were not new to the city, these inequalities appeared to be in the metropolis "more obvious, more rigidly confined, and more permanent."²⁷ Chudacoff believed these problems could no longer be considered strictly urban, but national. Their solutions, therefore, did not demand a local focus, but a national urban policy.²⁸

The problem of poverty became evident very early in the American city compelling its residents to seek workable solutions to both stop its spread and provide aid to those who were deprived of life's basic necessities. Glaab and Brown explained that the problem called forth a response in Colonial America that mingled public and private initiatives and was based on propositions from English public law. By 1740 poorhouses in the largest port cities were filled, and by the middle of the eighteenth century relief cost constituted their largest municipal expenditure.²⁹
Urban poverty increased proportionately and became more visible during the latter part of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth as the poor, especially immigrants, congregated in various sections of the city. These poverty-stricken districts tended to become overcrowded as many poor families shared housing facilities to save expenses. Greedy landlords attempted to accommodate as many families into their buildings as possible. McKelvey explained that as a result of this action, the population densities of slums in cities such as Boston and New York became unrivaled during the early 1800's even by cities in Europe. 30

Of the social change that came during the last half of the nineteenth century, the most striking was the sharpened disparity of wealth between classes in the cities. While such differences had always existed, the rise during this period of great fortunes controlled by only a few families created a situation different from any before. Such a vivid contrast was easily discernible. Widespread poverty was met by increased community awareness for collective responsibility to the poor. Voluntary associations took charge of the bulk of the welfare programs in the industrial city. McKelvey interpreted the charity movement as a "middle-class defense against socialist doctrines." 31 Green saw it primarily as a religious movement which climaxed in the development of the "Social Gospel." 32
McKelvey noted that together these groups tended to help "leaven the impersonal materialism of the city." Quite often the accepted solution lay in educating the younger generations.33

Throughout the twentieth century, the Federal government increasingly assumed responsibility in attempting to solve the problem of poverty in the cities. Many of the New Deal programs were concerned with relief for urbanites. The problem was depicted as basically a black problem after World War II. The ultimate Federal response was the creation of a cabinet department during the 1960's which assumed total responsibility in addressing conditions of urban poverty and decay. McKelvey noted that it was not the number of blacks, but the crowding of an increasing portion of blacks into the aging and decaying inner-city districts that created grave problems for every metropolis. President Johnson's anti-poverty program was not interpreted by McKelvey as being a direct response to the inner-city riots of 1964 but rather as "a response to the problems and the socio-economic distress that had produced the riots."34

Warner discussed the failure of government to solve urban problems. He wrote that the metropolis has always been "disordered, inhumane, and restricted." Warner concluded that the essence of urban history "has been rapid growth and pervasive change working within the confines of
ceaseless exploitation of white over black, rich over poor, men over women." Moreover, he maintained that the system is "rotten at the top" and only by adopting more "democratic social planning" can the nation rescue its cities from its present leaders and past mistakes. Generally, the urban historians were more optimistic than Warner in their view of urban problems. The lesson offered by these scholars was clear: Americans accept the undoubted great riches of city life at their own peril unless they accept at the same time the responsibility for control of housing, poverty, industry, and recreation—in short, every aspect of life.

**American History Textbooks**

In their discussion of urban problems, the senior high school American history textbook writers presented their most pessimistic view of the city. Most of the dilemmas confronting American cities were seen as consequences of the changing character of the city caused by industrialization. The point emphasized was very similar to that offered by the urban historians: rapid growth with little or no planning brought a multitude of nearly unsolvable problems to the American city. The majority of textbook writers and historians differed, however, in how they saw the city responding to these problems. While urban historians stressed the more positive results that came
from the efforts of urban leaders to solve these problems, the textbook authors quite often accentuated the failures. For example, Weisberger was the only text writer to mention the contribution made by the urban elite in providing municipal services to the pre-industrial city. While all of the textbooks provided an ample amount of space to discussions of bossism, no text examined the positive contributions made by the machine governments to urban life—especially the aid provided to lower class families. Progressivism was generally seen as a response to the corruption of the industrialists and politicians and to urban working and living conditions.

Many of the text writers pointed out the difficulties that the cities had in keeping up with good solutions to their problems. For example, while Ver Steeg and Hofstadter argued that electrical power eventually solved the problem of municipal transportation, Madgic was not certain that the advantages were so clear cut:

The need for better transportation and communication in cities led to the construction of overhead railways, cable systems, trolley lines, more efficient networks of paved roads, and eventually underground subways. However, traffic congestion still seemed to stay ahead of the construction of new transportation facilities.

Many of the seemingly unmanageable difficulties facing those who lived in the countryside were even depicted in some of the texts as resulting from the new industrial urbanized economy—high farm cost, mortgages, increased
debts, high interest rates, increased transportation costs, and difficulties with middlemen. The association here is a good example of the failure of many textbook writers to differentiate the two processes of urbanization and industrialization.

The American history textbooks depicted the poor as having existed in three periods—the Industrial Revolution, the Great Depression, and today. Individuals plagued by poverty were seen as being helpless in controlling their own plight and as being defenseless against social and economic conditions. Government was quite often seen as the panacea.

Bass was the only text writer who discussed the problem of poverty in the pre-industrial city. He noted that Colonial society had its poor in both countryside and city; however, the "poor were more noticeable in cities and towns than on farms." The author further commented that since Colonial cities and towns raised taxes for "poor relief" and built alm houses there was evidence that the penniless did exist. Bass contended that in at least one port city, Boston, there was an official whose job was to discourage any poor from settling in the local community.

Most current texts discussed ethnic groups in two separate places—in their chapters on industrialization in the nineteenth century and in the chapters on modern-day
America. These texts explained in detail the difficulties many of the immigrants faced after they arrived, such as brutalizing labor in factories and mines, slum conditions in the cities, prejudice against them, and the shock of entering another culture.

The notion that the United States is a "melting pot" of different cultures and peoples was rejected by most of the senior high American history textbook writers. Todd and Curti noted that the United States is a country where people from many different nations have learned to live together. The Colonial cities, as well as the frontier farming areas, were seen as containing settlers from many nations. The authors generally contended that the European culture of many foreign families did not melt away—that they still had strong religious, culinary, and other traditions. The text authors also attempted to discuss immigrants in general terms. One problem in such an approach is that not all immigrants assimilated into American society at the same pace. For example, Germans assimilated quickly while Chinese did not.

Nineteenth-century immigration was portrayed in the textbooks as being almost exclusively European, northern, and urban-centered. Non-European immigration and rural-based immigrants were virtually neglected. Todd and Curti noted that while more than four million immigrants were living in the United States by 1860, only 13.5 percent
of them lived in the southern states. They further recognized that the immigrant also settled in the mid-western cities and by that date formed a substantial proportion of such communities as Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis.\textsuperscript{41}

Joining old immigrants in the cities after the Civil War were millions of new immigrants attracted by the possibility of jobs. While some did settle on farms, Todd and Curti noted that the majority moved to the densely crowded slum areas of the cities.\textsuperscript{42} Bass revealed that by 1910 immigrants and their children made up seventy-five percent of the population of New York, Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, and Boston, and more than fifty percent of the population of another half-dozen large cities.\textsuperscript{43} Abramowitz was the only author to examine Chinese immigration in cities on the west coast. He was also the only textbook writer who devoted any space to Mexican immigration. Abramowitz noted that Mexican immigrants in the Far West lived in military and administrative towns such as Santa Fe and in small farming communities.\textsuperscript{44}

Madgic, Bass, and Smith all discussed the most recent rediscovery of ethnic and cultural pluralism. Bass, in particular, discussed Latin American immigration since 1945; he mentioned that three fourths of all Mexican-Americans live in cities, with Los Angeles having one million alone. Bass also revealed that nearly all of the
two million Puerto Ricans who live in New York City have arrived since 1945 and that almost half of the one million Cubans in the United States live in and around Miami.45

While there was a great deal of social, economic, and residential mobility in the cities, it generally went unnoticed by the textbook writers. Weisberger did note that poverty and discrimination had affected the urban Negro to such an extent that it was difficult for him to move out.46 Todd and Curti only hinted at such mobility. They noted that many poor people did exert strenuous efforts "to acquire an education and to rise above the environment into which they had been born."47

Todd and Curti chose to discuss urban problems primarily in the context of the twentieth century. Such a decision by the authors of this very popular textbook can only contribute to reinforcing the belief held by many Americans that the "urban crisis" is a recent phenomenon. The problems of water and air pollution and traffic congestion were not discussed in their text until the 1920's. Crowded housing conditions were only then recognized as spurring the spread of slums. It was not until the 1960's and 1970's that the most urgent problems of the city were recognized: crime, inadequate transportation systems, pollution, racial and ethnic tensions, financial instability, and energy shortages. They were seen most directly as being a consequence of the flight of the middle and
upper classes to the suburbs. Todd and Curti noted an
"alarming contrast between the poverty of life in the decay­
ing cores of the cities and the growing wealth of the sub­urbs." After World War II, the urban crisis was depicted
in the United States as a national crisis. There was a
new expectation for the Federal government to assume
responsibility for solving urban problems, and the govern­ment was credited with meeting such expectation with a
massive and coordinated effort.48

The high school textbook writers did not fail to
discuss some of the contributions made by urbanization to
national development. Ver Steeg and Hofstadter argued
that while industrialization and urbanization changed farm
life and decreased the influence of the rural American's
political base, the growth of the urban economy actually
benefited farmers. New technology allowed primarily the
same number of farms to supply a larger domestic market.
Ver Steeg and Hofstadter saw the nineteenth-century factori­es as symbols of power and progress for all American citi­zens: "Dirty air and water were considered an unfortunate
but inevitable side effect of the grand step forward."49
Linden noted that Americans, as a whole, realized that
while industrial growth brought many problems, it also
brought many opportunities. Immigrants were recognized as
having contributed many skills and attitudes to America's
cultural, economic, and political development.50
Urban Leadership

While the problems confronting American cities have always been many and have quite often served as detriments to urban growth and success, the contributions provided by the city to America's past development cannot be overlooked. To argue that the benefits outweigh the disadvantages would be a frivolous task because of the complexity of the total process. Nevertheless, to gain an accurate conception of the role that the city has played in American history, it is necessary to examine the many attributes of the city. Two areas in which urban historians maintain that urban dwellers provided strong leadership are in frontier development and in national reform movements. The city was presented in the majority of these scholarly works as exerting an influence over the nation's social, economic, political, and cultural activities which was far greater than its proportion of the total population.

The Cities and Frontier Development
as Discussed by Urban Historians

Although it may sound strange to speak of an "urban frontier," there was, in fact, a continual wave of town founding and urban development in the American West. Studies of the nation's westward expansion often give the impression that the movement was wholly rural. However, this was not the case. For example, in his discussion of the frontier, Turner assigned subordinate roles to the
western towns, suggesting that they were simply outgrowths of the trapping, mining, ranching, and farming frontiers. Another historian, Richard Wade, offered a different view. His work, The Urban Frontier (1959), has influenced a number of urban historians. Wade pointed out that the city usually preceded the development of the frontier in American westward development and, in most cases, promoted it. In the period after 1820, urban imperialism was depicted by Wade as fostering the adaptation of transport innovations and quickening the westward movement.

McKelvey noted that this role of the city was important even to Colonial America. The Colonial cities, he contended, served not only as "beachheads" for colonists, but the cities were important in opening the countryside for settlement. Intense competition among the seaboard cities was recognized as generating an expansive impulse that fostered economic growth and cultural development. Miller made note of the importance of cities after 1800 in opening the West for settlement:

Always there remained the virgin areas to be penetrated through the establishment of new towns by individuals and groups seeking economic opportunities or a more congenial social, political or religious atmosphere. In this sense the cities spearheaded the development of a succession of urban frontiers. The conflicting "urban imperialism" of competing cities provided much of the drive behind the expansionist impulse in early American history.

McKelvey also did not neglect to make mention of the impact that the city had on the frontier during the
developing period. Western cities, he observed, "antedated, and in fact promoted, generated, and equipped, the rural settlements that grew up about them." McKelvey further asserted that residents of the rural communities looked to Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, and Boston for guidance and support as the eastern ports had formerly looked to London.55

In their examination of the importance of the cities in western development, urban historians shattered a second myth about frontier America— that of the independent yeoman farmer on his self-sufficient homestead. In reality, Glaab and Brown argued that the American interior did not experience a stage of subsistence agriculture:

From the beginning, economic development there was town-centered, tied to a trade and communication network which stimulated an urban, commercial outlook in both city and country dwellers. Interior America became a small-scale replica of the social and economic system of the seaboard region.56

Chudacoff agreed. He revealed that most American farmers sought commercial markets and thereby linked their interest to a major function of the cities— the centralization of goods and services. This activity was seen as necessary to residents of the city's hinterland as well as urban inhabitants.57 Moreover, McKelvey contended that city residents took the lead in organizing agricultural and horticultural societies, in publishing farmers' papers, in building plank roads, in manufacturing new plows and harvesters, and in promoting agricultural fairs.58
According to the interpretation provided by a number of urban historians, urbanization also accompanied settlement in the South where slavery and the cotton economy provided unique social and political characteristics. Baltimore, Norfolk, and Charleston were all English settlements that antedated the American Revolution. As the cotton lands were depleted in the Southeast, urban business leaders, according to Glaab and Brown, were important in maintaining a vital connection with a moving cotton hinterland and thus the establishment of a transportation network in the South which allowed for the creation of new settlements. In the early part of the 1830's, the longest railroad in the world ran between Charleston and Augusta.\textsuperscript{59}

The railroads were important to the development of the Far West. Miller noted that first, new communities arose along the railroad routes and then "finally came the farms." Communities, such as mining camps, trading villages, and cattletowns, were founded as commercial enterprises. Railroads and real estate speculators were seen as fundamental to their development.\textsuperscript{60}

The urban historians whose works were used in the study suggested that not only did American cities provide a viable function in serving as "spearheads" of the frontier, but once established, they were responsible for fostering the expansion of their hinterland regions. Miller related that the strong influence that the city
held over the country caused one nineteenth-century westerner to say,

The city stamps the country . . . and it is the cities and towns which will frame state constitutions, make laws, create public opinion, establish social usages and fix standards of morals in the west.61

The evidence provided by urban historians in their surveys has generally proven true the observations of this individual.

The Colonial port cities, Glaab and Brown maintained, supplied commercial and cultural as well as administrative links between the scattered settlers and the home country. They quickly began to develop interest in their surrounding areas, and each "began to appear as the small metropolitan center of its own hinterland."62 Town leaders led the movement for internal improvements by working closely with provincial legislatures to build roads into the back country. The growing towns thus played an important role in shaping the character of interior society by dominating their surrounding areas economically and by exerting social and political influence. As already noted in this report, towns served as the cultural and educational center of their regions. They also served as points from which information could be disseminated out into the surrounding areas. Newspapers especially provided a valuable means by which the cities could strengthen their control over their regions.63
Competition by urban communities for control of their hinterlands crossed political and geographical boundaries as the larger cities clashed over hinterland markets. Important consequences of these struggles were local internal improvements and eventually a nation-wide transportation network which drastically rearranged axes of trade and politics in the United States. Urban imperialists were thus behind the creation of the national transport system which has often been depicted as the dynamic element that put the United States into its industrialization period. Miller noted that urban leaders "raised much of the money for the work, led the political battles for subsidies and the granting of rights-of-way, selected the routes, and reaped the greatest profits." This expanded transportation system not only sharpened the competitive rivalries among the larger cities, but in a sense also drew them closer together into an evolving system of cities which established the foundation for the coming industrial period. For example, as the transport network tied various economic activities together, New York rapidly began to dominate the nation's monetary system through its centralization of credit services.

Because of many manufacturing services, the most successful of the towns were able to expand. This growth of metropolis, as described previously, constituted a central theme of twentieth-century American urban history.
The phenomenon itself received explicit demographic recognition in the statistics presented in the Federal census of 1920. In this process, the mushrooming cities, not simply content to grow in size, acquired a new relationship with their hinterlands. Dominance of the city over its hinterland, Glaab and Brown contended, was no longer a sufficient explanation:

Not only were outlying areas of the metropolis dependent upon the city, but the city in turn was dependent upon its hinterland. In fact, the whole series of relationships within a metropolitan area was so complex that the biological term of symbiosis was often employed to indicate their nature. The twentieth-century metropolis provided a new system of social and economic organization—a distinctive social configuration. The city was seen as having merged with its hinterland as one. The metropolis and its control were now more on a national scale.

While certainly not their intention, urban historians overemphasized the role of the city in regional development in much the same way Turner had promoted the countryside. The town and the country together made up the frontier economy. If the country provided the town with its reason for being, the town provided the country with a civilized community where comfort and culture as well as supplies and marketplaces could be found. Since growing cities and growing agriculture complemented a newly settled region, it is not very constructive to ask whether or not, in general, the farmers preceded the merchants in
time or vice versa. The problem of doing so is made more difficult with the realization that community development differed according to time, place, and circumstance. It is thus difficult to find a common pattern.

The Cities and Frontier Development as Discussed by American History Textbook Writers

While urban historians emphasized the role of towns in regional development, the high school textbook writers usually stressed the part played by rural elements. The two textbooks which most strongly supported Wade's thesis were those by Ver Steeg and Hofstadter and by Madgic. The latter documented many of Wade's contentions. Madgic saw the growth of towns not only attracting people westward, but also creating opportunities for those who came.69 Madgic and his associates also cited Schlesinger's pioneer article:

   The city marched westward with the outposts of settlement, always injecting exotic elements into pioneer existence, while in the older sections it steadily extended its dominion over politics, economics, and all other phases of life.70

   While Ver Steeg and Hofstadter stated early in their chapter dealing with westward expansion that much of their content was based upon the work of Frederick Jackson Turner, the city seemed to emerge from that chapter in a position of superiority in western growth. They examined such towns as Cincinnati with its industrial activities which benefited the surrounding hinterlands, the Mormon
communities with their important agricultural promotion, San Francisco's predominant position in the Far West, and the cattletowns which were very much responsible for the promotion and success of the cattle industry.71

While many of the text writers made some note that towns appeared very quickly in the frontier West, any mention of the origin of these communities was surprisingly absent. Industrialization, usually manifested through the presence of railroads, was often implicated as providing the impetus for the development of new towns. Few of the text authors suggested that town boosters played an influential role in bringing the railroads near their already established communities. Bass, in fact, stressed the failure of most promoters to pick good sites for towns.72

In reality, the cities and transport appear to have developed concurrently with the transportation system sometimes being established in anticipation of future cities. At other times, cities appeared in anticipation of the transport system. In taking this either/or stance, textbook writers and, to a more limited degree, urban historians neglected to discuss the various other factors which have prompted urban development—labor supply, natural resources, the confluence of rivers, and early fortifications. Urban development, when mentioned at all, was often depicted in simplistic terms in the high school books.
The writers of the textbooks also devoted little space to any discussion of the cohesive political, economic, cultural, and social relationship that existed between a city and its hinterland. Weisberger and also Todd and Curti briefly discussed the role the cities played in the promotion of internal improvements in the early part of the nineteenth century. Todd and Curti noted that nearly all of the new roads and canals that were built by the early 1800's, while financed by private companies, were essentially products of the coastal cities. From there these roads and canals ran into the surrounding countryside. According to Weisberger, the first railroad promoters were the businessmen of the growing cities who wanted transportation systems that would bring farm produce to their communities and then carry goods manufactured in the city back to the farms. 73 Risjord and Haywoode revealed that in the period following the Civil War the prosperity of the western cattletowns was a direct result of the actions of town promoters who were able to convince businessmen to locate in their communities. 74

Linden saw eastern industrial expansion as being the major impetus for improvements in western agriculture: first, because it provided a larger market; second, because of the railroads which provided a new means to ship produce; and third, because of improved farm machinery. Linden attributed internal improvements to industrial
expansion and actions taken by residents in cities. He maintained that western towns, such as Cincinnati and Chicago quickly became large cities when the railroads reached them. Only then did they become the "political, economic, and cultural centers of the west."75

Bass, on the other hand, concluded that the development of internal improvements came as a result of sectional struggles. The North promoted and favored such policies by the Federal government because these policies enhanced the section's own industrial development.76 Todd and Curti implied that the sectional push for internal improvements was a concerted movement in the North and did not result from urban communities competing for control of their hinterland regions.77

Urban historians treated the development of the metropolis as a continuous process of the intermingling of the city and its hinterland into an urban region. The intermingling of the two was seen as being a significant theme of the modern city. In none of the textbooks was it discussed until the post-World War II period and only then as being a direct result of the increase of suburbanization.

The City and Reform as Discussed by Urban Historians

Urban historians maintained in their survey works that much of the drive for reform and improvement in America has originated and developed in cities. Urban
residents have not only provided the leadership for such movements, but the city itself has served as its center-stage. Four areas in which urban scholars suggested that cities have had a major role in bringing change are examined here: the American struggle for independence; the Progressive movement; the labor movement; and the Negro fight for civil rights.

The American Revolution. There appears to be little disagreement among urban historians that the American rebellion was an urban-led protest. Glaab and Brown found it ironic that the settlements which were originally designed to serve the needs of the mercantilistic English empire eventually became "agencies in its dissolution."\(^78\) Chudacoff saw the cities as providing the "arenas for much of the resistance to new English policies."\(^79\) Miller contended that the revolution "had its roots in the cities," and it was from there that movement toward rebellion first began.\(^80\) Green further noted that no group of people contributed more than those who lived in cities.\(^81\) The residents of Boston were seen by urban historians as being particularly important to the struggle.

Urban historians examined why urban residents assumed positions of leadership in the American Revolution. McKelvey and Chudacoff saw a sense of independence and confidence developing among urbanites as they asserted
themselves in dominant positions over their own hinterlands. Glaab and Brown noted the growth of this feeling of independence as being common to the urbanization process as the cities gained control over the cultural, economic, political, and social institutions within their own regions. Miller saw the sense of American nationalism being a simple coincidence of the mixture of people, events, ideas, and leadership which congregate in cities.

Miller and Chudacoff believed that city dwellers spoke the loudest against the policies of the English government because they were hit hardest by the mercantilistic policies. The new duties most directly affected the urban merchants, lawyers, and printers. It was this power-base group, the two historians maintained, that led the protest against the English in an attempt to protect their own social and economic interests.

Dissatisfaction was also expressed by members of the urban lower and middle classes—the shopkeepers, artisans, tradesmen, and laborers—who appeared frustrated because they did not feel they were sharing equally in the economic rewards that city life had to offer. These elements began to demand, occasionally through the use of mob violence, more control over public affairs. The spirit was ripe for revolution.

Chudacoff reasoned that the Colonial cities became the center of resistance not only because urban dwellers
bore the brunt of the new English policy and because they possessed the human resources needed to implement a full scale revolution, but also because they had the facilities needed for organization. He noted that the urban meeting houses provided the forums for debate, urban printing shops helped spread the news and propaganda, and urban taverns furnished workshops where strategy was planned. Green and Glaab and Brown revealed that city newspapers helped to improve communications between Colonial cities and tied them into a more cohesive network with their own hinterlands. The urban press served eventually as a vehicle for spreading the doctrines of the revolution throughout all of the colonies.

Miller and Green maintained that once independence had been obtained, urban residents assumed positions of leadership in creating a stable government and economy. Chudacoff pointed out in particular the dominant role that urban dwellers played in the formation and adoption of the United States Constitution. In taking this action, Glaab and Brown believed that the "Colonial cities were simply functioning as cities classically functioned: they were both matrix and evidence for the appearance of a civilization."

The Progressive Movement. A second reform movement, the Progressive, was also described by urban historians as being urban-centered. Both McKelvey and Chudacoff saw
Progressivism as being a response to rapid industrialization and uncontrolled urban growth. They suggested that new conditions aggravated old problems such as poverty, overcrowding, and social tension. Chudacoff believed that these changes were especially alarming to the middle-class whites who lived on the outskirts of the cities.

Many of the Progressive programs were presented in the urban histories as having grown out of rural Populist causes; however, now these programs were focused on urban problems and thus became national in scope. In fact, the Progressive movement was seen by Chudacoff, Green, and Glaab and Brown as being simply the culmination of three decades of urban reform. What Chudacoff interpreted as new was "the combination of like-minded reformers from different cities into national organizations."

The Progressive movement was interpreted by Glaab and Brown as being primarily an attempt by the cities to assume control over their local concerns away from state legislatures and into their own hands. There was a steady tendency toward concentration of executive authority, along with efforts to simplify the organization of government. Big government was depicted as being assimilated by Americans on the local level well before it was assimilated on the Federal.

Green suggested that the Progressive movement was mainly an attempt to eradicate social evils, and the
battlefield of the struggle inevitably became the city.\textsuperscript{97} McKelvey contended that it was simply individual reform movements which spread nation-wide even though the programs and circumstances differed in each locality.\textsuperscript{98}

The Labor Movement. The city was further presented by urban historians as being the birthplace of the labor movement. The rise of the industrial city not only brought an increase in the number of wage earners, but it also confronted them with new economic and social problems. McKelvey and Green pointed out the workers' response was to form collective organizations in an attempt to alleviate poor working and living conditions.\textsuperscript{99} McKelvey emphasized further that it was the worker among all urban residents who faced the most drastic readjustment in the industrial cities.\textsuperscript{100} Miller believed that as the social and economic problems continued and intensified after the Civil War so did the efforts of the working class to collectively demand improvements.\textsuperscript{101}

The Civil Rights Movement. The city was also viewed by urban scholars as the place where the struggle for equal rights for black Americans originated. Green stated that the abolitionist movement first gained a strong foothold in the pre-Civil War northern cities.\textsuperscript{102} However, Glaab and Brown argued that it was in the southern cities that city life tended to lessen the rigidity of the
in the number of blacks migrating to the northern and midwestern cities. This migration had a great consequence for cities and for American society as a whole. Glaab and Brown noted that while the struggle for Negro civil rights was essentially a national political movement, it definitely had its urban dimensions. Much of what the blacks fought against—"restrictive covenants, segregated schools, playgrounds and swimming pools, and exclusionary housing problems—related to patterns of urban living." The problem confronting blacks became most evident in American cities, and once visual, McKelvey believed, Federal and state action became inevitable.

The congestion of blacks within the cities caused bloody riots in the periods following both world wars. According to Glaab and Brown, these riots brought little change to ghetto conditions.

The cities also played an important role in the civil rights movement because in these locations
organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League were formed. McKelvey and Glaab attributed the success of the movement and these groups to the leadership of a growing community of educated and sophisticated Negroes in the large metropolitan regions. These new black leaders were not only responsive to the changing attitude of the courts, but they were also successful in gaining the support of a growing black urban middle class.  

The City and Reform as Discussed by American History Textbook Writers

Treatment of the four reform movements being analyzed in this section was inconsistent in the American history textbooks. Authors of five of the ten American history textbooks, for example, discussed in their surveys the leadership role that Colonial urban dwellers played in the American Revolution.

The American Revolution. The most in-depth analysis of the American Revolution was that provided by Madgic. While the author recognized that grievances against British rule were held throughout the colonies, he maintained that a concentration of men and ideas in cities gave impetus and direction to the movement for independence. Moreover, he interpreted the rebellion as being primarily an upper-class-led protest depending on the mob action of lower-class citizens. Madgic stated that the one followed
According to Weisberger, underprivileged townspeople in harmony with western farmers were mainly responsible for the movement behind the revolution. These people included seamen, dockworkers, carpenters, laborers, and apprentices and tradesmen who had become very frustrated by the economic and social inequalities which existed in the cities. They were without property, could not vote, and were not represented in the assemblies. Weisberger believed that under those conditions cities were "ripe for revolt." Rebellion was the opportunity many urbanites had to realize democratic principles. Through this segment of society, Abramowitz asserted, mob violence became a reality. Todd and Curti noted that many of these townspeople united into societies, such as the Sons of Liberty, and rioted in the larger towns. Upper-class leaders were organizers of such groups. The Boston Massacre is the best example of the results of their activities.

Any discussion of the leadership position assumed by prominent urban residents in helping to establish a new and stable government after the war for independence was absent from the majority of textbooks. Except for Smith, the development of the Constitution was not portrayed as being primarily an upper-class urban document. In fact, the political influence that the cities exerted
was not prevalent in most of the texts until the twentieth century. Linden, for instance, did not see this trend becoming evident until the 1928 Presidential election. Linden suggested that only then, with the support of Alfred Smith, was "a new voting pattern . . . emerging--the political importance of urban areas."  

**The Progressive Movement.** The interpretation of the Progressive movement in the textbooks was very similar to that offered by urban historians. It was depicted in the high school textbooks as a national reform movement which first appeared in the cities, spread to the state governments, and eventually reached the Federal government. Bass, Abramowitz, and Madgic all viewed the movement as being a political attempt by the rising urban middle class to gain more regulation over local affairs. Linden maintained that the reform effort developed from a response to the problems associated with rapid urbanization and industrial growth. Ver Steeg and Hofstadter condemned it for failing to solve these problems.  

The importance of government on the state and Federal level in solving urban problems was stressed in many of the textbooks. Todd and Curti saw the city as simply serving as the target of reform, mostly instigated on the state and national levels. The city was attacked as the major cause of America's social, economic, and political problems. The greatest contribution made by
Progressivism, according to Ver Steeg and Hofstadter, was the gaining acceptance that "government could be an instrument of social improvement." Bass saw the movement as important in committing the Federal government to an active role in social reform and other local affairs. Shenton agreed with him that Progressive programs served as important precedents in the development of the New Deal.

The labor movement. The labor movement was given an ample amount of space in the American history texts. Increased industrialization after the Civil War was credited by Todd and Curti and Linden for widening the gap between the richest and poorest in American society. Thus, new problems were created for workers, such as poor working and living conditions. Many of the workers, according to Ver Steeg and Hofstadter, saw the need to form organizations that would protect their own interests. They had come to realize that individual bargaining would enable them to negotiate with employers as equals. Union activities intensified in periods of economic distress; during these times the unions quite often resorted to strikes. As economic conditions improved and jobs became more plentiful, many workers lost interest in unions. Abramowitz saw one of the aims of the labor movement being to get the Federal government to pass more stringent laws that would protect the unions. Todd and Curti noted that management at the same time was demanding stronger
Federal restraints on labor to prohibit unrest and strikes.125

The Civil Rights movement. The textbook treatment of the city as the place where the civil rights movement gained strength closely resembled that presented in the urban history surveys. Both northern and southern cities were revealed as being the centers of the anti-slavery crusade of the pre-Civil War era and the civil rights campaigns following that conflict.126 The drive for change was seen as not only coming from white reform activity, but also from black resistance. Urban violence was generally viewed as arising out of the frustration which developed as both groups met constant failure.127

Many of the textbook authors discussed the rising middle and upper class black leadership that evolved in American cities during the twentieth century. New opportunities in teaching, law, medicine, journalism, and entertainment were seen by Ver Steeg and Hofstadter as having become available to blacks in northern cities.128 Linden noted that black professionals helped organize Negro groups, such as the National Urban League and the NAACP which directed themselves toward ending segregation and discrimination and improving educational opportunities for blacks. These groups further sought to build black leadership and pave the way for black participation in the judicial system.129 The city, especially New York, was also the center of a cultural renaissance among blacks in
the twentieth century. Todd and Curti saw this movement as important in arousing the interest of white Americans as well as strengthening cohesive pride among blacks.\textsuperscript{130}

**Summary**

The rise of the city in the United States has been the historical sign of a progressive society. Urban historians have seen cities stimulating progress in America by bringing people together, pooling their efforts, promoting change by exchange, and enlarging the world through contact with other peoples and cities. These historians maintained that while civilization means literally the making of cities and city life, the city is actually a part of the worst, as well as the best in American civilization. The writers explained local and national progress as having been a consequence of effective action taken by urban leaders in solving the city's problems. In taking this view, the historians overemphasized the merits of the city. While reading their interpretations, one may find it easy to forget that cities in the United States are still plagued by myriad problems—substandard housing, unemployment, choking air, traffic congestion, labor strikes, violent crimes, decaying inner cores, and bankruptcy. For urban historians to imply that cities have traditionally solved their problems is unrealistic.
Many textbook writers, however, have gone toward the opposite extreme. The industrial city was often portrayed in the senior high school American history texts as a place confronted with a series of problems, culminating in the more recent "urban crisis." Discussion of the successes that many urban leaders have had in eliminating some of the city's immediate problems and any mention of the positive contributions made by cities to regional and national development were surprisingly absent from many of the textbooks. A large number of textbook writers examined the activist role that urbanites played in the American war for independence; however, the Progressive reform movement of over a century later was not depicted as coming from within cities. Instead, it was regarded as an outside attempt by state and Federal governments to cure the ills in cities. Government action was given much of the credit for westward development and internal improvements, while the importance of urban leaders in the process was seldom recognized. The labor and civil rights movements were presented as urban centered. Nevertheless, even within the textbook treatment of these movements, the importance of government action was emphasized.

In reality, any evaluation of urban problems by scholars is difficult because of the fine line which exists between an understanding of the merits and disadvantages of cities in American history. As the political center of its
own boundaries and its hinterland region, the city has served as the seat of rule and misrule, launching national adventures in statesmanship and reform, but contributing to graft, inefficiency, and apathy. As America's social center, the city has set the pattern for the arts of living, as well as the arts of living on others. Modern cities are often divided between racial groups and between socio-economic classes. As the cultural center, the city has served as the birthplace of new movements in recreation and education. However, this may simply mean the rebirth of decay, for city life has always been faced with charges of immorality, vulgarity, and artificiality. The city has become the center of unrest and disorder because it remains the center of creative activity. Reform in living and working conditions and innovations in transportation and public utilities took place in American cities because it was there these problems most demanded change. Both urban historians and textbook writers should strive to provide a more balanced portrayal of urban problems and attributes.
FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid.


8 Green, p. 7.

9 Glaab, p. 79.

10 Green, pp. 8, 14.

11 Glaab, p. 80.

13 Green, p. 74.

14 Ibid., p. 75.

15 McKelvey, The Emergence, p. 97.


17 Glaab, p. 136.

18 McKelvey, American Urbanization, p. 28.

19 Glaab, p. 122.

20 Ibid., p. 125.

21 Miller, p. 47.

22 Glaab, p. 81.

23 Miller, p. 8.

24 Ibid., p. 51.


26 Glaab, p. 183.

27 Ibid., p. 262.

28 Chudacoff, p. 255.

29 Glaab, pp. 13-14.

30 Glaab, p. 75; Green, p. 79; McKelvey, The Emergence, p. 14.

31 McKelvey, The Emergence, p. 155.

32 Green, pp. 119-120.


40 Todd, p. 56.

41 Ibid., pp. 262-266.

42 Ibid., p. 442.

43 Bass, p. 418.


46 Weisberger, p. 621.

47 Todd, p. 454.
48 Ibid., p. 712.


54 Miller, p. 15.


56 Glaab, p. 23.

57 Chudacoff, p. 31.


59 Glaab, p. 27.

60 Miller, p. 30.

61 Ibid.

62 Glaab, p. 12.

63 Green, pp. 12, 45, 55; Miller, p. 12.

64 Chudacoff, p. 55.
65. Miller, p. 29.

66. McKelvey, The Emergence, p. 57; Miller, p. 29.

67. Glaab, p. 245.

68. Ibid., p. 315.

69. Madgic, pp. 211-212.

70. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr. in Madgic, p. 208.


73. Todd, p. 223; Weisberger, p. 313.


75. Linden, pp. 153, 304.


77. Todd, pp. 222-223.

78. Glaab, p. 84.

79. Chudacoff, p. 22.


81. Green, p. 35.

82. Chudacoff, p. 22; McKelvey, American Urbanization, p. 10.

83. Glaab, p. 2.

84. Miller, p. 15.
85 Chudacoff, p. 22; Miller, pp. 10-11.
86 Chudacoff, p. 22; Miller, p. 13.
87 Chudacoff, p. 25.
88 Glaab, p. 16; Green, p. 12.
89 Green, p. 35; Miller, p. 21.
90 Chudacoff, p. 29.
91 Glaab, p. 20.
92 Chudacoff, p. 148; McKelvey, American Urbanization, p. 75.
93 Chudacoff, p. 148.
94 Chudacoff, p. 171; Glaab, p. 174; Green, p. 143.
95 Chudacoff, p. 171.
96 Glaab, pp. 174, 181-182.
97 Green, p. 129.
98 McKelvey, The Emergence, pp. 99-100.
99 Green, p. 104; McKelvey, American Urbanization, p. 85; McKelvey, The Emergence, pp. 141-142.
100 McKelvey, American Urbanization, p. 85.
101 Miller, p. 420.
102 Green, pp. 84-85.
103 Glaab, p. 29.
104 Chudacoff, p. 52.
105 Glaab, p. 301.
107 Glaab, p. 309.
108 Ibid., pp. 301-302.
110 Weisberger, pp. 139-140.
111 Abramowitz, p. 65.
112 Todd, pp. 89-96.
114 Linden, p. 510.
115 Abramowitz, p. 494; Bass, p. 600; Madgic, p. 282.
116 Linden, p. 448.
117 Ver Steeg, pp. 480, 503.
118 Todd, p. 468.
119 Ver Steeg, p. 504.
120 Bass, p. 600.
121 Shenton, p. 405.
122 Linden, p. 289; Todd, p. 546.
123 Ver Steeg, p. 453.
124 Abramowitz, p. 272.
125 Todd, p. 546.
126 Bass, pp. 310, 314; Madgic, pp. 86, 157; Todd, pp. 34, 305; Ver Steeg, pp. 240, 297.
127 Risgord, p. 577; Todd, p. 547.
128 Ver Steeg, p. 591.
129 Linden, pp. 467, 772.
130 Todd, p. 580.
Chapter VI

MAKING THE AMERICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOK AN EFFECTIVE TOOL FOR TEACHING ABOUT THE CITY

Alan Griffin, influential social studies theorist, once noted that in organizing the history course, teachers usually set out to give students what are commonly considered to be the most important facts. He reflected that few history teachers question what "give" in this sense may mean, how the "facts" are selected from a multitude of facts that can be offered, or how "important" in the connection is determined.¹ The educator concluded that as a consequence what was taught in schools as history had little relevancy to the daily lives of students. Even though Griffin's observations were made almost forty years ago, it would appear that not much has changed in American history classrooms. Unless it is by accident or through their own initiative, students seldom learn in the traditional history course about how to think, how to view the past objectively, or how to use past experiences and knowledge to arrive at warranted beliefs associated with current problems.

What then should be included in a course concerned with American history and how should it be presented to
students? The distinguished historian James Harvey Robinson years ago provided a valuable measuring stick for the content of any history course. He suggested that it is only defensible to study that in the past which can shed a great deal of light on "the quandaries of our life today." Within this guideline lies the most important rationale for teaching about the city in the senior high school American history course.

**Rationales for the Use of Urban History**

An understanding of modern humankind's typical habitat—the city and the urban region—is a practical necessity for almost all Americans. This is by no means a simple problem in that studies of virtually every aspect of city life, from a number of standpoints, are overwhelming in quantity and quite confusing in their findings and implications. Marriage and family problems, child rearing, crime, delinquency, migration, race relations, old age, mental health, social class, religion, education, and public opinion trends are only a sprinkling of the crucial problems that are found in, or derive from, an urbanized way of life. Being cognizant of the immediate realities and problems facing human beings in cities, understanding why these conditions exist, and reflecting upon their consequences for future urban design is mandatory if life in American cities is to ever improve. Such goals, however,
must not be established only for those living within the borders of the city. One theme that emanated from the works of urban historians was that issues, problems, and benefits of urban areas are not limited to cities; social values, problems, and trends do not stop at a city line.

Certainly there are obvious differences between rural and urban lifestyles in the United States; nevertheless, these are not as pronounced as they were fifty or even thirty years ago. The consequences of dilemmas confronting Americans living in cities, such as poor government, bankruptcy, segregation, energy shortages, and inadequate transport facilities, are often felt directly by rural residents in the form of such things as tax increases and ever-changing government regulations. National trends in fashion, entertainment, architecture, and education are likewise greatly affected by what goes on in cities. An excellent example of the way in which the American city has begun to dominate American life is demonstrated by the case of New York City. Many Americans will probably never visit that city; however, its lifestyle and the fact that it is among the nation's entertainment and financial centers forces it on the consciousness of a great many Americans. In another vein, racial segregation in housing and education is a problem faced by a number of American cities. To argue that it is a problem only for those who live in the city's central core is to overlook
the realities of our social structure. Richard Wisniewski provided another excellent illustration of this theme. He noted that while on the surface it may appear there is a fundamental difference between the American who shops at a Sears' store in Montana as contrasted with the American shopping at the Sears' store in Chicago's Loop, upon deeper reflection the gap does not seem so wide.3

Because what goes on in cities affects the lives of all Americans, it is imperative that teachers and schools do everything within their power to increase student involvement in the analysis of the quality of urban life and in seeking ways to improve it. It is impossible to control the future and correct the mistakes of the past unless that past is understood. Therein lies the importance of history to the secondary school curriculum and the significance of teaching about the city within the context of any American history course. If history is to have any relevancy to students, then the content material must be directed toward their needs and provide a base for a clear understanding of their own world. American history courses should be designed to increase student awareness and appreciation of where they came from and who they are. Being concerned with values, it should help them determine where they want to go. American history, therefore, is not only useful, but also essential to the life of each American. An understanding of the setting of that future—the city—is equally important.
Any course in American history should include the following objectives in regard to teaching about the city. It should be designed to help students:

1. Outline the nature and function of the city
2. Become aware of the elements of the urbanization process in order to understand their implications for the future city
3. Describe and give examples of the basic values associated with the city
4. Explain the consequences of issues and conflicts raised in urban design (e.g., order vs. liberty)
5. Evaluate the purpose, use, and misuse of urban space
6. Suggest alternative urban planning for the future
7. Cite reasons for urban decay
8. Appreciate the positive benefits of urbanization
9. Develop specific personal choices for tomorrow's metropolitan complex

A second rationale for including the study of the city in the American history course is that it can serve as a viable tool in involving students in the reflective thought process through allowing them to test textbook generalizations and hypotheses against developments in their own local community or in a nearby town or city. A recent study by a commission from the National Council for the Social Studies predicted that local history studies would continually become a more important part of social studies instruction. Such studies are an asset because
they can make history real for students. In the history of their own community, pupils will find not only local, tangible, and understandable illustrations of national generalizations, but also other developments that are quite the opposite. From these sources come a better comprehension of national events and a healthy skepticism about glib generalizations presented in both American history texts and in urban histories. For example, in challenging their texts, students may discover that suburbs were vital to the growth of their local community well before the twentieth century, or that their town, although situated in the South, was actually thriving industrially prior to the Civil War. Urban historians contend that changes in cultural patterns are created by cities. Students may analyze local communities to determine the extent to which rural cultural developments have left their impact on cities. Urban scholars suggest that town settlement usually preceded rural settlement in the frontier areas. Students may find evidence in their own local areas that would either support or contradict this hypothesis.

Few events and issues studied in American history have not had some influence on or resulted, in part, from what has taken place on the local level. Local industrial growth, political campaigns, and settlement and crime patterns can be studied as illustrations of larger topics. Political movements, the Great Depression, social reforms,
and the Industrial Revolution are examples of national topics which have had great and varied impact and influence on local communities. For instance, many American history textbooks mention the importance railroads played in tying the nation together, in creating a national market, and in opening travel. By focusing on community history, students can analyze what the railroad really meant in its effect on business, industry, banking, settlement patterns, recreation, and employment. If the community were bypassed by the railroad lines then it may be possible to examine the withering that resulted. This treatment may aid students in understanding why towns bid against each other for the railroads' favor and the important role that local business promoters played in getting the lines to pass through their towns.

In the same way, the local community provides a valuable resource for students to study migration, suburbanization, urban problems, and a multitude of other issues, events, and trends which are necessary for an understanding of United States history. To illustrate this concept, several suggestions for student-learning activities using the local community are given below. Other suggestions are made later in this report.

1. Have students assume they are a city planner in eighteenth-century America. Using plats of their own local community (available from the county courthouse or the
local chamber of commerce), students should either attack or support its layout. They could then attempt to restructure its design to better meet the needs of the present-day town. Students may further examine how the plan helped to shape the character of the community and that of its residents, or vice versa. In analyzing the gridiron street plan, for example, students and the teacher could determine the extent to which it has been suited to each of the following traditional values: (1) individualism, (2) profitability, (3) belief in humankind's dominance over nature, (4) efficiency and practicality, and (5) hostility toward cities.

2. Study newspaper circulation areas in order to help students understand the influence which a city may have on its hinterland. Newspaper circulation can serve as an index of some of the social, political, and economic links that exist between the central city and its hinterland region. Studying newspaper circulation is useful because (1) newspapers bring their readers into constant contact with the metropolis, (2) newspaper advertising provides information about goods and services available in the city, (3) opinion columns in the paper disseminate the metropolitan political outlook (or at least one expression of it), and (4) news tends to build a community of interest within the metropolitan hinterland. Circulation areas of a city's daily newspaper (or areas covered by television
and radio broadcasts), therefore, serve as an indication of the city's zone of influence.

It may further be advantageous to map out the circulation areas of several large cities in a region or state in order to compare the influence of those cities within that geographical boundary. For example, in examining Ohio, students may discover that the state is actually divided into spheres of influence dominated by such large cities as Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, and Toledo. Even within these larger hinterland regions, they may find smaller spheres of influence revolving around cities such as Newark, Circleville, Chillicothe, Logan, and Lancaster.

3. Have students investigate their own family histories. Through this activity students may be able to develop an understanding of rural-urban migration. Their findings could be compared to those of other pupils in the class in order to determine if any pattern exists. As a variation of this exercise, the class could take a sample section of their local community, a street perhaps, and conduct a poll to determine the movement in and out of that area over a specified time span. Enterprising students may want to examine actual Federal census reports (available on microfilm through inter-library loan), for changes of residency by individuals in a township, ward, or village over any ten year period.
4. The teacher will take the class on a walking tour of their local area and have pupils look for such things as street names, old buildings, street patterns, architectural designs, and old railroad stations. Through this activity, students will develop hypotheses as to the reason for the town's location, origins of early residents, early businesses and industries (including those which dominated the area), and changing forms of transportation. Through their observations the class may collectively attempt to restructure town life as it was during an earlier day.

5. Have students go to the local library to examine old town directories and telephone books. One item that they could look for is ethnic names. These could be used by students to determine what ethnic groups may have resided in the city at any given time period. These sources could also be used to determine the approximate numerical size of each group. After looking at the addresses of a selection of people with the same nationality (e.g., Russian, Greek, Chinese, Irish, etc.), the students should mark on a map where in the city the ethnic groups lived. In comparing their findings over ten-year intervals, pupils may be able to see changes occurring, such as in the size of the group, new immigrant nationalities, and ethnic group location in the city. A similar approach could be undertaken by students to examine the changing economic
structure of the local community or differing land uses. The students should develop hypotheses as to why changes occurred.

6. The teacher will develop a simple simulation game in which students, as town promoters, attempt to develop their own communities within a region at the expense of other towns. The residents will be competing for such things as the county seat, a railroad, a college, and specified businesses and industries. Competition could be generated by assigning point totals to the winning of each establishment. The local region will be used (without pupil knowledge and with name changes) for the purpose of developing a base map for this activity. This would allow students to compare their results with those which actually took place in their own region. A simple adaptation of this activity would be for students to role play a group of speculators looking for the best location to lay out a new town, or members of a governmental committee who are looking for the site of a new county seat.

7. Students will conduct an in-depth study of the historical development of their local city depicting the sequential stages of growth on road maps. The "researchers" can find information at the city planning office, the chamber of commerce, and the public library. It would be especially enlightening to compare the urbanized area of the geographic city in 1940, before widespread
suburbanization, with a map of the present geographic city because land uses in cities have changed significantly in the post-World War II era of the automobile-oriented suburbs. Students should draw conclusions as to the location, function, and importance of land uses in their town or city. They should speculate on its future and the kinds of changes that will be needed to keep it growing and healthy. Students should gain experience in gathering, mapping, and interpreting data about their own town as well as learn to identify and explain the existence of different land use patterns. As they draw conclusions, they will account for the growth of suburbia, the relative decline of downtowns, and the shift of population and commercial interest from the city to the suburb.

A third rationale for the use of urban and local history is that it can be effectively used to acquaint students with and give them experience in using methods of historical research. It should be as much a part of any method of teaching history to help students learn how to study history as it is to make them familiar with the events of the past. Teachers should strive to develop within students a skeptical and critical attitude toward what is presented in textbooks as historical fact. Students must realize that errors can and do exist in history texts (and in newspapers, books, television broadcast, teachers' lectures) because of human mistakes, personal biases, the
complexity of historical events, differences of viewpoints, attempts at single-factor interpretations, intentions of deceit, and various other reasons. Students should become cognizant that historical interpretations are not static but are continually changing in view of new and more reliable evidence and as a result of new time perspectives. Studying the processes of history and actively involving students in these processes should develop within students the ability to formulate hypotheses, analyze data, and solve problems. Pupils should be aware of where evidence is available and be able to examine resource materials objectively. They should be able to work around and understand the biases within themselves, their contemporaries, historical figures, and historians. Classroom instruction should include the utilization of a great deal of primary source material which is readily available in any local community. An emphasis should be placed on improving reading and writing skills and in aiding students as they learn to correctly present and defend rationally-based decisions they have made.

Critiquing the work of urban historians; comparing Schlesinger's thesis with that of Turner's; developing case study histories around local institutions such as businesses, industrial plants, churches, and political machines; analyzing words used in the textbooks to describe cities; and developing solutions to specific community
problems are only a few of the multitude of activities that teachers can involve students in as they examine local history while gaining experience in the more functional aspects of history's nature and study. These ideas and others are elaborated on in the next section of this report. It is not totally necessary that classroom teachers be acquainted with the history of their local community if they plan to use it within the classroom. If it is to be effective, most of the responsibility for the researching of local history should be placed with the students. However, if teachers choose to use local studies, they should be aware of where source materials can be located. A guide for that purpose is included in Appendix A. Whatever conclusions are reached by students in any classroom study, they should not be left with the impression that the city is the only, or even the most important entity which has shaped the course of American history. Students likely will discover that textbook writers and urban historians have gone to opposite extremes—one emphasizing the city too much and the other neglecting its importance.

The Textbook as an Instructional Tool

Frances FitzGerald raised serious questions about the quality of American history textbooks used in American schools. While it is a temptation to place all of the blame on publishers and authors, it is unfair to do so.
Publishers can hardly be condemned for responding to pressure from special interest groups and from textbook selection committees, or for paying attention to their own marketing departments. Textbook development is a complex process representing a number of years of effort and a large financial investment. Furthermore, publishers possibly do not produce books that are intellectually adequate because they feel no pressure from the academic community to do so. Thomas Downey contended that if American history textbooks do not measure up to the expectation of historians and history teachers it is a reflection of the failure of these groups to pressure for the necessary changes.

Textbook publishers need to be more responsive to the interest of scholars. One way that can be accomplished is for history and social studies associations to develop their own guidelines for authors and publishers of textual materials. Another suggestion is for these groups to see to it that textbooks are adequately reviewed on a regular basis by scholars within the disciplines. Whether textbooks should be reviewed by individual historians or by a battery of scholars who are specialists in an area included in the text was an issue left unresolved in Downey's article. However, he did insist that whatever method is used to review a text, it should be measured against a minimal set of criteria that historians and teachers agree are important attributes of a history textbook. Downey
suggested the following criteria:

1. Is the book sufficiently indebted to recent historical scholarship that it avoids factual errors, reflects changes in historical interpretations, and contains material from new as well as from traditional content areas?

2. Is the book concerned about historical analysis as well as historical descriptions? Does it help students understand the processes at work in American society as well as the institutions and structures created and sustained by them?

3. Does the book help students understand the process by which history itself is created? Are students who use this likely to understand that historical truth itself is tentative and subject to change?

4. Is the book organized, written, and designed in such a way that it helps rather than hinders historical understanding?

Certainly, the establishment of such criteria by those reviewing textbooks is a step in a positive direction. However, what Downey failed to note is that it will probably be as difficult for text authors to agree upon how to meet these requirements as it is to reach a consensus on what historical interpretations should be included in texts.

Several questions will suggest the complexity involved in the use of criteria for history textbook evaluation. Is it more important, for example, that textbooks include additional and increasingly accurate information on urbanization than that on Thomas Jefferson, Yalta, or the Berlin Wall? Should senior high school textbook authors know and say as much about the Civil War as does David Donald?

Could a text writer read all the latest research in endless
fields of specialization covering a period of over two hundred years? Is it possible for a five hundred page textbook to include everything that urban historians may want on the city and everything military historians want on World War I? Furthermore, how can professional educators who cannot possibly agree upon the best methods for teaching students "historical understanding" evaluate textbooks for such? Who can decide how much textbooks should sacrifice knowledge of historical facts for understanding of the process of history or determine which recent scholarly interpretation is nearer to the "truth" and least biased? There are no easy solutions to this problem.

FitzGerald failed to recognize two very pertinent observations in her work—first, American history textbooks have made positive advances in recent years, and second, the teacher, not the textbook, is the most important catalyst in classroom learning.

A study conducted by a National Council for the Social Studies commission revealed recently that textbooks have improved significantly over the past twenty-five years. Possibly this improvement was a consequence of the sensitivity of textbook producers to the views and actions of special interest groups, a point to which FitzGerald was quite critical. It may be true that a few pressure groups have succeeded in their attempts to eliminate some factual materials from some textbooks. However,
due to the actions of various groups, many American history texts today contain important and more objective information—about blacks, Hispanic Americans, native Americans, and women—than may have been possible without the persistence of these organizations. Current texts would likely not be as up-to-date and objective as they are without the pressure exerted by special interest groups.

FitzGerald, like many critics, attacked texts for being too superficial. It is easy to make this criticism if one forgets that a text is only a survey and not a comprehensive treatise on American history. Authors, teachers, students, parents, teacher educators, historians, social scientists, publishers, and special interest groups should work together to see that American history texts are improved and updated even though such cooperation is time consuming. Although tedious, the results will be far from immediate.

Critiques such as those written by FitzGerald and Allen Davis, although biased, serve their purpose when they bring textbook problems to the consciousness of a great many Americans. The response to the publication of FitzGerald's work, for instance, has been overwhelming as professional societies and publications in both history and education have addressed themselves to the problems of textbook evaluation and preparation. Those who have a direct interest in what is included in American history
texts may never agree on criteria for evaluation, content material, objectives, and approaches. However, their felt presence, recommendations, and criticisms serve as a valuable check on the quality of these instructional tools.

Considering that many teachers cannot even get students to read textbooks, one wonders why FitzGerald can argue that school textbooks are more responsible than any other source for "molding those vague but lasting impressions about the history of this nation that most Americans carry with them long after they have forgotten most historical facts." FitzGerald overlooked the role of the teacher in the classroom learning experience. As long ago as 1915, the Committee of Five in its report to the American Historical Association noted that the "most important factor in the school room is not the curriculum, the text, or even the method, but the teacher . . . ." This conclusion has been supported in the last few years by a number of researchers. It was recently reemphasized in a National Science Foundation report. The analysts involved noted that "Teachers occupy a central position in curriculum, instruction, the culture of the school, and their profession." The report concluded with the plea that teachers' "concerns, ideas, and energy must be integrally involved in any effort to improve social studies teaching and learning." The responsibility, then, for better use of textbooks lies with the classroom teacher,
even though this may be a burdensome and unfair task.

Too often, it is the textbook which is blamed for poor results in teaching. Certainly, a number of textbooks have a long way to go before they can be considered good instructional tools; however, even a poor textbook should not become the scapegoat for the ineffectiveness of a teacher. Textbooks have undesirable effects only if they are used improperly. In the hands of an untrained, unimaginative, and uncaring teacher, the textbook can be a hindrance to learning. The teacher who only requires students to memorize facts from the textbook, who accepts its every interpretation without question, and who uses it as the sole authority without making available to students other sources of information and stimulation, must ultimately accept the responsibility for failure.

Irving Morrissett in a 1980 edition of Social Education synthesized current research concerned with answering why teachers rely so heavily on textbooks. Morrissett concluded the following:

1. Although some teachers complain about the reading levels of texts, most teachers generally like to use textbooks.

2. Textbooks help teachers organize the various bodies of knowledge they teach, particularly if they must teach disciplines other than those in which they have formal training.

3. In an era of concern about "back-to-basics" and proficiency testing, the textbook represents an accepted, concrete resource for student learning.
4. While many materials incorporating varied learning activities have been developed, few pre-service or in-service training programs have emphasized practical ways to use these techniques.

5. Many of the instructional practices which involve students in active learning require a substantial amount of preparation time.

6. Inquiry and action-oriented practices make the management and control of students too difficult.

7. In general, the strategies teachers use are those that are considered to be safe in the classroom, the school, and the community.

Confronted with the many pressures and demands of their jobs, senior high school history teachers will probably continue to rely heavily on the textbook as an instructional tool. Furthermore, faced with the problem that textbooks are not totally accurate and up to date in all areas of historical interpretation, the teacher is left with one of three reactions: to blindly follow the text; to discard it immediately; or to accept the situation and attempt to do everything possible to improve its use in classroom instruction. A textbook used by a creative, intelligent, and conscientious teacher can be of immense value as a teaching aid. It can provide one source of needed information, organized into meaningful patterns, which can present conflicting views, stimulate reflective thought, and contribute to making the learning process both intellectually effective and enjoyable. The possibilities for using the textbook to generate student
involvement and interest are limited only by the imagination and resourcefulness of the teacher.

In a world characterized by rapid change, American history textbooks may become outdated in many areas of scholarship before they even reach the hands of students. Not only is new information added through the passage of time, but interpretations of past events are continually changing. Unfortunately, because of the many demands placed on their time, few hours remain for teachers to develop and implement effective programs for a deficient book. The teacher cannot hope to keep up with all of the hundreds of areas that must be supplemented, corrected, and updated. However, teachers must attempt to keep abreast of new interpretations and information in various historical fields through reading journals and books, taking additional graduate work in history, attending scholarly meetings, and communicating with other teachers.

Many critics of textbooks seem to be willing to limit their work to revelations of deficiencies. They apply their criteria, announce their findings, and move on to other studies. Seldom do they take the effort to correct the shortcomings. The current study was designed to discover what has been said concerning the city in recently published senior high American history textbooks. In addition to a report of the study, the writer has planned to suggest here how it is possible for teachers to use
textbook presentations to provide an objective and analytical view of the role of the city in America's past.

Several suggestions are offered as to how the teacher can take material from the textbook and use it to stimulate students' interest and learning. It is not, and has not been, the focus of this project to discuss whether or not textbooks should be used in teaching senior high school students about American history. Instead, the premise has been to accept the fact that texts are used and to focus upon providing some ideas as to how they might be used effectively.

In the next few pages, suggestions are made as to how teachers may work with many of the basic themes discussed in this report. The writer hopes that these ideas can aid senior high school American history teachers as they deal with the issues of the city and the urbanization process throughout American history.

Suggestions for Teachers

Teachers often search for resources that will assist them with instruction. They may turn to guest speakers, media, supplementary readings, and simulation games for added dimension to the learning experience. Frequently, textbooks are viewed solely as material designed to transmit basic information. However, the use of a textbook does not need to be limited to reading for comprehension.
The text can be used as a point of departure for the initiation of learning activities as well as a resource book for the solving of problems. The book can serve as an instructional tool which is readily available for creative classroom use. The learning activities outlined in this chapter have been described with the belief that it is the teacher's responsibility not only to clarify problems and situations for students, but also to help develop them. Where students have no awareness of a conflict, the teacher must deliberately try to get students into what Maurice P. Hunt and Lawrence E. Metcalf in *Teaching High School Social Studies* term "an intellectual jam," that is, bring discomfort to students and motivate them to solve the problem. Each of the activities has been developed with the premise that the most effective learning will happen in the classroom when the student can be actively involved in the process of learning, interacting with the subject to be learned, and assuming responsibility for his/her own learning and that of fellow students. For this to happen, the teacher must assume the role of an advisor, organizer, and questioner, rather than that of an informant. Use of the textbook in the traditional instructional sense is inadequate in facilitating such approaches.

The exercises listed in this chapter are designed exclusively to show teachers how they can use their American history textbooks to more effectively teach about the city
in history. Teachers should be aware of and use a number of other resources which are available for that purpose—museum artifacts, supplementary resource guides, historical novels, video tapes, resource speakers, library materials, visual aids, newspaper charts, government statistics, films, documentaries, and motion pictures. Three publications which may be of immense help to teachers and students are *Teaching About Life in the City*, the 1972 Yearbook of the National Council of the Social Studies; *Cities in Crisis: Decay or Renewal* (1977), a part of an American problems series edited by Jack R. Fraenkel; and a 1977 Newsweek program titled *Beyond City Limits: Tomorrow's Urban Society*. This last resource brings together a valuable combination of audio-visual and print materials for the study of themes centering around future urban trends. All of these materials are designed for teaching students about adjusting to life in the cities and preparing for the future. This researcher discovered no activity guide that addressed teaching about the role of the city in the past. The writer hopes that the following activities can fulfill that purpose.

**Using Textbook Content to Teach About the City**

The only textbook used in the study which did not devote one chapter exclusively to the city was Smith's *American Dream*. However, throughout all of the texts there
was a great deal of information which described life in cities and their impact on national developments. This information can provide not only resource material for student examination, but also a wealth of materials for teachers to use in developing learning activities and initiating problems.

First, teachers must be alert to the many opportunities that content material provides for framing good questions. The following passage from *The American Experience* (p. 37) is used to illustrate this point:

Boston, New York, and Philadelphia became centers of revolutionary ideas and activities. The radical thinkers congregated there and formulated anti-British arguments which were then publicized through the main weapon of the rebels—the press.

These two sentences can be used by teachers to develop many thought-provoking questions and thus lead into the examination of a number of issues. Some sample questions follow:

1. What makes an idea or activity "revolutionary?"

2. What is the difference, if any, between a radical and a revolutionary?

3. What other tactics could the radicals have used to promote their ideas?

4. What tactics are used by radicals today?

5. Why were Colonial cities so conducive to revolutionary thought and activities? Do many of these conditions still exist in cities? Why?

6. Why was the press so important to the revolutionary movement? How are the media used in similar ways today?
7. What other activities (political, cultural, social, economic) seem to center in cities? Why?

8. It has been stated that cities exert an influence far out of proportion to their share of the total population. In what ways is this true? Is it also true of rural America?

From these questions students may develop hypotheses that will lead them into several research activities.

Another illustration of this point comes from Todd and Curti's *The Rise of the American Nation* (p. 242):

Except for farmers who lived close to a growing city or a large town, opportunities for social activities in 1870 were limited. Most farm families had only three centers of social activity—the nearest town, the church, and the school.

Good questioning over this passage can serve as a springboard into examinations of such topics as the role of the church and the school in rural America and the comparative part that each institution held in the city, the reciprocal influences of town and country, rural and urban recreational opportunities, the human need for social interaction, and hinterland relationships. Similar statements made by these authors can lead into a number of stimulating activities. Teachers may want to structure questions such as the following:

1. What is a "city?"

2. Why have cities failed to eliminate some of their most plaguing problems (crime, poverty, financial difficulties, alienation)?

3. Are there problems in America that have been unique only to the frontier and farming areas?
4. How have urban and rural areas both affected the development of a national culture?

5. What was the role of the city in the development of the frontier?

6. In what ways have urban hinterland regions affected the direction taken by their major cities?

7. What influence did Populist reforms have on the Progressive movement?

8. How has an urban lifestyle affected American values and institutions?

9. Was urbanization an inevitable by-product of industrialization? Why? Was it actually the other way around? Was the United States industrialized before it was urbanized? Why?

If teachers examine textbooks closely they may find many contradictory interpretations given in the author's presentation. This conflict can be used to promote students' interest. For example, Ver Steeg and Hofstadter revealed early in their chapter on westward expansion that much of their content was based upon the works of Frederick Jackson Turner. Nevertheless, their treatment of that topic quickly began to revolve around the importance of the city as a major catalyst in western growth. This conflict can be instrumental to the development of classroom learning activities which center around lessons about westward expansion and the city's influence on that growth process, the nature and study of history, American historiography, and the relationship between urban and rural America. Students could examine Turner's thesis in detail in an attempt to determine if many of his ideas have
actually been misunderstood.

Similar discussions can be developed through examining phrases and terms used by text authors. Madgic, for instance, used the terms community and city interchangeably throughout his book. This revelation may lead to a study of the nature of the city. Likewise, he titled his chapter on the city "The City: The Nation's New Frontier." Quite often he referred to western settlements as "frontier cities." The author's use of the words frontier and city in one phrase may cause students to question what these concepts mean and whether they can be used to support one another when they at first appear to be contradictions. In another vein, Risjord and Haywoode considered the growth of communities such as Virginia City, Boise, and Denver in their treatment of the West. These examples and others could be used by teachers to help motivate pupils in an inquiry as to the different functional types of towns. Two important questions for students' consideration could be:

1. What common traits can be seen in the frontier villages of the West and in those of the earlier Colonial towns; in those cities located in the Northwest Territory?

2. How do frontier villages and Colonial towns differ from nineteenth-century industrial centers; from modern cities; from suburbs?

Risjord and Haywoode provided a classic example of the problem that textbook authors had of overgeneralizing certain points. The following observation, quoted earlier
in this report, was made on page 371 of Risjord and Haywoode's *People and Our Country*:

Like all major wars, the Civil War brought vast social changes. Before the war America appeared to be a nation of farms and villages, with vast empty spaces of unconquered wilderness. After the war the tourist's eye met cities and factories, railroads and large steamships.

In their statement, the authors overemphasized the impact of the Civil War on the Industrial Revolution. Their statement can leave readers with the impression that the social, political, and economic consequences of the war brought immediate changes in those realms to the United States. In turn, they oversimplified the transformation that took place over a great many years. In investigating the truth of this statement, students may uncover evidence within their textbook that would suggest that cities were doing well and the patterns for change were already laid long before 1860. They could likewise test this hypothesis against developments in their own local community. One discovery may be that Risjord and Haywoode were referring almost exclusively to industrial centers and that commercial, service, and recreational towns, for example, followed different patterns of growth.

Linden provided another good example of a conflict which exists in the content discussion of the textbook. In his *A History of Our American Republic* he made the statement that many of the problems of the cities began to arise in suburbs during the early part of the 1970's (page 654).
However, earlier in the text (pages 611-613) Linden had contended that many of the problems confronting suburbia during and after the 1920's resulted from the same factor which caused problems in the central cities—improper planning. This conflict can be used to help motivate pupils' interest as to the nature of the suburbs and their relationship to the urbanization process. In the same way, Todd and Curti argued in their textbook (page 223) that internal improvements during the early nineteenth century resulted largely from the actions taken by private urban investors:

Nearly all of the new roads and canals built by the early 1800's started in the coastal cities ... and ran into the surrounding countryside. These new roads and canals, financed by private companies, helped to meet the demand for improved transportation in the coastal areas.

Later (page 250) they implied that state legislatures were mainly responsible for these internal improvements. These contradicting statements may serve to involve students in investigating why and by whom internal improvements were undertaken, the role played by urban leaders, and the lobbying action performed by city industrialists.

The teacher may want to select a controversial issue presented in the text and assign students to debate the conflicting views. The students should be required to use their textbook as the sole source of information for supporting their position. After the debate, the class would determine what information should have been gathered
from other sources to strengthen their arguments in the debate. Within this exercise, students should begin to recognize the elements which differentiate fact from opinion and clarify the author's frame of reference. Some sample topics are:

1. Cities had more of an influence in forming the American way of life than did the frontier.

2. Cities were vital to American economic growth long before the Civil War.

Topics need not be limited only to historical issues. The following position statements may be used in an attempt to show students the functional benefits of studying history to solve current problems:

1. Welfare programs are necessary for the survival of cities.

2. Communities should not be racially and economically segregated.

3. The race problem is a white problem.

4. Honesty in government is an age-old virtue.

5. The public should urge for government action to improve the quality of life in cities.

6. Violence in the form of riots is justified if people are denied access to power through legitimate channels.

7. The solution to the ills of cities lies with good planning.

8. American cities are dying a slow death.

9. The merits of cities generally outweigh the disadvantages.
The above activity and statements can serve as a lead-in to value clarification lessons in which students distinguish what they consider important enough about the city to include in the textbook. The students should be called upon to compare their views with those of the textbook authors' priorities and those of fellow students. In another value clarification exercise, students could compile a collection of urban photographs from their text or other sources that present the attributes they feel best illustrate city life. Students should then attempt to defend the positions they have taken.

It would also be possible to carry out the above activity by using content material in the text. Another valuable source would be an old American history textbook. Many older texts may give more biased viewpoints than those of recent ones. Madgic included on pages 206-210 a number of quotations about the city as well as his own statements which can serve as an example of textbook bias:

1. "I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health and the liberties of man."
   --Thomas Jefferson

2. "In contrast to the unprofitable small farm, the city appeared to offer new and richer opportunities."

3. "Nathaniel Hawthorne recommended that cities be purified by burning them to the ground periodically."

4. "City life fostered both individual freedom and strong group ties."
5. "The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body."
   --Thomas Jefferson

6. "The city's outstanding feature was . . . its diversity, so much so that one person could not possibly partake in or be truly representative of all of its varied dimensions."

7. "Ideas that breathed life into the rebel cause were born in the cities."

8. "Urban expansion necessitated many programs of construction and improvement."

9. "de Tocqueville saw the American cities as a real danger which threatens the future security of the democratic republics of the New World."

10. "Cities dominated economic and intellectual life in the colonies and were the centers of revolutionary activities in the eighteenth century."

11. "... in the cities as elsewhere, the black man encountered hostility and closed doors in his bid for acceptance and opportunity."

12. "... the companionship found in the city was more important than the discomforts."

13. "The city has seemed at times the despair of America, but at others to be the nation's hope, the battleground of democracy."--1937 Report of the Urbanism Committee.

After examining these quotations and others, students should be directed toward clarifying those which they feel best explain the attributes and qualities of the city. Teachers and students may want to use other views which are published in books of quotations, such as Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*. This activity could possibly be
concluded with students' writing a statement about their attitude toward cities and their impact on the nation. These and other quotations can also be used to help students hypothesize about the nature of the city and its various functions. Special classroom guests such as sociologists, political scientists, historians, city workers, environmentalists, politicians, or social workers could be invited into the school to discuss these issues. This procedure may be carried out in the form of a panel discussion or a debate.

Teachers can use the textbook content about the city to help students understand author bias. The quotations given above provide an excellent example for developing such an activity. Another approach is for teachers or students to select passages from their text that describe life in the city and react to the words used by the author. The following paragraphs are the introduction of Todd and Curti's chapter about the industrial city. Students may be able to detect some bias in the description of the city given by the two authors.

The city had many faces. It was stores and banks and offices, museums and libraries and theaters, churches and schools. It was freight yards—and, in seaports, waterfronts—ringed by factories, warehouses, stockyards, and wholesale markets. It was slum areas with drab tenement buildings crowded along narrow, dirty streets and alleys littered with rubbish. It was row after row of houses arranged, in new cities, in a neat pattern of "blocks" or "squares." It was pretentious mansions, the costly show places of the self-appointed leaders of "society."
But mainly the city was people—rich people, people with modest incomes, poor people—all affected, more or less, by the new power-driven machines and new methods of mass production steadily transforming the world around them.

Students can be taught to realize that a different image of the city can be portrayed with the use of different words. The teacher may have students compare their textbook account with that from another source such as a different text. The following is taken from Weisberger's introductory statement to his chapter about the industrialized city:

The great civilizations of history have had their foundations in cities. Athens, Rome, Paris, Alexandria, Timbuktu, and Cuzio are examples of European, African, and South American urban centers of trade, learning, religion, and political life. They were built by kings, popes, and emperors. In the modern United States, mighty new cities were created by the forces of an industrial society.

... a great bridge, power plant, or subway tunnel was more than a high-priced piece of engineering. It was a monument to human skills, as much as a cathedral or a pyramid. And, a crowded city... was more than population figures. It was a mixing bowl of many peoples and many styles of living. Despite its problems, metropolitan America was—and is—a great achievement of many different humans working together.

In comparing the above two statements, it seems obvious that Weisberger provided a more optimistic view of the city. Teachers may direct students toward discovering which account is more objective. This writer hopes that through research students will be able to make their own judgments about the city. Teachers may have students assess the general attitude of the textbook author toward
the city. The class may attempt to analyze why the author is trying to convey the impression he does. Pupils could discuss whether or not complete objectivity is possible for an historian (or for a newspaperman, teacher, minister, or doctor).

A similar approach is for students to list the verbs, adverbs, and adjectives used by textbook writers as they describe such topics as the city, immigrants, political machines, and suburbs. After analyzing these words, students can be directed toward hypothesizing what they suggest about the authors' biases, interests, and unstated assumptions. Students may want to determine how the image of the scene is changed if the authors' words are altered, restructured, or eliminated. Students can attempt to structure an American city or suburb according to the description provided in the textbook. These could be compared to illustrations or pictures from other sources or to written or oral descriptions of their own local community.

Textbook content, as suggested by the above discussion, is a very valuable source of information for teaching about the city. Its use is limited only by the lack of teacher imagination. The instructor must creatively adapt content interpretation into stimulating and provocative learning exercises. In addition to written content material, however, teachers must not neglect to use another
important source of instructional aids found in textbooks --visuals.

Using Textbook Visuals to Teach About the City

A quite often overlooked aspect of the textbook is its visuals--used here to represent photographs, paintings, illustrations, cartoons, maps, graphs, and charts. In reality, it is difficult for any text writer to match in a great many words what Jacob Riis' photographs or Thomas Nast's cartoons can portray in just a little amount of space. The questions which visuals can generate and the impressions they may make on the minds of students are unmeasurable. These aids can be used to give students practice in critical thinking and in interpreting visual evidence. The key to their successful use lies with the teacher. The instructor must frame thoughtful questions to extract as much information as possible from each visual in order to motivate reflective thought by students.

In teaching about the city, classroom instructors should utilize the visual aids that were placed in textbooks for that purpose--pictures of living conditions in slums, population graphs, cartoons dealing with political graft, and maps depicting urban planning. There are a great number of textbook visuals that while not included in texts for the purpose of teaching about the city, may be easily adapted for such use. For instance, a painting
reproduced in Linden's *A History of Our American Republic*, page 69, was intended to be used as an example of early Indian/European relations. It shows a well-dressed and distinguished William Penn negotiating with Indians. Not to be overlooked by students and the teacher is the background setting of this meeting, for presented is a prosperous Colonial town located alongside a harbor. The town is a bustle of commercial activity with several three-storied buildings under construction being added to those already completed. The appearance of the Englishmen in the picture conveys an image of early settlers who were well-to-do individuals. This picture, while not being used for its original purpose, can actually provide students with a great deal of information about European settlement in the New World—the immediate development of coastal towns and cities, the commercial nature of these communities, and the characteristics of some of the first urban dwellers on the English continent.

Throughout the textbook, students should be encouraged to analyze the many activities they see taking place in cities. Abramowitz included in his text a picture of Baltimore in 1752 (page 51). Through careful examination of this picture, one can see occupations concerned with fishing, trade, business, and agriculture all taking place within this town. Determining how modern cities are similar to and differ from those depicted in textbook illustrations
and pictures can be a worthwhile classroom activity.

There are many illustrations in American history texts that may be used to support generalizations asserted by either textbook writers or urban historians. The contention that many Colonial towns were actually well-planned communities is supported by a map of New Amsterdam in the year 1660 (Weisberger's textbook, page 73). What is seen is a well-laid out seaport with trees planted in an organized fashion along the streets, a town square, and canals protruding into the community—all protected by water on two sides and a large wall on the other two. This map may serve to stimulate discussions about urban planning, the factors which allowed for such organization, and the problems that may be encountered by the community as it grows.

Pictures and illustrations can also be used as sources of contradiction with textbook content, thus creating some doubt and bewilderment on the part of students. Abramowitz, for instance, almost totally disregarded the existence and importance of the city in Colonial America. Surprisingly, however, a series of pictures in the first few pages of his text presented much of what was happening in Colonial America taking place in its cities, most notably in Boston. Contradictions of this sort may serve as effective sparks for generating reflection by students.
Textbook illustrations and pictures can also effectively be compared with visuals from other sources, specifically the students' own local community. Teachers can use local community scenes and compare them to towns during the same time periods shown in the textbook. Students may want to take their own pictures or create a movie or slide program using either old community photographs or recently developed ones. By being involved in these activities, students may begin to realize differences which exist in community structures—physically, socially, and economically. A similar approach is to have students examine old copies of local newspapers and compare the image of town life presented in them with that revealed by textbook visuals. In the case of many large cities, students may be able to look at the actual newspapers that describe life in towns seen in the textbook pictures. For example, almost all texts include pictures of tenement housing in New York City during the 1890's. By examining copies of the New York Times printed during that same decade (on microfilm in many libraries), students may get a different image of life in the city—thriving businesses, industrial expansion, and a wide variety of social activities. Textbook visuals could be used by the students to reconstruct life in a city at any time period. Students' generalizations could be tested against newspaper accounts, oral sources, and other written descriptions (including letters,
diaries, memoirs, autobiographies, biographies, etc.). Not only can this approach motivate student interest, but it may aid in teaching students about textbook bias.

While some textbook visuals provide a source for intensive analysis, others are just as useful as items in a series. With the aid of a battery of pictures, students can begin to see patterns of change coming over an extended period of time. A series of pictures could be used to show students the changing structure of the city (economical, political, cultural, social, and physical), and the types of activities that have traditionally taken place on the urban scene. These pictures could be used as focal points to examine the effects that technological change has had on cities, to compare rural and urban America, or to contrast northern cities with southern cities. Students should be asked to describe and account for the change that they see in the pictures. For example, a series of illustrations can be used to examine architectural styles for changes over a number of years in one city or for differences in cities from various geographical regions. Thomas W. Patton provided in the January/February, 1981, issue of The Social Studies an excellent guide that students and teachers can use in examining local architecture. He contended that a study of local architectural styles can provide a good view of a changing way of life in cities.13
Textbook visuals can also be used to illustrate stagnation in the cities and the failure of social and political movements to bring anticipated change. On pages 440 and 565 of Todd and Curti's *The Rise of the American Nation* there are pictures of immigrant dwellings in New York City from both the early 1900's and the 1920's. After close examination, one can observe little change made in the living conditions of these immigrant sections over the almost three decades covered by the two pictures. This observation may lead not only to a discussion of the actual success of the Progressive movement, but also to an analysis of how difficult it is to bring change of any kind to certain urban conditions.

As noted briefly above, textbook visuals can be used to help students identify biases and prejudices. Propaganda posters, advertisements, and political cartoons may present definite points of view. A painting included on page 113 of Smith's *The American Dream* shows a winter scene in Brooklyn in 1817. This painting may actually be presenting a form of bias because it also displays a thick blanket of smoke hovering over the city. An engraving by Paul Revere of the Boston Massacre is a propaganda piece that appears in almost every textbook. The engraving depicts the British soldiers in a negative way. The colonists are seen as being quite defenseless against their attack and not as the unruly mob that they actually were.
Further, contrary to most written evidence, there are no blacks in the crowd. The picture can be used to question the validity of its scene, to introduce students to the radical political elements within cities, to examine the treatment of urban dwellers through the carrying out of policies established by the English, and to simply question much content material which downplays the role of the city in Colonial America and in the American Revolution. The stately urban buildings and the large smokestacks in the background of the battle scene can serve to counteract any contention that cities were not a vital and thriving part of America's colonial experience.

In yet another example, Todd and Curti included on page 711 of their textbook a picture of a housing development that rapidly sprang up in California in the years following World War II. The caption under the picture suggested that this suburb was typical of most--gridiron street plan, crowded lots, identical housing design, and little greenery. What the authors possibly may be presenting are their own views of suburbia. Students can discuss why the authors chose the particular picture as representative of suburbia. The picture may also be used to lead pupils into an examination of the structure of their own suburban community and to an analysis as to how it differs from or is similar to the one presented in the book. Such activities can help students acquire an
understanding of the changing nature of suburbia and its contribution to the urbanization process.

The teacher can take advantage of the absence of certain visual material in the text to arouse students' interest and teach them how to detect author bias. If students are to become skillful at reading pictures and detecting biases, they should become aware that the pictures they view in texts are probably not the only ones of the scene depicted. For example, students may question why their texts do not include pictures of the racial violence that hit northern cities soon after the Second World War or why pictures presenting life in the city's various ethnic neighborhoods are virtually absent from their book. Teachers should help pupils analyze why certain pictures showing cities in American history were used in their texts with the exclusion of others. The absence of material may say a great deal about contemporary views and perspectives as well as author bias.

Students and teachers should attempt to discover what photographers and artists may have left out of their pictures. Political cartoons, for example, are the creation of an individual and thus may or may not reflect the views of others; they may or may not really reflect public opinion. Therefore, their inclusion in texts may present a biased view of certain events and issues. Thomas Nast's famous cartoon of the tiger, included on page 490 of
Weisberger's textbook, can serve as a case in point. His cartoons of the Tweed Ring in New York City were very pointed and critical; however, they may not have necessarily reflected the general public attitude. Using the tiger drawing, students might examine the issue of whether or not Tammany Hall really resembled a savage tiger that destroyed government and its defenders. Students may collect arguments made by social scientists and urban historians who challenge that view, and contend that political machines served positive functions in the cities. The cartoon could be used as a lead-in to an examination of politicians and reformers. In determining whether Boss Tweed, portrayed as a Roman Emperor, was really all powerful, (his downfall in the 1870's suggests otherwise), the class may be able to involve themselves in an examination of the intricate workings of government—both its early form and its modern structure. Students could also analyze how cartoons, editorials, and other forms of journalism may actually have been responsible, in part, for Tweed's downfall. This study could eventually end in an examination of the influence of the media today. Cartoons show how an artist can manipulate images to make his editorial message convincing to others. Pupils may compare the artist's techniques with those used by politicians, news commentators, journalists, sport reporters, ministers, teachers, textbook authors, historians, and parents to
convey their own messages.

Charts, graphs, and diagrams should not be overlooked as supplements or replacements to written content material. For example, in Linden's textbook there is a chart which lists some notable immigrants of the 1800's (page 325). The chart includes the name of the individual, country of birth, date of arrival into the United States, and major contributions. While it is not the original intention of the textbook writers to make the point, it becomes evident when analyzing their chart that the contributions made by these people were all in activities that took place in cities. Use of this chart could lead not only to a discussion of the role that immigrants played in the city, but also to an examination of why many of the activities in which they excelled were urban-centered.

In the same way, various charts and graphs placed throughout the textbooks present population statistics. These could be used either alone or in a series to aid students in acquiring an understanding of urban growth patterns and comparing growth patterns of different geographical regions. Such charts and graphs help students analyze the growth of suburbs or compare northern, southern, and western cities. Classroom instruction can center around such goals as understanding why growth spurts occurred or why some communities experienced great and rapid population increases while others did not. These activities may
eventually involve students in analyzing actual census reports and local demographic data and in developing their own charts and graphs. Population data can be used as clues about specific facets of urban life: division of labor; dominance of commercial, industrial, or service occupations; high density of population; national and social heterogeneity; and relative stability or change of urban regions. Updated census data can be obtained from county or municipal planning departments or from projections made by the Federal government. A chart from a recent news magazine or updated information from an almanac can be used as a comparison with statistics presented in textbooks, or to show more recent trends. For example, few texts would as yet include 1980 statistics which support the contention that there is a rapid migration out of many northern cities or the recent buildup of cities in the southwestern section of the United States, such as Houston. Up-to-date statistics compared with those in the textbook may help students understand problems associated with the aging of cities.

Maps are also useful in teaching about the role of the city in American history. For example, maps in Ver Steeg and Hofstadter's book (page 291) and in Risjord and Haywoode's text (page 266) show the railroad lines in the United States in 1850 and 1860. The crucial role that cities played in developing a nationwide transportation network can vividly be emphasized in a classroom by having
students examine either one of these maps. The maps can lead to an examination of the contribution made by the industrialization process to urban development and the interrelationship of that process and urbanization.

Maps can further be used to help pupils understand why towns located where they did and when they did. For instance, by reviewing a series of maps which focus on one region, students can see the changes that came over time and the patterns which were established. For example, some population centers disappeared, others remained insignificant villages, and a few flourished. Such revelations may motivate students into an in-depth examination of the elements involved in making a successful town. These can be used to help students understand the relationship between the larger city and smaller communities in their hinterland region.

The maps in the textbooks focus on issues such as economic growth, military campaigns, political elections, and demographic statistics. While teachers must not overlook using these maps for their intended purposes, they can combine several maps to provoke questions for students to investigate. For example, on page 26 of his text Madgic included a map which showed the location of Colonial industry and agriculture. A second map, on page 56, was color-coded to depict the areas of the thirteen states where ratification of the United States Constitution was
most strongly supported. In the process of comparing these
two maps a number of issues can be raised such as the re-
relationship between economics and politics, how urbanites
fit into the pattern, the beginning of the rural-urban
conflict in America, and why the residents of Baltimore
failed to support the Constitution.

Summary

Slowed by traffic congestion; victimized by muggers
who fill the streets with fear; hindered by strikes that
cripple essential services; faced with economic collapse;
and choking in air so polluted that it endangers the lives
of all of its residents, American cities today seem to
confirm Thomas Jefferson's conviction that cities are
"pestilential to the morals, the health, and the liberties
of man." These cities are confronted by yet other crises--
racial, technological, generational, and social frictions--
that appear unresolvable. It seems big cities are dying
a slow death. One wonders if they are worth saving.

However, for better or worse, the country's future
is being molded each day on the streets of Chicago, the
marketplace of New York, the slums of Los Angeles, the
chambers of Washington, and the factories of Detroit. No
American then--including students who will reside in and
will be greatly affected by what happens in cities--can
allow them to die. The responsibility for building a better
attitude toward American cities lies, in part, with the public schools and the social studies curriculum. The American history course provides an excellent framework for study of the American city. The authors of the audio-visual program Beyond City Limits noted that the emphasis must be on the activities teachers can use to encourage students to become personally involved in seeking ways to improve the quality of urban life. Students should be asked to examine the city's past in order to understand its prospects for the future. The program writers further contended that pupils should be motivated toward forming and clarifying their own opinions about the city while seeking to resolve the city's more complex problems. An emphasis should be placed not only on conceptual issues, but with the basic values associated with the function of the city and its surrounding areas. Pupils should be compelled to discover for themselves not only what future metropolitan regions can be like, but also what they feel they should be like.15

This report has outlined some of the trends and issues in American urban history. The focus of this last chapter has been on what teachers can do to help students better understand an urban-oriented society and its implications for their future. Most important, this writer hopes that teachers can help students to become active participants in efforts to overcome the nation's urban ills.
A number of ideas have been suggested by which the American history teacher, using the class text, can attempt to reach that goal. Certainly all teachers will not agree as to the extent urban studies should become a part of the American history curriculum, nor will they agree upon the best instructional approaches. How far the class goes and how much commitment they make to these ideas and others will only be resolved when teachers and students use them in the context of their own local communities, considering their own needs and interests. It is the history teacher who must provide the needed leadership. Therefore, only the teacher can make real the ideas suggested here.
FOOTNOTES

1Alan Francis Griffin, A Philosophical Approach to the Subject-Matter Preparation of Teachers of History, doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1942, p. 29.

2James Harvey Robinson in Griffin, p. 33.


8Marty, p. 472.


15 Beyond City Limits: Tomorrow's Urban Society, audio-visual program, Newsweek publication, 1977.
Chapter VII

CONCLUSIONS

Many contemporary Americans regard the city with contempt and cynicism. Little optimism is included in any discussion of urban issues. A common attitude about the city is that it is so sick it will not survive, and if it does it will continue on in a shriveled, pathological state. Critics categorically ignore the strengths and the attractions of cities. They seldom refer to the grandeur of the city--its glory, its might, its accomplishments, its beauty, and its nobility. They have failed to realize the true attributes and worth of urban areas.

Civilization, however, in the modern and literal sense of the word, began with the building of towns and the founding of cities--its spread and progress are synonymous with the spread and progress of communities. The history of humankind is, therefore, chiefly a history of the development, rise, and decline of centers of population. Cities assume the character of standpoints of history and, at any given period, furnish an idea of the advancements made by humankind.

242
Viewed from this perspective, teachers and students in the senior high schools of this nation cannot afford to neglect to study the history of its cities. Cities are so intricately interwoven into the history of American life that to understand the past and develop a better future, an understanding of cities is a necessity for all Americans. Only by focusing on the problems of their cities, can Americans hope to solve the problems of the nation as a whole. John F. Kennedy once warned, "We will neglect our cities to our peril, for in neglecting them we neglect the nation." How much more important will his warning become as urban pressures increase and attendant problems multiply? Students must be given current and accurate information about the city in order to better comprehend its importance to the past and its implications for the future. They must be directed toward developing specific personal choices for tomorrow's metropolitan world.

Trends and issues in American urban history were examined in this dissertation. The purpose of the study was to determine the extent to which the interpretations of urban historians have been included in the writings of ten recently published senior high school American history textbooks. Criteria for their evaluation were established by reviewing eight urban history surveys published since 1963. The initial procedure was to develop four categories
for analytical purposes. These covered the topics of organizational presentation, the urbanization process, the impact of the city on local and regional affairs, and urban problems. The textbooks were examined to determine if their writers included the same information and interpretations in these areas as did urban historians.

If textbook writers had, in fact, based their interpretations of the American city on the works of urban historians, it would seem that the treatment of the city in their books should have included at least two conditions. First, the text authors would focus on the city as the location for national economic, cultural, political, social, and technological developments. The momentum for change would be seen as coming from cities, and cities would be presented as the axis for such activities. Subsequently, urban presentation would be integrated into the total scope of the nation's chronological periods. Second, the history of the city would be viewed as a continuous process. Urban planning, suburbanization, the inevitable development of influential economic, cultural, and political institutions, and the city's unique confrontation with urban problems would constitute, among others, vital elements within that process.

While the text writers were certainly concerned with the city, and increasingly so in the second half of the nation's existence, they failed to provide much
continuity in their discussions of the city as the center of national developments, in describing the city as a unique entity, or in their examination of the urbanization process. In other words, while the textbook writers included many of the same topics in their books as did urban historians—suburbs, urban mobility, industrialization, urban planning—they did not present these as being a part of a total process of urbanization. For example, the suburb was generally depicted in the schoolbooks as being a twentieth-century phenomenon, not as being an important element within the growth of cities from their earliest beginnings. In the same way, the importance of planning was not emphasized as being important to the city throughout its existence. Instead, it was seen emerging from the Progressive movement and becoming increasingly a responsibility of the Federal government in the last three quarters of a century.

The city was often characterized in the American history textbooks as being confronted by a series of problems. Urban historians examined the positive effects that resulted from the city's plaguing problems (e.g., modern forms of mass transit). Each city's response to common problems was not only seen as vital in shaping its own unique character, but in aiding national progress. Textbook writers, on the other hand, presented these problems as being nearly unsolvable and as marring the nation's
existence. Industrialization, especially after the Civil War, was blamed for creating the most complex dilemmas in the city. While the opportunities for advancement existed, life for the majority of Americans living in cities, primarily those of the lower classes, was seen as quite static.

In their discussion of the role of the city in cultural transformation, the textbook writers best captured the essence of urbanization. They examined both the resources available in towns for cultural, educational, and leisure-time activities and the scope of innovations developed for adjusting to urban life. However, the leadership position held by cities in other developments was not as pronounced as that given to cultural transformation. For instance, cities were not revealed as dominating their hinterlands and as being responsible for regional development. Internal improvements were not seen as being the consequences of competition between urban areas. While many textbook authors did interpret the American Revolution as an urban-led protest, few of the writers treated the Progressive reforms in the same way. Only the issues associated with civil rights and labor were presented primarily as urban-centered movements.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which urban historians have influenced the writing of senior high school American histories. At first glance, it would appear that their impact has been significantly little. The fact
that there are similarities in organization in the textbooks and the urban histories is not, in itself, a strong enough case for arguing that the scholarship of urban historians greatly influenced the writing of the texts. Although it was discovered that discussions of urban problems comprised much of the textbook writers' treatment of the city, it was also found that the elements of the urbanization process were not included in a substantial portion of the content material.

After deeper analysis, however, this conclusion may not seem so clear cut. Many of the basic themes stated by urban historians were included in the texts—suburbanization, urban planning, cultural transformation, frontier development, and urban problems. Nevertheless, the scope and depth of the treatment of these topics differed in the two bodies of work. Textbook authors did not examine all of these issues in all time periods and as thoroughly as did urban historians. This may say a great deal about the problems of textbook development, the nature of the audience, the purpose of the book, and the lack of space to include all interpretations. It does not necessarily mean that text writers were unfamiliar with the interpretations of the urban historians or were not influenced by them. No text writer can possibly say as much about the city as a Constance Green or Blake McKelvey may want them to. For this shallowness they should not be condemned. In fact,
publishers and writers should probably be commended for the way recent textbooks have begun to examine a number of issues and events, relatively free from bias and surprisingly up to date. Theirs is not an easy task.

Historians and history teachers, though, cannot be satisfied with the content about the city provided in current texts. Urban historians must demand that American history textbooks used in the nation's high schools include accurate and up-to-date information and interpretations on American cities. In order to accomplish this, however, it is imperative that urban historians first begin to work in concert toward developing common frames of references to be used in examining the city, in outlining the boundaries of their "field," and in establishing criteria for evaluating textbook content concerned with the city. American history teachers must also do their part in updating textbooks by providing feedback to historians, textbook writers, and publishers. The teacher is closely confronted by the distortions, inaccuracies, biases, and contradictions in the textbook and is probably more aware than anyone else of its problems. Researchers from both history and education must periodically analyze American history textbooks to determine what current texts have to say about the city and the urbanization process.

The fact that teachers rely heavily on the textbook as an instructional tool, and will probably continue to do
so, should not be discouraging. If used properly, the text may be an effective learning aid available for classroom use. While the pressure for the development of better textbooks will be placed on authors and publishers, historians, educators, and teachers should accept the responsibility for proficiently utilizing those works that have already been produced. Historians must write critical, thoughtful, and analytical reviews of American history textbooks in order to help teachers understand their weaknesses and strengths and to keep them current in such "fields" as urban, political, military, social, economic, business, ideological, aesthetic, scientific, religious, intellectual, educational, and cultural history. Teacher educators should develop strategies and techniques that can aid instructors as they teach these concepts. Pre-service and in-service programs must be designed to enable teachers to gain knowledge about methods for using textbooks and to provide experience in using the approaches.

Classroom teachers, however, are the ones who most influence students and determine the results of schooling. Their obligation, then, is to do all within their power to search for the techniques, strategies, ideas, and programs that will allow students to effectively use the American history textbook. Furthermore, American history teachers must be prepared to work effectively with their pupils in schools that serve as community laboratories, encouraging
students, as citizens, to seek new solutions to urban problems. This task will not be an easy one, considering the traditions and experiences that have shaped most teachers, students, and curricula.

Life in the urban centers of the United States is complex and difficult. The future is not bright if the patterns of the past are continued. However, there are new approaches that can be taken toward solving present problems. It is in these that some optimism is warranted. Teachers and students in the nation's senior high school American history classrooms must do their part in attempting to discover these solutions.
FOOTNOTE

1 John F. Kennedy, message to Congress, January 30, 1962.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

A GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF LOCAL HISTORY

As early as 1938, the National Council for the Social Studies devoted its yearbook to the Utilization of Community Resources in the Social Studies and included two chapters on local history. This act brought forth even then an article of faith that learning is more effective when it incorporates experiences from a student's immediate environment.

Thirty years later, in the revision of its curriculum guidelines, the National Council continued to advocate the use of the local community in social studies instruction. The authors of the guidelines maintained that social studies instruction should not be limited to the cellular classroom unit, but should encompass the entire community while providing students with direct learning experiences. The Council advocated that students should use the local community as a laboratory to examine various social issues, community attitudes, individual values, and factual evidence.

The implementation of local history, defined here as the smallest geographical unit of the study of history,
can therefore be a very effective tool for use by American history teachers in their classrooms. Local history is the study of a town, a county, or a neighborhood. Its topics and issues are those of any general history: social, economic, political, military, cultural, educational, religious, scientific, urban, ideological, aesthetic, and intellectual. It is important that what is used in instruction is not romanticized, but is sophisticated, realistic, solidly researched, factual, and interpretative.

There is a great deal of literature which presents rationales for the use of both local and state history. There has also been in recent years an increase in the number of how-to-do-it materials. Many of these are included in the bibliographical section of this work. Much of the existing literature is entirely descriptive, and there is wholly lacking experimental data which demonstrate that the use of localized historical resources can produce the results claimed. However, arguments for the use of local and state history seem convincing.

**Rationales for the Use of State and Local History**

Once the domain of amateur historians, antiquarians, and town boosters, local historical studies have, in recent years, become tools of serious scholarship. For example, Richard Wade's 1959 study of the origins of five midwestern towns, *The Urban Frontier*, modified long-accepted
ideas about frontier settlement. Other grass-root studies of town and regional development have added greatly to an understanding of the later westward movement and urbanization. The respect and professional legitimacy that community and regional history has gained in recent years appears to have greatly enhanced its place in the school curriculum.

Fay Metcalf and Thomas Downey recently produced a state-of-the-art look at local history in the schools. They noted not only the value of local historical studies within the inquiry process, but also that "the rationale for the use of local history and that of the New Social Studies movement are . . . in some respects quite similar." It was their belief that this similarity was a sound justification for the use of local history within social studies programs.

Eugene H. Roseboom and Francis F. Weisenburger, in the introduction to their popular book on the history of Ohio, presented the idea that the history of the state may serve to explain the contributions of single states to the larger life of the nation. Frederick Noel believed this reason was enough to justify a course in Ohio history. Clifford L. Lord saw the use of local studies as one of the "most effective and important" ways for "gaining an understanding of ourselves." Joseph Pound felt that democratic ideals were more meaningful when "seen in the
perspective of history" and that state history "lends itself particularly to achieving that perspective."10

There are those who believe that localized studies can be used to develop and improve certain basic skills. Ralph Adams Brown and William C. Tyrrell and also Metcalf and Downey noted the importance of local studies in developing critical thinking skills, such as detecting bias and sorting through conflicting evidence.11 A resource guide prepared by the West Texas Council for the Social Studies listed the following skills that can be developed and improved through the use of localized studies: library-use skills, writing skills, skills involved in developing and adhering to a work schedule, and skills used in evaluating historical evidence.12 Byron H. Walker assumed that the student who entered the seventh-grade state history course required in Ohio brought with him into the course such basic skills as "map reading, skills in reading and in the evaluation of evidence, and skills in oral and written expression." Nevertheless, Walker argued that it should become the goal and purpose of the program to "refine and improve these skills by providing activities designed specifically for this purpose."13 Robert Douch noted that "perhaps one of the most valuable attributes of local history as history is that it provides examples and experiences, at many different levels of historical research."14 Douch maintained that through local history
students can be made aware of and experience many of the problems encountered in historical research. He further argued that pupils can acquire, or at least become conversant with, skills such as the difference between primary and secondary sources, the dangers of biases, the evaluation of evidence, methods of dating, etc. Douch concluded that local studies are valuable in that they provide the student with "many opportunities for active participation." Philip Jordan, while cautioning that state and local history must not become "an exercise in local pride and puffing," suggested that the greatest contribution of these studied lay in the opportunities which they afford to teachers in encouraging students to learn how to think. Daniel L. Van Leuven saw local history studies serving a valuable function in allowing students to test textbook generalizations.

Lord felt that another value of local and regional studies lay in the vivid illustrations they could provide in helping students understand the trends of national history. Evidence gathered in the local community may either support or contradict national historical generalizations. From this there is developed within students not only a good understanding of national events, but also skepticism about many long-held beliefs and a new appreciation of the diversity of events and peoples in America's past.
Jordan believed that national history could not be understood without understanding the various parts of the whole. He suggested that national trends can be made more comprehensible to students when they are reflected in local interests:

It may be said that in local history the lens of research is directed so as to bring a detail into the foreground, while subordinating other details to a background position. The national or broader history gives attention to the whole sweep of panoramic proportions. . . .

Our local environment and history are the mirrors in which are reflected every aspect of our history as a nation. Here are to be observed and what is more important--understood--the every process through which we built a nation out of a wilderness.19

A final rationale for the use of local history in history instruction was given by Douch. The writer noted that local and regional studies are important because they can help make history real for students. He suggested that localized history "often breaks down barriers between school and the world."20 It is therefore possible that through local, regional, and state history, students may come to the realization that history is simply the study of people and their problems, difficulties, accomplishments, successes, and failures.

Suggestions for Researching Local History

Teachers can use local history within their classrooms even if they are not acquainted with the history of the community where they teach. A great deal of the
responsibility for researching local history should be given to the students. However, if teachers choose to use local studies in their classes they must become aware of where source materials can be located. The following is a partial listing that may help a class get started.

**Background Sources**

Background knowledge can usually be found in several different places. Most counties have at least one published history which dates from the late nineteenth century. Many of these county histories contain a biographical section for which county residents prepared their own sketches and paid for them to be included. An extra fee entitled an individual to have his or her picture included. The biographies are unreliable, but charming. Teachers should not overlook using the distorted biographies to teach students about some of the problems associated with historical research. Of the county histories themselves, some are good, most are quite poor, but they are valuable in that they can provide an outline history of the community. Teachers should remember to use them only as guides and not as gospel.

**Local Histories**

Many towns, cities, villages, churches, clubs, families, and companies have written their own histories. These may, along with the county history, be available at
the county or city library or at the local historical society. Teachers and students must use these materials with caution in that they are likely to be filled with much romantic folk myth and to be inadequately researched.

**Newspapers**

Newspapers can be a vital source of important information. They are community diaries, recording events as they took place and in great detail. However, they may include many inaccuracies. Most communities have had at some time in their past published a local newspaper. If a town did not publish a paper then chances are a nearby town's paper may have carried its local news. If teachers do not know if their town published a paper or where copies can be located, this information can quite often be obtained through local or state historical societies. These organizations may even have copies of local newspapers on microfilm. Many newspaper offices also have back copies on file which are available for public use.

**Government Documents**

Government documents can be important sources for local history projects. Federal and state studies contain sociological, economic, geological, and statistical data of significance to local communities. Many of these were made in conjunction with state universities and copies are available from their libraries. Annual reports of the
superintendents of schools throughout the state are available at most state departments of education.

**Government Offices**

A large amount of primary source material can be found at county, town, and village offices. Land deeds, tax rolls, marriage certificates, wills, and birth certificates are only a few examples. The city treasurer's office can give students an accurate picture of the evolution of their community's finances. The engineer's office can provide such information as when Walnut Street was paved or when the new bridge was built over Hargus Creek. The board of education can help with the history of the local school system.

**Federal Census**

Many important statistics can be obtained from the Federal census reports. These can be acquired from the National Archives through inter-library loan or possibly through local and state historical societies. The census reports list the names of residents in the community, their occupations, the number of persons in the family, their age and sex, the number of industrial establishments in the locality, and various other types of important information, depending upon the particular census surveyed. Many communities have in the past published city, county,
and town directories which will supply much of this same information.

**Oral History**

Some of the best, but least reliable, sources for local history are those which are oral—the people who actually experienced what the class is studying. Most older residents are very happy to talk about the past. When visiting these older citizens, students can take along a tape recorder, sit back in an easy chair, and be taken almost anywhere they may want to go. Students and teachers must not believe all that is said, though, because people only remember what they want to remember or the way they may have wanted it to be. Nevertheless, these people can provide a valuable perspective as to what happened and lead pupils into many new directions. Also, in almost all communities, there are individuals who have made a hobby of knowing the history of the local area. They are more than anxious to share their knowledge.

**Explore**

Fascinating places to look for local history are those such as old houses, garages, and attics. Here, scattered among old suitcases and lamps, can be found pamphlets, diaries, posters, club records, store ledgers, newspapers, letters, family Bibles, photographs, stamps, postcards, and books. One may discover announcements about
a special railroad excursion, a lecture at the opera house, the coming of a minstrel show, or the latest attraction at the cinema.

Physical remains are also valuable sources and are of unique interest to students. They might include old buildings, pictures, cans from the canning factory, an old mill stone, Indian remains, the dentist's turnkey, and other such items.

Only a few suggestions as to where the teacher and students can go in their search for local history have been given here. They and many others are readily at hand. With their aid, pupils and teachers can look, probe, dissect, analyze, have some fun, and, hopefully through the aid of local history, learn.
FOOTNOTES


9 Clifford L. Lord, Teaching History With Community Resources (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers


15 Ibid., p. 7.


18 Lord, pp. 8-9.

19 Jordan, pp. 8, 26.

20 Douch, p. 7.
### APPENDIX B

**Coding Sheet**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASsertions Made By URBan HistoriAns</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. The Organization of Content Material</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. The Colonial City (1607-1781)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The City in the New Nation (1781-1860)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. The Industrial City (1860-1920)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. The Modern City (1920-1980)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. Elements of the Urbanization Process</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Urban Planning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Many colonial towns were planned communities.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Most founders of colonial settlements patterned their towns after European traditions.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The businessman was especially important to urban planning after the American Revolution.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. A group of professional planners emerged during the city's industrial period.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The federal government has increasingly become important in urban planning throughout the twentieth century.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Suburbanization</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Suburbanization has been a continuing feature of American urban life.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Suburban areas exhibited significant economic and social changes in a very visible way.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Central cities are resultants of long-term annexation of suburban settlements.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

266
### Assertions Made by Urban Historians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assertions</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. The most spectacular suburban growth in the United States came during America's industrial period.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Many suburbs tended to become indistinguishable in operation from portions of the central city.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### C. Urban Population Mobility

1. There has always been an incredible amount of movement and rapid turnover of population going on in American cities.
2. Population studies have revealed a considerable amount of opportunity and upward mobility for almost all groups residing within cities—with the exception of the Negro.

#### D. Cultural Transformation

1. American cities assumed a position of leadership for developing innovations in art, literature, science, printing, and other cultural forms.
2. The city is the place where many important and far-reaching educational programs were developed.
3. American recreation was transformed by the new urban-industrial age.

### III. Urban Problems

#### A. Much of what are now regarded as urban problems share a great deal in common with urban problems of the past:

1. Poverty
2. Government inefficiency
3. Crime
4. A heterogeneous society
5. Racial inequalities
## ASSERTIONS MADE BY URBAN HISTORIANS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B. Life in cities has always demanded certain services:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Protection against crime and fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Securing of water and utilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Maintaining sanitation and public health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Providing cheap and efficient mass transit systems</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IV. Role of the City in Regional and National Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. The &quot;frontier&quot; was often preceded by cities.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. A strong relationship has always existed between a city and its hinterland—the success or failure of one quite often determined the fate of the other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Urban competition for hinterland control often resulted in regional and national improvements such as a nationwide transport system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. There is a close connection between urbanization and technological developments. Advances in technology have made possible increased urbanization; increased urbanization has called for new technology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Much of the drive for reform and improvement in America originated and developed in cities:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The American Revolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Progressive Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The labor movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The Negro fight for civil rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weisberger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Computation of Coding Sheets

Appendix C
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>E1</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>TWA</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>BI</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>IIIA2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Abramowitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Linden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Madgic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Risjord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Shenton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Todd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Ver Steeg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Weisberger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D

Letter to State Supervisors of Social Studies Education

Stephen M. Pusey
49 Karen Drive
Bourbonnais, Illinois 60914
August 22, 1980

To the State Supervisor of Social Studies Education:

I am currently a member of the history faculty at Olivet Nazarene College in Kankakee, Illinois, and a doctoral candidate at The Ohio State University in the department of social studies education. My dissertation project is a content analysis of high school American history textbooks in regard to the treatment of the influence of urbanization on the development and growth of the United States.

In order to develop a working sample for the study, I am writing to each of the state departments of education in the United States and requesting from them a list of American history textbooks which are recommended or required for use in their respective states. If your department has such a list available, I would appreciate it if you would send me a copy. If not, or if you may think that your listing is too comprehensive for the purpose of determining the frequency to which particular books are utilized nationwide, would you be willing to write down the ten or so textbooks which you would assume are used by the majority of school districts in your state?

I trust that I have not taken too much of your time. I have enclosed a stamped self-addressed envelop for your convenience and, hopefully, a more immediate response.

Thank you for your efforts.

Sincerely yours,

Steph[e]n M. Pusey

Stephen M. Pusey
Representatives from thirty-six state departments of education responded to the preceding inquiry. Of that number, fourteen states had a required textbook list and twenty-two did not. The fourteen states that had a required textbook list were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Mississippi, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. The twenty-two states that had no required list were Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Maine, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Respondents from five of the states which had no adopted text list sent a list of books which they felt were being used to the greatest frequency in their respective states. These five lists represented the states of Delaware, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Virginia, and Wisconsin.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Content Analysis Methodology


Research on Teaching the Social Studies


274


**Textbooks**

**Books Used in Current Study**


Books Used in Sublett's 1972 Study


Textbook Guides and Resource Materials


Urban Historiography


Urban History

Biographies


Readers


Surveys


Research on Teacher Effectiveness

Borich, Gary D. A Decade of Teacher Effectiveness Research. Austin, Texas: The University of Texas (Mimeo).


. "Recent Research on Teaching Behaviors and Student Achievement," Journal of Teacher Education, XXVII (Spring, 1976), 61-64.

Local History


Eckert, Edward K. "Local History: Everyone's Hidden Treasure," The History Teacher, XIII (November, 1979), 31-35.


Klasky, Charles. "Another Way to Teach That State History Unit," The Social Studies, LXIII (July-August, 1977), 164-166.


Marsh, Colin J. "Whatever Happened to Community Studies?" Clearinghouse, XLIX (February, 1976), 260-270.


Miscellaneous


