RESPONSE OF DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO IMMIGRANT GROUPS

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF ED. D.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

LOREN H. HOUTMAN ED. D. 1965 THESIS



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ABSTRACT

RESPONSE OF DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO IMMIGRANT GROUPS

By Loren H. Houtman

Detroit, founded in 1701 by Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, has been settled by peoples from nearly every region of the world. As this myriad of nationalities arrived, they founded schools and vastly affected the schools in existence. This thesis suggests that they had a vast and lasting influence on the public schools of the city.

The method used to test the thesis was a thorough examination of school records, Board of Education reports, newspapers and interviews.

Census reports, histories of the city and schools, histories of varying immigrant groups were also examined.

It was the automobile that brought a majority of the peoples into the city to work in the
factories of it and related industries. But the
Irish, Scots and Germans came earlier and were well
established by the time the newer immigrants came
to the burgeoning city at the turn of the century.

As the story unfolds into the twentieth century, there are as many as fifty or sixty different languages spoken in the homes of the students of

the public schools. These students change the schools and they change each other, contributing to a new and unique individual, a tough, hardworking individual who likes to make and build like the city of which he is the most important product.

To further elucidate the thesis, four groups are studied in detail. The Germans, who first came into the city in the 1830's, were hard-working farmers who had little need for formal schooling, but who did contribute to the establishment of free public schools in the 1840's. Their pragmatic nature helped the schools avoid too strong an emphasis on theoretical learning.

The Polish are of particular interest in that they settled in such numbers in a small city surrounded by Detroit that they were able to completely control the government and school system of that city. The results of such control were and are disastrous though the city government of Hamtramck shows signs of settling into a more dignified pattern.

The Syrians and Mexicans who have come into the city after 1900 have presented problems, but have done their part to educate and thereby change the public schools and their all-important product, the mature, sophisticated individual. The Syrians brought with them the mysteries and intrigue of the Near East. Though they came more unprepared to

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function in a western society, they adjusted with remarkable speed to American ways and American ideals of education.

The Mexican has a reputation as a wanderer, and such was the case with the majority that settled in Detroit. There was a nucleus that remained in the city of cars tending to its industries and not returning to Mexico at each recession, but these were few in number. The schools found it necessary to adjust to frequent late entry as these people often entered the city in late fall.

The thesis with its appendix includes tables which further tell the story in numbers of the foreign-born and their influence upon the schools. In the second chapter is an account of one of the larger and most effective Americanization programs carried out by the schools of the nation as a result of the First World War. The early history of the Detroit public schools is also included, mostly in Chapter I.

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RESPONSE OF DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO IMMIGRANT GROUPS

Ву

Loren H. Houtman

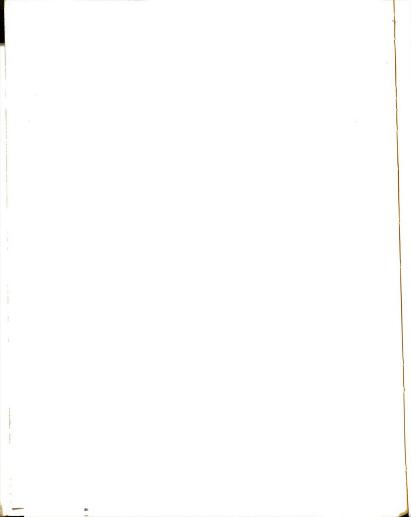
A THESIS

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DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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PREFACE

Detroit is symbolized by the automobile. There could be no more fitting symbol. The city is characterized by movement—movement of people in and out of the city. Nothing remains static. The mobility is up as well as away, and as soon as one person moves on another moves in to repeat the cycle. Before each leaves, he is changed by the city, but he too does some changing. This study is concerned with the changes he has wrought on one of the institutions of the city, the public school.

There has been no attempt to exhaust the subject, and perhaps more questions have been raised than answered by this study. The opportunities for additional study and research are many. It would be interesting and enlightening to compare Detroit's experience with that of comparable cities. Histories of the various immigrant groups in the city are almost non-existent, and these too would be valuable. A study of the contrasts and similarities of the older immigrant groups from Europe with the more recent groups from the West Indies and our own South would be of considerable aid to the public schools.

- ALLER STATE TO BE SECURED TO A SECURE TO THE SECURE TO T

What has been accomplished by this thesis is to gather a vast amount of information about immigrants and the public schools, which will hopefully serve as a basis for further research.

The purpose of the study is to tell a story, a story of a constant influx of people who spoke another language and had a diversity of social and cultural backgrounds, and to reveal how the public schools adapted to them.

Nor is the story ended. People continue their peregrination. The city has taken a rough and apparently unassimilable material, formed it into an educated gentleman in a few generations, and pushed it into the suburbs, the prototype of middle-class respectability. Will it be able to do the same with its latest immigrant who has pigmentation rather than accent to overcome? Though it is but conjecture, this writer believes that the city will succeed.

In the first two chapters an overview is given of the immigrants entering the city and the schools that served them. For more extensive study four groups were then chosen, each for a chapter. The choice of the German, Polish, Syrian, and Mexican groups was an attempt to secure a representative sampling of the groups that came to the city.

The Germans were one of the first large groups

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The moving force behind the completion of this dissertation has been the chairman of my doctoral committee, Professor Carl H. Gross. His profound assistance and encouragement have been inestimable. My thanks are extended also to Professor James B. McKee, Professor Floyd G. Parker, and Professor Cole Brembeck.

My wife Lyn spent interminable hours considering with me the wording and structure of the manu-

script. Hers was the tedious and painstaking job of correct form and typing, and—it is probably little solace—I would like to dedicate this dissertation to her.

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CHAPTER I

IMMIGRATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETROIT SCHOOLS PRIOR TO 1900

The first group of immigrants to come to Detroit was a group of Frenchmen under the command of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, arriving at Detroit on July 24. 1701, and including fifty soldiers and fifty Canadian traders and artisans. Cadillac had received permission for his project from Louis XIV through Count Pontchartrain, the colonial minister, and as a personal acknowledgment named the newly erected stockade Fort Pontchartrain. Frank Cody reports. "Detroit. since the days that Cadillac led a group of French immigrants to its site, has had a considerable alien population. It is reported that the Indians were the first to attempt their Americanization on a systematic scale by a determined effort to reduce with the tommyhawk the number of these aliens. The Indians then unanimously passed an immigrant exclusion act which failed only due to the inadequacy of their navy to give it force. Since aborigines were without a constructive Americanization program, the resultant flood of aliens was

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There is no direct evidence during the French occupancy of the existence of either schools or teachers. Burton feels that since Cadillac was a man of considerable education he may have given some instruction to his son. Since in one of his earlier reports Cadillac recommends the institution of schools for the instruction of Indians. "it would seem strange that he would wish to educate savages and leave his own children to become savage and uneducated."2 This writer believes that Znaniecki may suggest a more plausible reason for Cadillac's desire to instruct the savages. Znaniecki notes that nationalistic thinkers promulgated four ideals: national unification, national progress. national mission, and national independence. The national mission, similar to religious missions, was for France the spread of superior culture. 3 Cadillac. being well-educated. was probably indoctrinated sufficiently by this mission to feel the need to educate the savages to the "superior culture". Other indirect evidence noted by Burton of education during the French

¹ Frank Cody, "What One Representative American City Is Doing in Teaching Americanism," Detroit Journal of Education, I, No. 4 (June, 1921), 6.

²Clarence M. Burton, "Glimpses at the History of Detroit," <u>The Gateway</u>, II, No. 2 (March, 1904), 9.

³Florian Znaniecki, Modern Nationalities (Urbana: University of Illinois in Urbana, 1952), p. 32.

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occupancy was the listing of a bookcase in an inventory of Cadillac's household goods. He also reports that in 1730 a man named Robert Navarre acted in the capacity of schoolmaster for the colony, though direct evidence is lacking. 1

The French Government around 1740 realized the importance of populating Detroit in order to avoid an English conquest of the lake region. An intense effort was made to increase its population, and in 1749 a proclamation was issued pointing out Detroit's advantages and offering substantial goods to settlers. Detroit gradually became an agricultural community, and by 1755 the congregation of Ste. Anne numbered approximately 500 without reference to soldiers and traders who made the post their temporary headquarters. In 1755 Jean Baptiste Roucaux is identified in the marriage register of St. Anne's Church as "Director of the Christian schools". He started St. Anne's parochial school in 1760, which continued until after the Revolution.

In 1760 the English arrived to take military possession. It is doubtful that they could be considered immigrants, since they made little attempt to

Burton, loc. cit., p. 10.

²Edward J. Hickey, <u>Ste. Anne's Parish: One Hundred Years of Detroit History</u>, ed. Joe L. Norris (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1951), p. 15.

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put permanent settlers into the community. With the peace of 1783, England gave up any hope she may have had of being the permanent possessor of the community. From that time on, nothing was done in the way of improvements except to keep the fort in repair. With the coming of the English the French dispersed to farms all along the waterfront from the present cities of Monroe to Mount Clemens, and, as the distances between farms were great, the French settlers did not make any attempt to educate their children. Father Simplicius Bocquet later writes that the people were so ignorant that they could not write their own names and many of them could not make the form of the cross.

While the French were moving to the outlying ribbon farms, the stockade became the residence of the English soldiers, Scotch and Irish merchants. Since the Scotch and Irish did come to settle, they can be considered the next group of immigrants to enter the city. Toward the latter part of the English control there were a few private schools organized, but no laws were passed regarding education, and it was left to individual initiative to educate the children.

John R. Williams, Joseph and Barnabas Campau were born in this period and Burton credits them with much of the impetus toward popular common school education in the city and state. He believes these three re-

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o ditto dell'altocci i Vinnesco Cherondo sodi el Estidi i Perindia. Il anticetto i ritali di perindia e el Estidi i ritali di considerata i ritali di perindia e el Estidi di considerata i ritali di perindia e el Estidi di considerata di considera

ceived their education in Montreal. 1

The Americans under General Anthony Wayne took possession of the fort in 1796. The Ordinance of 1787 encouraged the development of education throughout the Northwest Territory and these new immigrants and those that came shortly after were imbued with the idea of schools for all. In 1785 an ordinance had been passed that provided a method of surveying the lands of the Northwest Territory, and using the township as the unit and subdividing this into thirty-six sections one mile square, numbered one to thirty-six. The lot numbered sixteen was to be used for the maintenance of public schools within the township. The Ordinance of 1787 further encouraged the development of schools for all, including the poor.

On August 14, 1796, Father Michael Levadoux was ordered to the Detroit Parish by Bishop Carroll of Baltimore. Bishop Carroll, who began to guide the Catholic Church in America in 1790, was fortunate that he could draw upon a band of learned and devoted priests, the Sulpicians, who had fled from the French Revolution. Father Levadoux was one of these, as was Father Gabriel Richard, who came to Detroit in 1798 and played a leading role in the early history of the community. An important point is that these priests,

¹Burton, <u>lec. cit.</u>, p. 11.

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born in France, considered themselves first Americans. Father Levadoux missed no opportunity to preach to his French congregations the loyalty and allegiance which they owed to the American government. He was the orator at the first patriotic celebration held in Detroit on February 22, 1797, when the settlers crossed into Ste. Anne's Church to hear his eulogy of Washington. In this early city the Catholics were a majority well into the nineteenth century, and the importance of this attitude of the priests in Americanizing the community cannot be overlooked.

Father Richard organized primary schools in his parish and included an academy for girls and a seminary for boys. He also began to train young women for teachers. He opened a school for the deaf in 1825. In 1809 he brought to Detroit a printing press and type, and the first thing printed of any significance was a small, twelve-page speller for children.²

The guiding hands in the creation of the Catholepistemidia, which was later to become the University
of Michigan, were Father Richard and Judge Augustus
Woodward. Reverend John Monteith, a Presbyterian
minister of Scotch ancestry, came to Detroit in 1816

Hickey, op. cit., p. 21.

²Clarence M. Burton, "Readin', Ritin', Rith-metic'," The Gateway, III, No. 5 (December, 1905), 18.

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and provided the final impetus to this project, begoming its first president. Along with being president, he held seven professorships, the other six and the vice-presidency being held by Father Richard.

This school, not yet a university, consisted of two main divisions, a primary school and an academy. While it was a public school, it was in no sense free. But the tuition of the poor was paid by the territorial government. The school was organized along the lines of English universities, being a legislative body capable of enacting laws for its own government. But in spite of this similarity, it was unmistakenly patterned after Napoleon's University of France.1 The British were not held in high regard by the colonists, and the War of 1812 confirmed a deepseated hatred for and disgust with them. Napoleonic France was admired and favored, and French influence continued until about 1827. The school was discontinued, however, in 1827 after ten years of existence, as the curriculum proved too complex and too abstract for the needs of the settlers. In 1837 the university was reorganized and moved to Ann Arbor.

The census of Detroit lists 1,800 people in 1800,

Arthur B. Moehlman, <u>Public Education in Detroit</u> (Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Co., 1925), p. 42.

²Ibid., pp. 26-27.

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1,650 in 1810, and 1,422 in 1820. Because of the War of 1812, the fear of English-inspired Indian attacks induced many of the settlers to leave so that by 1815 there were not half as many people in Detroit as in 1810. As the threat lessened, many New Englanders moved into the community. These people were relatively well-educated and ambitious. The French and English populace did not greet them with much enthusiasm. In 1817 the Detroit Gazette warned the French that they must educate their children, as in a little time there would be as many Yankees as French, and, if their children could not at least read and write, all of the situations would be given to the Yankees. In November of 1817 a Mr. Bauvard opened a French school, perhaps as a result of this editorial.

The Yankees continued to come into the new community via steamship from Buffalo and ferry from Canada. The roads east in the United States had not crossed the swampland of Ohio, which proved to be impassable to the early settlers, so the overland route was through Canada and across the Detroit River by ferry. There were three steamships operating on the lakes

¹U. S., Bureau of the Census, Eleventh Census of the United States: Population, I, 371.

²Clarence M. Burton, "Readin', Ritin', Rithmetic'," <u>The Gateway</u>, III, No. 5 (December, 1905),19.

Moehlman, op. cit., p. 33.

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in 1825, but this increased to six by 1826. The Detroit census for 1830 was 2,222, an increase of 800 over 1820. Many others had used Detroit as a stopping-off place for trips further west. These were farming people and for them there could be little logic in settling in this frontier community, when greener fields lay to the west.

In 1827 there were only thirty-nine unnaturalized foreigners in Detroit, but by 1830 the foreign born began to enter the city. The Germans formed a religious organization in 1833. The Irish, too, tried to start a church, Holy Trinity, in 1833, but its services were not continuous. Their first pastor, Father Bernard O'Cavanaugh, served them from 1834 to 1839. There are no records that this writer could discover as to the number of foreign-born in the city until 1850. The Negro Baptists organized the Colored American Church in 1836, and the colored Methodists organized a church in 1839.

The first constitutional convention for the state of Michigan was called in 1835. The constitution which was drafted at that convention called for a state superintendent of public instruction. This

¹U. S. Census, loc. cit.

Almon Ernest Parkins, The Historical Geography of Detroit (Lansing, Mich.: Michigan Historical Commission, 1918), p. 181.

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was adopted from the Prussian minister of public instruction as a result of a report read by General Isaac E. Crary, chairman of the committee on education, and John D. Pierce, whom Crary consulted often on the position of education in the American state.1 John D. Pierce was appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction by Governor Mason on July 26, 1836. In 1837, on instruction from the legislature, he formulated a plan for public education for the state of Michigan. His plan was adopted into law in 1837 and provided for a district school system. Seven school districts were formed in Detroit as a result of this law, and in 1838 schools in five of the districts were maintained for three months each. By 1839 these schools were open for six months, and one was open for eight months and nine days. There were 687 children in attendance, or 34% of the school population. Near the end of 1839 a colored school was established and set up as the eighth district. This school started with eighty-eight pupils and was held in the colored church. By 1840 there were 895 pupils in attendance. or 43.9% of the reported school census. In 1841 the number in attendance in the district schools was 687.2

¹ Moehlman, op. cit., p. 55.

²Tbid., p. 68. W. D. Wilkins in a lecture before the Teachers' Institute February 18, 1871, also uses "88" as the number in the first colored school. This seems to be an unusually large number of colored.

The district schools were not very successful, and for a number of reasons they closed at the end of the year in 1841.

By 1840 there were 9,102 people in Detroit. 1
The growth through the 1830's was quite steady, as indicated by a census of 1834 when there were 4,973 people, and that of 1837, which showed 9,763. Thus, the population had grown fourfold in ten years. It was time for an adequate school system, and in 1842 the beginnings were established by a free public school act which legalized free schools in the city and made it legally necessary to maintain them. It provided for a board of education with two inspectors from each ward, with the mayor as president. A November 18, 1841, survey showed that there were 1,850 children who should be in school, but only 714 in a total of twenty-seven private schools, which included one French and one

students. Clarence M. Burton, <u>History of Detroit 1780 to 1850</u>, p. 95, lists the total number of <u>Blacks</u> in the city for 1834 as 138. The colored school, which continued until 1869, was probably inadequate. Wilkins, who was the school inspector of the 7th ward, notes that, upon inspecting the school, he found the teacher playing cards with three of the older boys, and then jokes that if that had happened today (1871) the papers would perhaps publish this as ill treatment of the colored children, particularly if she followed the way of the heathen Chinese and had her sleeve full of trumb!

¹U. S. Census, <u>loc. cit</u>.

²Directory of the City of Detroit for the Year 1837 (Detroit: 1837), p. 37.

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German school, were in attendance. In 1843 there were 1,158 pupils in public and private schools in the city. As the census of 1844 showed 10,948 persons, an increase of 1,846, there were probably slightly over 2,000 children who should have been in school. Sister Mary Rosalita lists 3,821 children of school age in Detroit in 1844, which seems high.

It is interesting to note that the school system was nearly destroyed in 1844 by a resolution that either the Douay or Protestant Bible, without note or comment, was to be introduced and authorized as the textbook. Such a furor was set up on both sides that the board wisely backed off and eliminated all but the Lord's Prayer. They discovered that even this was offensive to one group who refused to participate. "One morning the chairman was summoned hastily to a small primary, whose teacher informed him that nearly half her scholars refused to unite in this exercise and plead their parents! command. The astonished chairman asked the children why they objected to the Lord's Prayer and was more

¹ Moehlman, op. cit., p. 76.

²Burton, loc. cit.

³sister Mary Rosalita, Education in Detroit Prior to 1850 (Lansing, Mich.: Michigan Historical Commission, 1928), p. 339.

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astonished by the answer, 'If you please, sir, we are Jews.'"

During the rest of the 1840's there was never enough room for the number of students to get into the schools. They were overcrowded, but more and more students were getting the opportunity to learn the essentials of reading, writing, and arithmetic. In 1849 the first Union school was opened. This school housed all grades and was destined to play a large part in the development of education in Detroit.

By 1850 Detroit was a cosmopolitan city. Of its 21,019 people, 11,055 had been born in the United States and 9,927 had been born in foreign countries. Of these, 6,323 had been born in Michigan, and the rest represented every state east of the Mississippi, with most having been born in New York, Ohio, Massachusetts, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, all states committed to the furtherance of education. Of the known foreign-born, 3,289 had come from Ireland, 2,855 from the German Empire, 1,245 from England and Wales, 474 from Scotland, 282 from France, 7 from Austria, 4 from Spain, and 4 from Italy.²

¹W. D. Wilkins, "Reminiscence and Traditions of Detroit Schools," Lecture given to the Teachers' Institute, Detroit, Michigan, February 18, 1871. (Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library).

²U. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Seventh Census of</u> the <u>United States</u>, 896.

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Since the Irish constituted the greatest share of the foreign-born at this time and the next greatest share was held by the Germans, who will be discussed later in this thesis, it may be of interest to review some facts about the early Irish. During the 1840's a famine hit Ireland and wiped out nearly a million human beings. The south part of Ireland was the hardest struck, and to escape the pangs of hunger many of the people from the counties of Cork, Kerry, Tipperary, Limerick, and Connaught found their way to the shores of the country of hope. They found the chance for employment in laying the rails and shaping the grades of the railroads being built in those days. Arriving in Detroit, they tarried along the waterfront on the near east side, living in hovels and poor homes so that they might be near their work at the waterfront. Soon an enterprising group of real estate brokers sold these thrifty people homesteads on the near west side of the city, offering easy terms and other inducements. They settled the new area according to the county in Ireland from which they had come, so that one area was as densely populated with Cork people as Cork itself, and likewise for the other counties. There was great rivalry and much fighting among the clans. These people were intensely Catholic, but the few Protestants that took the chance to live among them came to be respected. The few North

and the light a constitution of the last trade and the case of a second of the second of th The second of the second of the second of the second telle franch in the first of the the first of a little of the entiry later. Sharing and it with sections and action of the court according to the court of the court o - guidus in a reparation for description and a straight for the The to the transfer of a country of the first terms. nd blas singulo alway bila anables of bark, linear, this our Dry . M. saflar, intribuncia di Monna Credit di Stranda e de some and the result word to reduce your decided and the . To the AN AN Office, that to be entere and the contact He die lie tweeter edes in his gedichers trop into the contribution, and not a trop ent need but esti un tem miand work is in the city side of tests continued. The transfer of the desired of the continued and distributing the state of a contraction of the state Since thinks with a first reading a contract that the contract the contract that Of the first particular to the case feeth and the super condition of the perform a trace thought, and Michael out a bound to minulation of the gradients of the production of the second and to the descent the original descent the terms of the of partial and them do not be able to the time of the contract rather that the state of the above and a second the second Ireland people did not fare as well because that was the part of Ireland that the Orangemen had come from and they could not be acceptable coming from that quarter. The Protestant church building which had been used by Reverend Monteith was moved to the center of the new area, which came to be known as Corktown in August, 1849, and became the center of the new and concentrated Irish Catholic community. Living was cheap and labor available so that few Irish went to bed owing anyone a cent.

Though these people had been denied education in their own youthful period, they were devoted to education for their children. The girls were trained to teach, and the sons were often employed in the office of the railroads where their fathers worked as porters or laborers. The sons learned transportation so well that they became railroad managers in all parts of the country. If at all possible, the boys were sent to college, though usually for not more than a year. If they developed a vocation for the priesthood the parents were particularly pleased. Most of the boys were sent to private schools in the heart of the city. However, with the coming of the Christian Brothers and Sisters the era of "foreign" education was ended in favor of their own parochial school. The parochial school was continually improved and many of its women graduates completed their education at the city high

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which the class the solution of the solutions. of the same with control of two spins of the spart of a fell it satisfies while the season of a the state of the second state of the second state of or and the size of state. The last definition and the properties of on the change. It is it is indicated and to and the same design and the same of with the two controls of the desired the second of 2. 2. July the state of a substitution of a substitut the Section fundamental Conductor of the following a distribution of the state of the granding problem. school and later served their city well in the teaching profession and public service. During the earlier days the women who were called to the religious life usually trained for the life of parochial school teachers. The devotion to education was first inculcated by Father Peeters and later by Father Pleyenpergh.

There was intense prejudice against the Irish, mainly because of their religion and clannishness. The newspapers, even as late as the 1870's, advertised for jobs with the comment "no Irish need apply." Without pigmentation to distinguish them from other Americans, it seems that they used dress to help insure their visibility. The December 25, 1926, issue of the Detroit Saturday Night comments that the Irish of early immigration were discernible by many characteristics, such as the highwater trousers, the beaver hat and the short clay pipe. 2

The famine of 1846 also hit the Scottish people severely, driving many of these people to America. They established their branch of the Presbyterian Church in Detroit in 1842. Most of the Scotch settled in Canada on Lake Huron in western Ontario, but many

¹John A. Russell, "The Early Irish of Detroit," An address delivered on N vember 9, 1930, on the occasion of the homecoming of the Holy Trinity Church. (Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library).

²Charles D. Cameron, "Detroit's New Irish-Americans," <u>Saturday Night</u>(Detroit), December 25, 1926, p. 10.

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of them found their way to Detroit in later years and bolstered the 474 listed in the 1850 census. These people, as intensely Protestant as the Irish were Catholic, did contribute many students to the public schools, and the leadership fought to help the schools keep their Protestant image.

Temple Beth El, the first Jewish congregation in Detroit, was incorporated April 21, 1851, though the first Jews had come to Detroit as early as 1762. The Jewish of this period were listed as natives of Germany.

In 1850 there were 4,250 children enrolled in school with an average attendance of 2,465. With-out compulsory attendance laws, truancy was a major problem. The enrollment was 61% of the 6,965 children listed in the 5 - 17 age category, but the average attendance was 35% of that group. But the schools were in trouble, as the population started to mush-room. By 1854 the population had nearly doubled to 41,375. In 1855 the Board of Education appointed the first superintendent of schools, John F. Nichols,

William R. Carnegie, The Scotch Presbyterian Church of Detroit: Its History from 1842 to 1938 (Detroit: Central Presbyterian Church, 1938), p. 39.

Detroit Public Library, Detroit in its World Setting, ed. Rae Elizabeth Rips (Detroit: Detroit Public Library, 1953), p. 110.

³U. S. Census, loc. cit., Eleventh Census.

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as the enrollment of the schools continued to increase. The first permanent high school opened its doors on August 30, 1858, with twenty-three boys enrolled. A high school had opened in 1844 with an enrollment of twenty-five, but it closed in a few months.

by 1860 the population of Detroit had increased to 45,619, making Detroit the nineteenth largest city in the country. It had been twenty-fourth in 1850. The rapid increase of population in the first four years of the decade and the tapering off in the last six years was partially due to the fourth cholera epidemic in the summer of 1854, with a resulting exodus from the city, and to the panic of 1857, in which many families were out of work and children were begging for food and clothing from door to door. Concern for these small beggars caused about sixty women to found an industrial school for these children. Large quarters were set up for the feeding of children one meal per day. 3

The school enrollment for 1860 was 7,045, or 50% of the 5 - 17 category. The average attendance was 4,849, or 34%. The number of school-age chil-

¹U. S. Census, <u>loc. cit</u>.

²Ibid., p. 370.

³George B. Catlin, The Story of Detroit (Detroit: The <u>Detroit News</u>, 1926), p. 503.

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dren was 14,159. Though there were ten times as many actual children in school in 1860 as in 1840, the schools were losing the battle to stay ahead of the population. This will become increasingly evident as the figures are listed for succeeding decades. During the 1860's both superintendents Sill and Doty were concerned about attendance and tried to enforce strict rules about truancy. Many students were suspended because of absence, but the rules were not operative beyond a certain point because there was no legal right to enforce attendance. It was not until 1871 that the state legislature passed the first compulsory attendance law, providing for the attendance of children of ages 8 to 14 years, for a minimum of twelve weeks each year, six of which had to be consecutive. 2 In 1869 the colored schools were closed and the children sent to the public schools. The colored people won a Supreme Court decision that the general school law of 1867, which held that all residents of a school district were entitled to admission to the schools, did apply to Detroit and the colored children had the right to admission.

Burton, loc. cit.

²Moehlman, op. cit., p. 110, citing Public Acts of 1871, p. 251.

³Burton, op. cit., p. 743.

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By 1870 there were 79,577 people in Detroit, making it the eighteenth largest city in the United States. There were 26,641 children from 5 to 17, with 11,252 (42%) enrolled in the schools, and the average attendance was 7,505 (28%). It appears that the concentrated drive on truancy was ineffective, and actually as well as percentagewise more children than ever were out of school.

By this time the United States census was reporting the number of foreign-born in Detroit. The figures for 1850 and for the decades 1870-1900 are reproduced in the following table.

The Canadians, except for the French Canadians, were more like the native Detroiters than those Americans from southern farms. They did not settle in ghettos and, therefore, probably had little effect upon the schools in spite of their large numbers. By the turn of the century the Polish started to immigrate in large numbers, and they will be studied further in a later chapter. Most of the persons reporting Russia for a home country were Jews and, with their love for education, they would have an effect. A good share of the Polish group were Jewish, also.

¹U. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Ninth Census of</u> the United States: Population, p. 380.

²Burton, op. cit., p. 744.

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TABLE 1.--Foreign-born white

Country	1850 ^a	1870 ^b	1880°	1890 ^d	1900 ^e
Austria	7	161	128	658	
Belgium		233	240	411	671
Canada		7,394	10,753	18,031	25,403
Canada Fr					3,541
Denmark		19	71	162	231
England	1,245	3,328	4,271	7,252	6,448
and Wales France	282	760	721	804	589
Germany	2,855	12,647	17,292	35,481	32,027
Hungary		53	64	112	91
Ireland	3,289	6,970	6 , 775	7,447	6,412
Italy	4	35	127	338	90 5
Mexico		1	6	9	8
Netherlands .		310	275	327	397
Norway		15	27	77	7 5
Poland		285	1,771	5,351	13,631
Russia		89	77	669	1,332
Scotland	474	1,637	1,783	2,459	2,496
Sweden		19	5 5	196	267
Switzerland .		462	421	402	491
Others	1,771	1,081	657	2,570	2,584
Total	9,927	35,040	45,013	80,949	96,501

au. S., Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, 896.

bU. S., Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States: Population, 386-91.

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An 1873 nationality survey of school children, based upon country of birth, showed 36% German, 20% American, 20% Irish, 11% English and Scotch, 2% French, and 10% others. In the same year a survey showed 6.1% of enrollment in high school, 31.7% in grammar school, and 62.2% in primary schools. Because of criticism that the schools served the classes not masses, a survey was made in 1870. It showed 80% of the enrollment to be children of common people. Probably the most important event for the foreignborn and the schools in the 1870's was the establishment of evening schools in 1875. The first school opened in the Trowbridge Building with a registration of 278 and an average attendance of 88.

In 1880 the school census reported 15,802(40%) out of 39,467 from 5 to 17 enrolled in school. The

CU. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Tenth Census of</u> the United States Compendium, 546-51.

du. S., Bureau of the Census, Eleventh Census of the United States: Population I, 670-73.

eU. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Twelfth Census</u> of the United States: <u>Population I</u>, 796-99.

¹ Moehlman, op. cit., p. 113.

² Ibid.

^{3&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

⁴ Ibid., p. 121.

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average attendance was 11.513 (29%). The Act of 1871 on compulsory attendance was revised in 1883 changing the required time in school from twelve weeks to four months. In Detroit the work of enforcing the law was turned over to the Police Department. 2 In 1881 the Board of Education was changed from two inspectors elected from each ward to twelve members elected at large. That the size of twenty-six members was too large was the manifest reason for the change, but the corruption afforded by ward politics brought about the real need for a change. Strong opposition to the high school was brought to a head in 1881, but a committee of the board answered the objections with a report in 1883. This apparently soothed the objectors, as this was the last serious objection to high school education in Detroit. 3 The revised act on compulsory education did not have the desired effect because in the school census of 1886, out of 66,963 school-age children, 21,434 (32%) were enrolled in school while the average attendance was 16,133 (24%).4

Burton, loc. cit.

²Moehlman, op. cit., p. 122.

³Ibid., pp. 132-33.

Burton, loc. cit.

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In 1880 Detroit had a population of 116,340 and was now the seventeenth largest city in the United States. By 1890 it had become the fifteenth largest with a population of 205,876, and in 1900 it was the thirteenth largest city with a population of 285,704. Of the fifteen largest cities in 1900, Detroit had the largest percentage of population who could not speak English--11.98%.

The new Central High School was opened in 1896 and was acclaimed as the finest in high school architecture. The high school had been subjected to more criticism because of its high attrition rate. In 1881 a class of 160 students entered, but only 16 received a diploma; in the class that entered in 1883 --129 in number--only 23 survived the rigors of the curriculum. The Detroit schools suffered from the depression of 1893, so that the program was cut back severely in 1896-97. The school year was reduced to thirty-eight weeks, and twenty-five teachers were dis-

^{10.} S., Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States: Compendium, 542.

²U. S., Bureau of the Census, Eleventh Census of the United States: Population I, 370.

³U. S., Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States: Population I, 430.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Moehlman, op. cit., p. 145.

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A public school system had survived the nineteenth century, but was it ready to meet the challenge of the tremendous spurt in population occasioned by the rapid growth of industry? What would it do to serve the fastest growing city of the twentieth century and particularly the number of separate foreign cultures which settled in its midst? It admittedly had considerable expanding to do to hold its own, and with the added problems the future looked dismal.

¹<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 146.

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CHAPTER II

IMMIGRATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETROIT SCHOOLS AFTER 1900

In 1900 the city of Detroit had an area of 28.35 square miles and housed 285,704 people. It was a burgeoning city, but how different from the city we know today. The people spent long hours of toil in dingy workshops. There were neither radios nor television and but few automobiles. Except where the railroad or waterway could take them, Detroiters were cut off from the rest of the nation, "for the roads of the land, where there were any at all, were for most of the year either impassable wallows of slippery mud or interminable stretches of ankle-deep ruts and choking dust."1 In 1899 Detroit ranked fifteenth in value of its manufactured products among cities of the nation. Seventeen years later in 1916 it was ranked fourth. Although still ranking fourth through 1919, the value of its products had increased twentyfold.

To Ransom E. Olds and Lansing, Michigan, belongs

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lgeorge W. Stark, <u>Detroit, an Industrial Miracle</u> (Detroit: Detroit Directory of Business and Industry, 1951), p. 27.

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the distinction of building the first car that was sold and used for practical purposes. This was in 1886, and the car used gasoline as a means of power. though steam-driven. To further strengthen his claim as the first commercial transactor in automobiles, he completed the first automobile transaction as an act of commerce when he sold to the Frances Times Company of London. England. an improved automobile in 1893. Mr. Olds travelled to New York City and Newark, New Jersey, to try to interest easterners in investing their capital in the manufacture of his car. On his way back to Lansing he stopped in Detroit where he convinced S. L. Smith, wealthy copper mineowner, to invest in his company. Henry Russel also invested a sum of money, and the first automobile factory in Detroit was established in 1899.

Until this time most of the horseless carriages in operation were in and around New York and they were electric. "The noisy, greasy, bucking gasoline buggy" did not look like a promising venture to Wall Street money or Boston bankers, the former backing electricity and the latter supporting the Stanley twins' steam carriage. 3

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¹Burton, op. cit., p. 563.

² Ibid.

³Stark, loc. cit.

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An apparently unrelated event occurred in Beaumont, Texas, on January 10, 1901. Captain Anthony

F. Lucas, a former resident of Saginaw, Michigan,
brought in a 160-foot geyser of oil and gas, tapping
one of the richest sources of this product in the
country. Gasoline was an annoying by-product of the
refining processes. Naphtha, kerosene, lubricants
and waxes were the useful products. Gasoline was
dumped into rivers and lakes, but because it killed
the fish it was run into pits and set aflame. The
Lucas discovery increased enormously the supply of
petroleum, and its by-product gasoline made feasible
the mass production of gasoline-engined automobiles.

The automobiles that Mr. Olds produced were a phenomenal success and brought immediate fame to the city, thereby giving the initial boost to the automobile capital. The city had much to offer the prospective investor in the automobile line. It was a leading city in the production of iron and steel, with the Wyandotte Mills having the distinction of being the first in this country to use the Bessemer process and the first to produce steel rails. Michigan at an early stage was manufacturing more marine gas engines than any other state and Detroit had more

¹Ibid., p. 26.

Burton, loc. cit., p. 541.

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expert gas engine workers than any other city. Because of its leading position in the production of railroad cars and horse-drawn carriages, Detroit and three other Michigan cities (Pontiac, Lansing and Flint) produced for the first three years nearly all the automobile bodies used, without the erection of a single additional plant. These companies were able to make the bodies for sixty per cent of the cost of comparable bodies made in eastern cities. Detroit had had a world-wide reputation in the manufacture of fine paints and varnishes, which were available for use in the early automobiles. With the center of population between Columbus, Indiana, and Bloomington, Indiana, Detroit was a good distributing point for the new industry.

The automobile industry was a great employer and engaged employees as fast as they could be recruited here and abroad. Ford Motor Company, which had thirty-one employees in 1904, had as many as 56,000 people on the payroll by 1920. When Henry Ford inaugurated the first profit-sharing plan in 1914 and shared \$10,000,000 with his employees, there was a rush of applications for positions. In 1913, the year before the profit-sharing, the number of

¹Ibid., p. 566

²Ibid., p. 581.

³ Ibid., p. 574.

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employees who left the Ford Motor Company was 50,448, and the average working force was 13,632. After profit-sharing had been in force for three years, the average working force had been raised to 40,903 men, with only 7,512 leaving the company. The turnover rate had been changed from 370% to 18%, an astounding record.

The Dodge Brothers as minority stockholders sued for a larger proportion of the earnings for the stockholders instead of profit-sharing with the employees. In filing the suit, it was disclosed that in 1914, on a capital of \$2,000,000, dividends of \$21,000,000 were paid. In May, 1915, a special dividend of \$10,000,000 was paid, and in October of the same year \$5,000,000 was distributed. In 1919 Henry Ford stepped down from active presidency in favor of his son Edsel B. and bought out the minority stockholders.

By 1917 the Dodge Brothers were employing 15,000 men and women in their Hamtramck plant which had begun the manufacture of the Dodge motor car in 1914. In fairness to the Dodge Brothers, it was not all greed which had prompted their suit in November, 1916. They found it necessary to have additional capital for expansion of their own plant.

¹Ibid., p. 579.

²Ibid., p. 583.

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At the same time that Henry Ford had introduced his profit-sharing plan, he had established the Ford English School. The school started with one teacher and twenty pupils. Its purpose was to aid the many employees who were unable to speak English to learn the language. thereby increasing their value to the company. In the same month, May, 1914, as the school was established, five experienced teachers were hired, and a call for volunteer teachers was made. The enrollment was soon up to 2,200 and reached 4,000 by 1920, the mupils ranging in age from eighteen to seventy-two years. In 1916, after the inception of Ford's school, accidents in the plant were reduced 54%. 2 It was noted that the employees showed a greater interest in their work, and many used their diplomas as a substitute for an examination in securing their citizenship papers. The Packard Motor Car Company also opened a school of a similar nature to solve its foreign labor problem.

With the exception of 1890, the foreign-born white population had decreased percentagewise in Detroit since 1850 for each decade. Nevertheless, the total number of foreign-born in the city increased

¹Ibid., p. 579.

Department of Superintendents N. E. A., <u>Education in Detroit</u>, 1916 (Detroit: National Education Association, 1916), p. 187.

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greatly with each succeeding decade. The non-white foreign-born have never existed in great numbers in Detroit. For example, the school census of 1925. which also included the total census, enumerated 509 Chinese and 221 Japanese people. In 1960 Chinese was the mother tongue of 580 of the foreign-born, and Japanese, 218. The number of foreign-born coming into the city until 1930 are listed in Table II. Few new immigrants came to the city after that time because of the depression and, later, because of World War II. After the war the foreign-born were mostly displaced persons. After 1940 the concern with the foreign-born was more with geriatrics than with schoolage youth. The median age of the foreign-born was lowest in 1920 when it was $34.9.^{3}$ By 1950 it was $53.2.^{4}$ and by 1960, 58.7.⁵

The large influx of foreign-born completely changed the evening school program. The evening school

The Detroit Educational Bulletin, October, 1925, p. 14.

²U. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Eighteenth Census of the United States: Population</u>, II, part 24, 281.

³U. S., Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States: Population, III, 496.

⁴U. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Seventeenth Census</u> of the United States: <u>Population</u>, II, part 22, 173.

⁵U. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Eighteenth Census</u> of the <u>United States: Population</u>, I, part 24, 369.

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TABLE 2.--Selected foreign-born in the city of Detroit in 1910, 1920, and 1930

Country of Orig	gin 1910 ^a	1920 ^b	1930°
Austria	14,160(7,		5,898
Belgium	2,237	6,219	8,969
Canada	37,779	56,024	81,807
Canada, French	4,166	3,678	12,477
Czechoslovakia	•	3,351	6,291
Freat Britain .	12,522	24,676	53,442
France	637	1,741	2,333
dermany	44,674(31,	574) ^a 30,238	32,716
reece	584	4,628	6,385
Hungary	5,935(4,	935) ^a 13,564	11,162
Ireland	5,584	7,004	9,817
Italy	5,724	16,205	28,581
Lithuania	•	2,653	4,879
Mexico	25 584	725	6,515
Netherlands	584	1,861	2,092
Poland	(33,000) ^d	56,624	66,113
Roumania	313 18,644(6,6	4,668	7,576
Russia	. 18,644(6,6	544) ⁴ 27,278	21,781
Sweden	601	2,659	4,318
Syria	•	1,877	3,224
ľugoslavia	•	3,702	9,014
Total	. 156.565	290,884	399,281

aU. S., Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910. Michigan, XXIII, 600.

was started in 1875 with the expressed purpose of meeting the need of young men who were forced to work at an early age. The leading manufacturer of 1880

by. S., Bureau of the Census, Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, 312-15.

CU. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Fifteenth Census</u> of the United States: 1930. Population, III, Part I, 1153.

dThe figures in parentheses are estimates based on the exclusion of Poland from the 1910 census.

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was the tobacco and cigar industry. There were sixty-four establishments in Wayne County at the time, and the value of the products was \$2,716,016. In Detroit there were sixty-three tobacco establishments employing 154 children, mostly in the cigar factories where the work was done by hand. This was the only industry at this date which employed large numbers of women and children. In 1912 there were 1,472 boys and 1,154 girls under sixteen years of age employed fulltime. By 1919, with a total number of employees nearly twice as large, the number of boys under sixteen was only 303 and that of girls, 176.3

Reverting to the evening schools, ethnic groups played an important part in the history of these schools. Their involvement will be described as that history is traced. The evening schools were a gratifying success from the start, and it was reported in 1875 that "no students in the city are more manageable, earnest, or industrious than those assembling nightly at the Trowbridge and Abbott Street Schools." A total of 238

¹U. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Tenth Census of</u> the United States: <u>Manufactures</u>, II, 282.

²Parkins, loc. cit., p. 297.

^{3&}quot;Detroit Shows Gain," The Detroit Educational Bulletin, V, No. 9 (May, 1922), 5.

Intendent of Schools for 1875 (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1875), p. 92.

students were enrolled with an average enrollment of 199. Of this number, an average of 175, or 88%. attended nightly. Compared with later years, this was an unusually large percentage of attendance. The night schools were interrupted during the winter of 1877-78 because of a lack of funds. For the next few years, though the total enrollment went up. the actual average number in attendance nightly went down. Because of the small attendance in relation to enrollment, a rule was put into effect in 1882-83 whereby the students were charged a dollar fee which was returned for good attendance. For that year the enrollment reached 430, with an average attendance of 250. This compared with 1877 when, with a total enrollment of 722, the average attendance was only 121.² The improvement was not quite as pronounced as might appear from the report, as 1877-78 was a depression winter. In 1880, for instance, the total enrolled was 414, with an average attendance of 158.3

¹ Ibid.

Detroit Board of Education, Fortieth Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1883), p. 76.

³Detroit Board of Education, Thirty-eighth Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1880), p. 80. Starting with the 39th annual report the date of issue changed from December to June covering both semesters of a school year.

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The writers of these reports were strongly in favor of the fee system, and when it was discontinued in 1890 there was a yearly plea to return to the system as a deterrent to the dropouts "who were being taught bad habits."

From 1878 to 1889 the night school was held at the high school. In 1886 the evening school opened with three grades. The total enrollment was 450 boys and 80 girls. The average nightly attendance was 252 hows and 56 girls. "Of all the numils attending this school perhaps none receive greater benefit from it than the foreigners. These young men and women enter the school unable to read or write, and in many cases, totally unacquainted with the English language. They are placed in classes by themselves under competent teachers. who are able to translate their language, and the progress they make is truly surprising. In one term the majority acquire sufficient knowledge of our language to enable them to speak it with tolerable ease and to transact the ordinary business of life for themselves without the aid of interpreters."1

In 1889 four new night schools were opened in addition to the high school, on the east side at

¹Detroit Board of Education, Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1887), p. 42.

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Duffield and Norvell and on the west side at Pitcher and Newberry. The dollar fee was abolished and all textbooks were furnished. The night schools were popular with the public, and the board being politically motivated, realized that popularity. With five schools in session, the total enrollment and total nightly attendance increased greatly. In 1888-89 there were 879 enrolled at the high school with an average attendance of 470. In 1889-1890 there were 3.224 enrolled in the five centers with an average nightly attendance of 1,382. The high school (primary and grammar school subjects) had an enrollment of 795, with an average nightly attendance of 387. Pitcher had a total enrollment of 846, with an average attendance of 393. Newberry had a total enrollment of 330, with an average attendance of 123. Duffield had an enrollment of 398, with an average attendance of 150, and Norvell had an enrollment of 855, with an average attendance of 329.2

The fee system was tried again in 1893-94. The results were more regular attendance and exemplary conduct, and the work done was more satisfactory. The total enrolled was 1,597 boys and 618 girls, for a

Petroit Board of Education, Forty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1889), p. 43.

²Detroit Board of Education, <u>Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education</u> (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1890), p. 21.

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total of 2,215 in the Pitcher, Trowbridge, Norvell, Duffield, Jefferson, Everette, Webster, Wilkins, and Newsboys Schools.

In the report for June 30, 1897, it is suggested that no child under twelve be allowed to attend the night schools. "It seems to me that it is cruel and physically injurious to compel children, under that age, to go out in all kinds of weather, and to be kept awake during the hours required for carrying on the schoolwork. A glance into many of the rooms will find these children, some of them not more than babies, fast asleep, unable to resist the demands of nature. Some of the little ones are not more than eight years old, and while attending the parochial schools during the day, try to take advantage of the work done in the public night schools. Classification is next to impossible. I am convinced that an age limit is absolutely necessary."

This report stressed the need for changing the night school to only four days per week. The Jewish population objected to Friday sessions for religious reasons. It was felt that one night besides Saturday was required for young people for social recreation.

Detroit Board of Education, Fifty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1894), p. 34.

Detroit Board of Education, Fifty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1897), p. 72.

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"The majority of the older pupils are employed until six o'clock, and many of them work so far away from home, that even after a cold dinner, they have no time for supper, and come into the school room, tired and hungry. Under such physical difficulties, their work is a great mental strain, and the most efficient and painstaking teachers are required to keep up the attendance and interest." They found that the best results could be obtained from using day school teachers, but had difficulty employing them for political reasons. "The strenuous efforts made lately by candidates and their friends to secure positions, forces the opinion that the night schools are, or will soon become a political refuge for indigent people who must be taken care of regardless of the poor children who have no other means of getting an education."2

For the year 1900 there were 1,472 males and 409 females, for a total of 1,881 enrolled, with an average attendance of 774. Of this number, 402 also attended the day school. 3 Until the year 1896 the enrollment was always stated in terms of boys and

¹Ibid., p. 73.

²Ibid.

³Detroit Board of Education, Fifty-seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1900), p. 93.

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girls, the terminology changing in that and subsequent years to male and female. This may have reflected the trend toward an older student. The compulsory attendance Act of 1871 with its 1883 revision would have had some effect on this change. 1

The superintendent's report for 1904 noted that the evening schools were doing valuable work helping to assimilate the foreign population. Foreigners forty and even fifty years old attended to learn the English language. No rules could be established on how to administer these classes, as there had to be sufficient elasticity. The pupils varied in age from fifteen to forty years, were of both sexes, were single and married, and had all degrees of education, intelligence, previous training, and adaptability. It is difficult to imagine a more heterogeneous group. The average age of the students was in the twenties, with men outnumbering women three to one. Few if any had been in the country more than two years, and some had been here less than two months. One of the teachers noted that some learned quickly while others had to spend many hours of painstaking effort and would take

¹The Measure of 1883, which was amended in 1885, increased to four months the required time of pupil attendance in each year. There was a provision in this act prohibiting the employment of children under the age of fourteen years unless they had attended school during the required four months. The compulsory school laws continued to be modified until, by 1921, consecutive attendance became mandatory to the age of sixteen.

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years to acquire sufficient knowledge of the English language. He stated, "There are a few who have been fairly well educated in their own countries and know two or three languages. It does not take these long to ascertain how to advance in their work and what the best plan of study is. There are others who are as ignorant of anything pertaining to learning as the child in the kindergarten. There are some who have probably never held a pen between their fingers before, and do not know the difference between the letter "i" and the Arabic numeral "i". 1

Of the pupils at that time, Germans, Russians, and Rumanian Jews predominated. Austria and Italy also contributed a few; Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, France, Finland, Greece, Syria, and Japan had been represented. An attempt at homogeneous grouping was made by one of the teachers, as he sent the Syrians, Greeks, and Italians into other rooms and retained the rest for himself. He claimed that better results could be obtained if they were separated in this way.

The orthography of the English language was exceedingly difficult for these students. They could not understand the necessity of having so many silent

Detroit Board of Education, Sixty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1904), pp. 91-92.

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letters and why the same combinations of letters have different sounds in different words. They were very prone to phonetic spelling, and it was found necessary to spend at least one session a week on the problem of spelling.

These people were all resolute in becoming
Americanized as quickly as possible in order to improve their position in life. One man who was over forty had come to class unable to speak, read, or write the English language. He had had only an ordinary education in his own country. He had to leave before the end of the term, but he sent his teacher a letter expressing his regret. The letter was well-written and his choice of words compared favorably with that of any fifteen-year-old boy in the day school. On the other hand, there were a few who made very little progress, which could be expected, as there are slow learners among even the most enthusiastic students. 1

Enrollment figures for the night school in 1906-1907 indicate the nationality derivation of the foreign-born pupils and are noted in Table 3. In 1907-1908 there were 43% native-born and 57% foreign-born in the evening grammar school. Sessions were

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¹Ibid., p. 93.

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TABLE 3.--Foreign-born pupils enrolled in all evening schools 1906-1907

People	Minors	Adults	People	Minors	Adults
Arabian		2	Irish		6
Armenian .	3	20	Japanese .		1
Austrian .	-	10	Macedonian.		3
Belgian		13	Polish	45	198
Bohemian .	8	32	Polish Jew.	-	- 6
Bulgarian .		2	Philippine.	1	
Chinese		2	Roumanian .		1
Colored	11	5	Russian	1	
Danish		5 3 5	Russian Jew	13	2
rench	2	5	Scottish .	_	
erman	32	80	Slavic	4	
erman Jew.	15	25	Spanish		
reek	7	19	Swedish	10	1
Hollander .		4	Swiss	1	
Hungarian .	2	24	Syrian	8	1
Italian	12	30	Total	175	56

**Board of Education, Sixty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1907), p. 83.

held only from October 7, 1907, to February 6, 1908, because of a lack of funds. 1

The financial depression of the year 1908-1909 caused a decrease in attendance. Because of the poor economic condition, there was very little immigration and even an exodus of foreigners to their native lands.²

Detroit Board of Education, Sixty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1908), p. 113.

Poetroit Board of Education, Sixty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1909), p. 207.

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Interestingly, there was also a decrease in enrollment in 1909-1910, this time because of a boom which kept many of the would-be students working overtime in the factories and shops.

In 1910-1911 evening sessions were being held in Bishop, Campbell, Chaney, Everett, Greusel, Mc-Millan, Russell, Newberry, and Trowbridge Schools as well as Central, Eastern, and Western High Schools. The enrollment in the grammar school was 1,988, with 1,660 males and 328 females. Enrollment in the total program totaled 5,614, with 3,656 males and 1,958 females. There were 106 teachers, composed of 77 men and 29 women.

The day school too was experiencing its share of foreign children. Many of these children, though well-educated in their own countries, could not read, write, or speak a word of English. In localities where these children were segregated, the placement of them became a serious problem. Children who would

Detroit Board of Education, <u>Sixty-seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education</u> (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1910), p. 133. It was in 1909 that Ford began manufacturing Model T's exclusively. Over 18,600 units were sold during the first year of this policy.

M. M. Quaife and Sidney Glazer, Michigan (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), p. 288.

²Detroit Board of Education, <u>Sixty-eighth Annual Report of the Board of Education</u> (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1911), p. 162.

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normally be able to pursue grammar school courses were placed in the primary schools until they learned the English language. To meet the needs of those children, a special foreign children's class was organized in the Bishop School.

In 1911-1912 there was a 10% increase in enrollment in the night school, due almost exclusively to the desire of the foreign-born population to learn English. It was necessary to open an extra room for Hungarians at McMillan School early in October. A new room for Germans was opened at the Russell School. At the Bishop School two new rooms were opened for the Hebrews, which made eight rooms open in that school for education of "those industrious people." At the Greusel School two new rooms were opened for the Polish and one for Lithuanians. Another new room for the Polish was opened at Newberry, and after Christmas vacation a room was opened for forty-eight Croatians at Trowbridge.

Administration of the special or ungraded classes of the day schools was combined with that of the evening schools in 1912. Concentrated attention

¹Ibid., p. 130.

Detroit Board of Education, Sixty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1912), p. 148.

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continued to be given in the evening classes to foreign students who wished to learn to read, write and speak the English language. Statistics for this year show fifty-five nationalities represented. The Polish enrollment was the highest with 870 students, followed by the Russian Jews with 617, the Germans with 297, the Italians with 291, the Hungarians with 137, the Canadians with 108, the English with 94, and the Greeks with 50. Advanced studies were begun in the high schools for foreigners, also. 1

In 1913 the Scripps School opened to accommodate a colony of Belgians, and the enrollment reached 182. A class for Hollanders was opened at the Greusel School and was so successful that two classes were organized, with sessions held twice a week. Except for four classes of fifth and sixth grade, the elementary evening schools were devoted to the teaching of the foreign student. New classes were opened from time to time to meet the needs of the predominating nationality in each locality. In the past, teachers conversant in both languages had been preferred in these classes. Experience, however, proved that this policy was not necessary and that the same quality

Petroit Board of Education, Seventieth Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1913), p. 137.

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teachers preferred in the day school were more successful. The total enrollment for 1913-1914 was 3,372--2,951 males and 429 females. In this year an ungraded room was opened in the Cary School for the foreign boys in that area and a few others who were far below grade level.

The Detroit schools were faced with the problem of trying to assimilate many thousands of foreigners each year, and, as the automobile and other industries continued to prosper, the problem increased. The foreigners, with their own ideas and traditions mostly gathered under governments more or less autocratic, had to be assimilated into America and had to learn to accept American ways as soon as possible.

By 1914-1915 the number of non-English-speaking foreigners was increasing rapidly, and it was necessary to strain every nerve to educate those already there and be ready for the new immigrants as they came to the city. The great new industries of Detroit produced opportunities for these newcomers in excess of cities of greater population. The tremendous increase in foreign population resulted in pockets of different nationalities, which, addording to the superintendent, was not an undesirable condi-

Detroit Board of Education, Seventy-first Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1914), p. 145.

tion as long as it did not tend to repeat itself in the second and third generations. If they did not make Americans of them, but allowed them to remain in little groups of European countries with their racial differences, peculiarities and jealousies, it would have made it more intricate solving an already complicated problem.

This, then, was "the socializing function of the evening elementary schools. To take the foreigners, educate them in the fundamentals that they may not be seriously handicapped in their efforts to live in the country of their adoption and indirectly, to make Americans of them. In no other place can these foreigners meet and learn of American ideals and political life than in our schools. The school is the natural rallying place of the neighborhood group and must have a social as well as an educational effect."²

With these ideals in mind the core of teachers of the evening school was changed to a considerable degree. The old idea that it was necessary for Greek to teach Greek was eliminated, and wide-awake, socially efficient Americans were put in charge of

Detroit Board of Education, Seventy-second Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1915), p. 122.

²Ibid.

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these rooms. The success of the effort was complete, as better attendance, better results, and greater Americanization was accomplished in every one of the schools. The teachers' responsibilities increased each year. In addition to the routine work, they were the actual advisors of many hundreds of foreigners. Working as classroom counselors, teachers became the informal judge of the immigrants' personal relations and found it necessary to find employment for them because of their lack of knowledge of local conditions.

The high schools served mostly the Americanborn of foreign parents who wished to better their
position, though there were some ambitious first
generation immigrants who had graduated from the
evening elementary schools. All of the high schools
were overcrowded, even though Northwestern had joined
Western, Central, Cass, and Eastern in offering
courses. Most of these students had left school at
an early age because of economic conditions, or,
through their own desire, had worked a number of
years and then realized that their lack of knowledge
blocked their forward progress. The total enrollment
in the evening high schools for 1914-1915 was 4,710,

¹ Ibid., p. 123.

with an average attendance of 2.686.1

War clouds over Europe had reduced immigration, and there was only a 4% increase in the evening elementary school. Though thirty nationalities were represented in the evening elementary school, many of whose relatives were still living in the contesting countries, they all sat side by side, shared the same book, and proved that they were "looking toward the rising, not the setting, sun." Table 4 shows the nationality makeup of the evening elementary school for 1914-1915 and 1915-1916.

There were more than 38,000 people in Detroit in 1910 who could not read or write English, and, as the foreign employees continued to pour into the "city of cars", that number had increased tremendously by 1915. Little or nothing had been done to encourage these people to attend the evening elementary classes, and the Tower of Babel continued to cast a larger and larger shadow over this rapidly burgeoning industrial metropolis.

¹ Ibid., p. 124.

²Ibid.

National Americanization Committee and the Committee for Immigrants in America, Americanizing a City (New York: by the Author, 1915), p. 3. This pamphlet is a particularly compact story of the Americanization program in Detroit. Though the information that follows was gathered from various sources, this pamphlet was the most valuable.

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TABLE 4.--Enrollment of foreign-born pupils in the evening schools 1914-1915 and 1915-1916

People	1914 a 1915 ^a	1915 ₈	People	1914 a 1915	1915 1916
American	. 4 . 55 . 64 . 128 . 128 . 16 . 25 . 4 . 1 . 3 . 11 . 20 . 301 . 7 . 51	15505842 65105298 5298 5298 515028 515524	Hungarian Italian Lithuanian Macedonian Moravian Norwegian Polish Jew Roumanian Russian Jew Scotch S	368 644 9 1 975 473 2 15 14 18 4	642 924 230 1 12 2,812 2,812 479 445 10 58 11 3 26 58 67

annual Report of the Board of Education, Seventy-second Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1915), p. 126.

bDetroit Board of Education, Seventy-third Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1916), p. 112.

But in the spring of 1915, with the threat of the European conflict coming closer, the fear of the consequences of having a series of European colonies in their midst moved the community to action. The budget for the evening schools was doubled, and an intensive recruiting campaign blanketed the city with

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pamphlets and posters advertising the evening schools.

The Board of Education first turned to the Board of Commerce to implement its program, believing that the employer could direct non-English-speaking workmen to the schools in a manner not available to the Board of Education. Besides, the Board of Commerce had already been engaged in an Americanization program of its own, growing out of a study made of the unemployed through the winter of 1914-1915. It had discovered that 51% of the unemployed could not speak English, and the demand during that period of excess labor was only for English-speaking men. The Board of Commerce, with the invited cooperation of the Committee for Immigrants in America, made an immigrant survey of Detroit, and as a result of its recommendations formed an immigration bureau for Detroit. The request for aid from the Board of Education was forwarded to this committee, and it decided to make the night school its first order of work.

A letter was sent to all industries employing 100 or more men, requesting their cooperation in urging all non-English-speaking men to register at the Detroit Public Schools on September 13, 1915. The response was excellent. Many employers were enthusiastic, commenting about the difficulty they had experienced with their non-English-speaking

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employees. Almost all cooperated by putting up posters and including slips in the pay envelopes telling of the opportunity of learning English and becoming citizens by attending the night schools. Many of the companies made it clear that hereafter they would prefer those men who were attending night school and making an attempt to learn English and become citizens. Some went so far as to make attendance compulsory. The Northway Company, for example, established a school of its own and offered its men a threefold choice: to attend the factory class in English: to attend the public night school; or to be laid off. Cadillac Motors tried to popularize attendance by working with the leaders of the various immigrant groups. Solvay Corporation proposed a two-cent increase to its workers who learned the English language. This plan worked out well economically for the company through the savings on injuries and damage to equipment which could be traced to employees! lack of knowledge of English.

Many employers had not been aware of the extent of the lack of knowledge of English of their workers. One employer who felt that he had very few who did not speak English was amazed to learn that there were between 500 and 600 non-English speakers in his plant. Most employees did not resist the program, one company reporting that, of eighty-one

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men who did not speak English, seventy-eight said they were eager to attend night school, about which they had not known, while the remaining three reported that they were too old to learn English.

Henry Ford aided the movement by inviting sixty representatives of the employers to a luncheon at the Ford plant in order that they might observe the Ford English School, at which attendance was mandatory for non-English-speaking workman. The work of this school had convinced Ford of the practicability of developing English-speaking workers in a short period of time.

The superintendent and the Board of Education met all situations presented to them by the employers of the city. One employer was assured that classes would be available for his men even though his men shifted from day to night shift every week or two. The Morgan and Wright Company, employing hundreds of non-English-speaking men who worked particularly late evening hours, reported that it would be impossible for the men to reach the night school on time. The Board of Education guaranteed to furnish ten regular teachers for classes to be held at night in the Morgan and Wright plant, requiring that the company furnish and equip ten class-rooms. Between 700 and 800 men were able to be served that otherwise would have been denied the

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benefits of the schools. In making the arrangements, the Board of Commerce recommended that part of the time spent in classrooms be company time, that the men be able to get supper in the factory, and that adequate facilities for recreation be included. Paternalistic involvement of this nature was exceedingly important because unions were practically non-existent in Detroit factories at this time. If the immigrants had been organized into labor unions, the Americanization program might have proceeded at a different pace. The program might never have got a start at all. But, on the other hand, the resentment which so obviously built up later might have been staved off and long-range benefits accrued.

Cooperating in this endeavor were the priests and ministers who mentioned in their sermons the importance of going to the evening schools. Father Herr, whose parish was made up of 25,000 Polish people who seldom heard any English, issued a statement commending the Americanization program and urging his parishioners to a better and broader American citizenship. The two Sundays preceding the opening of the evening schools, the ministers of every foreign congregation were asked to announce the night of the school opening, adding their strong recommendation to attend. Many of the ministers called or wrote to say that they were glad to cooperate. Hand-

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bills were distributed at the various foreign churches at the close of services. Because of a local ordinance, the police commissioner informed the Board of Commerce that they must stand well within church property to pass out the handbills. A letter was sent to all the priests or pastors asking them to phone the Board of Commerce if they had any objection to their people passing out handbills in the church. No objections were received, add some called to say that the distributors would be welcome and the ushers would give any assistance desired.

The public library was of great assistance. especially during the summer. in getting the information to the foreigners. Cards were placed in all the books telling of the summer school program, and children who took out books were told how important it was to get the message home to their parents. The heads of the libraries reported the names of the important immigrants in the community who would have great power in persuading and promoting the night schools among their people. The city Recreation Department sent home 5,000 similar cards through its playground and swimming programs. Nurses of the Health Board were instructed to carry handbills printed in seven different languages, and make a definite appeal to both men and women to attend the night school. The Poor Commission used the handbills and

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the same methods. They also made it clear to the non-English-speaking men and women who came there for assistance that they were expected to learn the English language and that it was an obligation for them to take advantage of the night school opportunities. The Juvenile Court issued handbills with all widows! pension papers. The three main employment bureaus in Detroit distributed the bills, very carefully explaining to the men their tremendous importance. Two of the bureaus had special police officers giving the handbills to each non-Englishspeaking man who applied for work. The Bureau of Employers Association, though it did not solicit work for the non-English-speaking or in general for laborers, turned away foreigners at the door, but the policeman in charge now was instructed to see that every one of these men received a handbill. Any that did get through the door had to show that they could at least write their name. Those that had difficulty were told personally of the night school and urged to attend.

The Employers Association planned to follow up the night school campaign by making night school attendance a feature of their record cards. They engaged interpreters who explained to the men that their opportunities for getting a job depended on their knowing English.

The Boy Scouts covered the immigrant sections of the city with a handbill distribution. These were in several languages and told the time and place of the night school. In one case, because of the difficulty in getting the Boy Scout group together because of their vacation, a squad of fifteen little Sicilian boy and girl privates, dressed in their best clothes, covered the whole Italian neighborhood in record time. In all, 125,000 handbills were distributed throughout the immigrant sections.

Women's clubs also aided in the distribution of handbills. As there was no Greek type in Detroit, a Greek merchant called the Greek colony together to urge their attendance at the night schools and went to the expense of having handbills printed in New York for distribution among them. Signs were placed everywhere in the immigrant sections—in factories, social agencies, settlements, recreation centers, commissions, and many small shops and saloons. The people seemed to appreciate seeing their own language under a picture of Uncle Sam shaking hands with a worker and the words "America First" at the top. The saloonkeepers received the signs with keen interest and placed them in prominent places.

As the opening grew near, the <u>Polish Daily</u>

<u>Record</u> and the Italian <u>Voce del populo</u> encouraged
their readers to attend the schools. Russian Life,

Italian Tribune, and the <u>Hungarian News</u> were also active in their support. Next to the priests, these newspapers written in native tongues were most influential in recommending a new idea. All of the English newspapers and magazines between August 18 and September 13 gave space to the night school opening. Widely shown was a movie made by the Ford Motor Company which depicted men being turned away because they could not speak English.

On September 13 record-breaking numbers enrolled in the evening schools. The evening high school showed a 31% increase, while in the elementary schools the increase was 120.2% in enrollment. The increase in the foreign-born in the evening schools was a whopping 167%. The total enrollment for the year was 12,641, of which 7,897 were enrolled in the Americanization schools.

Frederick S. DeGalan was then hired as fulltime attendance officer for the evening school, with the objective of promoting night school attendance of aliens. He worked closely with the United States government, which was making a special effort to Americanize the foreign element in the population, using the schools as the chief vehicle. The United

Detroit Board of Education, Seventy-third Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1916), pp. 111-112.

States Bureau of Naturalization, Department of Labor, furnished a list of prospective citizens by supplying the evening school with the names of aliens as they applied for citizenship in the district. Letters written by the Bureau, advising aliens to attend the evening school, were turned over to the schools with the request that these be delivered either by a personal visit from the attendance officer or by pupils of the evening school enlisted for that purpose. The schools were also asked to keep a record of the progress and attendance of the aliens who enrolled.

To augment the work, Mr. DeGalan attempted to canvass every neighborhood where foreigners resided in numbers, using cards provided by the Bureau of Naturalization. The method of having pupils help to canvass was a failure. Either the students showed no interest or when they did show an interest they met with no success. Though calling personally at 2,218 addresses, Mr. DeGalan interviewed only eighty people who expressed interest in the evening schools, but it was impossible to determine how many of those attended the schools. The Bureau of Naturalization had furnished the schools with a list of 5,589 names, and there was no valid reason to believe that any better results would have been obtained with the uncanvassed. Mr. DeGalan was of the opinion that indiscriminate calls of this nature did not warrant

the expense.

The intensity of the Americanization program was not unique to Detroit. It was a nationwide campaign spearheaded and guided by an amazing woman. Frances Kellor. During the war years the movement to Americanize the foreigner reached evangelistic heights through the cooperation of groups who were traditionally diametrically opposed. The humanitarian and bigot both desired the assimilation of the foreigner. The post-war "Red Scare" gave the nationalist a continued reason to support the Americanization program. but with the war over the foreign groups reacted against the program. By the 1920's the "Red Scare" subsided, and the nationalist and the bigot, feeling a sense of failure and dissolution, decided that the foreigner was incorrigibly unassimilable. It was better to keep him out of the mainstream of American life, and rejection of the immigrant became stronger by far than during the pre-war indifference.

In Detroit it was found necessary to open three new buildings to handle the large number of

¹John Higham, Strangers In the Land (New York: Atheneum, 1963), pp. 234-63. This book is a scholarly and fascinating account of the tribulations that the immigrant faced as he entered his newly chosen country. It tells of discrimination, bigotry, violence, and indifference, and of the immigrants' restillence to these adverse forces.

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applicants in the fall of 1915. These classes were filled directly and remained filled throughout the term. The Roberts System of teaching English to foreigners was adopted. This system was the practical outgrowth developed by Peter Roberts, a trained sociologist, through evening classes he had organized in English and civics under the sponsorship of the Y. M. C. A. The foreigners quickly grasped this method and at the close of the session most of them possessed a vocabulary of 300 words and could intelligently read the English newspapers. The Board of Commerce prepared a text which it furnished free of charge for a course in citizenship or practical civics. 2

Through the courts and the Bureau of Immigration, it was made possible to prepare for naturalization, including filling out the necessary forms, at the schools. Two months after the opening of the schools, the Bureau of Naturalization was processing eighty applicants a day. Table 4 shows the number of each nationality who enrolled in the evening school for 1915-1916 (see page 51).

In the fall of 1916 the Americanization program of the elementary evening school showed a de-

¹Ibid., pp. 238-39.

²Detroit Board of Education, op. cit., p. 112.

crease of 85%. There were several reasons for the decrease in enrollment: (1) A total of 1,096 foreigners entered the evening high schools having completed the work up to the seventh grade. The decrease in the evening elementary school was met with a corresponding increase in the evening high school of 88.9%. There was a demand far in excess of expectation for commercial and technical instruction. (2) The effect of the war on immigration resulted in few if any new foreigners entering the city. (3) The factories were no longer landing their support to the program. 2 (4) A large number of private schools sprang up which offered glittering inducements to the foreigners. These schools for the most part were closed in a few months, and their students, discouraged, did not care to enter the evening schools, feeling that they were too far behind.

Writing in 1921, Frank Cody offers some other causes for the drop in attendance. It had started to drop off in 1916 when 4,268 were enrolled, compared with 7,897 enrolled in 1915-1916. It was still above

Detroit Board of Education, Seventy-fourth and Seventy-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1917 and 1918), p. 142.

After the initial fervor the factory owners became apathetic as wartime profits and problems of priority and supply occupied their time. Because of the advanced publicity, many may have expected instant results and when the results weren't forthcoming they felt the investment of time and money of little value.

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the 1914-1915 total of 3.506. In 1917-1918 it dropped to almost nothing. In the official report of the superintendent, there is no note of this drop to almost nothing. It states that instead of opening a large number of elementary schools. as in the past. the Americanization work was combined with the continuation work. with a resulting savings of several thousand dollars. It then reports that the number of aliens attending the Americanization school was lower than in previous years and would continue to be so until the close of the war opened immigration to the country. There is no mention of the number in the Americanization program until the 1919-1920 report, when it reports that instruction was given to 920 foreigners unable to speak English, which is less than 12% of the number enrolled in 1915-1916.2

Cody claimed that there were those who benefited from their countrymen's ignorance of the language and customs of America and that these immigrants
were working to maintain the status quo. These individuals secured them employment, did their legal work,
gave them medical attention, and controlled the spir-

lFrank Cody, "What One Representative American City Is Doing in Teaching Americanism," The Detroit Journal of Education, I, no. 4 (June, 1921), 7.

Detroit Board of Education, Seventy-seventh

Annual Report of the Superintendent (Detroit: Detroit

Board of Education, 1920), p. 42.

itual life of the immigrants. In order to maintain control, they used a variety of propaganda. The theme most insidious and difficult to combat was that by attending the schools the immigrants would be forced to fight as soon as war was declared. Upon the declaration of war, many of these people, not wanting to fight, gave up their first citizenship papers and took up their old allegiance. Detroit was not unique, as reports from six of the largest cities showed that, without exception, there was a decrease in registration of foreigners in the evening schools. 1

Since a child receives his early education from his mother, the schools decided to concentrate on bringing the services of the school to the foreign-born mother. Afternoon classes were started wherever a sufficient number of mothers could be brought together to justify costs. Attendants took care of children while the mothers were in the classroom. In 1919-1920 the total number enrolled, meeting two afternoons per week, was 431. In 1920-1921 it was 315 in seventeen classes, and in 1921-1922 the number increased to 854 women, with 63 men also registering.

¹ Cody, loc. cit.

Detroit Board of Education, <u>loc. cit</u>.

³cody, loc. cit., p. 9.

⁴Detroit Board of Education, <u>Seventy-ninth Annual Report of the Detroit Public Schools</u> (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1922), p. 52.

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These classes continued through the twenties, depending upon demand and money available. These extension classes for foreign women continued and even increased through the depression years of the thirties. For instance, in 1933 the evening school department maintained 68 extension classes in addition to 70 to 130 evening elementary classes. Of the 68 classes, 60 were devoted to women alone and the other eight were mixed. 1 There were 68, 75, and 63 extension classes for foreign women in 1936, 1937, and 1938 respectively.² The foreign women, because of their lack of contact with English-speaking Detroiters, remained the richest source of non-English-speaking people. Returning to that same environment with little opportunity to use their new-found skills in English, it is questionable that even those who attended the schools were able to retain. much less extend. any abilities they learned there.

The evening schools continued to increase in popularity in the 1920's. In the fall of 1921, 28,293 adults registered in the evening schools. There was no mention of Americanization classes, and perhaps

^{1&}quot;Adult Elementary Education," <u>Detroit Educational Bulletin</u>, XVI, no. 4 (March, April, 1933), 15.

Detroit Board of Education, Superintendent's Annual Report for Detroit Public Schools 1938-1939 (Detroit: Detroits Board of Education, 1939), p. 93.

³Detroit Board of Education, Seventy-ninth Annual Report of the Detroit Public Schools, p. 52.

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the designation was discontinued. but in the elementary evening schools there were 1.333 enrolled in citizenship classes, of which only six were women. There were also 5.037 men and 2.775 women enrolled in English for Foreigners classes. 2 In 1922-1923 the demand for citizenship classes increased, with as many as twenty-five classes being in session in a given week. The enrollment in these classes was 1.551 men and 30 women. 3 English for Foreigners classes decreased in demand. with an enrollment of 4.777 men and 2.422 women. This was partly due to the immigration restrictions of 1921. College extension classes were opened for teachers in methods of teaching English to foreign adults in 1919, and in 1921 a course in the methods of teaching English to foreign children was added. In 1923-1924 the 141 teachers working with the foreign evening classes were considered 100% trained.5

The enrollment in the citizenship and English for Foreigners classes continued at about the same

l Ibid., p. 100.

² Ibid.

Betroit Board of Education, <u>Eightieth Annual</u> Report of the Detroit Public Schools (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1923), p. 108.

⁴ Ibid.

Detroit Board of Education, Eighty-first Annual Report of the Detroit Public Schools (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1924), p. 70.

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rate through the 1920's, and even in the 1930's when finances allowed an adequate program. In 1925-1926 there were 2.154 men and 194 women registered in the citizenship classes: 4,244 men and 2,216 women. in the English for Foreigners classes. In 1933 there were 4.413 men and women taking elementary work, which included English for the foreign-born and preparatory work for citizenship. 2 The average attendance for all the night schools in Fall, 1933, was 13.965.3 an increase over the total for 1932, but could not compare with the 1929-1930 record when the registration was 63.888, with an average membership of 32.402. Registrations in the elementary evening schools did steadily increase so that by 1937-1938 there were 12.856.5 There was a drop in the demand for classes in English for the foreign-born and citizenship training during World War II, but in 1945-1946 there were still twenty-five extension classes devoted to

Detroit Board of Education, <u>Eighty-third Annual Report of the Detroit Public Schools</u> (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1926), p. 59.

²Frederick S. DeGalan, "Evening School Notes," Detroit Educational Bulletin, XVII, no. 2 (December, 1933). 9.

³Ibid.

Detroit Board of Education, <u>Eighty-seventh Annual Report of the Detroit Public Schools</u> (Detroit: Detroit Education, 1930), p. 112.

Detroit Board of Education, Superintendent's Annual Report of the Detroit Public Schools 1938-1939 (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1939), p. 93.

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English for the foreign-born, citizenship, and other elementary work.

Special classes for foreign-born children were begun in 1911. Until this time the foreign child, if he could not speak English, was placed in the elementary school regardless of age. These classes have continued to exist to the present day. In 1921-1922 college classes for teachers of foreign-born children were started on an extension basis. During the 1920's the average advancement in English for children in these special classes was equivalent to seven semesters for each semester of attendance. Overcrowding of these classes during the depression years may have been a contributing factor to the drop in progress in 1938-1939 to three and one-half semesters per semester of attendance.

In 1900 the school census showed 81,681 children of school age in Detroit, with 39,150 attending the public schools. By 1930 the school census showed 412,745, with 250,994 attending the public schools.³

Detroit Board of Education, Superintendent's Annual Report of the Detroit Public Schools 1945-1946 (Detroit; Detroit Board of Education, 1946), p. 43.

²Detroit Board of Education, Superintendent's Annual Report of the Detroit Public Schools 1938-1939 (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1939), p. 93.

³Detroit Board of Education, Directory and By-Laws 1963-1964 (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1964), p. 37.

James Barris & Strain Control

The growth was over! The depression hit Detroit hard, and the high unemployment rate sent more immigrants away from the city than it brought in. The immigrant groups sealed themselves in their ghettos, and many lost their language skills acquired during the tremendous growth of the evening schools during the 1920's. And it was a tremendous growth! While the city's population increased approximately 52%, and the day school enrollment rose approximately 76% between 1920 and 1930, the average attendance in the night schools increased 447%. 1

Compulsory school attendance, wartime, full employment, advancing old age and resultant death have replaced the night schools in completing the assimilation of foreign communities. The large influx of Negroes pushed the younger generations out to the suburbs and into the mainstream of all that suburbia stands for. A great university in the heart of the city contributed considerably to the opportunity of the second generation to rise to social prominence.

Names of second generation Detroit leaders who have graduated from Wayne University would be a story in itself. But, instead, let us turn to the study in depth of a few of those immigrant groups.

Lighty-seventh Annual Report of Detroit Public Schools, 1930, p. 112.

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CHAPTER III

GERMANIC INFLUENCES ON THE SCHOOLS

The Germans were not in Detroit in any numbers prior to 1830. A few families were there, but, as they were either descendants of Hessian soldiers of the British forces in the Revolutionary War or had been in this country for a long period of time, it is doubtful that they added much in distinctive German culture to the small city.

Nationally, in the seventeenth century Germans were reported to have composed from one-third to one-half of the early population of New Amsterdam, ¹ and Germantown, Pennsylvania (now a part of Philadelphia), was settled by religious refugees from Palatinate. ² Francis Daniel Pastorius, who was the first mayor of Germantown, met with a group of Germans and on April 18, 1688, made the first formal protest against Negro slavery. ³ Pennsylvania, noted for its religious toler-

¹Theodore Huebener, <u>The Germans in America</u> (Philadelphia and New York: Chilton Company Book Division, 1962), p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 9.

^{3&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 13.

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ation, became the home of many religious groups, mostly from Germany. Pastorius developed a German school in Germantown in 1702. This school was unique in that it had a night school for adults and employed youth, was coeducational, and was supported by voluntary contributions plus the fees paid by the pupils. Christopher Dock, who taught in a school founded by the Mennonites, was the first to use a blackboard. He published a pedagogical book in 1750 which showed a keen insight of child psychology, placing the teaching of morality and conduct before scholarship and substituting understanding and love for the birch rod. Most of the early German communities established schools. and that early Pennsylvania patriot, Benjamin Franklin. became interested in the education of Germans, establishing the first course in English for foreigners.

Having been stirred by Madame de Stael's portrayal of the German universities, George Ticknow and Edward Everett went to the University of Göttingen to study in 1815. Many American students followed, including George Bancroft, H. W. Longfellow, William Emerson, B. J. Gildersleeve, W. D. Whitney, and J. L. Motley. There were 137 future professors of American colleges among the 225 American students at German universities between 1815 and 1850.

¹ Ibid., p. 75.

The newer German ideas of elementary education. as observed in practice at the schools of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, were introduced at the Round Hill School, founded jointly by Bancroft and Cogswell in 1823 near Northhampton, Massachusetts, Carl Beck arrived from Germany in 1824 to teach Latin at the Round Hill School and was instrumental in introducing the first gymnasium into an American school. Carl Follen, a German immigrant who had also taught at the Round Hill School, became the first professor of German at Harvard University. Though he was exceedingly successful, his appointment was not renewed until 1836 because of his denunciation of slavery. Together with Francis Lieber. Follen introduced physical training in Boston. 1 These early Germans had an influence on the educational system as it developed in New England and. as a result. influenced education in Detroit and throughout the country.

Though it cannot be verified by immigration figures, it is doubtful that German immigration was more than slight in the early days of the new republic. In the decade between 1821 and 1830 the census reports 6,761 Germans entering the country, and there is no evidence to support the fact that immigration

¹Ibid., p. 76.

was any greater in earlier decades. During the next decade, 1831-1840, there was a 2,155% increase to 152,454.

The tremendous increase in immigration is sometimes ascribed to the European revolutions of 1830, and particularly to the severe manner in which they were dispelled by Metternich in the German states. But actually the German peoples were never removed very far from serfdom, and this was primarily a movement of an agrarian people. Metternich's policies did not alter the lot of the peasants. so it is necessary to look elsewhere to explain the movement. Perhaps the main cause was the unsatisfactory conditions in certain agricultural districts. There was a severe depression starting in 1817 and lasting throughout the 1820's. Coupled with this was an increase of 24% in the population of Germany between 1815 and 1835. There were a few political refugees from Metternich's policies, and these were often derisively dubbed "Latin farmers".

^{10.} S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Historical Statistics of the United States Colonial Times to 1957</u>, 1960, p. 57.

² Ibid.

³P. Benaerts, <u>Les Origines de la Grande Industrie Allemande</u> (Paris, 1933), p. 136.

⁴The need for German intellectuals in the United States was indeed slight and the university scholars who liked to discuss liberal ideas and German unifica-

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The first organized immigration of Germans into Detroit occurred in 1830, and they came from Neustadt, a small country town in Hessen-Nassau. It was reported that they came to Detroit because a man named Victor, who had visited Detroit earlier. raved about the beauty of the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair. They came by way of New York. Buffalo and Lake Erie. as did the majority of settlers to follow. As all of these earliest settlers were Catholic, they found it necessary to attend the French Catholic church of St. Anne. Detroit was still a French city at that time, and a majority of her citizens spoke that language in 1830. One of the French priests held German services for them monthly. More immigrants came from the village of Neustadt in 1832 and 1834. The influx of Neustadters

tion while drinking beer were as inept at farming as they were at concluding revolutions. Metternich repressed the German student association, which was called "Burschenschaft" by forbidding public meetings and revolutionary badges, renewed edicts controlling the university and press, and placed suspicious political characters under surveillance. Another abortive attempt at revolution in 1838 led by the nationalistic and liberal thinkers showed the failure of "grass root" politics in Germany. Nationalism and unification in Germany had to wait for the strong figure at the top, particularly Bismarck, to achieve its goals. By that time liberalism in Germany, if ever very prevalent, was a dead issue.

[[]Frank A. Weber], "The Hundredth Anniversary of the First Organized Immigration from Germany" (Detroit: C. M. Burton Historical Collection), p. 5.

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continued throughout the nineteenth century until there were more in Detroit than in their native village. Almost every name in the original village had its representatives living in Detroit in 1930.

In 1832, along with the additional immigrants from Neustadt had come Alsatians, Lothringers, Westphalians, and others. By 1833 German immigrants began to enter Detroit in ever-increasing numbers. A large number of these were Roman Catholic, one group of thirty-three families coming mostly from Bavaria, a German Catholic state. Early in 1833 Father Martin Kundig, a German Swiss priest, was sent to Detroit. He spoke English, French, German and Italian. A rear room at St. Anne's was converted to a chapel, and Father Kundig conducted services every Sunday for the Germans from eight to ten in the morning. As Father Kundig's sermons were in the native tongue of the Germans, his services were well-attended.

In March, 1834, a census-taker listed Detroit's population as 4,973. Shortly thereafter, the dread-

¹Ibid., p. 52.

²John Andrew Russell, The Germanic Influence in the Making of Michigan (Detroit: University of Detroit, 1927), p. 69.

³Directory of the City of Detroit for the Year 1837 (Detroit: 1837), p. 37.

ed cholera struck the small town with devastating force, decimating nearly a thousand souls. In 1835 the Holy Trinity Church was blessed, and the Germans joined the Irish in the dedication service for the Irish church. On the same day the Neustadter Germans celebrated the 333rd Kirmess, or anniversary, of the dedication of their mother church in Neustadt. Father Kundig, who had been serving the Irish population as well, was now relieved to take care of the growing German population, as Father Bernard O'Cavanaugh became pastor of the Irish church. Records of a distinct German Catholic congregation began in 1835 with the baptism of John Schmittdiel.

A census taken in 1837 showed the population of Detroit to be 9,763, more than double what it was after the epidemic of 1834. Some of this growth could be attributed to the large influx of Germans. A great number of Westphalians arrived in 1836 with their own pastor, Father Antoine Kopp. He and Father Kundig worked together until November when Father Kundig took over the superintendency of the Poor Farm. Father Kundig felt an obligation to the many victims of the cholera epidemic to take care of their children as he had promised, and he had already been devoting a great deal of time to the orphans at the Poor Farm. In 1840 Father Kundig returned to spear-

¹ Ibid.

head a drive for funds to establish a distinct German Catholic church. The cornerstone of the new church, called St. Mary's, was laid in June, 1841. Father Otto Skolla replaced Father Kundig in 1842 when the latter suffered a nervous breakdown, and the church was completed in 1843 under his supervision. A census taken by Father Skolla in that year showed 1,117 Catholics, of which 687 lived within the city. 1

Also entering the city at this time were the German Lutherans, and in 1833 they formed a religious society. In 1837 the German Lutherans built a church to which, according to the city directory, all denominations contributed. Apparently there was generosity of heart and religious toleration in the early city. A Roman Catholic missionary, writing about this time, lends impetus to this view. "In Detroit, there are two large German congregations, the stronger being Catholic, and having built a church; the other, also having a church of its own, being Protestant (the Reverend Mr. Schade). The members of the two congregations live in harmony with one another, and never

¹[Weber], <u>loc. cit.</u>, p. 57.

²Directory of the City of Detroit for the Year 1837, loc. cit., p. 27.

The Detroit <u>City Directory of 1837</u> states that the first church services were to be conducted by Rev. Mr. Schmead. (<u>Ibid.</u>) Elsewhere it was noted that the first service was held in a carpenter shop by Rev. Fr. Schmid on August 18, 1833, and he continued to serve

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allow their religious differences to interfere with their social intercourse. At marriages and baptisms they are never concerned about which preacher they should choose, but that they should have a good time in the German fashion. A large number of Germans remain in the city only so long as to earn money enough to buy land outside and establish farms."

These early German settlers were probably the more successful and undoubtedly the more adventure-some souls of the old country. To be able to afford the passage over from Germany to New York and then through the Erie Canal to Detroit would require one's own capital or else someone's faith that you were a good financial risk. These people soon acquired a reputation for being industrious and excellent farmers, and this ambition and skill could not have been acquired instantaneously upon arrival.²

until July, 1836. At that time a Rev. J. P. Schwabe arrived and served until January, 1837, dying of consumption in March, 1837. On October 22, 1837, Rev. M. Schaad answered their calling and served until June, 1841. It is also noted that the first German frame church was built and dedicated in 1838. (History and Directory of Churches of Detroit, Michigan, Detroit: Crumb Noble, 1877, p. 169.)

Russell, op. cit., p. 54.

It is this writer's opinion that very few of the immigrants to this country were the "dregs of Europe", as they were referred to by nativist elements. "Dregs" are left behind. They have neither the ambition nor the stamina to withstand the rigors of Journey. Rascals may have come but not the indolent.

The Michigan Constitution, written in 1835, provided for a State Superintendent of Public Instruction, one of the first such offices in the United States. This office was the equivalent of the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction. Isaac E. Crary, chairman of the Committee on Education for the Constitutional Convention, and his chief advisor, Rev. John D. Pierce, had read and discussed M. Victor Cousin's "Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia", which was made to the French Ministry of Education in 1831. This report described the Prussian system of education as being based upon freedom of access to schools operated at public expense, with state supervision, including three gradations of schools: the common schools, high schools or academies, and the university. For all practical purposes, this system was inserted intact into the constitution. Professor Hinsdale writes, "In effect all the Prussian ideas are here: primary schools, secondary schools and a university; public taxation and state supervision."2

As early as 1834 the Rt. Rev. Frederick Rese, Bishop of Detroit, who was born in Hanover, had plead-

¹M. M. Quaife and Sidney Glazer, <u>Michigan</u> (New York: Prentis-Hall, Inc., 1948), p. 175.

²Burke A. Hinsdale, <u>History of the University of Michigan</u> (Ann Arbor: <u>University of Michigan</u>, 1906), p. 17.

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ed through stirring letters in the <u>Petroit Journal</u> and <u>Advertiser</u> for a system of free schools! He had offered his own services to aid in their foundation, but his offer of leadership was not followed. His writings may have had an influence on Crary and Pierce. 1

The system of Prussia had determined the organization of the public schools of Michigan. The private systems as well were to follow this basis of organization. Thus, the initial Germanic influence was substantial.

At this time the early German settlers were still more familiar with church schools in their old country. Both the Roman Catholic and the Evangelical Lutheran congregations desired to give their youth training in their respective religious beliefs at the same time that they were being educated for contact with the world. Economic reasons as well compelled them to use church schools. Teachers were scarce and comparatively expensive, an objection which could be overcome by having the pastor perform a twofold task. In fact, it is difficult to find a German Lutheran colony that did not provide a school as soon as it called a pastor. The early German Lutherans organized a school shortly after their

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¹Russell, op. cit., p. 195.

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arrival in Detroit, and the city directory notes that in 1837 there were an average number of forty-five children attending the St. Clair English-German Free School on Minor Street. In 1833 a German Catholic school was opened near St. Anne's Church. This is the only mention of a German Catholic school in the city at such an early date. In fact, a school erected and opened in September, 1844, next to St. Mary's, the German Catholic church mentioned previously, is usually recognized as the first German Catholic school.

District schools served the small community from 1838 to 1841, having been established to comply with the education law in the new constitution.

Michigan had become a state in 1837 and was thereby governed by this statute. Whether the German settlers attended the district schools is not recorded. These schools were not free and probably held little inducement to these religiously oriented settlers.

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The establishment of free public schools in 1842 did not result in a large influx of German scholars, in spite of their reputation for frugality. Certainly there were some German students among the entrants,

¹ Directory of the City of Detroit for the Year 1837, 10c. cit., p. 97.

²History and Directory of Churches of Detroit, Michigan, op. cit., p. 65.

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one example being Andrew Henry Schmittdiel. He was the son of John Schmittdiel who was mentioned previously. Andrew attended public school and Goldsmith Business College and became a renowned citizen. He served as an alderman, was a charter member of the Board of Trade, was a member of the Chamber of Commerce and Builders and Traders Association. He was successful in a number of business ventures, including a partnership in the Michigan Match Works, forerunner of the Diamond Match Company. His public school education did not seem to be a deterrent to his success. Most of the early Germans attended their religious schools, and this fact influenced the trend of the public schools more than the German students who did attend.

In the first Board of Education report, a warning note was sounded to sectarian groups. "It will be observed, on reference to the rules to which we have alluded, that nothing of a sectarian character will be permitted to intrude itself into these schools, through books or otherwise. Religion has its teachers and its separate houses of instruction, open like ours to all who choose to come, and it is the high and holy province of the parent and guardian to select the instructors for their children or

^{1 [}Weber], loc. cit., p. 51.

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wards in the great truths of Christianity. Our objects are universal concern it is true-the diffusion of light and knowledge, and the deep and wide dissemination of liberal principles, without which the precepts of religion can neither be understood nor inculcated-to open wide the door to the poor and the unfortunate, and minister to them that mental food, and instill into their minds those principles of virtue and morality without which man is a brute and government a curse; but no Presbyterian, or Catholic, or Episcopalian, or Baptist or Methodist, or other religious sect, must attempt to interfere in our arrangements with their special tenets, nor cross the thresholds of these institutions with any other intent than to aid us in the performance of our duty. Whilst we hold sacred their high province. they must respect ours, and they should give us credit for this explicit determination, which is made and should be announced to avoid the confusion and distress which have grown out of improper influences that have been exerted in other cities and states to an extent in some instances totally destructive to any system of scientific and moral education whatever."1

In 1844 a new member of the Board of Education,

Detroit Beard of Education, Report of the Public Schools of Detroit for 1842, p. 8.

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John Hulbert, entered the resolution that either the Douay or King James version of the <u>Bible</u> be introduced into the schools as a text. The resulting controversy came very close to destroying the neophyte school system. The Board's decision to eliminate all but the Lord's Prayer calmed most antagonists but, as was described in the first chapter, did not end the objections. The Jewish students alluded to in that chapter were from Germany.

Bishop Lefevere, representing the Catholic populace of the city, objected strongly in 1852 to being taxed to support public schools. The public school laws forced the sectarian groups, in opposition to constitutional guarantees of liberty of conscience, to aid schools which as a matter of conscience they could not permit their children to attend. It was the Catholics' opinion that they should receive a pro-rata distribution of the tax moneys in direct proportion to the number of children that they educated. The town reacted quickly, splitting polemically. Both sides lobbied in the legislature. petitions were drawn up; pamphlets were printed and resolutions passed. Bishop McCloskey, an Episcopalian minister, though he opposed any change, reported that he would request that his church re-

¹Wilkins, loc. cit.

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ceive its full share to be spent to inculcate the particular principles and beliefs of his church upon any children whom he could induce to attend.

At the next campaign for mayor of the city, the issue was so strong that it temporarily abolished partisan lines. The issue of the campaign resolved into the continuance or abandonment of the public schools. The ticket headed by George V. N. Lothrop was elected by a 2,000 majority, and his slate was opposed to the sharing of the tax moneys. Lothrop was an exceedingly skilled orator and his skillful pleadings were probably the greatest asset to the public school cause.

Undoubtedly the German Catholics supported the plan of sharing the moneys though they had cooperated with the public schools, since the Third Ward School was located in the basement of the German Catholic St. Mary's Church in 1855. The attitude of the German Lutherans is more obscure, as they were even more adamant in their insistence on a parochial education for their children. It is possible to surmise their attitude toward the schools but not the controversy from the official position of the German Evangelical St. John's Church stated in 1877. "Since a school which teaches infidelity has been established in this city, every Christian congregation is in duty bound

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to establish and support special day school in order that those parents who are anxious to have their children instructed in their own mother tongue, are not under the necessity of sending them to an anti-religious school. This being fully appreciated, the St. John's church school has always been attended by 350 to 400 pupils." No record has been left of their part in the controversy. In more recent controversies of this nature, the German Lutheran Church has repeatedly supported separation of church and state in all areas.

In 1850 2,855 of Detroit's population of 21,019 had been born in Germany, which is 13.5% of the population (see table on page 33). The actual percentage of German stock was probably closer to 30%. The City Directory of 1853-1854 lists 3,512 German Protestants; 3,846 German Catholics; 78 Jews (most of whom were German); and 6 German atheists. The Protestants and Catholics were located as follows: German Catholics-lst ward-40, 2nd ward-91, 3rd ward-261, 4th ward-1,304, 5th ward-43, 6th ward-749, 7th ward-1,255, and 8th ward-103; German Protestants-lst ward-67, 2nd ward-19, 3rd ward-344, 4th ward-758, 5th ward-56, 6th ward-716, 7th ward-1,296,

History and Directory of Churches of Detroit, Michigan, op. cit., p. 170.

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and 8th ward-256.

It was not purely by accident that Detroit was becoming an increasingly German city. The state legislature, through the leadership of Governor Ransom. passed legislation favorable to immigration and the purchase of state lands by newcomers. Edward Hughes Thompson was appointed Commissioner of Immigration in 1849. He spent part of his time in New York and part in Stuttgardt, Germany, praising the state to possible settlers. He published an extensive pamphlet relating the advantages of Michigan as a desirable place to settle. A note in the papers in 1859 shows that this work was continued, as at that time Mr. Diepenbeck was Michigan's immigrant agent in New York. 3 He took great pains to inform immigrants of the favorable laws and other advantages of Michigan. He was aided in his task by the Emigrant News of Bremen, Germany, the principal port of emigration, which devoted a good deal of space to Michigan as a place to settle for the German citizen.

The inspector of the sixth ward, though com-

¹ Detroit City Directory for 1853-1854, Detroit, 1854, p. xiv.

²Russell, op. cit., pp. 56-57.

^{3&}quot;German Immigration to Michigan," The Daily Advertiser, XXIV, no. 266 (July 7, 1859), 2.

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menting favorably on the public school in that ward. noted that the reading classes acquitted themselves only tolerably well. Pronunciation was not distinct and there was a welding of words with a drawling tone. The inspector excused this because there were so many foreign scholars. Since this school was on Gratiot Road in the center of the German population, it may be that a large number of German children were attending the public school in this district. In 1859 it was pointed out that the German language could be substituted for the mathematical subjects of the second or third year under the direction of the principal and a committee of the board. 2 On the inside front cover of the 1860 report of the president of the Board of Education the German influence manifests itself sharply. It was resolved that 1,000 copies of the president's report and valedictory remarks be printed in English and 400 copies printed in the German language! In 1864 it was passed by a nine to six vote to print a synopsis of the proceedings of the Common Council

Report of the Public Schools of the City of Detroit for 1855 (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1856), p. 32.

Official Report of the President of the Board of Education for 1859 (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1860), p. 24.

³Eighteenth Annual Report of the President of the Board of Education for 1860 (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1861), inside front cover.

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in the German language.

Although the Revolution of 1848, which was centered in Baden, was not the reason for the influx of the majority of the German immigrants of this period, it was easy to believe that this was the situation. The political refugees were more influential than their numbers might indicate. Their keen interest in politics, literary subjects and education brought them to the leadership not only of their own people but of the entire community as well. Many of the most renowned families in Detroit are and were descendants of these educated revolutionaries. Unlike their earlier compatriots, there was a place for the German intellectual in the 1850's. They started newspapers, schools, and even political societies. The Republican party gained much of its intellectual support from the violently anti-slavery forty-eighters. Several of those early Detroit Germans were among the founders of the Republican party "Under the Oaks" in Jackson, Michigan.

Although too young to have been a part of the

¹ Detroit Common Council Journal 1864-1865, p. 11.

²N. H. Bowen, "How Detroit Germans Came Here To Escape Oppression in Europe," <u>Detroit Saturday Night</u> (May 29, 1915), 4. This article lists many famous Germans of that day whose progenitors came in the period shortly after 1848. Most of the names would also be familiar to Detroiters of the present time.

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abortive revolution, August Marxhausen arrived in Detroit in 1853 at the age of twenty. He aspired to be a newspaperman and acquired a position on the Michigan Demokrat, an outgrowth of the first German newspaper, Allgemeine Zeitung, which was first published in Detroit in 1844. He started his own newspaper in 1854, called the Familien Blaetter, a weekly newspaper. Out of this paper grew the daily Detroiter Abend-Post, the only newspaper to survive the stones-through-the-window, no-advertisers days of two World Wars. It is today the second oldest newspaper in Detroit, with only the Free Press boasting an earlier founding date. The German papers were all decidedly political and, as Marxhausen played a prominent part in founding the new Republican party, his paper supported its candidates wholeheartedly. The newspaper was instrumental in carrying the German vote for the first Republican governor of Michigan in 1854, Kingsley S. Bingham, and also gave considerable support to Abraham Lincoln in the presidential campaign. An elementary school was later named after Marxhausen for his service to the city.

At the Republican convention in 1864, which nominated Lincoln for a second term, were a number of prominent German-Americans. Steeped in history

Detroit City Directory for 1854-1855 (Detroit, 1855), p. 31.

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and knowledge of the American system of government and full of patriotic spirit engendered by the convention, they talked of a national German-American institution to pass along to their fellow immigrants this sense of belonging, knowledge and pride in their adopted country. Returning from the convention, Detroit Germans promoted this idea and even convinced the legislature to grant them 25,000 acres on the outskirts of Detroit to carry out their plans. Those were the elaborate plans for the German-American Seminary, which developed into an excellent local institution but never obtained the national stature that its founders had desired. It was recognized as the finest school in the city for a number of years, and in 1867 Dr. Edward Feldner started the first kindergarten in the city of Detroit at the seminary. In 1873 the first kindergarten was tried as an experiment in the public schools at the Everett elementary school. was very successful, and the recommendation was made that the kindergartens would be most useful in the more crowded areas of the city where the students leave school at a very early age and need the extra Kindergartens became continuous in the public time.

^{1&}quot;German American Seminary," Detroit Free Press, XXXVI, no. 76 (December 11, 1870), 6.

Thirty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of Detroit for the Year Ending December 31, 1873 (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1874), p. 59.

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elementary schools after 1895.

In 1870 the United States census listed the number of Germans in the city of Detroit from each of the separate German states. The figures are as follows: Baden-647, Bavaria-1,104, Brunswick-8, Hamburg-17, Hanover-103, Hessen-631, Lubeck-4, Mecklenburg-662, Nassau-8, Oldenburg-4, Prussia-7,814, Saxony-434, Weimar-23, Wurttemberg-961, not specified-227. Of the total of 12,647, nearly 62% were from Prussia. Of the fifty largest cities in the United States, none had a greater percentage of their German population from Prussia, and none but the very largest cities had more Prussians settled there. The Detroit Post reported in 1867 that a party of fifteen Prussian families entered the city with the intent of making Detroit their future home providing they could find work. It also noted that "they looked clean and neat, notwithstanding their long journey, while some of them had the appearance of being wealthy." Another report in 1873 also noted quite a number of Germans entering the city and stated that "the crowd had more gold in their pockets than had been seen loose around here since

¹U. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Ninth Census of</u> the United States: <u>Population</u> (Washington, D. C., 1870), pp. 388-89.

²"Arrival of Emigrants," Detroit Post, II, no. 99 (July 20, 1867), 8.

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the war." The number of German-born was 16% of the population of the city.

A school census taken in 1873, which asked the nativity of the heads of families, showed the following figures: United States-2,183, Germany-3,846, France-258, Ireland-2,055, English and Scotch-1,335, and other-1,235. This means that 35% of the heads of families with school-age youngsters were German-born. At this time there were 31.926 students enrolled in the public schools, 3 4,956 enrolled in private and church schools -- though probably only 4,000 attended regularly--, and 15,268 children were not enrolled in any school. 4 Considering that there were a number of second generation Germans as heads of families by 1873 who would report their nativity as the United States, there must have been a substantial number of Germans attending the public schools.

In 1877 another study of the nativity of parents was made for the school census. This time it showed 4,504 German-born, 555 from France, 2,030 from Ireland, 1,280 from England and Scotland,

^{1&}quot;Immigrants," Detroit Free Press, XXXIX, no. 34 (September 19, 1873), 1.

Thirty-first Annual Report, loc. cit., p. 64.

^{3&}lt;sub>Ibid., p. 63.</sub>

⁴<u>Ibid</u>., p. 61.

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3,373 born in the United States, and 1,285 born in other countries. There were still 35% of the parents born in Germany. The number born in the United States increased from 20% to 26%, which may not have been due to immigration but that more second generation foreigners were having families.

Because of the progressions involved, it is exceedingly difficult for the foreign-born to maintain the same percentage of the population. As soon as two children are born to a foreign-born couple, they have increased the native-born population the same number as the foreign-born population.

In the case of the Germans in this period, the situation described above would increase the percentage of native-born more than the percentage of German-born! This partially explains the reason that, in spite of the tremendous influx of foreign-born after 1900, the percentage of foreign-born in the population decreased. The distribution of these German families was as follows: 1st ward-37, 2nd ward-29, 3rd ward-138, 4th ward-321, 5th ward-81, 6th ward-327, 7th ward-628, 8th ward-119, 9th ward-409, 10th ward-387, 11th ward-858, 12th ward-164,

Detroit Board of Education, Report of the Superintendent of Schools for 1877 (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1877), p. 86.

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An article in the Detroit Free Press in 1874 credits the Germans with 35,000 inhabitants in the city, or one-third of the entire population. In 1875 there was a total of seventy-three German organizations in the city: twenty relief and aid societies, eleven secret lodges, eight singing societies. seventeen miscellaneous organizations. three Catholic churches. eleven Protestant churches. and three Jewish congregations. 3 By 1880 there were 17,292 German-born residents in the city and, of course, untold others with strong German ties. In 1890 the number more than doubled to 35.481. This is the largest number of foreign-born Germans listed in the census reports for any year except 1910, when many Polish people were included in the figures. The 1910 figures when corrected were also less than this number (see tables on pages 21 and 33). In 1900 more than half the people of Detroit could list at least half of their ancestors as German. In a total population of 285.704 the United States census listed 124,014 as German stock, that is, those with

¹Ibid., p. 80.

² Detroit Free Press, XL, no. 101 (December 8, 1874).

^{3&}quot;German Organizations in Detroit," Detroit Free Press, XL, no. 182 (March 14, 1875), 1.

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one or more parent born in Germany. This would be 43.5% of the population. But there were additional thousands of children and adults whose grandparents came from Germany prior to 1880 but whose own parents were born here. The average German family of this period was large. Even as late as 1925 the median size of the German family was third highest, ranking only behind the Polish and Syrians in Detroit. At that time the median German family contained 3.24 children.

In 1895, again ignoring history, the Board of Education purchased as a text Readings from the Bible, Selected for Schools. The mayor vetoed the purchase, but to no avail, as the Board passed over the veto. The community split again, and petitions condemning and condoning the action were received in great numbers by the Board. The Board refused to reverse its decision, forcing the student to prove that he believed in the same religious tenets as the Board or be branded by his fellow students an atheist, or any one of the other terms used for the non-conformist. Fortunately, then as now, the Constitution protects the rights of the minority, and a German-

Detroit Board of Education, The Detroit Education Bulletin, Research Bulletin 9 (October, 1925), p. 20.

²Moehlman, op. cit., pp. 153-54.

American, Conrad Pfeiffer, brought suit against the Board. The Circuit Court decided in his favor. The books were removed from the schools, and a later majority decision of the Michigan Supreme Court, reversing the Circuit Court, did not result in their being returned.

Germany had developed trade and technical schools as early as 1808. but had tried to keep them secret. allowing no one to visit them. During the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904. German industrial centers sent representatives to find out to what extent the United States was educating skilled artisans. They reported that Americans had no adequate or comprehensive system of technical education and that the Germans had nothing to fear from American industrial competition. The National Society for Industrial Education was formed in 1907 as a result of this report and a visit to Germany by a group of teachers. This group influenced the passage of the Smith-Hughes Law in 1917, under which Detroit's industrial and vocational training program was begun. The James Law in Michigan, which was a direct result of the Smith-Hughes Act. required the attendance eight hours a week at a con-

^{1&}quot;The Founding of Industrial and Vocational Training in Detroit," The Detroit Journal of Education, II, no. 5 (June, 1922), 53.

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tinuation school of all children who had not completed the tenth grade and were under seventeen years of age.

The Germans did not emigrate to Detroit in any great numbers after 1890, and during World War I they were not able to enter the United States at all. In fact, the number coming in was not able to keep up with the death rate, and the total number of foreignborn Germans went down. For that reason, their influence upon the schools was not as great as it had been previously. The Germans did not have as much difficulty with the English language as later groups and had always been required to learn the language, even in the church schools. The second generations left the Gratiot Avenue settlements and distributed themselves throughout the city as befitted their tremendous numbers. Many German elders still live out Gratiot Avenue, especially near the city limits where they were finally pushed, and it is still possible to purchase imported German beer on tap at the many taverns along this highway.

During the first World War the Germans were the object of much persecution—and to a somewhat lesser extent during the second World War as well. Many a German elementary student had to face the viciously taunting cry of "Hun" from his classmates, and many a discerning German parent took his child

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out of the public schools and placed him in the church schools to avoid the persecution. As an example of the lengths to which this nativism went, the following resolution was introduced and passed in the City Council: "Resolved. that the Board of Education be and is hereby requested to consider the dadvisability [sic] of changing the names of all schools having names of Germanic origin, and renaming such schools with names that are in keeping with the spirit of American ideals." Apparently the Council awoke to the fact that they were committing political suicide in a city where one-third of the people had strong German ties, and in the next session a reconsideration appeared: "The clerk notified the chair that Ald. Auch had filed notice that he would move to reconsider the vote by which a resolution providing for changing names of city schools having Germanic origin (J. C. C. P. 1266) was adopted at the last session. Ald. Dill withdrew the resolution. The matter was then indefinitely postponed."2

Following the first World War Germans began to reenter the city. Between 1920 and 1930 the German-born population increased by approximately

¹ City of Detroit Journal of Common Council from January 8, 1918 to January 14, 1919 Inclusive (Detroit: Heitman, Garand Co., 1919), II, 1266.

²Ibid., p. 1273.

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2.500. in spite of a high death rate among the earlier and now aging German populace. The total number of Germans entering the United States between 1921 and 1930 was 412.202. According to an article in the <u>Detroit Saturday Night</u>, it was a different German from the one who had come fifty years earlier. No longer was he characterized by the hard visored cap, Bismarkian mustache, and "meerschum" pipe. was the picture that most Americans had of the German, thanks to the caricature by the cartoonist. The Katzenjammer Kids, an exceedingly popular comic strip, helped to perpetuate the Vorstellung, or mental image. During the twenties the German arrived speaking English which he had learned in the schools of his native land. Even if he had not learned it previously, he was quick to take advantage of the night schools to learn the new language. The war drew the two cultures together, as is so often the case. The haircuts seen on American campuses at that time were those of the German student, and the custom of going bare-headed originated at the University of Berlin. Sauerkraut, and also the frankfurter, are now more American than German. Germans no longer settled as in the past--Hessen next to Hessen, Prussian next to

Charles D. Cameron, "Detroit's New German Invasion," Detroit Saturday Night (January 29, 1927), sec. 2, 2.

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Prussian—but spread out into all sections of the community. Though still retaining their interest in music, they showed a keen appreciation for American sports—so much so that a sports section was introduced into the dignified Abend—Post, which would have been unheard of a few years earlier. They had acquired a knowledge of the technical terms of American sports from their own newspapers in Germany which followed American sports avidly. The new German apparently did not present the problem of assimilation of his progenitor or fellow immigrant.

There was also a revival of German societies in Detroit. During the war and shortly afterwards, most German organizations had found it necessary to disband or become secret. This was true all over the United States. There were 537 German language publications in the United States in 1914, but by 1920 only 278 remained. In 1927 a \$750,000 Das Deutshes Haus was opened in Detroit on Mack Avenue. It was a three-story building which housed forty-two of the German organizations in the city and had room for the other ninety social, benevolent, choral, gymnastic, and thinking German clubs (discussion groups)

Huebner, op. cit., p. 154.

^{2&}quot;Doors of 750,000 Homes Opening to Forty-two German Societies," <u>Detroit News</u> (April 3, 1927), Metropolitan Section, 8.

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in the city. This had been quite an undertaking in a short period of time, as it was not until 1923 that the old German societies had dared to meet again.

As early as 1920 the German foreign-born were well-distributed throughout the city. There were ninety-seven elementary schools with ten or more children whose fathers had been born in Germany. Only six schools had more than 100 children, with Marxhausen leading with only 132 children of German stock. Compare this with the 596 Hungarian children at McMillan. 446 Italian children at Russell. 712 Polish children at Carpenter, and 853 Russians at Garfield, and the lack of concentration is more apparent.3 The concentration of Germans that did appear were east of Mt. Elliott and generally north of Mack Avenue. There were also scattered concentrations on the west side, mostly near the Clippert School, which had 114 children of German parentage. Of ten high schools, children whose parents were born in the United States were in greatest numbers in each case. The number of children whose fathers were born in Germany was second largest at Nordstrum

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²Detroit Board of Education, "Age, Grade and Nationality Survey," <u>Detroit Educational Bulletin</u>, December, 1920, p. 20.

³Ibid., pp. 20-21.

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and Western High, third largest at Cass, Eastern, Northeastern, Southeastern and Wilkins High, and fourth largest at Northwestern. Only at Northern and Central did they fail to rank among the top four. In 1921 children whose fathers were born in Germany were over 100 strong in six high schools: Eastern-190, Western-131, Northeastern-177, Southeastern-157, Southwestern-107, and Northwestern-132. These statistics are summarized in the appendix.

The United States depression and the rise to power of Hitler kept the Germans from entering the city in great numbers after 1930. A number of German Jews did enter the city in the latter part of the thirties and early 1940's to escape persecution. During the second World War, immigration from Germany practically stopped. After the war the Germans entered the city again, but not in such great numbers as to have had a strong effect upon the schools.

The 1960 census listed 17,754 foreign-born in the city whose mother tongue was German. Most of this group belong in the category of senior citizens, whose main influence upon the schools was in con-

¹<u>Ibid., p. 18.</u>

²U. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>United States</u> <u>Census of Population: 1960 General, Social and</u> <u>Economic Characteristics: Michigan</u> (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1961), p. 281.

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junction with other senior citizens on limited budget, who found it difficult to vote additional taxes for millage and bond issues.

After the turn of the century the story of immigration and its influence upon the schools belongs more to other ethnic groups than the Germans and will be discussed further in later chapters.

CHAPTER IV

POLISH

Poles have played a prominent part in the history of the United States from its earliest days. There is some evidence that they were with Sir Walter Raleigh when he disembarked at Roanoke. North Carolina. As Poles were the foremost specialists in the production of pitch and had a monopoly from which Britain wished to free herself, she induced Polish pitch specialists to settle in the New World. They were with Captain John Smith in Jamestown and had been allotted a tract of land about a mile from the fort where, along with manufacturing pitch, they cut down trees for wood manufactures and built a glass furnace producing a full line of glassware. These Polish people were so important economically to the community and the London Company that in 1619, when the House of Burgesses convened for the first time without the Poles being allowed to vote. they quickly gained that right by refusing to work.

¹ Joseph A. Wytrwal, America's Polish Heritage (Detroit: Endurance Press, 1961), p. 21.

²Ibid.

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The first strike in America's history was for equal rights, not economic gains, and the Poles were enfranchised and won equal freedom with the British settlers.

Though they did not come in colonies, individual Poles continued to contribute unique talents to early America. Polish names are to be found among many of the early colonists. They also contributed their part to education. Dr. Alexander Karol Kurczewski (Curtius) was appointed to the position of teacher in the New Amsterdam community in 1659. He founded a Latin school which was one of the oldest institutions of its kind in the United States.

Poland's leaders were involved in many insurrections during the nineteenth century, always attempting to revive Polish freedom, primarily from
Russia. Considering the number of Poles who had to
leave their country for political reasons, not many
of them reached the shores of the New World. Most
of them were intensely involved in the future of
Poland and did not wish to stray far from the borders
of their beloved country. From 1820 to 1850 inclusive the United States census lists only 495 persons
of Polish descent entering the United States, which

Ibid., pp. 22-23.

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is less than an average of sixteen per year. Of this number, 329 came between 1834 and 1839, most of whom were Polish nobility who had to leave Russian Poland after the 1830 rebellion. They first found haven in Austria, but, as they were destitute and embarrassing to the Austrian government, they were provided with two frigates to transport them to the United States. Sympathy for the Polish cause was high in the United States at the time, and in 1835 the "Polish National Committee in the United States" was formed by prominent Americans. This committee influenced Congress to vote the destitute arrivals 22,040 acres of land near Rock River, Illinois.

The early mass immigration of Poles to the United States was mostly from German Poland. Bismarck was more interested in Polish land than in its peoples and put no restrictions on their emigration. As every Polish youth was obligated to serve four years in the German army under the excessive discipline of haughty young upper-class

¹U. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Historical Statistics of the United States Colonial Times to 1957</u> (Washington: 1960), p. 57.

²Ibid.

³wytrwal, op. cit., p. 49.

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Prussian officers, many of the young Poles escaped to friendlier climes. Various state governments in the United States had been recruiting in Germany for years, and, as this supply of labor dwindled, it was only natural for the recruitment to extend into German Poland. The harshness of the German rule decreased under Caprivi who replaced Bismarck in 1891. Also, the industrialization of Germany allowed the surplus labor population to be absorbed by Germany herself, and emigration to the United States was slowed considerably. The peak years of immigration from German Poland were 1880-1893. Immigration never exceeded 8,000 a year after this time.

The ships had to be filled somewhere, and the captains turned to Russian Poland. Between 1890-1892 approximately 70,000 peasants arrived in the United States from Russian Poland. After unloading their cargo from newly industrialized America in Europe, the captains found it difficult to find cargo that would bring a price in the New World. Human cargo was extremely profitable as it could load and unload itself, required no insurance, and could withstand a good deal of abuse. The captains, therefore, used every means possible to induce this

¹Ibid., p. 129.

²Ibid., p. 130.

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profitable cargo to head for America. Pictures of transatlantic liners appeared in the most remote village stores, and representatives of shipping companies spread false and irresponsible stories of job and wealth opportunities in the New World.

Of course the Polish emigration was caused by a number of factors other than the salesmanship of the ship captains. The receptivity of the Polish people to the sales campaign was a result of an overflowing population, lack of soil productivity, primitive methods of agriculture, low wages, insufficient industrial development, high taxation and foreign oppression. All of these factors contributed to the first wave of immigrants from each of the divided parts of Poland. Later groups were influenced to leave their family ties by the vast number of letters sent home by the early immigrants. These letters, with their glowing and sometimes exaggerated accounts of life in America, found their way into the local press where they had the maximum effect on the dissatisfied elements of the old society.2

Immigration from Austrian Poland also gained

¹Ibid., p. 148.

²Thomas and Znaniecki in a classic study of the Polish immigrant placed much emphasis on the content of the exchange of letters between the Old World and the New in the development of their work.

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momentum at the turn of the century, and 430,000 Poles left Austrian Poland from 1899 to 1910, with 60,675 coming in 1910.

The Polish peasants entering the country at this time were poorly educated, and most had little sense of the Polishness that they gained later as a means of solidification in this country. Many considered themselves Russian, German, or Austrian, according to the section of Poland from which they had come. To better understand the intensity of their Polish identification in this country, it is necessary to understand the nationalistic movement of the Polish elite. It was their influence which solidified the Polish-Americans behind their cause of a free Poland.

The provincialism of the Polish peasants was so extreme that men living but a few miles away differed in dialect and dress. They were tied completely to their own village circle and the stabilizing influence of the shadow of the church tower. This was the only life they knew, and all outside were strangers.

Lacking skill in reading or writing even their own language, coming to a new nation with a complex foreign language, these Polish peasants

lwytrwal, op. cit., p. 139.

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were completely bewildered by their surroundings. Even the church was foreign and they did not feel at home in the American Catholic churches. To fill the void, mutual aid societies and political clubs were established. These in turn adopted the goal of establishing Polish parishes in the image of those they had known in the old country. With the establishment of Polish churches, the Polish peasants established their own Polish societies, isolated as much as possible from the bitter effects of contact with the hostile strangers of the new country. The priests who had emigrated to America became their confessors, teachers, counselors, social directors, almsgivers, and political leaders. Their power was immense and they warned the parishioners of succumbing to anything non-Polish in the new environment. The priests preached that to be a true Pole it was necessary to be faithful to the religion and country of your birth.

Polish schools were established where the young people could be trained in the traditional faith and Polish language. In Detroit the increasing Polish population tired of attending the German Catholic church. After quarrelling with the Germans about the establishment of a new church, the Poles decided to build their own church. The Germans had wanted the pews of the Poles to be segregated from theirs, which

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the Poles felt was an affront to their dignity.

The Poles had been thinking about building their own church in Detroit since 1860. The first Poles had come to the city almost as early as the Germans, but were few in number and contented themselves in the French St. Anne's Church and later in the German St. Mary's Church. Polish names appear in the registers of baptisms at St. Anne's as early as 1808, 1817, 1820, 1823, 1834, and 1837. The city directory for Detroit lists two Polish Protestants in the city in 1853-54. They were probably from East Prussia, as many Polish Protestants called Prussian Mazurians settled in this area, particularly in Wisconsin, at an early date.

No official record of Polish Catholics in the city is listed until 1870 when the United States census lists 285 Polish people in the city of Detroit.

¹Benjamin C. Stanczyk (ed.), <u>Poles in Michigan</u> Detroit: The Poles in Michigan Associated, 1955), I, p. 45.

The earliest Poles on record in Detroit were Frances and Genevieve Godek who were married in St. Anne's Church in 1762. Both were born in Poland. (Ray Courage, "Poles Build Freedom Way to Detroit," Detroit Free Press (September 16, 1957), 1 and 23.

³Stanczyk, op. cit., p. 26.

⁴ Detroit City Directory for 1853-1854, loc. cit.

⁵Stanczyk, op. cit., p. 26.

⁶U. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Ninth Census of</u> the United States: <u>Population</u>, p. 388.

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Unofficial records seem to indicate at least 300 families of Polish descent in the city by that time. 1 At least there were enough of them that they received permission from Bishop Borgess to build a Polish Catholic church. Fr. Wieczorek was the first priest to head the new church called St. Albertus. Bishop Borgess removed him June 7, 1873, for his part in attempting to build a school contrary to the orders of this German-American bishop. 2 The school was built anyway and opened in 1873 with secular teachers. The St. Albertus parish school continued to employ lay teachers until December 17, 1879, when the Felician sisters arrived to continue the work. The sisters also took charge of the west side St. Casimir School on June 1, 1883.

Nationalism was not a characteristic of the Polish peasants, but a unique transference occurred in America. As the Polish peasants became more Americanized, they became more conscious of their Polish heritage. They developed a keen appreciation for Poland's past through the churches, schools, organizations and press. In particular, the Polish Roman Catholic Union did much to promulgate Poland's

¹Stanczyk, op. cit., p. 44.

²<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 47.

^{3&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 71.

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past. Though many Poles continued till their last day to think of themselves in terms of the village they came from or as Germans, Austrians or Russians, many others heeded the advice of the Polish National Alliance Convention of 1897, urging them to always refer to themselves simply as Poles, otherwise giving approval unknowingly to the dismemberment of Poland. This tendency on the part of the Polish peasant to refer to himself according to the dominating country is one of the reasons it is difficult to get accurate figures from census reports on the number of Poles.

The rudiments were there for the establishment of islands of Poland within this country. The Polish peasant was intensely Catholic and settled within the sound of the church bells. He had a cause, the emancipation of Poland, which did not conflict with American ideals as loyalty to a foreign crown would. He was uneducated even in his own language, and the English language "twisted his tongue so much he thought it would break." He was bewildered and confused by the dress and culture of his new home. Is it any wonder that he sought the sanctity of whatever semblance of familiarity he could find in the Polish settlements?

An early newspaper article describes the thriv-

ing Polish community in Detroit in 1885. According to this article, there were fully 14,000 Polish people in Detroit at that time, which contrasts sharply with the 1,771 and 5,351 listed in the United States census reports for 1880 and 1890 respectively. Obviously, of the 12,647 Prussians listed in census reports as living in Detroit in 1870, a goodly number must have been Polish.

The article seems to have been well-researched, though its sub-titles bordered on sensational journalism. The following sub-titles followed the lead title "Polish Quarter": Characteristics of the People Who Made Things Rather Lively Last Week; Gathering Wood and Garbage; The Shanties They Live In--Hogs and Geese in the Back Yards. "Polacktown," as noted from this article, "is a part of the city peculiar to itself -- rather representing a city within a city. It is scattered over that section of Detroit north of Gratiot avenue, east of Beaubien street, and then extending north and northeast to the city limits. But many of these people are found to quite an extent in the eastern part of the city south of Gratiot avenue, and very largely towards the western limits of the city, both north and south of Michigan avenue, even down into the

^{1&}quot;Polish Quarter," <u>Detroit Tribune</u> (December 6, 1885), 1.

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Springwells." The article notes that the houses were often close together with large sections without any other nationality group occupying homes between those of the Poles. The article tends to stereotype the Poles with sweeping generalizations. such as: "The children of the different families play in a promiscuous heap upon the bare wood floor. or often on the bare ground, some of these houses being devoid of any flooring. Dogs are the companions of the children and these animals and their little masters roll in common equality in dirt and filth." The article further states: "Their food consists principally of soup, cheap meats and black breads. Yet this diet does not operate against their health. They all possess strong frames, are healthy and hardy, and make good laborers." In writing about the Polish women he states: "The women bear the burden of life with a show of physical strength and untiring power that equals that of the men. Possessed of short, robust physiques, they are capable of exertions which indicate a power that, while perhaps not poetical, might to a certain degree be added to the possession of the generally frail and delicate American women." And--doesn't this sound familiar? --: "These people are very clannish. They are not quarrelsome or troublesome. but when aroused are, especially in disturbances among themselves, apt

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to use knives, the style of which is long and thin and makes a very dangerous weapon."

The Polish Roman Catholic Union, established in Detroit in 1873, and the Polish National Alliance, established in Chicago in 1888, are fraternal organizations which have had a deep and lasting influence in Polish communities. Of the two groups, the latter has probably contributed the most to the Polish immigrant's feeling of nationalism, both Polish and American, while the former has centered its activities in retaining the sense of Catholicism among the Poles. This is necessarily an oversimplification, as both groups contributed in both areas with resulting influence on the solidification of Polish communities. Both groups were also intensely interested in education and did much to promote a sense of its importance among a people who had had little opportunity to appreciate its value culturally or economically.

Until the turn of the century what little education the Polish immigrant had received was in the parish school or in classes in the English language for adults held at the same place. Father J. J. Dombrowski started the mother house of the teaching order of the Felician sisters, and they started teaching at the St. Albertus parish school

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December 17, 1879. From the opening of the school in 1873 until 1879 lay teachers had been employed. At the request of Bishop Borgess the sisters also took charge of St. Casimir School on the west side on June 1, 1883.

The Polish press, which was to have tremendous influence on the Polish community and its favorable attitude toward education, had difficulty getting started. The Poles did not bring any journalistic tradition with them and usually had done their reading in bookstores in Poland. Before a newspaper could be successful, it was necessary to wait until the Polish population was well enough acquainted with American ways to accept this means of communication. Many attempts were made to establish weeklies and dailies patterned after the highly successful German-American press, but there was no widespread circulation until after 1900.

Perhaps a few of the Polish children attended the public schools, but there is little evidence to establish their presence. In the annual report of the Board of Education for 1904, there is no mention of the Poles' having ever attended the eve-

¹Stanczyk, op. cit., p. 71.

²Charles D. Cameron, "Detroit's Foreign-Language Press," <u>Detroit Saturday Night</u> (March 6, 1926), 10.

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ning schools, whereas immigrants from fourteen other countries are listed. Perhaps they were included in the Russian and German figures. Three years later, in the school year 1906-1907, they made up 33% of all the foreign-born attending the evening school in that year. There were 198 Polish adults and 45 minors attending at that time. From that date on, the Polish attendance in the evening schools was remarkable. Chapter two and the appendix give an accurate description of this onslaught on the public school's evening program.

At the turn of the century Detroit was beginning to flex its industrial muscle and the Poles were able to find employment in the unskilled labor force. The Poles replaced the Germans in the ditches, laying sewer and water lines. They quickly gained a reputation as hard and reliable workers and were sought out by the rapidly rising industries. They were employed by the foundries, rail-road car shops, and thriving stove works. With the rise of the auto industry, they became the solid core of workers for that industry. In the Polish tradition of all contributing to the family welfare, the women, too, went to work taking employment in hotels and restaurants, serving as maids and domes-

^{1(&}quot;Above, p. 43.")

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tic servants. They also rolled tobacco in the cigar factories, ran sewing machines and punch presses in the auto industry. 1

In 1903 Mayor Newberry estimated the Polish population as "upwards of 50,000." His estimate might have been politically motivated, as all ethnic groups have a tendency to exaggerate their numbers. In 1909-1910 the estimated number of Poles was between 90,000 and 120,000, and in 1914, between 110,000 and 120,000. Poles were flocking into the city, not only from Poland but from other earlier settlements in the United States. The Mecca of the Polish society in Detroit was soon to develop, not in Detroit but in a community which was to become known simply as "The Suburb".

Hamtramck.--In 1910 Hamtramck was a sleepy little village three miles north of Grand Circus Park, which is in the heart of Detroit. Its population of 3,559 consisted mostly of German farmers along with some people of Irish stock. Paddy

¹courage, loc. cit.

²Sister Mary Remigia Napolska, The Polish Immigrant in Detroit to 1914 (Chicago: Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, 1946), p. 30.

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McGraw's Saloon, and others like it, had already gained for the village a reputation as an excellent place to deviate from the path of virtue.
The iniquities of gambling, drinking and harlotry were already giving Detroit officials an opportunity to engage in frequent private investigations to see if everything that was said about Hamtramck was true. As the profits increased through the years, the vice interests gained considerably in their ability to convince these visiting officials that life had more vigor when eyes were closed.

The Dodge brothers, who furnished automobile parts, established a new plant in Hamtramck in 1910 which was destined to play a large part in the establishment of one of the most exciting and interesting cities in the history of our country. In 1914 the Dodge brothers turned from the manufacture of parts to the manufacture of the Dodge motor car and were so successful that by 1917 they were employing 15,000 men and women in their Hamtramck plant. The Polish people streamed into the village from other parts of Detroit, notably from the nearby settlement on Chene Street. As Hamtramck became increasingly Polish, Poles from all over the United States turned

¹ Arthur Evans Wood, Hamtramck, Then and Now (New York: Bookman Associates, 1955), p. 47.

²Burton, op. cit., p. 583.

toward Hamtramck as a second homeland. Between 1910 and 1920, the village increased 1266% to a population of 48,615 from 3,559.

In 1922 when the village became incorporated as a city, the Polish element dominated the city and its offices. The Polish peasant has a saying that "to be an official always ought to mean both honor and profit." This crass expression of philosophy explains much, as Poles took over offices in the city. The vice lords were quick with the dollar where it counted most, and, as the people expected officials to make a profit and still to be revered, corrupt politicians were successful even when on more than one occasion they campaigned from jail!

Fortunately, the first Board of Education elected after the new city charter in 1922 was made up of professional and business men, all of Polish descent, who were responsible and dedicated to the task of providing the best education possible. They tried to avoid involving the school system in the political conspiracies that permeated the Hamtramck atmosphere. They were aided tremendously in their dedication by the fortunate selection of an outstanding superintendent. The school board had asked for and used the advice of neighboring super-

^{10.} S., Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960: Michigan, I, Part 24, 12.

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 intendents in their selection.

Maurice R. Keyworth "was a tall, lanky midwesterner with fifteen years' experience in Michigan schools. He took his doctorate in education at the University of Michigan, specializing in school administration under the late Professor Arthur B. Moehlman. He was an aggressive, ambitious man, with a strong dash of idealism, and plenty of courage for the support of his convictions. It is perhaps not too much to say that he was one of the most dynamic and efficient school administrators produced in Michigan within the past generation. It was, therefore, of great interest to see what he would do in the molding of the school system in that swelling maelstrom of politics, industrialism, and foreign traditions of the community called Hamtramck."1

Under Keyworth's predecessor, Ellis VanDeventer--who served as apperintendent from 1903 to 1923--, the school system had grown from 300 to 15,000, and the number of teachers, from 5 to 190. The buildings increased from one eight-room structure to six larger ones, one of which was the high school built in 1914. The high school was built because Detroit had raised the tuition cost to \$120

¹wood, op. cit., p. 116.

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which the board had to pay for each student it sent there. Detroit claimed that this was still only a fraction of what it cost to educate Hamtramck's youth, and there was fear that rates would continue to rise. The school opened in September, 1916, with sixteen pupils enrolled. The first graduating class in 1919 contained three girls.

Under Keyworth the school system developed an enviable record and gained recognition countrywide for its progressive patterns. Keyworth was a pragmatist thoroughly schooled in the ideals of John Dewey. What is truly remarkable is that he was able to put into practice the principles of Dewey in a foreign community where the father's word was law and no deviation from the authoritarian structure was permitted in the home. But Keyworth had done his homework and knew his community well. In spite of -- and possibly because of -- the authoritarian nature of the home, the Pole is fiercely independent and individualistic in his dealings with outsiders. He expects to rule or be ruled. Keyworth ruled. The Pole in Hamtramck had also developed a tremendous respect for education, and the teacher was a parent surrogate unimpeachable by the mere word of

^{1&}quot;Three Graduate First Class at Hamtramck High," Hamtramck Citizen, 16th year, no. 1 (Sept. 8, 1949)0 3.

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a child. To speak disrespectfully about a teacher in the home would result in the same punishment as speaking disrespectfully about a parent. The school system was thus isolated from community criticism by a revered superintendent and blind respect for education, and so, unopposed, the ideas of John Dewey had free reign. The students were taught to question all authorities and to tolerate the unstructured ways of democracy. The students were aided in governing the classroom by the inspired help of Keyworth's hand-picked staff. Everywhere the busy hum of activity was to be heard.

In 1926 the Hamtramck Board of Education approved a Public School Code developed by Dr. Keyworth as the subject of his doctoral dissertation. In part the code states:

"The purpose of public education in Hamtramck shall be to develop individuals who can live successfully in a democracy. Successful living means that (1) they must be able to see the problems in their own lives, and in the social life: (2) they must be able to serve these problems successfully; and (3) they must will to take the necessary steps to achieve the solution. An analysis of successful living shows that there are six major fields of problems. These are: (1) health; (2) ethical character; (3) citizenship; (4) vocational activity: (5) home membership: and (6) recreation. In each of these fields it shall be the policy to make the child acquainted with the present day problems, with a knowledge of the achievement and methods of solution developed by man in the past, and with the needs and possibilities of the future.

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The methods used to achieve these objectives shall be those which will develop in the child (1) the ideals of worthy individual and social purposes; (2) powers of self-direction, self-appredisal, and self-control; and (3) the desire and ability to work cooperatively with others in the solution of social problems."

Other parts of the code were not so liberal, but in keeping with the pragmatic philosophy of adopting what will work. All power was vested in the superintendent, with a definite line of authority from the top to the bottom. The superintendent had all power of appointment and removal of the entire staff. None of the instructional staff were to be removed except for reasons of inefficiency.

The Hamtramck Schools inaugurated an extensive health program. Before entering the schools, the children were invited to a clinic to check for health defects that might interfere with their schoolwork. After entering school, annual medical checkups were performed on all children. Health education was provided in all grades, with the children being instructed in food nutrition and personal hygiene.

A forward-looking vocational program in the junior and senior high schools provided this indus-

Hamtramck Board of Education, The Public School Code (Hamtramck, Michigan, 1928), p. 14.

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trial community with skilled workers who had no difficulty finding employment even during the depression. The vocational program was extended into the evening schools for those youngsters who found it necessary to leave school early.

The evening schools consisted of five divisions: Americanization, Citizenship, Academic, Vocational, and Commercial. The objectives of this program were to provide citizenship training for aliens in order to help them secure their naturalization papers, to remove illiteracy and to teach English to the foreigners, and to help them make vocational changes through training in new forms of work. The evening schools were well-attended, as evidenced by the fact that in the sixteen years between 1923 and 1939 49,059 had attended, for an average of more than 3,000 per year. 1

In spite of the fine work of the evening schools in teaching English to the foreigners, the cultural heritage of speaking Polish in the home actually increased in Hamtramck. In 1927 the Hamtramck school census records that, in Polish families with fathers born in Poland, 47.7% of them spoke Polish only in the home, while 50.9% spoke

¹John M. Carmody, Cosmopolitan Education and History of Hamtramck High School (Detroit: Inland Press, 1940), p. 19.

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Polish and English at home. Only 1.3% reported speaking English only. The school census of 1945 records 49.3% of the Polish families spoke Polish only in their homes, with 50.7% speaking both Polish and English. None recorded the use of English only in the home. This is a remarkable victory for the tenacity of the Polish language, but not unexpected. Hamtramck had a reputation as the center of Polishness in the United States and was so reported in letters to the people in Poland that most new immigrants were surprised to find it so small, many of them thinking of it as a large city, with Detroit as its suburb. After living in Hamtramck for a year Mrs. Pietras. who had been born and raised in Russian Poland, moved out because of the little opportunity to learn about American ways or to speak English. 2 Her place was undoubtedly filled by a newer immigrant who wanted the security of familiar surroundings. This pattern probably repeated itself many times so that those Poles most desirous of becoming Americanized moved out and those who preferred Polish heritage exclusively moved in.

¹Wood, op. cit., p. 36.

²Interview with Mrs. Ignacy Pietras, October 19, 1964.

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Dr. Keyworth was killed in an automobile accident on June 22, 1935, shortly after being elected to the office of State Superintendent of Public Schools. M. A. Kopka, assistant superintendent under Keyworth, was then appointed superintendent. With the departure of their esteemed leader, the axiom of rule or be ruled prevailed in relationships between the superintendent and the board. They ruled.

Unfortunately, at this time the board suffered from an influx of people with no experience in education, having had very little themselves.

Much competition for jobs on the school board was shown when it became rumored that lucrative opportunities were available for board members. The school system had always been a source of pride to the community and had never been tainted with the sordid reputation of other political bodies in the community. Though Hamtramck had always been the butt of jokes and notorious headlines in the Detroit papers, the schools had received none of those headlines.

This condition changed greatly, as a perusal of newspaper headlines in the Burton Historical Library collection on Hamtramck reveals. In the period from 1940 to 1949 there are virtually hundreds of articles recording the demise and failures of

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 the school board and the decline of the school system.

Newspaper articles are not always the best source of historical data, especially when litigation is involved. They are apt to print evidence of guilt which would not be accepted in a court of law. The people of Hamtramck objected strongly to the papers' account of events that follow. It is their opinion, as it is of most Americans, that a man is innocent until proved guilty in a court of law, and trial by newspaper is not a fair means of conviction. But are a city and its elected officials entitled to the same rules of justice? Or is it the responsibility of the citizens of a community to elect public officials whose integrity would be unquestioned? Some Polish citizens of Detroit and Hamtramck want the Detroit papers to print only that the alleys of Hamtramck are better lighted and cleaner than the streets of Detroit. It is time that they accepted that that is not the way of newspapers in a free society. The Polish people in the United States have been subjected to a great deal of prejudice, but, through their tremendous accomplishments and the process of assimilation, that prejudice is fast fading. It is time that they accept Hamtramck's past with a degree of humor and a realization that the main cause of conflict was a

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value system that differed from the American ideal. Those who came over on the Mayflower do not live up to that ideal either, but they are seldom chastised for it. Minority groups are often the recipients of unfair criticism, but, as Norman Felton, executive producer at M. G. M., said, "We would be untrue to life if we gave in to each group's desire for a good image."

M. A. Kopka had difficulty with the board from the start, but conflict reached a climax in 1940 when he found it necessary to call in Dr. Elliott, State Superintendent. Ostensibly, the dispute was over the dismissal of employees without consulting the superintendent, which was in conflict with the Hamtramck Public School Code. Elliott notified the board that he would withhold all state school-aid funds until the dispute was settled. At the August 5, 1940, session of the board, formal notice was served that at the next formal meeting of the board, set for August 19, a resolution would be offered to discard the code.2 This code, known as the Keyworth Code, had been accepted as a model by school administrators in other cities in Michigan. In the same year the

¹ Detroit Free Press, November 29, 1964, p. 32D.

^{2&}quot;Elliott is Called in School Row," <u>Detroit</u> <u>Free Press</u>, August 7, 1940, p. 11.

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North Central Association threatened the school system with loss of accreditation. Its contention was that salaries and student-teacher ratios were not meeting their standards.

Part of the difficulty seemed to arise from an overstaffed school system, but, if that was the case. it should have affected the student-teacher ratio favorably. The enrollment did fall from 12,254 in 1932 to 7,073 in 1940. The decline continued to 5,998 in 1941 and 4,815 in 1944. In July of 1941 the board ordered Kopka to fire fortyone of its sixty-eight married teachers. 2 The board then ordered a clause written into future contracts with teachers, stating that marriage for women at any time meant immediate dismissal. At the meeting with approximately fifty Hamtramck teachers sitting in protest, Miss Frances Comfort, spokesman for the Wayne County Federation of Teachers, charged the action was outright discrimination. She also claimed that it was "part of a scheme of Hamtramck politicians to put their friends into teaching positions at the expense of the older and more experienced teachers." She told them, "You could economize better by firing some of your maintenance men.

¹wood, op. cit., p. 128.

^{2&}quot;Hamtramck School Board Fires 41 Married Teachers," Detroit Free Press, July 16, 1941, p. 1.

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You're painting and cleaning and polishing and removing perfectly good floors and doing other jobs just to give out jobs. My figures show that approximately 47% of the school budget is spent for maintenance. In a well-regulated school system it should not be more than 3%." "Maybe we should hare you to run our schools," commented Sadlowski, a beer parlor operator, amid the laughter of other board members. Sadlowski, who was president of the board, made the papers again a month later when he was indicted by a jury for accepting \$1,200 in bribes in connection with the placing of parking meters on the suburb's streets. He was convicted of the charge.

At this same meeting in July, the board voted to remove C. J. Reid, recreational director, to another job within the school system. He was replaced by Walter Roxey, a professional wrestler, "who teaches school between bouts." The reason given for the move was that Roxey was a Hamtramck youth. It was further pointed out that, as far as possible, teachers and others employed by the board of education would be selected in the future from Hamtramck residents.

l"Jury Indicts 2 Officials in Hamtramck," Detroit Free Press, August 19, 1941, p. 1.

² Detroit Free Press, July 16, 1941, p. 1.

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Roxey got into the spirit of things. In 1946 the board asked for a full report from him after charges were made by a group of World War II veterans that Roxey had pocketed \$20,000 collected as fees for the use of the city's school recreational facilities. It is quite difficult to get people connected with Hamtramck to discuss the wrong-doings in their fair city. In answer to a question about Roxey, the principal of Copernicus Junior High School defended him in this way, "I've known Wally--Wally always has been a kind of a rough gent. Sure. there's been a lot of things he's been doing, such as working at the race track, you know, starting at 2 o'clock. But you've got to give the man credit because when they put on his desk twenty calls to make he would make those twenty calls before two o'clock and there would be an answer. In the five years that I was an assistant I have yet for that man to give me an unkind word."2

Circuit Judge Guy A. Miller signed a tempo-

^{1&}quot;Board Asks Roxey Report," <u>Detroit News</u>, September 25, 1946, p. 2.

²Interview with Mr. Ted Jackson (Jackimowicz), principal Copernicus Junior High School, Hamtramck, November 28, 1964. Mr. Jackson has been connected with Hamtramck public schools most of his life as either a student, teacher or administrator. He was president of his senior class at Hamtramck High, has been a leader of his fellow teachers and is a respected administrator.

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rary order restraining the school board from discharging forty-four married women school teachers in August of 1941. It stated that the dismissals violate the Hamtramck School Code which provides that "marriage of teachers shall not be considered a disqualification for future service." The board authorized Superintendent M. A. Kopka to offer new contracts to the entire staff of 260 teachers except those who resigned voluntarily. 2

The board was back in the news the following summer when it was disclosed that Peter Marzeciak, a member of the school board, had purchased an \$1,800 fence from the board for \$17.50.3 He also admitted under questioning that he had hired school board maintenance men to work on his home, but that seemed to be common practice, as it also was revealed that Vincent Sadlowski had used school board maintenance men to remodel his tavern. Mr. Jakkson, principal of Copernicus, when asked about this transaction, claimed that the fence was old and rotting.

^{1&}quot;Married Teacher Firings Halted," Detroit Free Press, August 19, 1941, p. 1.

^{2&}quot;Firing of 44 Rescinded by Hamtramck," Detroit Free Press, August 22, 1941, p. 3.

^{3&}quot;Court Scolds Member of School Body," "Hamtramck Leader Admits Purchasing \$1,800 Fence from Office for \$17.50," Detroit Free Press, August 14, 1942, p. 17.

⁴Interview with Mr. Jackson.

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Even so, it would have seemed prudent to have put the fence up for bids before selling it to a board member. Mr. Jackson could not see anything wrong in using school board personnel to do odd jobs as long as they were paid and working on their own time. The court scolded the board members, particularly Marzeciak, for his part in buying the fence. The article states that Marzeciak treated the incident as a joke, but his attorney claimed that he was not able to understand what was going on.

Also noted in the same article was that the board had refused to rehire forty-three teachers and disallowed pay raises for senior teachers. The board's answer to objections to this procedure was to threaten to again repeal the Keyworth Code. The teachers went to court to save the code, and testimony in their case was reported by the papers. Warner Bates, principal of Pulaski Elementary School, testified that "Joseph Schultz, a member of the Hamtramck School Board, had solicited his aid in 1940 in collecting \$25. each from the teachers in his school. Schultz promised to use his influence in getting the teachers a pay

^{1&}quot;Hamtramck Code to Go," "Board Plans Repeal in Teacher Dispute," <u>Detroit News</u>, August 15, 1942, p. 19.

raise if Bates was successful. Bates said the teachers rejected Schultz's proposition." Later testimony by Frank X. Martel, president of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, claimed that "Robert G. Caldwell had approached him two years ago and said he could get the Hamtramck teachers a raise if each teacher would contribute \$100." John Najduch, writing about the situation in a later year, reports that "Stories from teachers tell how board members thought it convenient to put a price on jobs during those years. Sums of \$25 to \$100 were demanded for renewal of contracts. Sometimes "dates" with the school teachers were an added price."

The Hamtramck Federation of Teachers, which was fighting the board in the courts, obtained a temporary injunction on August 26, 1942, enjoining the board from: (1) interfering with the continuing tenure of teachers; (2) discriminating against married teachers; (3) the using of any school funds allocated to teachers' salaries for any other purpose; (4) discharging any plaintiffs from positions

l"Gifts Asked of Teachers Says Witness," Detroit Free Press, August 8, 1942, p. 2.

²"School Fight Truce Sought," <u>Detroit News</u>, August 13, 1942, p. 2.

³John Najduch, "Hamtramck Hails Seizure of Schools," Detroit News, February 8, 1948, p. 16.

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as teachers; (5) discriminating against beachers because of non-residence in Hamtramck, or on account of their nationality or descent; (6) repealing, amending or modifying the Hamtramck School Code, or any part thereof. This injunction remained in effect for a number of years, legally, but was not enforced to any great extent by the courts.

The Hamtramck Federation of Teachers was made up mostly of women teachers. It had been organized in 1940 when the threat of wholesale dismissal of married women teachers was first threatened. Another group of teachers, apart from the Federation of Teachers or other nationally organized groups, included many of the men. Their president in 1942-43 was Ted Jackimowicz. Smoldering through the fall of 1942 at the board's inexpiable behavior, this group of forty-five independent teachers walked out on January 19, 1943. More than 2,500 pupils were sent home. Jackimowicz claimed that there was no recourse but to take drastic action when the board turned down a petition for a 30% pay raise. He stated that that increase would only cover cost-of-living increases and the cuts that

¹wood, op. cit., p. 130.

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had been taken since 1933. At its Monday night meeting, January 18, the board had agreed to a 10% increase for those making under \$2,800, but this had not been enough to satisfy this group. It is questionable that the board was bargaining in good faith even with this commitment. The newspaper reported that one of the board members, commenting on the proposed increase, remarked, "Well, we can always change our resolution at the next meeting, can't we?"

Vincent S. Sadlowski, president of the board, refused to call a special meeting as he claimed it would accomplish nothing. The saloon-keeper continued, "If they are mean enough to strike, that's all there is to it." The article pointed out that the "only possibility for an earlier settlement, it appeared, was for the intensely factional board members to disagree among themselves. The board, composed of three factory workers, an attorney, a hardware store owner, and a bar owner, has been divided on every important issue in the past." The teachers' group claimed that the board

^{1&}quot;Teachers Strike Shuts 2 Hamtramck Schools,"
Detroit News, January 19, 1943, p. 1.

²"2 Hamtramck Schools Shut," <u>Detroit News</u>, January 20, 1943, p. 2.

³ Ibid.

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was not meeting the school code, but the board insisted that the code had been rescinded, in spite of the hard fact that there was now a permanent injunction restraining them from departing from the code. Ted Jackimowicz further stated, "We are not working under a contract now and in the past have received our contracts well after the fall term started, consequently the teachers have never been sure of their positions from year to year."

Time magazine, writing of this era, called Hamtramck "one of the toughest spots in U. S. education." The magazine noted that Hamtramck once was able to boast of its schools, further commenting that "Keyworth combined educational idealism and political savvy to create an astonishingly effective school system. Day and night schools enrolled 17,000 students, -- no less than 33% of the population." Discussing the injunction proceedings, they commented on the fact that the teachers claimed that the maintenance force had swollen 800%. Other testimony that Time claimed was made: "One politician offered raises and a closed shop if about 250 teachers would kick in \$100 each; one teacher slipped a roll of bills to a board member and got a \$400 raise; bricks ordered for schools were built

l"Trouble in Hamtramck," Time, May 17, 1943, pp. 54-55.

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into Board members' saloons and homes; an \$1,800 school fence was moved to the home of a Board member's daughter. The Board, it was later charged, paid itself \$25,000 in unauthorized salaries." The city of Hamtramck did not like what it read. and the city council voted to file suit against Time for \$1.000.000.

Activities of board members continued to make headlines. In an article previously cited. the sordid story is unfolded. According to this source, an audit of the books had been demanded by the Hamtramck Federation of Teachers and was finally ordered done in 1945.2

> "The audit covering the period from 1940 to 1945, indicated wrongful use and expenditure of school funds in various ways and amounts, totaling approximately \$250,000. The audit was turned over to the Wayne County Prosecutor, but nothing was done. The reform-minded citizens and school teachers decided something had to be done to stop the corruption which was spreading to the children and forced the school system to be dropped from the accredited list of the North Central Association of colleges.

The group championed Stephen Sulczewski and Pauline Zuk. Both were elected to the Board.

How power politics on the Hamtramck board works is shown in testimony before a grand jury. A day after Sulczewski's election he was approached by a board member and offered a chance to make "a

^{1 &}quot;Hamtramck to Sue <u>Time</u> Magazine," <u>Detroit</u> News, June 9, 1943, p. 32.

Najduch, loc. cit.

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great deal" of money.

The proposal was to sell the principalship of Pulaski school for \$800. The board member said he had the support of one other school trustee, but that Mrs. Zuk was needed to make a majority. There was a promise that the four could participate in future splits.

Sulczewski and Mrs. Zuk decided that this was an opportunity to expose such

vicious practices.

With the assistance of the News, State officials were brought in and a trap set up. The payoff of \$200 a person took place. This led to a grand jury investigation and two board members were indicted for conspiracy.

But 1946 was election year, and State and County officials had little time to press their work seriously. The result was that the school board reverted to its old ways."

The two board members indicted on the attempted selling of the Pulaski principalship were Edward S. Danielowski, president of the board, and Edward Kopek, secretary of the board and its president the previous year. "John E. Tishuck, Jr., a Hamtramck teacher who has admitted paying \$800 to board members in seeking promotion to principal, is named as a co-conspirator. His status as a teacher is being studied by Hamtramck school officials." "Danielowski and Kopek were indicted on two counts. The first, charging conspiracy with Tishuck to bribe Mrs. Pauline Zuk and Stephen Sulczewski, other board members, carries with conviction a maximum sentence of five years imprison-

^{1&}quot;School Heads Free on Bond," Detroit News, September 18, 1946, p. 2.

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ment or \$5,000 fine. The other, accusing them of bribe-taking from Tishuck, involves a maximum penalty of 10 years imprisonment or \$10,000 fine."

Judge Murphy didn't have time to complete the case and turned it over to the attorney general. In an election year this was the prudent path, as Hamtramck voters turn out in large numbers and always vote against anyone "impunging² the fair name of Hamtramck." They seem to care little what their public officials do, saving their wrath for those who might have the audacity to report the wrongdoings of their revered leaders.

When asked about the attempted bribe by John Tishuck, Mr. Jackson replied, "If you would know a little more about some of these board members, you know, and many of these people who get elected—they go strut around town like big turkeys, you see. 'You're my boy, I'll give you a big deal!' I imagine he was innocent. We told him after that in the first place he had no business to try to get into a deal. Many of us know some of the caliber of these board members and we don't trust them any more than we can move this

¹ Ibid.

²Local slang used by newspapers and others, probably a misspelling or mispronunciation of "impugning."

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house. But there are always some who are going around who want to make a real big impression around town, you know -- what I can do for you! -and, you know, you're a little bit, well, maybe if I am nice to the guy and -- I think he just walked into a trap because any amount of money that he could have given for the job, if he wanted the job bac enough he probably would have given it. And that refers back to the kind of a person that. I mean, if you want something bad enough and that's it. So he got caught in the middle of it. We never approved of the fact that he was part of the deal. see. We felt this way -- that somewhere along the line you had given these fellows the impression that the job meant that much to you. And why should a man who didn't have the qualifications and everything else step into it when there were other people ahead of him."1

The board also faced a threat from federal agents who came into the city to investigate charges of waste and corruption in the administration of Lanham funds, allocated by the government for the care of children of working mothers during the war. It seemed that about \$183,000 of these funds were unaccounted for, but nothing was proved, so the

¹Interview with Mr. Jackson.

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board weathered that storm.

In March, 1947, Danielowski, who was still president of the board, blamed all of the past problems of the board on Superintendent Kopka and asked for his resignation on the grounds of inefficiency. In reply, Kopka stated that it was impossible to please the warring factions of the board. For instance, the majority of the board wanted him to appoint Tishuck as principal of Pulaski School, while the minority wanted him fired as a teacher. Kopka submitted his resignation in April, and W. D. Chubb, a student counselor, was appointed acting superintendent.

Threatened with an injunction by the Hamtramck Teachers! Federation, the board accepted
its recommendation that a group of professional
educators be asked to submit a list of properly
qualified persons for the position of superintendent. A group of professional educators, including representatives of the University of Michigan
School of Education, submitted a list of six competent schoolmen.

The board nevertheless ignored the recommendation and appointed Orlo J. Robinson, princi-

Wood, op. cit., p. 138.

²<u>Ibid., pp. 139-40.</u>

pal of Copernicus Junior High School, as superintendent. It was not a bad choice. Robinson was very popular with the students and those about him and had served the school system for over twentyfive years. When asked about Robinson, Mr. Jackson replied, "Robinson was quite an excellent educator, good principal and administrator, and he could get out of a group a tremendous amount of energy and work. Everyone had a lot of respect for the man, but when he talked to the board he said I would have to run things my way--because you got to remember that Robinson to a great extent was similar to Keyworth. He said when I go in I want to determine, I want to tell the board, 'You shall follow me, you will not recommend to me, I shall tell you what to do.'" In the first meeting he recommended a few improvements which the board disagreed with and he told them, 'If you think that I'm going to work under these circumstances, you can have this job! -- and he just walked out on them."

In January, 1948--one month after he was appointed superintendent--Robinson's contract was up for discussion at the board meeting. In the meantime, Sulczewski had returned to the board from jail where he had been held on the charge of em-

¹Interview with Mr. Jackson.

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bezzlement from a mail-order firm, and charged Robinson with six items he felt were mistakes in his one-month tenure in office. The great reformers. Sulczewski and Zuk, sided with bar-owner Sadlowski to create a tie vote on giving a contract to Robinson. A seventh board member, Edward Kopek, had resigned earlier because, he claimed, he had failed in his efforts to reform the board. John Lewandowski was selected to fill Kopek's unexpired term, and on February 2, 1948, the board voted to dismiss Robinson and appoint as superintendent Alexander J. Mentlikowski. Though Mentlikowski had been assistant principal of the Pisudski School, he did not appear to have adequate qualifications for the job. 2 Robinson explained that he had been dismissed because he refused to promote persons or set up jobs which board members asked as "special favors".

Protesting the dismissal of Rebinson, the students at Copernicus Junior High School held a mass meeting the next day. At the next board meeting the students presented the board with twenty-nine petitions bearing 930 signatures de-

Wood, op. cit., p. 140.

²<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 141.

³Najduch, loc. cit.

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manding that Robinson be reappointed. The C. I. O. also protested his dismissal, and, by a 3-2 vote, with two members abstaining, the board reappointed Robinson, but without a contract. 1

The News informed Governor Sigler of the state of anarchy which was approaching. Then on Thursday Governor Sigler served the school board with an ultimatum that it would have to accept the State's program for reform or face seizure."2 Under this pressure the board agreed and began by appointing Edward D. Fox of Steubenville, Ohio, as the new superintendent. He had been one of the six recommended by the panel of educators and was offered a three-year contract at \$10,000 per annum. Eugene B. Elliott, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, appointed his assistant, C. L. Taylor, as overseer, and he immediately launched an investigation of the school's financial situation. The students still wanted Robinson and sent a delegation of five ninth-graders to Lansing to plead with Elliott on his behalf. Elliott advised them to support Fox provided he would take the job. Fox came to Hamtramck to discuss the terms of his contract, but, perhaps swayed by the threat of the financial investi-

Wood, op. cit.

²Najduch, loc. cit.

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gation, Kostera, treasurer of the board, moved to substitute the name of Taylor for Fox in the contract. The board unanimously offered C. L. Taylor a five-year contract at \$12,000 per annum. He was to be awarded the contract on February 19, but, having successfully gotten rid of Taylor, it withdrew the offer. 1

On March 8, 1948, being threatened by the state with wholesale removal, the board voted 4-0 to appoint Eldon C. Geyer as superintendent. He signed a three-year contract for \$10,000 per annum.2 He came with apparent qualifications, having been superintendent of schools in Battle Creek. He held on to the job until 1955 though his dealings with the board were not always smooth. The board fired his director of finance because of some very questionable practices. He himself was fired in July of 1955.³ The board charged him with neglecting his duty and meddling in politics. He was voted out by a 5-2 margin and was immediately replaced by Edmund M. Conklin, former principal of Hamtramck High School. The Detroit News quotes Gever. "Politics seems to be the only explanation for the board's

¹wood, op. cit., p. 142.

²Ibid.

³Douglas Glazier, "School Chief is Fired in Hamtramck," <u>Detroit News</u>, July 20, 1955, pp. 1 and 2.

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action. "" In part, the charges the board leveled against Geyer were: (1) "permitting school children to distribute campaign literature during class hours on behalf of Joseph W. Lucas, a board member who was defeated for reelection last April"; (2) blaming the school board for school system problems in public speeches; (3) misleading the board concerning the system's financial situation which resulted in an unexpected \$135,000 deficit; (4) ignoring school board instructions to cancel a \$130,000 contract for remodeling the high school.

In spite of all the alleged irregularities of the board, the teachers continued to do their job in an efficient and dedicated way. With the one exception of the bribery case at Pulaski School, teachers were not involved in any of the controversies. Mr. Jackson notes that there is a wall between the board and the school system. The teachers are left alone and are felt to be on "sacred ground" by the board. The business of education is left to the educators.

Mr. Conklin, who was sixty-nine when appointed superintendent, had his problems with the board too. The board considered it its "private domain" as far as hiring its friends on the maintenance

l Ibid.

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staff and did not want the superintendent to interfere. Mr. Conklin felt that there were too many and wanted to reduce the staff. According to Mr. Jackson, Mr. Conklin had made an issue of this with the board before he resigned. At the end of the school year in 1961 Mr. Conklin was replaced by his assistant, Mr. Muzzelman. Mr. Muzzelman, however, was to reach retirement age on March 5, 1963, and an assistant superintendent was appointed in 1962 with the expressed purpose of taking over the superintendency. On March 31, 1963, the assistant took over as superintendent, Mr. Muzzelman retiring.

According to Mr. Jackson, very few had applied for the position from within the system. "You know, there's always been this--what does the maintenance want--and if you don't recommend for them then you've got two sides fighting you--that we just decided, a group of us met, that we wouldn't apply--the job didn't mean that much to us."²

But there was someone in the system who had wanted the job badly enough and, though he had never had the opportunity to gain any administrative experience, he is superintendent now. The board's

lInterview with Mr. Jackson.

²Ibid.

choice and the present school leader--John E. Tishuck, Jr.

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CHAPTER V

SYRTANS COME TO DETROIT

Nationalism came late to the Middle East. Boundaries have not been concise until recent times. When the majority of Middle Easterners immigrated to the United States. Lebanon was considered a part of Syria. It will be so considered in this thesis. Syria is an ancient but small country. Including Lebanon, it is smaller than Nebraska. Lying on the trade route of civilization from early times. it has played a prominent role in mercantilism. At the time of the Crusades, its peoples were still more advanced than those of Europe, and the Crusaders brought back some of this superior culture. New fabrics such as muslin, taffeta, silk and damask: tapestries: gold and silver jewelry: pottery: glass: tooled-leather goods; smooth dress fabrics; and exotic perfumes were welcomed in the higher circles of Europe. Damascus steel was superior to any known to the Crusaders, and they learned through battle of the Syrians' superiority in making weapons. The Crusaders were most impressed with the military architecture, and much of the knowledge gained showed

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up in the later development of castles in Europe.

The Arabic system of numerals made mathematics possible, and their contributions to this subject are legion. Astronomy and navigation also owe them a large debt. The astrolabe, compass, and lanteen sail were blessings to European sailors.

Though the racial mixture in Syria has not changed for a number of centuries, the past accessibility and richness of its cities resulted in a stream of conquerors from western Asia. The original Alpine-type and Mediterranean peoples were infiltrated with Amorites and Arameans from the steppe. From Anatolia came the Hittites and Kurds, then a western invasion from Greeks. Romans, and Crusaders from all of Europe. Next was an eastern invasion from the Mongols and Turks, and finally an infiltration of Arab tribesmen from the south and the east. This heterogeneous group has amalgamated to form a distinctive Syrian people differing in outlook, dialect, and a number of minor ways from its Arab neighbors, in spite of common language, conditions of life, faith, and shared traditions. About one-tenth of its peoples have re-

Paul W. Copeland, The Land and People of Syria (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1964), p. 66.

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mained in half assimilated enclaves.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the contacts of the Syrian peoples with Western culture have been greater than those of any other Eastern nation. Palestine, which Arab nationalists consider southern Syria. 2 brought the greatest influx of scholars and students, but all of the larger cities on the Mediterranean coast of Lebanon and Syria brought in the agents of trade, industry, and shipping. The leaders of Syria were and are influenced by Western education. Foreign schools and universities have been common on Syrian soil. Even under the three centuries of Turkish rule prior to World War I, the Western influence was strong. Spee cial favors were granted to Christian enclaves within the country by the Turkish government, which better enabled the Western nations to retain a sphere of influence. Under French rule between the World Wars. this influence increased.

Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, Syria and Lebanon Under French Mandate (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 3. These enclaves were established by the Turkish government chiefly because of pressures of European nations. The insistence upon these relatively free enclaves was made in the name of Christianity but was actually economic in fact.

Georgiana G. Stevens, editor, The United States and the Middle East (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 12. Since the fall of Bagdad in 1258 the Arabs have had little claim to unity except as part of an empire ruled by others. They can claim a common history and a "great heritage", but it is questionable that geography could also be included.

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As might be expected, the French did not endear themselves to the Moslems in their twenty years of rule. Syrian leaders had been led to believe that the country would secure its freedom in return for supporting the Allied cause against the Central Powers in the First World War. France refused to honor the commitment on tenuous grounds. She claimed it was Britain's commitment and France had not officially agreed. France was not without support in Syria, but it was confined almost solely to Lebanese Maronites and Catholics. Most of the Protestant sects would have preferred an American or British mandate.

In Syria, as in most of the Middle East, the most important fact to know about a person is his religion. A man's religion identifies his social group, status in the community and often his political convictions. Most Arabs are Moslems, who practice Islam, a religion founded in the seventh century by Muhammed. This religion, spread by the sword, was most successful in the Near East. Most of Syria was converted and remains Islamic today. The most notable exceptions are in Lebanon.

The people of the mountain (Lebanon), fiercely independent, professed a variety of faiths.

¹ Copeland, op. cit., p. 36.

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Lebanon became a sanctuary for discontented and persecuted religious sects of the Arab world. Probably the most important for our purposes are the Maronites. These descendants of the early Phoenicians have continued the wanderlust of their early ancestors and spread throughout the world. In Detroit they make up the majority of the Arab population, and, according to their priest in Detroit, Father Abdo, the Arab population in Detroit is the largest of any city in the United States. Another source notes that, while the destination of the Syrians for the past three quarters of a century has been New York, the largest group of Middle Easterners is in Detroit, with New York ranking second.

A few Syrians arrived in Detroit after the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 with the intent of selling unsold goods as they made their way back east. Business was better than expected, and two shops soon opened, one at Cadillac Square, the other at the corner of Brush and Gratiot Streets.

¹Interview with Father Abdo, priest of St. Maron Church, January 29, 1965.

²Ishaq Y. Qutub, <u>The Arab Community in New York City</u>. An unpublished paper by a Ph. D. candidate in the Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, 1961-2.

³Lois Rankin, "Detroit Nationality Groups," Michigan History Magazine, XXIII (Spring, 1939), 195.

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Soon other Syrians joined them from among those who had settled in New York and Boston. By 1900 there were approximately fifty Syrians in Detroit, most of them unmarried men from Lebanon.

The exact number of Syrians in Detroit can only be an estimate until they were included in the census reports in 1920. In connection with the schools, they are mentioned as early as 1904. In the Report of the Board of Education for 1904, it was mentioned that Syrians, Greeks, and Italians were sent to other rooms than the rest of the ethnic groups, as better results could be obtained that way. No reason is given for this need to group according to nationality. In the report for 1907 fourteen adults and eight minors attended the evening school and gave their nationality as Syrian. This was 3% of the total enrollment. Also, the listing of eight minors meant that families had arrived to stabilize the settlement. These early Syrians were of the Maronite faith, and most of the children probably attended the parochial schools during the day.

Between 1908 and 1913 the colony grew rapidly. The greatest Syrian migration to this country was in 1913, and Detroit with its established Syrian

Detroit Board of Education, Sixty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education, p. 93.

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colonies attracted many of these newcomers. Most of these Syrians too were of the Maronite faith. This group settled in the vicinity of Orleans and Congress Streets, soon extending east along Congress, Lafayette, and Fort Streets. They also settled along Orleans to Elmwood. Another Syrian group, the Melchites, centered about McDougal and Charlevoix, and the Orthodox Communion settled nearby on Arndt Street. The Nestorians settled south of Jefferson on Woodbridge, Franklin, and Atwater Streets. A few Orthodox and Melchites from Damascus settled near the Hudson Motor Car Company on the east side on Newport, Lakewood, Conklin, and East Jefferson.

Father Abdo claims that there has been much cooperation between the Christian groups and the Moslem group in the Detroit area. As this has not been the usual pattern in Syria or, for that matter, in Chicago, credit should be given to the leaders of the various groups. Conversations with other Syrians in the several groups confirm Father Abdo's estimate of a friendly atmosphere.

The Moslem Syrians did not settle in Detroit

¹Rankin, op. cit., p. 196.

²Al-Tahir Abdul Jalil, "The Arab Community in the Chicago Area." An unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, p. 71.

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proper, but in Highland Park, a suburb of Detroit, which, like Hamtramck, is nearly surrounded by the mother city. Only the southeast corner of Highland Park for two or three blocks is contingent with Hamtramck, and this keeps it from being an island in the city of Detroit. It is a city comparable to Hamtramck in many ways, though escaping dominance by any one ethnic group. Its schools have had a reputation for excellence, and the city government has escaped the scandals of neighboring Hamtramck. The city grew in the same period as Hamtramck, mostly as a result of the Ford plant located there. Highland Park is slightly larger in area than Hamtramck and at the present time has a few more thousand population. Through the years the populations of the two communities have stayed within a few thousand of each other, sometimes one being larger and at other times smaller than the other.

One of the early arrivals in Highland Park was Mohammed Karoub, a devout Islamite. He and his wife arrived around 1911, and he was employed by an automobile factory. From his earnings he and his wife purchased a lot at 111 Victor Street in Highland Park. The lot was sold at a profit and

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was the start of a prosperous real estate business. 1 By the end of World War I, Karoub had become one of the leaders of the Mohammedan community in the Detroit area. It was estimated that at the time there were 15,000 men and women of the Mohammedan faith in the Detroit area. Karoub had visions of greater things and aspired to a role of leadership in international affairs of his faith. With his brother Hassan Karoub, who was the sheik for the Syrians in Highland Park, Mohammed Karoub planned a mosque, which he believed would make Detroit the Mecca of the New World. 2

The mosque was built and was close enough to completion that the feast of Id-el-Azba was celebrated there in August of 1921. The King of Egypt had sent a Persian rug of the finest weave and a ring from his own hand. The king of Mecca had sent four hundred pounds of Turkish money. 3

However, Mohammed Karoub's dream of inter-

There are a large number of Lebanese and Syrians in the real estate business in Detroit. Perhaps Mr. Karoub's early successes were inspirational.

Press, January 11, 1921, p. 4.

Henry G. Hoch, "A Dream Fades," <u>Detroit News</u>, July 9, 1927, p. 10. Who the king of Mecca might be is open to question. An earlier article lists this generous person as "king of the Arabs in the far-off land of the Saracen." (Carl Muller, "Highland Park In Melancholy Ruin; Dissension Divides Moslem Congregation," <u>Detroit Free Press</u>, April 20, 1924, p. 1.)

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national renown had reached its pinnacle and the slide downhill was fast. Jealousies and intrigue, power fears and religious variances led to a dwindling of attendance to a very few. Funds became depleted, and Mohammed Karoub was forced to sell the mosque. The city of Highland Park bought it for its Americanization program at the urging of Neil N. Trad, director of the Americanization program. It paid but a fraction of the original cost, but the building was never adapted to its purchased purpose. It was later sold by the city at a substantial profit.

The Arab community smouldered over the sale of the building and persuaded Hussein Abass, proprietor of a coffee house, to bring injunction proceedings against Mohammed Karoub. After Abass had initiated proceedings, he was murdered in his bed. The murderer implicated Karoub as instigator of the deed. Though acquitted, Karoub lost his position as a leader in the Mohammed community. The years have healed the wounds, and members of his family have regained leadership and Mr. Karoub is revered in his old age.

Of more interest to education is the story

¹Interview with Neil N. Trad, April 21, 1965.

²Hoch, loc. cit.

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of the aforementioned Mr. Trad. He was born in Zahleh, Lebanon, in 1881 and was educated in the American Mission School operated by the Presbyterian Church in Lebanon and still professes the Protestant faith. He came to the United States in 1905, moving to Sioux City, Iowa, in 1908. He married Mary Burdella Carlton of Lansing, Michigan, and together they started a night school for immigrants from many countries, teaching them the English language and preparing them for American citizenship.

The Trads moved to Highland Park in 1916 where Henry Ford hired him to teach in the Henry Ford English School. There he innovated many ideas, one being a room where a representative picture was hung of an immigrant from each of the sixty nationalities that were Ford employees that had gone through the English school. After the First World War Henry Ford decided that, since he was paying 55% of the taxes in Highland Park, it would be a good idea if the Highland Park Board of Education would take over the Americanization work which he had begun so well. The program was placed under the Recreation Commission, with half the funds provided by the board of education. In 1920 the city

¹Trad, loc. cit.

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took over the management of the program and hired Neil Trad as its first Director of Americanization.

According to Mr. Trad, this program was conducted in the evening and served the adult immigrant community almost exclusively. Though no figures are available, he notes that the Syrian Moslem group attended the schools in large numbers. Mrs. Pareghian, one of the teachers under Mr. Trad, who is still active in the Americanization program, confirms that a large number of the Moslem group attended the schools. The women did not attend in great numbers, but more than might be expected considering the traditional Arab objection to educating women.

There are some unique characteristics about the Syrian group that settled in Highland Park. Christians and Moslems settled together, and they came from both Syria proper and Lebanon. In fact, a good share of the Moslem group claims Lebanese origin rather than Syrian. This writer observed in attending a social function at a mosque in Dearborn—the oldest in the Detroit area which was built in 1938—that they started the program by singing the Lebanese national anthem. ² This mosque

¹Interview with Mrs. D. B. Pareghian, April 22, 1965.

Ford Mansur, realtor of Lebanese origin, explains this apparent anomaly by stating that because

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was built by the Moslem group of Highland Park and those who had left Highland Park with the Ford Motor Company to settle in Dearborn.

These people acquired the American characteristic of wanting the best education possible for their children in order that they might better themselves. They were most insistent that their children attend the public schools, and even the girls were encouraged to complete the eighth grade, many feeling that that was sufficient education to meet their needs. Most of the Syrian children attended the Angell School on Victor Avenue. Mr. Armstrong, who was principal of the school in the early 1940's. reports that the school had a record of little truancy or delinquency from the Syrian group. In fact. he notes that the interest of the parents was so strong that it was necessary to be careful in talking with the parents not to suggest that their children had misbehaved, as the wrath of the parent

of Nasser's flirtation with communism many of the Arabs have felt it better to be from Lebanon than countries of the U. A. R. There also would appear to be status gained from Lebanon's close relation to the ancient Phoenicians. Mr. Mansur was quick to point out that the early Phoenicians had settled in Ireland. He was surprised to learn that the Irish too had been prejudiced against in the United States. He felt that the Irish had always maintained a high spot in the nationality pecking order. (Interview with Ford Mansur, June 25, 1965)

¹Interview with Mr. Paul Armstrong, Assistant Superintendent of Instruction, Highland Park Public Schools, April 19, 1965.

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toward the child was apt to be most severe. Since the Arabic language was the primary one spoken in most of the homes, I asked Mr. Armstrong if the schools encountered difficulty teaching the Arabic children to read. He reported that, though there was some difficulty, it was not nearly as great as that encountered with the southern whites who moved in during World War II.

Mrs. Pareghian stressed the pride the Arab people take in sending their children to school. She related that one Arab woman with seven children told her that she must keep her children in school or the others would look down upon her. It was just as true for the girls as the boys. Mrs. Pareghian did not believe that the Syrian students had any more difficulty learning the language than other nationalities. There were some who learned quickly, others more slowly, and those who she doubted ever could learn English. Both she and Mr. Armstrong felt that the most difficult problem they encountered with this group was during the fasting period. Even the very small children were not permitted to eat from sunup to sundown during this period, and it created an extreme hardship, especially on the smaller children. The children had much difficulty concentrating on their lessons when

Mrs. Pareghian, loc. cit.

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they were hungry. Mrs. Pareghian said that one of the Arab children she has now in the night school looked so "fagged out" that she asked her what the matter was. The girl replied, "I am so hungry." Mrs. Pareghian explained to her that the sun set before she arrived in class and that she should bring some food and eat it before class began. She also noted that because of the shorter calendar used by the Arab group the fasting period sometimes occurs in summer, when it is of particular hardship because of the long days.

Mr. Armstrong, as well as Mrs. Pareghian, pointed out that many of the Syrian families in Highland Park were large, yet all the children attended the schools. Many of the most prominent members of the community attended the public schools. Successful Syrian Moslem doctors, lawyers, teachers, and affluent businessmen, of which there are many, all had their training in the public schools.

The Syrian Meslem group in Highland Park is reported to have had large families comparable to those of the Syrian Catholics. The following table from the 1925 special school census gives the comparable sizes of foreign families. This census excludes Highland Park and would include mostly Syrian Catholics. The total number of Syrians lis-

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^{8"}me 1925 Detroit City Census," <u>Detroit Educational Bulletin, Research Bulletin no. 9,</u> (october, 1925), 20.

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ted in this census was 5,053.1

Earlier school census surveys apparently had included the Syrian group with the Armenians. 2 In the 1921 survey 7.6% of the children at Brownson School were listed as Syrian. 9.2% at Firnane School. 5.7% at Barstow School, and 4.5% at Preston School. This would mean 36. 40. 43. and 15 Syrian children respectively for the four schools. In the 1920 report the Armenians are listed in all schools except Brownson in the place occupied by the Syrians in the 1921 survey. 4 In 1920 there were 553 children listed in the school system from Armenia and 522 in 1921.5 What percentage of these were Syrian is not known. Of the 526 Armenian children in kindergarten through 8A. 36 were retarded in grade three or more years. It is not possible to estimate how many of these if any might have been Syrian.

^{1&}quot;The City Wide Census," The Detroit Educational Bulletin, IX, no. 3 (November, 1925), 14.

²A quarter of a million Armenians fled to Syria from Turkey between 1919 and 1921, and many of these migrated from there to the United States (Copeland, op. cit., p. 45.).

^{3&}quot;Age-Grade and Nationality Survey," The Detroit Educational Bulletin, Research Bulletin no. 7 (January, 1922), 22-24. (See tables in appendix)

⁴"Age-Grade and Nationality Survey," <u>The Detroit Educational Bulletin, Research Bulletin no. 3 (December, 1920), 16-18.</u>

⁵ Research Bulletin no. 7, loc. cit., p. 21.

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Most of the Syrians immigrating to the United States after 1936 were of the relatively prosperous class and relatively well-educated. Records of the nationality of students in the special foreign classes were kept since 1950. During those sixteen years the total number of Syrian and Lebanese children who came into the schools with language difficulties sufficient to merit inclusion in these classes was forty-two, an average of less than three per vear.1 In the 1962-63 annual report for these classes, it is mentioned that those children with Arabic language as their mother tongue have the most difficulty learning to read, write, and understand the English language. However, the students they were speaking about were from Iraq and Arabic countries other than Syria and Lebanon. There were no students in these classes from Syria or Lebanon during the 1962-63 school year.

As mentioned before, the larger share of the Syrians settling in Detroit were from Lebanon. Since it is estimated that 95% of the Lebanese and Syrians emigrating to the United States belong to Catholic churches, 2 the Syrian group in Detroit had greater

¹Detroit Board of Education, Special Foreign Children Classes, Annual Reports, 1949-50 through 1964-65.

²Qutub, loc. cit., p. 7.

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influence on the parochial rather than on the public school system.

Nevertheless, the influence of an ethnic group on the Detroit school system is basically a question of influence of people on people. This thesis is not concerned with the influence on the architecture of the buildings and only slightly with the influence on administration. It is concerned with the immigrants' influence on education, the education that takes place in the classroom.

Syrians did attend the public schools, and being there they influenced their peers and their teachers through classroom interaction. Ford Mansur, who received his education in Detroit public schools, recalls little discrimination on the part of his teachers. However, he mentions that some of his best friends in school would have been ashamed to invite him to their homes because of parental disapproval. Perhaps education took place, and these same friends are more tolerant than their parents because of his presence in the classroom. He was able to contribute valuable knowledge about Syria and Arab ways, as could many of his fellow Syrians. Amalgamation is the largest contribution of any of the immigrant groups, and the Syrians, with their

¹ Mansur, loc. cit.

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sharply contrasting culture, were able to aid considerably in amalgamation.

CHAPTER VI

THE TRANSIENT MEXICANS

Charles D. Cameron, writing about the Mexicans in Detroit in 1926, makes the point that the first Mexican arriving in Detroit may actually have been returning to the land of his ancestors. There is an ancient legend that the Aztecs first lived among the Lakes before traveling south to their more famous Mexican home. There is a large amount of evidence linking the Aztec tribe with the copper mines in the Lake Superior region.

Though he speaks the Spanish language, there is little Spanish blood in the average Mexican's veins. Though there are exceptions, most of the blood is partly or wholly that of the Aztec, Zapotec, Miztec, Yaqui, or other Indian nations. It has been estimated that no more than 300,000 Spaniards ever went to Mexico and very few of these

¹ Charles D. Cameron, "Our Spaniards and Aztecs," Saturday Night (Detroit), October 16, 1926.

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were women. As the Indian population of Mexico City alone was greater than 300,000, the many claimants to pure Castilian blood of the country south of the border are certainly open to question.

Census reports show one Mexican in Detroit in 1870 and six in 1880. Nine appear in the reports for 1890 and eight for 1900. There were twenty-five listed in the report for 1910, and 712 in 1920. 2 Most of the increase came after 1915 as a result of conditions brought about by World War I. The majority of Mexicans entering the city were migrant laborers who had left the beet sugar fields. The Cuban output of cane sugar was absorbed almost completely by the warring countries of Europe. The immediate result was that sugar's wholesale price was boosted to 8.8 cents a pound. 3 Coupled with the almost complete stoppage of European immigration during the war, the demand for common labor in Michigan's industrial centers increased greatly. Previously Russians and Hungarians had worked the beet fields, but as wages skyrocketed they left the

Ruth D. Tuck, Not With the Fist (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946), p. 16.

See Tables.

³S. L. A. Marshall, "Mexican Labor Leaving Michigan for Homeland," <u>The Detroit News</u>, November 9, 1932, p. 6.

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fields and flocked to the cities. The sugar industry, worried about its source of supply, began to recruit workers in Texas, which was the great reservoir of migratory Mexican labor. Though these recruiters did not go below the border, the pull of the Michigan labor market was felt as far south as Mexico's "Mesa Central", 600 miles below the Rio Grande.

At an immigration inquiry in 1918 in Washington. D. C., a Michigan sugar executive was asked why his agents recruited at Laredo. "Because the river is narrower at that point." he replied significantly. It was estimated that fully half of the workers brought to Michigan during this period had entered the United States illegally. It was in 1915 that the first trainload of Mexicans was brought to Michigan by the Michigan Sugar Company. Until 1929 when the importation ceased because of the depression, the sugar industry served as a funnel through which Mexican workmen were poured into Michigan. Though exact figures are not available. it has been estimated that at least 2.000 Mexicans were brought in yearly by the sugar industries between 1915 and 1929. Michigan Sugar,

¹ Ibid.

²Ibid.

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which operated eight of the sixty-eight mills in the state, was the largest importer and brought in 635 full- and 74 half-fares on its last trainload in 1929. According to officials of the company, their annual average was approximately this number for the fourteen-year period. The estimate of 2,000 annually is based on the estimate that approximately 4,000 "hands" used in the beet fields were Mexican and that the annual turnover was 50%, necessitating constant recruiting to harvest the beet crop. As industry was hiring unskilled labor, the Mexicans followed the Russians and Hungarians into the more profitable factory jobs available in Detroit and other cities.

Not all Mexican labor came north to pick sugar beets. Some came directly to work in the auto industry, having heard from friends and relatives of the relatively high wages. Ford Motor Company in 1918 brought in a select number of Mexicans to attend the Ford Trade School as preparation for work in the company's enterprises in the countries of Latin America. All of these students were at least high school graduates, many of them graduates of the National University of Mexico. A newspaper article written in 1926 noted the intense competition for these opportunities by the young men of

Mexico. Very few Mexican children finished elementary school and even fewer completed high school, so these young men were exceptional.

Before 1920 rural schools were virtually nonexistent and, though tremendous strides have been made since the Revolution of 1910-1920, there are still many rural areas without elementary schools, and many of the existing schools offer instruction only in the first two or three grades. The illiteracy rate hovers about the 50% mark for the country as a whole.² In 1926 there were only four three-year post-elementary schools in the nation.³

As late as 1926, according to a newspaper article, there was no Mexican colony in Detroit.

"...the 5,000 Mexicans in this city are scattered in such small groups that there is no real colony. The nearest approach to such a form of settlement is found in the neighborhood of Grand River Avenue, Jones Street, Bagley Avenue, Abbott Street and to Lafayette Avenue, between Cass and Second Avenues. In this neighborhood are about twenty Mexican families, and approximately 300 men, the majority of

¹A. M. Smith, "20,000 Mexicans Find Michigan Land of Opportunity," The Detroit News, August 1, 1926, p. 7.

Arthur Henry Moehlman and Joseph S. Roucek, <u>Comparative Education</u> (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), pp. 99-100.

^{3&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 101.

them transient roomers."1

Cameron, who wrote articles about many of the immigrant groups in Detroit, notes that the Mexican colony was the best organized national group of them all. He credits the Mexican consular system, which branches out wherever one hundred Mexicans settle, as the organizing factor. Also, writing in 1926, he mentions the unifying characteristic of the Mexican Blue Cross (Cruz Azul Mexicana), an organization of Mexican women in America having supervision of any cases requiring charitable or medical attention.

In contrast to the organization of the colony is the transient residence of many of its members.

"The result is shown in the fact that of our Mexican colony of 7,000 to 8,000 a great majority have been here one or two years and not more---It is hard to find those who have been here ten years, and the life of the colony as a colony does not go back farther."

The period from 1925 to 1928 must have been a period of great influx of Mexicans to Detroit, if newspaper figures are to be accepted. The city cen-

¹ Smith, op. cit.

²Cameron, <u>op. cit</u>.

^{3&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

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sus taken in 1925 reports 1.946 Mexicans in the city at that time. An article written on January 26. 1931, states: "The colony reached its maximum population in 1928 when unsettled conditions in Mexico caused thousands to immigrate to the United States. It is estimated that the colony at that time numbered 15.000."2 The 1930 census lists 4.886 foreign-born Mexicans in Detroit and 2.223 native-born whose parents or one parent were born in Mexico. 3 Census figures may be misleading, however, as Mexicans from Texas would not be listed as foreign-born, many of these antedating the great American conquest of 1848. Estimates probably included this group, as it would be difficult to distinguish them from the foreign-born. The same article approximates the number in the colony in 1931 as 5.000.4 A two-thirds loss in population in less than three years shows the transient nature of the colony and its dependence on good economic conditions for survival.

An earlier example of fluctuation in the size

^{1&}quot;The City-Wide Census," Detroit Educational Bulletin, IX, no. 3, November, 1925, p. 14.

^{2&}quot;Mexican Exiles in Detroit Returning to Homeland," The Detroit News, January 26, 1931, p. 12.

³U. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Fifteenth Census</u> of the United States: 1930. Population, III, Part I, 1153.

[&]quot;Mexican Exiles in Detroit Returning to Homeland," op. cit.

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of the colony occurred in 1920-21. An article in the <u>Detroit News</u> on December 20, 1920, estimated the size of the colony as 8,000. Another article written two months later appeared February 16, 1921, and noted that the population of the colony had dwindled to 2,500 persons. In 1920 there were sixty-nine Mexicans in the Detroit public schools, but this number dwindled to thirty-seven in 1921. Economic conditions caused the rapid migration, but as the recession of that winter was short-lived, the Mexican population was soon replenished.

The market crashed in 1929, and the resulting depression destroyed the city's economy. The Mexican population, mostly unskilled laborers with language difficulties, were the first to be laid off and were unemployable in the jobless city. Welfare costs skyrocketed and the nearly bankrupt city began to resent the cost of feeding the starving Mexicans among them. Working in conjunction with the Mexican government, a policy of repatriation was begun. The Mexican government offered a place to live and enough food and money to give the repatriates a chance to find a job.

The repatriation movement in Detroit was given

¹James D. Devlin, "Mexicans Hold Peace Service," The Detroit News, December 11, 1920, p. 9.

Research Bulletin no. 7, loc. cit.

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an assist by a visiting giant from Mexico who was then a guest of the city. Diego Rivera was painting the controversial murals at the Detroit Museum of Art. No lover of the capitalistic system, he felt that his countrymen would be well-advised to seek the slower tempo of Mexican life rather than to continue to be corrupted by the materialistic evil of this northern neighbor. His attitudes are still there for all to see, an historical legacy that few cities north of Guadalajara can boast. This work has made a strong impact on Detroit education. The number of Detroit schoolchildren and adults who have gazed in wonderment and sometimes in resentment at those beautiful murals cannot help but be moved by the story told there in spite of and because of their revolutionary nature.

Under Rivera's direction, a League of Workers and Peasants of Mexico was formed, with offices at 4326 Toledo Avenue in Detroit, to encourage return to Mexico. In the first two weeks 850 Mexicans registered. With this encouragement the Welfare Department set up a Mexican bureau to further encourage a return to sunny Mexico. Any applicants seeking aid were sent to this bureau first, and the agency used any means of persuasion to encour-

Norman D. Humphrey, "Mexican Repatriation from Michigan," <u>Social Service Review</u>, XV, 1941, 501.

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age their repatriation. Though the movement was presumed to be voluntary, the means of inducement often took on a coercive form as welfare monies dwindled. "Some were leaving the city that had been home for a decade or more. Families were broken up. In some cases, it was the older people, in others the younger generation that remained behind. The Mexican stork is always busy, and in the group that left were near a hundred children who had never known anything but American schools and American ways of living."

Resistance to repatriation began as letters related the struggle with starvation of those that had returned to Mexico. It was exceedingly difficult to adjust for those who had been in Detroit for any length of time. Humphrey lists some of the individual cases of pressure placed upon Mexican nationals, in some cases American citizens, to return to Mexico and the lengths to which many went to stay in Detroit. Most of those who remained after the initial repatriation movement weathered the depression in Detroit and formed the nucleus of the colony as the number increased again as a result of wartime boom in the industries of the city.

¹S. L. A. Marshall, "Bound for Old Mexico," The Detroit News, November 16, 1932.

²Humphrey, <u>loc. cit.</u>, pp. 502-13.

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The majority of Mexicans had come to the city after the strong Americanization movement of the First World War and, therefore, were not subjected to or influenced by its pressures. Most immigrants attended the night schools to help them earn citizenship papers or to become familiar with the English language. The Mexican group had few incentives along those lines. Those from Mexico had little or no desire to become American citizens as most had plans to return to Mexico in the future. The table below shows this lack of interest in citizenship. Particularly revealing is the small percentage who bothered to take out first papers. Many of the Mexicans had been born in the United States Southwest and had acquired citizenship by reason of birth. The night schools did little recruiting after the first strong Americanization program. and these peoples with little educational heritage were not ones to seek out educational opportunity. Monsignor Kern, in speaking about the Mexican group, put it more succinctly when he said. "We find it very difficult to get the adults whom we want to come out to learn English to come ... The achievers, the one who wants to achieve, they'll go to Cass Tech. they'll learn very rapidly and they'll do a job ... The tendency of a Board of Education--and this is a horrible generalization, it's

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TABLE 6.--Citizenship status of entire population a

Country	# Un-	# Not	#	#	%	
of birth	known	citi-	first	citi-	citi-	· Total
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U. S. White .	2662	875 165		594936	99.4	598038 81831
U. S. Colored.	601	4121	97 4667	78907 44838	96.5 82.6	
Germany	140	1101		44030	02.0	54223
Ireland	140	1101	1635	8127	73.8	11003
Switzerland .	31 64	175 380	202 438	962 1840	70.2 67.6	1370 2722
France	78	578	834		66.8	4494
Sweden Denmark	40	321	425	3004	64.7	2220
Canada	1136	17519	12394	52636		83685
Netherlands .	40	400	674	1804	61.9	2918
Norway	178	175	325	1019		1697
	72	205	226			1220
	20	189	324		56.1	1215
Australia England	504	5462			56.0	31950
	1057	9002	13510	25858	52.4	49427
Russia Belgium	171	1750			51.7	11272
	10	15	43	69		137
Finland	124	808		1584	46.9	3375
Syria	60	855	1765	2375		5055
Austria	613	3901			45.4	21294
Albania	3	52		96		214
Latvia	5	79			44.3	289
Czechoslovakia		965	1946			5314
Scotland	288	3804				18867
Portugal	3	62				17
Hungary	420	5034	7467	8735		21656
Lithuania	112	1476		2456	40.0	6140
Poland	2490	28985			38.0	115069
West Indies .	15	195	97	168	35.3	475
Italy	939	11842	14869	14807	34.9	42457
Roumania	455	1685	3071	2582	33.1	7793
Greece	132	1602	2316	1969		6019
Armenia	77	1234	1251	1209	32.1	3771
Turkey	38	415	618	467	30.4	1538
Bulgaria	32	261	357	273	29.6	923
Japan	39	102	18	62	28.1	221
Jugoslavia	380	1646	3361	2047		7434
China	15	285	75	134	26.3	509
Unknown	21546	1330	603	5313	18.4	28792
Spain	50	511	419	220	18.3	1200
Mexico	64	1449	163	270	13.9	1946
Malta	69	271	1513	244	11.6	2097
Grand total	36720	111282	144591	949451	76.4	1242044

anthe 1925 Detroit City Census," loc. cit., p. 18.

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not very scholarly--the tendency of the Board of Education is to say, 'We are for those who wish to learn and, therefore, we're designed for the achiever'--but we in the community would rather it be designed for the non-achiever, like the mother of six or the mother of three."

The Detroit public schools' adjustment to its many immigrants was infrequently a conscious one. There was seldom the money or the inclination to adjust. The Mexicans, in contrast to some other ethnic groups, were not willing to have their children travel long distances to attend special English classes. As the immigrant groups became more dispersed throughout the city, it became too expensive to bring these classes into the neighborhood schools of each of these groups. There are stories of many of the immigrant children travelling long distances to attend one of these schools, particularly during one of the bus strikes. Three had walked sixty-one, forty-four, and thirty-four blocks, respectively, both ways to school before learning the American custom of "thumbing a ride."2

Fortunately one of the schools, the D. Hough-

¹Interview with Monsignor Clement H. Kern of Holy Trinity Church, May 8, 1965.

Detroit Board of Education, Special Foreign Children Classes, Annual Report, 1950-51 (Special Education Department, Detroit Public Schools, 1951).

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ton--and in the past few years the nearby Franklin School--which has had continuous special English classes is located close to the majority of the Mexican colony in Detroit. The special foreign classes began in 1911 and have continued until the present day. They are a direct result of immigrant influence and, though the Mexican group was not instrumental in the start of these classes, it has helped to make it necessary for them to remain in existence.

The special classes for foreign children began as a branch of the adult education program, and it is revealing that they remained a part of that department for thirty-five years! In 1946 the program was turned over to the special education department. No place is there any evidence of any more than a minimum adjustment to foreign children. It would seem that what little concern there was for the foreigner by the Detroit school system was reserved for the adult. Writing in 1952, one of the teachers in the special foreign classes reports: "The special foreign classes have no planned curriculum. None has been adopted by the Department of Special Education or by the teachers of these special classes...Books have been published for adult classes, but many of these are advance or outside the realm of younger children's vocabular-

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ies, experiences, and comprehensions. It is obvious that much of the material for younger children must be prepared by the teacher, and, although success has been evident, the process is time-consuming and perhaps educationally unsound."

One of the teachers noted that she had had success using the Scott, Foresman basic readers with the foreign children. It is interesting to note that one of the other teachers, while travelling in Mexico, found that this same reader was used in their schools to teach Mexican children to learn English. 2

In the sixteen years for which nationality records are available, 277 Mexicans have gone through the special foreign children classes. This is approximately 7% of the total of students who attended.

Corktown remains the center of the Mexican colony in Detroit, but there were Mexicans in 217 of the 437 census tracts in 1960. Those tracts with fifty or more Mexicans are listed below. There are only six tracts with more than 10% Mexicans, and these are located in the Corktown area. Compared to the Southwest, there appears to be little prejudice against

¹ Catherine E. Potteiger, "The Education of Non-English Speaking Children" Unpublished Master's dissertation, Department of Special Education, Wayne State University, p. 8.

²Special Foreign Children's Classes, loc. cit.

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TABLE 7.--Detroit census tracts with fifty or more
Mexicans 1960^a

Tract Pop.	Mex. % Mex. Pop. Pop.	Tract	Pop.	Mex. % Mex. Pop. Pop.
2 1209 3 2122 4 1138 7 3610 8 2255 9 3468 33 3376 363 2838 37 2116 38 2545 39 5545 51 2032 52 1970 53 3971 55 3975 54 3971 55 3975 55 3975 56 1729	135 254 122 138 12 139 125 149 125 17 290 125 125 125 125 125 125 125 125	59 60 61 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 101 103 122 357	4797 7142 5477 2118 4688 4591 4933 3580 4447 1588 2599 1336 6465 5869 2773 4200 3389	66 1 64 1 92 4 165 4 327 182 4 160 2 180 2 106 7 247 10 78 2 247 10 78 2 57 2 257 2 257 5

^aU. S., Bureau of the Census, <u>Eighteenth Census</u> of the United States: 1960. <u>Population and Housing:</u> Census Tracts, pp. 20-51.

the Mexicans in the Detroit area. The better homes in Detroit are available to Mexicans, and this writer has two Mexican friends, one a doctor, the other an accountant, who recently bought homes in Grosse Pointe, an affluent suburb of Detroit which has a reputation of excluding minority groups.

The Mexican, like the Syrian, is mostly of the Catholic faith. To complete the story, a study of the immigrants' influence on the parochial schools

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would indeed increase our knowledge of the intriguing and dynamic legacy of cosmopolitan Detroit.

However, the Mexican, like the Syrian, contributed his particular cultural heritage to the public schools. The fact that he settled in a wide area enlarged his influence.

The Mexican as an individual modifies the educational process. When the Mexican assumes leadership in the classroom--becomes class president, participates in a school talent assembly, succeeds in athletics--he is teaching. He is implanting that which is most consequential and sometimes most arduous, especially in a homogeneous setting: the concept of judging an individual on the basis of his unique contribution rather than his race, creed, or color.

Mr. Chappell notes that some Mexicans entered the city about November 1 following crop harvest, and attendance officers had to see that the children were enrolled in school, but he did not regard this as a problem. Since late entry is disruptive to classroom procedure, the influence of the Mexicans under these circumstances was negative. The nega-

¹Interview with Glenn Chappell, supervisor Attendance Center, South District Detroit Public Schools, June 3, 1965.

ರ್ಷ-೧೯೬೮ ನಿರ್ವಹಿಸಲಾಗಿ ಕಾರ್ಯ-೧೯೬೮ ಕ್ರಮಿಸಲಾಗಿ ಬಳಿಸುವ ಬಳಿಸುವ ಬಳಿಸುವ ಬಳಿಸುವ ಬಳಿಸುವ ಬಳಿಸುವ ಬಳಿಸುವ ಬಳಿಸುವ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಸಿ ಕ್ರಮಿಸಿ ಬಳಿಸಲಾಗಿ ಕ್ರಮಿಸಿ ನಿರ್ವಹಿಸಲಾಗಿ ಸಂಪೂರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಪೂರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಪೂರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಪೂರ್ವ ಸಂಪೂರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಪೂರ್ವ ಸಂಪೂರ್ವ ಪ

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 tive influence would be most pronounced in the area which could least afford it, the slums of the inner city. Among the Mexican group the crime rate is low, and he has not been a troublemaker in the school setting. The image of the Mexican in Detroit is a favorable one. Mr. Chappell points out that they give "very little grief" to the public schools, and their polite behavior contributes to that propitious image.

The Detroit schools as an institution were not drastically affected by any particular ethnic group by itself, but the Mexicans, like other nationalities, did influence the product of the public schools.

The Detroit schoolchild who sat next to and knew a Mexican in school will be a more alert and sensitive person as he visits Mexico in later years. Education, being a continuous and expanding process, is a result of diverse sources. The opportunity to become acquainted with a variety of peoples and cultures during life's most impressionable period, youth, provides unusual opportunity for the sensitive student to aid in his becoming a mature and sophisticated adult.

¹Kern, loc. cit.

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CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Although this thesis might appear to be only historical analysis, its pertinency will be recognized by recent events in Hamtramck. Another unorthodox episode involving the school system has emerged. This past spring (1965) occurred the second organized strike of Hamtramck teachers. The first, which took place in 1943, may well have been the first teacher strike in the nation. This recent strike was bolder and perhaps more desperate, as it defied the law of Michigan. The Hutchinson Act was passed in 1947 to counter a threatened strike of Detroit teachers in that year. The law provides that any teacher who goes on strike automatically loses his job, pension, and seniority rights.

The union met with the school board six days before the strike, and the result was a stalemate.

After that meeting, though a crisis was imminent,

"Supt. John E. Tishuck decided to stick with his plans of going to Washington to attend the National Chamber of Commerce convention and to make the rounds

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for Federal funds for the Hamtramck schols <u>[sic.]</u>."

He was still in Washington when the strike began but did fly back the day of the strike.

Lynn Bartlett, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, served as moderator in this bizarre case which may have far-reaching consequences. Involved also was former Democratic governor John B. Swainson. He, as district judge, delayed the proceedings in the hope that the Board and teachers would negotiate.

The <u>Detroit Free Press</u> revealed that the Board was paying \$12,000 a year to a public relations man; \$7,500 to bus drivers; and \$5,000 to starting teachers with a Bachelor's degree. It also noted that the Board was a unique group, consisting of one member with a high school education and all others "dropouts." Without negotiations the "glut" of high-paid clerks, bus drivers, and custodians would have left Hamtramck with but 62% of its budget for instructional purposes. The state average is 70.1%.

Settlement was reached after four days of negotiation. All seemed calm until Superintendent

l"Instructor's Strike Bizarre Episode in School History," The Citizen (Hamtramck), April 29, 1965, p. 9.

^{2&}quot;No One Rates Applause in Hamtramck's Fiasco," Detroit Free Press, May 3, 1965, p. 8.

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Tishuck secured Board approval for eighteen specific recommendations for the next school year. The teachers felt that these recommendations were vindictive and retaliatory. They included 40- to 55-minute increases in the school day for all teachers (administrators too were put under a required time schedule). In the high school teachers would be required to teach six classes instead of five. Their chief objection to this change was that this was not the principals recommendation. Class size in Hamtramck has not been large because of decreases in enrollment. Fourteen teachers who have resigned will not be replaced for the reason of dwindling enrollments.

Another recommendation of Mr. Tishuck was to "reduce the number of principals from six to four, one each for the high school and junior high school, one for both Holbrook and Dickinson elementary and one for Kosciuszko and Pulaski elementary school."² Tishuck refused to divulge the names of the two principals he would relocate. However, this writer learned that the two who were to be removed were the principal and assistant principal of Copernicus Junior High School. They both received letters de-

^{1&}quot;Hamtramck Teachers Fight Changes; New Strike Looms," The Citizen (Hamtramck), June 10, 1965, p. 1.

² Ibid.

 moting them to teachers. Mr. Jackson, principal of Copernicus Junior High School, claimed that he and his assistant were made "scapegoats" because the strike had occurred in his building.

Earlier in the year Mr. Jackson had been chosen by his fellow administrators to represent them in negotiations for better salaries. Mr. Jackson noted that his assistant principal would actually have received a fifty-dollar raise for being demoted to a teacher if the present administrative salary schedule were to remain in effect.

Mr. Jackson, too, appealed to Mr. Bartlett for help, and he and his assistant were reinstated. It appears that Mr. Tishuck's lack of administrative experience has a tendency to alienate him from his fellow administrators and teachers.

However, Hamtramck's educational record has not been completely unsatisfactory. Fortunately, under the direction of a superior superintendent, Dr. Keyworth, Hamtramck's school system had been an experiment in democratic living. Until his untimely death in 1936, he had led the school system to nation-wide recognition and was rewarded for his efforts by the people of Michigan when they elected

linterview with Mr. Theodore Jackson, principal, Copernicus Junior High School, Hamtramck, Michigan, June 30, 1965.

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him State Superintendent of Public Instruction.
Unfortunately, he died before he had the opportunity to serve in that capacity.

After his death the school system fell into the hands of crass politicians, and the school board soon brought shame and disrepute to the fine school system. Graft, "kickbacks", and questionable, if not dishonest, practices became commonplace. The present superintendent was involved in an attempt to purchase a principalship for \$800, though it was his claim that he was only trying to "put the finger on" dishonest board members.

Though Hamtramck is a Polish city, it is small. The Polish settled in much greater numbers in Detroit. The growing auto industry induced these industrious workers to settle in the city. Living in ghettos, they presented problems to the schools. The teachers and counselors needed to learn Polish to be effective with parents in the community. If they did not, misunderstandings often arose. Nor were the Polish the only immigrants to enter the city. Detroit is perhaps the most cosmopolitan of all major cities.

Detroit's origin is French, and it has grown to be the largest city of French origin outside of Paris. The city is no longer French though it maintains many early French names and some of the heri-

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tage. The French influence dominated Detroit, founded by Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac in 1701, through the early part of the nineteenth century. German and Irish immigrants began to enter the city in the 1830's, and by 1850 they constituted 62% of the foreign-born in the city and 29% of the total population.

The third chapter traces the influx of Germans and relates their part in the development of the schools. District schools were begun as early as 1838. These schools were not too successful and were discontinued at the end of the year in 1841. A free public school act in 1842 marked the beginning of the public school system as we know it. Evening schools were begun in 1875 and became the means by which those immigrants who were so inclined could learn the English language.

The evening schools provided perhaps the only concerted effort by the schools to reach its foreign residents. For the most part, the schools took the city's foreign population for granted, placing the children in the regular school program unless their language problems were so pronounced that they were unable to function at all in the classroom. If that was the case, the student was sent to a special foreign children's class until he gained some facility with the language. Usually

he remained in these special classes only a semester or at the most a year, and then he was returned to his neighborhood school and placed in the regular program.

Except for a brief period, the evening schools sought only to serve those foreigners who had the desire and knowledge to seek them out. However, with the threat of World War I upon it, the city began to worry about the many aliens in its midst, and a concerted drive to Americanize the immigrant was begun.

The schools were highly successful in their campaign, and the foreigners flocked into the night schools. After the initial burst of enthusiasm, when there was a 167% increase in enrollment in the foreign-born evening elementary schools in 1915, the enrollment fell off 85% in 1916. By 1917 the enrollment of the foreign-born dropped to almost none. The foreign-born entered the evening schools again in the 1920's, but because of a personal desire for improvement rather than any concerted effort on the part of the schools to enroll them.

The Germans in particular suffered persecution during the First World War and to some extent during the Second as well. At the time of the First World War a large share of the population of Detroit was German in origin. An attempt to remove German names from the schools of the city failed, probably

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 because of the political power of the German populace. The German influence upon Detroit education was significant; gymnasium, kindergarten, and the authoritarian administrative structure of the schools were all derived from them.

The influence of the Syrians and Mexicans was not as great as that of the Germans and the Poles. but they too contributed, particularly in the tenuous area of amalgamation. The heritage of the people from these two countries was unique from the more familiar northern European Germans and the Slavic Poles. The Syrians arrived in Detroit around 1900 and for the most part were Catholic, though a large number of Moslems settled in Highland Park. a suburb surrounded by Detroit. The Moslems in particular are of interest because of their contrasting culture and religion. They did not establish their own schools and, therefore, attended the public schools almost exclusively. It is interesting to note that the influence of American culture was strong enough to overcome their apathy to education, and most of them encouraged their children to obtain as much education as possible.

The Mexican was apt to return to his own country when economic conditions were unfavorable, but he usually returned finding that his American experience made it difficult to adjust to his native

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country. In Detroit he found it easy to settle where his economic condition would permit. His Indian and Spanish heritage were contributed to amalgamation in many areas of the city though, for the most part, his unskilled labor would not bring him a wage suitable to reside in areas much above the slum level. The greater share settled in the old Corktown area, the original home of the Irish.

The four groups studied in detail were not necessarily the largest or most influential upon the schools, though the Poles and the Germans were the sizable groups. Italy has sent a large number of her people to Detroit, and this group continues to increase. There is a multitude of Russians and Rungarians in the city, and these too have had an influence upon the schools. The story is not complete without all groups being considered, as each did contribute to the education of Detroiters.

Nowhere in the Detroit area has one ethnic group found it possible to dominate the schools to the extent of the Poles in Hamtramck. As far as the influence of ethnic groups in Detroit, they were more apt to be left out rather than to dominate school policy. In some ways this worked to the advantage of the immigrant in that he was forced to learn American ways. There were also many excellent teachers and counselors in the Detroit schools who worked closely

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with the individual immigrant students.

The results of this study elucidate the one most important influence of the immigrants, enrichment. They enriched and extended the background of each other and their fellow students. That is not to say that the immigrants became one or will ever become one as suggested by the melting pot myth. Detroit remains a city of ethnic, political, religious, and economic groups. A study of the effect the schools had on realignment or solidification of groups would also make a commendable contribution.

In the response of the schools to the ethnic groups studied in this thesis there is little evidence that there was any need to respond to organized leadership of the various groups. This is in contrast to the pressure that the leadership of Negro groups are exerting on the superintendent and the Board. Since prejudice existed toward most immigrant groups at one time or another, perhaps the lack of organized protest is an anomaly that might be investigated.

Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan in Beyond the Melting Fot (Cambridge: The M. I. T. Press and Harvard University Fress, 1963), a study of immigrant groups in New York City, explode the myth of the melting pot. In this writer's opinion the United States has been an historical entity too short a time to refute or confirm the myth.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 8.--Distribution of nationalities of pupils in the Detroit public schools in 1920 & 1921^a

a Research Bulletin no. 7, loc. cit.

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TABLE 9.--Distribution by nationalities 1920a

AUSTRIA

The larger group of Austrians appears in two districts. The majority are on the east side of Hastings north of Gratict, extending eastward to the city limits. The second large group is west of Twelfth and north of Fort St. Their distribution by schools is:

Garfield .104 Clippert .59 Davison .54 Phillp .51 Lyon .36 Trowbridge .34 Bishop .33 Ellis .33 Dwyer .32 Hanneman .32	Lyster	Maybee Rose Lingemann . Carpenter Anx Alger St. Clair . Campbell . Morley Stephens	16 15 13 12 12 12 11
Hely	0. W. Holmes. 17 Campau 16 Columbian 16 Craft 16	Fairbanks Greusel Majeske Pingree	10 10 10 10

BELGIUM

The Belgian colony is east of Mt. Elliott and, except in the neighborhood of the Bellevue school, is largely north of Kercheval, extending eastward to the city limits. Their grouping by schools is:

		Carstens Nichols				
Scripps Pingree	. 65 . 62	Marxhausen Hodmes, A. L.	31	Berry		11

CANADA

The Canadians are distributed fairly even throughout the city although the predominating group appears to circle the Northwestern field area. The exception to this is the Franklin. The Canadian distribution is:

Angell .	.174	Thirkell	.124	Sampson .			98
Franklin				Columbian			97
Goldberg	.144	McGraw .	.111	Crosman .			93
Fairbanks	.130	Hancock .	.102	Owen	-	-	92

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CANADA-continued

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Czechoslovaks are distributed over a large area with the larger numbers surrounding the Morley, Hanneman, Clippert, McKinstry and Logan schools on the west side, the Hely, Russell, Carpenter, Davison and Greusel on the east side. This nationality follows:

Greusel on the ea		Lonyo 16
Hely 50 Logan 49 Russell 49 Russell 46 Clippert 42 Hanneman 35 Greusel 33 Greusel 31 Lyon 30	Lincoln	Newberry Farrand

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GERMANY

The Germans have been pushed eastward and they appear in larger numbers east of Mt. Elliott and generally north of Mack Avenue. There is a fair scattering upon the west side, particularly near the Clippert school. The distribution is:

SCHOOL.
Marxhausen 132 Beard 52 Majeske 25 Helly 123 Harms 52 McGraw 23 Hillger 120 Thomas 51 Carpenter Ax Stephens 118 Parke 51 Fairbanks 22 Stephens 114 Cary 48 Thirkell 20 Williams 106 McKinstry 44 Garfield 20 Rose 96 Lyon 43 Mcore 18 Chandler 95 Lynch 43 Mcore 18 Hutchinson 96 Howe 41 Longfellow 18 Greusel 94 Campau 41 Longfellow 18 Glils 77 Lillibridge 39 Lingemann 17 Wilson 76 Yercee 37 Hubbard 16 Harris 74 Newberry 37 Hubbard 16 Smith

HUNGARY

The Hungarians form two fairly large settlements. The largest is west of Clark and south of Fort St. The second is east of Dequindre and north of Forest Ave.

second is	east	Dog	76	Moore	41
McMillan Cary • • Morley • Garfield Davison •	280 247 104	Roulo	58 51 44	Bellefontaine Wilson Gillies	38 38 29 27

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HUNGARY-Continued

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LITHUANIA

The larger number of Lithuanians are grouped on the east side around the Davison, Maybee and Dwyer schools.

SCHOOT P.						
Craft . Maybee Dwyer . Moore . Morley	45 41 36	Higgins Lincoln Farrand	29 28 20 19	Alger Chaney . Columbian Potter . Hubbard .	 	14 13 13 13 13
Davison	33		17	Cary		10

POLAND

The heavy Polish settlements are east of Woodward, north of Gratiot and Mack, extending north and east to the city limits; the second large grouping is west of Twelfth, north of Fort and south of the Boulevard. This grouping by schools follows:

Carpenter .712 (aerge .109 Le Majeske .524 (arfield .06 Le Ferry . 495 Potter .86 Pi Ellis .451 Alger .85 Pi Ellis .387 Clippert .336 Valliams .70 Harley .293 Lonyo .61 Campau .271 Columbian .61 W. Campau .266 Morley .240 Holmes, O. W. 46 General .258 Holmes, O. W. 46 General .258 Moore .234 Craft .37 Dwyer .201 Eretmeyer .37 Moyer .201 Eretmey	berts . 28 bland . 22 commas . 20 ttcher . 20 airbanks . 20 tilger . 17 utchinson . 16 apron . 16 ilson . 15 arxhausen . 15 oldberg, Deaf . 14 illies . 13 larms . 13 larms . 13 larms . 13 larms . 13 lashington . 12 chandler . 11 Bellevue . 11 Beellevue . 11 Beennett . 10 Harris . 10 Greenfield Pk . 10
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ROUMANIA

The Roumanians are practically all on the east

81 Moore · · · ·		Roumanians are						54
side. Garfield .114 Lincoln 81 Moore 5 Davison 101 Bishop 74 Russell 5	ide.	.114 Lincoln	 81 74	Moore . Russell	•	•	•	51

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ROUMANIA-Continued

Carpenter An Firnane Jackson	x 47 • 30 • 25	Maybee • Duffield Dwyer • •	•	•	23 14 14	Bellevue George Barstow	•	•	•	11 11 10
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RUSSIA

The heavy Russian settlements are east of Wood-ward, north of Gratiot and Mack to the city limits. There is also a fair scattering on the west side. The distribution is:

distribution is.	_	H411ger 15
Garfield .853 Maybee .474 Lincoln .472 Bishop .465 Moore .440 Dwyer .353 Russell .338 Trowbridge .258 Farrand .227 George .198 Breitmeyer .139 Alger .120 Sampson .84 Fairbanks .80 Newberry .68 Irving .62 Rose .56 Capron .55 Ellis .48 Palmer .47 Carpenter .45 Washington .41 Logan .41 Roberts .33	Octy Greusel . 30 Hanneman . 30 Parke . 30 Carpenter Anx . 29 Jefferson . 28 Columbian . 26 Majeske . 26 Campbell . 25 Angell . 25 Pingree . 23 Houghton . 21 Stephens . 20 Chaney . 19 Chaney . 19 Chaney . 17 Goldberg . 17 Franklin . 16 Greenfield Pk 16 Williams . 11	McGraw Lyster Johnston Holmes, O. W. 13 Chandler Amos Wingert Thomas Poe Lyon Lillibridge Lillibridge Lillibridge Keating Hutchinson Higgins Campau Burton St. Clair Smith Harris Brownson Carstens Wilson Tappan Sill Lillibridge 12 L2 L2 L3 L4 L2 L3 L2 L3 L2 L3

a Detroit Educational Bulletin no. 3, Research Bulletin, December, 1920, pp. 18-21.

	FIRST COLUMN TO THE	10 to 10 to 10 to 1

TABLE 10.--Three or more year retardation by nationalities in the Detroit public schools 1920^a (kindergarten through 8A)

	Membership	No. re- tarded	% retar- dation
Scotland U. S. white England Russia Canada Switzerland Turkey U. S. where Denmark Holland Sweden Lithuania Norway Lithuania Latvia Latvia Austria France Hungany Finland Jugoslavia Roumania Ammenia Roumania Roumania Roumania Hilly Greece Unclassified Poland Spain Belgium U. S. colored Malta China Mexico Bulgaria	1,157 49,174 3,270 6,391 5,864 122 533 539 148 148 1561 148 1561 14,622 1,303 1,1014 14,622 1,303 1,3014 1,227 765 2,602 342 4,711 227 39 4,711 227 39 4,711 217 218 4,916 4,916 68 12	22 1,0415 150 936 5916 28 466 3457 760 3508 959 10 0	1.90 2.12 2.35 2.42 *2.35 2.44 *5.67 -2.78 2.88 3.06 3.38 3.39 3.48 *3.58 4.11 4.34 4.51 9.52 6.85 7.38 7.68 8.88 *10.00 *14.65 17.07 *25.00 *26.30 *26.30 *26.30 *26.30 *26.00 *30.00

small number of cases.

aIbid., 6.

.

TABLE 11.--Detroit nationalities distribution 1925a

	 		
Country of birth		Number	Per cent
U. S. white	1 1 1 1 1 1	598041 115069	48.15
Poland		115069	9.26
Canada		83685	6.74
U. S. colored .		81831	6.59
Germany		54223	4.37
Germany		49427	3.98
Italy		42457	3.42
Italy England Unknown Hungary Austria Scotland Belgium Ireland Roumania Jugoslavia		31949	2.57
Unknown		28792	2.32
Hungary		21656	1.74
Austria		21294	1.71
Scotland		18867	1.52
Scotland Belgium		11272	•91
Belgium		11003	.89
Ireland			.63
Roumania		7793	.60
		7434	
Lithuania		6140	•49
Preece		6019	.48
		5314	•43
Syria		5053	• 41
Syria		4494	.36
Armenia		3771	.30
Finland		3375	•27
Netherlands		2918	•23
France		2722	.22
Denmark		2220	.18
M-74-		2097	.17
Malta		1946	.15
Norway		1697	14
Turkey	• • • • •	1538	.12
Turkey Switzerland		1370	111
Switzerland Wales		1220	10
Wales Australia Spain Bulgaria China West Indies		1215	.10
Australia	:::::		10
Spain		1200	.08
Bulgaria		923	
China		509	.04
West Indies		475	.04
Maita Mexico Norway Turkey Switzerland Wales Australia Spain Bulgaria China West Indies Latvia Japan Albania		289	.02
Japan		221	.02
Albania		214	.02
Latvia Japan		174	.01
Arabia		137 42044	.01
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an The 1925 Detroit City Census, op. cit., 14.

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