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Literacy in America 1900-1920:

Portraits of Young Readers and Their Texts

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Elaine Allen Karls

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Stephen N. Tchudi
Major professor

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LITERACY IN AMERICA 1900-1920:

PORTRAITS OF YOUNG READERS AND THEIR TEXTS

by

Elaine Allen Karls

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ABSTRACT

LITERACY IN AMERICA 1900-1920:
PORTRAITS OF YOUNG READERS AND THEIR TEXTS

by

Elaine Allen Karls

This historical study explores cultural and institutional contexts by which young Americans 1900-1920 acquired tastes and attitudes as readers.

Research explored four areas to establish reading patterns in and out of school. A selective review of popular periodicals, juvenile books, and pertinent references, provided cultural insight about juvenile pleasure reading. Thirty-four secondary literature and three composition textbooks were analyzed for editorial/pedagogical focus. These were reviewed again for notations (marginalia) added by their young owners. Oral histories detailing individual "autobiographies of literacy" were completed with eight people whose adolescence took place between 1900-1920.

Findings suggested the culture promoted some selections as more suitable to young readers than others. Secondary English curriculum was dominated by College Entrance Examination literature. Cognitive "possession" of texts through memorization and detailed analyses may have encouraged readers' intense ties to favorite texts. Marginalia occurred in most pre-owned texts.

DEDICATION

For Ken, my dear companion.
And for Matthew and Susannah--
Bright stars in our universe.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project represents the involvement and interest of many people. My sincere thanks goes to this unique group of colleagues, family, and friends for their contributions to this effort.

Dr. Stephen N. Tchudi has been my advisor throughout this thesis, as well as a teacher and mentor throughout my graduate studies. His example as a prolific writer and inventive, thoughtful teacher are my standards as I enter a new phase of professional life. I have appreciated his careful readings of my work. His enthusiasm for this study was the encouragement I needed to begin.

I would like to thank the Bridgeport Historical Society, Mrs. Lula Birdsall, Bob Budd, Rev. Ron and Jill Compton, and Karen Waite for the gift or loan of rare and unusual books. Access to them extended my basis of understanding of the range of literature produced early in this century.

The oral histories presented in Chapter IV were made possible because eight people opened their homes and memories to me. I gratefully acknowledge the help of Mrs. Leone Berry, Mr. Loren and Mrs. Lula Birdsall, Mrs. Katherine Carroll, Mrs. Helen Compton, Mr. George and Mrs. Ruth Crocker, Mr. George Turner, and Mrs. Petronella Van Wormer.

Michigan State University Library provided irreplaceable resources to me through the Russel B. Nye Popular Culture Collection. The entire staff of Special Collections was unusually accommodating, particularly Anne Tracy, who took a special interest in this study from the start. Over the last months, she has directed me to one-of-a-kind resources I often did not know existed. Many insights I share in this thesis began through conversations with Anne.

To my father, Merlin Allen, heartfelt thanks for combing every flea market and rummage sale in mid-Michigan for specific texts I needed or hoped to find. Because this was a historical study, many books were not available through any means but this. He and my mother, Mary Allen, gave me the gift of time. So often they put aside their own schedules to accommodate mine so that I could negotiate the next phase of the project.

So many others along the way unlocked specific answers or suggested valuable references, or were simply available and supportive at important times. I would like to mention Cam and Sharon Aulds, Alan and Carolyn Cook, Jerry and Connie Eaton, Dr. David and Alison Michelson, and my friend Anne Rau. My mother-in-law, Nancy Karls, assisted cheerfully through many last-minute emergencies. There were others. Each had a role in bringing this project to completion.

This thesis has been a family project throughout this year. My husband Ken was typist, photographer, and performed other diverse and thankless chores (running to the library by dark of night, sorting index cards as the sun came up) with grace and love. This thesis is his accomplishment as well as mine. Our children, Matthew and Susannah, have supported and charmed me through the tedious as well as sublime moments of my research and writing. Most of all, I would like to say that this would not have been possible without these three. With thanks, with love, I acknowledge their months of daily kindness.

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CHAPTER I

CULTURAL CONTEXTS INFLUENCING THE YOUNG READER IN THE NEW TWENTIETH CENTURY

Ninety-seven year old Katherine Cavanaugh Carroll spoke me this year about her childhood memories associated books, reading and writing (Chapter IV). The details provided sketch a picture of the literary texts and rary contexts present around her when both she and the tieth century were young. The Delineator magazine on a or table invited her mother to leaf through for advice ousehold concerns, beauty, and entertaining. The Ave and The Michigan Catholic provided this devout olic home some religious news and insights. The works ckens in handsome editions lined the bookshelves. A locks away was the public library, where Katherine choose a book which she hoped to enjoy as leisure ng. If the book was deemed "appropriate" reading after spection by her father, there was sufficient time in rine's typical childhood day to sit for awhile and the reading of the adventure. And when Katherine augh strolled cross-lots with her neighborhood friends, sometimes called out to each other using the names of favorite book characters.

In this brief profile are imbedded many elements of the udes and contexts in which some American children

ired specific attitudes toward and associations with
ing in the early 1900's. This story, while belonging
uely to Katherine, contains some elements generalizable
cher American children of middle-class families. Most
tant, it models a distinctive feature of the nature of
acy; that literacy evolves through the influence of
s, periodicals, family tendencies and aversions, and
re through activites with associates. Katherine's love
ading flowered not just from school instruction and
, but also from other reading she sampled while growing
the culture of the early 1900's.

Talking with Katherine and others about the life of the
ate child in the early twentieth century America
red some questions I had about reading and writing in
era, and posed others. What kinds of literature were
able to American children and adolescents of this time?
there generalized societal feelings about what kinds of
ary selections were suited to them as they grew up?
ng to Katherine and others, I observed that value
s placed on language and reading had been significant
ghout their lives. This, I felt, made cultural aspects
eracy an important feature of this study.

y selectively surveying some of the popular periodical
ture[1], bestsellers, juvenile literature, and reference
als on publishing in the early 1900's, I have
ted to detect and share a hint of the flavor of the

mes in which young people formed attitudes and habits in nguage usage and reading.

Trends Affecting Variety and Availability of Children's Literature 1900-1920

In the time period 1900-1920, many complementary vements in technology, education, and society created a ferent environment for the many young Americans whose tiation into print literacy was just beginning.

This time period marked the real beginning of the ation of a significant body of literature for juvenile ders. Children increasingly were viewed as a separate ding public, whose needs and interests were to be met h something other than a limited range of adult erature which was viewed as edifying or instructive to child mind -- The Bible, Homer, and a select list of er "classics." A perusal of Literary Digest or The look -- two periodicals which monitored current lications -- weekly revealed new juvenile titles. The lic library system was well underway by 1900, and the st children's libraries were being established within its ucture.[2]

The invention of the steam printing press made mass lication a more feasible venture than ever in our tory. By 1919, 12,000,000 books for children were ished annually. Of this figure, 433 of the titles were for young people that year.[3] 1919 was also a

ificant year in children's book publishing, marking the
olishment of the first children's book department in a
ishing house -- Macmillan, under the editorship of Mary
ee. There was a ready market for all kinds of
dren's and adolescents' books, and major publishing
s responded to the potential market by establishing
ate children's divisions.

It requires imagination to visualize a time when a
c library was new to American's cities and towns, and a
ren's section within it drew special notice from the
c. By 1895, free libraries ranged throughout our
ry, and later libraries endowed by Andrew Carnegie
help make libraries a fixture of American community

Paul Hazard's Books, Children, and Men included
tionate commentary on America's new library system.
s his analysis of America's idea of the children's
y in the early twentieth century:

> hey are a home. And how many children, in these
> uge cities without tenderness, have no other but
> hat! Outside, the rhythm of life tells fever, a
> reat human stream roars by. Millions and
> illions of men, so crowded against each other
> hat space is lacking and houses fuse together
> oward the sky, keep in motion those gigantic
> actories called New York or Chicago ...
> eanwhile, it is a different leisure that delights
> he children in those peaceful libraries peopled
> ith books[5]

nerican youngsters of the new twentieth century could
from more kinds of juvenile reading material than had
efore been available in our history. Free libraries

an expanding public school system increased the
elihood that more children would gain access to books.
se complementary forces created the potential for a wider
ng readership of a greater variety of texts than had
viously occurred.

The Romance and Responsibility of Being a Reader

There was a comforting element of warmth and nurture in
early 1900's comments on children in relationship with
s and stories. The library was depicted as a womb-like
n from corrupt outside influence. The union of child's
ination and text were often discussed by contemporary
entators on literary life in language imbued with a sort
weetness and light. Author Nora Smith had this advice
parents regarding how to guide their children's reading
ces:

> ... open the library doors to the happy child and give him free entrance. Let him begin at the first book on the top shelf and read completely around the room, until, on the eve of his twenty-first birthday, he lays down the last volume on the lowest shelf of all. If you have selected your books wisely, nothing in the library will hurt him; if there are weeds here and there, a noxious growth, a reptile, or a slimy rock, he will swim down the pure current of literature as regardless of them all as the fish in the flowing stream.[6]

Attitudes in the age may have been more conducive to
ren's leisure reading, at least for the child who, like

erine Cavanaugh, was not expected to contribute to the
ly income.[7] Progressive social trends had slowly begun
rant recognition to childhood as a more protected and
ured time in life. For children and adolescents able to
nd school essentially free from the burden of labor --
by labor I mean the early 1900's realities of the
ory, sweatshop, mine and farm -- I believe the new
asis on literacy, libraries, and publishing just for
dren helped create our most romantic views of the
cialness" of what it is to be an American child.
Kate Douglas Wiggin warned parents that "in every one
there dwells a poet whom the man has outlived." To
that poetic sensibility alive, Wiggin suggested it must
urished with children's books which were capable of:

> strengthening his insight, guarding the
> sensitiveness of his early impressions, and
> cherishing the fancies that are indeed "the
> trailing clouds of glory he brings with him from
> God" who is his home.[8]

The romantic notion of child and book were further
ced and emphasized in subtle ways. Charming
trations of curly-haired children in blissful repose,
in hand, often decorated the borders of articles for
ts about what their children should read. Dora V.
, who has done extensive historical study of juvenile
ng, notes that even school reading texts changed in
during this time. Their titles tended to reflect a
literary -- and I think more romantic -- union of child

ext. Titles like Story Hour Reader replaced the
er and more practical titles such as McGuffey's Fifth
ic Reader.[9]

Commentary on adolescents and reading also was
ently tinged with romance. Sometimes the romance
ed notions consistent with growing into one's
ctive sex role. Hamilton Wright Mabie, in a Ladies
Journal "Mr. Mabie's Literary Talk to Girls" poetically
bed the benefits of a girl who by reading in youth
"lay up a store of attractions against the time when
with which she started [physical beauty] were lost."
counseled older girls to know the heroines of good
ture -- Homer's Helen, Scott's Rebecca, Thackeray's
Sharp -- to understand the literary embodiment of "the
t qualities of womanhood."[10]

aul Elmer More in The Nation called for more juvenile
ture that would portray boys full of invention, "quick
he natural restiveness of youth" instead of stories
ying vagabonds and sneaks. More's example of the
kind of book was Tom Sawyer.[11]

this romantic culture, wherein at least a segment of
was now more enabled to place a wider selection of
e reading into the children's hands, the variety of
e selections allowed for some attention to details of
developmental appropriateness.

age's increased awareness of the child was fostered
by the developmental philosophies of G. Stanley

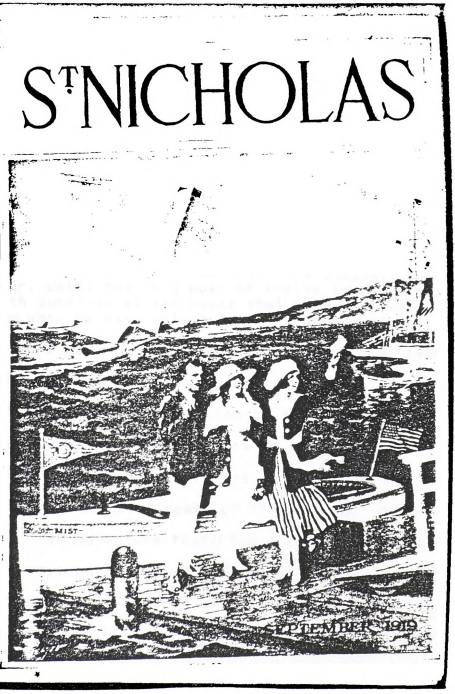


Figure 1

A St. Nicholas cover, September, 1919.

ho urged teachers to rewrite material for reading
t really and closely fitted the minds and hearts of
ldren."[12]

y Mapes Dodge (editor of a high-quality children's
e St. Nicholas, and author of Hans Brinker or the
Skates), made these observations about "best" book
ons for children:

> . each child, during that early formative
> riod, virtually represents six individual
> ildren, so great is the change effected by each
> ssing year. Children outgrow pleasures and
> eds as they do their garments, and the fondled
> cture story-book is cast aside for stronger and
> re stimulating attractions the next. And so
> dividuality is developed by sure stages, year by
> ar, until the `big boy' of twelve looks back
> th surprise at the books that used to interest
> m when he was `only a little chap'."[13]

dge's St. Nicholas magazine reflected her interest in
ng varied reading material to match children's ages
ities. One 1919 edition of St. Nicholas included
er children "The Machinery of the Sea,"[14] a
lly illustrated narrative on waves and sea motion.
included installments of "The Slipper Point
"[15] an adventure featuring girls, and "The Lone
a Western featuring Andy Adams "a cow-boy ... in
f stolen cattle."[16] A section "For Very Young Folk"
engaging illustrations with whimsical verses for
children. St. Nicholas' demonstration of this range
ture is an indication of the age's increasing
in fitting attractive, well-wrought stories to the
ages of childhood. The closer fit of reading

ion to child I think helped extend the romance. More
ver, books were not the tomes of adult classical
ture, but tales of fantasy or adventure more often
n vocabulary and illustrations suited to younger
s.

ne famous author for children urged parents to select
by thinking about the stage of development at which
ild had presently attained:

> The child is your first point: do you know
> im? What you wish him to learn, think, feel and
> e is the second point ...[17]

reedom and caution went hand in hand when allowing
en to read. Parental responsibility for a child's
selection guarded the romance from the harm of
selection. The Outlook, in a lengthy discussion on
for children, urged that:

> . the mind of the child ought to have free
> cess to the reading which it craves ...
> vertheless ... parents have no right to abdicate
> eir functions ... as wise, judicious
> berators.[18]

en Georgene Faulkner, the "Story Lady" of Ladies Home
began a regular feature "Bedtime Stories for
to Tell Their Children"[19] her greeting to the
carried strong reprimands for those who would
bedtime reading. "Run away and read your own story"
mother might say. Faulkner reacted to such a
"The old-fashioned mother had time for her child

Through nature stories she led him to an appreciation of
onderful world about him, and of God, the Creator of
ife." Faulkner's column contained short tales readers
to her, reproduced so that the uninventive mother (the
r who couldn't think up an original tale) could read
es nightly to her smaller children. The message that a
ne of reading fine, uplifting stories to children was a
rly responsibility was clear.

Parental responsibility perhaps began, but certainly
ot end, with provding a "children's hour" for the
er tots. Contemporary literature abounded with advice
arning to parents that a bad or degrading work of
ature in the hands of a callow youth could warp his
bilities or stir his basic urges away from the finest
est.

While there seems to have been cultural support for
en to enter into affectionate acquaintance with books,
omantic attachment most certainly was paired with a
or strong parental responsibility. Kate Douglas
warned parents against allowing youngsters to read
clusively from the popular juvenile serials, and was
ement as to add that the boy whose parents allowed
egrading attachment might someday discover that "He
time become a tolerable husband and father, but his
ll be deaf to the music of St. Paul's epistles and
k of Job; he will never know the Faerie Queene or the
ss Knight, Don Quixote, Hector, or Ajax ..."[20]

Tudor Jenks, author of Imaginotions warned parents: "I ieve the taste of the children should be guided. As we omnivorous physically so are we omnivorous mentally il good taste is cultivated."[21]

As young readers grew, perhaps concerned adults hoped y would take over responsibility for choosing their own ding selections with the same highminded sensibility as ir parents. Hamilton Wright Mabie warned the adolescent ience, "One must ... read novels with discrimination and gement ... there are many bad novels which never ought to into the hands of decent men or women ..."[22] In an cle "Should the Young Read Novels?" he provided for them s of popular novels such as London's Call of the Wild Booth Tarkington's The Gentlemen from Indiana. Novels as these, Mabie suggested, would help one "interpret through the imagination" without resorting to some of novels of the day that were deemed "trash" by the uards of literary propriety.

The Strata of Early Twentieth Century Literature for Young People

Between 1900 and 1914 the student population of ican high schools increased by 150 percent.[23] As, umably, a larger reading public was being created in the ols, a much wider range of reading material became lable. Popular periodical literature reflected a

ous awareness of this new and untrained reading public,
he following insight from The Outlook (1901) suggested:

> The reading public in this country is practically unlimited. It is being fed every year by tens of thousands of graduates from the high schools, to say nothing of graduates from colleges and universities. What has happened, in other words, is an enormous enlargement of the circle of people who read; and that circle having once been enlarged will never again be contracted.[24]

In the same issue of The Outlook, Hamilton Wright
e, a frequent commentator on literary life-and-times in
mainstream American magazines, warned:

> To be a writing people does not necessarily involve being a literature-producing people; to be a reading people does not necessarily involve being a literature-loving people ... hundreds of books may be read without so much as casual contact between the mind of a reader and the marvelous force we call genius.[25]

Again and again, there was evidence of a tension
ed by the addition of more readers and writers to the
can literary "melting pot." On the one side: the
ton Mabies of America -- the classically educated
ons of literary propriety. They, themselves, were
y educated in an elite classical environment which
sed Greek and Latin, the Bible, and a canon of select
argely British literature. On the other side: the
ure created by the great volume of new works --
thing from novels, self-help books, and ephemeral
w-aways." There was a ready readership for everything
old standards and classics to the most seemingly
fying rag. John Tebbel, in his History of Book

shing in the United States, detailed and analyzed the

h of publishing and revealed:

> Conservatives like the editors of Publisher's Weekly found much of what was being published "appalling." It was not at all like the good old days of standard editions of standard works and the steady production of uplifting literature. The new century was beginning to look like a clean breakaway from the past."[26]

The summary statement noted gloomily the "salacious-

and the general cultural sinking of literature in

a, broken down by categories of fiction, biography,

on, and philosophy.

ow that a wider range of literature was specifically

ed for the young, similar debates simmered about the

ility of their reading material. The idea of creating

g selections fitted to the age, interest, and reading

y of a child reflected the progressive and

pmental shifts in society's thinking. But much

ture I surveyed indicated that this focus was paired

ther powerful ideas about literacy and language which

traight out of the past. These ideas -- that reading

ot only inform, but uplift and improve the reader --

o have survived centuries of our history. I believe

deas are intensified by the natural parental desire to

od gifts -- the loveliest, best-made, most enduring --

e children's hands. And the "good gifts" philosophy

tly with generations of American thinking about the

ated quality of "The Word." Thus, just as some adult

ure published during this time was bemoaned for its

ultural sinking," so was some of the literature for the
ung.

During Standards

Though there was no real sustained body of criticism of venile literature until the early 1920's,[27] I have erved that juvenile selections seemed to be placed -- by ents, by teachers, by authors, and by the children mselves -- into categories or strata of acceptability and dness. When my interviews with older people regularly ned to topics of what kinds of reading were suitable or owable, almost all mentioned some kind of parental gate- ping in their homes, to filter out the "trash." In herine Cavanaugh's home, it seemed to be acknowledged t even the public library might carry juvenile selections ch were below the stratum her father could accept.

Lula Birdsall, interviewed in the final chapter of this sis, was able to shut her eyes and visualize the books on bookshelf in her fourth grade classroom. The year would e been about 1913. Among the titles were many books l in print for children; Toby Tyler, Black Beauty, The Little Peppers and How They Grew, and Little Women. e selections received frequent acclaim from parents, hers, and others in the juvenile publishing business. ly it was titles like these -- and others such as Alice onderland, the Andersen's and Grimm's Fairy Tales, nson Crusoe, and the Arabian Nights -- to which a igan Standard Schools plan referred when it called for

good collection of juvenile books ..." in its rural one-
om schools in order that each meet a minimum standard of
ceptability.[28] Famous children's authors asked to name
e "best" selections in a significant Outlook compilation
curned again and again to such titles.

The appeal of books I call "standards" seems to have
en not just the originality and superior craft of the
ting -- which I do think was often the case -- but also
ir appeal to adults who may have shared them with their
ldren. For some sensitive, literate families, parents
t have enjoyed having the experience of knowing Little
en or Lamb's Tales of Shakespeare in common with their
ngster. Perhaps this is why the two women I have
tioned in this chapter have special fondness for texts
h as David Copperfield and Uncle Tom's Cabin. Katherine
roll and Lula Birdsall enjoyed family traditions of
iniscing with parents about texts, their tales, and their
racters.

At the pinnacle of the strata were the selections that
chers, librarians, and educated parents could agree
resented lasting or classic value. Some of these, such
Aesop's Fables and Alice in Wonderland have been
tioned here. Below this stratum, some best selling
nile books found their way into libraries and school
shelves as standard reading. Toby Tyler, Seven
ins, Freckles, and Black Beauty all fit into this
gory.

Serials were the third layer down -- tolerated by most
ts and a few teachers, but not "literary" or "enduring"
ch as expedient in meeting a youngster's desire for
ate action.

uvenile Serials

he serial adventure, featuring white, middle-class
ionists, were published by the hundreds of thousands in
rly twentieth century. The very features the critics
ed most about them; their formula quality and same-
their often insipid and stilted dialogue, the
tched coincidences that occurred every other page,
he very features which so endeared them to their
s. One writer of "better" books warned: "...if you
twelve-year-old boy addicted to `juveniles' and to
g else, you may as well give the poor little creature
Clara Whitehall Hunt, in English Journal, was aghast
penetration of such books into the literary market
ung people.

> ... one of the neighbors lends your lad the first
> the Motor Boys series and thereupon -- a friend
> mine wrote this of her son -- he reads nineteen
> otor stories in nineteen days and is a long time
> covering from the debauch."[29]

ile parents and educators grumbled about these boys'
ls' books, the books emphasized "manliness," "pluck,"
"sunny disposition," and school spirit. If they
re the product of assembly-line writing than they
rks of art, they still reflected cultural values and

ed their readers' imaginations through their psuedo-
ific, outdoor, athletic, and adventurous themes.
he serials' sense of fun and adventure lured a genera-
f readers between nine and nineteen. Whatever the
ary" level of the serials, they provided a boy or girl
mmediate access to a world of motorboats, airships,
r exploring, mystery, and suspense. Russel B. Nye in
embarrassed Muse devoted a wonderful chapter to the
le serial, and described their popularity this way:

> n Tom Swift, Stratemeyer and Garis (creators and
> riters of the series) hit on a formula shrewdly
> esigned to catch the interest of boys who were
> rowing up in the midst of the twentieth century's
> reat burst of invention and technology...Tom, the
> ost prolific and imaginative inventor of them
> ll, gave his readers one major invention and at
> east six minor ones in each book ... they took
> he adventure story of the Rovers, combined it
> ith Jules Verne, Thomas Edison, Ford, Marconi,
> nd all the others who contributed to the excite-
> ent of the machine age, and mixed into it the
> reatest assortment of gadgets known to man.[30]

n a typical Tom Swift adventure, Tom Swift and His
ine Boat or Under the Ocean for Sunken Treasure --
f these adventures featured descriptive dual titles --
ithely traveled in a combination dirigible/balloon.
e the young reader, who in the opening few pages goes
wift's father (always referred to as "the aged
or"), who in this scene is shaken out of a daydream
structural changes on the submarines he is designing
noise of Tom's airship cruising in at ninety miles
ur.[31] The quality of the narrative of these stories
speaks directly and personally to the reader. In Tom

and His Air Glider, note the allure in this passage past adventures:

> When Tom went among the diamond makers, at the request of Mr. Barco Jenks, and discerned the secret of phantom mountain the lad fancied that might be the end of his adventures, but there were more to follow. Going to caves of ice, his airship was wrecked, but he and friends managed to get back home, and then it was that young inventor perfected his sky racer, in which he made the quickest flight on record.
> Most startling were his adventures in elephant land whither he went with his electric rifle, and he was the means of saving a missionary, Mr. Illingway and his wife, from the red pygmies."[32]

Popular series for girls, while retaining their quality st-victorian decorum, were about "modern" girls who their share of adventures, too. The "Motor Girls" ries, the "Dorothy Dale" series, and "Aunt Jane's s" (the latter written by "Edith Van Dyne", a pseudonym Frank Baum) were about carefree but intelligent tially white upper-middle-class) American girls who mysteries while experiencing fun and adventure. moral tone was evident. In Margaret Penrose's Dorothy A Girl of To-Day (1908), Dorothy was charged with g the local newspaper while her editor-father was ill. Dorothy is described as an up-to-date "girl of ', she was shocked when a friend rubbed mullen leaves cheeks to redden them like rouge: "'Tavia', ed Dorothy, dismay in her voice, 'I am so sorry -- k like -- an actress.'"[33]

me Novel

here is at least one stratum of literary expression
uth below that -- probably more. The "dime novel" --
actually sold for about a nickel -- was a genre of
le literary expression adults really loved to hate.
cheaply-produced forerunners of our comic books
ed columns of squintingly tiny print. Despite the
hat youngsters were often ordered to steer clear of
ick Carters" and "Young Wild Wests," they were pro-
and sold by the hundreds of thousands.[34]
he pulp novels featured detectives, wild west heroes
assortment of sidekicks and villains. Clara
all Hunt, the teacher in English Journal who didn't
ne Motor Boys much, expressed glaring hatred for the
ovel. She said: "In some parts of America, he (the
) may find in the public library fifteen stories
ack Harkaway ... in which trickery and lawlessness
to the child reader as scintillating cleverness,
eachers and all others in authority are poor-spirited
35

und Pearson in The Dime Novel or, Following an Old
tempted to tally the brutal episodes of one such
ld Cap Collier. Among the violent episodes, the
g brutalities befall Old Cap:[36]

s into a fight	5 times
its four or five men at once	7 times

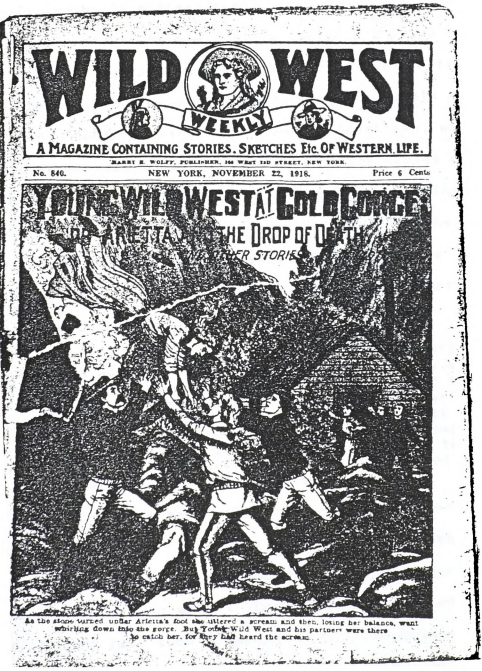


Figure 2

g Wild West saves Arietta in this dime novel western (1918).

Is blown up	once
Is buried alive	once
Is caught in a steel trap disguised as a chair	once
Number of men he beats "to a jelly"	2

Pearson interviewed famous adults in 1929 to find out they remembered about reading the dime novels as dren. Booth Tarkington, author of Seventeen, was idden to read them. He hid them inside copies of oved books, such as Pilgrim's Progress. Tarkington must had ample childhood reading experience, for he was able arody the genre in his bestseller Penrod. The title acter attempted writing a dime novel, with part of the lt reproduced below:

> Soon Harold got made at this and jumped up with blasing eyes throwin off his bonds like they were air ha ha sneered he I guiess you better not talk so much next time. Soon there flowed another awful struggle and siezin his ottomatick back from Mr. Wilson he shot two of the detetives through the heart Bing Bing went the ottomatick and two more went to meet their Maker only two detectives left now and so he stabbed one ...[37]

Another reader said dime novels were "confiscated on ." Still, when boys were alone with each other, the s appeared out of coat pockets and from under shirts. e Turner, a man whom I interviewed as part of this , shared just such a memory of his own boyhood. George ially like the westerns. Possibly "Young Wild West" magazine he traded with his newsboy friends.

Reading as a Window to Middle and Upper Middle Class American Experience

One feature of the writing for and about young people e early 1900's became clear when I surveyed volumes of ial. The protagonists were virtually always white, e or upper middle class people. While the protagonists be engaged in kindly pursuits -- saving a poor family ruin, or taking in a good but penniless lad -- they, hose they "rescue" were almost sure to be white. Much of the bestseller literature between 1900-1920 was ed by a joint audience of adolescents and adults. Of ost popular novels of this time period, several dealt varying themes of middle class adolescence and/or ng "rescue" of poverty-stricken children themes. , it is not common for adults and adolescents to nely enjoy the same bestsellers. In the early 1900's, r, bestselling novels about adolescence were the g choice for many adults and their older children. these were Eleanor Porter's Pollyanna Grows Up (1915) st David (1916), Gene Stratton-Porter's Michael oran (1915), and Booth Tarkington's Seventeen. Points gruency between such popular novels were expressed by e Greene, who said: "Generally, each novel presents a world of good people ... The goals of good are ed."[38] Any reader of such novels, whatever his or her

experience, gained access to a picture of idealized
lle and upper middle class adolescence. By and large,
storylines were altruistic, sentimental, and tinged with
nnocence many linked with youth.

Gene Stratton-Porter, whose books (Girl of the
erlost, Laddie, Freckles) were known by a wide reader-
of adults and adolsecents, described her literary
tions in distinctly middle-class language:

> Upon this plan of life and work I have written ten books, and please God I live so long, I shall write ten more. Possibly every one of them will be located in northern Indiana ... seasoned with plenty of molasses.[39]

Ethnic diversity went unrecognized or misunderstood in
emporary literature for children and adults -- both
ls and periodical literature. Thus, the reader of a
es Home Journal apparently did not detect the irony of
aposition of a full-page ad for Korn-Kinks Malted Corn
es which ran alongside Mrs. Burton Kingsland's regular
ners and Form" column; in which Kingsland answered
sing questions about correct grammar in the written
otance of a party invitation. The Korn-Kinks
rtisement featured its pickanninny spokesgirl shucking
iving this affirmation to the reader: "It am suttenly
erful how w'ite folks kin mek jes' co'n tas' so
."[40]

Suzanne Greene in Books for Pleasure 1915-1945 has
that bestselling books of this time period almost
reflected America's ethnic and racial diversity.

eptions to this conservative and relatively affluent
trayal of American life were notable for their
reotypical quality. In a Harold Bell Wright novel, an
ental servant spoke in dialect. In Somerset Maugham's Of
an Bondage (one of the four most popular books of 1915),
oriental seduced a German girl. Greene claims that the
y reference to an eastern European in any popular novel
this time was in Seventeen, to "a Dago waiter who cut off
ady's head."[41] The popular fiction of the day clearly
ated an America which was overwhelmingly white,
dle-class, and Anglo-Saxon. Even the popular 1914 novel
zan of the Apes "proved" the innate superiority of a
te man in treacherous territory.

The racial stereotyping evident in other books existed
early Tom Swifts, too. The Negro character, Eradicate
pson, was so-named because he "eradicated' dirt (was a
n-up man). When Tom tried to use Eradicate as ballast
he first flight of an untried air glider, here is how
icate responded:

> "Now if you don't want to come, why say so, and I'll get Eradicate. I don't believe he'll be afraid, even if he --
> "Hold on dar, now, Massa Tom!", exclaimed an aged colored man, who was an all-around helper at the Swift homestead, "was yo' referenci't me when you' spoke?"
> "Yes, Rad ..."
> "Well, now, Massa Tom, I shorely would laik t' blige yo', I shore would. But de fack ob de mattah am dat I has a mos' particular job ..." and the colored man shuffled off at a faster gait than he was in the habit of using."[42]

While I enjoyed browsing the "Children's Page" of the
lely-circulated Youth's Companion, as it abounded in sunny
high-quality illustrations, prose, and poems for and
ut children -- about animal friends, birthday parties,
es and fairies, and other pasttimes and interests of
et [white] children. One story about American Indian
ldren demonstrated a prevailing attitude about ethnic
toms and language use. In the story "Peet," the author
lained a Mohave Indian custom of waiting to name children
il they are five years old. This is how the custom was
cribed:

> Then (at age five) the boys and girls are big enough for names, but such funny names as Puck-ar-roo-too and Mus-to-rook and Mat-ham-oo. But little Mohave boys or girls have no kindergarten or school, and never have to learn to write their names, so they do not care.[43]

It is not difficult to see how unfortunate American
ditions of cultural bias were reinforced through readings
oldest living generation was given as children.

It is difficult to comprehend, let alone synthesize, a
e of the contrasts in living situation children and
h in America experienced in the early 1900's. What kind
hild did Annie Fellows Johnson address in her preface to
Ware - The Little Colonel's Chum[44] when she assured all
"Boys and Girls who are friends of the Little Colonel"
she was continuing the series based on the readers'
asing demands for more? Was the child reader the
ered white child of wealthy parents? The opening
stration of Johnson's The Little Colonel's House Party

s the caption: "Down the long avenue that led from the
e to the great entrance gate came the little Colonel on
ony."[45] How many American children could make
ingful connection with such books, whose characters were
leged white children who ate cake and went to boarding
l?

I offer partial explanation of that child reader's
ity based on the research and especially on information
ied by actual readers (Chapter IV). She or he was a
nt in some school -- a one room rural school, or a
-story city school, or a Catholic school run by an
of teaching nuns. The child may have been "rich," but
likely came from a working class, blue collar family.
child probably had some access to a library. Reading,
he fortunate American child who did not have to work
living, provided a common denominator to the American
e-class experience. One zealous Little Colonel fan
ved her heroine through the series and right up to
e Colonel's Knight Comes Riding, in which the Little
el finally meets a man whose qualifications are to to
gh standards. The reader, herself single for a
me, claimed she carried the Little Colonel's yardstick
easuring a suitable mate throughout life, and found no
o could qualify.[46] I believe many American children
this time found, in reading, views and visions of the
a they hoped to be part of in adult life.

The Heterogeneous Readership:
The Broadened Choices for Readers and Writers

The choices this new age brought young readers by
ure of the expansion of juvenile publishing and the
ch of the public library systems represent an
utionary stage in American attitudes about children and
racy. The decorum of an earlier time, when a few
tocratic scholars read and explicated classical and
lary texts, can be observed in some adults reserve and
in offering children only the "best" reading
tions.

The most genteel of the voices for refined reading and
ined readership -- the Hamilton Mabies and others --
d to define the literary "trash" and strata I have
ibed.

Their concerns in many ways reflect the time past, when
struct of classical literacy was a powerful force in
mining cultural values regarding reading. But their
ities could not dictate the reading priorities of the
se new American readership.

The attitudes and warnings about juvenile reading which
to reflect the classical and the well-intentioned
ring impulses of the commentators of course conflicted
many literary choices in the range available. In an
hich was progressive technically, socially, and

ucationally; a more progressive attitude about literacy olved from this narrow classical influence.[47]

In 1905, Dorothy Richardson in The Long Day, the Story a New York Working Girl appealed to philanthopists to put me reading material that was "wholesome, sweet, and same ." into the hands of young working girls in New York's rment district. She was appalled at the way they devoured lp romances. Richardson went on to say that "degraded ste" could not be reformed, even with the likes of akespeare and Ruskin. In settling for something "sweet d sane," Richardson seemed to be acknowledging a reader her than a scholarly reader. While Richardson obviously lieved reading had power to transform the reader, she monstrates abandonment -- at least for working class girls of a classical ideal.

As working class people and business people composed a eater segment of our society, literacy was needed on a oader scale to perform the more literacy-oriented tasks. t taste in reading over such a heterogeneous culture was ch more broadly determined, and a "classically" literate oulation, if it ever did exist, could not exist amid erica's considerable variety of people.

Particularly for America's immigrant people, some venile selections on the lower strata of conventional ceptability must have seemed the fulfillment of their best eams about American and Americans. Any boy can invent a iseless motorboat and save the crew of an allied

omarine. Any girl can drive a motorcar and solve a
stery. The serials, the westerns, the detective and
mance stories all must have -- rightly or wrongly --
swered questions and planted hopes in the minds of their
ung readers. This range of reading choices for a diverse
adership was a step away from the narrow range for the
ivileged few.

Chapter I Notes

1. In selecting contemporary periodicals, I made an tempt to survey titles which I could in some way thenticate as fairly "mainstream" and likely circulating a wide readership. Cecile McCroskey in "The ministration of English in the High School Curriculum," glish Journal, 7:1, 108-17., presented a survey which cluded the names of magazines circulating in American high hool libraries. Of thirty-three questionnaires returned, e libraries widely differed in titles to which they scribed. The highest consensus on a single title were pular Mechanics and Review of Reviews, each with eight hools subscribing. Literary Digest circulated to seven, d The Outlook six, which in this study indicated gnificant representation. Both of the later two were ilable to me, and I felt were valid choices. I selected dies Home Journal as a mainstream choice of households e to afford some publication which would influence home itudes.

2. See The Dictionary of Literary Biography (vol. 22), erican Writers for Children 1900-1960, Ed. John Cech, (4 s), (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1983), ix.

3. American Writers for Children ..., x.

4. Dora V. Smith, "Children's Books -- Yesterday and ay," Reading About Literature, Ed. Evelyn R. Robinson, : David McKay 1966), 146.

5. Paul Hazard, translated to English by Marguerite chell, Books, Children, and Men, (Boston: The Horn k, Inc. - 5th Edition, 1983).

6. Nora Smith, "The Best Books for Children," The look, 7 Dec. 1901, 884.

7. Jacob Riis, The Children of the Poor, (NY: ivener, 1892). This classic provides an especially nching background for understanding tenement poverty and ld labor in large cities around the turn of this century.

8. Kate Douglas Wiggin, "The Best Books for ldren," The Outlook, 7 Dec. 1901, 874.

9. Dora V. Smith, ... 145.

10. Hamilton Wright Mabie, "Mr. Mabie's Talk to ls," Ladies Home Journal, June, 1903, 15.

11. Paul Elmer More in Clara Whitehall Hunt's "The d and the Book in War Times," English Journal, 7, 3, 495.

12. G. Stanley Hall in Arthur Applebee's Tradition and orm in the Teaching of English, (Urbana: NCTE, 1974),

13. Mary Mapes Dodge, "The Best Books for Children," ec. 1901, 869.

14. Arthur Hallam Hawksworth, "The Machinery of the " St. Nicholas, Sept. 1919, 963-9.

15. Augusta Huiell Seamon, "The Slipper Point ery," St. Nicholas, Sept. 1919, 1009-13.

16. Joe Mills, "The Lone Track," St. Nicholas, Sept. , 970-77.

17. Kate Douglas Wiggin, ... 873.

18. "Reading for Children," The Outlook, 7, Dec. , 868.

19. Georgene Faulkner, "Bedtime Stories for Mothers to Their Children," Ladies Home Journal, Oct. 191x, 36.

20. Kate Douglas Wiggin, ... 871.

21. Tudor Jenks, "The Best Books for Children," The ook, 7 Dec. 1901, 881.

22. Hamilton Wright Mabie, "Should the Young Read ls?", The Ladies Home Journal, Sept. 1907, 28.

23. deCastell and Luke, Literacy, Schooling, and ety, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986),

24. "The Greater Reading Public," The Outlook, 69:7, 19, 1901, 403).

25. Hamilton Wright Mabie, "The Greater Reading c" ... .

26. John Tebbel, A History of Book Publishing in the d States (vol II) The Expansion of an Industry 1919, (NY: R.R. Bowker Co. 1975), 30.

27. Dora V. Smith, ... 146-7.

28. Fred Keeler, "The Eighty-First Annual Report of uperintendent of Public Instruction of the State of gan 1917-1918," (Fort Wayne: Fort Wayne Printing)

29. Clara Whitehall Hunt, "The Child and the Book in imes," English Journal, VII:8, 490.

30. Russel B. Nye, The Unembarrassed Muse: The Popular rts in America, (NY: The Dial Press. 1970), 81-2.

31. Victor Appleton, Tom Swift and His Submarine Boat Under the Ocean for Sunken Treasure, (NY: Gosset and unlap, 1910), 3-5.

32. Victor Appleton, Tom Swift and His Air Glider or eeking the Platinum Treasure, (NY: Grosset and Dunlap, 12), 17.

33. Margaret Penrose, Dorothy Dale A Girl of To-Day, Y: Cupples and Leon Co., 1908), 29.

34. Nye, ... 77.

35. Hunt, ... 490.

36. Edmund Pearson's Dime Novels or Following an Old ail is the best reference on the dime novel I have found. apter V. "Reader's Recollections" is especially helpful, it is Pearson's 1920's interviews with current authors out their reading of the dime novels in their childhoods. riginal copyright Little, Brown and Co.,1929--reprinted by nnikat Press, Inc., Port Washington N.Y. 1968).

37. Pearson, ... 141.

38. Suzanne Ellery Green, in Books for Pleasure 14-1945 (Bowling Green: The Popular Press, 1974) provides Chapter 2 "The Simple Life" analysis of the fiction oduced in the years 1914-1916. She notes "Anglo Saxon periority," "middle class boyhood" and "people rescuing verty-stricken chilren" as common threads in themes of stselling novels of that era.

39. Gene Stratton-Porter, "They Write for Millions," Ladies Home Journal, XXXII:6, June 1915, 2.

40. Advertisement for "Korn-Kinks" Malted Corn Flakes" Ladies Home Journal, Jan. 1907, 46.

41. Greene, ... 14-21.

42. Victor Appleton, Tom Swift and His Air Glider or eking the Platinum Treasure, (NY: Grosset and Dunlap, 12) 3.

43. "Peet," The Youth's Companion, 76:18, May 1, 02, 229.

44. Annie Fellows Johnson, Mary Ware The Little lonel's Chum, (Boston: L.C. Page & Co. 1908), vii-viii.

45. Annie Fellows Johnson, The Little Colonel's Party, (Boston: L.C. Page & Co. 1909) II.

46. Dora V. Smith, Fifty Years of Chilren's Books 1910-1960: Trends, Backgrounds, and Influences, (Champaign: NCTE 1963), 3.

47. Suzanne de Castell and Allan Luke provide an interesting analysis of three paradigms of American literacy in their "Models of Literacy in North American Schools" in Literacy, Society, and Schooling, 87-109. They identify differences between classical, progressive, and technocratic literacy which seem to describe our evolving attitudes and responses to creating and reading and writing populace.

48. Dorothy Richardson, The Long Day. The Story of a New York Working Girl, (NY: The Century Co. 1905) 300.

CHAPTER II

Literature and Language Textbooks for the Secondary Pupil

"If people have their tastes set betimes to such authors as Spenser and Shakespeare, Addison, Scott, Wordsworth, and Charles Lamb, is it very likely they will stomach such foul stuff as the literary slums and grog-shops of the day are teeming with?"

Henry L. Hudson
"English in Schools"
preface to 1880
edition of Twelfth Night[1]

"... extravagant homage to examinations warps the ideals of teachers and vitiates their methods in many studies. In literature it has begotten the highly annotated text, which contemplates an emergency of hurry and is meant to preclude the necessity of stopping to think."

Samuel Thurber, Master
Girls' High School
Boston.
Introduction to Riverside
edition, The Merchant of
Venice[2]

"A frank recognition of our fundamental aim in teaching literature will reveal our methods. In the first place, our choice of books will be determined, not on a complete survey of the field of literature, but by the tastes and abilities of the boys and girls at a given stages of their progress. We shall not require them to amble along in Chaucer's palfrey, bored by the Clerk, the Squire, and the Nonne Preeste, when they are at home in the camps of outlaws and buccaneers.

".. We shall ... seek the best that will appeal to the interests of the class. We shall conform to the doctrine that education is the process of developing the child from what he is to what he ought to be rather than our recent practice of leading him from where he isn't to where he doesn't want to go."

W. D. Lewis - William
Penn High School.
"The Aim of the English
Course" English Journal,
January, 1912[3]

The studies of literature, grammar, composition, and hetoric -- the vertebrae composing the backbone of the high chool English curriculum when this century was new -- were argely derived from curricular movements in English in the id nineteenth century.[4] Beginning in the 1870's, the arvard Entrance Examinations promoted mechanical and rammatical precision in compositions written by prospective reshmen.

The subject matter for these entrance compositions was nowledge of "masters" of British literature. The Harvard ists -- or lists modelled on them -- with works by hakespeare, Milton, Burke, and a handful of others, ominated the classroom reading of most high school pupils f the time. Thus, many English teachers complained that he high school had become "a cramming place for the ollege." Geographically, the closer the school was to an xamining college, the more technical and detailed the ethods of literary study became.[5]

The high school student of the early twentieth century, hen, most often studied a high school curriculum that was

preparatory" in nature. This means that, regardless of the tudent's particular plans following graduation, it is ikely that he or she would read, study, and commit to emory selections of literature which reflected the current elections from the lists.

In a summary of the Final Report on the Articulation of he Elementary-School Course in English with the High-School ourse in English of 1913, an NEA Committee voiced concerns elated to the fit of the curricula to the real needs of hese students:

> In the high-school courses the requirements are too ambitious, lack elasticity, and are often unrelated to the interests of the entering classes, to which there is little continuous effort to adapt the work. May not this tendency of the high schools to use in the first year books poorly adapted to the interests and tastes of the pupils be due to the influence of the College Entrance Requirements?[6]

With the establishment of the National Council of eachers of English in 1912, the profession formally eveloped a forum for expressing concerns and interests of s diverse membership. While the NCTE debated contents and lue of the standard college entrance "lists," most schools ppear to have waited eagerly for advance notice of the next ear's literary selections for testing. The Committee of n, a group of English educators appointed by the National ucation Association, met in 1892, and their sub-committee English affirmed that "... the reading of certain sterpieces of English literature, not fewer that those

presently assigned by the Commission of the New England Colleges, should be required".[7] However, the English sub-committee also voiced objection to the dominance of the college lists.

Chester J. Clark was a senior at Saginaw East Side High School in 1916 when he described in detail his four-years' English course in an essay in his school yearbook, The Aurora. Though Saginaw, Michigan, is far from Boston -- the vicinity most in curricular harmony with "lists" -- the selections he and his classmates read were typical of contemporary high school curricula. In ninth grade, Clark's required reading included Silas Marner, The Iliad, and Treasure Island. Longfellow and Tennyson capped with Julius Caesar in tenth grade, and intensive grammar course linked to the orations and rhetorical styles of Washington, Webster, and Lincoln were Clark's required language studies. More works by Shakespeare -- along with intense memorization -- completed eleventh grade. In the senior year, Clark reports, he and his friends took up The Canterbury Tales, Hamlet, Macbeth, and Milton's minor works, along with Macaulay and "The eccentric Dr. Johnson." Clark's description of his training to "express our thoughts clearly and concisely, to express different shades of meaning, and to talk fluently in our own language" in the English class fit nicely with the well-known aims of college entrance requirements.[8]

Both literature and grammar/rhetoric/spelling texts were key in training students to read and then write about works of literature. The books are a reflection of the time in which they were written and used. They open a door to pedagogical concerns and methods of early twentieth century English teachers, to American attitudes about "the Mother Tongue,"[9] and to diverse attitudes about applications of language learning to achieve "discipline," "morality," "wholesomeness," and "possession" of the author's meaning -- to name a handful of typical aims of textbook English study.

The sample studied here includes thirty-four literature books and three composition, rhetoric, grammar, and vocabulary texts intended for use in grades nine, ten, eleven, and twelve (see Appendix A for details of the literature texts). Some 1890's editions of texts remain in the study on the assumption that texts were sold, traded, and frequently reused well past date of publication. Dates and names pencilled in covers help to validate this assumption. A few other texts remain in the study because of the interesting margin notation by students, but were not intensively studied for content and are not included in Appendix A.

I sorted and studied a much wider sampling of books. I rejected many for one or more of the following reasons: difficulty in authenticating intended grade level, duplication of title, authorship or publication in Canada, authorship by a religious order for parochial schools.[10]

All but one of the literature books represent the typical "little" series of that time period -- "little" literally in size. These small texts (Figure 1 and Figure 2) are presently ccessible where used books are traded but long ago went out of fashion in textbook publishing, in favor of anthologized literature in larger texts.

Incidentally, many of the texts were filled with advertising for other texts, and I have included some information acquired through advertising matter. One especially interesting purpose the ads served was to reinforce how pervasive the presence of the "lists" really was. Virtually every time a student or teacher opened the cover of a book -- the advertisements presented the "lists" again.

This study is then representative, but by its historical nature, and due to the rarity of other scholarly research about early twentieth century texts, cannot claim to be exhaustive or absolute.

"Little" literature books for secondary schools passed in and out of fashion relatively quickly in America. The small, slim, single author books are a quaint remembrance of a time before the physically heavy but more practical anthologies came into use in America's English classrooms. The old literature books provide contrast in appearance and textual content to current texts -- the hefty 1980's anthology or grammar textbooks. They weighed only a few ounces each. The largest editions were only seven inches

igh and belonged to the Riverside Series[11] and Lake English lassics[12] series, each of which produced dozens of masterpiece"-quality titles oriented to the college lists. he smallest, the Maynard, Merrill,and Co. series[13] (the nly untitled series in this study) and the Macmillan eries[14] were each only about five inches tall. Macmillan otly named its series "Pocket English and American lassics," for these volumes -- the slimmer ones -- would asily fit a pocket and comfortably fit a pair of hands for eading. The typefaces used in these literature books for igh schools are of sufficient size to be read without quinting -- unlike tiny print typical of earlier nineteenth entury books. Millions of these small, usually one-work olumes, were sold in the early 1920's.[15]

Editorship and Authorship of Literature Texts

Most school books were routinely purchased by students ther than provided to them by the schools of the early 00's. Part of the cause of the "little" books' eventual mise was the advent of free public secondary education, ich included provision for books. It then became more actical for schools to provide longer-wearing hardcovered thologies.[16] The older books provoked my imagination as I amined them, as I realized that for between fifteen and

forty cents each, an entire library of British and American classics, as well as a smattering of Homer, Plato, Plutarch, Dumas, and the Brothers Grimm, could be obtained by any youngster. The collection of personal bookplates and proudly-penned names I have discovered inside their covers suggests to me that frequently these books were treasured by their young owners.

More than size and shape were immediately apparent. A distinctive feature of virtually every series book is the overwhelming editorial presence. The Lake Series, by Scott Foresman, traditionally printed the editor's last name on the cover below the title, rather than the author's (Figure 3). Thus, a typical cover would appear as follows:

Lake English Classics

Three American Poems

Greever[17]

and this title is rendered:

Lake English Classics

George Eliot

Silas Marner

Hancock[18]

The latter title, sandwiched between author's name and editor's name, visually alludes to the proprietory nature editors frequently assumed with literary texts. While they often included long biographies detailing the birthplace, life events, and ample skills of each author, these volumes

"For School Use" and "With Additional Notes" or "With Introduction, Notes, and Examination Papers" became almost as much the invention of their editors as of their authors.

A critical observation of literature text title pages revealed the subtle yet significant alteration a school editor's hand brings to the work. Julius Caesar becomes Julius Caesar "For Use in Schools and Classes with Notes Explanatory and Critical"[19] and English Poems (featuring, among others, Goldsmith, Wordsworth, Gray, and Coleridge) becomes English Poems From the College Entrance Requirements in English.[20] The presence and pressure of the college test in the English classroom seems to have signalled the necessity of a fourth party in the reading experience in addition to the usual triad of student, teacher, and text. The fourth is the individual introduced for the purpose of piloting the student through the text: the text's editor.

Editorial presence in a literature text was as individual and often as idiosyncratic as its editor. I have found some texts with fully as many pages devoted to "Introductory Notes," "Study Suggestions" -- and author's biographies, literary criticism and explanation -- as orginal text. While I did not analyze texts specifically for editorial changes or deletions, I suspect some editors expurgated them as well.

The following excerpts of editorial comment provide a sense of how uniquely each entered into the textual material.

Samuel Thurber, in an Introduction to Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice:

> "A bright youth furnished with the bare text of a play, and having access to but the scantiest literary helps, will, provided he has an inquisitive mind, read his Shakespeare to better issue than will the possessor of the fullest notes who has nothing to do but memorize printed matter placed under his eye in the shape of lessons."[21]

Robert Morss Lovett in "Suggestions for Teachers" in Scott's Marmion:

> ... there are three sets of interests in "Marmion" -- the interest which it has for the interested reader of to-day, the interest for the period for which it was written, and the interest of the time which it portrays. The first is a matter of enjoyment and criticism. The second of literary history; the third of history. They are given above in what seems to me their relative importance. Inasmuch as the poem is one of the books prescribed in the college entrance lists for **STUDY**, the teacher will naturally feel that the last two are of most immediate importance, and the details which occur under the third head are the most dangerous boy-traps on the examination paper.[22]

Literature was a relatively new study in the high school. The inexperienced or unconfident teacher could have self-confident advice from distinguished professionals, both high school and college level, in the field of English. Some of the editors -- such as Samuel Thurber[23] and Fred Newton Scott[24] -- were leaders in establishing English as a profession with specific goals and a framework for professional organization. Editorial presence created potential for enhancing or extending the novice teacher's meaningful classroom methodology with the literature book.

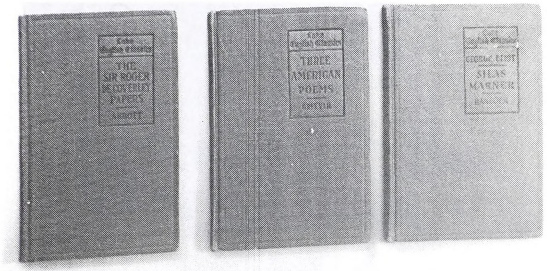


Figure 3

The Lake Series of English Classics featured the editor's name on each cover. Many times the author's name was absent from the cover.

Figure 4

Sample texts from the most popular series of literature in the early twentieth century. Top row, left to right: Standard English Classics (Ginn and Co.), Eclectic English Classics (American Book Co.), Laurel English Classics (Laurel Book Co.), Lake English Classics (Scott, Foresman and Co.). Bottom row, left to right: Macmillan's Pocket Classics (Macmillan and Co.), Longmans' English Classics (Longmans, Green, and Co.), The Academy Series (Allyn and Bacon), and Maynard, Merrill and Co. (textbook series not named).

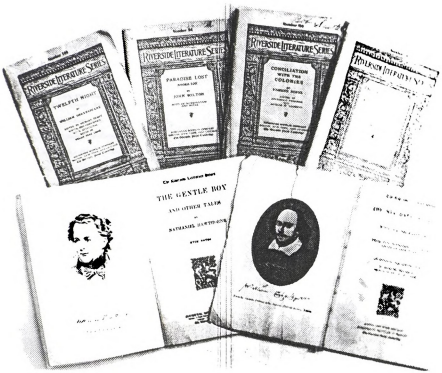
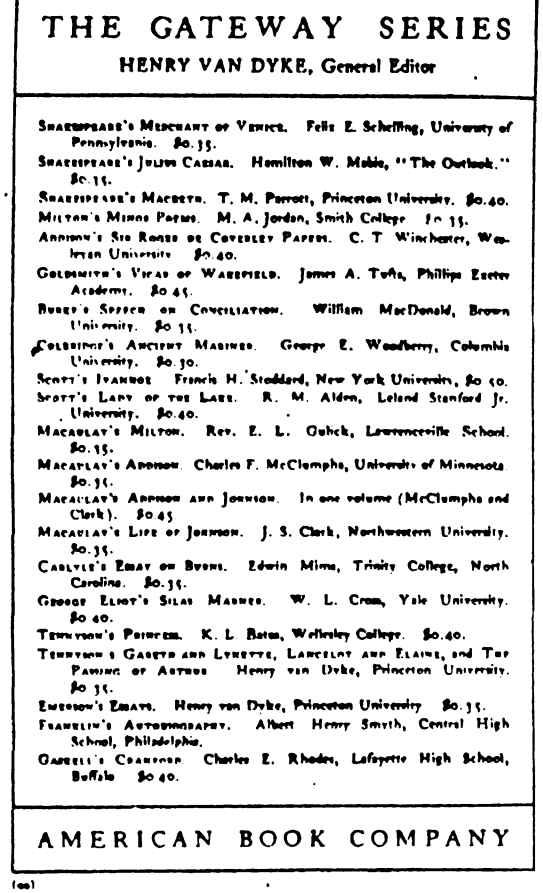


Figure 5

The Riverside Literature Series offered more than two hundred titles of works by British and American authors. Many included portraits of the authors.



THE GATEWAY SERIES

HENRY VAN DYKE, General Editor

SHAKESPEARE'S MERCHANT OF VENICE. Felix E. Schelling, University of Pennsylvania. $0.35.

SHAKESPEARE'S JULIUS CAESAR. Hamilton W. Mabie, "The Outlook." $0.35.

SHAKESPEARE'S MACBETH. T. M. Parrott, Princeton University. $0.40.

MILTON'S MINOR POEMS. M. A. Jordan, Smith College. $0.35.

ADDISON'S SIR ROGER DE COVERLEY PAPERS. C. T. Winchester, Wesleyan University. $0.40.

GOLDSMITH'S VICAR OF WAKEFIELD. James A. Tufts, Phillips Exeter Academy. $0.45.

BURKE'S SPEECH ON CONCILIATION. William MacDonald, Brown University. $0.35.

COLERIDGE'S ANCIENT MARINER. George E. Woodberry, Columbia University. $0.30.

SCOTT'S IVANHOE. Francis H. Stoddard, New York University. $0.50.

SCOTT'S LADY OF THE LAKE. R. M. Alden, Leland Stanford Jr. University. $0.40.

MACAULAY'S MILTON. Rev. E. L. Gulick, Lawrenceville School. $0.35.

MACAULAY'S ADDISON. Charles F. McClumpha, University of Minnesota. $0.35.

MACAULAY'S ADDISON AND JOHNSON. In one volume (McClumpha and Clark). $0.45.

MACAULAY'S LIFE OF JOHNSON. J. S. Clark, Northwestern University. $0.35.

CARLYLE'S ESSAY ON BURNS. Edwin Mims, Trinity College, North Carolina. $0.35.

GEORGE ELIOT'S SILAS MARNER. W. L. Cross, Yale University. $0.40.

TENNYSON'S PRINCESS. K. L. Bates, Wellesley College. $0.40.

TENNYSON'S GARETH AND LYNETTE, LANCELOT AND ELAINE, and THE PASSING OF ARTHUR. Henry van Dyke, Princeton University. $0.35.

EMERSON'S ESSAYS. Henry van Dyke, Princeton University. $0.35.

FRANKLIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Albert Henry Smith, Central High School, Philadelphia.

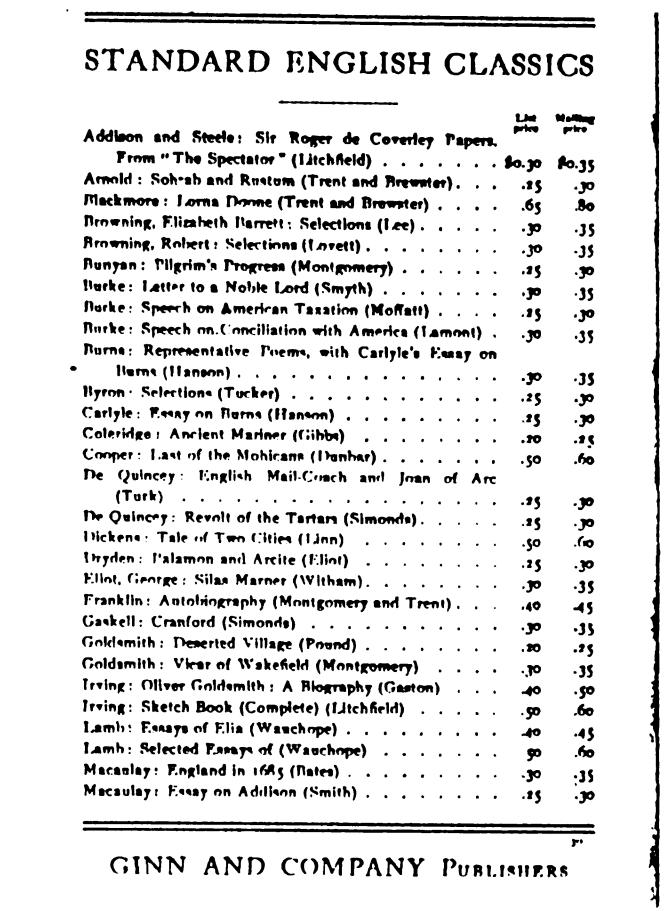
GASKELL'S CRANFORD. Charles E. Rhodes, Lafayette High School, Buffalo. $0.40.

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

(oo)

Figure 6

American Book Company's "Gateway Series" of literature textbooks advertised the College Entrance Selections in the texts.



STANDARD ENGLISH CLASSICS

	List price	Mailing price
Addison and Steele: Sir Roger de Coverley Papers. From "The Spectator" (Litchfield)	$0.30	$0.35
Arnold: Sohrab and Rustum (Trent and Brewster)	.25	.30
Blackmore: Lorna Doone (Trent and Brewster)	.65	.80
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett: Selections (Lee)	.30	.35
Browning, Robert: Selections (Lovett)	.30	.35
Bunyan: Pilgrim's Progress (Montgomery)	.25	.30
Burke: Letter to a Noble Lord (Smyth)	.30	.35
Burke: Speech on American Taxation (Moffatt)	.25	.30
Burke: Speech on Conciliation with America (Lamont)	.30	.35
Burns: Representative Poems, with Carlyle's Essay on Burns (Hanson)	.30	.35
Byron: Selections (Tucker)	.25	.30
Carlyle: Essay on Burns (Hanson)	.25	.30
Coleridge: Ancient Mariner (Gibbs)	.20	.25
Cooper: Last of the Mohicans (Dunbar)	.50	.60
De Quincey: English Mail-Coach and Joan of Arc (Turk)	.25	.30
De Quincey: Revolt of the Tartars (Simonds)	.25	.30
Dickens: Tale of Two Cities (Linn)	.50	.60
Dryden: Palamon and Arcite (Eliot)	.25	.30
Eliot, George: Silas Marner (Witham)	.30	.35
Franklin: Autobiography (Montgomery and Trent)	.40	.45
Gaskell: Cranford (Simonds)	.30	.35
Goldsmith: Deserted Village (Pound)	.20	.25
Goldsmith: Vicar of Wakefield (Montgomery)	.30	.35
Irving: Oliver Goldsmith: A Biography (Gaston)	.40	.50
Irving: Sketch Book (Complete) (Litchfield)	.50	.60
Lamb: Essays of Elia (Wauchope)	.40	.45
Lamb: Selected Essays of (Wauchope)	50	.60
Macaulay: England in 1685 (Bates)	.30	.35
Macaulay: Essay on Addison (Smith)	.25	.30

GINN AND COMPANY PUBLISHERS

Figure 7

Ginn and Company's "Standard English Classics" titles reflection the college entrance canon.

till, the textbook approach to presentation of a "classic" ork of poetry or prose rendered it a different work than if t had been the work only bound between the covers.

The "little" literature series for high school use ventually became distinctive "all in one" volumes which, in ddition to being part author's biography, were part eference guides with material ranging from word meaning and tymology to literary criticism by revered scholars of iterature, part advertising matter for other texts, and ften a complete teacher's guidebook as well.

In many ways I believe the "little" texts did become ancock's Silas Marner or Greever's volume of American oems, for the degree of editorial dissection and annotation ften consisted of fully as many pages of the book as the uthor's text. This self-contained personality so apparent n these texts marks, I think, a swing toward confidence and elf-assurance in teaching English and presenting it to high chool students. The books suggest a method and a means to tudying literature.

These texts directed -- or sometimes pushed -- the upil to various avenues of thought. The intervention of an ditor in creating an arbitrary modus for classroom teacher s often heavyhanded. "Outline the movement ... scene by ene" says the editor of As You Like It.[25] Cornelia Beare, presenting topics for study in Julius Caesar asked the udent in each act to "pick out twenty consecutive lines . and estimate the proportion of end-stop and run-on lines

of feminine endings ... variations from the iambic foot ... use of rhyme, of prose."[26] But many volumes also exuded a confident assurance that with so much "help" (annotation, writing exercises, and the like), surely the pupil would take the work to heart and gain a thorough understanding of it.

The overall aim, clearly was to create a meaningful yet testable literary experience for a student in a culture in which specific literary knowledge and specific language skills marked the student for success or failure.

Allyn and Bacon, publishers of "The Academy Series" described the contents of the formats of several of their other books in the series, in advertising matter at the back of Addison and Steeles's DeCoverley Papers from The Spectator. The following excerpts illustrate the publisher's own enthusiastic acceptance of the method of presenting a composite text -- part author's work, and part editor's various additions:

> Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield
> Edited by R. Adelaide Witham
>
> The introduction to the work contains a Bibliography of the Life of Goldsmith, a Bibliography of Criticism, a Life of Goldsmith arranged by topics, a Table of Masterpieces ... and an appreciation of Goldsmith's style
>
> and
>
> Emerson. Select Essays and Poems
> Edited by Eva Marie Tappan
>
> ... A feature of the book is the suggestive questions at the bottom of each page which keep

> the pupils' attention on the alert and at the same time aid in the interpretation of the text.[27]

Frequently, the first duty an editor undertook was to ssure the young pupil of the benefit of the text to be ead. This assurance often assumed much the same somber, ife and death tone as John Milton's opening line to his pic Paradise Lost, in which Milton promised to "justify the ays of God to men." Professor J. M. D. Meiklejohn's pening remarks were circulated in several of Shakespeare's olumes:

> The Editor has ... taken as much pains with this as if he had been making out the difficult and obscure terms of a will in which he himself was personally interested.[28]

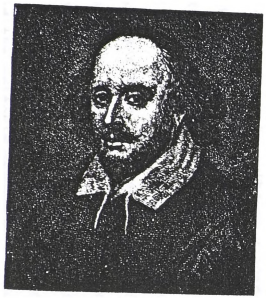
Thus, a book of essays by Thomas Macaulay, frequently ublished for the purpose of rhetorical analysis, began:

> Julius Caesar and Lord Macaulay have been much abused writers. They did not mean to write immortal exercises for the school-room. But when a man writes -- just as he would fight on a field of battle or in the political arena -- with what Quintilian describes as "force, point, and vehemence of style," he must expect the school-boy to devour his pages."[29]

Robert Lovett, Professor at the University of Chicago, efaces Sir Walter Scott's Marmion:[30]

> The most valid reason for the selection of Marmion as a text-book for schools is that it offers admirable material for training the historical sense of literature.

Other editors filled their "Prefaces," "General tices", and "Introductions" with similar statements which



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

SHAKESPEARE'S

MERCHANT OF VENICE

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND
EXAMINATION PAPERS

(SELECTED)

BY

BRAINERD KELLOGG, LL.D.
Professor of the English Language and Literature in the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, and one of the authors of Reed and Kellogg's Language Series

NEW YORK
MAYNARD, MERRILL, & CO., PUBLISHERS

Figure 8

Brainerd Kellogg L.L.D. prescribed detailed analytical study of this 1899 Merchant of Venice.

might allude the charm or beauty of the work at hand, but students more often were directed to the value of the reading as an exercise in a variety of linguistic disciplines. J. M. D. Meiklejohn began Merchant of Venice by asserting "... thorough excavation of the meaning of a truly profound thinker is one of the very best kinds of training that a boy or girl can receive at school."[31]

Interestingly, this identical "General Notice" appeared in the earlier-mentioned Merrill edition of Julius Caesar,[32] suggesting among other things, that some views on reading literature as a form of mental discipline were widely acknowledged.

In a preface to Silas Marner, A. Hancock described how a student's reading of the novel should differ from a mere "desultory" reading: "... though a novel is primarily to be read for pleasure, no one will like it less because he can intelligently discuss the reasons for his enjoyment."[33]

For the present-day reader of these editorial aims and opinions, the effect is somewhat like attending a scholarly symposium in which each editor has a moment to enjoy the floor, then to retire and "har-umph" while the next takes his turn. The literature selections appear to belong to the editor and the editor's judgement concerning how to study the work.

Samuel Thurber's introduction to Riverside's Merchant of Venice was, to my thinking, eloquent and persuasive:

> Not until the examination ceases to be a disturbing element in our planning can we teach

> with reference to the desires, the capacities, and the needs of the youthful mind. The mature Shakespeare scholar finds his stimulus to activity in the hard knots, the unsolved difficulties, of the poet's text: he must have something that resists to brace himself against. But the beginner, in his humble sphere, is in precisely the same case as the learned scholar. He too must have his tangible problem, a clearly felt obstacle to progress, that requires him to take trouble, to think again and again, to push his search in many directions. So dead and inert a thing is information that was unsought and undesired --- information proffered before the need of it was even surmised --- that earnest search, even though it has failed, is far better.[34]

Thurber's disdain for College Entrance Examinations as they became the focus of most all high school English instruction attains special significance when one realizes that the remarks are published in front of a book which was published to satisfy the market need which the lists created. I consider it the height of integrity that a few of the publishers gave some editors license to dissent concerning the list selections and list emphases in the high school English curriculum, despite the fact that the lists supplied the publishers a bread-and-butter income from their brisk sales. Though Riverside Literature Series published lists of College Entrance books, they allowed Thurber to comment against list-oriented teaching. Other editors' comments were less pointed than Thurber's, though they seemed to be focused at a similar point: "... appreciation to be genuine must in large measure be spontaneous" said editor William Vaughn Moody, "... freshness of approach and openness to impression are its first essentials."[35]

It is sometimes difficult to imagine at what pace some English classrooms were able to progress, given the detailed analyses and repeated readings many of the editors prescribed. Despite the reformist motives of Thurber and others, exhaustive analytical modes of literature study prevailed. By today's standards, it would seem impossible to study more than three or four books a year. A critic in School Review complained of a Riverside Selected Poems of Shelley "... what in the name of the pedagogical saints is a pupil to do with it?"[36] citing the editor's comprehensive study suggestions as "an overdose of editorial mania."[37]

Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, edited by Brainerd Kellogg (Professor of English Language and Literature in the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn)[38] provided complete and complex methods for reading the work and performing assignments related to it. After Professor Meiklejohn's "General Notice," cited earlier, there is a four-page section on "Shakespeare's Versification." Here, Kellogg described peculiarities of Elizabethan grammar such as "He for him, him for he; spoke and took for spoken and taken; plural nominatives with singular verbs; relatives omitted where they are now considered necessary; unnecessary antecedents inserted; ... "[39]

The editor suggests that students need the grammar and versification section to be better at scansion which would "greatly assist him in his reading."[40]

The editor then suggests a two page "Plan of Study for `Perfect Possession'." "Perfect Possession" of the text -- described by the editor as "intimate and ready knowledge of the subject"[41] -- included (for each scene, act, and the "the whole play") a knowledge of general and specific incidents, interrelationships of characters, word meanings and grammatical relationships. Kellog advances the necessity of possessing three "powers." These are the power to reproduce, the power to locate a line or statement, and the power to quote. Thus empowered, the young reader had attained "Perfect Possession."

In one way or another, many of the texts approached literature study by the possession method. These methods required the reader to perform diverse language skills and maneuvers as part of the act of reading. Some abilities fell into scientific or technical categories involving grammatical and etymological finesse. Other skills including sequencing and reference skills (putting material in historical perspective and sequence, looking up information in suggested reference books) were typical. To "possess" the work was to understand it as a decomposed language structure, to have memorized portions of it, and to be able to converse about it orally and in writing. In most cases, interpretation was defined specifically within narrow interpretive parameters. I found the plan of "Perfect Possession" also reproduced in a 1910 edition of Julius

Caesar, suggesting "possession" as a pedagogical approach may have been applied by many teachers.[42]

"Appreciation" was frequently mentioned as an aim of reading literature, but rigorous standards were enforced regarding the pupil's ability to perform particular language functions (recite expressively, or write beautifully, or answer correctly), so it would seem that "appreciation" may have been an elusive entity for many pupils.

Irving's Sketchbook, for example, lists "appreciation" as its first aim. But in describing the second and third aims, which were to study Irving's literary art or practice and his rhetoric, the editor suggests that to meet all three aims the student "begin with impression ... and end with expression in the form of oral and written composition."[43] The editor made the interesting assertion that rhetorical drills eventually lead to a higher appreciation of literature, thus completing his case for a pedagogy that both acknowledged "appreciation" and fell back on the familiar and comfortable territory of linguistic repetition, grind, and rote.

Shakespeare's As You Like It[44] also listed "appreciation" as a primary consideration of high school study. Yet its editor, Samuel North, set down a comprehensive plan of reading involving three separate readings. The first reading provided "preparation" and was carried out aloud in class. The second was for close analysis -- unusual words, interpretation, types of

onstruction, and plot and characterization. In the third eading, the student was to "gather into a well-rounded hole the result of the entire study."[45] The demanding ethods of study, which appeared to generate varieties of ork, resulted in a kind of textual "possession" which is ifferent from original thinking or creation of original exts.

Uniquely American qualities and values are evident in chool books, as several authors of studies on our early chool texts have maintained.[46] In my limited study, I have ome back again and again to the word "possession" in trying o describe the common feature I observe about these books. he striking editorial presence, their small size, and their requent pedagogical concern for memorization and exhaustive tudy encourages the student to own them entirely -- hysically and cognitively. There is something of the merican personality in the notion of approaching and vertaking any kind of frontier. Even the intellectual rontier presented in a work of literature seems to have rovided a focus for intellectual acquisitiveness.[47]

At the most basic level, the books were possessed by eir owners, not by the schools in which they were used. eir size made possession convenient and comfortable, as ey easily fit in pocket or hand. Possession was a gnitive goal most editors placed before students and achers. The successful student reproduced passages from

memory and synthesized oral and written language based on the textual springboard of the book.

Generally, the **books** were a compendium numerous kinds of discourse. To have read and remembered such a text was to economically have come in contact with the author's biography, the editor's pedagogy, the author's text, and a host of other features from glossaries to suggestions for staging. Many editors suggested that ideally the text be read three times. The end result -- possession in a cognitive sense, as well as ownership of the physical text. Generally, a picture of the author faced the first paragraph of text. Each student could "know" Shakespeare -- from the lines in his face to the lines of his verse. The most successful student possessed powers to "excavate" Shakespeare's hidden textual meanings as well. Presumably these nuggets of truth could likewise be "owned" by the best of the students.

High School Study of American Literature

The College Entrance Requirements for 1911 included only five titles by American authors (Figures 9 and 10). According to Arthur Applebee in Tradition and Reform in the Teaching of English, only fifteen percent of American schools offered American literature courses at the turn of this century.[48] While reading of American authors increased

COLLEGE ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS

IN THE RIVERSIDE LITERATURE SERIES

• indicates the years in which the book is required "for reading"
"s" indicates those in which it is required "for study."

Number		1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
132.	**Arnold.** Sohrab and Rustum[6]	....	....	....	•	•	•
—	**Bacon.** Essays.[2] (*Preparing*)	....	....	....	•	•	•
115.	**Browning.** Poems[6] (selected)	....	....	....	•	•	•
109.	**Bunyan.** Pilgrim's Progress, Part I[2]	....	....	....	•	•	•
100.	**Burke.** Speech on Conciliation	s	s	s	s	s	s
128.	**Byron.** Poems[6] (selected)	....	....	....	•	•	•
105.	**Carlyle.** Essay on Burns[8]	....	....	....	s	s	s
135.	**Chaucer.** Prologue[8]	....	....	....	•	•	•
80.	**Coleridge.** Ancient Mariner[6]	•	•	•	•	•	•
164.	**De Quincey.** Joan of Arc, and The English Mail Coach[5]	....	....	....	•	•	•
161.	**Dickens.** Tale of Two Cities[4]	....	....	....	•	•	•
83.	**Eliot.** Silas Marner[4]	•	•	•	•	•	•
42, 130, 131.	**Emerson.** Essays[6] (selected)	....	....	....	•	•	•
19-20.	**Franklin.** Autobiography[2]	....	....	....	•	•	•
68.	**Goldsmith.** Deserted Village[8]	....	....	....	•	•	•
78.	**Goldsmith.** Vicar of Wakefield[4]	....	....	....	•	•	•
91.	**Hawthorne.** House of Seven Gables[4]	....	....	....	•	•	•
155.	**Irving.** Life of Goldsmith	•	•	•	....	....	....
51-52.	**Irving.** Sketch Book[5] (selections)	....	....	....	•	•	•
79.	**Lamb's** Essays of Elia[5] (selected)	....	....	....	•	•	•
2.	**Longfellow.** Miles Standish[6]	....	....	....	•	•	•
30.	**Lowell.** Vision of Sir Launfal[6]	•	•	•	•	•	•
104.	**Macaulay.** Essay on Addison	s	s	s	....	....	....
45.	**Macaulay.** Lays of Ancient Rome[6]	....	....	....	•	•	•
102.	**Macaulay.** Life of Johnson[6]	s	s	s	s	s	s
72.	**Milton.** L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, etc.	s	s	s	s	s	s
119.	**Poe.** Poems[6] (selected)	....	....	....	•	•	•
147.	**Pope.** Rape of the Lock[8]	....	....	....	•	•	•
142.	**Ruskin.** Sesame and Lilies (selections)[8]	....	....	....	•	•	•
86.	**Scott.** Ivanhoe[4]	•	•	•	•	•	•
53.	**Scott.** Lady of the Lake[6]	•	•	•	•	•	•
93.	**Shakespeare.** As You Like It[1]	....	....	....	•	•	•
163.	**Shakespeare.** Henry V[1]	....	....	....	•	•	•
67.	**Shakespeare.** Julius Cæsar[1]	s	s	s	•	•	•
106.	**Shakespeare.** Macbeth	•	•	•	s	s	s
55.	**Shakespeare.** Merchant of Venice[1]	•	•	•	•	•	•
149.	**Shakespeare.** Twelfth Night[1]	....	....	....	•	•	•
60-61.	**Sir Roger de Coverley Papers**[2]	•	•	•	•	•	•
160.	**Spenser.** Faerie Queene, Book I[8]	....	....	....	•	•	•
136.	**Tennyson.** Gareth and Lynette, etc.[6]	•	•	•	•	•	•
140.	**Thackeray.** Henry Esmond[4]	....	....	....	•	•	•
24.	**Washington.** Farewell Address[7]	....	....	....	s	s	s
56.	**Webster.** 1st Bunker Hill Oration[7]	....	....	....	s	s	s

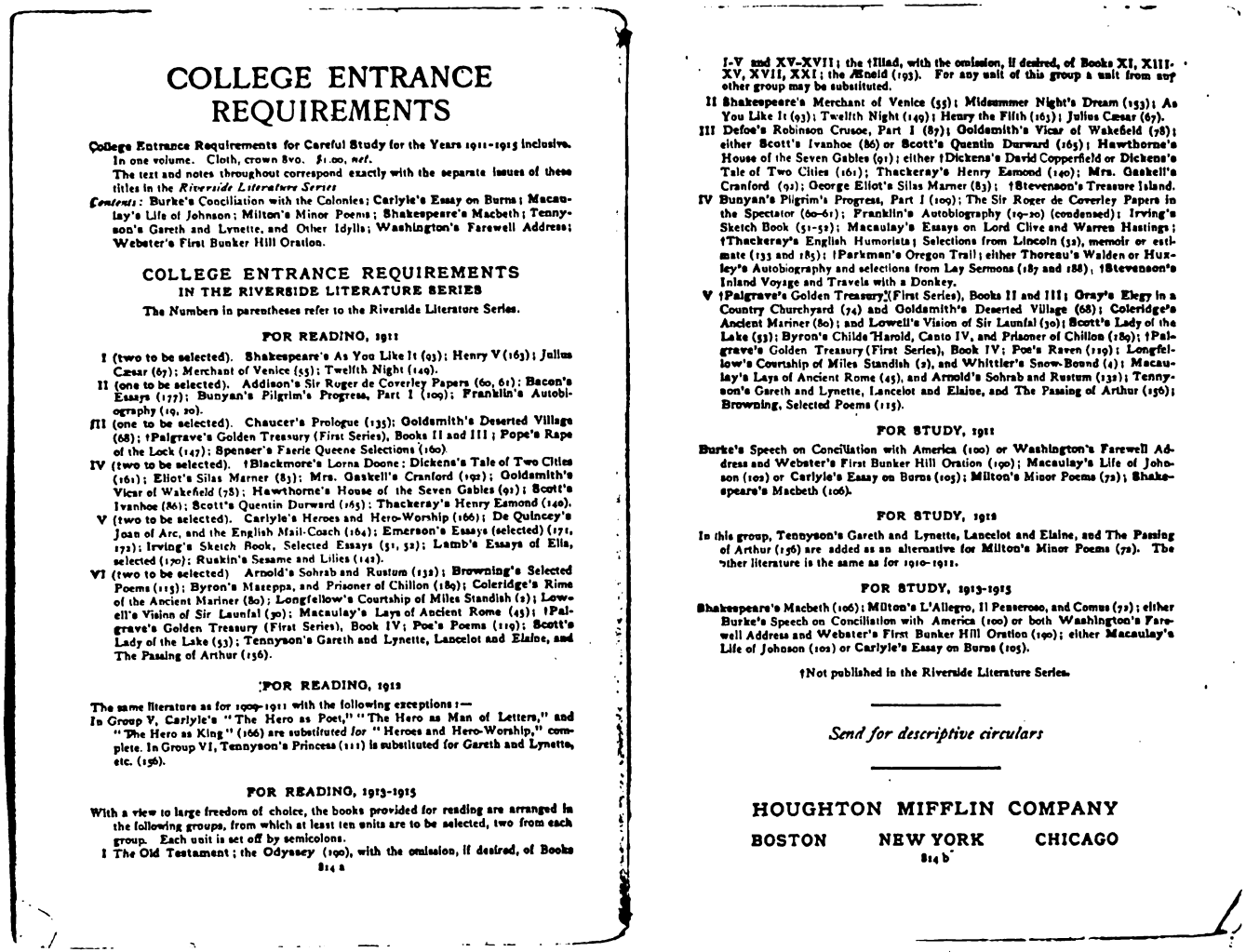
The following Requirements for 1909-1911 are not published in the Riverside Literature Series: *Palgrave's* Golden Treasury, 1st Series, Bks. II and III,[8] Bk. IV.[8] *Scott's* Quentin Durward,[4] *Mrs. Gaskell's* Cranford,[4] *Blackmore's* Lorna Doone,[4] *Carlyle's* Heroes and Hero Worship.[6]

[1], [4], [5], [6] *Two from each group to be selected for reading, 1909-1911.*
[2], [3] *One from each group to be selected for reading, 1909-1911.*
[7] *These two are an alternate for Burke's Speech, 1909-1911.*
[8] *One to be selected for study, 1909-1911.*

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY

Figure 9

his announcement in the Riverside Literature Series alerts
eachers and pupils to College Entrance Requirements
906-11.



COLLEGE ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS

College Entrance Requirements for Careful Study for the Years 1911-1915 inclusive. In one volume. Cloth, crown 8vo. $1.00, *net*.

The text and notes throughout correspond exactly with the separate issues of these titles in the *Riverside Literature Series*

Contents: Burke's Conciliation with the Colonies; Carlyle's Essay on Burns; Macaulay's Life of Johnson; Milton's Minor Poems; Shakespeare's Macbeth; Tennyson's Gareth and Lynette, and Other Idylls; Washington's Farewell Address; Webster's First Bunker Hill Oration.

COLLEGE ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS
IN THE RIVERSIDE LITERATURE SERIES

The Numbers in parentheses refer to the Riverside Literature Series.

FOR READING, 1911

I (two to be selected). Shakespeare's As You Like It (93); Henry V (163); Julius Cæsar (67); Merchant of Venice (55); Twelfth Night (149).

II (one to be selected). Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley Papers (60, 61); Bacon's Essays (177); Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Part I (109); Franklin's Autobiography (19, 20).

III (one to be selected). Chaucer's Prologue (135); Goldsmith's Deserted Village (68); †Palgrave's Golden Treasury (First Series), Books II and III; Pope's Rape of the Lock (147); Spenser's Faerie Queene Selections (160).

IV (two to be selected). †Blackmore's Lorna Doone; Dickens's Tale of Two Cities (161); Eliot's Silas Marner (83); Mrs. Gaskell's Cranford (192); Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield (78); Hawthorne's House of the Seven Gables (91); Scott's Ivanhoe (86); Scott's Quentin Durward (165); Thackeray's Henry Esmond (140).

V (two to be selected). Carlyle's Heroes and Hero-Worship (166); De Quincey's Joan of Arc, and the English Mail-Coach (164); Emerson's Essays (selected) (171, 172); Irving's Sketch Book, Selected Essays (51, 52); Lamb's Essays of Elia, selected (170); Ruskin's Sesame and Lilies (142).

VI (two to be selected) Arnold's Sohrab and Rustum (132); Browning's Selected Poems (115); Byron's Mazeppa, and Prisoner of Chillon (189); Coleridge's Rime of the Ancient Mariner (80); Longfellow's Courtship of Miles Standish (2); Lowell's Vision of Sir Launfal (30); Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome (45); †Palgrave's Golden Treasury (First Series), Book IV; Poe's Poems (119); Scott's Lady of the Lake (53); Tennyson's Gareth and Lynette, Lancelot and Elaine, and The Passing of Arthur (156).

FOR READING, 1912

The same literature as for 1909-1911 with the following exceptions:—

In Group V, Carlyle's "The Hero as Poet," "The Hero as Man of Letters," and "The Hero as King" (166) are substituted *for* "Heroes and Hero-Worship," complete. In Group VI, Tennyson's Princess (111) is substituted for Gareth and Lynette, etc. (156).

FOR READING, 1913-1915

With a view to large freedom of choice, the books provided for reading are arranged in the following groups, from which at least ten units are to be selected, two from each group. Each unit is set off by semicolons.

I The Old Testament; the Odyssey (190), with the omission, if desired, of Books I-V and XV-XVII; the †Iliad, with the omission, if desired, of Books XI, XIII-XV, XVII, XXI; the Æneid (193). For any unit of this group a unit from any other group may be substituted.

II Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice (55); Midsummer Night's Dream (153); As You Like It (93); Twelfth Night (149); Henry the Fifth (163); Julius Cæsar (67).

III Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, Part I (87); Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield (78); either Scott's Ivanhoe (86) or Scott's Quentin Durward (165); Hawthorne's House of the Seven Gables (91); either †Dickens's David Copperfield or Dickens's Tale of Two Cities (161); Thackeray's Henry Esmond (140); Mrs. Gaskell's Cranford (92); George Eliot's Silas Marner (83); †Stevenson's Treasure Island.

IV Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Part I (109); The Sir Roger de Coverley Papers in the Spectator (60-61); Franklin's Autobiography (19-20) (condensed); Irving's Sketch Book (51-52); Macaulay's Essays on Lord Clive and Warren Hastings; †Thackeray's English Humorists; Selections from Lincoln (32), memoir or estimate (133 and 185); †Parkman's Oregon Trail; either Thoreau's Walden or Huxley's Autobiography and selections from Lay Sermons (187 and 188); †Stevenson's Inland Voyage and Travels with a Donkey.

V †Palgrave's Golden Treasury (First Series), Books II and III; Gray's Elegy in a Country Churchyard (74) and Goldsmith's Deserted Village (68); Coleridge's Ancient Mariner (80); and Lowell's Vision of Sir Launfal (30); Scott's Lady of the Lake (53); Byron's Childe Harold, Canto IV, and Prisoner of Chillon (189); †Palgrave's Golden Treasury (First Series), Book IV; Poe's Raven (119); Longfellow's Courtship of Miles Standish (2), and Whittier's Snow-Bound (4); Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome (45), and Arnold's Sohrab and Rustum (132); Tennyson's Gareth and Lynette, Lancelot and Elaine, and The Passing of Arthur (156); Browning, Selected Poems (115).

FOR STUDY, 1911

Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America (100) or Washington's Farewell Address and Webster's First Bunker Hill Oration (190); Macaulay's Life of Johnson (102) or Carlyle's Essay on Burns (105); Milton's Minor Poems (72); Shakespeare's Macbeth (106).

FOR STUDY, 1912

In this group, Tennyson's Gareth and Lynette, Lancelot and Elaine, and The Passing of Arthur (156) are added as an alternative for Milton's Minor Poems (72). The other literature is the same as for 1910-1911.

FOR STUDY, 1913-1915

Shakespeare's Macbeth (106); Milton's L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, and Comus (72); either Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America (100) or both Washington's Farewell Address and Webster's First Bunker Hill Oration (190); either Macaulay's Life of Johnson (102) or Carlyle's Essay on Burns (105).

†Not published in the Riverside Literature Series.

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Figure 10

College Entrance Requirements 1911-15. Note the reference to works which can be purchased through The Riverside Press.

throughout the century's first twenty years, student volumes of works by American authors almost universally reflect two interesting and opposing attitudes about our native literature.

The first is editorial acknowledgement of British literature as a superior body of work. Editors accomplished this by saying so outrightly, or by comparing American authors unfavorably to British authors.

The second is marked editorial pride in works of American literature, which expresses forcefully to the student and teacher that certain characteristics of the American personality are imbedded in its literature. These characteristics -- among them cunning, daring, cleverness, inventiveness -- seem to be hallmarks of the American culture as it is often portrayed in time period 1900-1920. It was a time of great technological advance, a time for inventors and inventions -- a time when American cunning and cleverness were showcased for the world. Consistent with the notion of national pride, the few American works elevated to literary "classic" status in the select canon were almost exclusively works concerned with our history and founding figures -- Franklin's Autobiography, Webster's Bunker Hill Oration, and Washington's Farewell Address.

A 1907 edition of Cooper's The Deerslayer by Macmillan demonstrated the dual features just mentioned. The unnamed editor begins by cataloguing the weaknesses in Cooper's work. Cooper was "not a great master ... lacked deftness

... had not the magic of style ... had no powerful intellectual personality ... not a master of tragic conditions" according to the opening statements.[49] These elements of style, tragedy, and intellectual development are precisely the attributes our book editors routinely ascribed to works by British poets, novelists and playwrights.

Cooper's enumerated strengths as a writer seemed to comprise a catalogue of the composite American personality. The editor called Cooper a "man of force" who has "added to the American personality" with "original power." This man is a "man of action rather than meditation" who is "eminently fitted to the possibilities of adventure."[50] In describing how Cooper came to write his first novel, the narrative mentioned (with no small note of pride) that Cooper decided he could top the work of an insipid British novelist he had been reading.[51] However, the editor noted, Cooper's first novel Precaution was "badly written ... badly printed ... (and) .. shows how completely the New World was dependent upon the Old World for its literature."[52] This comment illustrates that American literature began to be valued not as art, but as historical record and as evidence of the plucky American personality, rather than a distinctive and masterful American art form.

A Riverside edition of Longfellow's "The Building of the Ship" conveyed a peculiarly American mood throughout.[53] In describing how Longfellow came to write "The Building of the Ship" the unattributed editor quoted Longfellow "I

efer the seaside to the country ... the idea of liberty is
ronger there."[54] The first stanza of the poem provides an
ample of quintessential American thinking that is apparent
works of literature provided to students. It begins by
voking God's help and acknowledging God's omnipotence,
siring purity in measure to the Creator's goodness, and
ds with American cunning, daring, and bravery:

> Build me straight, O Worthy Master
> Staunch and strong, a goodly vessel,
> That shall laugh at all disaster,
> And with wave and whirlwind wrestle![55]

The selection of information about Longfellow and the
eation of his poems reflected artistic aspects considered
st important to editors. For example, in this Longfellow
ition, it was mentioned that a public reading of
ngfellow work caused Abraham Lincoln to weep.[56] This
mark assigns prestige to Longfellow via the favorable
sponse of this American figure of mythic proportions.

This introduction likewise made mention of the British
non, recounting a Boston public reading of Shakespeare's
You Like it the same night as Longfellow's "The Building
the Ship." The editor spoke of how this 1850 Boston
dience was stirred particularly by Longfellow's poetry,
t again, he sounds the conditional explanatory note: "...
e vast multitude was stirred to its depths, not so much by
e artistic completeness of the rendering as by the
passioned burst with which the poem closes, and which fell

pon no listless ears in the deep agitation of that fitful ear ..."[57]

Many other comparisons to the works and writers in ritish literature are apparent throughout the books I have urveyed. The "Suggestive Exercises" in Irving's Sketchbook sk the student to account for Irving's copying of Addison's echniques in The Spectator.[58] A student's note in a iverside collection of John Greenleaf Whittier's "Snowbound mong the Hills" referred to Whittier as "The American owper."[59] A Lake English Classics edition Three American oems articulated attitudes about our works of literature in Preface by Lindsay Todd Damon and Garland Greever:

> The increasing use of selections from our native poets is one of the commendable changes in secondary education. That our poets are equal in merit to the greatest in England or the world no competent critic would care to assert, but that they should be ignored is far from reason ... an acquaintance with them will minister culture and national self-knowledge.[60]

The editors of Three American Poems seem to ease up on tudy demands, as though the expansiveness of the poets hemselves demands less empirical study. In order to get he student to "crave further knowledge of the glories of ur literature" the editors claim to have been more flexible and adaptable" in presenting this less-heavily nnotated textbook. They remark on the "spirit of the riter" as the vital entity they hope will stand in the mind f the student. They nonetheless go on to make the

nevitable literary comparisons. Poe is ajudged inferior to ome, Dante, and Shakespeare.[61]

In this sample, I found only one work by an American riter which did not specifically mention the superiority of ritish literature. This was a Riverside edition of awthorne's "The Gentle Boy." Two key features emerge from e volume's "Introductory Note." First is that it twice efers to Hawthorne's talent as "genius," and second, that wthorne "was one of the earliest to see in the history of w England a field for poetry and romance ..."[62] wthorne's "genius" may really have been his choice to use e American countryside as a backdrop for distinctly erican prose.

The grammar and usage books were much freer in their e of American authors -- undoubtedly because they were eed from the focus imposed by reading lists in the terature curriculum. Hyde's Grammar[63], for example, used beral amounts of Lowell, Whittier, Bryant, and political roes in writing exercises. A representative example of a ntence for analysis was this statement by Lowell: "We are ppy because God wills it."[64]

Secondary Grammar and Composition Texts: American and British Literature in Language Exercises

It would seem that there has never been a time in America when varied language "experts" were not concerned with the correctness of expression -- written and oral -- students could demonstrate in English. Textbooks, professional articles and manuals, and the popular press of this time all reflected worry over the "decline" of fluent and grammatically correct English usage in pupils. Twentieth century usage books reflected their author's desires to get students straight and to cure their usage ills. In any event, keeping correctness standards was more than ever a concern of the early twentieth century secondary classroom, and a variety of textbooks was available to help the teacher instruct and reinforce students in modes of expression which were deemed correct and which matched accepted pedagogical models and procedures.

In Percival Chubb's important early book on English teaching, The Teaching of English in the Elementary and Secondary School (1902),[65] Nicholas Murray Butler succinctly summarized some attitudes frequently expressed in the textbooks surveyed for this section:

> We have been told by one school of critics that the mother tongue need not be taught, for it will be picked up somehow; but another, that it cannot be taught, for there is nothing to teach. Both fallacies have had their day, and we are now in the presence of a sane and healthy movement for

> the more careful and devoted study of the English language and its literature.
>
> The first effect of this movement, if wholly successful, ought to be a new care for the purity and precision of our speech ...[66]

With the growth of the high school in America, a market or more sophisticated English usage textbooks was created. he elementary grammars common to the country schoolhouse, nd the specialized rhetoric texts for college students, ere both inappropriate choices for high school instruction. hile the English profession began sorting out its aims, a election of compositions, rhetorics, and usage books for orrectness and vocabulary development became popular. hile approaches to instruction varied by textbook, their nsistence upon language correctness almost uniformly viewed ncorrectness or improper usage as an entity in language to e removed through a regimen of their prescribed language xercises.

Early in the century, Kittredge and Arnold's The Mother ongue series (Books I and II) suggested in their titles the amilial reverence a student should feel for the language.[67] Mother-Tongue" in the early 1900's was a common synonym for nglish, and the term carried with it all the affection, ntimacy, and dread of disapproval one might expect of one's wn mother. By 1923, when Essential Language Habits[68] was ublished, some of the sentimentality seemed to be ebbing rom titles of usage books.

Note the hygenic sense of the later title. It suggests hat correct language use could be instilled, much like

behavioral decorum -- Essential Language Habits has the feel of a book on manners, read for one's own good and for the betterment of polite society. I didn't select either of these two texts for close examination here -- the first because it was intended for younger pupils, the second because it was published too late -- but they are mentioned here because their titles bracket the span of years in which attitudes about language and use was evolving to accommodate the changing millieu of school and culture.

Three composition and rhetoric texts selected for more specific review in this thesis frequently relied on "list" and canon literature as material for language review and modelling. They are: Scott and Denney's Elementary English Composition,[69] Herrick and Damon's New Composition and Rhetoric,[70] and Emerson and Lockwood's Composition and Rhetoric.[71]

In terms of their outlines and substance, all three textbooks, despite individual differences and idiosyncrasies, were comprehensive examples of texts which addressed form, style, and technique. Sections on narration, exposition, argumentation, and description were standard fare. Their authors expressed awareness of typical writing difficulties and attempted to provide practice in development of skill and remediation of problems. Each, to some degree, evidenced an authorial presence which encouraged or cajoled the pupil to persevere in the work at hand.

Lockwood and Emerson, for example, treated the paragraph as a miniature universe of discourse, which was developed through exercises, reading and dissection of model paragraphs by noted writers -- frequently the same as those featured in their literature books. "The Paragraph" section in Emerson and Lockwood included selections by Hawthorne, Carlyle, Sir Walter Scott, Edmund Burke, Macaulay, and others frequently featured in contemporary literature series. Frequently, the "masters" works could serve to illustrate concepts such as "coherence," "contrast," "repetition," or other hallmarks of "good" paragraph writing. But poetic and affected diction as well as other considerations of the model texts -- such as authorial passion for topics outside typical adolescent experience -- must have rendered them frequently inaccessible to students attempting to locate the topic sentence, or worse, synthesize a similar one. One model paragraph was taken from Cicero's "Arraignment of Catiline" and began:

> But thou shall live so beset, so hemmed in, so watched by the vigilant guards I have placed around thee, that thou shalt not stir a foot against the Republic without my knowledge.[72]

The student was asked to point out the topic sentence of the larger paragraph by Cicero (four sentences in length) and to point out its means of development. Much of the work of the student using Lockwood and Emerson's text was of this plodding variety using classic, but syntactically awkward or complex discourse.

All the texts I surveyed reflected the school culture's value on the literary masters as models for its pupils. Literature as the material of grammatical and writing exercise extended the pupil's acquaintance with list authors such as Carlyle, Milton, Wordsworth, and Shakespeare. I also found exercises which cited contemporary or less classical authors -- Louisa May Alcott, Susan Warner, Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, and Margaret Deland to name a few. American authors were frequently mentioned, and exercises including their names frequently provided information about them which magnified the sense of American personality I described earlier -- patriotism, bravery, adventuresome spirit, and sometimes a workman-like rather than intellectual inclination.

An exercise in oral summation in Scott and Denney called for the pupil to read about English settlements in North America and comment on each paragraph. Note the parallel statements about England -- its literary tradition and focus -- and the colonies:

> Shakespeare was writing his plays when Captain John Smith first explored Chesapeake Bay.
>
> Milton was born the year before Henry Hudson first sailed up the noble river that now bears his name.
>
> Bacon published his great book on philosophical and scientific method only a few months before the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock.

The passage went on to explain that many settlers had been scholars in England, but in the new land they had to

end their lives, build their houses ... what they wrote
always had an immediate object. They set down in black
white their compacts, their laws, their own important
ngs ..."[73]

Americans' own "important doings" where knowledge and
tellect were concerned took on a fevered pace in usage
xtbooks. In Herrick and Damon, an exercise supplied two
all-print pages of Dickens' Tale of Two Cities with all
nctuation ommitted.[74] The pupil, of course, copied the
assage out and supplied the punctuation. Just below it,
he second example for punctuation was Patrick Henry's
Speech on a Resolution to Put Virginia into a State of
Defence." In an alteration of the assignment, the authors
asked that the pupil replace each exclamation point with a
period and consider what difference it would make. I
believe, again, such an exercise implied the message that
the literature of America is largely the body of speeches
and historical memoirs gathered over a short but
pride-filled time as a nation. The political literature of
America was filled with the exclamation points of the
Patrick Henrys and Abe Lincolns.

Lockwood and Emerson may have deliberately provided
choices in their exercises which contrasted well-known
British authors with American authors. Students could read
and identify descriptive words in Scott's "Kenilworth" or
Longfellow's "Evangeline."[75] They could study paragraphs
describing personal appearance of George Washington or

uel Taylor Coleridge.[76] They could read and take notes a portion of Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome or Oliver ndall Holmes' "Grandmother's Story of Bunker Hill ttle."[77] Almost always, the British choice was "literary" hile the American choice was related to an event tied to ur national history.

Scott and Denney's choices of British passages to nemorize and recite were: "Advice from Polonius to Laertes" from Hamlet and Tennyson's "Lady Clara Vere de Vere." The American selections, though more numerous, all reflected strong patriotism or religious sentiment. They were: Emerson's "Concord Hymn," Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address," and a passage by Lowell on the immovable standard set by the Ten Commandments.[78]

Biographical information so common in literature texts seemed to have been the staple of language exercise. Nuggets of an author's history were so imbedded in exercises, that the culture's value of them was obvious. The following examples are taken vaiously from all three textbooks I studies. A pupil reads Sir Walter Scott's physical description written by Robert Burns -- "His person was strong and robust" -- and must compare it with a portrait.[79] A pupil had to punctuate this sentence: "Like many authors Whittier was attracted in the autumn of his life to the rich fields of oriental literature."[80] Nuggets about American authors frequently expressed affection for America's landscape, as this sentence (provided with

plete punctuation to be amended): "A far different hood had this other poet, William Cullen Bryant reared ng the Berkshire Hills of Western Massachusetts."[81] scriptions of America's natural wonders were scattered roughout all the texts surveyed -- a description of a eakfast on the prairie from Parkman's Oregon Trail,[82] the sequestered glen" of Washington Irving's Sleepy Hollow,[83] a omely account of a New Hampshire boy who found a cub near ake Winnipeg and raised it as a pet dog.[84]

Scott and Denney illustrated their text with photographs and engravings which, uncaptioned, became points of departure for description, narration, and exposition. The text had considerably more appeal in terms of visual interest than similar texts, for the students' world was expanded visually to include cathedrals, portraits, scenes from Shakespeare, Athenian scenes, The Pied Piper, a football game, a tug-o-war and Daniel in the lions' den. That students were provided these scenes of Americana, the Bible, and extensions of Western civilization was typical of the time. Such illustrations were emblemic of the textbook depiction of "culture."[85]

Several portraits of poets and authors were included in the Scott and Denney with no captions. I assume that the literature books, which almost always included portraits, had unconsciously taught many pupils to distinguish the likeness of William Shakespeare from Washington Irving. When pupils' composition texts asked them to gaze at a

ait and write a paragraph of description on a
known author, it was just one more way of demonstrating
tality of knowledge.

"Possession" -- ready knowledge of author, memorized
, "meaning," grammar, and historical basis -- extended
language usage books to most any use of an author's text
t the school book publisher could imagine and print. If
three textbooks I sampled are typical, and I believe
ey are, they reflected a time in America when secondary
hool boys and girls truly were acquainted with the same
ndful of literary names with little deviation. This is
obably why, in my gropu of eight interviews, most so
eadily named virtually the same lists of American and
ritish authors of importance. This is not a comment on
epth of knowledge, extent of literary "appreciation," or a
ore comprehensive language curriculum than we have today.
t is simply an observation backed by reasonable principles
f thinking, that reinforcement of a group of key names --
uch as Hawthorne, Lincoln, Wordsworth, Tennyson,
hakespeare, Lowell -- will persist in memory.

Perhaps pupils' acquaintance or even cognitive
ossession of certain texts memorized or disassembled
hrough language exercise engendered a kind of affection for
n author. Certainly the memorization of biographical facts
ften helped students visualize, and perhaps idealize, that
uthor and his process of literary creation. In Chapter
II, I will show a more personalized student response to

texts than these language exercises based on famous passages of literature. "Student Ownership of Texts" displays a distinctive literature created by students, in their own school texts. They show today's reader specific ways students of long ago exerted proprietorship over books they purchased to use at school.

Chapter II Notes

1. Henry L. Hudson, L.L.D., "English in Schools," preface to Shakespeare's Twelfth Night (For Use in Schools and Families), (Boston: Ginn and Co. 1880), 13.

2. Samuel Thurber, Introduction to Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, (Cambridge: The Riverside Press. 1911), 5.

3. W. D. Lewis, "The Aim of the English Course." English Journal 1:1, Jan. 1912, 12.

4. The study of (British) literature was promoted through the Harvard English Composition Requirements beginning in the 1870's. Because a mechanically correct composition was required of prospective freshmen, and was based on a knowledge of specific "classic" works (such as Shakespeare's Tempest or Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel) an immediate need for teaching literature at the secondary level was created. See Arthur Applebee's Tradition and Reform in the Teaching of English (Urbana: NCTE 1974), particularly Chapter II: "The Birth of a Subject" for a discussion of the ramifications and pedagogical implications of the Harvard requirement.

5. "The Influence of the Uniform Entrance Requirements in English: Report of A Committee of the NEA", English Journal, 1:2. Jan. 1912, 96-114.

6. National Council Teachers of English, "Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting, Chicago, November 27 to 29, 1913,." English Journal, 3:1, Jan. 1914, 40. See also Wilson Farrand's "Are the College Entrance Requirements Excessive" in School Review, 16:1, Jan. 1908, 12-41.

7. "The Influence of the Uniform Entrance Requirements...", ... 97.

8. Chester J. Clark's synopsis of his English course in Saginaw High School's 1916 Aurora is a valuable historical document, because it verifies what can be assumed from college lists and textbook lists. Clark seems to tire near the end of the narrative, winding up with something of a mixed metaphor: "A perusal of Macaulay's life story of the eccentric Dr. Samuel Johnson was the beginning of the end. The actual end, however, was the reading of some of Browning's poems." The Aurora is part of a collection housed at the Bridgeport, Michigan, Historical Society.

9. Metaphors describing Americans' love of their English language abound, but "Mother Tongue" could be found in most any contemporary textbook to describe lovingly our language. An upper elementary grammar series, The Mother

Tongue (Books I and II) were published, revised, republished throughout the early 1900's. Written by Sarah Arnold (Supervisor of Schools in Boston) and George Lyman Kittridge (English professor at Harvard and secretary of the NEA's Committee of Ten which summarized the aims of teaching English in a landmark report in 1892), The Mother Tongue grammars emphasized "speaking, reading, and writing" in English, and provided engravings of famous paintings to prompt school children to write.

10. A rich area of study awaits the scholar interested in Catholic readers and literature texts of this time period. Because they were often significantly different in scope and format than the books chosen for this study, I decided to omit them. Michigan State University Special Collections owns a significant number of such texts.

11. The Riverside Literature Series, produced at Cambridge, Massachusetts, by The Riverside Press (a division of Houghton, Mifflin, and Co.), is easily recognized by its distinctive paper cover and corinthian column design surrounding each title. Tebbel noted (p. 253) "To see the imprint of The Riverside Press on a book, and its familiar motto "Do it Well or Not at All," was a guarantee of excellence not only in printing ... but of literary superiority." The series exceeded 200 titles, bringing the work of significant American and British authors into a reader's possession for as little as a quarter.

12. The Lake English Classics were published by Scott, Foresman, and Co. (Chicago and New York) with Lindsay Todd Damon of Brown University as general editor. Their trademark was a distinctive gray-blue hardcover.

13. Maynard, Merrill, and Co. Publishers were based in New York; where they produced their tiny, bottle-green volumes. A pattern of grapevines, dramatic masks, and lyres traditionally surrounded the title on the hard cover. By 1900 their Shakespeare Library for schools included nineteen titles.

14. Macmillan Pocket American and English Classics, published in NY by the Macmillan Company, were hardcover green or brown editions stamped with a distinctive "M" logo. The clothbound volumes sold for twenty-five cents, and approximately one hundred titles "edited for use in elementary and secondary schools" were available.

15. Though I have not been able to locate exact figures for sales of separate titles in textbook literature series, several adequate reference books discuss the overwhelming commercial success of textbook literature series. John Tebbel in A History of Book Publishing in the United States (vol. II), NY: R. R. Bowker, 1975, remarks on

the success of Cambridge Press and the Riverside Literature Series (p. 253). Tebbel states (p. 574) that the Macmillan Pocket Series sold as many as 25,000 volumes per title, and five million in all. Hellmut Lehman-Haupt's The Book in America (NY: R. R. Bowker, 1952) also contains a worthwhile section on literature textbook publishing, though no specific figures on literature textbook sales. Charles Carpenter's History of American Schoolbooks (Philadelphia: U. of Philadelphia Press, 1967) mentions on pp. 166-7 specific series "used in great numbers."

16. Charles Carpenter, History of American Schoolbooks, (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1967), 166-167.

17. E. A. Poe, H. W. Longfellow, J. G. Whittier, Three American Poems (ed. Garland Greever) "The Lake English Classics", (NY: Scott, Foresman, and Co. 1910).

18. George Eliot, Silas Marner (ed. Hancock) "The Lake English Classics", (NY: Scott, Foresman, and Co. 1899).

19. William Shakespeare, Julius Caesar "Standard English Classics" (ed. Henry Hudson), (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1879). Note, this is the oldest literature book used in the study. It was published at the early part of the brief history of the "little" literature series.

20. English Poems, Edited by Vida Scudder, (Chicago: Scott Foresman and Co. 1919).

21. Samuel Thurber, in Introduction to The Merchant of Venice, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. 1911), 3-4.

22. Robert Morss Lovett in Sir Walter Scott's Marmion, (NY: Longmans, Green. 1896), xxxiv.

23. Applebee: p. 33. Samuel Thurber was master at Girls High School, Boston. He served on the Committee of Ten, affiliated with NEA.

24. Fred Newton Scott served two terms (the organization's first and second) as NCTE's president.

25. William Shakespeare, As You Like It, Ed. by Samuel North, The Eclectic English Series, (NY: American Book Co. 1910), 1-14.

26. Cornelia Beare, "Topics for Study," Julius Caesar, (NY: Merrill 1910).

27. Addison and Steele, The DeCoverley Papers from The Spectator, Ed. Samuel Thurber, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 1898), 14-17.

28. J. M. D. Meiklejohn, in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, (NY: Charles E. Merr II Co. 1910).

29. Thomas B. Macaulay, Macaulay's Essays on Addison and Johnson, Ed. Alphonso G. Newcorner, "The Lake English Classics," (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co. 1908), 7-13.

30. Sir Walter Scott, Marmion, Ed. Robert Morse Lovett, "Longman's English Classics" (NY: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1916). Though this study does not contain other examples from the Longman's series, advertising matter in this edition suggests that the Longman's Series consisted of over sixty titles, many of them edited by notables in the English profession at that time. Among these editors were Percival Chubb, J. F. Hosic, and Fred Newton Scott.

31. J. M. D. Meiklejohn, In preface to Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, (NY: Maynard, Merrill, and Co. 1899), 5. Note: The editor of the rest of the work was Brainerd Kellogg, of the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. Meiklejohn, a professor in University of Saint Andrews, Canada, is frequently mentioned in texts as a language and literature scholar of high repute. Meiklejohn's grammars were the staple of Canadian English teaching, but were omitted for this study because they were not American texts.

32. J. M. D. Meiklejohn, in Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, (NY: Charles E. Merrill Co. 1910), 5.

33. A. Hancock, editor of George Eliot's Silas Marner, "The Lake English Classics" (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co. [front piece missing, no date]), 5.

34. Samuel Thurber, in Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice, The Riverside Literature Series, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co. 1911). Thurber was master of the Girls' High School, Boston, and chaired the Committee of Ten.

35. William Vaughn Moody, in Introduction to Milton's Paradise Lost Books I - III, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1896), 12.

36. Several articles used as general references for this study provide a sense of the debate within the English profession concerning The College Entrance Examinations. See: "Report of the Conference Committee on High-School English" prepared by a committee: J. M. Crowe, Ex. K. Brodus, and J. F. Hosic in School Review 17:2, February

1909, pp. 85-88, or "The Influence of the Uniform Entrance Requirements in English: Report of a Committee of the NEA" in English Journal 1:2, January 1912, pp. 95-121, for a sense of the debates, issues, and opinions in the English profession on the examinations.

37. George Herbert Clarke, in a Book review of Selected Poems of Shelly, School Review, 7:7 Sept. 1909, 514-15.

38. Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice, Ed. Brainerd Kellogg, (NY: Maynard, Merrill, & Co. 1899). Note: This volume is dated 1905 in front by its owner, Kate Wilson, who notes in front that she read it for "10th grade." This volume contains Kellogg's "Plan of Study for Perfect Possession."

39. Shakespeare, Merchant ..., 8-9.

40. Shakespeare, Merchant ..., 11-13.

41. Regarding close analysis and cognitive "possession" of literary texts, it was difficult to decide how much needed to be included in the narrative of this study. Others which featured particular editorial emphasis on finite analysis and memorization included Edmund Burke's Conciliation with the Colonies ("Riverside Literature Series" Boston: The Riverside Press. 1915), in which Archibald Freeman, the editor, provides a detailed Analysis, which interpreted the structure of the speech painstakingly and provided a survey of British-Colonial history in tiny print. The Macmillan edition of Chaucer's Prologue, Knight's Tale, and Nun's Priest Tale (1902) requires the student study the grammar of Chaucer's English in order to pronounce it perfectly in oral presentation. It was the most complex analysis of language of any text I surveyed. A "Lake English Classics" edition of Macaulay's Essays on Addison and Johnson (1908) warns the teacher not to "overdo" rhetorical analysis,, but goes on to outline Macaulay's rhetorical strengths into eight separate categories for consideration.

42. Brainerd Kellogg, "Plan of Study for 'Perfect Possession'," in Julius Caesar, Ed. Brainerd Kellogg, (NY: Charles Merrill, 1910), 32-3.

43. Washington Irving, Irving's Sketch Book, Ed. Robert St. John, Eclectic English Classics, (NY: American Book Company. 1910), 197.

44. William Shakespeare, As You Like It, Ed. Samuel North, The Eclectic English Classics, (NY: American Book Co. 1910), 1-14.

45. Shakespeare, As You Like It, ... 110.

46. Several books were consulted regarding the history and the focus of American textbooks. Charles Carpenter's History of American Schoolbooks (Philadelphia: U. of Philadelphia Press. 1963) provides a very helpful annotated bibliography of secondary sources. Ruth Elson's Guardians of Tradition (Lincoln: U. of Nebraska Press. 1964) was the most helpful in terms of analysis of themes and focus of American textbooks. Elson claims American schoolbooks of the nineteenth century "created a world of fantasy ... inhabited by no one outside the pages of textbooks." (p. 337) Ruth S. Freeman has taken a conservative view of the role of textbooks in Yesterday's Schoolbooks A Looking Glass for Teachers of Today (Watkins Glen: Century House, 1960) in which she maintains that virtue, honor, and morality are absent from contemporary schoolbooks. The most detailed and comprehensive volume available on schoolbooks is John Neitz's The Evolution of American Secondary Textbooks (Rutland: Charles and Tuttle Co. 1966.).

47. Jackson Turner, in "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (in Report of the American Historial Association for 1893, pp. 199-227) said that the (physical) frontier was gone as the nineteenth century closed. Perhaps the American of the twentieth century was searching out intellectual frontiers.

48. A. Applebee, ... Appendix II: "Offerings in English in the North Central Area, 1860-1900", 274.

49. Introduction (unattributed) in James Fenimore Cooper's The Deerslayer, (NY: The Macmillan Co. 1907), v.

50. Intro., The Deerslayer, ... vi.

51. Intro., The Deerslayer, ... viii.

52. Ibid ... p. viii.

53. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, "The Building of the Ship and Other Poems,." The Riverside Literature Series, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. 1917).

54. Longfellow, "The Building ..." ... 4.

55. Longfellow, "The Building ..." ... 7.

56. Longfellow, "The Building ..." ... 5.

57. Longfellow, "The Building ..." ... 5.

58. Washington Irving, ... Sketchbook, 199.

59. John Greenleaf Whittier, Snowbound Among the Hills, Songs of Labor and other Poems, The Riverside English Series, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co. 1898).

60. Three American Poems, Ed. Lindsay Todd Damon and Garland Greever, (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co. 1910), 5.

61. Three American Poems, ... 6.

62. Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Gentle Boy and Other Tales, The Riverside Literature Series, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1900), 5.

63. Mary F. Hyde, A Practical English Grammar for Grammar Schools, Ungraded Schools, Academies, and the Lower Grades in High Schools, (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co. 1899).

64. Hyde, A Practical English ..., 227.

65. Percival Chubb, The Teaching of English in the Elementary and Secondary School, (NY: Macmillan and Co. 1913 [original publication and date of preface, 1902]). This comprehensive volume on English teaching marked a new era for English teacher -- it was an early work about professional concerns and pedagogy. Chubb, as a prominent member of the New York State Association of English Teachers, became prominent in the struggle to eliminate the reading lists and college entrance examinations as a focus of the highschool English curriculum.

66. Nicholas Murray Butler (of Columbia University), in an editor's introduction to Percival Chubb's The Teaching of English in the Elementary and Secondary School. 1902.

67. Sarah Arnold and George Lyman Kittredge authored The Mother Tongue (Books I and II), which was published and reprinted by Ginn and Company (Boston, N.Y., Chicago, London). The original copyright is 1900.

68. E. Cowan, A. Betz, W. Charters. Essential Language Habits (Book Three), (NY: Silver, Burdett and Co. 1923).

69. Fred Newton Scott and Joseph Villiers Denney, Elementary English Composition, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 1902). See John Neitz's The Evolution of American Secondary Textbooks (22) for a discussion of the collaborative efforts of Scott and Denney.

70. Robert Herrick and Lindsay Todd Damon, New Composition and Rhetoric for Schools, (Chicago: Scott, Foresman, and Co. 1911).

71. Sara Lockwood and Mary Alice Emerson, Composition and Rhetoric for Higher Schools, (Boston: Ginn and Co. 1902).

72. Lockwood & Emerson, "Arraignment of Catiline," 253.

73. Scott & Denney, "

74. Herrick & Damon, ... 184-5.

75. Lockwood & Emerson, ... 115.

76. Lockwood & Emerson, ... 118-9.

77. Lockwood & Emerson, ... 97.

78. Scott & Denney, ... 33.

79. Scott & Denney, ... 91.

80. Lockwood & Emerson, ... 60.

81. Herrick & Damon, ... 198.

82. Herrick & Damon, ... 83.

83. Lockwood & Emerson, ... 86

84. Scott & Denney, ... 159.

85. Again, I would refer the reader to Ruth Elson's Guardians of Tradition for a thorough treatment of American culture as depicted in schoolbooks.

CHAPTER III

Marginalia: Student Ownership of Textbooks

An 1847 edition of Analytical Orthography,[1] is now so worn and faded that I could have missed one long sentence pencilled in child-like penmanship in a back cover: "Can a boy go away from home I mean run away if we wants to." Descendents of the boy have carried the book and the tale about its owner to family reunions, to any good listener, and eventually to me. Bert Allen did run away. His is a satisfying story, for I know he ran away, grew up, and became very rich. Descendants of Bert Allen can presently confirm when he suddenly left the farm, and date in the front cover of his schoolbook verify the book was used his last year ever in school. Perhaps he surreptitiously marked the thought about running away in his book as the recitation grew long, and like schoolboys throughout time, his eyes lolled from the stovepipe to the ceiling to the school house window -- and beyond.

I have found throughout this study that it is not possible to examine a pre-owned school book without coming into contact with its former young owner. Owners have left "unsigned" messages on their books -- bent page corners, broken bindings, torn pages. And frequently, almost typically, they allowed pencils to stray into margins and

blank pages. The historical significance of each musing varies book-to-book, and most are open to speculation. I believe the dimensional study of a textbook includes examination of it for signs of how the owner used it. It is another way in which the concept of possession of text becomes significant. While editors manipulated and focused student response, writing in books became a way for students to assert their presence, possession, and individual thinking.

Since students ordinarily purchased their own books early in this century, they were somewhat freer to write in them. Relatively clean books, with perhaps just a name written in the cover, suggested to me a tidy youngster who hoped to resell the volume. Yet even their smallest identifying markings invited speculation. Here are two:

Dorothy Scharf
509 Cherry St.
Winnetka, Ill.
New Trier Locker 2

and

Anna and Adda Whaley
North Amhurst, Ohio
Apr. 2, 1906

Dorothy Scharf seems to have established in a few lines all the places she once could have been located. She and her New Composition and Rhetoric spent a year travelling between locker 21 and 509 Cherry St. The little that her school book reveals still provided information suggesting moments in a school girl's history.

Did Anna and Adda have to share each book they needed for school? If so, did the sharing provoke sibling arguments on the walks home from school? In whose hand -- Anna's or Adda's -- were the names jointly written?

The voices and sense of the student owners never left me as I examined their books. One of the early literature texts I surveyed was filled with the presence of its original owner. The Riverside Evangeline, owned by Fanita Duncan, of the First Preparatory Mary Institute of St. Louis, evoked her presence on almost every page.[4] In becoming acquainted with Fanita Duncan, margin notations informed she was "for Yale and the Mary Institute." She was fond of writing a New Haven address in her book, which leads me to circuitous speculation about her relationship to a (young?) man, Laurance Stall, living at 154 Farnum Hall. So many questions must go unanswered. What did Laurance Stall think of Fanita Duncan? Was Laurance Stall merely the object of a schoolgirl's vain worship from afar? Was Fanita Duncan betrothed to Laurance Stall?

Fanita Duncan was fond of writing her name. Sometimes she wrote her name only as "Fanita" -- with flourishes and curls -- which could be found throughout the text. "Mademoiselle" Duncan was another version she pondered in an inch of space here or there. An engraving of Longfellow's home elicited an enthusiastically scrawled "favorite pages" from Fanita. I felt I knew her as I flipped the pages and discovered notes to a classmate ("I wish you would change

seats with me Hester makes me laugh")[5] and fanciful drawings of fashionable dresses and hats sketched right over text (Figure 11).[6]

I sensed in the loopy, immature penmanship and breathless "beautiful" next to romantic lines in Evangeline, a ripening, optimistic young woman in Fanita Duncan. Her marginalia has preserved her youth in a unique and more forceful way than a photograph.

Why did Fanita Duncan feel so free to spill her feelings into her copy of Evangeline? Was it her own, oblique response to the romance of the tale? Would she have been equally likely to have drawn a party dress on the text of Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome? Older women I interviewed almost always mentioned the study of Evangeline as a favorite school memory of their girlhoods Perhaps the story especially freed Fanita Duncan's hand as she listened in class or studied after school.

My casual examination of an 1874 English literature text revealed "this hour is fearfully long" lightly pencilled in Spenserian script along a page edge.[7] While studying Hyde's Practical Grammar for content, I came upon this message: "My name is Chauncey Sovine. Was born 9-25-1887."[8] His use of the present tense "is" imbued the margin note with the sense of the classroom moment in which he probably wrote it. The boy who studied Hyde's Grammar would now have passed his hundredth birthday. In moments of discovering the private thoughts of another person I have

But when the service was done, and the benediction had fallen
Forth from the hands of the priest, like seed from the hands of the sower,
Slowly the reverend man advanced to the strangers, and bade them
Welcome; and when they replied, he smiled with benignant expression,
Hearing the homelike sounds of his mother-tongue in the forest,
And, with words of kindness, conducted them into his wigwam.
There upon mats and skins they reposed, and on cakes of the maize-ear
Feasted, and slaked their thirst from the water-gourd of the teacher.
Soon was their story told; and the priest with solemnity answered:
"Not six suns have risen and set since Gabriel, seated
On this mat by my side, where now the maiden reposes,
Told me this same sad tale; then arose and continued his journey!"
Soft was the voice of the priest, and he spake with an accent of kindness;
But on Evangeline's heart fell his words as in winter the snow-flakes
Fall into some lone nest from which the birds have departed.
"Far to the north he has gone," continued the priest; "but in autumn,
When the chase is done, will return again to the Mission."
Then Evangeline said, and her voice was meek and submissive,

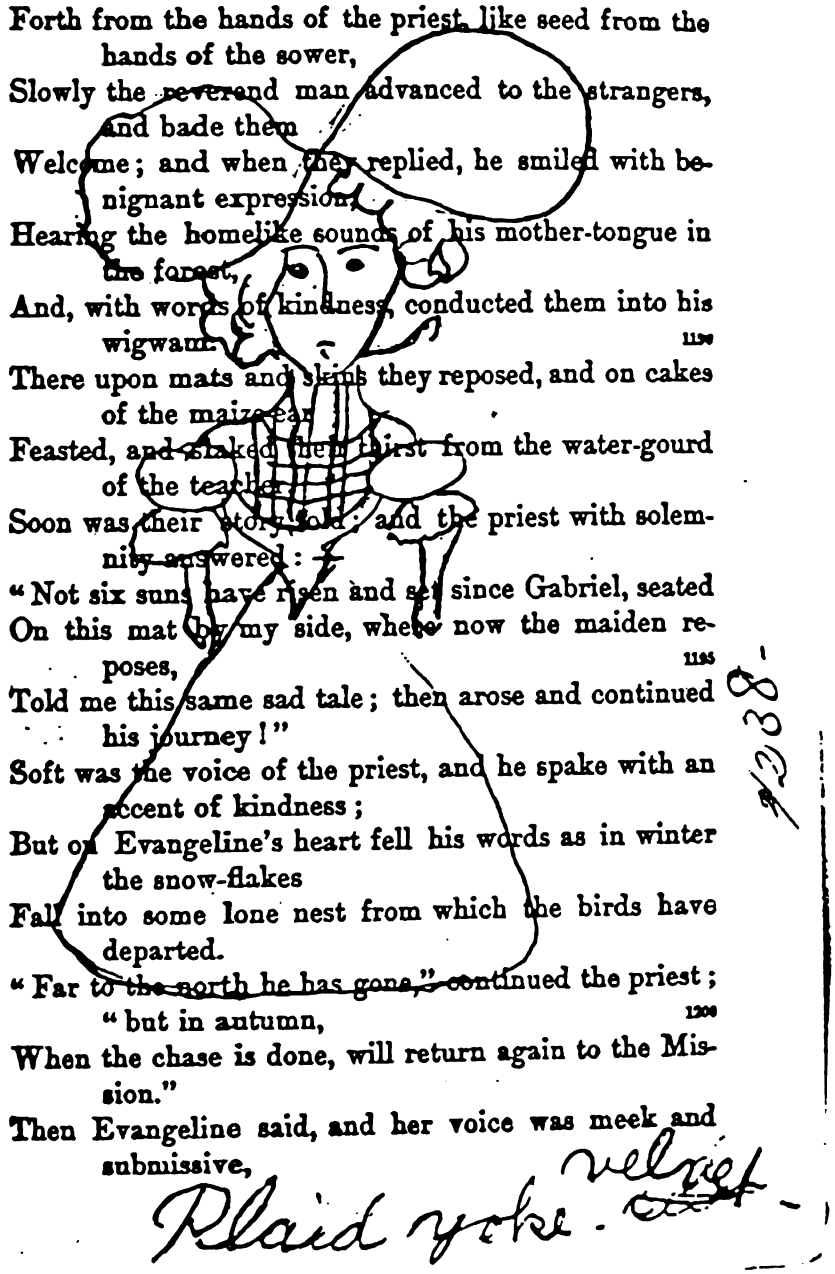

Figure 11

Fanita Duncan, a pupil at the First Mary Preparatory Institute in St. Louis, Mo., drew fashionable clothes over the text of her Riverside Evangeline.

felt a bit like an archeologist stumbling upon an undisturbed -- and complete -- vignette of antiquities. Perhaps textual archeology is a suitable name for the study of marginalia.

Marginalia revealed youngsters in the act of being themselves. When Alice K. Wilson took time to write this note on her birthday (June 16, 1910), she reminded me how adolescents in any age have somber and reflective days:

> June 16 -- How sweet the sound -- and yet it brings to me the realization that another year has passed and another birthday has come.[9]

Almost all the literature books, if studied closely, revealed some margin notation. Much of it was of the "Due Friday" variety. The teacher's voice could be sensed in the hastily-jotted notes "personification is ---" or "know!" Some scrawling was as an aside to a friend: "Do we have to **WRITE**?" It didn't require a handwriting analyst to discern the urgency of margin notes such as "Book Report Tues.!!!"

Some texts, particularly editions of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales I have found, revealed painstaking by-hand translations in every available space. The intense editorial interest in the author's life story and "how he came to write _____" so often reflected in editorial comments carried over into lists of student questions hand written in blank facing pages.

One Whittier text contained lists of presumably teacher-generated questions. None were about the poems themselves; all related to Whittier's reasons for not

marrying, how he defrayed expenses at the academy, and promises he made to his mother.[10]

Some students appeared to have taken notes or study questions from the board into the books the notes accompanied. Many notes sounded like the teacher's voice, providing a ghost of the teaching and the teacher present in those classrooms. A Riverside Merchant of Venice[11] listed these handwritten questions in the flyleaf (I have made no spelling correction):

> Is there anything that lowers you appinion of Jessica?
>
> By what means is Lorenzo going to carry out his plan?
>
> Write the exception (acceptance?) of a formal note.
>
> What feeling had Jessica for her father?
>
> What shows she is not as stingey as the average Jew?

That pressure came later to remove The Merchant of Venice from the high school canon is no surprise, particularly if that final class note reflected typical teaching approaches to the play. The anti-semitism long charged against The Merchant of Venice and teaching practices accompanying the play were, in this case, documented.

Some notations had nothing to do with school work per se, but preserved a wonderful sense of the times. Robert Gelarden wrote in his Riverside #52 (The Voyage and other Essays from the Sketchbook[12]) "we have a new electric washer

and wringer and all the buttons are off my clothes." I could not help but wonder if that last note was to a classmate who had pointed out a flapping cuff or open collar.

DeCoverley Papers[13], which changed hands between Archie Peek Rm. 19, Jay Townley, and Lee Taylor "The Rives Junction Farmer Stove Boy," recorded this message for us to ponder: "Only living corn-fed moose in existence was captured in the extreme north around Petoskey." In the back of the same book "Rev. Wood" recorded the October 19, 1913 "wedding" of Miss Helen Sirviss of Grass Lake, Michigan, and Miss Flossie Haynes -- also of Grass Lake -- to Mr. Bryan Glenn and Mr. Lee Taylor, respectively (Figure 12). Language play and imaginative contexts were apparently part of the repertoires of many young people. There was so much scrawling, in so many different hands throughout this book, that I envisioned it being passed around while the teacher's back was turned.

Some writings reflected positive or negative response to the book or the teacher. One student boxed in pen NUTS TO THIS BOOK on a Macmillan Pocket Edition.[14] Clark Hallam, who described himself as an "English Bonehead" below his name in the cover, appears to have caricatured two teachers in clever sketches in his Pilgrim's Progress. It appears that he did not overflow with affection for school (Figure 13).[15] He fared better as an artist. His "Fat Mueller on Dress Parade" sported a "pompador" and "afore said collar."

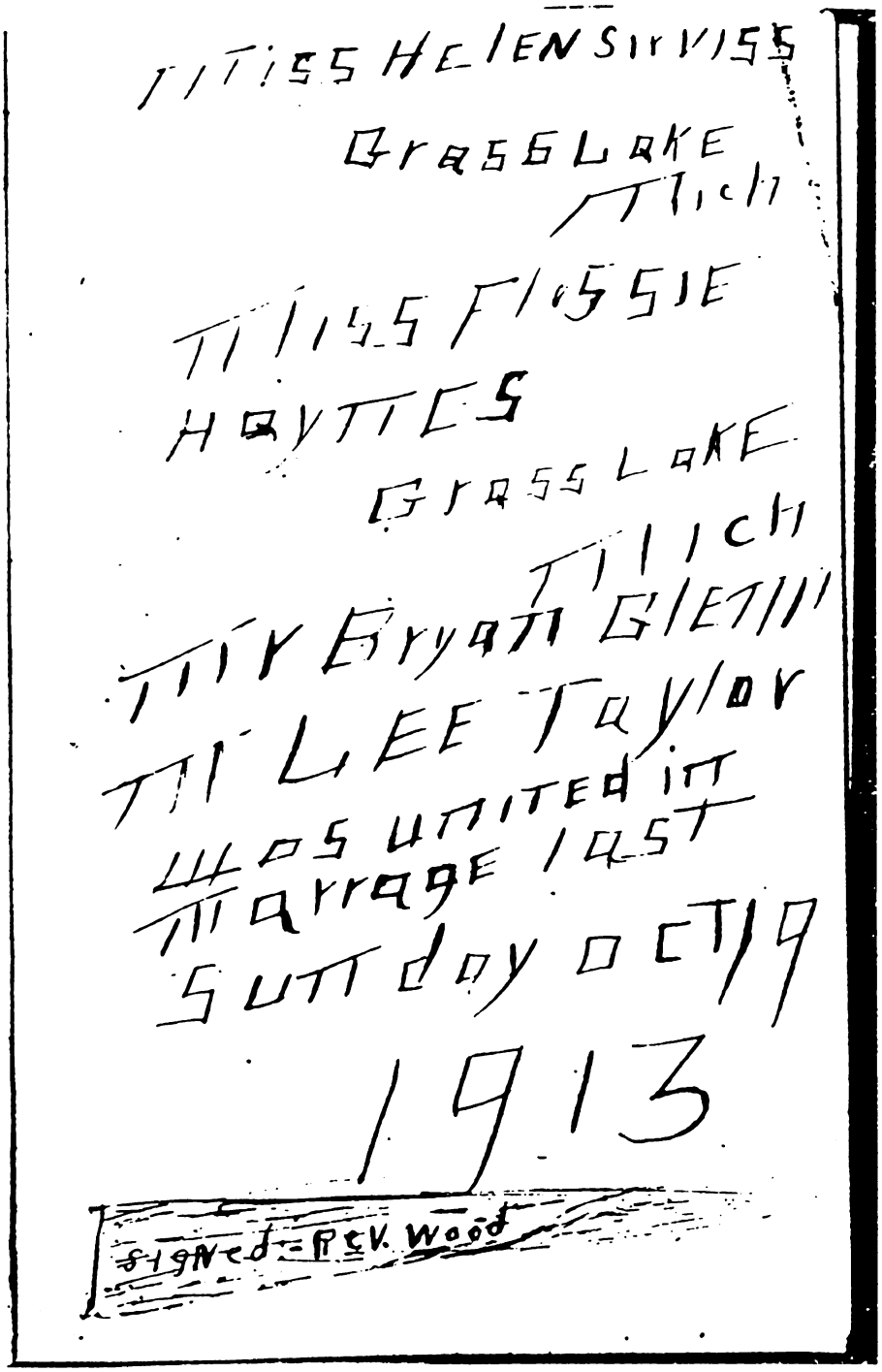

Figure 12

This record of "marriage" was written in the back of The DeCoverly Papers from The Spectator.

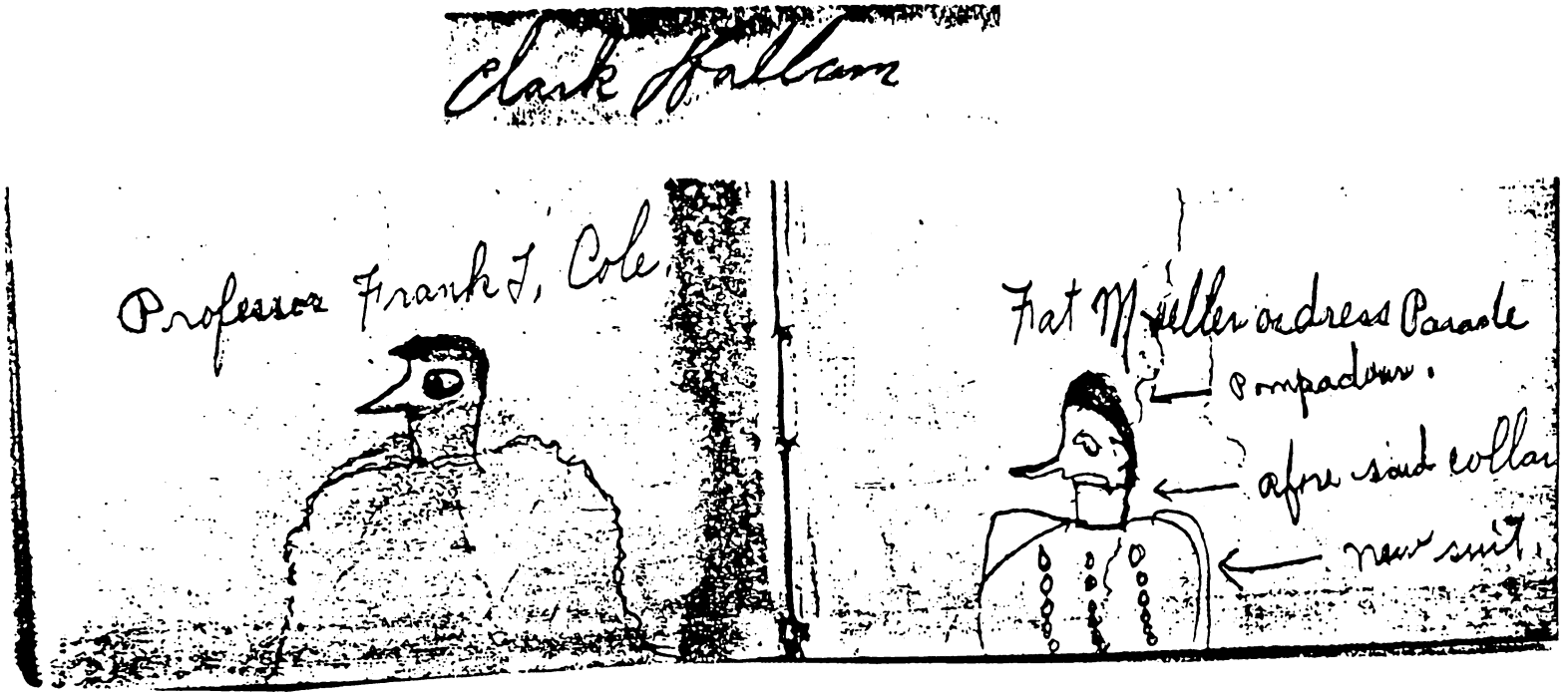

Figure 13

Clark Hallam caricatured "Professor Frank T. Cole" and "Fat Mueller" in a class copy of Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress.

JULIUS CAESAR.

ACT FIRST.

SCENE I.

Rome. A street.

Enter Flavius, Marullus, and certain Commoners.

Flav. Hence! home, you idle creatures, get you home:
Is this a holiday? what! know you not,
Being mechanical, you ought not walk
Upon a labouring day without the sign
Of your profession? Speak, what trade art thou?

First Com. Why, sir, a carpenter.

Mar. Where is thy leather apron and thy rule?
What dost thou with thy best apparel on?
You, sir, what trade are you?

Sec. Com. Truly, sir, in respect of a fine workman, I am but, as you would say, a cobbler.

Mar. But what trade art thou? answer me directly.

Figure 14

This anonymous drawing in Julius Caesar appears beardless when viewed in a conventional way, or bearded when the book is turned upside-down.

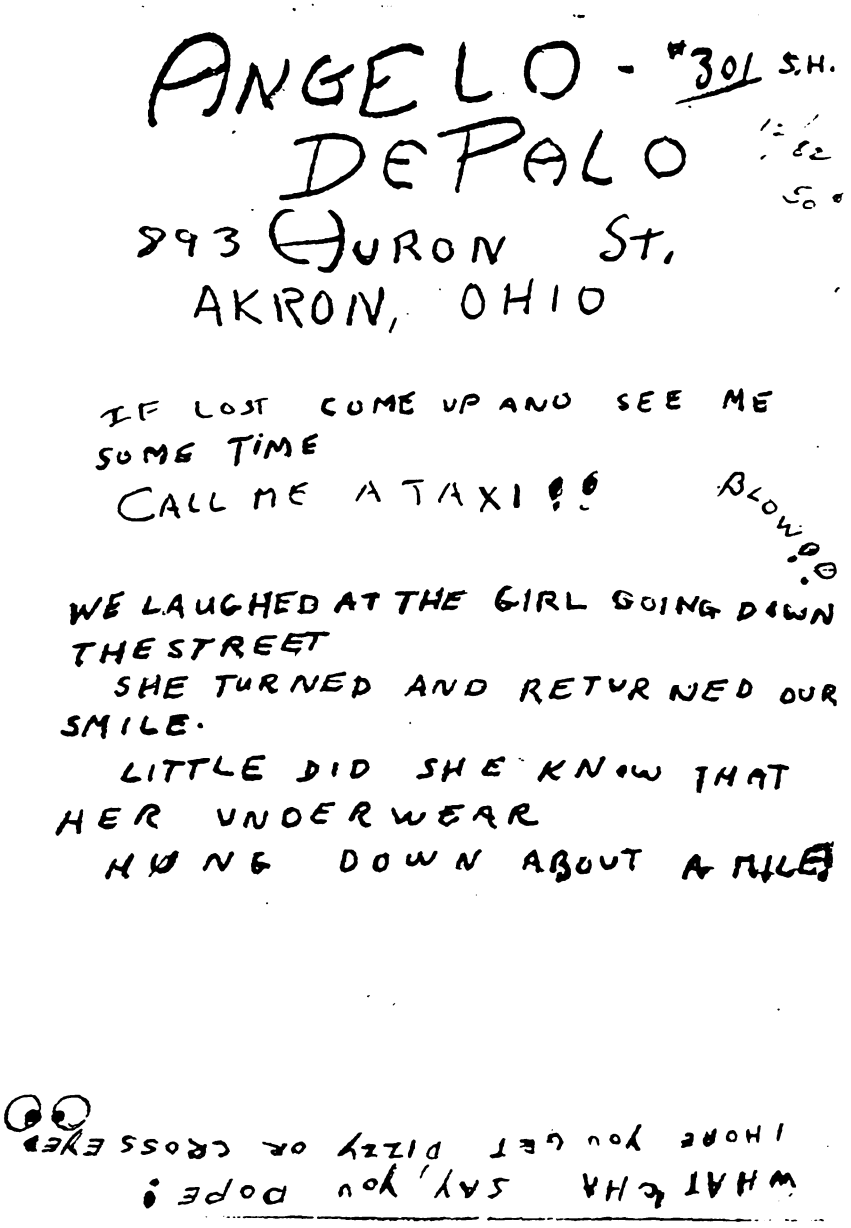

Figure 15

Angelo DePalo imparted some of his personality to his copy of *Tennyson's* Idylls of the King.

A brother and sister, Helen and Charles Yarbrough, shared a copy of Julius Caesar.[16] Perhaps it was Charles who wrote this poem in the book to his (English?) teacher:

Miss Capenolia, Miss Capenolia
Open your window and look down on me.
Miss Capenolia, Miss Capenolia
I love you more and more everyday.

I was not surprised to find suggestions of students responding angrily or lovingly to teachers in books the teachers had assigned for reading. My interviews with people who attended schools in the early 1900's indicated that decorum of many of those early teacher-student relationships would not have tolerated much emotion -- whether affection or dislike. The emotion was freer to flow in one's personal texts.

Students used texts to try clever experiments of visual perception. They drew stick figures on consecutive pages so that they would "dance" when pages were flipped rapidly.[17] The crude trick of animation might have helped Charles Yarbrough through a boring lecture on Julius Caesar.

Many, many texts contained names or brief messages written backwards to be read in a mirror. A Julius Caesar had a head sketched in it which was beardless when viewed straight-on, or bearded with a bald head when the text was flipped upside-down (Figure 14).

One composition book contained several lines of code across the top of two pages. I counted fifteen distinctive symbols which I could not decipher.[15] This opened my own mind to speculation about the success of that student in

applying the complex grammar and rhetoric codes and rules presented in the book. Was he adept at his own symbol making, but not adept with the symbolic usages taught in the text? Or was the student's code-making an extension of his skill in the codes and technical applications of grammar correctness?

Angelo DePalo, an Akron, Ohio, teenager, filled the facing page of Idylls of the King[19] with wisecracks -- "come up and see me sometime" --, a lewd poem, and an upside-down message (Fig. 12). Students' cleverness in passing time was so evident in the books they have left that it amounted to a whole body of evidence revealing "Yankee ingenuity" in an unrecognized form. Angelo DePalo's slang is defiant prose in a day when usage books warned against -- and provided exercises to assist extinction -- of "slang," "localisms," and "vulgar usages."

In a time when teachers had begun to consider fitting some of the material more closely to the needs and interests of their students, I believe that varieties of marginalia which were obviously created in moments of boredom show that the curriculum was often far from a student's area of interest. While youngsters like Angelo DePalo twitched in a back chair, the explication of many an uninspiring text was undoubtedly carried out in yesterday's English classroom. The precision editors employed in having students answer questions, memorize, and apply rules seemed so often to me to miss in the element of knowing how clever the students

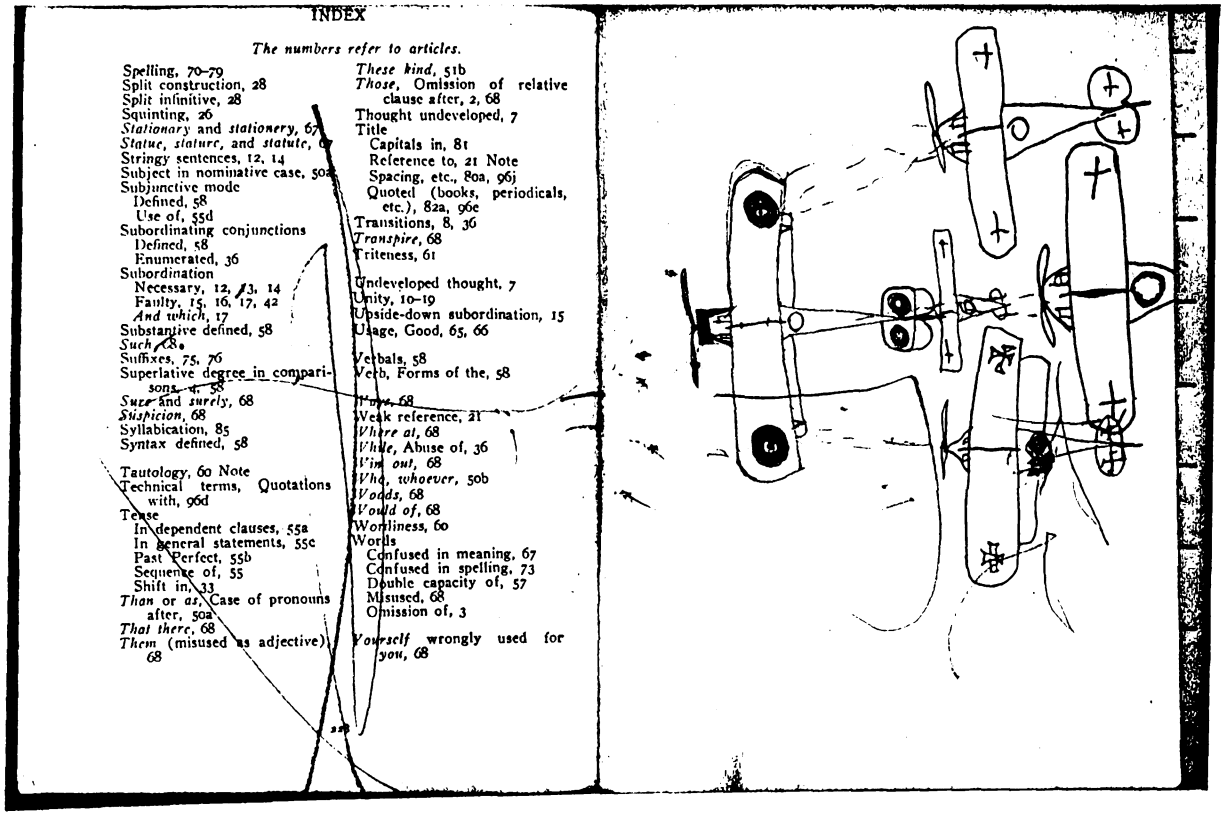

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Figure 16

In this detailed sketch of a World War I dogfight in The Century Word Book, the anonymous artist poked a pencil hole through the paper while depicting the air-to-air combat.

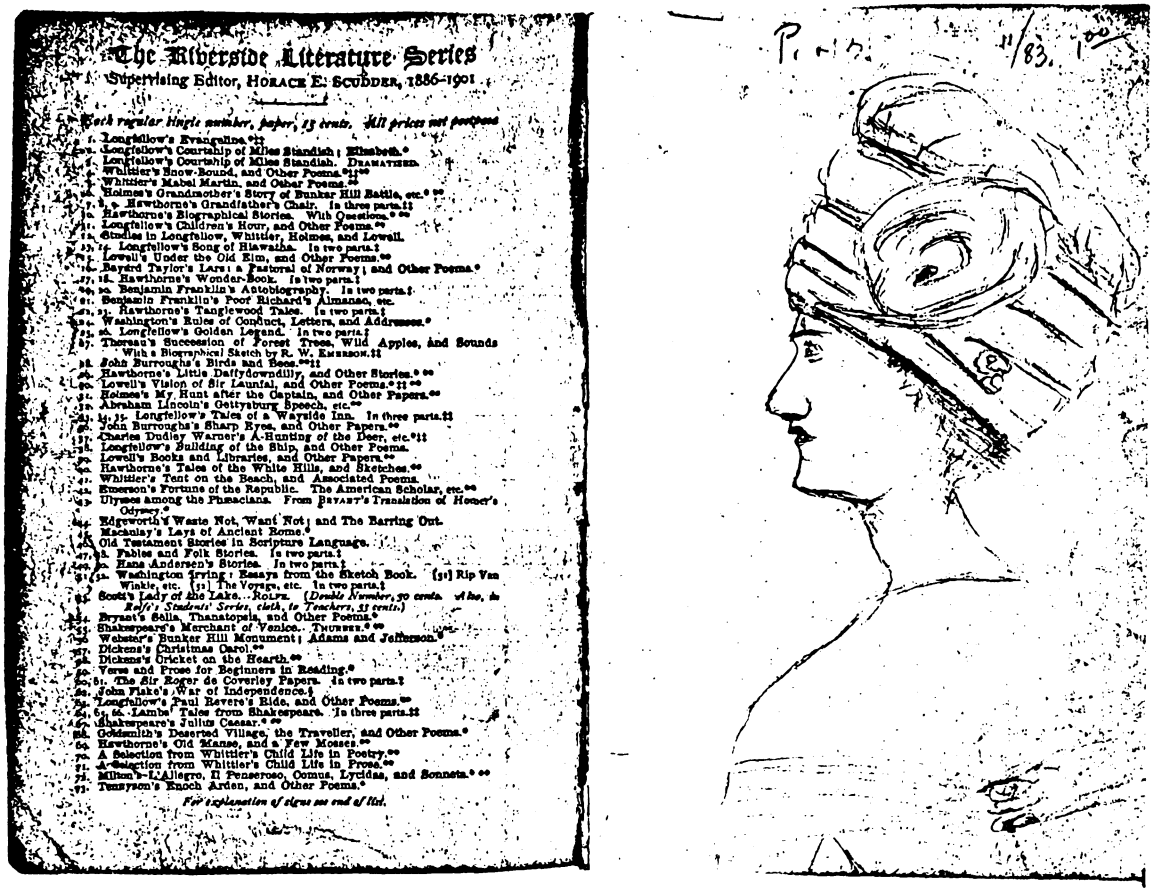

Figure 17

Detailed sketch of a lady in hat in textbook copy of The Vision of Sir Launfal.

really were. I feel some of them could have animated every act of a Shakespeare play.

Among the treasures of marginalia I discovered was a World War I dogfight drawn in the back of The Century Word Book.[20] I believe the text itself was among the most dreadful of usage books. In its front cover were ninety-nine separately numbered squares, and written in each square was a usage error such as "26 -- Squinting Modifier." Using the textbook approach to composition correction, the paper would be returned by the teacher covered with numbers, each number an indication of a usage error. By looking up the number in the textbook's front cover, the student determined which failing writing qualities his essay possessed. No numbers corresponded to positive comments.

The dogfight sketch, drawn from an above-looking-down perspective, shows the planes' wing spans, insignia, and volleys of gunfire dropping rat-a-tat-tat from the tip of a pencil. The artist must have become fully engaged in thinking out the battle. A pencil hole at a strategic point in the gunfire goes cleanly through the paper. In my opinion, it was the best possible use of The Century Word Book. Ironically, the "technology" of composition correction using numbered codes met the technology of twentieth century flight in this volume. Side by side they wryly suggest top-most twentieth century interests of some pupils and some teachers.

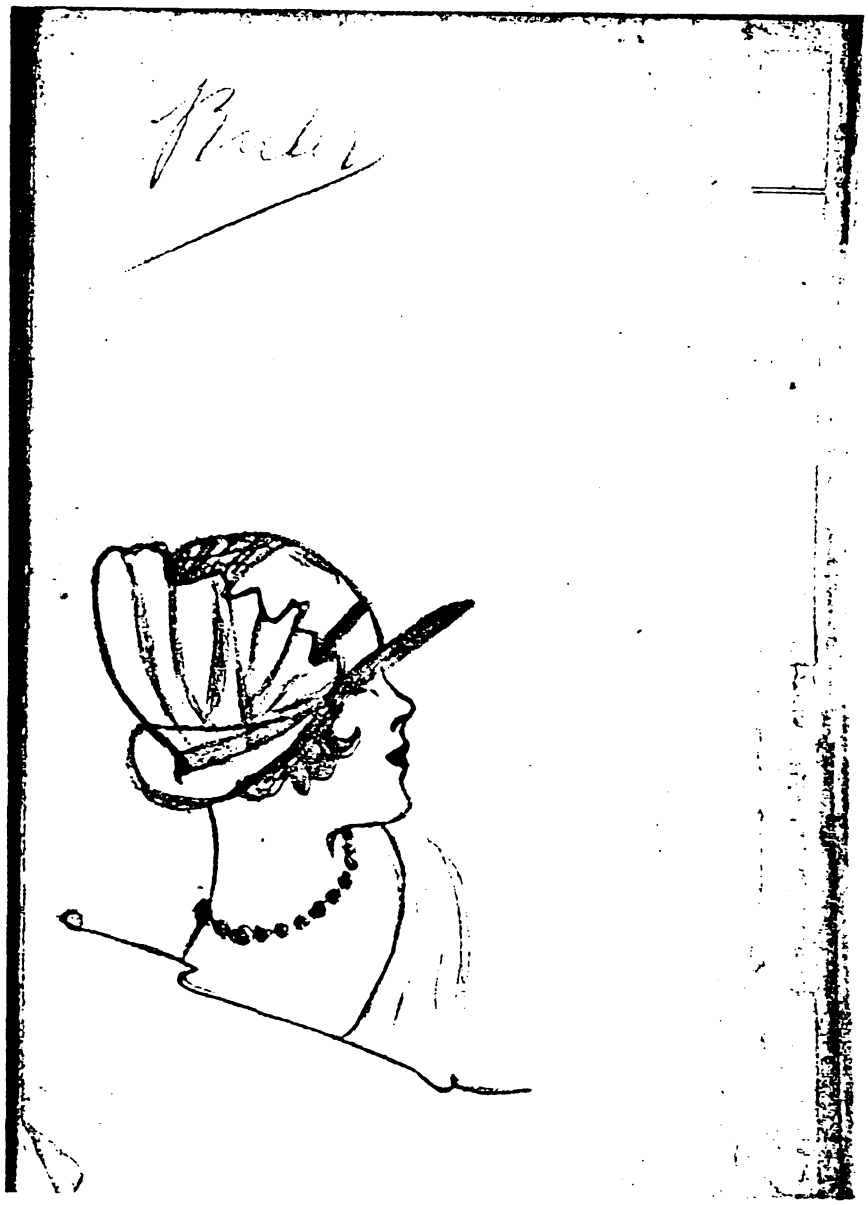

Figure 18

This lady with bobbed hair appears in a 1909 Merchant of Venice. The hairstyle indicates the text must have been used into the 1920's.

I own several books which once belonged to Robert Saettel. It was his custom to write his name over the author's, so that Twelfth Night in my Riverside edition was penned not by William Shakespeare, but by Robert Saettel. In a similar but reversed example of marginalia, a young poet attributed some of his own verses to Shakespeare. Alongside the writing is a dagger dripping blood:

> Steal not this book
> My noble friend
> For if you do
> It's a life's end.
> When you die
> The Lord will say
> "Where is that book you stole away?"
> And you will say
> "I do not know"
> The Lord will say
> "Walk down below."
> Shakespeare[21]

If students did not always appreciate the work of the masters, they certainly knew who the masters of the day were! And note this pupil's correct spelling and mechanics!

Helen Yarbrough, in her volume of Julius Caesar,[22] opened a door to her personality as a reader and student through the notes she left inside. She revealed her tendency to organization in various lists. She pencilled a neat "Shakespeare Time line" in the back. A list of the Seven Wonders of the World and another of "Books Read This Term" (September, 1920) spanned for me the stretch of Helen's young imagination -- the far-away Wonders to dream about, and the books-in-hand to read. Helen read two books which were probably her own choices for fun. They were

Girls of Friendly Terrace (a serial perhaps?) and something light- sounding called Zig Zag Stories. The third book, Julius Caesar, was probably required reading for English class. She took time to proudly record her score on a Julius Caesar test: "made 97 ... 9/7/20." Helen appealed to me as the sort of girl a teacher would call a "jewel." Orderly. Grade conscious. Diverse in her interests. Her textual responses made me feel I had personally come to know her as she must have been in tenth grade.

Interpreting margin drawings and writings is not an exact science, nor is it even a science. I cannot say with any certainty that writing in textbooks "means" that pupils had unusual, affectionate, or longlasting bonds to their texts -- texts so small they fit in the pocket of one's jacket. But they did personalize them -- "Clark Hallam, English Bonehead" and IF LOST PLEASE RETURN TO WALTER MAPLE - FRESHMAN ROOM!!!".[23] They did scrawl jokes, poetry, class notes, and their ideas of current fashions in their pages. They possessed their texts, and they imparted their lingering presence to them. Some messages seemed cast out to a vaguely perceived audience -- "Happy New Year!" -- "Blow!" -- "I hope you get dizzy or cross-eyed!"

In the course of poring over these texts, I have formed mental pictures of Mademoiselle Fanita Duncan as a young beauty -- like the curlecues of her penmanship. I have imagined Angelo DePalo as a clever bad-boy. Clark Hallam's drawings suggested to me a boy with a history of failed

connections with school teachers. And Helen Yarbrough's writings exuded the confidence of a girl happy and successful in school. Because the textual archeologist is more poet than scientist, these are visions more than extrapolations from data.

The frontleaf of Hyde's Grammar records its succession of owners in a neat row:

Chauncey Sovine

John Cuney

Jesse Dancer

Ray Potter

Jerry Pepple

The names are an arresting presence in otherwise standard-fare text. They are a reminder that school books are not created in isolated book-lined studies to fulfill the dream, need, or pedagogical compulsion of an author-editor. They are for someone, and they can enter someone's life and thought for a time. And for some young people who used these compact, personal texts, they were treasured and kept in the family while streams of other books passed away.

Chapter III Notes

1. Bert Allen's textbook, Albert D. Wright's Elements of the English Language; or, Analytical Orthography Designed to Teach the Philosophy of Orthography and Orthoepy was produced by A.S. Barnes & Co. of New York, copyright 1870. He used the book in 1886. In the front cover he has written: "if my name you wish to see look in page 83." Erasures indicate it once must have been there.

2. Dorothy Scharf owned Herrick and Damon's New Composition and Rhetoric for Schools, (Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1911).

3. Anna and Adda Whaley of North Amhurst, Ohio, jointly owned Tenneyson's Idylls of the King. It was part of the "Gateway Series" published in New York by American Book Co. in 1904.

4. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Evangeline, A Tale of Acadie, The Riverside Literature Series, (Cambridge, Mass: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co. 1896). This copy, which can be examined in Michigan State University's Special Collections, is an excellent example of student marginalia. I believe it, and others like it, represent a unique genre of American folk "art."

5. Longfellow, Evangeline ..., 78.

6. Fanita Duncan's dress can be located on p. 87. The method of reproduction for Fig. 11 was xerographic photocopy, darkened by pencil to be legible, then photocopied again. Many pencil drawings do not photograph adequately.

7. The 1874 English literature text has passed out of my hands. I am not able to provide further information.

8. Chauncy Sovine wrote many messages throughout Mary Hyde's Practical Grammar.

9. Thomas B. Macaulay, Macaulay's Essays on Addison and Johnson, Ed. Alphonso G. Newcomer, (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co. 1908). Alice K. Wilson's notes are tucked throughout this edition, which can be examined in Michigan State University Library's Special Collections.

10. Class notes on the life of Whittier were written in his Snow-Bound Among the Hills, Songs of Labor, and Other Poems, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1898). This copy is available at Michigan State University Library's Special Collections.

11. William Shakespeare, The Merchant of Venice, Ed. Samuel Thurber, The Riverside Literature Series, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. 1911).

12. Washington Irving, The Voyage and other Essays from the Sketch Book, The Riverside Literature Series, (Cambridge: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co. 1891). This copy was owned by Robert Gelarden, who used it in March, 1923. Courtesy, Karen Waite.

13. Addison and Steele, The Sir Rober DeCoverley Papers, Ed. Herbert Vaughn Abbott, The Lake English Classics, (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co. 1898). This edition is filled with marginalia by the students who owned it, and is available at MSU Special Collections.

14. Washington Irving, Irving's Sketch Book, (London: Macmillan and Co. 1917). Courtesy, Karen Waite.

15. John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progess, The Lake English Classics, (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co. 1906).

16. Helen and Charles Yarbrough's Julius Caesar was filled with writing, perhaps reflecting a familial tendency to repsond to books in this way. From lists of "The Seven Wonders of the World" to timelines of Shakespeare's works, the Yarbroughs filled their books with indications of what they thought about, studied, and imagined. Their books are owned today by a distant relative, Karen Waite.

17. Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, same volume as noted in note number 16 above.

18. Pages 84-5 of Herrick and Damon's New Composition and Rhetoric for Schools contained the coded messages.

19. Alfred Lord Tennyson, Idylls of the King, Eclectic English Classics, (NY: American Book Company. 1915).

20. Garland Greever and Easley Jones, The Century Book of Writing, (NY: The Century Co. 1918).

21. This poem, as well as a more succinct version:

"Steal not this book
For fear of life
For the owner carries
A Butcher knife" Shakespeare.

were found in a 1902 edition of Kittridge and Arnold's The Mother Tongue, Book II, owned by Lula Birdsall.

22. See note 16 for complete documentation of the Julius Caesar owned by Helen Yarbrough.

23. Walter Maple wrote "if lost ... please return!!!' messages all through his Sandwick and Bacon Word Book, which leads me to conclude that he had significant trouble staying organized.

CHAPTER IV

Come to me, O children!
And whisper in my ear
What the birds and the winds
   are singing
In your sunny atmosphere.

For what are all our contrivings,
And the wisdom of our books,
When compared with your caresses,
And the gladness of your looks?

Ye are better than all the ballads
That ever were sung or said;
For ye are living poems,
And all the rest are dead.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
From "Children" in
Poems Teachers Ask For[1]

The turn-of-the-century American classroom is known today through varied selection of reports, stories, and metaphors. Some people choose to remember it in affectionate "Little Red Schoolhouse" fashion. The time is often alluded to in conversation as a "golden" age --- when the teacher "meant business," everyone learned to read, write, cipher, and spell, and a whipping earned at school meant another at home. It is also possible to "reconstruct" the classroom setting by means of the documentation available in scholarly books, articles, and the preserved and well-referenced records kept by the teachers and administrators of that time. Somewhere between the mythical notions of the classroom and curriculum and the documented realities; an adequate and more accurate portrait of turn of the century school life can occur. And there is yet another

meaningful way to gather data about early twentieth century children and the ways they came to the experience of literacy.

People now in their eighties and nineties who were the children and adolescents then learning in those classrooms are often eager to talk about their childhood reading and writing histories. Eight people, all born in Michigan between 1893 and 1907, provided their "autobiographies of literacy" for this chapter. These seasoned readers and writers immeasurably enriched this study, for the dimensions they add are those of sight, sound, and feeling. They often confirmed, expanded upon, and explained information available through such factual sources as annual state of Michigan reports from the Superintendent of Public Instruction.[2] By mingling talk about school reading with talk about leisure reading and their family story rituals, they showed dimensionally how reading and writing found a fit in their young lives.

Eight interviews do not provide conclusive evidence of any specific aspect of an age. But they are complete in themselves, and are certainly true for the people who shared them. Their special validity to this study is that they picked up the threads of information about school, school books, leisure reading, -- language in its diverse uses at a particular time in our history -- and braided the threads into one piece.

Memories shared here provided a rich view of both the romance of learning and the impediments and hardships to learning that were specific to schooling and to the broad public aims for a literate citizenry early in the twentieth century. Their portraits allow readers in the 1980's to view literacy as a concern not only of the school, teachers, and teaching; but also as a complementary set of competencies developed and enjoyed with family, through community and church involvement, and at one's own initiative.

The individuals interviewed for this study each had vivid memories about reading and writing. They have each demonstrated "success" as a literate person, inasmuch as their reading and writing skills have piloted them through the activities of life (for pleasure or for work) which require reading. Some of their reading and writing has been performance-oriented, such as for amateur acting and genealogy research and writing. They are a diverse group of people who have worked in teaching, skilled trades, homemaking, banking, and farming. The common denominator I sought in the group -- their childhood recollections of reading and writing -- came easily in the interviews. In fact they met me, without exception, with a degree of eagerness I did not expect. Each one shared old texts or other memorabilia, exhibiting a surprising degree of physical attachment to favorite books.

It seems clear to me that one important aspect of the experience of literacy is the ownership -- literally and figuratively -- of texts enjoyed while one was still young, still developing as a reader. So many times one of the individuals said, "If only I hadn't given away --" to describe a book read and loved in childhood.

Leone Berry[3], of Bay City, is ninety-two. At one time, she owned hundreds of books. To introduce herself, she pressed into my hand a photo of her father surrounded by his rolltop desk, books, and papers. It gave me a sense of her identity as a person interested in the accoutrements of literacy. Now that she lives in a single room in a residence for the elderly, she has had to "pare down" her books to what she considers her most precious. Her Abraham Lincoln bookends organize her remaining books, books she has treasured since her girlhood. Among them: Anne of the Island (1915), The Little Colonel's Chum (1909), Farm Rhymes (James Whitcomb Riley), and The Revolutionary Maid (1899). As we spoke about the books, she left her chair, knelt on the floor by her bookcase, and handled and commented on each book. She spoke of her love for the "Little Colonel" and "Mary Ware" series by Annie Fellows Johnson, which were popular in her girlhood. She gave a summary of the storylines of several. When asked what kinds of books she chose in the library as a young teenager, Mrs. Berry remarked, "I probably got books that weren't serious books. I probably got just the other kind of books. Just novels."

This acknowledgement of two kinds of literature -- a literature of enjoyment, and a prestige or "learned" literature -- was typical in these interviews. Mrs. Berry, and others, listed Shakespeare, Sir Walter Scott, George Eliot, Tennyson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and a handful of others as important "literary" authors. This is consistent with the list of authors most widely read in high schools of the early twentieth century. But the books Leona saved, and the books most of the people interviewed here were most eager to share, were essentially of the "just novels" category. And two poets were mentioned over and over -- James Whitcomb Riley for his familiar farm verses, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow for "Hiawatha."

In 1916, when Ruth Crocker[4] was starting high school in Saginaw, she would take a walk to the library in search of a specific kind of book -- "romance!" She remembers reading a book called The Rosary "two or three times, that was romantic!... And then ... in school we read The Three Musketeers." Mrs. Crocker has saved five favorite romances for over seventy years, and can still describe the lush green and gold cover of one. When she moved to a smaller apartment, she gave them to a neighbor, who, she said, "never read them ... I should have kept them ... I loved those books!" Mrs. Crocker's memory for the visual details of the books of her girlhood is especially vivid, though she is now blind. Her voice was lyrical when she described with

expansive hand movements the size of her first primer. She recalled "it had, on the first page, a great big blue bird!"

A trellis of pink roses wound across the cover of a romantic novel that Katherine Cavanaugh Carroll[5] was able to enjoy for only one day. The book was titled In the Time of Roses. The cover, and sense of romance it imparted, intrigued the teenaged Katherine. Katherine laughs today, but continues to register very real disappointment that she had to return the book to the library, unread. Her father saw the book lying on a hall table, examined it, and decided it was "trashy." Katherine described the book as one which she supposed "had love scenes ... people making love ... though not the way they make love today." To this day, she regrets that she did not hide it under her pillow and savor the clandestine reading of it at night. In general, Katherine's girlhood was rich in the enjoyment of literacy, a girlhood played out in a neighborhood where playmates were renamed after characters they read about in popular series of the day. She came to understand and follow the reading rules of her house -- no "trash" allowed. It case of doubt, one of her parents could leaf through a book and discern quickly whether or not it was suitable.

The question of the suitability of leisure texts, especially for girls, was mentioned in the interviews again and again. Certainly the moralistic tone of much of the literature is well-known. It must have been about 1917 when Lula Birdsall[6] read a novel titled The Leopard's Spots,

about the romance of a southern girl and a northern boy just after the Civil War. She described a buggy ride, during which the boy puts his arm around the girl. Mrs. Birdsall recalled the girl saying "I don't think Mamma would object to this, do you?" Mrs. Birdsall's quotation of a book she last read about seventy years ago, which proved accurate to text, seems remarkable. Thomas Dixon's The Leopard's Spots (subtitled "A Romance of the White Man's Burden" 1865-1900) can still be found in rare book collections. I was able to locate the scene in the book which made a lifelong impression on Lula Birdsall:

> But when they rode home one evening he dared to put his arm behind her, high on the phaeton's leather cushion, as they were going down a hill, and then lowered it a little as they started up the grade. She leaned back and found it there. At first she nestled against it very timidly and then trustingly. She looked into his face and both smiled.
>
> "Isn't that nice Sallie?"
>
> "Yes it is. I don't think Mamma would mind that, do you?"
>
> "Of course not."
>
> "Well, I never promised not to lean back in a phaeton, did I?"[7]

The incident caused young Lula to "think and think about that." These were the sort of moral dilemmas which may have been simultaneously occurring in her own life. The conflict inherent in The Leopard's Spots, which involved the divided post Civil War American sympathies, was not mentioned or significantly recalled by Mrs. Birdsall. The moral features of boy and girl relationships were the aspects of the story which held her interest at age thirteen

or fourteen. When asked to comment generally on the moralistic literature of her childhood and adolescence she said: "It worked with me -- I think it had a deterring effect on a lot of kids."

The cause and effect relationship between "good" literature and being a "good" young reader was evidently the subject of great scrutiny by parents and teachers. In general, the culture supported a notion that literature of a didactic, morally upright tone could effect a younger generation that would be likewise highly principled and moral. Themes of patriotism, good neighborliness, Christian virtue, and sexual restraint, were typical in stories and poems for children and adolescents in early twentieth century America.[8]

For example, a recurring feature in Ladies Home Journal in the early 1900's was titled "Literary Talks" by Hamilton W. Mabie. In one, entitled "Should the Young Read Novels?" -- note the very significance of the question -- Mabie asserts:

> ...there are many vulgar and trashy novels which no intelligent person can afford to read; and there is a hostel of commonplace novels which are neither profitable nor restful. All these varieties of a great art ought to be excluded.[9]

Three women I interviewed, Lula Birdsall, Petronella VanWormer, and Katherine Carroll all remembered their reading selections being scrutinized by parents.

In general, the women in this study agreed that leisure reading for girls was encouraged, though themes and subjects

were controlled and limited. Their mothers, though essentially literate, for the most part had no time to be avid readers. Mothers were typically described as overworked and exhausted, too tired or preoccupied to read to their children. When girls read, my sources seemed to indicate that the story -- even if it was an adventure of the Motor Girls type -- had better be clean. While a notion of mother reading at night to her children provides a warm notion of the way things might have been, most readily admitted that mothers worked into the night. They seldom paused to read stories.

George Crocker's[10] mother, whose native language was German, knitted in every "idle" minute. She also read prayers to herself from a German prayer book. But she did not share this activity with her children because she wanted them to read and speak in English. Petronella Van Wormer's[11] German-speaking mother was "a saint." She encouraged evening chats around the dining room table, and though she was not fluent in reading English , she delighted her eleven children with map studies, as geography was her compelling interest. Europe and Asia must have seemed exotic and worlds away to a farm child like Petronella, whose family was unable even to arrange transportation to the city high school ten miles away. Still, their home was busy and happy. Petronella's mother was also the local midwife. The VanWormer household was filled with talk about farming, far away places, and the most recently born babies.

Today Petronella does not dwell on the might-have-been possibilities of making it into town to finish her schooling.

Lula Woolston Birdsall is blessed with an exacting memory for detail as well as a delightful expressiveness in conveying it. The Comfort[12] magazine came to her home on a subscription basis. She and her siblings waited eagerly for installments of a series on Indians, and she remembered her ghoulish enjoyment of one episode in which an Indian boy captured a white boy of about Lula's age, and speculated on chopping his head off. Her father relished reading those episodes to the children. She also recalled her mother reading Uncle Tom's Cabin to the children. Lula recollects that her mother had enlivened the reading of the story by telling them about the time she had seen it performed as an opera. Mrs. Birdsall, though she got the account of the opera second hand from her mother, made the experience her own. Her telling of her mother's account sounded as though she had been there herself: "You could go by horse and buggy to see the opera. ... They had stage effects set up. When Eliza crossed the river on ice, you could see it happen!"

On glum evenings in rural Armada, Michigan, when the chores were done and George Turner's[13] mother was at the last tedious task of the day, his older sister would

Figure 19

The Comfort - "Key to a Million and a Quarter Homes" - brought serial Indian adventures to the country home of Lula Woolston.

sometimes offer a simple but captivating entertainment. He recalls her rigging a curtain with a kerosene lantern behind. By standing behind it, she could make shadow animals with her hands "...bunnies...that was about all the entertainment we had..."

The creation of "dirty" stories and jingles seems to have been an almost universal interest of schoolboys. Girls were cautioned to remove themselves from vulgar talk. Dirty stories may have made the boys feel adventuresome. They may have felt entitlement to this "adult" activity because they worked and earned money. George Turner tape records poems he remembers from his boyhood, but told me there are poems he learned from other chums that are not fit for recording. Lula Birdsall began to say that "dirty stories were not told around her country school," but her husband broke in: "I think that the boys probably knew plenty of 'em, which you didn't hear." Mrs. Birdsall relented, but added "especially among the girls, the (local) church activated the conscience."

Literature of the day confirmed that separate kinds of language play for boys and girls existed, and that there were separate social expectations for each regarding the language. Margaret Sangster, in Fairest Girlhood included an entire chapter "About Conversation."

> A girl often hears what may be called picturesque slang from her brothers and their friends. But as she owes it to the family and the community to acknowledge her duty to the mother tongue, she should not acknowledge it in her conversation.[14]

When the men in this study described their lives, it was almost always in the context of work. George Crocker confessed to a love of reading, but morning and evening farm chores took precedence over every other endeavor of his daily agenda. He expressed no regret over this, but appeared to accept it as having been a fact of his young life. He, too, described sibling literary play in which an older sister read Bible stories, and later he and his brothers swapped books with neighbor boys. He especially liked Westerns. He said he read adventure books and "pretty near anything that came along, because books didn't come along too fast and furious in those days." In his interview he was more eager to move conversationally into other areas -- his work with the teams of horses, his acquisition of knowledge about planting the crops and maintaining the animals. There were no agricultural extension bulletins in those days, and he described the farm life as a life in which he, his brothers, and his father worked hard to keep the enterprise solvent. Often they invented their own solutions to pressing problems of feed, fertilizer, or animal husbandry.

In 1903, Michigan Superintendent of Public Instruction, Delos Fall, commented at length on the disparity between rural and city public education in the state of Michigan. That would be just about the year George Crocker was maintaining a team of horses, and not too far from the time he was ending his formal education in the eighth grade.

Superintendent Fall, in his yearly report, called for efficient centralized rural high schools in Michigan. He hoped to maintain quality of rural life while educating students on a par with their city counterparts. Fall noted a difference between types of instruction appropriate to city and country youngsters:

> ...the student in the rural high school (of the future) will go to the original sources of Nature itself, for the facts of chemistry, physical geography, and the like. By this method he will acquire the power to read and interpret facts at first hand...He will be given an independence of thought, a habit of reliance upon his own powers, he will be impressed by the largeness and freedom of the country, he will be freed from the artificiality and conventionality which more or less dominate life in the city...
>
> Many studies which are perfectly adapted to the youth of the city have no appropriateness here. Nature study, agricultural science, a critical study of the soil, the sky, the forrest, the field, botany, zoology, meteorology, manual training, and domestic science e, will take the place of Latin and Greek. ... The schools will trains for citizenship and for life, rather than to produce mere bookworms.[15]

The men I spoke with as part of this project would, I am sure, shudder at the possibility of being labeled a "bookworm." To produce reading and writing young people was a goal of the society, and essentially was a goal of its young people as well. Still, for a working class boy, the idea of absorption in a life of reading and books would have been, in the least, peculiar. This seems to be especially true in the farm setting, where there was no immediate relationship between knowing the "classics" of the time -- Shakespeare, Tennyson, Emerson -- and getting the sheep through lambing time. George Turner's reference book for

language use throughout his life has been a practical volume he still owns. The Business Guide of Safe Methods of Business (1896)[16] gives ethical advice along with methods for writing receipts, wills, letters of inquiry, contracts, and the like. It provides a meaningful context for reading and writing that is still attractive to George. There is no place on his shelf for more "literary" kinds of literature.

As Superintendent Fall indicated in his 1903 report, rural Michigan education was not always comparable to city school education. This seems to have been the case nationwide, even beyond the early 1900's. In 1917, David Snedden in an article for School Review titled "The High School of Tomorrow" indicated:

> The country high school...is...the Cinderella of the secondary-school sisterhood. We all hope that the prince bearing gifts will someday find the rural high school. but for the present we cannot even be certain that he is on the quest.[17]

This view was confirmed in the interviews. The subjects personalized their comments with stories of books being in short supply, teachers often young and inexperienced, and students whose special learning needs -- sometimes due to mental or physical deficiencies or second-language learning problems -- complicating the success of students whose desire was to acquire something beyond mere acquaintance and basic "competency" in writing and reading. Petronella Van Wormer, who is presently engaged in detailed genealogy record-keeping, did not become fluent in English until age nine or ten. She remembered some subjects, like

spelling, being "hard to catch on to." When I asked her whether the language barrier had been her real problem, she seemed surprised, and felt that it was her own fault for being "slow." Today she makes good use of the English she was taught in the country school, but remembers only snatches of her native German.

Again, I think mythic notions of America's little school houses are likely to be so present in our thinking that it becomes difficult to see them as they actually were. Lula Birdsall's vision of the school house is a romantic one -- two rooms, a memorable teacher, and a shelf full of books whose characters became Lula's friends. George Crocker described his school house as a chaotic room with fifty-six children and a teacher, not much older than them, attempting to subdue them. Michigan's resources in rural schools were pitifully limited by today's standards. Beginning in 1913, Michigan's "Standard School Plan" encouraged Michigan rural districts to strive to achieve standards as basic as a "heated room" and "good bookcases."[18]

Some national statistics may help in considering how the responses in the interviews fit in the national view of education. Albert Shiels wrote about rural American illiteracy in 1914, citing 1910 census statistics on literacy.[19] Urban illiteracy, he reported, was fifty-one per thousand people. Rural illiteracy was reported at one hundred one per thousand, or virtually double. Shiels cited poorer schools and the rise in the immigrant American

population as basis for these statistics. Shiels' analysis seems to have bearing even on this small sample, in which the rural subjects repeatedly established a scenario in which many children were first generation Americans with non-native speaking parents, and schools were overcrowded and under-equipped.

Helen Compton[20] was educated in a country school in Freeland, Michigan. She described a one room school with eight grades, and a small bookcase with only a few books inside. As a child, Mrs. Compton was traumatized by the daily demands of a teacher she remembers as employing the technique of memorization above all other teaching strategies:

> This teacher...would give us a long poem and you were to go home that night and memorize it and come back the next day and say it -- and about the day after that, another one!...I think it was a terrible thing to put on a child. Every single night a poem, and I don't remember a word of them...Perhaps when they had all those eight grades, they didn't know what to do with all of you.

Dislike of specific teaching or disciplinary methods was frequently mentioned in the interviews, and especially as related to the rural school. Frequently, the technique of having older students help younger ones was mentioned.

This undoubtedly resulted in the use of methods such as Mrs. Compton described, just to keep all the children occupied. The impact of such methods on the enjoyment -- or disdain -- of literature can only be imagined. Katherine Carroll likewise mentioned an elementary teacher rumored to

be loose from "an insane asylum" who rapped children with a ruler before they misspelled a word, "sensing" they were about to do so!

Children did learn about reading and writing, and that is obvious even from this small group of people. Some, who by their own inclination or through the fortune of a gifted teacher were introduced to new worlds through their small yet significant arrays of books. Lula Birdsall remembers her little country school as it was in about 1914:

> When I was in the fourth grade, we moved to a country school, and that country school had a glass front bookcase full of books, like Little Women, Little Men, Uncle Tom's Cabin ... Well, it meant so much to me, for it simply released my whole imagination. Really -- about the boy who was in the circus --`Toby Tyler' -- and the Book of Knowledge was a whole set, telling about the stars, and other countries, and there were stories in them, stories that were fairy stories, and stories that were factual.

Later in our interview, Mrs. Birdsall shared a 1901 elementary grammar book with me, and as we opened to the page on "interjections", a fragile pressed flower fell out. Someone had written in the book's margin "gathered April 30." What year? No modern detective could determine that, but the flower was likely gathered on some balmy spring recess in just such a country school yard.

Brucker School in Bridgeport was the scene of most of Petronella Van Wormer's formal education. She still remembers fifty to sixty students learning alongside her in one room, and happily shared memories of the school

Christmas party, which included a play that students began to practice in late October each year.

In eighth grade, Petronella took a country examination at the city of Saginaw, passed, and thus ended her formal education. For her, and for George Crocker, the rural eighth grade education was all that was feasible. High schools were located only in urban centers, and rural students had access to them only if they could arrange for room and board in the city, transportation home on weekends, tuition for the out-of-district fees, book fees, and a slightly better wardrobe. Lula Birdsall's parents had a creative stop-gap solution to the problem of high school. Though hers had been the highest score on the county eighth grade examination, her parents re-enrolled her in eighth grade two more times after she had initially passed it. With these two additional years they had "bought" themselves, they were able to make arrangements to move to the city of Clare, where Lula and her brother were able to continue their high school educations while living at home. She says now that she is glad she had the opportunity to repeat eighth grade twice, for during that time she learned to "manage diagramming, parsing, analysis, and things like that."

The problem of financing a city school education, and its accompanying difficulties of adjustment from the rural to the city setting were common impediments to continuing learning. Lula Birdsall mentioned the popular author Gene

Stratton-Porter as one of her girlhood favorites. One of Porter's most famous stories, Girl of the Limberlost (1909) is the story of a country girl who longed to go to the city high school. The novel's heroine, Elnora, faced many embarrassments her first day in high school: "In one burning flash came the full realization of her scanty dress, her pitiful little hat and ribbon, her big, heavy shoes, her ignorance of where to go or what to do."[21] Several interviews, including Mrs. Birdsall's, revealed that fitting in and dressing appropriately were major considerations to country youth. Helen Compton related that when she boarded in Midland, Michigan, while attending Midland High School, her classmate was the affluent Dorothy Dow. Dorothy dressed simply and economically, which was a relief to girls like Helen who could not have afforded a better wardrobe.

The city schools were larger, of course, and had both greater physical space and generally offered more extensive curricula, even at the elementary level. Ruth Crocker, George Turner (after third grade), Leone Berry and Katherine Carroll were all raised in the city. They described schools in which order was preserved by means of separate lines for boys and girls, and the principals kept order with a paddle. Perhaps all students have a tendency to generalize past school experiences, especially discipline, this way. As the grades progressed, curricular choices could take a commercial/vocational focus, or an academic/college preparation focus.

The city school presented its own dilemmas for the students. For one thing, attendance was compulsory, and truant officers were apparently in abundance. If this were not the case at least, no one alerted George Turner to that fact. He was always trying to keep some standard of attendance up in order to avoid the truant officer. He "sampled" schools, apparently with little interference from his parents. When the public school in his district proved distasteful to him, he switched for a few brief weeks to the Catholic school across the street. He returned to the public school when "...the Sister busted a hickory stick across my buddy's rear end."

If George Turner did not express great nostalgia for his experiences in school, perhaps it is because his school day often started between four and four-thirty in the morning, when he picked up the early edition of the Saginaw Courier-Herald and began his job of distributing it to the train depot and out-going Inter-Urban express. By the time he slid into the seat in his classroom for the eight-thirty bell, young George (then ten or eleven by his recollection) already had been working four or more hours. And he had already read about the day's events.

George Turner's literary skills may have been honed as much by the local newspaper as by the drill and repetition in the classroom. He made affectionate acquaintance with "Maggie and Jigs," "The Katzenjammer Kids" and "Mutt and Jeff" through the comic pages. It is not surprising that

this city boy, who was helping support his family, does not remember having been a model student. But he did remember shouting "Wuckstra, Wuckstra!" to peddle the "Extra" edition the day the Titanic went down. He followed the careers of prizefighters and other contemporary heroes through the newspaper. George Turner may have followed world events, too, but his real reading interests were typical of a boy his age -- adventure, sports, and the funny paper. He got a smattering of religion attending a nearby Sunday School. George Truner's sources and uses of literacy continue to interest me, for they show that it is not just school which is a supplier or maintainer of literacy.

Issues of morality and judgement that might come to an individual through a fairy tale, fable, or morality play, can come to a person through adverse personal experience instead. Once, when George Turner's family was especially hard up, they had to live for a time only on dandelion greens and home made bread. George was tempted to kill one of his mother's chickens and have one good meal. He also considered taking a half-measure and eating an egg. To kill a chicken meant no more egg supply, and the sale of eggs funded the purchase of flour to make the bread. George Turner, and doubtless many other boys and girls who were his city contemporaries, learned when they were very young the consequences of hasty decisions to solve immediate problems. Childhood was no age of innocence for George and others. While basic need most certainly is a deterrent to eager book

learning, in George Turner's case, need was a factor in his developing an ability to sense logical arrangement of priorities for survival. And today, he is able to share this story -- and its moral -- in a style worthy of Aesop.

George Turner's out-of-school acquisition of language skills was quite different from the specific content of instruction called "English" during this time period. The subjects interviewed here made reference to a wide range of activities they called "English." These included diagramming, grammar exercises, sentence analysis, the study of literature, oration, debate, essay and composition writing, memorization, and even penmanship. To some extent, particularly in the performance-oriented activities such as debate, this reflected the breadth and diversity the profession began to undergo just prior to 1920.

Whatever the language curriculum of each of their respective schools may have been, these subjects represent represented the remains of that curriculum. These students, now the living remnants of the curriculum of their time, shared varied reminiscences of the effectiveness of that curriculum.

Leone Berry distinguished between the commercial course, where she would presumably have learned practical business applications of English such as writing a concise business letter, and the academic course, which she elected because "I had a dream to go to college." College proved to be too expensive for Leone's family, and she went to work

during World War I in a bank. In the academic course, Leone studied Latin, and the English course was steeped in the literature most high schools deemed "classic." She recalled reading Ivanhoe, "Evangeline" (which continues to be one of her treasured volumes), and the poetry of Edgar Allan Poe. She remembered that her English teacher often recited the line "...the tintinabulation of the bells, bells, bells,...", and Leone demonstrated a fondness for lolling over the language of it, though she appeared to have remembered it mostly as a tribute to the teacher who loved it. Leone told me more about the curriculum by talking about her sister Jessie, who "loved Shakespeare" and extended much of her high school English reading into a lifelong interest in the study of classic literature. Part of Leone's experience in her senior year was acting in the play "My Little Partner," for which she demonstrated more visible enthusiasm than for Shakespeare.

The people who shared in this project universally twined the subject of English intimately with the whole personality of the teacher who presented the material. If the teacher was perceived as kind, fair, approachable, the material itself gained credibility in their eyes. Kind teachers were remembered specifically and anecdotally: "She gave me a Harold Bell Wright book." "She loved her little dog." "She taught me to write in my books. Now, if I love a book, I can't keep my pencil out of it."

If the teacher was punitive, applied an unreasonable degree of pressure, or combined corporal punishment or embarrassment with the teaching of the class, the material is remembered -- not unexpectedly -- with revulsion. Katherine Carroll "felt a headache coming on" before spelling bees in a class whose teacher hit children for wrong answers. Helen Compton hated reading, writing, and poetry all the way through high school because of two or three teachers who stressed memorization -- Helen's weakest skill. Leone Berry remembered a teacher whose face became beet red when she was angry. Leone, at ninety-two, still sounds upset when she says "she scared us to death." Teacher and subject seem to become one piece where there is fear or anxiety in the classroom. I believe that these interviews strongly suggest all language teaching requires a patient, accepting teacher if reading and writing are to become enjoyable lifetime endeavors.

Ruth Crocker loved oral reading in high school English class. This was mostly because she had a kind and patient teacher the year she returned to school from a year-long illness. Ruth had suffered a childhood stroke and diptheria. Following these two physically-devastating events, she could read more fluently from a book than she could spontaneously chat. The stroke had forced Ruth to make changes her in handedness, as it had affected her right- dominant-side. Her gait, speech, and thinking processes were never again to feel exactly the same to her.

No "special services" were available to her, as they would be today. She was frightened and apprehensive when she returned to school. In oral reading of novels such as Silas Marner, Ruth regained a measure of confidence. Her voice rose optimistically as she said "Miss Flanders gave me `E' for `Excellent'!" She was less exuberant about sentence diagramming, which she never mastered. When asked if she now feels that diagramming made her a better writer, her voice went flat and she answered an unequivocal "NO."

Helen Compton found it hard to talk about English class, she hated it so much. In fact, unlike the other women in this study who all enjoyed leisure reading, Helen detested reading until she could make her own selections as an adult. She insisted that it all had to do with the elementary teacher whose almost sole method of language "teaching" was the memorization of long poems and declamations. She said, "I think we probably liked English the least of anything." When probed about particular activities she abhorred, she mentioned a specific assignment which required her to write an original oration on the broad topic "Democracy." The assignment required that the student write, memorize, and perform the letter-perfect oration in the high school auditorium before the collective tenth, eleventh, and twelfth graders of the school. Mrs. Compton still remembers the lost feeling at the numerous steps of the assignment -- generating the oration, memorizing it, then being vigorously critiqued if it was poorly written

and/or poorly performed in public. She vaguely recalled that the original orations were compared against famous orations they had been reading as models. She emotionally expressed a continuing dislike for the pressure of public and peer-oriented performance.

Lula Birdsall remembered herself as a tiny high school girl loaded with a heavy bookbag containing selections bound in small, hardcover volumes. "Evangeline" was one of her favorites, and was mentioned many other women in this stories as a favorite. Lula was not easily deterred from a love of English, as proven by an earlier unhappy experience. As a younger girl attending a parochial gradeschool "Sister Julia, because I folded up my English paper,...called me up to the front and laid some real welts on my hand with a ruler." Luckily that episode had no lasting, negative effect, except in memory.

Mrs. Birdsall described a high school academic curriculum which included numerous "classical" selections -- Julius Caesar, Hamlet, Romeo and Juliet, The Merchant of Venice, -- but taught by a teacher who asked her students to analyze how Shakespeare must have been feeling, or what he must have been experiencing in his own life, when he wrote each play. Mrs. Birdsall believed that the teacher read her students' work, likewise felt in reading her students' work with the same sensitivity that she read Shakespeare's. The teacher believed it reflected that particular phase of her students' lives. That teacher did not ask for the work --

the thinking -- of an adult. As a result, young Lula blossomed, even reading more Shakespeare on her own time. A favorite English assignment for her was the choice to prepare a debate in tenth grade English in lieu of a written final examination. The question at hand --"Should the federal government subsidize 'The Teapot Dome'?"

Writing is a classroom endeavor that not all students come to enjoy. But Katherine Carroll wrote an essay which the nun in her parochial school so liked, that she carried it room to room to read aloud to the other classes. Katherine is still able to recite how the essay began: "Here we are at last, in the wonderful land of the rising sun, among an odd-looking people, but who greet us with extreme politeness." When Katherine quoted this portion of the essay to me, it had been living in her memory for eighty-seven years! She went on to relate how proud she was, how her mother and sister rewarded her with praise at home. Though she tried to top the essay with one even better the next time, this essay was Katherine's "best" writing accomplishment.

Katherine's home life supported her lifelong love of reading and writing. Her mother quoted David Copperfield almost daily as she went about her chores in the house. For decades, the Cardinal Gibbons Reading Circle met in their home. Excelling at high school English was part of Katherine's parents' set of expectations. Many of her siblings selected professions which reflect an interest in

print literacy. One brother became a judge, and another (Giles Cavanaugh) was an editor of The Detroit News. A sister followed their father's career path and became a teacher. She was proud to attend a parochial high school run by the Sisters of Charity which she described as "intellectual -- like the Jesuits." As I left my interview with Katherine, she was waiting for the delivery of her daily Detroit Free Press, and fretting jokingly that her day was not complete without it.

These people revealed strong feelings about their old books and their personal writings. Lula Birdsall brought out a current notebook she keeps for teaching Sunday School. All her books are filled with marginal comments, which makes browsing them a bit like listening to Lula's conversation with the text. Petronella VanWormer kept all her writings from school in an attic long after she was out of school. For some reason, the writings were removed from the attic by another family member, sometime in the 1940's. Forty odd years later, Petronella is still hopping mad about it! She says angrily "...if I still had it,...now I would study up on it!" Petronella is experienced at losing books and writings. In Michigan's flood of 1986, she and her cat were evacuated in a rowboat. Decades of clippings, her precise genealogy notes, and her photographs, washed away.

In his address to the State of Michigan regarding the past year in education (1903), Superintendent of Public

Instruction, Delos Fall, made incisive comments about the nature of writing.[22]

> The expression of thought...is narrowly and technically known as writing. One who expresses his thought in words is employing identically the same process with the same end in view. At another time, one might the brush of the painter, the pencil of the artist, the facile touch of the musician, the skill of the architect, or the marvelously forceful power of expression of the artisan with his tools, as he accurately expresses his thought by the creations of his skill and inventive power. All this is writing.

By this definition, the "written" compositions of George Turner, Katherine Carroll, Helen Compton, Ruth and George Crocker, Lula Birdsall, Petronella VanWormer, and Leone Berry, are all remarkable. They "write" in a variety of ways. Some of the writings they have produced include George Turner's fluency with a roofing shingle, Helen Compton's articulate use of colored chalk to fascinate her first grade classes with whimsical blackboard drawings, Lula Birdsall's precision with a pencilled margin notation in a favorite book. These individuals were schooled in Michigan at a time when a total education which, hopefully, prepared them for practical as well as academic or cerebral pursuits throughout life, was the earnest wish of their teachers.

These eight people shared their reading, writing, and "storying" selves in a way as intimate as the experience of becoming a reader and writer is necessarily -- because it involves the realms of the mind and heart -- intimate. They probably, as learners since the beginning of time, read and write because of and in spite of their teachers. They are

the living remains of the culture they knew as children, the nurture their parents and environment afforded, and the curriculum their teachers presented. They are the "living poems" that reveal the essence of the age in which they came to maturity and the experience of literacy.

In other chapters of this study, attitudes about literacy which school and culture reinforced are discussed. Many of these attitudes seem to carry into the information shared in these eight interviews. The people's awareness of a language appropriateness for girls and another (looser, bawdier) one for boys can likewise be documented in the many advice columns and books for girls 1900-1920. The message to "Be a Lady" in action and speech shaped, and some would say refined, the language of girls.

America's status as an immigrant nation is obvious, even in this small sample. The two German speakers in this study had almost identical reminisces about their parents' language -- that it was to be forgotten, that their parents and their older friends belonged to a separate society where German was spoken and read. The children were not encouraged to be part of it. America's new generation, whatever their parents' linguistic heritage, were to absorb the literacy of English.

Home life obviously nutured attitudes which helped or hurt the child in responding to school. Lula Birdsall's three hours of positive comments about nearly every circumstance in her life lead me to believe that attitudes

from her mother and father enabled her to face varying school experiences. That her parents sold their farm and moved to town to send their children to high school demonstrated an unusual committment to education. Katherine Carroll and Leone Berry went into the school with high expectations, too. Mother and father provided a home in which reading and writing could be observed by the children, and good grades were simply expected.

The personal element these eight interviews bring to this study is helpful in viewing the more objective and data-oriented sections of the other chapters. I know as a student of history that while books remain to tell about what happened, the living voices are absent. I urge the reader not to overgeneralize what these eight people have shared here. At the same time, it is a happy circumstance that they can verify that they remember a time when Gene Stratton-Porter and Harold Bell Wright -- according to my data, the most popular novelists of their time -- leaned together on the family bookshelf.

These people verify that there was a time when a child's work could be as critical as a child's play, which certainly affected their long-term ability to sustain a school career. They verify by their continuing interests in their own books and writings that the experience of reading or creating a special story can transform a person for years and years. Theirs are "stories" more than "data." Yet their stories help complete this whole study.

Chapter IV Notes

1. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, "Children," Poems Teachers Ask For. (Danville: F.A.Owen. Date torn out) 17.

2. Annual reports from the Michigan Superintendant of Public Instruction articulate goals for the year, on-going problems in the districts, and provide comprehensive data on hundreds of major and fine points of the administration of Michigan schools.

3. Leone Berry was interviewed in December 1987 in Bay City, Michigan. She was born in 1895, and attended the Bay City Public Schools. She is a graduate of Bay City Western High School.

4. Ruth Crocker was interviewed in December 1987. She was born in 1901, and was educated in the Saginaw Public Schools. She dropped out of high school in the eleventh grade.

5. Katherine Cavanaugh Carroll was interviewed in Bay City, Michigan in December 1987. She was born New Year's Day, 1891 in Bay City. She attended public elementary schools there, and was later a student of the Bay City Catholic school system. She is a graduate of the Bay City St. James High School.

6. Lula Woolston Birdsall was interviewed in January 1988. She began her public schooling in Onaway, Michigan about 1905, attending Catholic elementary school there. She is a graduate of Clare, Michigan High School. She continued her education at Central Michigan Normal School in Mt. Pleasant, and earned her teaching credential there. At the present age of eighty-three, Mrs. Birdsall is still active in the Clare schools as a substitute teacher.

7. Thomas Dixon. The Leopard's Spots. A Romance of the White Man's Burden 1865-1900. (New York: Doubleday,Page, 1903)

8. For instance, Poems Teachers Ask For. (Danville: F.A. Owen) seems to have been a fixture of many classrooms. Lula Birdsall confirmed that she had used it in her own one-room school in the 1920's. Some typical selections include: "Conscience and Future Judgement," "Our Flag," "Let Us Be Kind," and "The Bible My Mother Gave Me."

9. Hamilton Wright Mabie. "Mr. Mabie's Talk to Girls." The Ladies Home Journal. (June 1903) 15.

10. George Crocker was interviewed in December 1987. He was born in Cass City, Michigan and attended rural school in that area through the eighth grade. Mr. Crocker, ninety-four years old at the time of the interview, served in World War I. in the Tank Corps. He enjoyed a long career in the skilled trades.

11. Petronella Kwaiser Van Wormer was interviewed in January 1988. She was born and raised in Bridgeport, Michigan and attended the first eight grades at the Brucker School in Bridgeport.

12. The Comfort (see Fig. 18) was published by Gannett and boasted on the masthead that it was "The Key to a Million and a Quarter Homes." It seems to have been a family-oriented paper featuring history, current events, humor, homespun advice, and a page of free piano sheet music. The copy I was able to find was the January 1, 1900 edition.

13. George Turner was interviewed in January 1988. He was born in Armada, Michigan and attended the first two grades of school in a one-room school there. He then moved to the city of Saginaw, attending Saginaw Public and Saginaw parochial schools through the tenth grade.

14. Margaret Sangster. Fairest Girlhood. (New York: Fleming Revell, 1906).

15. Delos Fall. "The Sixty-Seventh Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan, 1903." (Lansing: Robert Smith Printing, 1904.) 3.

16. J.L. Nichols. The Business Guide; or Safe Methods of Business. (Naperville: J.L. Nichols, 1896.) THis was George Turner's manual and resource book for everything from "Practical Rules of Success" (33) to "Swindling Schemes" which warns "Never Sign a Paper for a Strangerr." (264). The book, nearly five hundred pages long, even details how to teach business to children and wives, why not to give away one's property in old age, and how to detect a forged document.

17. David Snedden. "The High School of Tomorrow." The School Review. (Jan. 1917) 1.

18. Fred L. Keeler in "The Eighty-First Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan 1917-1918" details the continuing struggle in Michigan to provide more uniform amenities in its rural schools. "The Standard School Plan," initiated in 1913, encouraged Michigan rural schools to be more "standard" by providing checklists of everything from "standard" color schemes for the school buildings, to placement of outdoor shrubs and play equipment, to indoor furnishings.

19. Albert Shiels. "Illiteracy and Efficiency in Large Cities." Journal of the National Education Association. (Sept. 1914) 185.

20. Helen Compton was interviewed in January 1988. She attended rural schools in Freeland, Michigan and Midland High School. In 1926, she completed her training at Central Michigan Normal School and was certified to teach. She enjoyed a long teaching career in the Freeland Schools, and especially loved teaching first grade.

21. Gene Stratton-Porter. Girl of the Limberlost. (New York: Doubledcay,Page, 1909) 7.

22. Delos Fall, in the 1903 State of Michigan Report on Public Instruction.

APPENDIX A

ANNOTATION OF SECONDARY LITERATURE TEXTBOOKS

Title/Author/Editor	Publisher and Literature Series	Significant Editorial Features Added to Text	Owner of Book and Kinds of Margin Writing
Addison J. and Steele R. DeCoverly Papers from the Spectator. Ed. Samuel Thurber.	"The Academy Series of English Classics" Boston: Allyn & Bacon 1898.	Introduction: Biography and Historical Notes. Short annotation section in back	Underlining and margin notes
Addison J. and Steele R. The Sir Roger DeCoverly Papers. Ed. Herbert Vaughn Abbott. Associate Professor, Smith College.	"The Lake English Classics" Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1898.	Editor's Preface, Chron. of lives of Addison and Steele, glossary. "The teacher is urged not to stop here: (at hist. data) The pupils need to set tasks of research for themselves."	Lee Taylor ("The Rives Junction Farmer") Jay Townley, Archie Peek, Flossie Haynes, Bryan Glen. A bogus wedding announcement -other notes such as "stove boy" and "only living corn-fed moose captured in extreme north near Petoskey.
Bunyan, J. The Pilgrim's Progress. W. Latham, McGill University.	"The Lake English Classics" Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1906.	Life of Bunyan Background for Pilgrim's Progress-"A Brief Character of Mr. John Bunyan" by "A Contemporary".	"Clark Hallam English Bonehead II C '15" Prof. Frank J. Cole. sketches of flowers, initials K.K.N. scrawled many times in margins, humorous caricatures.

Burke, E. Conciliation with the Colonies. Eds. Archibald Freeman History Instructor Phillips Academy Arthur Leonard, English Instructor, Phillips Academy.	"The Riverside Literature Series - #100", Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1915.	Burke Biography-4 pages Historical sketch 23 pp The Analysis 7 pp. (a rhetorical analysis Notes - 20 pp	Robert Saettel, 15 hand-written, largely illegible questions related to text.
Burke, E. Speech on Conciliation with the American Colonies. Ed. Ernest Clark, East High School - Rocheste.	"The Eclectic English Classics" New York: American Book Co. 1911.	Page by page annotation "To the student" section 16 pp. Historical outlines. Suggests reference books. Notes - 7 pp, which ask students specific questions from sections of text.	Everett Eschbach. No notes. bookplate "Angot Eschbach"
Carlyle, Thomas. Essay on Burns. Ed. Henry W. Boynton.	"The Academy Series of English". Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1895.	Short annotation section follows text.	Marie Ferrell, Many marginal notes related to style and content of Burns essay.
Chaucer, G. Prologue, Knights' Tale, and Nun's Priest's Tale. Andrew Ingraham. Late Headmaster, The Swain Free-School, New Bedford.	"The Macmillan Pocket Classics" New York: Macmillan & Co. 1912.	"Chaucer the Man" 33 pp "Chaucer's Language" 20 "Reading Aloud" 14 pp. Instruct. orientation is linguistic/technical.	"Mary Alice Roberts 11A" scrawls such as "chestnuts-spice of life"

Cooper, J. The Deerslayer. Annonymous notes and introduction.	"The Macmillan Pocket American and English Classics" 1907.	Introduction, 16 pp. Critical, Biographical, and Historical Notes.	"Corly Ritchie", Rubber stamp: "Library of C.S. Ritchie No. 65 Foosland, Ill."
Ed. Garland Greever, Three Americans Poems, Poe, E., Longfellow, H., Whittier, J. G. (G. Greever, U. of Arkansas)	"The Lake English Classics" Chicago: Scott, Foresman 1910.	Preface applauds recent secondary school attention to American poets. Biographical and historical notes.	
Eliot, G. Silas Marner. Ed. Hancock.	"The Lake English Classics" Chicago: Scott, Foresman (date torn out, preface 1899).	Notes on critical reading. Includes topics for themes and and discussions.	Underlining and marginal notes related to the reading
Emerson, R. W. Essays. Ed. Mary Jordan, Smith College.	"The Riverside Literature Series # 171" Boston: Houghton, Mifflin 1915.	Frontpc: -portrait of Emerson, 35 pages of extra-small type-notes on essays, no page-to-page annotation.	
Hawthorne, N. The Gentle Boy and Other Tales. Supv. Ed. Horace Scudder.	"The Riverside Literature Series #145" Cambridge: Houghton, Mifflin 1900.	Introductory Notes, historical sketch, frontpc-Hawthorne's portrait.	Howard Hixom

Irving, W. Selections from Irving's Sketch-Book. Ed. Robert St. John The Commerical High School, Brooklyn.	"Eclectic English Classics" New York: American Book Co. 1910.	Frontpc: W. Irving. Intro., Suggestions for Study, Addl Topics for Oral & Written Composition.	"Frank Coe" in 2 colors of ink. Handwritten questions on Rip Van Winkles. Lists of assignments to finish. Many arithmetic problems in margins. Name "Mary C.W. Broadwells".
Longfellow, H. W. "The Building of the Ship."	"The Riverside Literature Series #38" Boston: Houghton, Mifflin 1917.	Personalized historical info. describes Lincoln's love of Longfellow. Instruction on meter, literary devices, classical allusions.	
Longfellow, H. W. Evangeline, A Tale of Acadie. Ed Horace Scudder.	"The Riverside Literature Series" Cambridge: Houghton, Mifflin, 1896.	Frontpc: portrait of Longfellow, Illus.- Longfellow's residences	"Mademoiselle Duncan's copy" Fanita Duncan. First Mary Preparatory Institute, St. Louis, Mo.. Dozens of personal notes, drawings of clothes, New Haven (Yale) name and address.
Lowell, J. R. The Vision of Sir Launfal and Other Poems. Ed. H. A. Davidson.	"The Riverside Literature Series #30" Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1905.	Frontpc: portrait of Lowell	Stanly Allen, Detailed sketch of girl with hat.

Macaulay, T. Essay on Addison and Johnson.. Ed. Alphonso G. Newcomer Professor of English Leland, Stanford University	"The Lake English Classics" Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1908.	Preface discussion of rhetorical style, warning to teachers to avoid minute dissection of text. Biography of Lowell. Detailed Analysis of rhetorical strengths. Chronology of life 12 pp. Background notes.	Alice K. Wilson. Loose class notes enclosed-definitions of words, etc. In frontcover, wrote on her birthday, June 16, 1910.
Macaulay, T. Macaulay's Life of Johnson. Ed. Stewart Lee Garrison Associate Professor of English and Public Speaking, Amherst College.	"Laurel English Classics" Chicago: Laurel Book Co. 1923.	Frontpc: Photo of statue of Johnson. Notes and Appendices 53 pp. Introduction 54 pp.	"Chas. S. Smith Jr." "Wallace R. Foster Main 50 '35'". Notes (apparently by earlier owner, Smith) on theme. Doodles, pictures, class notes throughout.
Milton, J. Paradise Lost Books I-III Ed. William Vaughn Moody.	"The Riverside Literature Series #94" Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1896.	Introductory notes with biographical, historical and textual information.	Robert Saettel

Scott, W. . Marmion. Ed. Robert Morss Lovett Professor of English, University of Chicago	"Longman's English Classics" New York: Longmans, Green, 1916.	Preface includes biography and discussion of literary devices. "Suggestions for Teachers and Students". List of correlated readings. Chronological table of Scott's works as they appear in context with other historical events.	Rubber stamp: Union School District Bay City 1924
Scott, W. Lady of the Lake. Ed. Helen E. Bacon Wadleigh High School New York City.	"The Eclectic English Classics" New York: American Book Co, 1919.	Frontpc: map "Localities of Lady of the Lake". 15 pp biography of Scott and geography of Lady of the Lake, language and dress of the highlands, outlines of the cantos.	Everett Eschbach - bookplate "Angot Eschbach". Notes "LEARN" and other pencil notations. Passages written out for memorization
Scott, W. Marmion, A Tale of Flodden Field. Ed. George Aiton State Inspector of High Schools for Minnesota.	"Macmillan Pocket Classics" New York: Macmillan, 1917.	Prefatory Notes	"Loyd Robb Soph [illeg.] H.S. 1917" "Sir Walter Scott Slept in a cot"

Scudder, Vida D., Ed. Professor of English Literature, Wellesley College. English Poems from the College Entrance Requirements in English.	"The Lake English Classics" Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1919.	Notes include vocabulary, critical analysis, biographies of poets, comparative approach, and study questions for the student.	
Shakespeare, W. As You Like It. Ed. Samuel North, Department of English Baltimore Polytechnic Institute	"Eclectic English Classics" New York: American, 1910.	Introduction contains plot synopsis and suggested references. Notes and suggestions for study advises student to read the play three times, giving detailed suggestions for activities applied to each reading.	"Miss Viola Spaulding Soph '23 Eng 10B 2nd Hr. Owosso Central" - pencil scrawls - "for I'm the missing link" memory passages and boy's name in margins.
Shakespeare, W. Julius Caesar. Ed. Rev. Henry Hudson, L.L.D.	Boston: Ginn and Co., 1879.	Introduction, 35 pp of historical and biographical information and historical sources.	

Shakespeare, W. *Julius Caesar*. Ed. Brainerd Kellogg Formerly Professor of English Language, Polytechnic Institute of Boston.	"Merrill English Texts" New York: Charles E. Merrill, 1910.	General Notice by Professor Meikeljohn	
Shakespeare, W. *The Merchant of Venice*. Ed. Gilbert Sykes Blakely Department of English Morris High School, New York City.	"Eclectic English Classics" New York: American, 1911.	Introduction: Life of Shakespeare. Editor takes reader on a make-believe tour of historic spots in England. Critical comments. Page-to-page annotation. Suggestions for Study and Study Questions in back.	Evertt Eschbach bookplate: "Angot Eschbach"
Shakespeare, W. *The Merchant of Venice*. Ed. Brainerd Kellogg.	New York: Maynard, Merrill, 1899.	Exhaustive Notes: Professor Meikeljohn *Plan of Study for Perfect Possession* ("Power to possess language .. to reproduce or quote... to locate line, word, or epithet.")	"Kate Wilson 10th grade Jan. 1905" "Prof. CLC"

Shakespeare, W. *The Merchant of Venice*. Ed. Samuel Thurber Master in the Girls' High School, Boston.	"The Riverside Literature Series #55" Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1911.	Frontpc: Shakespeare. Introduction urges de-emphasizing college examinations. Suggests reference works.	Robert Saettel Handwritten class notes. Text marked for reading.
Shakespeare, W. *Shakespeare's Tragedy of Hamlet*. Ed. L. A. Sherman, Professor of English University of Nebraska.	"Macmillan Pocket Classics" New York: Macmillan, 1915.	Frontpc: Staging of ghost's appearance in *Hamlet*. Introduction urges acquaintance with Elizabethan English and Latin. Notes 67 pp. Outline Questions 58 pp.	Everett Eschbach
Shakespeare, W. *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*. Ed. Richard Grant White	"The Riverside Literature Series #149" Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1911.	Suggestions for Special Study. Appendix includes scene sketches and hints for amateur staging. Additional notes by Helen Gray Cone.	Robert Saettel (written over Shakespeare's name.)

Tennyson, Alfred. *Idylls of the King*. Ed. Henry Van Dyke.	"Gateway Series" New York: American 1904.	Frontpc: Tennyson "Gateway" to literature. Preface-"If any of the notes seem to lead away from the poem instead of upon it, I advise the teacher to skip them." Introduction: 30 pp. Biography. "Why Tennyson Chose Subject"	Adda and Anna Whaley Apr. 2, 1906 North Amhurst, Ohio.
Tennyson, Alfred. *Idylls of the King*. Ed. Mary F. Willard, Principal, A.H. Burley School, Chicago.	"Eclectic English Series" New York: American, 1915.	Map of Britain. Only 1 page on "meaning," different and simplified from above entry. Chronology of life of Tennyson (1 p). Section of notes in back.	Angelo DePalo Class notes about epic in a more mature hand than Angelo's. Drawings, lewd & humorous sayings and poems.
Whittier, J. G. *Snow-bound Among the Hills, Songs of Labor, and Other Poems*	"The Riverside Literature Series" Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1898.	*Region Celebrated in Whittier's Poems*; 15 pp Biographical sketch and explanatory notes.	"William Everest St. Johns Clinton County" Class notes. Name written throughout book. Receipt from rural carrier enclosed. [pencil scrawled lines:] "The American Cowper"

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