THE TREATMENT, IN AMERICAN HISTORY HIGH SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS, OF THE MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL OF INDUSTRY AND LABOR AS CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIAL CHANGE

> Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D. MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY John J. Meeder 1965





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#### thesis entitled

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has been accepted towards fulfillment of the requirements for

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Date 7/29/65

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#### ABSTRACT

# THE TREATMENT, IN AMERICAN HISTORY HIGH SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS, OF THE MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL OF INDUSTRY AND LABOR AS CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIAL CHANGE

by John J. Meeder

Great social and cultural changes continue to affect the lives of the American people. Some of these changes have had adverse effects but most of them are favorably viewed. Industrialization has been a tremendous factor among the forces inducing further social-cultural changes.

The study of history is a means of understanding these changes. High school history is particularly well suited to the development of understanding of the present society through treatment of the historical development of the problems which society faces.

Foremost among the tools for understanding social problems and social changes are the American history high school textbooks. This dissertation therefore sought to answer the question: How well do the senior high school United States history textbooks, by their treatment of selected social-cultural consequences of industrial development in the United States, potentially tend to clarify for students these aspects of their contemporary society?

History textbooks representative of those used in the nation's high schools were selected for examination.

To limit the study, two major social-cultural aspects of industrialization were selected: The Management and Control of Industry, and Labor. Industrial management and control have widespread effects upon the lives of people. What they consume, where they live and the work they do, are strongly influenced by the relatively few people who are the leaders of the great industrial enterprises. Labor is a central activity of those who produce the incomes upon which the people of the nation depend. Social changes are inherent in the developments occurring within the scope of these two topics. These topics are treated in the history textbooks.

Eleven subtopics were developed, four under Management and Control of Industry and seven under Labor. The rationale for their inclusion was that they were subtopics of continuing significant social concern. The significance of the subtopics was substantiated through exposition and analysis of each.

Three criteria for adequate historical treatment of current persisting social problems were stated: (1) <u>Continuity</u>. Are the topics so treated that developments and changes through time can be appreciated? (2) <u>Comprehensiveness</u>. Are important events and ideas affecting the present sufficiently discussed to provide the needed background? (3) <u>Integration</u>. Is the status of a given topic explicitly reviewed or summarized meaningfully so that the import of the past is fruitfully synthesized and the purpose of the study of history is crystallized for the student?

The textbooks were rated on their treatment of each of the eleven subtopics. One topic, Organized Labor, was judged to be adequately treated in the textbooks. Two topics, The Use and Effect of Democratic Organization in Improving the Economic System, and The Meaning of Progress were judged as partially meeting the requirements of the criteria. Two topics, Freedom and Responsibility to Select One's Work, and Meaningful Work were not treated. The six remaining topics were judged to be inadequately treated in all the textbooks. The authors failed to meet the requirements of the criteria generally, because the topics were not discussed during the past twenty or thirty year period. Important differences between the textbooks probably exist but with these topics and these criteria, the differences tended to be obscured.

These American history textbooks, currently in use, do not provide adequate treatment, except in one case, of topics which were said to be significant in understanding current social problems and changes in the realm of industrialization in America.

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By

John J. Meeder

#### A THESIS

Submitted to Michigan State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

College of Education



# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to the members of my graduate committee, Drs. Carl H. Gross, John X. Jamrich, Frank H. Blackington and Justin L. Kestenbaum, for the time and effort they have given on my behalf. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Gross, Chairman of the Committee, for his counsel and encouragement; Dr. Blackington for stimulating ideas; and my brother Jack for reading the manuscript and talking with me about it many times during the course of the writing.

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# CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTION

# Industrialism - Its Significance

The transformation of America from a thinly populated agrarian nation to an urban-metropolitan-industrial nation is a phenomenon studied intensively by social scientists. Ordinary working people have undoubtedly spent considerable time in wonderment, speculation and at times, even suffering over the changes wrought in their own lives as this transformation continues. Change has become a fact of life which many people accept as a matter of course. Man has made brief forays into the near space surrounding the earth. The federal government is sponsoring a space program to send men to the moon. These activities epitomize the acceptance of present and future changes by the society as nothing preceding has done. These exploits and efforts point also to the acceptance of the major means of innovations: the scientific-technological-industrial complex of America today.

While much of this change is more readily apparent in the United States, its appearance is to be noted in much of the world. The deliberate efforts of the United Nations and many nation states to induce cultural changes in more remote and primitive societies and the massive efforts of the governments of India, China and the Soviet Union to precipitate whole cultures into industrialism only focuses

further attention to the value placed upon industrial development as the source of further changes for a "better" world.

The value placed upon an abundance of material goods of various kinds can easily be appreciated in view of a long and continuing history of scarcity of even the means of sustenance for most of the world's people.<sup>1</sup> That tremendous abundance of material goods does not automatically solve this problem of human existence is most dramatically apparent in the United States. Currently it is proclaimed that about half the manufactured goods in the world are annually produced in the United States. Paradoxically, the statistics also reveal that somewhere between one-fifth and one-third of the American population live in poverty or close to it.<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to define poverty today. Definitions commonly used in this culture involve qualitative and quantitative measures. Qualitatively there are indications that despite the material abundance of the total society, the lives of those existing in or near poverty are so affected by feelings of insecurity that psychologically they often live a painful existence.<sup>3</sup> Their ability to maintain access to the means of sustenance, food, shelter, medical care and clothing, is so uncertain that they are threatened. Quantitatively, the statistics reveal evidences which can be more readily examined. Shorter life span, more ill health, less income, more public aid, greater unemployment,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Hunger Round the World - 10,000 Die Every Day," <u>Newsweek</u> 61 (June 17, 1963) pp. 43-51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Michael Harrington, <u>The Other America</u>, (Penguin Books: Baltimore, 1962) pp. 187-203.

Ibid., Chapter 7, pp. 131-148.

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less education, etc., are examples of the kinds of conditions generated,<sup>4</sup> That a substantial culture of poverty exists cannot be doubted.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, there are myriad problems involved in the assessment of the impact of the changes in the lives of people generally. Mass communication, means of transportation, industrial organization, labor saving devices and leisure time shape the lives of nearly everyone to a considerable degree.

The significance of the foregoing is merely to review briefly, tremendously important phenomena. Life especially in the United States has changed dramatically as a result of the society's commitment to accept and promote scientific-technological-industrial change. Of equal significance is the fact that this kind of progress has not insured a better life for everyone automatically even on solely quantitative grounds, but that it has posed problems of the meaning of life and the quality of existence which either did not exist previously or which are faced by much greater numbers of people than in previous history.

If people are to have reasonable hope of understanding the world in which they live, it is essential that they learn to understand not only the great importance of industrial changes, which in turn change their ways of living, but that they also learn much about the organization and interrelationships which exist within and between industry and the society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, The entire book contains numerous statistics indicative of these types of deprivation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "Poverty U.S.A." Newsweek 63 (February 17, 1964) pp. 19-38.

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# Preliminary Statement of Purpose with Some Facts and Assumptions

This dissertation has the purpose of seeking to discover how well the United States history texts in the high schools contribute to this vital knowledge. The significance of this approach is related to a number of considerations: First, nearly all students who complete senior high school today are required to take a course in United States history usually at the eleventh or twelfth grade level.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, texts are still a focal instrument of instruction in high school classes of United States history. The course of instruction is often largely determined by the textbook.<sup>\*</sup>

Assumptions: (1) High school students have reached a degree of maturity and interest in the world which enable many of them to understand the relationships and significance of their industrial society to a higher degree than in earlier periods. (2) Most of them will probably not be exposed again to a formal study of America's past for the duration of a school year. (3) The structure and content of textbooks is more quickly capable of modification than the knowledge or attitudes of the teacher toward the purpose of the course. The text is an instrument which can quite easily be modified to suit some purposes or others. (4) A "climate of change" exists today that encourages innovation in many areas of life - including schools. Texts which depart from a long accepted traditional structure or emphasis are regarded not so much with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> W.H. Cartwright, "What is Happening in the Social Studies," Social Education 18 (February-March, 1954) 77-79, 115.

<sup>&</sup>quot;At the same time it is acknowledged that in many schools, supplementary readings and other methods are increasingly used.

suspicion, but with anticipation of improvements. (5) Most students find history of special interest when they can see a relationship between it and their own lives or what they anticipate their lives may be. (6) Since United States history is a course required of nearly all students, this is a reflection of the society's belief that the course will enable students to better understand the present society by knowing about its past and the relationship of the past to the present.

These factors taken together, provide a sound basis for asserting that the treatment of the social and cultural consequences of industrialism in United States history texts is worth careful investigation.

# Definition of Industrialism

Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary defines industrialism as "Social organization in which industries, especially large scale industries are dominant." One of the definitions of industry is: "Any department or branch of art, occupation, or business; especially one which employs much labor and capital and is a distinct branch of trade as, the sugar industry."

For the purpose of this dissertation, the key word in the dictionary definition is the word <u>dominant</u>. When the use of machines and large scale organization became the more usual mode of production of some commodities and services, and as the use of these means spread to additional fields, society itself was transformed. While no date need be precisely set for this occurrence, the post-Civil War era is the period when this change became a dominant influence. Basic inventions and processes, such as the steam engine, telegraph, railroad, steel making and agricultural machinery, had developed such foundations for large

scale enterprises that after the Civil War, they developed rapidly. While many small enterprises continued to contribute substantially to the society, important segments rapidly grew to enormous size. Historians have given much attention to this change in the latter 19th century. The concept industrialism, as used in this dissertation, means the dominance of large scale enterprises and machine production in increasingly larger proportions of the American economic system. This definition refers approximately to the past one hundred years of United States history. The phrases "development of industry" or "industrial development" will be used synonymously with industrialism.

The products and services of commercial, governmental, manufacturing and agricultural enterprises all reveal the great impact of this change. The "pork factory" on the farm, the machines for record keeping in the offices, the automated engine plant in manufacturing are examples of the increasing use of machines concomitantly with large scale organization and operation.

This dissertation is concerned with the adequacy of the treatment of certain of the major consequences of industrial development, in the United States history texts.

# Some Previous Investigations

There have been a number of studies of history and social studies textbooks. The educational journals contain articles frequently devoted to criticism and comment on these texts. The history texts have been examined in several ways. First, there are those who see the text as a means of conserving some value which is viewed as diminishing in intensity in the current society, to society's detriment. This view may be

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described generally as being held by the ultra-conservatives. It appears that the value held is often judged, a priori, to be generally not promoted by the texts. The examiner then sets about "proving" the texts' deficiencies by selection of appropriate passages. Root's study is a good example of this.<sup>7</sup> An analysis of this kind of activity by a group, is described by Raywid.<sup>8</sup> She describes the membership of a textbook evaluation committee. The selection of the members was apparently on the basis of the singularity of their conservative opinion.

A second group of critics are those opposed to the "blandness" of the history texts. Mr. Alexander, a textbook analyst for the New York City Board of Education, typifies this group when he says with regard to American history textbooks:

Many books present few or no serious problems. Conscious stimulation on the part of the author, in the direction of improving conditions is less frequent today. More frequent is the flavor imparted to the reader that savors of the best of all possible worlds - a disservice to the intrinsic greatness of the American heritage.<sup>9</sup>

Alexander continues by discussing the reasons why texts are bland, in terms of the efforts by teams of people to produce books which will offend no one.

M.M. Krug has also presented useful criticism in this regard. He objects to the inoffensive positions, which authors provide, on many

<sup>7</sup> Edward Merrill Root, <u>Brainwashing in the High Schools; An</u> Examination of Eleven American <u>History Textbooks</u>, (Devin-Adair Company; New York, 1959).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Mary A. Raywid, <u>The Ax-Grinders</u>, (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1962) Chapter 8, pp. 123-154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> A. Alexander, "Gray Flannel Cover on the American History Textbook." Social Education 24 (January, 1960) p. 11.

controversial problems, which seem to give the impression that the problems are not real or that they have been solved,<sup>10</sup> In another article,<sup>11</sup> Krug condemns the overly general coverage in American history textbooks. He encourages teachers to be more selective and to cover events of significance in greater depth. This is worthwile. Restructuring the texts would appear to be a more effective alternative.

A third method of examining texts is to select an important event or epoch in history, review what scholars have revealed and compare this with the texts. Hartz<sup>12</sup> for example, gave a current textbook version of the Panama Canal incident showing its omissions and distortions along with a more accurate account.

Noah, et. al, investigated the treatment of three periods in American history in current high school texts: the American Revolution, the Civil War and the "Cold War." They concluded that the current texts do not take account of modern scholarship in dealing with these periods and that "students whose reading is largely confined to the textbook (and there are many such) are subjected to a brain-washing as complete as it is dangerous."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> M.M. Krug, "Safe Textbooks and Citizenship Education," <u>School</u> <u>Review</u> 68 (Winter, 1960) No. 4, pp. 463-80.

<sup>11</sup> M.M. Krug, "Distant Cousins: A Comparative Study of Selected History Textbooks in England and in the United States," <u>School Review</u> 71 (Winter, 1963) pp. 425-441.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> F.R. Hartz, "Watered-down American History," <u>High School</u> Journal, 46 (February, 1963) pp. 175-178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> J.H. Noah, Carl E. Prince and C. Russel Riggs, "History in High School Texts," <u>School Review</u> 70 (Winter, 1962) pp. 415-36 (Quotation from p. 433).

A fourth kind of study attempts to show that a certain idea or concept is of considerable significance and that the treatment of it in the text is a logical expectation inherent in the subject matter. Whether this treatment provides adequate development of the idea or concept for the student, is the question. Marcus Lloyd's study, <u>The Treatment of</u> <u>Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks</u> is based upon the idea that minorities ought to be treated without bias and that their contributions to the society should be given recognition.<sup>14</sup>

## Relationship to Palmer's Study

This dissertation is of this latter type. It is closely related to the thesis of John R. Palmer.<sup>15</sup> His thesis developed the idea that history is inherently and substantially involved in developing the concept of social change. He studied its treatment in history texts from a sampling of Illinois high schools.

Historians and the history they write can and should make a significant contribution to the understanding of the society in which we live. If this is not the case, then history has little place in the school curriculum. As there is no more fundamental social fact than that of change, and as history as an organized body of knowledge deals continually with social change, it is at this point that history can make a signal contribution to the social understanding of our citizenry.<sup>16</sup>

The idea of studying the treatment of changes growing out of industrial development makes more specific and concrete one aspect of Palmer's total study. As was indicated previously, this aspect is seen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Marcus Lloyd, The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks, (Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith: New York, 1961) 64 p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> John R. Palmer, The Treatment of Social Change in High School History Textbooks, Doctor's Thesis, (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1960) 245 p.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

as perhaps the most important factor of change which it is possible to study in its various manifestations.

This present study differs from Palmer's in other respects: (1) The texts used by Palmer were not necessarily representative of texts used generally in the United States. They were obtained from a sampling of Illinois schools. It is a concern of this thesis to select texts which there is reason to believe are representative of those used in the nation's schools. (2) Palmer, commendably qualified himself as something of an expert in the concept of social change and historiography by extensive reviews of the theories and ideas in these realms in Chapters II and III of his dissertation. He then showed in the appendix his procedure wherein he correlated his judgments with two other scholars in the social sciences showing their close agreement as to the adequacy of treatment of the concept of social change on a number of sample readings.<sup>17</sup> He then rated the texts' treatment of the concept of social change on the basis of selecting those instances in each text wherein he judged that an example of the concept of social change was being presented.<sup>18</sup>

This writer's selection of topics (which show instances of social change as a function of industrial development) allows for judgments on the basis of several criteria in the form of questions applied to the topics over the entire time period from the Civil War to the present. The emphasis is on the total impact that history can provide in understanding the present dynamics of a given topic, by the adequacy of the

<sup>17</sup><u>Ibid.</u>, Appendix A, pp. 223-238.
<sup>18</sup><u>Ibid.</u>, p. 140 and p. 143.

treatment of that topic through time.

#### Some Related Literature

The writer's interest in this topic was implied in much of the preceding material. This interest is augmented by the belief that there are a number of serious social problems in America today. If these were more widely recognized and understood by our citizens, they could be dealt with more wisely. While industrialism has brought great material advantages, a number of books have provided substantial evidence that in its vast transformation of our culture, the effects are a mixed blessing. In fact some of these effects have been devastating to significant numbers of our people. It is not within the scope of this study to review at length these problems. Eric Fromm, David Riesman, David Potter, John K. Galbraith and Michael Harrington are mentioned merely to indicate a few of the authors whose books have been concerned with these problems.

Perhaps R.H. Tawney dealt as intensively and consistently as anyone with what he saw as the outstanding problem of industrial society.<sup>19</sup> He saw the principal problem as one of the increasing discontinuity between function and power. Society, in his view, must be integrated and harmonized by a pervasive and persistent attention to the function of industry in society and the function of the individual in industry and society. Delegation of authority and consequently of power must be consonant with the purpose - the function - which particular industries

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> R.H. Tawney, The <u>Acquisitive Society</u>, (Harcourt Brace and World, Inc.,: New York, 1920) (renewed copyright 1948 by Tawney; printed as a paperback - Harvest Books) 188 p.

and persons perform for the society. Function is defined in terms of service rather than acquisition which he saw as the great defect in modern industrial society.<sup>20</sup> A similar analysis of the United States today might be as provocative, perhaps more so, than was this work of some forty years ago in England.

A survey of present American society, its development and how education may better serve its members, is the subject of a recent book by Kimball and McClellan,<sup>21</sup> In conclusion they state:

We hold, therefore that the key to eliciting excellence in the manifold actions of Americans is . . . to be found in the intellectual discipline which finally enables the individual to see both his private and public worlds as his own. Distance, change, complexity, mobility - these ineluctable features of modern public life do make it look like a gigantic rat race . .

But a firm intellectual grasp of the real nature of this system - with all its complexity, impermanence, dynamism, and freedom - gives the individual a sense of being of, as well as in, his society. That is commitment.<sup>22</sup>

The study of American history, especially in its treatment of the consequences of industrial development, could be of distinct service as an intellectual discipline in accomplishing this. The adequacy of the textbooks in aiding students to clarify what their society is really like is, in this writer's view, a highly significant area for investigation.

A fascinating aspect of industrial change is that it appears to have been reified by many as a force to which they are subject but over

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>21</sup> Solon T. Kimball and James E. McClellan, <u>Education</u> and the <u>New</u> America, (Random House: New York, 1962) 402 p.

22 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 322.

which they have no control. People at all levels in the industrial system see themselves as the puppets of a mighty and complex engine which manipulates them at its will and to which they must willingly adapt themselves or cease to be a participating member of society. But industry is in the hands of men. The changes in methods of production, the quantity produced and the working environment are the decisions of people. They are not visited upon man by unknown forces from a nether realm. Industry is a <u>measure</u> of the control of men of the very earth they inhabit; and men generally agree that its purpose is to better provide for the needs of human kind. In this connection Frankel makes the following observation:

The problem is institutional. Contemporary industrial society is an elaborately interconnected affair; large scale organizations play an inevitable role in that society. This means that decisions made in certain central places have consequences that flow out farther and wider than the decisions made by most absolute despots in the past . . . And yet, despite the extraordinary range of these decisions, those who make them are frequently anonymous even to themselves. The Madison Avenue account executive does not think of himself as an educator; the industrialist who believes that men who are out of work should be willing to travel two thousand miles to find a job does not think of himself as advocating an unsettled home life. They do not know they are making the kind of broad social decision they are making; they neither intend, nor can they foresee, most of the consequences of what they are doing; they are likely to feel as much caught in the drift of events as the rest of  $us^{23}$ 

This then may be seen as another reality of today's society. The texts might contribute, not the answers, but information, facts, even questions and problems for which the students will hopefully want to seek solutions as citizens of American society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Charles Frankel, <u>The Case for Modern Man</u>, (Harper and Bros.: New York, 1955, 1956) p. 199.

#### Methodology

While this study definitely has taken a point of view, it has not, a priori, decided that the texts do or do not contribute substantially to this kind of understanding, deemed an essential purpose of American history in the schools. By what means may this be examined with reasonable claim to validity of findings?

First of all, so many of the topics in the texts can be viewed in their relationship to industrial developments that any general study could make many arbitrary and unconsciously biased selections of passages which might predispose the total evaluation. It is therefore proposed to examine the tables of contents of the selected texts and to determine those aspects of industrial changes which are most common to all of them; those topics which the authors themselves have seen as especially significant. In Chapter II this procedure and selection will be made explicit and in sufficient detail to establish that the topics selected for careful examination are those commonly dealt with by the authors, and whose impact continuously affect the quality of life of the people.

Secondly, selected salient features of these topics will then be studied in sufficient depth to provide a summary statement or review of what the recent past has shown are some of the significant aspects of each type. This summary is to be factual and accurate. Though it cannot be a complete picture, it should be a presentation which is substantially acceptable to scholars of the topics and may include significant controversies concerning the subject matter.

Since history is assumed to contribute to an understanding of the present through an understanding of the past, these summaries become a

kind of standard by which the treatment of the topics in the history texts can be compared. How well do the texts illuminate the present with regard to these significant social and cultural consequences of industrial growth?

In order to give greater precision to these judgments three subcriteria will be used: (1) Continuity. Are the topics so treated that developments and changes through time can be appreciated? Or is the information so segmented and discontinuous that students are impeded by the presentation from getting one result desired - a knowledge of how rapidly or slowly changes occurred and how these were related to one another? (2) Comprehensiveness. Are important events and ideas affecting the present omitted or neglected? Or is there a reasonable balance of emphasis and information providing the needed background? (3) Integration. Is the status of a given topic explicitly reviewed or summarized meaningfully so that the import of the past is fruitfully synthesized and the purpose of the study of history is crystallized for the student?

Since history texts by the nature of their scope, can be said to be summaries of history, the lack of many details cannot be said to be a just criticism of a text. The criteria must be applied to the most significant forces and events leading to the present. Only where an omission or neglect is of such importance that the present cannot be understood because of it can this kind of criticism be made.

Each of these three criteria will be applied, by means of a rating scale, to each topic in each text and a summary evaluation for all of these will be completed. The rating scale contains the categories of poor, fair, good and excellent. More numerous or precise categories are

not deemed necessary since such refinements of judgment would not strengthen the discriminations, but only give this appearance. The fewer categories, while thus broader, will give a clearer demarkation of the judgments made without hairsplitting attempts at precision which are probably not warranted. A detailed analysis of the treatment of every aspect of each topic is not what is sought. With as few as four clearly distinguished categories, the accuracy of judgments should be enhanced.

# The Selection of Textbooks

The texts selected for use in this study are those commonly used in the senior high schools of the United States. The conclusions drawn are seen as being of real value when the sampling of texts is nationally representative. All but one of the previous studies dealing with textbook analyses made conclusions about history texts generally but ignored this problem or based their selection of texts on a sampling of schools within a single state.

Marcus Lloyd asserted that the forty-eight social studies texts used in his research were the most widely used in America.<sup>24</sup> The basis for this assertion was the replies of school administrators in six major cities located in every region of the United States, as to the texts used by them, and the judgment of the Executive Secretary of the National Council for the Social Studies. Seven of these texts have been identified as American history texts for senior high school use. These texts are all published by large companies.

<sup>4</sup> Marcus Lloyd, <u>Op. cit.</u>, p. 7.

Malcolm L. Searle, Executive Assistant in the office of the National Council for the Social Studies has indicated recently by letter, that the latest editions of these texts ". . . should very adequately suit your purpose." Howard H. Cummings, Specialist for Social Sciences and Geography of the U.S. Office of Education, states that: "It is probably safe to assume in making a study of this kind that the textbooks in U.S. history which are distributed by the largest educational publishers are used in the large majority of classes.<sup>25</sup>

These textbooks, cited and used in Lloyd's study, with some changes, are the ones to be studied in this dissertation. The book by Augspurger and McLemore is dropped. In its place is one by Muzzey and Link. This change is made because the Muzzey and Link textbook is said by its publishers to continue the tradition of the Muzzey texts. Five million five hundred thousand copies of these books have been sold; more than any other high school textbook ever printed. Ginn and Company estimate that between twenty-five and thirty million students have used the Muzzey books.<sup>26</sup> The Muzzey and Link book was therefore a compelling selection to include.

Another change was in the book supplied by the American Book Company. Lloyd had studied this company's textbook by Alden and Magenis. The company sent the book by Wirth in response to a letter inquiring about obtaining its most popular offering.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>See Appendix A for copies of the letters of inquiry and their replies.

<sup>26</sup> David S. Muzzey, "A Voice for Americanism" (a brochure) Boston: Ginn and Company.

Below is a list of the books to be studied along with publication information. They will be referred to by authors' names throughout this study. On the basis of the preceding information, it is assumed that these books are a good representation of the American history textbooks most commonly used in the senior high schools of this country.

Bragdon, Henry W. and McCutchen, Samuel P., <u>History of a</u> Free People, Fifth Revised Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964 (earlier copyrights back to 1954).

Canfield, Leon H. and Wilder, Howard B., The Making of Modern America, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960 (earlier copyright 1950).

Gavian, Ruth Wood and Hamm, William A., United States History, Chicago: D.C. Heath and Company, 1960.

Graff, Henry F. and Krout, John A., The Adventure of the American People, New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1959.

Harlow, Ralph Volney and Noyes, Herman M., <u>Story of America</u>, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964 (first edition copyrighted 1937).

Muzzey, David S. and Link, Arthur S., Our American Republic, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1963.

Wirth, Fremont P., United States History, Revised Edition, New York: American Book Company, 1961 (certain portions copyrighted back to 1948).

#### The Major Question

Stated in the form of a question, the central concern of this

thesis is as follows:

How well do the senior high school United States history textbooks, by their treatment of selected social-cultural consequences of industrial development in the United States, potentially tend to clarify for students these aspects of their contemporary society?

Phrased in this form, it is expected that most texts do indeed make a potential contribution. In a sense then, an important aspect of this study is the question of cultural lag. Since the present changes with an accelerating rapidity, are the authors of these texts so perceptive and knowledgeable of the <u>broad</u> and continuing present and possible future problems and trends that the textbooks they write actually contribute directly to the great contemporary issues? These often are the exciting, motivating interests of those students who are aware of them. Their history books should help make them conscious of them.

# Purpose of History Presented Herein Compared With That Expressed in the Textbooks

A function of history has been presented, that of clarifying the present through knowledge of the past. It is assumed in this dissertation that this is one of the major functions history ought to perform when studied by the high school youth of the nation. This view certainly does not preclude the acceptance of other functions. It is therefore appropriate to study the treatment of the social-cultural consequences of industrialism in the texts to assess how well this function is being performed.

It would also seem just to note the objectives of United States history which the authors explicate in their introductions, to gauge the extent to which these authors agree with the position taken in this dissertation. Regardless of the extent of agreement, or lack of it, this view of the function of history must be seriously considered and given a generous weight, when history is a subject required of all students.

Of the seven texts, three contain no direct statement of

objectives and four contain specific statements of purpose."

Bragdon and McCutchen, in their edition specially annotated for the teacher, include a "...solid grasp of the basic principles on which the achievements of the United States are built," as a principal purpose which the teacher should convey to students. There is no direct statement of objectives in the student text.<sup>27</sup>

While Canfield and Wilder include no statement of purpose, the title of the book, <u>The Making of Modern America</u>, is evidence of the belief that a major purpose of history is showing how the present came to be.

Gavian and Hamm also do not have a statement of objectives.

In the preface of their text Graff and Krout state that "As historians we know that only an understanding of the past can make the present intelligible."<sup>28</sup>

An even clearer statement by Harlow and Noyes is included in a section entitled "To the Student." Three excerpts reveal a close affinity with the view taken in this dissertation:

The chief reason we study American history is to understand more clearly why we as a nation think, believe, and act as we do today...

We can also discover the origin of many of the problems facing our nation in the 1960's; and by viewing these problems against their historical background, we can bring

<sup>28</sup> Graff and Krout, p. vii.

The textbooks with publication information are listed alphabetically by author on page 18. The authors' names will merely be cited in succeeding footnotes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Bragdon and McCutchen, p. i.

them into sharper focus... As a newspaperman must select from all the events of a day just those that seem most important or interesting, so the historian must select from all the happenings of the past those which mean most to us today.<sup>29</sup>

In a list of ten reasons "Why Every Student Should Study American History," Muzzey and Link list as their first item, "To understand how and why the present came to be."<sup>30</sup>

Lastly, in his preface Wirth says:

It therefore becomes the responsibility of the writer of highschool history to select from a vast amount of material, those events, facts and trends which contribute most to a student's understanding of the United States today, viewed in the light of our country's past.<sup>31</sup>

Four of the texts support directly the idea that history should enable the student to understand better the society as it is presently constituted. The other three, while omitting direct statements of purpose, can in no way be considered in opposition to this view. It is the view that would be expected to be found implied in many of the ideas and events covered in all high school history books.

Those topics\*, to be selected in Chapter II, will each constitute the subject of study in one of the following chapters. How adequately the texts treat a given topic will be the focus of attention of a single chapter. The concluding chapter will attempt to summarize and evaluate each text on its treatment of each topic. Finally, a summary and evaluation of the treatment of each topic by all the textbooks will be included.

<sup>29</sup>Harlow and Noyes, p. viii.

\* See previous discussion of selection of topics under Methodology, pp. 15-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Muzzey and Link, p. iii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Wirth, p.v.

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# CHAPTER II

#### SELECTION AND CONSIDERATION OF TOPICS TO BE EXAMINED

# Selection of Major Topics

The purpose in this chapter\* is to select topics of major industrial consequence; to develop specific aspects of these topics which will be examined in the texts. Thus the focus of this study will be narrowed. These topics and the subtopics of each will also, in this chapter, be described and explained in detail sufficient to show the rationale and justifications for their inclusion. At the end of the chapter a summary of these topics will be presented. Out of this, the rating scale for appraising the textbooks will be developed. Chapters I and II in combination contain the explanations which clarify this summary and these scales.

The chapters in each of the history books to be examined are divided into subtopics set off by bold-face type. These subtopics were consolidated into more general categories to see the frequency with which each book covered the same topic. Especially sought were those which might be considered consequences of industrialism. The topics relating to industrial development most frequently dealt with were: changes in agriculture, industrial growth itself, urbanization, prosperity and poverty, reform movements, political parties and political

<sup>\*</sup> See pp. 14-16

corruption, the corporation and growth of big business, labor, and social developments and changes.

It is apparent that these topics, and many others, can be related to industrial development if the observer chooses to view them from that perspective. Many of these topics are not only consequences but are also causes. Thus agricultural techniques and improved machinery are the result of industrial development; at the same time these changes result in an increase in agricultural production which releases more people to work in other areas which enable industrial developments to increase.

The same idea applies to the corporation. Since its development enables business and industry to amass the capital and develop the organization to undertake larger scale enterprise, it is a cause of industrial development. The need of industry to find a means of amassing resources to take advantage of opportunity for large scale development is thus a <u>cause</u> of this form of organization becoming prominent. The consequent appearance of the holding company and the trust hold the same cause and effect interrelationship. Definition of a given topic as merely a consequence of industrialism does not give a complete explanation.

Having acknowledged this obvious action-reaction, cause and effect relationship and the fact that a great many topics could be studied as consequences of industrialism, what particular topics are to be selected for this study? Two topics definitely meet the criteria\* of persistent concern and are topics which are dealt with in all the texts. These are labor, and the control and management of large enterprises. Each of

<sup>\*</sup> See page 14.

these includes social, political, as well as economic, developments which are traditional, logical and major concerns of history textbooks.

Not only are these topics of continuing concern, they are among the great concerns of each generation. The management and control of industry become increasingly important. They profoundly affect the lives of all citizens. What people may buy, where they live, their style of life are typically determined in large measure by corporate organizations, even when people are not employed by them.

Labor has been a central concern of man throughout the ages. Though there are visions of further drastic reduction of the need for it in the next few generations, it remains today the single greatest time and energy consumer of the lives of most people in the country.

Since these two topics are so intimately and importantly involved in the lives of people, since they are treated in all the American history textbooks, and since the knowledge and attitudes of people about them affect the course of history, they are eminent and proper topics for examination in this study. How these topics are treated in the textbooks is the focus of this dissertation. Within the scope of these two topics some other aspects of industrialism may be considered.

One of the criteria to be used in determining the adequacy of the texts is the background of historical information needed to understand today's world. What follows is a review of some of the characteristics of corporate management and control which history has provided and which will be used as measures of adequacy of treatment in the textbooks.

# Some Important Characteristics of the Control and Management of Industry

# Concentration of Wealth and Power

The modern corporation which is the greatest acquisitive apparatus the world has ever seen, is, in effect, run by men whose monetary rewards must be judged in the light of history as extraordinarily modest,1

This quotation reveals briefly, several ideas of significance. The great "captains of industry" of the latter nineteenth century reaped great personal fortunes from the organizations they developed or combined. There was no income tax. Over a period of years they did personally accumulate great wealth and power. Today's "captains" are a contrast. They are usually employed by the great corporations. Options to purchase stock at a certain price often provide opportunity for substantial gains and their annual salaries and bonuses range up to several hundred thousand dollars. Chairman Frederic G. Donner of General Motors Corporation received \$201,275 in salary in 1963 and \$442,500 in bonus payments.<sup>2</sup> Compared to the average wage earner this is a "fortune." After taxes it is considerably less. The contrast with a Rockefeller or Carnegie in the latter nineteenth century indicates the change. In a single year they gained many millions of dollars as their enterprises thrived. At today's salaries and with today's taxes, top managers can have little hope of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Robert L. Heilbroner, <u>The Quest for Wealth</u>, (Simon and Schuster: New York, 1956) p. 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> News item in the <u>State Journal</u>, "Donner, Gordon Salaries Trimmed," (February 19, 1964), A-17.

acquiring anywhere near the wealth that these earlier men amassed. In fact the salaries of "the fifty-six directors and officers" of General Motors as a group, was approximately \$3,800,000.<sup>3</sup>

It is important still in a United States where poverty is not uncommon, to know the salaries of the great corporate managers. This information is available. It is also important to note the contrast in total net incomes with those of their predecessors of seventy or eighty years ago. Here is a very crude measure of the power an individual may wield. But the corporation is a legal "individual." The degree of concentration of wealth and power must be described further.

A second contrast is that of the acquisitive powers of corporations today with those of the "captains" of yesteryear. The tycoons of the late nineteenth century made millions of dollars per year. The great corporations today make hundreds of millions of dollars annually. Even after taxes and allowing for inflation, the great corporations today acquire much more wealth than did the great industrialists of the earlier era. This crude measure of potential power (wealth) is gathered in much greater amounts. It is, however, now in the possession of large organizations. The management of this power may be directly in the hands of a small number of corporate officials rather than that of a single tycoon. These directors are undoubtedly influenced by numerous considerations of what to do with the corporate earnings. But to retain their positions, their primary concern is of necessity, the future success of the company. This in turn, is measured primarily in the further accumulation of wealth and returns to the investors.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

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The tremendous power of these organizations is one of the aspects of industrial development today which history should help students to think about. The effects of this upon their lives pose a complex question about which, in a democracy, they will want to be aware, begin to be informed and eventually to develop an informed opinion which will guide their actions.

#### Corporate Organizational Purposes

A second complex aspect of the preceding development is that of the purpose for which the corporations exist. There is general agreement that they exist to serve the needs of the people. The way to do this best is also a matter of wide agreement in this country. The profit motive is the primary guide, which is used to ensure the performance of their service function to the people. In a strong sense then, the acquisition of large profits is considered "proof" that an enterprise is performing well its function for society.<sup>4</sup> This legacy of economic theory from the eighteenth century has in large measure withstood the test of time and experience.

But even before the twentieth century it had become apparent that great producers of goods or services could often command higher prices than was reasonable for their output. The eighteenth century economic theory had already included the necessity of many buyers and sellers in order, by competition to keep the costs of production and the selling prices at the most economical levels. In some industries a few large producers were dominant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Large profits, of course, do not necessarily prove this. They can accompany great disservice.

There has been federal legislation, starting with the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, which through the years has attempted with some success to regulate industries whose powers had become so great as to clearly place them outside the criteria necessary for the proper functioning of the early capitalistic theory mentioned above. This legislation is summarized in the high school history textbooks.

The history books also document the high degree of success of this economic system in providing more goods and services for more people than any other in history. Of course there were many factors other than the profit motive. Abundant natural resources, plentiful labor supply, the invention of new products and processes and more. It is not the purpose here to attempt an explanation of this tremendous and complex phenomenon. Nor is it the purpose here to question the value of this great material advancement which made possible a comfortable life, physically, for so many for the first time in history. It is, as will be clarified in the following section, to question in part, the usefulness of the profit motive especially when it is combined with powerful organization.

#### Rational Consumption

Industrial development has now reached the stage where there are many goods and many services which are commonly accepted as necessities or even as rights which are often not related directly to the basic necessities of health, food, shelter and clothing. The reference is to items of personal choice and taste such as cosmetics, some drugs, reading materials, the use of installment buying, widespread purchase of expensive pleasure boats, second and third automobiles, and the popular ownership of private swimming pools; also the effect of advertizing on

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these choices. The list could be greatly extended. For a whole world of people whose ancestors could scarcely envision such a prospect, it would surely seem inevitable that in a country proud of its democratic tradition, the people would take full advantage of the possibilities. They have done so.

If the high school history books take the attitude that the proliferation of this kind of production of goods and services for personal use is an unmitigated blessing, this would indeed be questionable. The history books, in addition to reviewing some of these developments of luxury, need to show the importance in a democratic country of the responsibility this poses in the making of choices, in the necessity of developing new perspectives as to what is valuable.

If the profit motive is still to guide production, then the great importance of citizens being able to discriminate wisely among their abundant choices is enhanced.

Shall faith in the ability of the citizenry to wisely use its resources be increased? Will experience, through time, show this faith to be justified? Will the vast resources of the nation ultimately come under the verdict of waste and self indulgence? Or are there purposes to which the people will direct the use of these resources so that their own lives and those of people around the world will have been "better"? What is "better" is a question to which the nation should address itself. The answers are not self-evident.

The extent of the usefulness of the profit motive, the locus of power within the industrial system, the use of advertizing in the creation of taste, the relative values of public and private spending, the

extent and direction of responsibility for those less favored materially are among the questions related to the decisions involved in determining the use to which the resources of the nation are to be put.

It is not assumed nor advocated that the history books studied by high school students should provide the answers. In all earlier history a people has never had the opportunity to choose much beyond how to make a living or even to make this choice. Now, a relatively democratic nation has a great range of choices which will be made, by one means or another, of many matters of the quality of existence beyond merely making a living. The history books can document the fact that this is the case and provide the background of information as to how this came to be. But this does not conclude the function of history. It has a new responsibility; that of raising the questions which grow out of the record of history, to ask what its meaning may be, to suggest from this background what is of significance for the current generation to ask of itself after acquaintanceship with its own past record of achievements and events. A great and overriding function of history is to make explicit to the students today that this nation has the power to make eventful choices, both domestically and internationally. History records that the nation is making these choices. It must attempt to convey to students that theirs is a responsibility of recent origin. These young people will help to determine the values upon which these decisions are ultimately based.

#### Democratic Organization

One other concept to which history amply testifies should be clarified by the history textbooks. In a vast, complex world, the high

school student may particularly feel concerned and yet frustrated by the growing knowledge of the importance of the decisions mentioned above for which he is said to be responsible. If he is to have faith that democracy works and that his informed voice is to be counted, he must be shown by his study of history that most of the great historical personages, as well as lesser ones, made their achievements through various kinds of organizations. Students need to acquire increasing respect for organizational powers, to begin to wonder about the organizations which would be most effective in achieving the goals of society, to wonder how these can become increasingly democratic and finally to begin themselves to become members of and actively participate in those organizations which can help them to achieve some integration of their personal and public concerns. It is inherently contradictory to assume that the functions or values of a society can be enhanced, usually by working alone. Even persons who have achieved great goals "alone," for example, the inventions of an Edison, must be shown to have resulted from reliance upon knowledge gathered and preserved by organizations before him; and that often the biographies of these individuals show considerable talent for working with people in accomplishing their goals. Management and control of industry, though not necessarily democratic, is illustrative of the potential and problems of organizations.<sup>5</sup>

While there are many "joiners" in the society, students need to consider where they wish to effectively channel their energies and for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>This paragraph is not intended to denigrate individual effort or the importance of individuals. It is to emphasize that civilization and culture exist through the organized efforts of individuals.

what purposes in which organizational structures. The study of history can help students to see that it is made through the efforts of men who organize themselves for their undertakings, whether it be one of the medieval crusades, the winning of an election, the establishment of a family, the playing of a game, or the production of steel.

#### Summary of Characteristics Discussed

In summary then, several important functions of the history of industrial control and management have been described. Students should be aided by their study of history to understand:

1. Increasingly great wealth and consequent power lie in the hands of the great corporations. The decisions of a relatively small number of managers affect the lives of great numbers of people.

2. That the primary purpose of these and other enterprises is still one of acquiring profit; of increasing their wealth.
3. That profit, among other factors, has been important in developing a great material base for the nation's civilization.
But increasingly, with that base, the purpose to which it is to be put should not be determined so much by the desire for profit as by intelligent consumption. In this democratic country the people need great wisdom in their choices of goods and services.
The power of advertizing and the power of the need to emulate others and the desire for profits must not alone be the determining factors for the nation's production. Foreign aid, the nation's tax structure and cultural attainments demonstrate the existence of other considerations. Here are questions of choices

which continue to recur. The principles upon which these choices are to be made are as yet not clear. The proportions of wealth to be expended in various ways always remains problematic. 4. Historically man has achieved his purposes through organization. How to achieve effective and democratic organizations is a continuing quest calling for reflection and action by the citizenry. Apathy in working with others or trying to achieve social purposes by solitary effort is likely to leave decisions in the hands of those willing to extend themselves in working within the great variety of organizations widely accessible to the people, Active, intelligent effort in civic, professional, occupational, social, business or political organizations has historically effected the climate in which power has been wielded and has effected change in the conditions under which people work and live. The organization and management of industry exhibit these effects to a high degree.

#### Considerations of Labor in Recent History

#### Freedom and Responsibility to Select One's Work

Central to the lives of high school students today is the fact that there are literally thousands of possible choices of occupations in the world of work. An individual may make only a few such choices during his life time. A choice among thousands of possibilities is not likely to be very meaningful when one's range of direct experience and even of indirect experience, through descriptions of occupations, is quite limited. Choice becomes quite significant when the range is reduced to a few and the chooser has had opportunity to become quite well acquainted

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with the objects of his choice. As mentioned previously, man has until nearly the present day found his array of work choices usually quite limited. True, in the nineteenth century, if he did not, for one reason or another, find satisfactory work, he could move on to the open land in the West. The satisfactions of building his own farm or other rural business had the general approbation of society. These were local enterprises with which many youngsters had grown familiar during childhood and later.

It probably seemed to a great many Americans that there was a given occupation to which they were uniquely suited and in which they would find considerable success and satisfaction if they could but find it. Where choices were limited and the training needed often of brief duration, this legacy of the Protestant tradition provided incentive to improve one's condition in life within some "reasonable" boundaries. Many men farmed, others owned and operated a limited variety of small enterprises and most of the remainder of men were laborers of some skill in factory, farm, mine, transportation or lumbering.

Since work is such a central concern of most students, their history texts can explicitly document these changes in people's lives; can indicate the bewildering array of occupations available today. They can show that presently the great freedom of choice of work imposes upon the individual a greater responsibility for deciding and then <u>making</u> his own life work; that circumstances of local environment have much less control of his destiny than formerly.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand he must invest in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> There are groups of people numbering in the millions who constitute important minorities whose cultural restrictions greatly reduce their opportunities. See Michael Harrington listed on pages 2 and 3.

himself enough education and skills to build a life of work which though more flexible, is more of his own choice than was the case in preceding generations. Man can no longer look to the possibility of some manifest destiny but must himself make his destiny manifest.

American history, since it has in fact taken on the responsibility of documenting the facts and changes in the laboring world, can provide the evidence that this is a reality of the present world. The exciting necessity of creating one's own life of work by planning the education and experience necessary to achieve it within rather wide limitations of talent, energy and environment is the reality of the present economic system.

Projections based upon the historical economic facts of the present indicate that in the next twenty years or more, most of the American people will no longer need to pursue wealth in order to live substantially. What goals then, will be pursued? There are increasing numbers of people who need to make different choices of purpose in their lives as the primarily economic reason to work diminishes.<sup>7</sup>

#### Organized Labor

There is no surcease from conflict at work, for no man who values his freedom can ever be unconcerned about the conditions under which he constricts it by entering into an employment contract. Moreover the nature of the conflicts will be constantly transformed as a consequence of the dynamic forces that operate on the work situation resulting from changes in technology, the economy, and the people employed.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Robert L. Heilbroner, <u>The Quest for Wealth</u>, (Simon and Schuster: New York, 1956) pp. 231-36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Eli Ginzberg and Associates, <u>Democratic Values and the Rights of</u> Management, (Columbia University Press: New York, 1963) p. 205.

The authors of this quotation argue for the institutionalized method of collective bargaining as a satisfactory means of resolving conflicts between management and labor. They see collective bargaining as preferable to other alternatives.

So long as the economic system operates as it traditionally has, American workers cannot generally consider themselves an integral part of a particular industry in the sense of being a part of the company. Control and management are separate functions. Workers have therefore in certain parts of industry organized themselves to effectively speak for their rights and benefits as separate from others, which may accrue to management, owners or consumers.

Tawney's view that an industry, including the people in it, should be an integral whole is perhaps too socialistic and considered as idealistically not possible. He argued for powers or a system of responsibility which was proportionate to the knowledge, skill and function of each individual within an enterprise. With the ideal of an industry devoted to service rather than private profit, such an arrangement of responsibility may be viewed as obtainable. Such is not the present structure of United States' industry. As Tawney himself has said in effect - so long as the various people involved in an industry are concerned to see what they can get out of it, there will be continuing conflict among them.<sup>9</sup>

Since the American economic system is thus described as constituting traditionally a conflict in interests, with what insight and

R,H. Tawney, <u>The Acquisitive Society</u>, (Harcourt Brace and World, Inc.: New York, 1920) (renewed copyright 1948 by Tawney; printed as a paperback - Harvest Books). The paragraph above expresses some of the ideas considered throughout the book.

justice is the movement to organize labor described in the history books? Are the reasons for organization detailed? Are the demands of labor viewed impartially? sympathetically? with hostility? These are aspects of the textbook treatment of labor which should be examined.

Because America remains a land of plenty, replete with opportunity, its labor unions remain conservative. Today unions are as uninterested in socialization of business as they were in 1900. Likewise, the aims of American unions have not changed over the years. The words of Samuel Gompers could describe the basic aims today as they could 50 years ago - "the best possible conditions for the workers ... more, always more." If this sounds greedy, let us reflect that labor, no more than any other group, wants more wages just for wages alone. Rather wages are desired for what they can buy in material satisfactions and the future good life for the worker, and his family.<sup>10</sup>

The above quotation offers some confirmation of the permanent divisions of group interests discussed in a preceding section, but also introduces another element, the conservative nature of unions. This is explained above as consisting of three parts: 1. the prosperity of America. 2. The interest in and possibility of obtaining a greater share of this prosperity. 3. No interest in changing the basic structure of industry.

The growth of unionism should be shown in the history texts as a means of conserving the basic pattern of industry as it has grown; that without the rise of unions willing to bargain for a greater share of the proceeds of production, the development of industry might have taken a rather different shape or have been stunted by opposition. To see American labor as essentially conservative and within the democratic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Gordon F. Bloom and Herbert R. Northrup, <u>Economics of Labor</u> Relations, (Richard D. Irwin, Inc.: Homewood, Illinois, 1958) p. 82.

traditions of the nation is the attitude which should be expected in the history books.

Only through organized strength can the American worker be reasonably sure that he will obtain justice in his position as an employee. Since profit is the primary guide to production of goods and services the preceding statement may be considered prima facie to be true.

The relative numbers of organized working people in America then, should be indicative in some degree of the relative numbers of employees who are in fact, reasonably sure of obtaining just treatment as employees. These numbers and their importance ought therefore to be included in the high school history books. Workers who are organized have an influence beyond their immediate numbers. Wages and conditions of employment for other workers are improved as a result of the contracts negotiated between employers and unions. This in no way means that unorganized workers are able to obtain equally fair conditions of employment.

# Unorganized Labor

Some figures on the numbers in the labor force organized, unorganized and non organizable are as follows: In 1957 it was estimated that of a 70,700,000 total labor force in the United States, 23,200,000 were non organizable. 47,500,000 were organizable and of these 18,000,000 were organized. This meant that thirty-eight per cent of the potentially organizable labor force was unionized.<sup>11</sup>

If the working force in the United States, under the present economic structure, is to obtain reasonable assurance that it shall have a

<sup>11</sup> Bloom and Northrup, op. cit., p. 75.

voice strong enough to be heard and heeded concerning its conditions of employment, then much remains to be done.

History textbooks can document the amelioration of conditions of work accomplished through union negotiations and state and federal legislation. Students need also to know that many workers have not yet gained the responsibility of directly influencing their conditions of employment through their own organizations. This may be part of the explanation for the need of a "War on Poverty," and may also help students understand that such a "War" will probably be successful only in limited degree. In addition to helping workers increase their skills and education, a campaign to eliminate poverty must include a method of organizing those workers who have previously been impervious to learning how to raise their collective voices on the industrial scene.

Labor is not organized and difficult to organize in certain regions or among certain groups; the service industries, the 2 - 100 employee shop, white-collar employees and the "...southern textile industries and other southern workers outside of the union enclaves of Birmingham, Alabama, and Richmond, Virginia."<sup>12</sup>

The small shop and the service industries have a high turnover of labor, a closer association of employer and employee and frequently a dislike of unionism which has made it difficult to organize them. Whitecollar workers dislike unionism and consider themselves apart from factory workers. In the South, dislike of outsiders, strong employer opposition and the racial issue have kept unions out.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Bloom and Northrup, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.



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#### Treatment of the Negro Worker

In recent years it has become commonplace in the popular press to print articles on the treatment of minority groups in America, especially the Negro. Minority group problems, however, are not new. They have been with the nation throughout its history. It is often noted that the common or public school in America helped greatly in the nineteenth century and after, to integrate immigrants and especially their children into the larger American society.

Today, millions of Americans, especially by reason of race or color are among those living in poverty or on the border of it. It is apparently not simple or easy to correct many of the prejudices of people against minority groups. America, however, has long had a tradition as the "land of opportunity." Though biases of various kinds and degrees may persist, it is within the American ethos to consider opportunity for work for which one can qualify as a right of a superior order to others. This is important. It is worthy. One must work to live. This is also an area less susceptible to prejudice since it involves to a lesser degree the feelings of people who fear close social intercourse with a minority group.

Yet there are reasons for believing that this crucial problem will continue to plague the country for a long time. Hiestand, after study of the employment trends for Negroes and whites, decade by decade, from 1910 to 1950 concluded that:

. . . despite the current civil rights efforts, there are little prospects that all the differences between whites and Negroes in terms of their regional and residential patterns, their backgrounds, and in the way employers, unions, and others in the labor market treat them will soon be erased. There are, therefore, little prospects

that we will soon see substantial equality in the education, skills, and opportunities of the new groups of young people of the two races.<sup>14</sup>

Farther on, speaking in terms of occupational advancement, Hiestand says:

> Though Negro men can advance, considerably in an absolute sense and even significantly in a relative sense, their gains seem to depend in large part on the fortunes of white men. Thus, the advancement of Negro men depends directly on more general advances in the economy.<sup>15</sup>

Do American history books deal with this aspect of the society? Do they show the problem of Negro workers, the need to gain for them equal treatment in obtaining opportunity for an education and to use their skills in the total range of occupations available to Americans? This problem involves many people and is of great significance. It involves an understanding of our history since it grows out of it. Obviously this is a topic from which high school students can learn to appreciate the value of history in helping them to understand and cope with a major contemporary problem.

#### Meaningful Work

Another facet of labor in industrialized countries has long been of concern to humanitarian observers. With the advent of mass production techniques, while industry has been enabled to produce prodigious quantities of goods and services, the part that an individual worker contributes has been progressively decimated. Repetitious performance

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Dale L. Hiestand, Economic Growth and Employment Opportunities for Minorities, (Columbia University Press: New York, 1964) p. 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 118.

of a single operation which is relatively simple to do, has made much work highly monotonous. It has also made the worker aware that as an individual his contribution to the final product can easily be learned by another. Creatively, intellectually and emotionally he has almost no connection with the quality of the final product, however excellent that product may be.

While one result of this has been the tremendous improvement of the material well being of the worker, another result has been that, on the job, the quality of life, the feeling of important service or skills, has been drastically curtailed. The aforementioned compensations cannot be ignored. Simultaneously the fact that the machine age work system tends to use people without regard for their <u>human</u> qualities poses a continuing enigma which the society must recognize.

In speaking of the importance of education to laborers as a means of obtaining worthwhile work and more particularly of the young worker, one writer said:

The desire for immediate gratifications - a car, spending money, a girl - burn strong. Rather than spend hard years at study, a man goes immediately into a plant at its attractive starting wage. Once in the plant, he may realize, sickeningly, that he has made a devil's bargain. His advancement depends upon educational training; but this he has foregone. He becomes restless. But dissatisfactions on the job lead not to militancy, despite occasional sporadic outbursts, but to escapist fantasies of having a mechanic's shop, a turkey farm, a gas station, of "owning a small business of one's own." An idle dream.<sup>16</sup>

Elsewhere, Bell says:

If one hopes to provide a new spirit among workers and a new appetite for work, one needs to consider the worker as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Daniel Bell, <u>Work and Its Discontents</u>, (Beacon Press: Boston, 1956) p. 33.

more than a part of a "human relation" in a factory. His job must not only feed his body; it must sustain his spirit.<sup>17</sup>

Bell's concern also seems to be that students of what to do about the problem of vitalizing work generally ignore that issue and turn to shortening the period of work and to emphasis on the use of time away from work.<sup>18</sup>

### Displacement of Workmen

A topic of tremendous concern to the whole society will, in what follows, be limited to its great influence on working men. Technological change has long displaced workers in various industries. This is nothing new. Automobiles replaced buggies, jet planes have superceded, in many instances, the use of propeller driven airplanes. Steam power and the uses of horses for power have generally been replaced. New power sources are frequently being found and used. Processes and products change with increasing rapidity. Automation and now cybernetics are becoming common parts of the vocabulary of the people.

Frequent changes in the society's needs or desires for various products, processes and skills have already directed considerable attention to the kinds and quality of education needed for people to adapt and readapt to continue in useful service.

High school students need to find through history a knowledge of these historical and continuing changes. They need to become aware of

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

the problems of people who are displaced from their jobs, the problems of planning for or allowing changes to just happen, and the difficulties of forecasting the social results when satellite communications systems are introduced or when atomic energy is applied to any of several new uses. They need to become aware that formal and informal means of education should no longer be considered terminal but lifelong processes which now more than before enrich the meaning of living; that a positive attitude towards continuing education is part of the character of an individual who would live life to the full.

## The Meaning of Progress

Perhaps one final topic is of such consequence to students, their society, and to the value of history itself, that it must be included though it is related to many historical events and topics other than those being discussed here. It is the matter of attitude toward change itself. A change may be good or evil or a matter of indifference. Obviously, the kind of change, its causes and consequences, must be known before a judgment is rendered.

In America a favorably viewed change is often termed progress. For American society, progress probably contains two essential ingredients. These are: a condition of material gain for the society and secondly, a greater degree of democratic control.

To be more explicit, if a process or product which could provide a material improvement in the physical condition of man, should remain in the private control of individuals, subject to their personal wishes, the progress would at best be termed partial, uncertain or perhaps only a potential. On the other hand, a greater degree of popular control over

anything which would probably be accompanied by a slowing of material improvement or even a lessening of it would certainly not fulfill the ideal of progress in America.

Expressed in a somewhat different way but with essentially the same meaning is the definition of liberty stated by John Dewey:

Well, in the first place, liberty is not just an idea, an abstract principle. It is power, effective power to do specific things. There is no such thing as liberty in general; liberty, so to speak, at large. If one wants to know what the condition of liberty is at a given time, one has to examine what persons can do and what they cannot do. The moment one examines the question from the standpoint of effective action, it becomes evident that the demand for liberty is a demand for power, either for possession of powers of action not already possessed or for retention and expansion of powers already possessed.<sup>19</sup>

This definition of liberty contains the two ideas of power to do things (material gains) and by whom (the question of democratic control). Thus, what has been defined as progress in the American tradition and what Dewey defines as liberty, are intimately related ideas and ideals.

How do the authors of the history textbooks view the changes which have occurred in the realms of labor and in the control and management of industry? Is there an explicit or implied attitude that certain changes have been progressive? regressive? If so, what appears to be the basis for this attitude? Generally, one would expect that the history textbooks would document a story of great progress during the past one hundred years. In this study, the views toward changes expressed within the limits of the selected topics, will be scrutinized to attempt to ascertain the basis for the determination of progress in these books.

<sup>19</sup> John Dewey, The Problem of Men, (The Philosophical Library: New York, 1946) pp. 111-12.



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This basis may then be compared with the definition of progress just given.

# Summary of Criteria

While the preceding criteria are not intended to be exhaustive, it has been argued that these selected criteria in the realms of management and control of industry, and labor, are of such significance that the high school history books must deal with these aspects of these topics if they are to adequately provide students with an understanding of history's contributions to contemporary industrial United States.

Below is a summary listing of these criteria:

### Management and Control of Industry

# Concentration of Wealth and Power

The great corporations today amass far greater wealth than ever before. These corporations are the apex of a tremendous industrial system of power. This power is in the hands of a relatively small number of men.

#### Corporate Purpose

The primary purpose of this industrial organization is the acquisition of increased wealth. The salaried managers must therefore be primarily concerned with this purpose.

#### Rational Consumption

The desire for profit, while legitimate, must be modified by other organizations including government, but especially by rational decisions by the people in the market place. Industry will then be subject to increasingly democratic and intelligent control.

### Democratic Organizations

If students are to be realistic about the possibility of making effective, intelligent choices, they must learn, in part from history, the importance of organized and democratic efforts to achieve their goals.

#### Labor

#### Freedom and Responsibility to Select One's Work

Students must have opportunity to appreciate the tremendous complexity and range of occupations available today compared with yesteryear. This implies greater freedom and responsibility to shape one's own life.

#### Organized Labor

To assure themselves of just treatment, American labor must be organized. Is organized labor treated as an essentially conservative force contributing to the development of the existing industrial system in the democratic tradition of the nation?

#### Unorganized Labor

Are the relative numbers of workers who remain unorganized, and therefore without a direct influence upon their conditions of employment, documented in the history textbooks?

#### Treatment of the Negro Worker

Do the history textbooks document the long and continuing struggle of the Negro, to obtain equal treatment as an employee?

# Meaningful Work Organization

Is the problem of monotonous, inhumane, fragmented work operations described as an important and deleterious aspect of the ability to produce abundance by means of mass production?

#### Technological Change and Education

By their treatment of the historical displacement of workers by technological changes, do the textbooks indicate the need for continuing education and the planning for change?

#### Criteria for Progress

What seems to be the criteria for indicating that some changes are progressive and others are not?

The above may be termed topical criteria. Each of these is to be

rated in terms of the subcriteria from Chapter I\* which are given in condensed form below:

#### Continuity

Is there a continuity of treatment which aids in the development of the significance of the information?

#### Information

Is sufficient information provided to help students understand these topics?

#### Integration

Are recent affairs presented in such a way that the import of historical information upon them can be appreciated?

In Appendix B will be found the rating scales with the results which summarize the ratings on these criteria given to each of the history textbooks.

Chapter III deals with the textbook treatment of the subtopics under the management and control of industry. Each section is devoted to the description and analysis of the treatment of a given subtopic in all of the textbooks.

Following that, Chapter IV will be devoted in the same way, section by section to the treatment of all the labor subtopics in each textbook.

## CHAPTER III

# THE TREATMENT OF THE MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL OF INDUSTRY IN THE SEVEN TEXTBOOKS

Four subtopics of the chapter title were developed in Chapter II: Concentration of Wealth and Power, Corporate Organizational Purposes, Rational Consumption and Democratic Organization. This chapter contains an examination of the treatment of each of these subtopics in each of the history textbooks. The meaning or interpretation of this information will be developed in the final chapter. Each subtopic starts with a brief introduction to establish the major idea and ends with a brief summary of its treatment in the history texts. Generally, the textbooks will be examined alphabetically by author.

#### Concentration of Wealth and Power

This subtopic, as developed in Chapter II, emphasizes that vast wealth and power was accumulated by industrial leaders and financiers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Much larger amounts of wealth are being accumulated by corporations today. These corporations are generally managed by salaried employees. In the earlier period and now, the destinies of millions of Americans are greatly influenced by the decisions of a relatively small group of people. Do the history textbooks provide students with the opportunity to become aware of these facts and to think about the possible implications in their lives and the life of the nation?

# Textbooks generally agree: 1870-1914

Each of the textbooks deals quite extensively with the above topic. For the period 1870-1914 it appears that historians have reached a consensus that this is a topic of major importance. The facts, statistics and descriptions presented by the authors easily support this view.

Speaking of the period 1865 to 1900, one text states that: "From a country which was not well developed industrially, the United States had grown into a land of big business - business which was no longer local but nation-wide in scope."<sup>1</sup>

Another text indicates the shift in power when the Republicans during the Civil War enacted their program: "... a new class had come to power. Manufacturers and bankers, instead of landowners, now controlled the reins of government."<sup>2</sup>

Since the textbooks, without exception, note the tremendous growth in production, wealth and power of industry, perhaps these two examples noting the appearance of this early in the period are sufficient to indicate the significant changes which characterized this era.

By 1900, the great concentration of industrial wealth and production is treated as a fact of concern to public officials and to the general public itself.

An example of the degree of this concentration is the following: "By the 1890's corporations produced nearly three-fourths of the total value of manufactured products in the United States."<sup>3</sup> Another text

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Canfield and Wilder, p. 358.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gavian and Hamm, p. 414.

Canfield and Wilder, p. 370.

concludes that state legislatures and the nation's Senate were frequently used by these powerful groups to promote their own interests.<sup>4</sup> Muzzey and Link say that the election of 1896 marked the victory of the party dedicated to the encouragement of big business.<sup>5</sup>

All of the texts not only give a good accounting of the tremendous industrial growth, they also devote some space to the methods and other causes of this growth. Such factors as great national resources, immigration laws and practices encouraging an influx of cheap labor, government aids such as grants of land, the tariff, favorable corporation charters, patent laws and the huge market area of the country itself, are frequently discussed. Generally too, the texts include a discussion of devices such as pools, trusts, holding companies and interlocking directorates which were used to enable companies to gain in size and strength.

There were highly undesirable features in the rise of big business indicated by wasteful exploitation of natural resources and labor. The texts also include the tremendous growth of production in which the people had a greater share than ever before, as a favorable aspect of this growth. Some texts emphasize the favorable aspects more than the unfavorable, but it seems that there is the attempt in all the texts to achieve a reasonable balance of viewpoint. This is a matter of judgment in which some differences of emphasis ought to be expected.

In the period from 1900 to 1930 the seven texts treat the further concentration of power and wealth as indicated below:

Bragdon and McCutchen state that Theodore Roosevelt "...was not opposed to big business as such, recognizing it as inevitable, but he felt that unless it could be controlled by law, the only alternative would be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Graff and Krout, pp. 360-362

<sup>5</sup> Muzzey and Link, pp. 397-400.

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some form of socialism, possibly after violent revolution."<sup>6</sup> This statement concludes a section devoted to the formation of the United States Steel Company in 1901. It was the largest industrial combination formed up to that time and had capital assets of nearly a billion and a half dollars.

Further on these same authors discuss the tremendous changes in society caused by technological developments; the automobile, motion pictures and radio. Because big business could produce these goods in mass and market them nationally, "It was natural then, that the 1920's should be a period of rapid concentration in industry ... Whereas the average American formerly regarded the 'trusts' as his enemies, he now relied on big business to create new opportunities."<sup>7</sup>

<u>Canfield and Wilder</u> illustrate the contention that the businessman led the way in the formation of an "American Way of Life," by quoting the editor of the Atlanta <u>Constitution</u> from January 8, 1890: "After all, business is the biggest thing in the country. Politicians may talk, but businessmen will act, control, and dominate the destinies of this commonsense country."<sup>8</sup>

These authors also concede that in the 1920's despite previous laws attempting to curb the growth of big business, mergers continued in many industries.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Bragdon and McCutchen, p. 501.
<sup>7</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 564-566.
<sup>8</sup> Canfield and Wilder, p. 430.
<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 505-506.

<u>Gavian and Hamm</u> give one of the more eloquent summaries of industrial power at the beginning of this centry.

Industrialization centered vast wealth in the hands of a few men. What is more important, it gave these men power over millions of workers and consumers. They could use their power to keep wages down and prices up, to crush attemps of labor to organize, and to dictate to state legislatures and even to Congress itself. Even those who showed great generosity in disposing of their fortunes were usually against laws to improve working and living conditions. Such laws they argued, interfered with free enterprise.<sup>10</sup>

These authors further state that "In 1900, according to one estimate, ten per cent of the population owned ninety per cent of the nation's wealth. Another estimate tells us that one per cent of the people owned over fifty per cent of the wealth."<sup>11</sup>

The same authors describe the consolidation of business and industrial enterprise after World War I as greater than ever before. The attitude of the federal government and the Supreme Court aided this trend. "By 1930, six hundred corporations owned half of all the corporate wealth in the country."<sup>12</sup>

The text by <u>Graff and Krout</u> gives figures indicating greatly increased numbers of mergers and consolidations of big business in mining, manufacturing and banking. The growth of great chains in retailing is mentioned also.<sup>13</sup>

The Republican administrations of the 1920's gave businessmen more freedom than they had had since the early 1900's. Great businesses

- 10 Gavian and Hamm, p. 429.
- 11 Ibid., p. 437.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid, pp. 638-639.
- <sup>13</sup> Graff and Krout, p. 559.

continued to grow larger and to increase their wealth. Republicans, and the public too, credited them with making prosperity the symbol of American greatness.<sup>14</sup>

While <u>Muzzey and Link</u> discuss the new industries rising in the 1920's, they do not really discuss the developments of concentration, growth or influence of industry in government. Their emphasis is especially upon the favorable attitudes of the Presidents toward big business.<sup>15</sup>

<u>Wirth</u> summarizes the ineffectiveness of the Sherman Anti-trust Act and describes the degree of monopolistic control briefly. He concludes that:

At the opening of the new century industrial consolidation was the outstanding feature of American economic life... Within a few decades [around 1900]<sup>16</sup> one-eighth of the total number of corporations employed three-fourths of the workers and produced more than four-fifths of the commodities American consumers used,<sup>17</sup>

Wirth shows that Theodore Roosevelt and Taft pursued a course of regulation of big business but he concludes that Woodrow Wilson was accurate in 1912 when he said:

A comparatively small number of men control the raw materials, the water power, the larger credits of the country, and, by agreement handed around among themselves, they control prices.<sup>18</sup>

Wirth also indicates that World War I and the 1920's were periods of continuing concentration in industry.<sup>19</sup>

14	Harlow and Noyes, pp. 628-639.
15	Muzzey and Link, Chapter 26, "Back to Normalcy," pp. 524-551.
16	In brackets - my interpretation of the time.
	Wirth, p. 425.
18	Wirth, p. 427.
	Ibid., pp. 428-429 and pp. 430-433.

Turning now to the past thirty or thirty-five years, what do these texts have to say about this topic?

As of 1955, <u>Canfield and Wilder</u> show that one per cent of manufacturing establishments produced forty per cent of manufactured goods and employed about one-third of the wage earners. "Thus in volume of production, big business was far ahead of small manufacturers."<sup>20</sup>

Further on they explain that in the past about one per cent of the persons receiving income obtained about twelve per cent of the total net income of the nation. They take a very moderate view of the concentration of wealth, indicating that income taxes tend to reduce inequality of income and that wealthy people, for example the Rockefellers, have given generously to many good causes. The great concentration of wealth in corporation earnings is not mentioned.<sup>21</sup>

<u>Harlow and Noyes</u> mention that the awarding of huge contracts to big business was necessitated by World War II. This, of course strengthened these companies during the war.<sup>22</sup>

<u>Wirth</u> shows that mergers and consolidations continued through World War II, which especially contributed to the increasing size of the largest corporations.<sup>23</sup> He considers the topic to the mid-20th century by noting that nearly half of all gainfully employed people are employed by corporations; that about ninety per cent of stockholders were in the middle income group. Corporation managers now seek the long term interests of their companies, in many instances, by profit sharing plans, promoting

- 22 Harlow and Noyes, p. 725.
- <sup>23</sup> Wirth, pp. 430-437.

<sup>20</sup> Canfield and Wilder, p. 506.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibid, pp. 584-585.

public relations, and giving the employee, customers and the public, just treatment.<sup>24</sup>

### Summary

All of these textbooks gave a good account of the great growth and concentration of wealth and power in industry between 1865-1900. During the period 1900-1930 all the texts again gave attention to the continuation of this trend. Gavian and Hamm, and Wirth are particularly outspoken. Five of the textbooks are nearly silent about this topic for the past thirty-five years. Wirth, and Canfield and Wilder attempt summaries which, in effect say that the concentration of power and wealth in corporate industry and business is as great or perhaps greater than ever.

### Corporate Organizational Purposes

This section focuses upon the treatment of the history of large scale industry and business purposes as revealed by their activities. Since the profit motive is assumed to be their primary guide and since this motive can conflict with their primary function (service) when combined with great power, it is deemed essential for students to be exposed to this problem.

<u>Bragdon</u> and <u>McCutchen</u> deal with this problem with clarity during the period 1870-1930. Several examples may suffice to indicate this.

While acknowledging that other interests exerted influence upon the government, they say that: "In 1873 a congressional committee reported that representatives of big business had great influence and power in Washington, Lobbyists exerted such pressure that they were called 'the third House of Congress.'"<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 662-663.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Bragdon and McCutchen, p. 440.

In a later section introducing the topic of the efforts of the progressive movement to place business under regulation of government they state that: "At the opening of the twentieth century, big business seemed beyond the control of law ... although government failed to regulate business, there was little doubt that business controlled government."<sup>26</sup>

Examples of business conduct which support these quotations are given in a number of places.<sup>27</sup>

While examples of the conduct of big business are not so evident in their treatment of the 1920's, it appears that at the time, the country was content with the attitude of Coolidge: "He acted on the principle that whatever business, especially big business, wanted was good for the country. Although the 1920's was a period of rapid concentration of wealth, the anti-trust laws were not effectively enforced."<sup>28</sup> Except for promoting economy and resisting farm demand for aid in disposing of surpluses Coolidge "...was content to have the financial destinies of the country in the hands of Secretary of the Treasury Mellon and the great business interests whose viewpoint Mellon represented."<sup>29</sup>

In the period about 1930 to the present time Bragdon and McCutchen say very little more on this topic. In reference to businessmen's

- <sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 386-389, 418-419, 437-438, 444, 449, 491.
- 28 Ibid., p. 561.
- 29 Ibid., pp. 562-563.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 494.

influence in government during Truman's administration the Republicans had some ammunition for the election campaign of 1952. "While these scandals never approached the scale of those in the Grant and Harding administrations, the Republicans gained votes by proposing to 'throw the rascals out."<sup>30</sup>

<u>Canfield and Wilder</u> describe the trust with its benefits of lower costs of production and specialization. Also mentioned is the fact that the increased efficiency was frequently not passed along by means of lower prices but that prices were often raised when trusts secured a monopoly of production.<sup>31</sup>

Quite typically of history textbooks, Canfield and Wilder describe the rise of the steel industry, with Carnegie as its leader, and of the Standard Oil Company under Rockefeller. The power and purposes of Carnegie and Rockefeller are indicated by citing examples of their methods of coercion,<sup>32</sup>

Since the railroads were of such tremendous value to the development of industry in the latter nineteenth century, Canfield and Wilder appropriately mention abuses of which they were guilty: Overvaluing their stock to make it appear that they were not making much profit, influencing government through favors to individuals, applying unequal rates, and pooling agreements.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 659.
31 Canfield and Wilder, pp. 371-372.
<sup>32</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 372-375.
<sup>33</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 385-386.

Concern for free competition and equal opportunity in business and the effect of the tariff in aiding some businesses and at the same time increasing the costs for some sectors of the economy are mentioned.<sup>34</sup>

After description of the great advantages of big business and the means used to attain this size, these authors conclude that consolidations and mergers continued throughout the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>35</sup> "Through holding companies and interlocking directorates, a few financiers were able to control a very large proportion of the nation's industrial resources."<sup>36</sup>

In several instances these authors discuss the concern in the early twentieth century for the need to control big business for the benefit of the people.<sup>37</sup>

In summary, Canfield and Wilder give considerable attention to the purposes of corporations through the era of Woodrow Wilson. There is little mention of them after the Progressive Movement which culminated during Wilson's first administration.

<u>Gavian and Hamm</u> summarize the advantages and the unfair practices of big business before the turn of the century.<sup>38</sup> Some examples will show their outspoken treatment of the way in which corporations have functioned in several eras of American history.

In erecting the New York Central Railroad system after the Civil War, "...Vanderbilt did not hesitate to bribe legislatures and judges,

<sup>34</sup> <u>Ibid., pp. 379-385.</u>
<sup>35</sup> <u>Ibid., pp. 501-506.</u>
<sup>36</sup> <u>Ibid., pp. 506.</u>
<sup>37</sup> <u>Ibid., pp. 510, 514, 732.</u>
<sup>38</sup> Gavian and Hamm, p. 425.

to sell stock to the public for twice its value, and to take advantage of inside information to win huge sums on the stock exchange ... yet he helped to open up a continent."<sup>39</sup>

The section dealing with Theodore Roosevelt's first administration takes the position that monopolies frequently used their powers to cheat the government, the consumer and the laborer in order to increase their wealth. Roosevelt saw a great accomplishment in his efforts to obtain government regulation through enforcement of the Sherman Anti-trust Act.<sup>40</sup>

During the 1920's Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, "...filled federal offices with men who thought that the business of the United States is business."<sup>41</sup>

"The Anti-trust laws were used against labor unions but not against big business." In this section too they say, "For twelve years the federal government gave business all possible aid, direct and indirect."<sup>42</sup>

Gavian and Hamm state that about sixty per cent of the nation's families had incomes of less than \$2000 a year; that an unduly large proportion of the nation's income was going to a small wealthy group. There was too much money to invest and not enough for consumers.<sup>43</sup>

These authors deal forthrightly with the seamier side of corporate objectives up to the time of the Great Depression. The topic is not again a matter of discussion.

<sup>39</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 420,
<sup>40</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 531-533.
<sup>41</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 653.
<sup>42</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>
<sup>43</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 670-671.

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<u>Graff and Krout</u> also speak out concerning the abuses of corporate power while acknowledging the great benefits derived from large scale business. They cite the justification for many questionable business practices as well as legitimate growth, as coming from belief in "survival of the fittest." They concede that the pursuit of wealth by many of the early leaders was based upon the idea that was expressed by Carnegie: In order to develop great productive capacity a few had to obtain the money to do it but the benefits would flow to all.<sup>44</sup>

These authors devote a chapter to the Progressive Movement. They summarize the abuses of industrial development, many of which imply that corporations were caught in a system whereby profit was of necessity, the preeminent concern. "The range of these evils was broad: child labor, discriminatory railroad rates, trusts, urban slums, adulterated food and drugs, corruption in public office, tariff excesses, drunkenness, occupational diseases, and organized crime."<sup>45</sup>

Because industry wanted and obtained very high protective tariffs in the 1920's, this text concludes: "Truly a golden age for businessmen seemed about to begin."<sup>46</sup>

Perhaps their quotation from Senator Borah concerning the nation's neutrality legislation of the 1930's may be viewed as a broader commentary on the extent to which business motives are ingrained into the American society. Borah said, "We seek to avoid all risks, all dangers, but we make certain we get all profits."<sup>47</sup>

- 46 Ibid., p. 545.
- 47 Ibid., p. 610.

<sup>44</sup> Graff and Krout, pp. 364-365.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 472.

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The treatment of corporate purposes is not a subject during the past thirty years, thought it was given much attention from 1870-1914, and also was mentioned in the 1920's.

Harlow and Noyes review the several methods used by big business to control profits and bilk the public. The notorious example of Daniel Drews of the Erie Railroad is given to illustrate unscrupulous profit seeking in the pre-twentieth century period.<sup>48</sup>

The frequent consortium of politicians and businessmen, as in the case of Tweed in New York City, is cited,<sup>49</sup> and given more extended treatment later.<sup>50</sup>

The use of "dollar diplomacy" especially during Taft's administration to assure protection of businessmen's investment in Latin America is noted.<sup>51</sup>

The belief of the government, the people, and industrial leaders that the nation should be able to ship goods to the warring nations is considered an important cause of United States entrance into World War I.<sup>52</sup>

Finally these authors allude to corporate purposes again when they acknowledge that a major cause of the Great Depression was the decision of most industrialists and businessmen to use their profits to provide larger dividends or increase their investments in greater productive

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Harlow and Noyes, pp. 389-395.
<sup>49</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 423.
<sup>50</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 444-448.
<sup>51</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 559.
<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 570-574.

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capacity, rather than increasing wages.<sup>53</sup>

In the <u>Muzzey and Link</u> text it is noted that the federal government after the Civil War, was not prepared by tradition or law to deal with the power and effects of big business; that however, these businesses were able to influence the government in their own interests. They gave no detailed examples of the influence, <sup>54</sup>

There are two references to the high prices of goods to farmers and workers which were due to the high tariff policies of the government prior to 1900.<sup>55</sup>

Concerning the acquisition of great wealth, Muzzey and Link oversimplify when they say, "Small in number, they were unbelievably wealthy primarily because there were no income taxes in their day, and they had only small property taxes to pay."<sup>56</sup> They do not question the right of the rich to have acquired their wealth. They mention the frequent extravagant displays of wealth in the period prior to 1900; also the widespread contributions to worthy causes by wealthy people.<sup>57</sup>

There is an implied condemnation of "dollar diplomacy" as "...the advancement only of commercial and financial interests."<sup>58</sup>

In the 1920's they note the post-war corruption especially by men of wealth, during Harding's administration, and the efforts of some manufacturers to make the tariff of 1930 highly protective.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 646.
<sup>54</sup> Muzzey and Link, pp. 359-360.
<sup>55</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 376 and 386-388.
<sup>56</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 406.
<sup>57</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 406-408.
<sup>58</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 472.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., pp. 524-536 and 556.

<u>Wirth</u> discusses in several places the influence of businessmen upon government to attain their ends. This influence is mentioned in connection with corrupt government in the post Civil War period, with the tariff issue, with imperialism at the turn of the century and finally with profiteering during World War I.<sup>60</sup>

## Summary

All of the texts give credit to industrialists for their part in making the United States a great industrial nation. All of the texts, during the period approximately 1870-1930, discuss in greater or lesser extent, some of the corporate purposes and methods which were often against the individual and public interest. During the past thirty or more years there is no significant discussion of corporation purposes as a problem in American society.

# How Rational Consumption and Other Considerations Ameliorate the Profit Motive

This subtopic is investigated to see to what extent the history textbooks make explicit to students how individual choices, multiplied by the millions, determine in great part the direction which the national economy takes. Each citizen, by his own thoughtful planning of his purposes, has the opportunity in this country of contributing to the wise use of the nation's resources. Do the history books contribute significantly to the development of attention to this tremendous opportunity of people to think about how the nation's resources ought to be used?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Wirth, pp. 333-358, 368-372, 381-382, 430-437, 589-590 and 609.



<u>Bragdon and McCutchen</u> in their discussions of the Interstate Commerce Act, the Sherman Act and in such an incident as Theodore Roosevelt's intervention in the Anthracite Coal Strike of 1902, emphasize the importance of the federal government in making and eventually enforcing laws which regulate the economy in the interest of public good.<sup>61</sup>

Later, they again refer to the federal government's role during the 1930's when they explain that the New Deal did not attempt to destroy capitalism. "As Roosevelt explained it, 'What we seek is balance in our economic system - balance between agriculture and industry and balance between the wage earner, the employer, and the consumer.'<sup>1062</sup>

<u>Canfield and Wilder</u> provide continuity and examples from 1887 to the 1950's of the work of the federal government in regulating business or in refraining from doing so. The following is a summary of their treatment of the Interstate Commerce Act:

After the United States Supreme Court had nullified state laws regulating the railroads, the Interstate Commerce Act was enacted by Congress in 1887. The law was a real beginning of government regulation of business. Logically the railroads should have been first since government grants and loans enabled many of them to build and thrive. They provided transportation for the public; nearly everyone was dependent upon them for numerous things. Though the Interstate Commerce Commission was hamstrung by the courts, a principle of regulation was established and the Commission publicized many wrongful practices.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Bragdon and McCutchen, pp. 421, 424 and 500.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 594.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Canfield and Wilder, pp. 380-387.

These authors also give credit to public demand for the passage of the Sherman Anti-trust Act<sup>64</sup> and the lowering of tariff rates in Woodrow Wilson's first administration.<sup>65</sup>

They credit the government with providing conservation education and for regulation of the use of exhaustible natural resources.<sup>66</sup>

"After the Republican administration took over in 1953, the trend was away from price and wage controls and government participation in business."<sup>67</sup>

Numerous other examples of the role of the federal government in regulating industry and business in the public interest can be cited in this book.

<u>Gavian and Hamm</u> provide good continuity and frequent description of the activities of the federal government to regulate industry and commerce in the public interest. A few examples may be considered representative of their book. Numerous others could be given.

In discussing the growth of cities in the latter nineteenth century, and the consequent problems of paving streets, improving transportation, sewage disposal, lighting, police and fire protection and pure water, the authors conclude that: "'Laissez faire', the idea that government should interfere as little as possible, was giving way to the idea that the government must take action to advance the public welfare."<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 387-388.
<sup>65</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 540-542.
<sup>66</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 563-574.
<sup>67</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 776.
<sup>68</sup> Gavian and Hamm, pp. 432-435.

An example of a different and persisting trend in government is their summary of the fact that the Supreme Court declared an income tax of two per cent on incomes above \$4000 unconstitutional in 1895. They quote Justice Field for the majority opinion: "The present assault upon capital is but the beginning. It will be but the steppingstone to others larger and more sweeping, 'till our political conditions will become a war of the poor against the rich."<sup>69</sup>

In a section entitled, "Industrialism is Brought Under Social Control," near the end of the book, the authors conclude that legislation, labor union action, more responsible corporate management, the logic of man's production and progressive taxation, in combination, have provided the United States with relatively good balance and control over its industrial development and the distribution of products.<sup>70</sup> Not mentioned are the current important problems in each of the above topics (those which have tended in considerable degree to provide this social control).

This textbook gives much emphasis to "progressive" social forces as in its explanation of the accomplishments of Woodrow Wilson's first term in office.<sup>71</sup>

In some vivid descriptions of states' efforts to control industries and provide better working conditions they give continuity and balance too. For example: "Today every state has a workmen's compensation

<sup>69</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 503
70 <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 817-821.
71 <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 546-556.

law... Many workers still lack real protection and some are not covered at all."<sup>72</sup>

<u>Graff and Krout</u> note the reluctance of the federal government to regulate industry particularly as they show the frequent application of laws to regulate business being applied to thwart the labor movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>73</sup>

This text shows without comment the importance attached to relatively costly goods when for example, the importance of automobile production by 1929 is discussed.

"Yearly passenger-car production had reached nearly 4,800,000; a different, improved model became an accepted fact for millions of Americans, and 'two cars in every garage' the goal of millions more."<sup>74</sup>

Graff and Krout also say, "By the mid-twenties the market for goods had been extended incredibly by advertizing. Moreover, new customers were being created by the encouragement of credit, or installment, buying of almost every type of commodity."<sup>75</sup>

These writers in these kinds of descriptions of the use of resources provide information very relevant to this subtopic of rational consumption. Apparently they do not feel the need to discuss any of the implications.

Another topic mentioned in the current scene is the problem of inflation. The necessity for great government expenditure (usually deficit) and of rising prices and wages are areas which focus attention to the need for rational controls of the whole economy with the federal government as

- <sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 553.
- 75 Ibid., p. 555.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 526.

<sup>73</sup> Graff and Krout, pp. 420-421.

the most important potential for control,<sup>76</sup>

The importance of federal activity in the control of business and industry is noted in numerous places in this history by Graff and Krout, as in the other books.

<u>Harlow and Noyes</u> emphasize the great reform era of the early twentieth century. Like the other texts this one covers the important role of the federal government in controlling industry to the benefit of the people.

The Tennessee Valley Authority is pictured as a government enterprise which aided an entire region to thrive as it had not been able to before.<sup>77</sup>

This text shows that tariff rates, much in the hands of the President after 1934, have gone down over the years since.<sup>78</sup> This really reflects a confidence in the President looking after the general welfare in contrast to the congressional handling of the tariff in the prior years.

The text by <u>Muzzey and Link</u> especially emphasizes the importance of the President as a leader. Theodore Roosevelt's role in making the government a protector of the general welfare is stressed.<sup>79</sup>

During the past twenty year period there are several comments of interest:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 671.
<sup>77</sup> Harlow and Noyes, pp. 665-668.
<sup>78</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 685-686.
<sup>79</sup> Muzzey and Link, pp. 447-458.

"In October, 1945, the Office of War Mobilization agreed that a general wage increase of 24 per cent could be granted by industry without upsetting either profits or price control."<sup>80</sup> Yet there is no further comment on this situation.

Also noted is that in 1946 lobbyists were finally required to register with the government. The text makes no comment on this.<sup>81</sup>

President Kennedy's denunciation of United States Steel for its announced price increase in 1962 after the administration had succeeded in getting the union and the steel companies to agree to moderate wage increases is followed by the statement that, "Public opinion strongly supported the President." The gulf between business and government was widened.<sup>82</sup>

<u>Wirth</u> has the general pattern of the other texts in emphasizing the federal government's use of controls over industry. Like the others, he notes that Harding, Coolidge and Hoover gave "free rein" to big business because they believed it would insure prosperity.<sup>83</sup>

Wirth notes that the Progressives with LaFollette as a candidate in 1924 were condemning the "...control of government and industry by private monopoly."<sup>84</sup>

<sup>80</sup> <u>Ibid., p. 636.</u>
81 <u>Ibid., p. 644.</u>
82 <u>Ibid., p. 713.</u>
83 Wirth, p. 627.
84 Ibid., pp. 652-623.

Summary

These seven history textbooks all contribute to a knowledge of the important role of government in the regulation of business and industry in the public interest. Several of them cite instances of the impact of advertizing and consumer spending on the economy. None of them comments directly upon the central issue of this subtopic: that of wise consumption in an economy of abundance.

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# The Use and Effect of Democratic Organizations in Improving the Economic System

The purpose of this subtopic is to consider the extent to which the history textbooks contribute to an understanding of the importance of organized efforts. Do the books help students to think about the value of their present and future efforts to select and work within organizations which can contribute to the improvement of the economic system and other areas of social concern?

Bragdon and McCutchen deal with this topic in connection with the Granger movement of the 1870's, the Populist and Progressive Movements near the turn of the century, and the New Deal.

They say concerning the Populists that it was ",..a new national party, combining farmers and laborers in opposition to manufacturers, bankers, merchants and railroads."<sup>85</sup>

They conclude:

The Populist platform reveals one of the major functions of American third parties - to bring to public attention measures which the major parties later adopt as their own. The majority of the Populist demands were later put into effect by either state or federal legislation."<sup>86</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Bragdon and McCutchen, p. 444.
<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 448.

In discussing the Progressive movement, Bragdon and McCutchen indicate that it involved a great variety of Americans and drew its leaders from many walks of life.<sup>87</sup> One gets the impression that it was a widely popular expression for reform and not the influence of any particular organization, which made it effective. This does reveal the cumulative effect and power of numerous organizations, culminating in demonstrations of the power of the popular will.

With regard to the Great Depression these authors quote <u>Time</u> in showing why Americans did not have a revolution:

Doubtless the most potent factor in keeping the country steady and averting even the threat of an armed uprising has been the certainty - such as exists in no other large country - that November 1932, would in due constitutional order bring a presidential and congressional election.<sup>88</sup>

This quotation and their later "Estimate of the New Deal,"<sup>89</sup> and the earlier Progressive movement tend to show that in times of great national problems, the attention of the people is properly toward looking to the federal government for change and reform; that local organization must channel its energies into large scale movement to be effective.

<u>Canfield and Wilder</u> in their treatment of the Progressive era<sup>90</sup> and the depression of the 1930's<sup>91</sup> show that in times of great national need, the popular belief that reform can be accomplished is justified. The national government is the vehicle, and apparently great agitation

<sup>87</sup> <u>Ibid., p. 490.</u>
<sup>88</sup> <u>Ibid., p. 587.</u>
<sup>89</sup> <u>Ibid., p. 608.</u>
<sup>90</sup> <u>Ibid., pp. 737-740 and 744-747.</u>
<sup>91</sup> <u>Ibid., pp. 759-764.</u>

is necessary in order to accomplish change.

<u>Gavian and Hamm</u> show in the formation of the Populist Party and its platform of 1892 that widespread discontent can result in numbers of smaller organizations combining to form a third party; that in this case, while not winning an election, it helped to arouse sufficient interest in the reforms to get many of them adopted eventually.<sup>92</sup>

Also discussed is a list of evils as the stimulant to Progressive reform. Credit for success of this reform movement is given to farmer, labor, civic organizations, church groups and several able governors.<sup>93</sup>

The treatment of the New Deal also emphasizes the democratic tradition. Through it the principle of greater federal and state responsibility for employment, health and welfare was established. This helped preserve democracy. The problem of unemployment was not solved though production by 1939 had reached a new high,<sup>94</sup>

<u>Graff and Krout</u> deal adequately with the earlier reform movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Their particular contribution is their contention that the New Deal "...was in many ways a resumption of the work of reform left undone when the progressive era came to an end at the conclusion of the First World War."<sup>95</sup>

In addition, they say, "...Roosevelt added to our conception of democracy the conviction that the conservation of human resources is as

<sup>92</sup> Gavian and Hamm, pp. 500-502.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., pp. 517-520.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., pp. 703-704.

<sup>95</sup> Graff and Krout, p. 591.

important as the conservation of physical resources."96

While also noting the earlier reform efforts, <u>Harlow and Noyes</u> continue to treat the role of the federal government following World War II<sup>97</sup> and later in dealing with economic problems. Mention is made of inflation, sluggish growth of the economy, persistent unemployment and workers' needs for increased education. Federal measures to stimulate business and help alleviate these problems are briefly touched upon.<sup>98</sup>

<u>Muzzey and Link</u> do a good job in showing the importance and effect of popular agitation in the three great reform eras described in all the textbooks.

In their summary of the New Deal, they believe that its real and lasting contribution was in showing that the nation could democratically deal with the whole range of problems brought about by industrial change.<sup>99</sup>

They also show that the federal government continued to assume responsibility for the nation's economic health following World War II.<sup>100</sup>

<u>Wirth</u> places emphasis upon the Progressive Era. In connection with issues, attitudes and ideas of the presidential election of 1912, he gives a picture of the continuity of the Progressive tradition by going back as far as Jefferson and forward into post World War II. Wirth is sympathetic

<sup>96</sup> <u>Ibid.</u> p. 592.
<sup>97</sup> Harlow and Noyes, pp. 753-754.
<sup>98</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 762-764.
<sup>99</sup> Muzzey and Link, pp. 570-573.
<sup>100</sup> Ibid., pp. 639, 643-644 and 688-689.

with Progressives as caring more about people as against concern for property.<sup>101</sup>

Wirth also shows his faith in the federal government's ability by concluding that government aid and regulation has enabled the American economic system to remain in private hands and to increase its strength.<sup>102</sup>

## Summary

These seven history textbooks substantially agree on the importance of organized public opinion to effect important reforms growing out of the great industrial changes of the past one hundred years. The changes often wait upon the building up of great public concern over a period of time, and the focus is upon the necessity of action by the federal government to assure effective reform. No attention is given to examples of the <u>process</u> whereby local organizations have a national impact.

The next chapter will attempt to reveal how these authors treat labor by considering their treatment of seven subtopics.

101 Wirth, pp. 591-595.

102 Ibid., pp. 663-664.

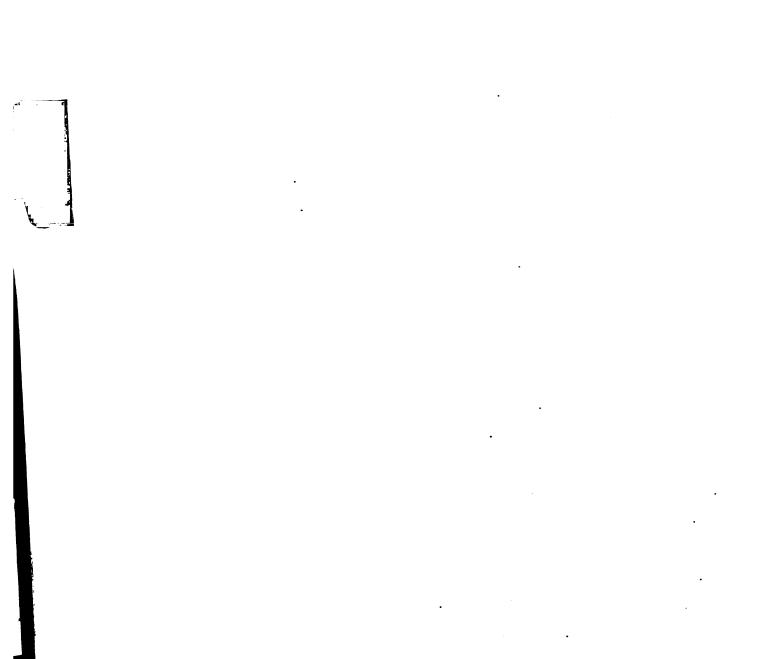
#### CHAPTER IV

### THE TREATMENT OF LABOR IN THE SEVEN TEXTBOOKS

Chapter II provided the rationale and background for seven subtopics under the treatment of labor. Following the pattern of Chapter III each subtopic will be briefly summarized in the same order that it was discussed in Chapter II; the textbooks will be examined in alphabetical order by authors to see their treatment of each subtopic. At the end of each subtopic a summary of the findings will be made. As in Chapter III, there will be an attempt to avoid conclusions about the findings until the final chapter.

## Freedom and Responsibility to Select One's Work

One of the significant changes resulting from the great industrial developments of the past one hundred and more years, is the proliferation of occupational opportunities. The economic necessity of quickly taking an available job is rapidly receding. History books cannot supplant occupational guidance but rather can supplement by providing the perspective. They can show that work, a central concern of people, has changed rapidly. Generally neither economic necessity nor local limitations in work opportunities should be the prime considerations in planning one's future. A student's abilities and interests can usually be and in the long run, ought to be of greater importance. History can show that a great change has occurred. People, now in an abundant economic system, need to accept much greater responsibility in selecting their occupations



and thus benefit from a new freedom: a career built upon one's interest in it and the values occruing from it, rather than primarily upon the paycheck one can get out of it.

#### Summary

The textbooks show that immigrants came to this country frequently to gain greater economic benefits from even the hardest kinds of labor. They were, in the Civil War period and afterwards, often recruited from abroad to help build the railroads and provide manpower for the factories.

In addition, the history books tell of many new industries which have developed or are developing. They discuss the recessions and periods of economic expansion.

None of the textbooks deals explicitly with this great change (the selection of one's work), growing out of history, which is profoundly altering the social and economic life of the American people.

### Organized Labor

This subtopic deals with the American economic system as built upon competing and conflicting interests, which depending upon their power, methods and ability to influence, tend to move the various parts of the system in one direction or another.

American labor unions, having accepted the system, are viewed as essentially conservative. They are a necessary part of the system if workers are to have their interests publicized and represented as a force which helps to determine what proportion of economic benefits should properly accrue to workers.

History books therefore need to show the relative strength of

unions as a force in the economy and provide the historical background of their development and functions.

<u>Bragdon and McCutchen</u> provide an account of labor union activities, problems and accomplishments in the Civil War period and during the following thirty years.<sup>1</sup> They indicate that the public, the employers and law enforcement agencies were opposed to their activities and unions therefore had difficult times. Unions also learned that physical force was not effective in obtaining their objectives. Meeting either duly constituted authorities or employer strikebreakers with force usually resulted in unfavorable publicity and defeat.

The interest in immediate gains and the avoidance of reformist activity are given as reasons for the successful development and continued success of the American Federation of Labor.<sup>2</sup> Additionally important was its more cohesive organization, based upon the joining together of unions of skilled crafts only.

These authors indicate that the Clayton Act of 1914 was "...hailed as labor's Magna Carta."<sup>3</sup> Under it the antitrust laws were not to be construed as forbidding the organization and operation of labor unions. Injunctions were not to be used against union meetings, peaceful strikes, picketing and boycotts.<sup>4</sup>

Following World War I Bragdon and McCutchen gave an account of the severe treatment of organized labor due to the fear of Communist and radical activity.<sup>5</sup>

4 Ibid.

Bragdon and McCutchen, pp. 424-431.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 428.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 520.

Ibid., pp.

In the 1920's government and business together were effective in breaking strikes and in prosecuting unions under the Sherman Antitrust Act. Injunctions were frequently used against unions and Supreme Court decisions "...whittled away the protections which unions secured by the Clayton Act of 1914."<sup>6</sup>

After discussing the laws, especially the National Labor Relations Act, favorable to organized labor and reviewing union successes in the steel and automobile industries, the authors say that union membership reached nine million by 1939. They conclude: "Never in American history had the economic and political power of a large section of the population grown so rapidly."<sup>7</sup>

Based upon the fears of the public that powerful unions might cripple the economy and the knowledge that corrupt union officials could use unions to satisfy their greed for money and power, the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 and the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 were passed by Congress.<sup>8</sup>

There is also mentioned a new attitude of cooperation and appreciation by labor and management of the useful role of each other.<sup>9</sup>

<u>Canfield and Wilder</u> in their introductory section on labor in the latter nineteenth century indicate that the struggle of workmen to organize themselves to protect their status began before the Civil War and this struggle continues still.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 566-567.
<sup>7</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 604.
<sup>8</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 657 and 666.
<sup>9</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 666.
<sup>10</sup> Canfield and Wilder, p. 389.

They give a good summary of labor problems, objectives, accomplishments and methods from 1860 to 1900.<sup>11</sup>

The failure of several major strikes, the use of the injunction, federal troops, the Sherman Antitrust Law and the hostility of the public are shown as hindering the efforts of laborers to organize and obtain their objectives.<sup>12</sup>

This text provides good continuity in a section devoted to labor unions in the twentieth century.<sup>13</sup> The authors quote George F. Baer, president of the Philadelphia and Reading Company who refused to arbitrate a coal strike in 1902: "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by labor agitators, but the Christian men to whom God, in His infinite wisdom, has given control of the property interests of the country."

Theodore Roosevelt's popularity increased when he declared "public interest" compelled him to force the coal companies to arbitrate. The miners gained some benefits.<sup>14</sup>

In this section Canfield and Wilder discuss the radical International Workers of the World, the Clayton Act, labor activities and problems on through to the 1950's.

The section is concluded by indicating that labor, in the 1950's continued to make gains, though misuse of some union welfare funds was uncovered. "The ranks of organized labor swelled to close to 18 million workers."<sup>15</sup>

- 14 Ibid., p. 522.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 529.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 389-396.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., pp. 394-396.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 522-529.

In a final section<sup>16</sup> these authors discuss labor unions' pursuit of fringe benefits and means to ease the effects of seasonal unemployment, legislation to control corrupt labor practices, and the wage-price spirals which, along with government deficit spending, caused inflation.

<u>Gavian and Hamm</u> described the obstacles faced by labor organizations after the Civil War. The tactics and weapons of both labor and employers are explained. By 1900 labor had barely begun to obtain justice. Wages were still scarcely enough to provide support for a family.<sup>17</sup>

In the Pullman Strike workmen "...,were shocked to discover that the Sherman Antitrust Act, which appeared powerless to break up monopolies, could be used to smash strikes."<sup>18</sup>

Concerning Roosevelt's intervention in the 1902 coal strike, it is noted that for the first time big government had used its influence on big business to help labor obtain some justice.<sup>19</sup>

During World War I government allowed wages to rise as fast as prices, encouraged the forty-eight hour week, guaranteed workers the right to organize and bargain collectively and insisted upon equal pay for equal work regardless of sex. "These wise labor policies were effective in keeping labor unrest to a minimum."<sup>20</sup>

After World War I 350,000 steel workers struck to obtain recognition of their union, higher wages, and to end the twelve hour day.

It was broken by strikebreakers.<sup>21</sup> Gavian and Hamm review the decline in unions in the 1920's due to employer activities and the decisions of the Supreme Court.<sup>22</sup>

These authors further note the favorable labor legislation of the 1930's and the gains of union members into the post World War II era.<sup>23</sup> They list the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 indicating that it attempted to make unions more responsible for their actions.<sup>24</sup>

Unions, after 1947, continued to win benefits partly because management believed contented workers were more efficient. With the later merger of the A.F.L. - C.I.O., many believed that the nation was now one of big government, big labor and big industry.<sup>25</sup>

While Gavian and Hamm have scattered their references to labor unions more widely than Canfield and Wilder, they do continue to deal with union history and are sympathetic to the needs of workingmen.

<u>Graff and Krout</u> provide good coverage of late nineteenth century labor union history. They conclude that employers, with the help and sympathy of the public and the government, generally waged successful battles with employees attempting to organize and secure higher wages and better working conditions.<sup>26</sup>

Labor in the 1920's was not effectively organized. Membership in unions was only about one-eighth of the work force. Wages were never

<sup>21</sup> <u>Ibid., p. 632.</u>
<sup>22</sup> <u>Ibid., pp. 640-641.</u>
<sup>23</sup> <u>Ibid., pp. 674, 698-699 and 761.</u>
<sup>24</sup> <u>Ibid., pp. 762-763.</u>
<sup>25</sup> <u>Ibid., pp. 763-764.</u>
<sup>26</sup> Graff and Krout, pp. 418-422.

very high in the 1920's. In the steel industry the twelve hour day and sometimes the seven day work week prevailed.<sup>27</sup>

Of the 1930's Graff and Krout say: "Labor's rights came generally to be recognized by businessmen as the 1930's drew to a close. This recognition was as important in our history as the extension of the suffrage or the emancipation of the slaves."<sup>28</sup>

These authors conclude their discussion in the post-World War II period with the crippling, apparently successful strikes after the War which in part, alienated enough people to secure the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act which regulated unions.<sup>29</sup>

<u>Harlow and Noyes</u> also provide a good account of the rise of the labor union movement, the conditions of labor which showed the need for unions and the lack of public and court approval of their activities generally.<sup>30</sup>

This text mentions the Clayton Act and its protection for labor. It notes that later the courts effectively circumvented these provisions,<sup>31</sup>

While these authors note that most workers' standard of living improved in the 1920's, that many employers fostered ideas designed to make them more contented and efficient, they neglect the government's and businessman's hostility as influences aiding in the decline of union

27 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 560.
28 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 584.
29 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 645-646.
30 Harlow and Noyes, pp. 401-413.
31 <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 514-515.

membership.<sup>32</sup>

This text gives a picture similar to the other texts, of labor laws and union successes during the 1930's and later into the 1950's. They indicate that the Taft-Hartley Act was a Republican measure passed over Truman's veto. This law was apparently not as bad for unions as labor leaders thought it would be. Unions continued to prosper.<sup>33</sup>

Corrupt labor leadership in a few unions resulted in the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959, designed to protect union members.<sup>34</sup>

The text by <u>Muzzey and Link</u> generally has the pattern of coverage of historical events in organized labor that are included in the preceding textbooks. It differs from the others in maintaining a more neutral attitude. It does not discuss the grievances of workers, their need to organize nor the facts of public and government antipathy toward union organization to any extent in the latter nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup>

The Landrum-Griffin Labor Act of 1959 is considered by Muzzey and Link to be the most important act of Eisenhower's last two years in office. The act further controlled labor unions in order to assure proper use of union money and democratic control of unions by the membership.<sup>36</sup>

Wirth includes coverage of organized labor and his attitude is similar to the other textbooks. He includes the need for union organizations in the latter nineteenth century along with the troubles they

<sup>32</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 642.
<sup>33</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 754-755.
<sup>34</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 760-761.
<sup>35</sup> <u>Muzzey and Link, pp. 374, 392-393.</u>
<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 692.

encountered.<sup>37</sup> He concludes that the "real wages" of workers declined in the period 1900 - 1914.<sup>38</sup>

Wirth is also quite pointed in discussing the methods and attitudes of employer groups and government to thwart the unions in the 1920's. In the 1930's the LaFollette Committee "...found that 230 detective agencies supplied labor spies and estimated that the number of spies so employed ranged from 40,000 to 235,000."<sup>39</sup>

This text, in its last references to organized labor, concludes that labor and management are getting along better than ever now. There is recognition that cooperation benefits both sides.<sup>40</sup>

### Summary

These American history writers devote much attention to the historical development of organized labor. They are generally sympathetic to the needs of organization of workers in the period 1865 - 1900. They reveal the hostility of the government, of employers and the general public, to the aims of organized labor during this period.

The period from 1900 to 1920 generally receives less attention though the benefits of the Clayton Act and the cooperation of labor unions with the government during World War I are usually noted.

The 1920's is described in the textbooks as a period of decline for organized labor, even though it was a relatively prosperous time.

<sup>37</sup> Link, pp. 293-303 and 457-458.
<sup>38</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 458.
<sup>39</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 461.
<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 662-663.

This was caused by Presidential disfavor, the decisions of the courts and the activities of employers.

All the textbooks show the resurgence of organized labor during the depression years of the 1930's due to favorable legislation and the attitude of the administration of President Roosevelt.

During the 1940's and 1950's, these textbooks indicate that organized labor generally secured higher wages and increasing fringe benefits. Two major laws, the Taft-Hartley Act and the Landrum-Griffin Act were passed to prevent unions from abusing their growing powers.

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Differences between the textbooks appear to be of minor significance though some appear to be more sympathetic and graphic in their descriptions of the problems encountered by workingmen in their organization efforts.

#### Unorganized Labor

About sixty per cent of workers potentially organizable remain unorganized. They cannot effectively speak for, nor do they have the power to force changes in the conditions under which they work. Since they do not hire lobbyists nor speak as a pressure group, they can be safely ignored by law making bodies. Do the history textbooks deal with problems and facts surrounding the largest groups of workers those who remain unorganized?

<u>Bragdon and McCutchen</u> describe the great contrast between the conditions of the wealthy and the very poor during the thirty years following the Civil War. In a marginal note to the teacher they call attention to the relationship between these conditions and the organization of labor in a later section. It is maintained that American workmen

were better off than any others in the world during this period.<sup>41</sup>

In a summary of the period 1830 to 1900, Bragdon and McCutchen picture the condition of labor as greatly improved during this time due to legislation, improved technology, deflation and the activity of some unions. Most workers remained unorganized. The average workday was reduced from twelve to ten hours. The conditions of labor for most workers is not described.<sup>42</sup>

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These authors record that one-third of industrial workers were unemployed at the bottom of the depression in 1932. Many others worked only part-time.<sup>43</sup>

In another section they say: "Although the Social Security Act did not apply to all occupations, over 45 million people were eligible for its benefits by 1939."<sup>44</sup> This kind of statement emphasizes the positive improvement in the security of millions but neglects the millions who need it even more.

<u>Canfield and Wilder</u> quote Theodore Roosevelt which is here paraphrased: The worker is oftentimes of less consequence to industry than the machine. The machines are an expensive investment to be used over a period of time. The laborer is easily replaced. The company can do without him; often though, he cannot do without the company.<sup>45</sup> Roosevelt was sensitive to the increased insecurity of workers. The unorganized

- 42 Ibid., p. 431.
- 43 Ibid., p. 585.
- 44 Ibid., p. 606.

45 Canfield and Wilder, p. 389.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Bragdon and McCutchen, pp. 392-393.

were, of course, particularly vulnerable.

<u>Gavian and Hamm</u> speak more extensively and forthrightly of the conditions of workers than the other authors.

For example around 1900: "The wage earner had no land and was dependent for a livelihood on conditions beyond his control. Unable to save from his meagre wages, he was haunted by fear of unemployment."<sup>46</sup> They describe conditions in the latter nineteenth century in several other places.<sup>47</sup>

They believe that Harding's administration was more corrupt than Grant's and say of him: "Harding's one achievement through his personal efforts while in the White House was his persuading the big steel companies to end the twelve-hour day."<sup>48</sup>

Speaking of the programs to aid farmers during the 1930's and 1940's Gavian and Hamm say: "On the whole, Congress showed little interest in the tragic situation of the millions of sharecroppers, subsistence farmers, and migratory farm laborers."<sup>49</sup>

They note that the CCC, PWA, WPA and NYA provided work for millions of needy people during the 1930's.<sup>50</sup>

While they show the plight of various workers throughout the period from about 1860 to 1940, they do not give continuity into more recent times, nor explicitly show that unorganized people are usually neglected.

- <sup>47</sup> Ibid., pp. 416, 437-438, 455-456.
- 48 Ibid., p. 654.
- 49 Ibid., p. 689.
- 50 Ibid., p. 695.

<sup>46</sup> Gavian and Hamm, p. 429.

<u>Graff and Krout</u> acknowledge the need for workmen to organize. After reviewing the achievements of the A.F. of L. to about 1914, they conclude:

But when all was said and done, a considerable task still remained. Workers in basic industries like textiles and steel, were unorganized; the new automobile industry was untouched; and no one spoke for the vast army of unskilled men and women who made up a major part of the nation's labor force.<sup>51</sup>

These same authors say of the Employment Act of 1946 that it marked a new idea: "acceptance of the government-in advance of economic depression - of responsibility to head off unemployment."<sup>52</sup>

In another place they say: "In the years following the Second World War, the United States seemed to have rid itself at last of mass poverty among its people."<sup>53</sup>

Except for such brief references, there is no important discussion of the facts and problems of the unorganized labor force in this textbook.

<u>Harlow and Noyes</u>, by means of a picture and reading material, make the point that Jacob Coxey was a social reformer for a half century. During both the depressions of 1893 and the 1930's, he proposed major public works to relieve workers and cure depression.<sup>54</sup>

This textbook also includes the fact that prosperity was higher than ever for American families in the 1950's, with average family

51 Graff and Krout, pp. 417-418
52 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 646.
53 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 668.
54 Harlow and Noyes, pp. 467-469.

income of \$7100 by 1962. Then, it is stated that eighteen million families were living on less than \$4000 per year; that poverty, unemployment and discrimination were problems for millions of Americans.<sup>55</sup>

Muzzey and Link report that:

As late as 1915 a Federal commission found that between one-third and one-half of all workers in mining and manufacturing earned less than enough to support their families in decency. Indeed, in six large cities 12 to 20 per cent of all children were not getting enough to eat.<sup>56</sup>

While these authors are concerned with the problems of the poor as shown in the preceding quotation, they are increasingly confident that the nation has solved many of these problems. They note that between 1940 and 1960, industrial workers were better off than ever; that only a few times during this period saw unemployment go above five per cent.<sup>57</sup> They further state that: "Labor's share of the national income, for example, was 29 per cent of the total in the late 1950's, as compared to 18 per cent in 1929."<sup>58</sup>

Wirth notes that health needs are greatest among those least able to pay and that this is a continuing concern. He concludes that Eisenhower felt that the medical profession with government cooperation would fulfill the need.<sup>59</sup>

While Wirth includes a chapter which provides very good continuity of the organized labor movement from 1900 to 1947; he does not deal with

- <sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 769.
- <sup>56</sup> Muzzey and Link, p. 410.
- <sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 666.
- 58 Ibid., p. 668
- 59 Wirth, pp. 669-670.

the conditions of those groups of laborers who have never been organized.<sup>60</sup>

There is also discussion of increasing benefits under social security and the extensions to cover many more groups. There is no discussion of groups not covered by these benefits.<sup>61</sup>

### Summary

In their treatment of the problems of the nation's unorganized work force, the authors of these seven textbooks, when they discuss them, are sympathetic. They seem to be more concerned with the problems in the earlier periods and to assume that an affluent America currently has solved or is rapidly approaching a solution to problems of poverty, education and health of the unorganized workmen. None of these authors advocates the need for the further organization of the working force to provide a democratic-political leaverage toward solution of their predicament. Nor do these texts contain any graphic accounts of the problems currently or recently being faced by this group of the nation's people.

### Treatment of the Negro Worker

The right to have equal employment opportunities has special significance. An otherwise oppressed people can, if they know they have a chance to obtain better economic status, raise their standard of living and thereby become more self respecting and perhaps gain greater acceptance as members of the total society. Economic opportunity also

60 <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 457-471. 61 <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 667-668.

provides a stimulus to education since better jobs usually require more education. The opportunity to contribute talent and energy to a society in return for greater material security for self and family is a great stimulus for development of that talent and thoughtful use of one's energy. In addition, where the white and Negro races work together, there is a prospect of learning greater mutual respect for what any individual can do without the necessity of close social relationships. Oftentimes there are no opportunities afforded to otherwise establish relationships on a basis of mutual understanding.

About ten per cent of Americans are Negroes. Americans and American history textbooks take pride in the developments of freedom and opportunity in the nation. The inferior status of the Negro has a long history in American society. History textbooks can make a real contribution in providing historical information on the development of the Negro in America, the incompatibility of his status with democratic ideals, and his more recent efforts and problems in striving to obtain justice as a citizen.

Particularly, for this dissertation, do American history textbooks provide understanding of the historical and contemporary problems and progress of Negro workers?

<u>Bragdon and McCutchen</u>, in a marginal note in their teacher edition, speak of the migration of hundreds of thousands of Negroes to Northern industrial centers during World War I.<sup>62</sup> They show that Congress, in 1957, passed the first law to protect the right of Negroes to vote, since the Reconstruction era; that this act was further strengthened in

<sup>62</sup> Bragdon and McCutchen, p. 537.

1960.<sup>63</sup> Lastly, they review the progress and problems in race relations.<sup>64</sup> There is admitted unofficial discrimination in employment. They conclude that: "Even though a full century has passed since the Emancipation Proclamation, there are immense difficulties to be overcome before Negro citizens enjoy in full the equal rights guaranteed them by the Constitution."<sup>65</sup>

The review cites examples of sit-ins and boycotts and attempts to obtain educational opportunities. There is, however, a lack of discussion of Negro problems between the time of Reconstruction and the 1950's.

<u>Canfield and Wilder</u> tell of the great progress of the Negroes since 1865,<sup>66</sup> Mention is also made of a number of Supreme Court decisions "...favorable to the Negro...." including the decision to integrate the races in the public schools.<sup>67</sup> Progress is indicated though opposition is noted. No mention is made of Negro employment problems. The Civil Rights law of 1957 is included.<sup>68</sup>

<u>Gavian and Hamm</u> describe efforts to supply and improve Negro education after the slaves were freed.<sup>69</sup> They show how the share-crop

63 Ibid., p. 667.
64 Ibid., pp. 675, 677-678.
65 <u>Ibid</u> ., p. 678.
<sup>66</sup> Canfield and Wilder, pp. 590-591.
67 <u>Ibid.</u> , p. 777.
68 <sub>Ibid., p. 779.</sub>
69 Gavian and Hamm, pp. 444-445.

system, developing after the Civil War, caused the Negro especially, to remain very poor and tied to a locality because of his annual debt.<sup>70</sup>

They write of President Truman's insistence upon a strong civil rights plank in 1948 to aid Negroes in obtaining, among other things, security of employment. This caused Southern Democrats to defect.<sup>71</sup>

Gavian and Hamm also review civil rights laws and major court decisions which in the post World War II era have tended to promote the rights which Negroes had not been able to secure. The tone is one of progress.<sup>72</sup> No attention is given to examples of the human aspects of racial discrimination which would help to make it a real issue for students.

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They describe the facts of poverty and illiteracy of Negroes in the South in 1900 and conclude that the great shift northward into industrial activity especially during both World Wars has gradually given the Negro much greater opportunity.<sup>73</sup> They do not discuss the difficulties the Negro has faced by way of examples of job discrimination.

<u>Graff and Krout</u> include Truman's strong civil rights stand in 1948 which lost him the votes of four Southern states in that election.<sup>74</sup> They say that the only major reform issue on the domestic scene in the 1950's was civil rights. In this period the first law since Civil War times was passed to assure citizens the right to vote.<sup>75</sup> There is no

70 Ibid., pp. 478-480.
71 Ibid., p. 764.
72 Ibid., p. 799-801.
73 Ibid., p. 816.
74 Graff and Krout, pp. 647-648.
75 Ibid., p. 660.

mention of the numbers of Negroes unable to vote and no discussion of Negro employment problems.

Harlow and Noyes do a better job than the other books, of describing the conditions under which Negroes have lived. They maintain that in the post Civil War South, the problem of Negroes obtaining basic civil and social rights was not only not solved, but that by 1900 the process of keeping Negroes separated from white society was largely completed and that laws and other means had effectively deprived them of their rights as citizens.<sup>76</sup>

This text mentions race riots following World War I and tension caused by Negroes and whites competing for scarce jobs.<sup>77</sup>

They quote President Kennedy in a speech of June 11, 1963:

The Negro baby born in America today...has about onehalf as much chance of completing high school as a white baby...one-third as much chance of completing college, onethird as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed.<sup>78</sup>

In a good review of the problems of discrimination against Negroes as well as efforts to obtain civil rights, they acknowledge progress but recognize tremendous difficulties.<sup>79</sup>

Finally in commenting on post war literature they say of <u>The Fire</u> <u>NextTime</u> by the Negro James Baldwin, that it "...is a powerful statement of what it means to be a Negro in a white society."<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Harlow and Noyes, p. 360.
<sup>77</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 616.
<sup>78</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 769.
<sup>79</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 769-772.
<sup>80</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 776-777.

<u>Muzzey and Link</u> show how the Southerners shut out the Negroes from voting by state constitutional devices in the 1890's and later.<sup>81</sup> They conclude that of the "...three million Negro students in seventeen Border and Southern states, only 7.3 per cent were attending desegregated schools in 1962.<sup>83</sup> There is no discussion of other rights or of the justice of the Negro claims. Page 683 is devoted to listing famous Negroes and their contributions, from the 18th century to the present.

Wirth gives the briefest attention to this topic. He states that during World War II "a number of Southern leaders were critical of the President... A presidential order had stated that there should be no discrimination against Negroes in industry, in the armed forces, or in government service."<sup>84</sup>

There is also a short presentation centering on the progress the Negroes have made since 1865. He gives figures showing their gains in education and occupation status.<sup>85</sup> There is no discussion of Negro griefs and continuing problems.

#### Summary

All of the textbooks contain current issues involving the civil rights and educational problems of Negroes. The reference by Wirth is very brief. Only the texts by Harlow and Noyes, and Gavian and Hamm pay

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<sup>81</sup> Muzzey and Link, p. 389.
<sup>82</sup> Ibid., pp. 681-684.
<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 684.
<sup>84</sup> Wirth, p. 652.
<sup>85</sup> Ibid., pp. 691-692.
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some attention to Negro difficulties between the Civil War and post World War II. Bragdon and McCutchen, and Harlow and Noyes mention employment discrimination. The authors generally emphasize the progress Negroes have made. None of these writers, except Harlow and Noyes, makes any attempt to get students to think about the employment problems of Negroes.

### Meaningful Work

In contemporary industrial society much work has become very monotonous and does not contribute to the growth of intelligence or the fulfillment of ambition to contribute by one's work, something of one's self to the society. The problem has been recognized for a long time. It is a dilemma of society that in producing abundance, a worker's contribution, individually is of little importance or satisfaction.

### Summary

The history books examined do not contribute to an analysis or exposition that meaningful work exists as an important problem in twentieth century America.

### Displacement of Workmen

Today's nation needs people who view education as a process continuing throughout a lifetime. People should recognize the need to learn new skills, perhaps several times, as they are required to adapt to new work situations. Education not only helps them to adapt to displacement resulting from obsolescent job skills but is needed by a democratic nation to provide the leadership and followership to help determine the direction the changes will take.

Bragdon and McCutchen briefly discuss technological unemployment<sup>86</sup> and say of President Kennedy's administration:

The introduction of automation often meant that workers were laid off permanently and that their former skills were useless. To meet the latter problem Congress, at Kennedy's urging, voted to set up agencies to train workers in new skills and to subsidize them while the training period was going on.<sup>87</sup>

In their summary of recent education problems and successes, they do not make any connection between education and the displacement of working people caused by technological changes.<sup>88</sup>

<u>Canfield</u> and <u>Wilder</u> in a summary of educational advance to 1900, mention the Morrill Act of 1862 as supporting education which helped to provide industrial advances in agriculture and engineering.

These authors define technological unemployment and list it as a cause of the depression of the 1930's.<sup>90</sup>

This text contains a good section showing how education and other governmental activity helped to revolutionize agricultural methods and products. It does not show that this change made many fewer farmers necessary and thereby forced the smaller and less efficient farmers to become "victims" of technological change. There apparently was little effort by government to aid the transition from being a farmer to becoming an urban worker.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Bragdon and McCutchen, p. 566.
<sup>87</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 669.
<sup>88</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 675.
<sup>89</sup> Canfield and Wilder, pp. 434-436.
<sup>90</sup> Ibid., pp. 506-509.

Canfield and Wilder also portray the trend in this century to decreasing numbers of unskilled and agricultural workers, and increasing numbers in semiskilled and professional occupations.<sup>91</sup>

The relationship between education and technology is implied when, after Russia launched its first satellite, Congress gave federal aid to the states to help finance better instruction in science, mathematics and foreign languages.<sup>92</sup>

<u>Gavian and Hamm</u> describe the great twentieth century increase in numbers of high school and college students, with vocational curriculums and guidance becoming more common in the schools,<sup>93</sup> J

"In the years 1922 to 1929 from 5 to 10 percent of the labor force was unemployed at any one time."<sup>94</sup> About two million workers were being displaced by technological changes annually and they were not being reemployed rapidly enough. These technological changes continued rapidly during the 1930's.<sup>95</sup>

Gavian and Hamm also give a good summary of the shift from unskilled labor to the employment of many more skilled workers who have more education.

<u>Graff and Krout</u> briefly discuss increasing needs in education.<sup>96</sup> They do not discuss the displacement of workmen.

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91 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 584.
92 <u>Ibid.</u>, 779.
93 Gavian and Hamm, p. 642.
94 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 671.
95 <u>Ibid.</u>
96 Graff and Krout, p. 670.
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Harlow and Noyes mention increasing school enrollments, more vocational courses,<sup>97</sup> and state in a later section: "Modern industry requires workers who can be trained easily and who adapt quickly to changing methods. Experience has proved to employers that well-educated persons best meet these requirements."<sup>98</sup>

These authors also noted technological unemployment in the 1920's and 1930's but considered it only a short run problem.<sup>99</sup>

<u>Muzzey and Link</u> in two places<sup>100</sup> give good summaries of educational progress but do not discuss displacement of workmen due to technological change.

<u>Wirth mentions the relationship of the machine age and the need</u> for education. He also notes that college courses have more orientation toward making a living. He includes a brief summary of statistics and facts about the educational system of America.<sup>101</sup>

#### Summary

The textbooks contain summaries of educational achievements and problems in this century. Canfield and Wilder, and Wirth directly make brief connections between technological advances and education. Canfield and Wilder, Gavian and Hamm, and Harlow and Noyes discuss technological unemployment in the 1920's and 1930's. Bragdon and McCutchen, alone acknowledge that this problem is still current, when they briefly mention Congressional action at the urging of President Kennedy.

101 Wirth, pp. 698-702.

<sup>97</sup> Harlow and Noye, pp. 426-428.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., pp. 772-773.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 646.

<sup>100</sup> Muzzey and Link, pp. 413-414 and 671.

It was posited that progress in America usually is associated with material gains accompanied by greater democratic control; that this had a close affinity to John Dewey's definition of liberty as the power to do things.

The purpose of inclusion of this topic was to attempt to see if these authors considered that progress had been made in the management and control of industry and by labor. What basis seems to be used for affirming or denying progress in connection with these topics?

<u>Bragdon and McCutchen</u> refer to progress in dealing with many aspects of American history. Perhaps two examples, one from the early twentieth century and another from recent times will suffice to characterize their views.

Of the early twentieth century they say:

Whatever its mistakes and failures, the progressive movement was a tremendous benefit to America. It helped to protect the weak, curb the ruthless, enrich men's lives, and put business under the law without destroying capitalism. Above all, it averted a possible revolution by restoring faith in the process of democracy.<sup>102</sup>

Of recent times there is acknowledgement of change in the social structure wherein the small family feels itself alone in a geographically and socially mobile world. The chapter ends on the optimistic note that because of the society's tremendous material progress which is widely diffused, the good will and faith in human progress which exists, the problems have a greater chance of being solved than ever before.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Bragdon and McCutchen, p. 497.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., pp. 681-682.

<u>Canfield and Wilder</u> in a chapter introduction indicate that statesmen during the past one hundred years have been faced with the need to help in bringing about in bringing about industrial and social democracy as well as political. Many of the problems appearing before the end of the last century, in this connection, are still in evidence.<sup>104</sup>

In a summary of scientific successes Canfield and Wilder raise no questions nor do they analyze problems. They merely conclude: "We must have faith that atomic power will create instead a new and better world of peace."<sup>105</sup>

<u>Gavian</u> and <u>Hamm</u> in their preview of Unit Ten covering the post World War II period say:

> A mid-century survey of the United States shows that remarkable economic, scientific, and social progress has been made. Productivity has climbed. Prosperity has been widely distributed. If peace and stability in the world could be maintained, the United States should anticipate days of even greater accomplishment.<sup>106</sup>

The attitude of <u>Graff and Krout</u> is perhaps most clearly seen in their view of the 1920's. In reviewing the production achievements and resultant changes in ways of living, the book tends to confirm the idea that Americans believed progress depended mainly upon increasing material prosperity. The people were less concerned with the need for greater democracy.<sup>107</sup>

104 Canfield and Wilder, pp. 450-451. 105 <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 601-602. 106 Gavian and Hamm, p. 759. 107 Graff and Krout, pp. 552-557. Referring to the Presidential election of 1924, the statement is made: "The Republicans and Democrats alike, under the spell of the prosperity and the ballyhoo of the twenties, had put aside the progressive ideals of their recent past."<sup>108</sup>

Harlow and Noyes in their treatment of the reform era of the early twentieth century reveal their sympathy with the ideas of greater popular control of the economic and social system along with material abundance.<sup>109</sup>

<u>Muzzey and Link</u> describe in glowing terms the tremendous increase in economic output and material well-being between 1945 and 1960.<sup>110</sup> They appear to be satisfied with the degree of democratic control since they conclude that poverty has been so nearly eliminated that the society is in a sense becoming classless.<sup>111</sup>

<u>Wirth</u> devotes a chapter to an accounting of the technological and scientific advances which have made a more healthful and materialistically comfortable society.<sup>112</sup> While noting that the economy is based upon scientific knowledge and research, he shows the need to control the scientific knowledge, at least atomic energy.<sup>113</sup>

108 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 561.
109 Harlow and Noyes, pp. 482-518.
110 Muzzey and Link, pp. 664-667.
111 <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 667.
112 Wirth, pp. 673-687.
113 Ibid., p. 684.

Summary

Each of the textbooks contains emphasis on the material well being of the people as part of the progress America has enjoyed. The authors generally credit the Progressive Movement of the early twentieth century in restoring power to the people. The 1920's is usually treated as a reactionary era. Graff and Krout particularly mention the people's glorification of prosperity and lack of interest in democratic control.

The writers, especially Muzzey and Link, tend to emphasize the great progress since World War II. This progress is defined as material well being widely spread among the people. None of the books contains discussion of needs for increasing democratic controls. The authors appear to assume that democratic developments have assured the distribution of abundance.

#### CHAPTER V

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation began with concern for the great social changes affecting the United States as well as many other areas of the world; social changes so vast and rapid that knowledge of why and how they occur is imperative if men are to rationally take part in providing some controls over their direction and speed.

It seemed apparent that rapid industrialization was the major cause of these social changes. The appearance of new consumer goods of many kinds, rapid transportation and communication, and urbanization had changed profoundly the ways of living of most people.

A view of the function of history, as it particularly applied to high school students, was expressed. It was, in essence, that in order to understand the progress and problems of contemporary life, one must study their historical development. A review of what the authors of the high school history textbooks used in this study said or implied about the function of history, substantiated this view.<sup>1</sup>

The major question thus arose:

How well do the senior high school United States history textbooks, by their treatment of selected socialcultural consequences of industrial development in the United States, potentially tend to clarify for students these aspects of their contemporary society?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See pages 19-21

<u>Textbook Selection</u>. The seven textbooks selected were, on the basis of the information presented, assumed to be representative of high school American history textbooks used in the United States.<sup>2</sup>

<u>Selection of Social-cultural Topics for This Study</u>. Chapter II was devoted in part, to the selection of two major topics which were considered major social-cultural consequences of industrial development. The fact that these topics were treated in each of the textbooks was an important reason for choosing them. The fact that each topic has great and continuing significance in the life of the nation was of equal importance. These topics are: The Management and Control of Industry, and Labor.

<u>Selection of Subtopics</u>. Most of Chapter II was then taken up with the exposition of eleven subtopics, four under management and control of industry, and seven under labor. These subtopics were justified on the grounds of their significance for society, their susceptibility to historical investigation, and to gain precision in examining the textbooks. These subtopics, with conclusions as to the findings, are listed under each major topic below:

### The Management and Control of Industry

### Concentration of Wealth and Power<sup>3</sup>

### Summary of Findings<sup>4</sup>

All of the textbooks give a good account of the great growth and concentration of wealth and power in industry between 1865-1900. During

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See pages 16-18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See discussion of this topic, Chapter II pp. 25-27, or brief summary, Chapter III, p. 49.

This paragraph is substantially the summary from p. 56.

the period 1900-1930, all the texts again gave attention to the continuation of this trend. Gavian and Hamm, and Wirth are particularly outspoken. Five of the textbooks are nearly silent about this topic during the past thirty-five years. Wirth, and Canfield and Wilder, attempt summaries which, in effect, say that the concentration of power and wealth in corporate industry and business is as great or perhaps greater than ever.

#### Conclusions

The textbooks, even those which treat this topic in the recent past, leave the impression that the concentration of wealth and power in industry is no longer a matter of concern. This patently is not the case. Whether a great corporation decides to move some of its operations to a new location, increase, decrease or leave its production of a given commodity the same from one year to another, change its pricing policies or lobby for or promote a particular viewpoint, can have widespread effect on society and the economy. These facts are not well illustrated for the students' consideration.

### Corporate Organizational Purposes<sup>5</sup>

### Summary of Findings<sup>6</sup>

All of the texts give credit to industrialists for their part in making the United States a great industrial nation. All of the texts, during the period of approximately 1870-1930, discuss in greater or lesser

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Discussion, pp. 27-28; summary, p. 56.

Summary from p. 64.

extent, some of the corporate purposes and methods which were often opposed to the individual and public interest. During the past thirty or more years there is no significant discussion of corporation purposes as a problem in American society.

### Conclusions

The prosperity of the past twenty-five years may have obscured this topic as an issue of continuing interest. Certainly government regulation and labor union activity, as well as other interested groups have affected what corporations could do. The idea may prevail that countervailing purposes and businessmen's enlightenment have relegated this topic to the status of a bygone issue. President Kennedy's, and currently President Johnson's concern over possible steel price increases are an indication of continuing concern for corporate purposes and evidence of countervailing power. The built-in obsolescence of American automobiles may be an example of unthinking public demand or of public demand <u>shaped</u> to corporate purposes. The scandals in the pricing of electrical products, involving the great electrical manufacturers in the early 1960's is an example of wayward corporation direction. As long as corporate purpose is primarily that of profit making, there needs to be interest in the relative size of the profits and the means used to obtain them.

### How Rational Consumption and Other Considerations Ameliorate the Profit Motive<sup>7</sup>

Summary of Findings<sup>8</sup>

These seven textbooks all contribute to a knowledge of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Discussion, pp. 28-30; summary, p. 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This paragraph is the summary from p. 71.

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important role of government in the regulation of business and industry in the public interest. Several of them cite instances of the impact of advertizing and consumer spending on the economy. None of them comments directly upon the central issue of this subtopic: that of wise consumption in an economy of abundance.

### Conclusions

Perhaps this lack is but a reflection of the fact that abundance for a whole people is historically new. Still, historians should be able to provide considerable insight upon what it has meant for given classes of people or nations historically to use their energies and resources in one way rather than another. Furthermore the depletion of natural resources is a concern of the historians and this is directly related to the kinds of consumption that the nation has enjoyed. The sad spectacle of soil erosion, forest and mineral wastes is a part of the exploitation allowed because of the way the economic system has traditionally functioned. What capitalists and people want has usually been a primary factor in determining how resources would be used. The history books make no point of showing that these are ultimately the individual choices which provide the collective direction for the economic system.

### The Use and Effect of Democratic Organizations<sup>9</sup> in Improving the Economic System

Summary of Findings<sup>10</sup>

These seven history textbooks substantially agree on the importance of organized public opinion to effect important reforms growing

<sup>9</sup> This topic is discussed on pp. 30-32; brief summary, p. 71.
10 This summary is taken from p. 75.

out of the great industrial changes of the past one hundred years. The changes often wait upon the building up of great public concern over a period of time, and the focus is upon the necessity of action by the federal government to assure effective reform. No attention is given to examples of the process whereby local organizations have a national impact.

### Conclusions

There is ample evidence from the Progressive Movement, and the Great Depression to substantiate the power of public opinion to eventually effect change. That public opinion can also move the nation in a questionable direction may also be deduced for example from the nation's declaration of war on Spain in 1898 and the demobilization immediately following World War II. There is little question of the need for a well informed public opinion and about various national and international issues.

The history books document the lag between need and reform as in the Progressive Movement and the Great Depression. A danger in a republican or democratic government is that public opinion may be mobilized too late in rapidly changing times to take effective action.

The main deficiency in the textbooks is in the lack of concrete examples of the effectiveness of various kinds of organizations in helping to achieve social goals. Students seldom see examples in their history books of how individual citizens can make themselves heard or of the usual necessity to work through organizations to achieve success in modifying the economic or other parts of the social system. The tendency is naturally to focus attention upon the larger national issues and

thereby to give an abstract picture which neglects the efforts of ordinary citizenry. Important individual leaders of industry or unions receive credit for their contributions. Thus, it may seem to students that the "generals" always win the "wars."

One other aspect of history itself appears worthy of mention. Since the post World War II period has been prosperous, there seems to be an optimism or complacency reflected in the texts, of a rightness of the economic system except for minor needs like the checking of ruthless union leadership. Students may well receive the impression that the nation's economic system is mature, responsibly handled and in need of little or no attention. The dynamism of the system recorded by history indicates otherwise.

### Labor

### Freedom and Responsibility to Select One's Work<sup>11</sup>

# Summary of Findings<sup>12</sup>

The textbooks show that immigrants came to this country frequently to gain greater economic benefits from even the hardest kinds of labor. They were, in the Civil War period and afterwards, often recruited from abroad to help build the railroads and provide manpower for the factories.

In addition, the historians tell of many new industries which have developed or are developing. They discuss the recessions and periods of economic expansion.

<sup>11</sup> Topic developed pp. 33-35 and summarized pp. 76-77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Summary taken from p. 77.

None of the textbooks deals explicitly with this great change (the present opportunity to choose among many fields of work for other than reasons of economic necessity), growing out of history, which is profoundly altering the social and economic life of the American people.

### Conclusions

It is well for guidance persons, where available, to aid students in selecting fields of work and coordinating their education with their choice and abilities. Authors of history books, by their omission of this topic, miss an opportunity to help students develop appreciation for the opportunities they have to choose among many areas of work based upon their individual abilities and unique needs. These opportunities were never the historical possibility for nearly all of their predecessors.

# Organized Labor<sup>13</sup>

## Summary of Findings<sup>14</sup>

These American history writers devote much attention to the historical development of organized labor. They are generally sympathetic to the needs of organization of workers in the period 1865-1900. They reveal the hostility of the government, of employers and the general public, to the aims of organized labor during this period.

The period from 1900 to 1920 generally receives less attention though the benefits of the Clayton Act and the cooperation of labor

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Discussion of this subtopic on pp. 35-38 and summary, pp. 77-78.
 <sup>14</sup> This summary taken from pp. 85-86.

unions with the government during World War I are usually noted.

The 1920's is described in the textbooks as a period of decline for organized labor, even though it was a relatively prosperous time. This was caused by presidential disfavor, the decisions of the courts and the activities of employers.

All the textbooks show the resurgence of organized labor during the depression years of the 1930's due to favorable legislation and the attitude of the administration of President Roosevelt.

During the 1940's and 1950's these textbooks indicate that organized labor generally secured higher wages and increasing fringe benefits. Two major laws, the Taft-Hartley Act and the Landrum-Griffin Act were passed to prevent unions from abusing their growing powers.

Differences between the textbooks appear to be of minor significance though some appear to be more sympathetic and graphic in their descriptions of the problems encountered by workingmen in their organization efforts.

### Conclusions

The textbooks generally contain good accounts of the organized labor movement in American history. The movement is often treated with objectivity in the twentieth century and often sympathetically in the latter nineteenth century. The problems, the legislation and the successes and failures of unions are given considered attention.

## Unorganized Labor<sup>15</sup>

# Summary of Findings

<sup>15</sup> This topic is presented on pp. 38-39 and an additional summary is given on p. 86.

<sup>16</sup> Taken from p. 91.

The authors of these seven textbooks, when they discuss the problems of the nation's unorganized workforce, are sympathetic. They seem to be more concerned with the problems in the earlier periods and to assume that an affluent America currently has solved or is rapidly approaching a solution to problems of poverty, education and health of the unorganized workmen. None of these authors advocates the need for the further organization of the working force to provide a democratic-political leaverage toward solution of their predicament. Nor do these texts contain any graphic accounts of the problems currently or recently being faced by this group of the nation's people.

### Conclusions

Most workers remain unorganized. The textbooks reflect a tacit acceptance of this condition. This attitude is diametrically opposite to the contention of this dissertation that democracy means the active participation by people in organizations which can affect the crucial concerns in their lives. Sympathy for the less fortunate or even optimism that their condition is rapidly improving, is not a substitute for people organized to work for their own goals.

# Treatment of the Negro Worker<sup>17</sup>

## Summary of Findings<sup>18</sup>

All of the textbooks contain current issues involving the civil rights and educational problems of Negroes. The book by Wirth is very

<sup>18</sup> Taken from p. 96-97.

<sup>17</sup> This topic is presented on pp. 40-41 and a summary appears on pp. 91-92.

brief. Only the texts by Harlow and Noyes, and Gavian and Hamm pay some attention to Negro difficulties between the Civil War and post World War II. Bragdon and McCutchen, and Harlow and Noyes mention employment discrimination. The authors generally emphasize the progress Negroes have made. None of these writers, except Harlow and Noyes, makes any attempt to get students to think about the employment problems of Negroes.

### Conclusions

It was stressed that economic opportunity could help Negroes to gain greater self respect and desire for education; that whites employed side by side with qualified Negro employees provides opportunity to reduce prejudices. Equal work opportunities affirms a basic right of Americans to contribute skills and earn any livelihood for which they can qualify. Considering the historical extent of discrimination in employment, the size of the Negro population and the incompatibility of this discrimination with the nation's avowed ideals, the authors neglect a function which they are admirably suited to perform.

# Meaningful Work<sup>19</sup>

# Summary of Findings<sup>20</sup>

The history books examined do not contribute to an analysis or exposition that this problem exists as an important one in twentieth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Topic presented on pp. 41-43; summary on p. 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Taken from p. 97

century America.

### Conclusions

Perhaps historians would prefer to leave this topic in the hands of sociologists or psychologists who logically have engaged in this study. Since the evidence accumulated by them substantiates the fact that it is an important human problem in industrial society, historians could reasonably include it in their analyses of social changes. Who, more than the high school student, needs to be alerted to this social problem? It can then be weighed by them in coming to decisions about the work they want to prepare to do.

## Displacement of Workmen<sup>21</sup>

### Summary of Findings<sup>22</sup>

The textbooks contain summaries of educational achievements and problems in this century. Canfield and Wilder, and Wirth directly make brief connections between technological advances and education. Canfield and Wilder, Cavian and Hamm, and Harlow and Noyes discuss technological unemployment in the 1920's and 1930's. Bragdon and McCutchen alone, acknowledge that this problem is still current, when they briefly mention Congressional action at the urging of President Kennedy.

### Conclusions

While the displacement of workmen by technological changes is directly mentioned or can be inferred from the growth of industries,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Topic presented on pp. 43-44; summary on p. 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Taken from p. 100.

the history books do not expose students to the concept of the necessity for large numbers of workers to be trained and retrained during their working years; that such retraining is made possible by a foundation of knowledge and skills acquired in their early years and maintained and increased through formal and informal education during their adult years; that education in this industrial society is an integral part of maturity and not a terminal accomplishment of youth.

## The Meaning of Progress<sup>23</sup>

# Summary of Findings<sup>24</sup>

Each of the textbooks contains emphasis on the well being of the people as part of the progress America has enjoyed. The authors generally credit the Progressive Movement of the early twentieth century in restoring power to the people.

The 1920's is usually treated as a reactionary era. Graff and Krout particularly mention the people's glorification of prosperity and lack of interest in democratic control.

The writers, especially Muzzey and Link, tend to emphasize the great progress since World War II. This progress is defined as material well being widely spread among the people. None of the books contains discussion of needs for increasing democratic controls. The authors appear to assume that democratic developments have assured the distribution of abundance.

<sup>23</sup> Topic presented on pp. 44-46; summary on p. 101.
24 Taken from p. 104.

#### Conclusions

The concept of progress, meaning a combination of material improvements with increasing democratic controls is reflected in the pages of the books examined. The feeling of accomplishment of progress, thus defined, is substantiated in numerous developments by midcentury. Students can develop appreciation of American attainments as they read these books.

What is lacking is the development of challenges to students by way of descriptions of areas of American life where this progress has been more limited; where either material gains or democratic developments have been inhibited. Current issues of poverty, education and employment in the 1960's are illustrative of these challenges. Students would not gain many premonitions of these issues, as they studied the history of the 1950's.

### Summary of Findings in the Textbooks

The textbooks were examined to see how four subtopics under the management and control of industry, and seven subtopics under the heading of labor, were treated. These subtopics were established on the grounds of their significance for an understanding of the problems and accomplishments in American industrial society during the past one hundred years and in the present.

There were eleven subtopics, with the criteria established for adequate treatment. One topic, Organized Labor, was judged to be adequately treated. Two topics, The Use and Effect of Democratic Organization in Improving the Economic System, and The Meaning of Progress, were judged as partially meeting the requirements of the criteria. Two of the topics,

Freedom and Responsibility to Select One's Work, and Meaningful Work, were not analyzed or described in the textbooks. They might be inferred from the reading, and in an instance or two, received passing mention only.

The six remaining topics were judged to be inadequately treated in all the textbooks. By means of questions, suggested activities and supplementary readings these texts provide varying opportunities to delve into areas of interest and topics which are not dealt with in detail in the texts themselves. In this way some opportunities are provided at the ends of appropriate chapters, to investigate some of these topics judged to be inadequately treated.

#### Individual Textbook Ratings

There are important differences of emphasis and viewpoint between some of the textbooks. Some of these are considered in Chapters III and IV in describing the treatment of each subtopic in each textbook. These differences with respect to the overall treatment of these eleven subtopics do not appear to be significant. While some topics are well handled in the latter nineteenth century, they are almost ignored in the past thirty years. An example of this is the topic: Corporation Organizational Purposes,

The criteria used to rate each textbook in its treatment of each subtopic obscure these differences.<sup>25</sup> If the topics were rated according to treatment in certain shorter periods of time, differences between the textbooks would tend to be revealed. The three criteria in each chart emphasize the overall relevance of history for the present. That was the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Appendix B contains these rating charts.

intent of the dissertation. The charts tend therefore to agree with the conclusions reached on each subtopic in the preceding sections of this chapter. They fail to distinguish many differences between the textbooks.

### Implications for the Classroom Teacher

There are other views of the functions of history and other views as to the significance of the topics examined in this dissertation. If it is believed that this dissertation is valid as to point of view (the value of history for the present) and significance of subtopics, then the classroom teacher using these or similar texts may want to consider the following:

<u>Supplementary Readings</u>. Periodicals, topical histories, sociological studies, newspapers and other readings may be used to clarify and bring to students the background and significance of the topics omitted or neglected in their assigned textbooks. Such a bibliography and collection of materials will need to be systematically gathered.

<u>Audio-Visual Materials</u>. From the field of guidance, sociology, psychology, industry, labor, and other organizations, selections of films, records, filmstrips or slides may be sought, in order to create interest in these topics.

<u>Supplementary Discussion</u>. Teachers will need to relate these topics to history by noting their omissions from the textbooks. They may, in some instances, judge it to be appropriate to discuss historiography or philosophy of history with their classes; to bring awareness of problems such as those raised in this dissertation, concerning the appropriateness, the criteria, and the significance of possible topics in American history or other histories. <u>Selection of Purposes</u>. Certain portions of typical histories may need to be omitted or reduced in amounts of study in the classroom. There is a very limited amount of time available. Teachers of history, as in other classes, will need to be conscious of selecting certain topics which will be emphasized; others will necessarily receive relatively less treatment. Rational grounds for selection or rejection, for emphasis or lack of it, are part of the responsibility of teachers that this dissertation implies. Any shift of attention from the conventional, in public school classrooms, needs to be carefully planned for.

#### Implications for Further Study

### Other Topics

It has been contended in this dissertation that the study of history by all high school students should contribute most of all, to an understanding of present conditions.

Starting with this premise, other areas of traditional historical interests could be examined in the history textbooks to evaluate how well they potentially contribute to an understanding of present conditions in these specified areas. For example, foreign affairs, governmental structure or education might be selected for study. A scholar would then, through study and reflection, attempt to summarize significant and enduring problems and developments. Using the same or a variation of the procedure of the dissertation, he would seek to examine and evaluate the extent to which the textbooks contributed to an understanding of these problems and developments.

#### The Need for Topical History

The history books examined in this study contain much information. The maps, illustrations and writing appear generally to be of good to excellent quality. A more topical, rather than chronological treatment of the past century would, it seems, provide more readily for adequate information, continuity and integration of the selected topics as they relate to America in the 1960's. Topical histories in pamphlet form, some of which are now available, could supplement the use of these textbooks in their treatment of neglected areas.

### Additions to History Curriculum

This approach to history is based upon the selection of topics which have <u>widespread social significance</u>. It might be that some topics so selected are not treated in the textbooks. The lack of attention to the topic Meaningful Work was considered in this dissertation. Such topics, when considered of great social import and when susceptible to historical investigation, could become the basis for development of additions to the history curriculum.

This dissertation draws attention to problems of selection of topics in the writing of any history textbook. Obviously there is attention to matters of emphasis, omission, balance, and integration in writing such a book. Some aspects of history can be treated extensively, some merely mentioned, others must be omitted. What is of <u>widespread</u> <u>social significance</u> is undoubtedly a useful criterion, but it does not provide easy answers to writing history books. It poses the problem of ascertaining which topics in the ocean of human activities are of greater significance. Establishing these gradations, or this hierarchy, is

certainly not new to historians. Special focus upon analysis of recent or present conditions, as the basis for selection of topics of enduring historical significance, which can make history "live" in the minds of students, is not a new idea. It is suggested that history textbooks and curriculums can be examined on this basis. Significant gaps might be revealed. Perhaps improvements in the content of the history curriculum and in teaching history would result. APPENDIX A

Correspondence Concerning

The Selection of Textbooks

Potterville, Mich. March 30, 1964

Mr. Merrill F. Hartshorn, Executive Secretary National Council For the Social Studies 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W. Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hartshorn:

For my dissertation, I would like to rate American history textbooks on their treatment of the effects of industrialization. I would like the texts to be those which are recent and likely to be the most widely used in the high schools of the United States.

I have seen only one study which claimed that the texts were the most widely used in the secondary schools. That was the study by Marcus Lloyd, The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks, for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961.

Would it be your judgment that the sixteen history texts he used (minus the junior high texts) in their most recent editions would satisfy my requirements? Do you know of any additional studies or information bearing on the selection of texts which I should consider?

Thank you for any consideration you may be able to give to this inquiry.

Yours truly,

John Meeder Graduate Student in Education Michigan State University

April 6, 1964

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J.

Mr, John Meeder 322 Pearl Street Potterville, Michigan

Dear Mr. Meeder:

Thank you for your letter to Mr. Hartshorn concerning American history textbooks. We have no certain information as to which textbooks are the most widely used throughout the country. However, we were consulted when the Marcus Lloyd study was being prepared, and his list in The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks would represent our best judgement on this question. If you were to use the latest editions of those texts, it should very adequately suit your purpose.

Best wishes for the success of your study.

Cordially yours,

Malcolm L. Searle Executive Assistant

MLS:tt

Potterville, Mich. March 30, 1964

U.S. Office of Education Health, Education and Welfare Dept. Instruction, Organization and Services Branch Secondary Schools

Dear Sir:

This is a request for information on U.S. history texts used in the high school.

For my dissertation, I would like to rate American History textbooks on their treatment of the effects of industrialization. It would be desirable to study those texts which are most widely used in U.S. public high schools.

I have seen only one study which claimed directly that the texts which were evaluated were the most widely used in the area of social studies. That was the study by Marcus Lloyd, The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks, for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961.

Do you know of information or studies which would aid me in selecting textbooks for this study - from which I could generalize concerning U.S. history texts in the high schools?

Thank you for whatever consideration you may be able to give this request.

Yours truly,

John Meeder Graduate Student in Education Michigan State University

April 14, 1964

Mr. John Meeder Graduate Student in Education Michigan State University Potterville, Michigan

Dear Mr. Meeder:

This is in reply to your letter of March 30 requesting information on U.S. history texts used in the high school.

I do not know of any studies which identify the textbooks most widely used. In general, the number of books a company sells is not revealed. It is probably safe to assume in making a study that the textbooks in U.S. history which are distributed by the largest educational publishers are used in the large majority of classes.

Sincerely yours,

Howard H. Cummings Specialist for Social Sciences and Geography

### Textbook Rating Charts

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# TEXTBOOK RATING SHEET

# Textbook: History of a Free People, Bragdon and McCutchen

		Integration of History					
		Adequate	With Contem-				
	Continuity	Information	porary Life				
Topics	PFGE	PFGE	PFGE				
Control & Management of Industry	• • • •						
Concentration of Wealth & Potential Power in Corporations	x	x	X				
Corporate Organizational Purposes	X	x	X				
How Rational Consumption and Other Considerations Ameliorate the Profit Motive	x	x	x				
The Importance of Organized and Democratic Efforts in Improving the Economic System	x	X	x				
Labor							
Freedom and Responsibility to Select One's Work in a Complex Society	x	X	X				
Organized Labor	x	x	X				
Unorganized Labor	x	x	X				
Treatment of the Negro Worker	X	X	X				
The Problem of Meaningful Work Organization	x	x	x				
The Need for Continuing Education as Technological Change Displaces Workers	x	x	x				
Criteria for Progress: Material Improvement With Greater Democracy	x	x	x				

P-poor; F-fair; G-good; E-excellent

### TEXTBOOK RATING SHEET

# Textbook: The Making of Modern America, Canfield and Wilder

P-poor; F-fair; G-good; E-excellent

Topics			nui		Ad In	ion	Integration of History With Contem porary Lif					
Control & Management of Industry	P	F	G	E	P	F	G	E	P	F	G	E
Concentration of Wealth & Potential Power in Corporations			x				x			x		
Corporate Organization Purposes		x					x		x			
How Rational Consumption and Other Considerations Ameliorate the Profit Motive		x				x			x			
The Importance of Organized and Democratic Efforts in Improving the Economic System		x				x			x			
Labor												
Freedom and Responsibility to Select One's Work in a Complex Society	x				x				x			
Organized Labor				х			X				x	
Unorganized Labor	х				X				х			
Treatment of the Negro Worker	х				X				x			
The Problem of Meaningful Work Organization	x				x				x			
The Need for Continuing Education as Technological Change Displaces Workers		x				x				x		
Criteria for Progress: Material Improvement With Greater Democracy		x				x				x		

### TEXTBOOK RATING SHEET

# Textbook: United States History, Gavian and Hamm

	P-poor; F-fair; G-good; E-excel										ellent			
Topics		nti				ion	Integration of History With Contem- porary Life							
Control & Management of Industry	P	F	G	E	P	F	G	E	P	F	G	E		
Concentration of Wealth & Potential Power in Corporations		x				x			x					
Corporate Organizational Purposes		x				X			x					
How Rational Consumption and Other Considerations Ameliorate the Profit Motive		х				х			х					
The Importance of Organized and Democratic Efforts in Improving the Economic System		x				X			x					
Labor														
Freedom and Responsibility to Select One's Work in a Complex Society	x				x				х					
Organized Labor			х				х				х			
Unorganized Labor		х				X			x					
Treatment of the Negro Worker		х				Х			X					
The Problem of Meaningful Work Organization	x				x				x					
The Need for Continuing Education as Technological Change Displaces Workers		x				x				x				
Criteria for Progress; Material Improvement With Greater Democracy		x				x				X				

### P-poor; F-fair; G-good; E-excellent

### TEXTBOOK RATING SHEET

# Textbook: The Adventure of the American People, Graff and Krout

	P-poor; F-fair; G-good; E-excellen									ent	it				
Topics						-	ate	ion	Integration of History With Contem- porary Life						
	P	F		Ē			G				G				
Control & Management of Industry	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-			
Concentration of Wealth & Potential Power in Corporations		x				x			x						
Corporate Organizational Purposes		x				x			x						
How Rational Consumption and Other Considerations Ameliorate the Profit Motive			x			x				x					
The Importance of Organized and Democratic Efforts in Improving the Economic System		x				x				x					
Labor															
Freedom and Responsibility to Select One's Work in a Complex Society	х				x				x						
Organized Labor			Х				х			Х					
Unorganized Labor		х				X			X						
Treatment of the Negro Worker	х				X				X						
The Problem of Meaningful Work Organization	x				x				x						
The Need for Continuing Education as Technological Change Displaces Workers	x				x				x						
<b>Criteria</b> for Progress: Material Improvement With Greater Democracy		x				x				x					

P-poor; F-fair; G-good; E-excellent

<u>.</u>

# TEXTBOOK RATING SHEET

# Textbook: Story of America, Harlow and Noyes

	P-poor; F-fair; G-good; E-excellent								
Topics	Continuity								
Control & Management of Industry	PFGE	E PFGE	PFGE						
Concentration of Wealth & Potential Power in Corporations	x	x	x						
Corporate Organizational Purposes	x	x	x						
How Rational Consumption and Other Considerations Ameliorate the Profit Motive	x	x	x						
The Importance of Organized and Democratic Efforts in Improving the Economic System	x	x	x						
Labor									
Freedom and Responsibility to Select One's Work in a Complex Society	x	x	x						
Organized Labor	x	x	x						
Unorganized Labor	x	x	x						
Treatment of the Negro Worker	x	x	x						
The Problem of Meaningful Work Organization	x	x	x						
The Need for Continuing Education as Technological Change Displaces Workers	x	x	x						
Criteria for Progress: Material Improvement With Greater Democracy	x	x	x						

# P-poor; F-fair; G-good; E-excellent

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## TEXTBOOK RATING SHEET

# Textbook: Our American Republic, Muzzey and Link

P-poor; F-	-fair; G	-good; H	E-excellent
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I.L.

Topics	Cc	mti	.nui	ty		-	ate	ion	Integration of History With Contem- porary Life				
Control & Management of Industry	P		G		P		G			F		E	
Concentration of Wealth & Potential Power in Corporations		x			x				x				
Corporate Organizational Purposes		x			x				x				
How Rational Consumption and Other Considerations Ameliorate the Profit Motive		x			x					x			
The Importance of Organized and Democratic Efforts in Improving the Economic System		x				x				x			
Labor													
Freedom and Responsibility to Select One's Work in a Complex Society	х				x				x				
Organized Labor			x			X					X		
Unorganized Labor	x				х				х				
Treatment of the Negro Worker	x				Х				x				
The Problem of Meaningful Work Organization	x				x				x				
The Need for Continuing Education as Technological Change Displaces Workers	x				x				x				
<b>Criteria</b> for Progress: Material Improvement With Greater Democracy		x				x				x			

### TEXTBOOK RATING SHEET

# Textbook: United States History, Wirth

# P-poor; F-fair; G-good; E-excellent

	-							
Topics		inui	ty	Adequate Information				tegration History th Contem- rary Life
Control & Management of Industry	ΡĒ	G	E	P	F	GE		FGE
Control & Management of Industry								
Concentration of Wealth & Potential Power in Corporations		x				x		x
Corporate Organizational Purposes	>	۲.			x		x	
How Rational Consumption and Other Considerations Ameliorate the Profit Motive	Х	ζ.			x		x	
The Importance of Organized and Democratic Efforts in Improving the Economic System		x			x			x
Labor								
Freedom and Responsibility to Select One's Work in a Complex Society	x			x			x	
Organized Labor		х				x		x
Unorganized Labor	х			x			x	
Treatment of the Negro Worker	x			x			х	
The Problem of Meaningful Work Organization	x			x			x	
The Need for Continuing Education as Technological Change Displaces Workers	x			x				x
Criteria for Progress: Material Improvement With Greater Democracy	>	٤			x			x

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