

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: THE AMERICANIZATION OF IMMIGRANT
CHILDREN BY PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL
SCHOOLS IN BALTIMORE, 1897-1917

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This is a study of the ways in which the school systems of the city of Baltimore received immigrant children and prepared them to live in the urban American community in the generation before World War I. It includes comparison of the public and parochial school systems in the areas of administration, attendance, curriculum and instruction, as well as an examination of the institutions within the ethnic communities used to become American. While there were remarkable parallels between the development of public and parochial school systems during the Progressive era, the evidence indicates that public schools were overwhelmed by the influx of immigrants and generally failed to accommodate the newcomers in a positive way. Because of their history of bilingual education and their cultural proximity to the immigrant communities, parochial schools were generally more successful in helping immigrants to make the transition to American life. Finally, it is concluded that the immigrants were not helpless victims of the public school systems which

THE AMERICANIZATION OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN BY PUBLIC
AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS IN BALTIMORE,
1897-1917

by

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of The University of Maryland in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
1993

C. I.

md.

Dept. of History

Vol I - II

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Maryland
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Ryan,
M.M.
Vol. 1-2

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INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the ways in which the school systems of the city of Baltimore received immigrant children and prepared them to live in the urban American community in the generation before World War I. Like other east coast cities, Baltimore received thousands of Eastern and Southern European immigrants at the turn of the twentieth century, at the same time that many Americans were moving from rural areas to cities in search of jobs and opportunity for a modern life. The urbanization of America created a variety of urgent problems ranging from inadequate public works to poverty and crime, all of which placed tremendous strain on the limited resources of municipal government. The response of the cities became a point of contention between the local political establishment and the emerging Progressive reformers, who were determined to take municipal government out of the hands of politicians and professionalize it in the interest of efficiency. The immigrants were caught in the crossfire as they struggled to become assimilated to their new urban society. One of the primary battlefields for this struggle was the public school system.

The study of immigrants in schools during the Progressive Era raises some fundamental questions for historians. First, historians must answer the initial question of who were the Progressives and what did they want. This has been a central topic of discussion among historians since Richard Hofstadter

suggested that the Progressives were a traditional, conservative elite group who were trying to protect their status in a rapidly changing world.¹ Since the 1960's, most studies have emphasized the organizational revolution through which a new middle class, professional and non-political, led the modernization of American society. Educational historians have found ample evidence of this movement in the administrative reforms of urban school systems, including the smaller school boards, powerful superintendents, and the influence of John Dewey and other Progressives on these systems.² This study will show that Baltimore, like other urban centers, had its Progressive educators who sought to bring order and efficiency to the overburdened system.

It is not clear whether these Progressive educators actually captured the entire school system during this time. Were the principals and teachers Progressive educators also? Did they support or resist the reforms at the classroom door? The greatest difficulty in answering these questions is the lack of evidence from within the classroom. The most fundamental transaction in the educational process, between teacher and students, is essentially unrecorded. Historians are forced to study the teachers through their bureaucracies--emerging teachers associations and union, as well as professional journals. There is enough evidence to cast great doubt on the theory that Progressives were able to shape the immigrants through the schools which they controlled. They

were resisted by teachers as well as politicians and immigrants themselves. It seems more likely that the Progressive movement in education was still in its infant stages, and that it did not filter down to the classroom in great force until the 1920's.

Another question raised by this study is the influence of the public schools on the immigrants of the city. Like other cities at the time, Baltimore passed compulsory attendance laws and child labor restrictions in order to force immigrant children into the schools. The evidence in Baltimore will show that these laws were largely ineffective because there was little commitment on the part of the school system to enforce them during this period. The schools were caught between their goal of using the schools as a tool of social progress and their desire for efficiency, which was sorely tried by the attendance of thousands of overage and non-English speaking immigrant children. According to attendance and enrollment figures, this constant tension greatly limited the opportunity of the public schools to educate immigrant children.

The most important question raised in this study concerns the choices made by immigrants themselves. The focus of historians on the administrative Progressives in the public schools of the cities has overshadowed the importance of parochial schools in the education of immigrants. Because of increased Catholic immigration and the anti-Catholic backlash

of the late nineteenth century, Catholics in the United States made a deliberate, planned effort to build more schools and enroll as many Church members as possible. This resulted in dramatic growth in parochial schools in the cities at the same time that public schools were inaugurating compulsory schooling. Therefore, many immigrant parents were able to choose between the public and parochial school systems for their children and that these school systems competed for students. Immigrant parents presumably made choices based on what they believed was best for their children and their family circumstances, including their desire to bring their children successfully into American society without entirely giving up their own culture. The comparison of the two systems in Baltimore shows different strategies for preparing students for urban life.

The issue of Americanization in the schools provides focus for this study. But what is Americanization? The term is used differently by different people, depending on their perspective on the process. To most educators at the turn of the century, it included not only the use of the English language, but also the adoption of traditional American values such as hard work and citizenship. Children were taught cleanliness, neatness, promptness and proper gender roles. For most of the immigrants themselves, economic independence was of paramount importance, and parents were determined to prepare their children to function successfully in American

society without giving up their own native culture. These conflicting goals presented a paradox for the schools, according to historian Paula Fass. "How could the schools both respect the child's alien culture--and not detach him from it--yet replace it with more American experiences which would serve to unify child life through school?"³ There was a constant tension between the strategies and goals of the school and those of the immigrant community, although both sought to assimilate successfully into a larger society. The immigrant child was caught in the middle of this struggle, often torn between two worlds. To him/her, the teacher was the mediator between the native and American cultures and the child depended greatly on this person to make the adjustment.⁴

Americanization must be viewed through the eyes of those who sought to Americanize, whether they were immigrants themselves or others. While Progressive reformers tried to assimilate immigrant children through manual training and community schools, more traditional educators stressed civics and the American flag. But the immigrants themselves sought to control the process of Americanization through the choices they made -- bilingual schools, going to work to achieve economic stability, and a variety of social, religious and cultural organizations. The urban society in flux offered a variety of possible strategies for successful adjustment, including the institutions of the immigrant community.

A close look at the schools of Baltimore at the turn of

the century provides an opportunity to see intergenerational changes occurring within the immigrant and the American communities. There were remarkable parallels between the development of the public and the Catholic school systems in Baltimore at the turn of the century. Both were responding to the growing immigrant population and their needs as well as to the ideas of the Progressive reformers. But, for a variety of reasons, the parochial schools appeared to be more successful at Americanizing immigrant children.

It is extremely important to look at the Americanization of immigrants through the eyes of the immigrants themselves -- their expectations, beliefs and goals. They were not victims of public schools system seeking to force conformity or social control. Instead, they asserted as much control as they possibly could over their circumstances. Ethnic parochial schools provided an important element of choice for immigrants by enabling them to educate their children within the framework of their own community and culture, and gave them a chance to succeed in school so that they could succeed in the larger society. Americanization was carried out to a great extent by the immigrants themselves through their own institutions in their own communities, and through the immigrant communities which already existed in the city. They used these communities as a bridge to the larger urban society, allowing themselves to move back and forth according to need and comfort.

The study begins with a look at the urban crisis which existed in Baltimore at the turn of the century. It was similar to circumstances in other large cities at the time in its pace of industrialization, population growth, and urban problems. Yet Baltimore was unique in the rootedness both of its immigrant communities and its religious institutions. With a large German population which had come over in the 1840's and established itself in the city, later Eastern European immigrants found that both Catholic and Jewish institutions were ready to meet them as they arrived. In addition, the Archdiocese of Baltimore was the oldest and most influential in the American Catholic Church, and its leader during this period, James Cardinal Gibbons, was the only Cardinal in the United States as well as a leading Progressive. In Baltimore, both the Catholic Church and the immigrant communities were well established and better prepared to receive the immigrants than the public institutions.

The comparison between the school systems is discussed in the second, third, fourth and fifth chapters. Chapter Two shows the parallels and differences between the development of administrations in the public and parochial school systems. The political struggles between the Progressive forces and their enemies provide a backdrop for the discussion of the schools in the last three chapters. The limited influence of the Progressives is shown in their constant political battles,

and ends with the eventual ouster of Baltimore's progressive superintendent in 1911. The attendance figures shown in Chapter Three show that the Progressive (and public school) influence over the immigrants was severely limited by the factors of poor attendance and dropout rate. A significant number of children in Baltimore attended parochial schools during the early twentieth century and were more likely to stay in school longer and to be more successful when in parochial schools.

Chapters Four and Five compare the curriculum and instruction of the public and parochial schools during this time. While the evidence is limited, it is important to attempt to examine what was happening in the classrooms. The School Sisters of Notre Dame, who educated most of the immigrants who attended Catholic schools, taught a curriculum heavily influenced by Pestalozzi and Froebel and more child-centered than that of the public schools. They also used bilingual education to achieve success with their students, while the public schools limited bilingual instruction to seven German-English schools which were phased out during the Progressive Era. Parochial schools provided an atmosphere which was more comfortable and conducive to success than the public schools in Baltimore at this time.

Introduction Endnotes

1. Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR (N.Y.: Random House, 1955).
2. David Tyack, The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974).
3. Paula Fass, Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), 30.
4. Barbara Finkelstein, Governing the Young: Teacher Behavior in Popular Primary Schools in the Nineteenth Century United States (New York: The Falmer Press, 1989).

1. THE URBAN CRISIS AND COMMUNITY RESPONSE

Like most American cities at the turn of the century, Baltimore was faced with a crisis of change and adjustment to new realities. The problems which accompanied industrialization were exacerbated by the changing and growing population which was ill-equipped for urban life. Municipal government and social institutions struggled with the changes which occurred more rapidly than they could control. Further, these institutions became battleground where the new social order and urban culture would be formed out of clashing interests and ideologies based on class, race, religion and ethnicity. The response of the cities to the newcomers from rural areas and abroad varied from one city to the next based on its own history and the magnitude of the changes which occurred. But certain patterns emerged--the flood of newcomers crowding into urban ghettos and providing cheap labor for the factories, docks and sweatshops, the overwhelmed municipal government caught between the urgent need for new services and politics as usual, and the development of a movement of Progressive reform, determined to professionalize government and to depoliticize its services. Most importantly, it was the established immigrant communities which first brought the new arrivals into the changing American urban society.

For Baltimore, this struggle was defined in great measure by the ethnic and religious makeup of the city as it received the newcomers amidst its own battle over reform. Just

as important was the way in which immigrants themselves confronted the city, based on their own strategies for survival and assimilation. In other words, the immigrants were not passive recipients of American culture, but active players in the process. Immigration was an ongoing process in Baltimore, with the foundation established by the German and Irish immigrants of the 1830's and 1840's. They forced their way into the American mainstream by building bridges from their national culture to that of their adopted land. These bridges included various ethnic institutions such as schools, churches and organizations which allowed the immigrant to learn American culture from a familiar perspective, and to make the transformation to America over time and on his/her own terms. These bridges remained long after they were necessary for the immigrants survival in a strange land, and became a means for preserving the culture of origin for later generations.

Like other American cities, Baltimore experienced considerable growth in population during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The total growth of 240,000 from 1870 to 1900 was the result of natural increase, annexation of land from the County, foreign immigration, and migration from rural areas in the state. According to a study done at Johns Hopkins University in 1941, rural migration accounted for almost half of the population increase in this period.¹ During the same period, foreign born population rose from 56,484 in 1870 to

68,600 in 1900, accounting for about five percent of the city's total population increase. The percentage of growth actually decreased in two of those decades; only between 1880 and 1890 did the foreign born percentage of population growth increase (by 22.9%). The number of immigrants who remained in Baltimore paled beside the 600,000 who entered the country at Locust Point and continued directly westward via the B&O Railroad.² In 1890, less than 16% of Baltimore's population was foreign born, which was a smaller percentage than any other city in the top ten, and less than the number of blacks.³ By 1910, the foreign born percentage of the population was down to 13.8, although another 24.1 percent were at least partially of foreign parentage.⁴

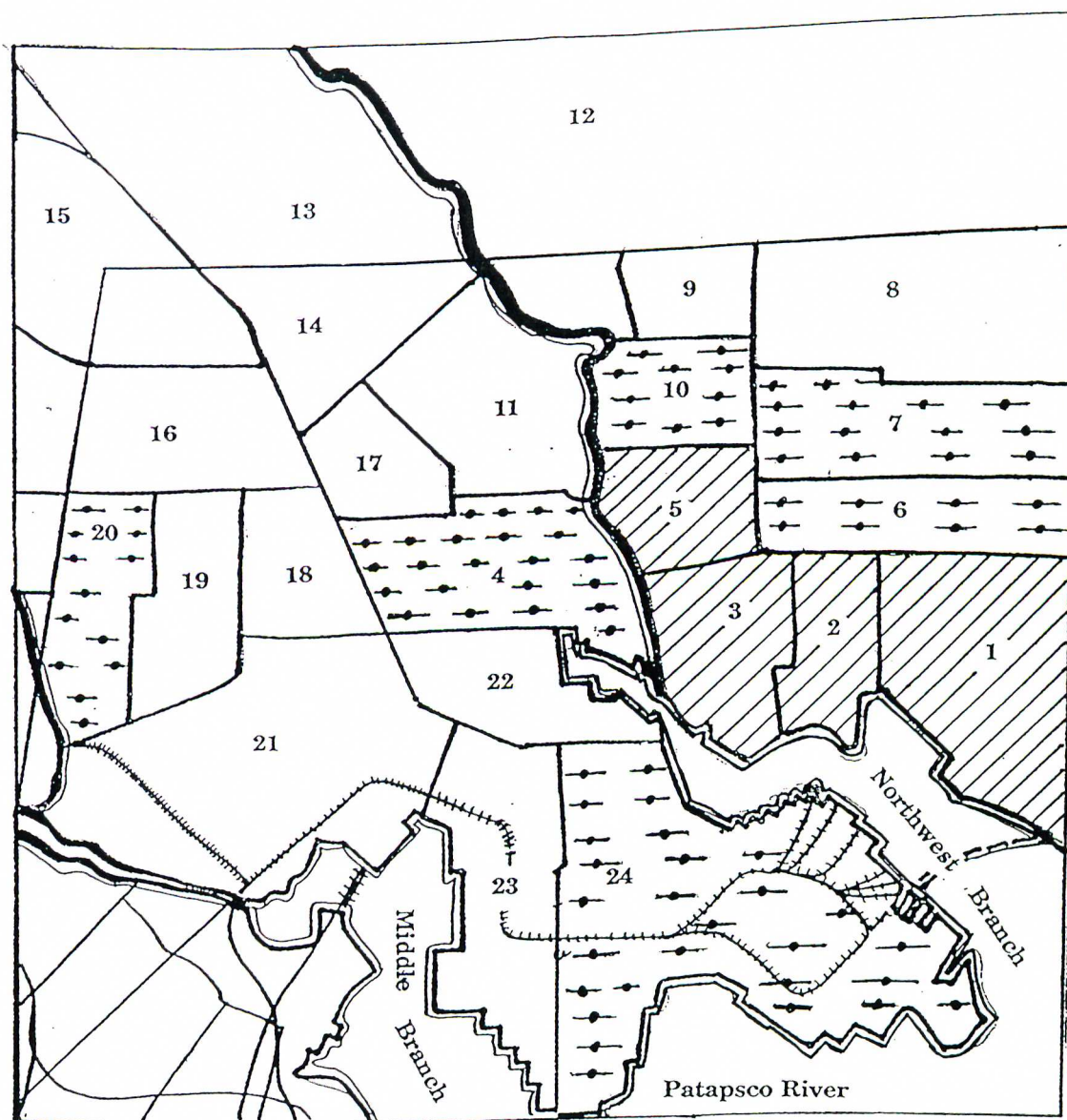
In the diversity of its population and its economic activities, Baltimore has been described as a southern city in which native whites and blacks often outnumber immigrants. Its economy was not sustained by one large industry, but by a variety of smaller ones, as well as heavy reliance on transportation systems. Because of this, the work force was constantly in flux, changing jobs whenever circumstances warranted. Much of the work was related to the port and the railroads, clustered in East and South Baltimore, and out along Locust Point. Most of the immigrant communities can be found in these areas, making up a significant proportion of the workforce of these enterprises.⁵ So, while the foreign born did not outnumber other groups, they were

disproportionate in the laboring sector of the workforce and tended to be crowded into certain neighborhoods.

According to the 1910 Census, four of Baltimore's twenty-four wards had a majority of its population consisting of either foreign born or children of foreign born. The first ward lies along the waterfront in the region of East Baltimore known as Canton, an area dominated by German communities. The second ward lies directly west along the waterfront, and includes the immigrant community of Fells Point. Of its 72.3% ethnic composition, the largest groups were Russian Jews and Poles, as well as Germans. Directly west is the third ward, 84% ethnic in 1910, which was dominated by Russian Jews and Italians. The Fifth ward, due north of the first, is Oldtown, the oldest German enclave in the city. It also was becoming a Russian Jewish area by 1910. The fourth, sixth, seventh, tenth, twentieth and twenty-fourth wards all had ethnic populations in 1910 which exceeded 40%.⁶ While immigrants and their children did not make up the majority of the city population in 1910, the concentration of their population and their acute problems nonetheless created a crisis for the city.

The immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to Baltimore were part of a larger migration to the United States of the so-called New Immigrants. They were mostly impoverished economic and religious refugees from eastern and southern Europe, many of them either Jewish or

Map 1 Location of Ethnic Neighborhoods in Baltimore - 1910



 Wards in which immigrant population exceeds 50% (1,2,3,5)

 Wards in which immigrant population exceeds 40%, but less than 50% (4,6,7,10,20,24)

Catholic. The Russian Jews began arriving in Baltimore in the 1880's, much to the embarrassment of the established German Jewish community of the city, who considered the new arrivals to be uncouth reminders of their own differences from the Gentiles with whom they had assimilated. Despite their discomfort, the German Jews spared no effort or expense to help their fellow Jews survive in America.⁷ By 1890, Jews still made up only 5.88% of the foreign born population, but the Baltimore Sun was able to describe a colony which stretched from Front St. to Broadway and from Pratt to several squares beyond the city limits, with the poor clustered along Exeter, High, Low and Harrison Streets.⁸ By 1910, the Census showed a foreign born Russian population in Baltimore of 24,798 or 32.2 percent of the foreign born total, with an additional 17,110 children of Russian immigrants. Overall, Russians made up 20.1 percent of the immigrant population of the city, second only to the Germans, who comprised 45.6 percent of the foreign stock.⁹ Most Russians were poor laborers, unassimilated to a great extent, and crowded into tenement slums in East Baltimore.

The Russians were joined in the foreign slums by growing numbers of Poles, Italians, Bohemians and other groups to whom American culture was very different from their lands of origin.

TABLE 1. NATIONALITIES IN BALTIMORE, 1900 & 1910

NATIONALITY	1900-FOREIGN BORN	1910-FOREIGN BORN	1910-FOREIGN BORN-FOREIGN BORN PARENTAGE
AUSTRIA	3814	6538	13,316
ENGLAND	2819	2690	7831
GERMANY	33,931	26,021	96,537
IRELAND	9682	6806	27,465
ITALY	2042	5043	8473
RUSSIA	12,184	24,798	42,626
TOTAL	67,940	77,043	211,913

TOTAL CITY POPULATION 1900--508,957; 1910--558,485
 note: while total indicated is for all nationalities, only those who made up more than one percent of the total are listed. data based on Thirteenth Census V. I, p. 840, Table 12.

Bohemian immigrants were included under Austria, and Polish immigrants were included as Russian by the census takers. Table 1 shows that the Germans remained the largest group of immigrants into Baltimore during this time period, followed by the Russians. While the Eastern and Southern Europeans roughly doubled in the first decade of the century, the Irish and English immigrants actually declined in number. Even more dramatic than the increase in foreign born is the increase of the total foreign population, including the children of immigrants. Of a total city population of 553,485 in 1910, 211,913 were immigrants or children of immigrants. The proportions of the population which were native white, native white of foreign parentage, foreign white, and black, were approximately the same in 1910 as they had been in 1900. What changed was the origin of the immigrants and especially

the dramatic increase in Russians. Because of differences in language, religion, and other aspects of culture as well as dire poverty, these immigrants were perceived to be more different than native Americans than had their German, Irish and English predecessors.

Germans had always been the dominant ethnic group in Baltimore and in the state as a whole although they lacked a singular identity based on nationality and tended to divide often along religious and class lines. Because religion was such a powerful source of identity in the immigrant community, it is difficult to see the Germans without taking note of the distinctness of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant groups. The great influx of Germans had begun in the 1840's, and had steadily increased thereafter. By 1890, they made up almost sixty percent of the foreign born in the city, and approximately one fourth of the city population (including first and second generation). They had become established in Baltimore in the business community and the professions, and had become influential in education and religion. They were generally considered to be acceptably 'Americanized' by native Baltimoreans, until the 1890's, when they came under siege by the nativist attacks of the American Protective Association and others.

According to Dieter Cunz, the Baltimore Germans of all classes responded to the nativism of the 1890's in much the same way as their predecessors had in the 1840's. Before the

Civil War, the Know-Nothings responded to immigration by attacking both German and Irish communities, driving both inward to build their own institutions and support each other. Protected by their own societies, schools, press, churches and neighborhoods, the German Americans became assimilated within this outer framework. When the next wave of nativism struck during the 1890's, German separatism was reinforced and replenished by a new generation of immigrants.¹⁰ The newest immigrants entered a city which already included a highly developed and powerful German American community, whose nationalist identity was strengthened by both the anti-foreign backlash and the newest arrivals. They pulled back into their own cultural shell, complete with press, labor unions, historical society, literary and choral groups, and other organizations which protected their ethnicity. They already had seven public schools which were bilingual in curriculum and instructions as well as more than thirty German language churches and synagogues. Dozens of literary and social clubs provided opportunities for establishing and strengthening a sense of community identity--prominent merchants joined the Germania Club, craftsmen joined German trade unions, and the German historical Society was established. German was the language spoken in six of the twenty-one Catholic Churches in Baltimore.

These German churches were still growing at the end of the century, when Germans still made up the largest immigrant

group into Baltimore and the German Catholic newspaper Katholische Volkszeitung reached a circulation of over 25,000.¹¹ They caused a challenge for the Irish hierarchy of the Archdiocese in Baltimore and elsewhere who generally preferred a more rapid and quiet Americanization. while the number of German churches increased during this time, the so-called Irish churches decreased in number, as the Irish lost their cultural distinctness and began to move out into the suburbs.¹²

The presence of German language and culture in the mainstream of Baltimore and Maryland life provided some measure of the Americanization process in that city. In Baltimore, to be German was to be American. The historian of the Maryland Germans Dieter Cunz has pointed out that when the German-English schools were established by the School Board in the 1870's, the argument was made that the schools would benefit not just German children but also American children who would find that the ability to speak German would be an asset in Baltimore's business community.¹³ The process of acculturation at the schools was expected to be a two-way process. Although many Germans blamed these schools for the demise of the German private schools in Baltimore, they soon became reputable and popular amongst the city residents.¹⁴ Likewise, the German Catholic schools run by the School Sisters of Notre Dame continued to flourish, although they began to lose some of their distinct national character after

the turn of the century, when the period of intense nativism faded and the parochial schools sought to match up with the public schools. Older German and Irish immigrants began to move out toward the fringes of the city, but still dominated the Catholic Archdiocese of Baltimore. In effect, German culture had entered the mainstream while remaining intact.

Immigrant communities provided the lens through which the individual newcomer viewed the American urban society. From first arrival in the city, the transformation from foreigner to American was carried out from within the ethnic community. In 1891, the Baltimore Sun noted that "... Russian Jews are always willing to assist one another and there have been numerous cases in Baltimore where the poorest families have housed and cared for the immigrants from Russia until they could provide for themselves properly..." and that out of about 12,000 Russian immigrants to Baltimore, "...there has not been a single instance where one of them has become a public charge."¹⁵ This resistance to public charity demonstrates not only the determination of individuals facing hardships but the way in which the ethnic community enveloped its own people. The Baltimore Charity Organization Society reported in 1904 that a Polish priest claimed that the Poles could take care of their own despite the obvious poverty found by the Society. "He holds that his parishioners are not in need of material relief and has been unwilling to have established, in connection with his church, any relief-giving

society."¹⁶

Russian Jews who flooded Baltimore after 1880 were greeted by a Jewish community which was originally German in origin but increasingly Russian as time went on. They increased in numbers so dramatically that by 1900, they were second only to Germans in immigrant population in the city. They crowded into the neighborhoods of East Baltimore and began working in sweatshops and other small trades. Arriving immigrants were helped by a variety of organizations from the community. The Hebrew Young Men's Sick Relief Society was the first fraternal Jewish organization in Baltimore. It was organized in 1888 to help immigrants find homes, learn English, find jobs and establish small businesses and shops.¹⁷ The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society also provided assistance to many of the 20,000 Russian Jews who arrived in Baltimore between 1900 and 1914. The Hebrew Benevolent Society and the United Hebrew Charities were among those who helped the poor and homeless after the great fire of 1904.

Years before the Baltimore Public Schools committed itself to the Americanization of immigrant children and adults, the Russian Jewish community established a night school program which eventually became the model for the public night schools. Established by the Hebrew Literary Society in 1889, the Russian Night School educated 30 adult pupils in the first year in rooms on North Gay St. Under the leadership of Henrietta Szold, the driving force and

superintendent until 1893, the school grew in the second year to an enrollment of 515, with an average attendance of 103. The school moved to larger facilities on Front St. with the financial assistance of the Baron de Hirsch Fund and other private and organizational donations, Students were charged thirty cents per month tuition. In 1892, the school moved to 1208 East Baltimore St. where it remained until it closed in 1897.¹⁸

Szold was an enthusiastic Americanizer who clearly defined the mission of the school in terms of its value as a way to bring Russian immigrants into the American urban society. The prospectus of the Russian Night School for the year 1890-91 stated that its purpose was "...to elevate, educate and influence for good those who have recently escaped from the narrowness of Russian life into American light and liberty."¹⁹ According to Louis Levin of Johns Hopkins University in 1922, Szold's work was part of the larger effort by the German Jewish community to help assimilate Russian Jews in Baltimore after 1880.²⁰ She made her case for Americanization in the Sun in 1892:

In view of all this, is it not justifiable to ask why our own city does not arrange for the opening of night schools? In a Century article it was remarked that the massing together in our cities of foreign immigrants, baleful in most respects, is a fortunate circumstance inasmuch as it presents the opportunity, if we will embrace it, for exercising Americanizing influence.²¹

Szold's solidarity with the Progressive Americanizers can be seen in her reference to the Century and to her desire to use

government to shape the social sphere of the modern American city. Unlike those reformers though, she spoke from within the community and was able to achieve more toward the goal of assimilation than the school reformers could before the First World War.

To Szold, language was the most important measure of Americanization because it allowed the immigrant to survive and to function in the larger urban community. The curriculum of the Night School reflected this emphasis:

In the Russian night schools, the chief aim pursued is the teaching of the English language for all practical purposes, and the chief subject dwelt upon is United States history and geography. The discussions carried on between pupils and teachers often turn upon current events, the views defended by the different political parties, the commercial policy of each, judicial procedures, and the machinery of state.²²

Szold saw the process of Americanization centering around the English language because she believed that the immigrants should grasp American culture in its own language. She described the necessity for the student to "...clothe his knowledge in an English garb."²³ Jewish Historical Society member Alexandra Levin later described the curriculum of the night school as "...English, English and again English."²⁴ Many immigrants persisted in speaking Yiddish at home and in the neighborhood so the teachers at the Night School recognized it as key to the process of accepting American culture.

Another emphasis in the process of Americanization in the

Russian Night School was American history. When students were able to read basic English, they read in class from Eggleston's History of the United States, which was also used by the Baltimore Public Schools. Lessons were based on the history book in the areas of geography, grammar, spelling, writing, speaking and of course history. Levin described the process by which the students were taught:

The first lesson consisted of reading a paragraph of not more than eight lines. Every word was explained by pantomime, amplification, simplification, analogy or etymology. German was resorted to only in extreme cases.²⁵

One of the teachers apparently was quite successful despite the fact that she spoke only English. Levin continued:

After the meaning of the paragraph had been made clear, the historical allusions were discussed, the geographical references explained by means of a map, and as much incidental information as possible introduced. Questions were asked--questions were encouraged and forced; and answers given and required in English. Then a grammar lesson of the most elementary kind was illustrated by examples still drawn from the same paragraph, and finally a spelling and writing exercises elaborated from the same material.²⁶

The careful and deliberate process of breaking down the unknown into parts and proceeding only after the comprehension of students had been ascertained through student-teacher interaction stands in marked contrast to the complete lack of accommodation of non-English speaking students by the public schools of the city at the time. By learning English slowly the student was able to actually learn the content of the reading instead of the frustration of falling constantly

behind other students because they couldn't understand what the teacher was saying. The incorporation of language lessons and content lessons in various aspects of American culture would likely produce more success than the sink-or-swim methods of the public schools, where the text was used to teach subject matter only and those who could not keep up were left behind.

The Russian Night School was established primarily for adults, but a large number of children did attend, probably because they felt more comfortable there than at the public school. In addition, many children were already working at a young age so that night school was as much a necessity for them as for adults. In 1890-91, there were likely at least fifty children enrolled in the school out of 515 total. According to Szold's notes, Miss Brown taught the children in room 6 and she requested fifty readers. With an average attendance of 103 in that year, it is possible that children made up a significant portion of the student body.²⁷

The Russian Night School closed in 1897 after having helped to Americanize over 5000 men, women and children. School Superintendent James Van Sickle agreed in 1900 to open night schools in certain immigrant neighborhoods, with no classes on Friday nights so as not to interfere with the Jewish Sabbath. The first night schools were opened by the city at School Number 44 in South Baltimore, at School Number 5 at Broadway and Ashland for Bohemians, Poles and

Lithuanians, and at School Number 42 at Broadway and Bank Sts. for Russians. The response of the city was a direct result of the work begun by the immigrants and subsequent night schools for immigrants were opened at the request of the various communities themselves.²⁸

The largest and most significant organization within the Jewish community of Baltimore in terms of providing social and cultural transitional assistance for immigrants was the Jewish Educational Alliance, which was founded in 1909 as a merger between the Daughters of Israel (for lonely Jewish working girls) and the Maccabeans (boys' and mens' clubs). The headquarters was built at 1100 East Baltimore Street and became a center for young Jewish American life in Baltimore. Two other branches were established in East and South Baltimore with a total monthly attendance in the first year of 11,174, including men, women and children. They charged five cents in monthly dues for children ages twelve to fifteen, ten cents for those fifteen to eighteen and 15 cents for adults. In its first year of existence, the JEA included eighty-five clubs and classes.²⁹ It served the important functions of settlement house for the new arrivals as well as a social, educational and cultural center.

It began offering "steamer classes" in English and classes described as "...practical sessions on how to get along in America...."³⁰ A citizenship class was formed in the first year to teach 300 men "...the nature of our

government and the duties of citizenship in order to pass the tests for naturalization and the vote..." as well as day classes for children "...according to the latest methods of education...."³¹ This was considered to be the most important function of the JEA in the years before World War I, when the city's public night schools picked up most of the responsibility for citizenship education.³² Volunteer teachers such as Dr. Harry Linden and Dr. David Weglein (later superintendent of Baltimore Public Schools) made up the teaching staff in the first few years beginning in 1907, but a year-round professional staff was hired in 1910 to conduct the classes.³³ The Americanization program carried out at the Jewish Educational Alliance was more developed and successful than that of the Baltimore Public Schools during the years before World War I.

The JEA offered much more of a transition to American culture than simply language and citizenship classes. To enable immigrants to earn a decent wage, training was offered to women and girls in millinery, embroidery and dressmaking as well as typing, stenography, and business English. Boys and men were trained in print shop and manual training classes with various specific job skills provided. While women attended classes, the JEA conducted a day nursery (the first in Baltimore) and a kindergarten.³⁴ These classes offered immigrants the opportunity to enter the work force with some chance of success, instead of being caught in the web of

poverty which the sweatshop and cannery seemed to guarantee.

The JEA served important social and cultural functions for young people which long outlasted its steamer and citizenship classes and its job training. While those programs were largely aimed at adults, the JEA youth program included almost sixty clubs in six different age groups from nine to twenty. Programs included dramatic school and presentations, choral society, dancing classes, art school, orchestra, civic league and athletics. Basketball was the major sport in the gymnasium at the JEA, and the teams competed with others from all over the city. Like the Catholic parish organizations, the JEA encouraged children to learn and excel at American games and other activities, while learning and preserving their own cultural traditions. While most of the male interviewees from the Jewish Historical Society remembered Hebrew School, they also remembered playing basketball at the JEA. According to the Baltimore Jewish Times, "to the youngsters of East Baltimore...it was a place where boys and girls were respected and made to feel important. It was a place of laughter and friendship, a place where games would be played with no thought of breaking windows or annoying the police."³⁵ It was a refuge for children who were trying to survive in overcrowded and impoverished slums in a society which mixed two cultures--American urban culture and European rural culture. At places like the JEA and the Catholic Youth Organizations, children were able to learn American culture

together as an ethnic group, which allowed them to accept it from the comfortable framework of their national culture. At the same time, the culture of their parents (many of the JEA children were American born) was passed on to them.

The recollections of immigrants themselves seem to indicate the importance of institutions such as the Jewish Educational Alliance in the life of the individual. For instance one immigrant recalled the importance of the JEA to the community:

The Jewish Educational Alliance located on E. Baltimore St. and Central Avenue maintained cultural, educational and athletic activities...they had a library, evening musical concerts, athletic events for males and females, health aid assistance and helped the Jewish community in many aspects. Many distinguished citizens were products of the JEA atmosphere...Everyone looked forward to taking part in the activities and its very worthy purpose to keep the Jewish children off the streets.³⁶

Activities sponsored by the JEA were designed to help Jewish children to become Americanized as well as to preserve their own culture. There was great stress placed on social activities such as dancing, athletics and drama which would help to bring Jewish children into the mainstream of American life. At the same time, they were keeping Jewish children off the streets, out of the kinds of trouble prevalent in their impoverished and overcrowded neighborhoods.

Other community institutions in ethnic neighborhoods were less formal but no less important. Neighbors gathered in local shops, stores and saloons not just because shopping was a

daily event in the days before refrigeration but because it was a place to exchange gossip, ideas and information. One immigrant recalled that after school, children congregated around a cigar and candy store in his predominantly Jewish neighborhood.³⁷ Two sisters whose Russian Jewish parents owned a saloon recalled that while the men in the neighborhood gathered at the bar to drink and socialize, their mother was frequently sought by neighbors to write letters and help them in other similar ways because she knew English so well. She served as a conduit to the larger American community since Yiddish was the primary language spoken in the neighborhood.³⁸

Led by Cardinal Gibbons, the Catholic Church faced the New Immigrants with some of the same apprehension as the German Jewish community in Baltimore. During a period of strong nativist feeling aimed especially at Catholics, hundreds of thousands of new members were pouring into the country and setting up their own churches. These New Immigrants had the misfortune of arriving in the country during such a time of hostility toward Catholics, particularly in Baltimore.³⁹ The Church was faced with the challenge of providing for these new members, mostly Bohemians, Poles, Italians and Lithuanians, who seemed very different from the German and Irish Catholics who were already in Baltimore. Gibbons was an ardent Americanizer who, like other Irish American clergy and lay leaders, encouraged the new residents

to shed their own culture and take on their American civic responsibilities as soon as possible. Each of these groups insisted on establishing their own churches in Baltimore despite the urgings of the Cardinal, while at the same time, the Germans were re-emphasizing their own cultural identity as a response to the anti-Catholic nativism of the time, as well as their objection to the domination of the American Church by the Irish.⁴⁰

In their efforts to protect their ethnic identity from hostile attacks, Germans may have also put up some roadblocks to cultural assimilation at the turn of the century.⁴¹ Within the Catholic Church, a bitter fight developed over the nationalism of German parishes and what they believed was their subservience to the Irish in the Church hierarchy. Cardinal Gibbons, as the acknowledged head of the Church in the United States and with a diocese which included a significant number of German parishes, schools and teaching orders, became embroiled in this so-called Americanism controversy.⁴² With other liberal American Church leaders, he tried to stress the uniqueness of the American Church with its need to be compatible with democratic and egalitarian principles without offending the Church hierarchy in Rome. At the same time, they encouraged immigrant Catholics to display their Americanism through rapid assimilation in order to promote acceptance of Catholics within the American society. German Catholics were responding

to the hostility of the time by becoming entrenched in their own ethnic parishes, despite the urgings of Gibbons to become Americanized.

The new Polish Catholic churches in Baltimore became the most nationalistic at the turn of the century, mostly because of a nationwide resistance to Americanization by Polish Catholics.⁴³ The Catholic Church split between the nationalists and the clericalists over the issue of separateness within the Catholic Church and the pace of assimilation. Nationalists became independent of the Church hierarchy, and the power struggle between groups played out in Polish parishes all over the country. Cardinal Gibbons' position as an ardent Americanizer was a cause of constant tension in his relationship with the Polish Churches in Baltimore. Both Holy Cross and St. Stanislaus Kostka Parishes struggled constantly during this period with inner turmoil which played out on Parish Councils and Church organizations.⁴⁴ Due to the growing population of Poles moving into the industrial neighborhoods of Canton, Curtis Bay and Wagner's point, three more Polish churches were established. The nationalistic organizations St. Stanislaus Benevolent Society and Polish National Alliance and the clericalist Polish Roman Catholic Union provided the setting for much of the struggle. These organizations were so powerful that they often successfully controlled the administration of the parish and the authority of the pastor was dependent on

their cooperation. Despite the efforts of Cardinal Gibbons, the St. Stanislaus Society established an Independent Polish Catholic Church in Baltimore called Holy Rosary (later Holy Cross) , in order to combat "...the threat of Americanization by the American Catholic hierarchy supported by clericalist priests."⁴⁵ This movement caused a schism within the Catholic Church and a deep split within the Polish community of Baltimore on the subject of Americanization.

An important way in which American society was interpreted for the immigrant was through the foreign language and Church press, which usually reinforced nationalistic tendencies rather than assimilation. In 1891, the Sun reported that the Jews in Baltimore had their own newspaper with more than 1200 subscribers. "This paper teaches the duties of citizenship, the history of the country, and also the Constitution."⁴⁶ They actually had three newspapers at the turn of the century--The Jewish Chronicle, The Jewish Times, and The Jewish Comment. Poles also had a foreign language newspaper which carried news of the Polish community around Fells Point. Germans in Baltimore had several newspapers, led by The Correspondent, Katholische Volkszeitung, and Bayrische Wochenblatt. On occasion, the Katholische Volkszeitung and the Catholic Mirror, which was the official diocesan newspaper, publicly debated the issues of national churches and Americanization, with the Mirror serving as the mouthpiece of Cardinal Gibbons.⁴⁷ For example, the Volkszeitung supported

the Lucerne memorial of 1891, which called for the increase in German parishes and bishops in the United States, while the Mirror echoed its rejection by Cardinal Gibbons. As a result, the two papers exchanged criticisms over a period of time.⁴⁸ These newspapers provided an ethnic interpretation of local issues for immigrant communities as well as a connection to the city for those who did not read English.

Despite ethnic and religious differences poverty was a staggering problem in common to all immigrant neighborhoods, since the foreign born ranked disproportionately among the city's poor. Many of the Eastern and Southern Europeans had arrived at Locust Point with very few possessions and very little money. Records from 1908 indicate that 85% of Russian aliens arriving at the Port in Baltimore brought less than fifty dollars with them. Similar conditions predominated among Croatians and Slovenians (73%), Lithuanians (76%), Roumanians (86%), Slovaks (79%), and Ruthenians or Russniaks (83%). In contrast, only 35% of German aliens brought less than fifty dollars, and only 40% of 'Hebrews' brought such a small amount of money.⁴⁹

The New Immigrants began their lives in the new country already impoverished. Because they had less earning capacity than skilled craftsmen, many of these immigrants faced the poor wages of the warehouses and the sweatshops of East Baltimore. The Polish immigrants, for example, were likely to crowd together into tenement houses which were frequently

unsafe and unhealthy environments for raising children. Sometimes three or four families crowded into a single family home or apartment which were poorly lit, dirty, and often lacked running water or toilets. Often a room or space was set aside for use as a workspace or sweatshop despite the overcrowding. The neighborhood was further despoiled by outdoor bathrooms and inadequate sewerage and trash removal.⁵⁰ The Sun called for public baths to be provided in Russian Jewish neighborhoods to combat what they characterized as the "...uncleanliness of persons and rooms..." which they added gratuitously was a "...carryover from conditions in Russian settlements...."⁵¹ By 1900, the Free Public Bath Commission began providing such facilities, especially in foreign neighborhood schools. As one principal put it in 1916, "Everyone here is awake to the vital importance of the baths as a means of character building and social improvement. In many instances, the good influence has reached into the homes."⁵²

The Great Fire of 1904 exacerbated the housing and other poverty problems in the areas along the waterfront where most of the damage occurred, but it also demonstrated the strong element of ethnic self-help in Baltimore. Many of those whose homes or places of work were destroyed were Italians living in the area around Little Italy, where Russian Jews also lived. Relief efforts were directed by charitable organizations derived from the ethnic communities themselves, supplemented

by Federated Charities of Baltimore and the Citizens Relief Committee. The records show that 186 Italian families were assisted by the Italian Relief Committee and St. Vincent De Paul, while the Hebrew Benevolent Society and the German Society helped a total of 260 families, presumably mostly Russian Jews.⁵³ The housing crisis lingered in the Third Ward for years. In 1910, there were 4,512 families living in 2,742 dwellings, compared to the overall city ratio of 118,851 families in 101,905 dwellings. No other ward showed such a crisis in housing, although in general, the higher the percentage of immigrants living in a ward, the worse the ratio of families to dwellings.⁵⁴

Immigrants established their own institutions to help themselves climb the economic ladder. Building and loan associations were set up by various ethnic groups to allow members to help themselves and each other by putting their resources together. By 1915, there were twenty such Polish organizations in the city, led by St. Casimir's Savings and Loan Association, which was founded in 1911. Pastors often served as bankers under the auspices of the Archdiocese to handle the deposits of parishioners. In 1920, St. Stanislaus held almost \$10,000 for several parish societies as well as \$65,000 from sixty-seven individuals.⁵⁵

In the Polish community at Fells Point, home ownership was a shared value for which families worked and sacrificed for years. The rowhouses were purchased through the building

and loan associations and gradually improved as funds allowed. By 1929, sixty percent of Polish families in Baltimore had achieved the American dream of home ownership.⁵⁶ The Italians also had several Savings and Loan organizations, but did not have a padrone banker as did many Italian communities in other cities.⁵⁷

The Catholic Church developed institutions to help immigrants to adjust to American life early in the twentieth century. The Immigrants and Sailors Protective Association of the Archdiocese of Baltimore was established in 1910 under the leadership of Father Francis Pyznar of St. Stanislaus Church. The Association opened a shelter for immigrants at Locust Point which provided help in tracking down relatives, legal aid and temporary shelter which saved many immigrants from deportation.⁵⁸ At the same time, settlement houses were set up by various lay Church organizations in the Archdiocese, but not necessarily by immigrants themselves. The Ladies of Charity of Saints Philip and James Church set up the Gibbons Guild Settlement in 1911 and later the Catholic Settlement Association. Other Catholic settlements included St. Jerome's and Curtis Bay, and the most successful of all, the Catholic Community House. Most of the settlement houses operated under the auspices of diocesan authorities and were organized by the Catholic elite who modelled their programs on the Protestant social gospelers of earlier years and the Progressive reformers in the settlement house movement.⁵⁹

For Catholic immigrants, the focal point of life in an American urban center was the parish, which drew families to its churches, schools and social organizations. The Catholic parish was much more than just the spiritual center for the family, especially in the immigrant communities. Descriptions of life in Little Italy point to St. Leo's as the center of the community, the force which drew all together, no matter what part of Italy immigrants came from. Girls attended sewing classes after school on Wednesdays while boys participated in organized baseball and basketball competitions.⁶⁰ The School Sisters of Notre Dame, who ran the school, even taught the girls how to play basketball as well as waltz in the gym.⁶¹ Adults attended citizenship classes at the Adult Education Center at Broadway and Bank Street "...where the parishioners went for their citizenship courses. Many were proud that they knew more about American history and government than most long-time residents."⁶² St. Stanislaus Kostka Church in Fells Point was established 1879 to serve the growing Polish community in the area. The founding parishioners and priest built a church, a grammar school, convent, orphanage and cemetery. These institutions provided the social and spiritual center for the Polish community.⁶³ Learning American games such as basketball and American culture was carried out under the auspices of the parish and the community, which served as a bridge between cultures. Just as the Jewish community had established social and cultural institutions which brought

immigrants and their children into American society, so too did Catholic parishes allow for Americanization under community auspices.

Industrialization brought major changes in work to urban centers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because of its diversity and dependence on transportation and the clothing trades, Baltimore underwent less dramatic changes in its economic structure than many other large cities. The largest trade in terms of dollar value as well as number of wage earners was the clothing trade, from before the Civil War to World War I. In the years from 1900 to 1909, the number of workers in the garment industry grew from an average of 12,165 to 18,596. Meanwhile, another labor intensive industry--the canning of fruits and vegetables, saw its labor force decline from an average of 10,923 in 1880 to 3,166 in 1909, mostly due to mechanization.⁶⁴ Both of these industries relied heavily on the employment of immigrants to provide a cheap labor force.

The increased demand for ready-made clothing at the turn of the century led to the establishment of a garment district just west of downtown between Baltimore and Pratt Streets. Large scale clothiers were mostly German Jews who had sought economic independence in a garment industry which benefitted from technological advances and a growing Southern market after the Civil War. Thousands worked in these factories, and thousands more worked in the sweatshops run by middlemen in

the garment trade to supplement the work of the factories. Most of the sweatshops were located in the area just west of the downtown area, between Monument street on the north and Eastern on the south. This area provided thousands of Italian, Bohemian, Lithuanian and Russian Jewish workers for the sweatshops and the homework which went with it.⁶⁵

In 1902, the Maryland Bureau of Industrial Statistics estimated that there were three hundred sweatshops in Baltimore, with an average of ten workers in each shop. The twelve hour work day in the crowded and stuffy tenement was continued at home by the family so that the day's impossible quota could be reached, in order to earn one dollar a day in the piecework system. Women and children made up a considerable part of the labor force, and were paid less than men so it usually required a combined family income to make ends meet. The Bureau had been established by reform minded individuals who exposed the conditions of the sweatshops and factories, finally resulting in the passage of several laws for cleanliness, lighting, and ventilation, and the naming of two inspectors in 1902 (for the entire city). The Bureau described the sweatshop district, filled with Hebrews, Lithuanians and Bohemians who did piecework in apartments and row houses converted into work rooms for the purpose:

In a majority of the places visited, however, a large number of persons of both sexes were found crowded into a second story and attic rooms, surrounded on all sides by piles of clippings from the garments upon which they are engaged...In addition to the clippings lying about, which is

true of all shops, in many of them are found all sorts of dirt and filth either in the room where the work is being carried on, or in the adjoining ones, and the halls and stairways are swarming with half-clothed children, the imprints of whose unclean hands are found everywhere. The only entrance to some of the shops is through a malodorous side alley filled with stagnant water and other filth; thence up a crooked stairway and dingy hall strewn with pots, pans and other cooking utensils...⁶⁶

While these sweatshops were gradually regulated and eliminated, they were being replaced by the "skyscraping factories" which employed several hundred clothing workers under the new efficiency of mass production. By 1915, almost three quarters of all men's clothing was produced in these large establishments, although they continued to use their own sweatshops within their premises to avoid dealing with unions, and often cheated workers out of their pay.⁶⁷

Adult immigrants were also introduced to American culture in the workplace, where the homogeneity of the work force in certain industries allowed them some measure of ethnic identity. Germans dominated the breweries and furniture making trades, while the Poles filled most of the jobs in the canneries and fertilizer plants. An estimated seventy percent of all Jewish workers in Baltimore were employed in the garment industry, while most Italians worked in sweatshops.⁶⁸ Workers were able to bring some of their cultural identity to the workplace while they became part of the American urban industrial working class. One Russian Jewish immigrant described the struggle with German Jewish owners of a needle

factory who forced them to work on Saturdays, which was forbidden among the more Orthodox newcomers.⁶⁹

The various ethnic urban communities which developed in Baltimore at the turn of the century were often centered around work, where many adults first confronted the American urban industrial society. Because the workplace often employed much of the neighborhood, the community took an interest in work conditions. Gathering places became focal points for work issues. The oldest German and Irish working class neighborhood was Oldtown, and its many Catholic Churches provided a common ground for workers. Jewish workers were employed in the sweatshops in their neighborhoods in the southwest corner of Oldtown.⁷⁰ Historian Roderick Ryon has pointed out that the neighborhood factory in the pre-World War I era was not blocked off by acres of land or iron fences, but sat in the midst of the community. Workers were able to move easily from the workplace to the neighborhood tavern, union hall, church hall and home, therefore allowing workers to "...blur the differences between what in the neighborhood belonged to the factory owner, the family, or the workers."⁷¹

The workplace ethnic distinctions were often reinforced by labor organizations which served important social as well as economic and political functions. There were over 100 labor unions in Baltimore in the early twentieth century, most headquartered on the East Side, where eighty percent of

craftworkers lived. Forty craft halls were located within walking distance to city hall, where city officials courted workers who made up 40,000 of the city residents and tended to be politically active.⁷² Many of the halls served predominantly immigrant labor organizations such as the Labor Lyceum for the several garment workers unions and the Bohemian tailors' Shimek Hall. Because the halls were located in the workers' communities, they became important centers for information, job referral, and political activity. Female garment workers in 1913 marched to the downtown train stations to join upper class reformers in a march for women's suffrage. Unions often lobbied for other reforms such as free public baths and protection on the trolleys. But they did not always share the Progressive agenda--German unions argued loudly to defend the German-English schools which were located within their neighborhoods from the reformers who considered them both un-American and expensive. They received the support of the native unions such as the Federation of Labor on this issue.⁷³ Through the labor organizations in their own communities, immigrant workers were able to develop a political presence in the city and assert themselves on issues affecting their own assimilation. By fighting to preserve the German-English schools, they were trying to control at least in part the terms of their entry into American urban society.

Like the clothing industry, the canneries of Baltimore depended heavily on immigrant labor, usually in family units.

Usually a mother would bring her children to the factory with her and they worked together. In other cases, school-age children joined their mothers at the cannery after school. The work was seasonal and low-paying (four to five dollars a week for sixty to seventy hours of work), and the conditions were poor. The damp, steamy workroom was cold and uncomfortable, particularly for those with no shoes, and cuts and rashes were common. The pay was usually piecework, and always exhausting. Yet for the immigrant woman, the cannery was often the best option for work since it provided the flexible schedule needed to attend to domestic duties, and was walking distance from home. The shop floor was less regulated than in many places, and the women could socialize in a familiar cultural environment, surrounded by neighbors from the same ethnic community. Often, a bell at the waterfront would signal the arrival of a shipment of oysters, fruits or vegetables, and the women would gather with children at the cannery to begin sorting and packing.⁷⁴

The ethnicity of the workplace and the blurring lines between workplace and community appealed to the cannery workers in Fells Point. The women may have preferred the informality and opportunity for social interaction provided by cannery work to the structure of a factory. They would move back and forth from the cannery to home during the day to attend to children and domestic responsibilities.⁷⁵ Whether or not it was a conscious choice, they were able to soften the

confrontation with the new urban society by their numbers, which actually allowed many workers the luxury of determining the pace and emphasis of Americanization.

Despite the intentions of Progressive reformers, child labor remained a major problem in Baltimore at the turn of the century. So many children worked in clothing and canning as well as other industries in Baltimore, that the city ranked third in the nation in 1909 in the size of its child labor force. One third of these children worked in either clothing or canning, despite the child labor laws, compulsory school attendance laws, and the inspections of the Bureau of Statistics and Information. Large numbers of children were also employed in the brick, glass, and cotton duck trades, as the number of children working probably actually increased at the turn of the century, despite the new restrictions. When the Compulsory Education Law was passed in 1906, the new process of application permit underscored the largely foreign makeup of the child labor force. Six labor inspectors were kept very busy trying to inspect literally thousands of work places in the city, looking for underage workers and unsanitary and unsafe conditions.⁷⁶ The magnitude and persistence of the child labor problem posed a serious challenge to the public and parochial education systems of the city as they attempted to bring all of the children to school in the early twentieth century.

The urban crisis of the turn of the century in Baltimore

was similar to that in other large cities at the time. The problems of poverty, housing, public services, and labor conditions became more critical because of the changing economic structure and the dramatic growth in urban population, both from rural areas and from other countries. Urban institutions--municipal government, schools, churches and community organizations struggled to deal with the crisis from their own perspectives. The Progressive reformers have received much attention from historians for their attempts to cope with these problems. But initially, it was the immigrant communities with their own long established and newly designed institutions, who met the immigrants at the dock and brought them into the American society. In doing so, they tried to ensure that the bridges would remain in place to protect their connections to ethnic cultures as they became more and more American by generations. The process of assimilation to the rapidly changing urban industrial culture was an intergenerational process, with newly arriving immigrants standing on the shoulders of earlier arrivals. The attention given the new immigrants sometimes resembled a tug-of-war between 'Americans' of various generations, who brought all of their own prejudices and goals into the process. Yet, it was ultimately the immigrants themselves who developed strategies for coping with the bewildering new environment, using what they brought with them, as well as what they were offered in America.

Chapter 1 Endnotes

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48. Spalding, 270.
49. Data is based on the table entitled "Report of Immigrant Aliens Admitted at Port of Baltimore, Md., for Calendar Year Ending December 31, 1908" in the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland for the Year 1908 (Baltimore: Kohn and Pollock, Inc. 1908)np. It also appears that those groups more likely to enter with more than fifty dollars were more often entering as family units rather

than as single male adults, based on the number of women and children who entered from Germany, Poland, etc.

50. Shopes, "Fells Point," 135, based on descriptions found in Housing Conditions in Baltimore (Baltimore: Federated Charities, 1907). Neighborhoods are also described by Sherry Olson in Baltimore: The Building of an American City (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

51. The Baltimore Sun August 27, 1891.

52. Robert F.G. Kelley, "The History and Advent of Public School Baths," Municipal Journal, October 22, 1920.

53. Baltimore Citizens Relief Committee, Report of the Citizens Relief Committee Appointed after the Great Baltimore Fire February 7 and 8 1904, 9-11.

54. Thirteenth Census, 1910, 850.

55. Spalding, 298.

56. Linda Shopes, "Fells Point," 137.

57. Spalding, 298.

58. Spalding, 298.

59. Spalding, 299.

60. Gilbert Sandler, The Neighborhood: The Story of Baltimore's Little Italy (Baltimore: Bodine and Associates, Inc., 1974) 27.

61. The Church of St. Leo The Great 1881-1981: The Heart of Little Italy (Baltimore: Church of St. Leo the Great Press, 1981) 16.

62. History of St. Leo's, 11.

63. Shopes, "Fells Point," 137.

64. Census data compiled by Eleanor Bruchey on page 490 of "The Industrialization of Maryland, 1860-1914" in Maryland: A History, 1632-1974, 396-498. The data also shows the rather steady importance of heavy industry such as copper, iron and tin, during these decades.

65. Jo Ann E. Argersinger, "The City That Tries to Suit Everybody: Baltimore's Clothing Industry," in The Baltimore Book, 81-83.

66. Maryland Bureau of Industrial Statistics, Annual Report, 1895, 80-81, as found in "The Industrialization of Maryland, 1860-1914," 454.
67. Argersinger, "The City that Tried to Suit Everybody," 83-85; Crooks, Politics and Progress, 189-190; Bruchey, "The Industrialization of Maryland," 453-455.
68. Ryon, 569.
69. Hymen Saye, Oral History Collection, Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, 1983.
70. Ryon, 569; Beirne, 40.
71. Ryon, 570.
72. Roderick Ryon, "East Side Union Halls: Where Craft Workers Met, 1887-1917," The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History ed. by Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes, Linda Zeidman (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991, 103-119): 107.
73. Ryon, "East Side Union Halls...", 115.
74. Shopes, "Fells Point..." 126-133; Bruchey, "The Industrialization of Maryland...", 435.
75. Shopes, "Fells Point:...", 133.
76. U.S., Thirteenth Census: 1910, Manufactures, pt. I, 275; Olson, 267, 203; Bureau of Statistics and Information, Annual Report, 1908, 193.

2. ADMINISTRATIVE AMERICANIZERS IN BALTIMORE SCHOOLS

The city of Baltimore as a whole was less prepared for the new arrivals than the immigrant neighborhoods and institutions themselves. The nativist backlash which resulted from the urban crisis of the 1890's did much to shape the response not just of the immigrant communities but of the larger urban community as well. The intergenerational dynamic among various immigrant groups was complicated by conflicting tendencies--the desire to conform versus the desire for protection. Those who would shape the urban municipal agenda faced the same question--should the immigrants be forced to assimilate rapidly into the new industrial order or should they be segregated from the 'native' white community (as blacks in Baltimore were). Municipal institutions were also caught in a generational struggle at the time--between the political machines of the nineteenth century and the new Progressive reformers of the twentieth. The immigrants were caught in the crossfire between these two factions as they struggled for control of city government.

The urban crisis in Baltimore at the turn of the century was not unlike that in other cities across the country. As in other places, the Progressive reformers battled political machines, entrenched teachers, and the persistent conditions of poverty in their slums. The legislation in a wide variety of areas was testimony to their increasing impact on American urban society. Everything from sewers to universities, housing

to public parks, was taken on by these reformers. But in Baltimore, as elsewhere, their successes were limited by the magnitude of the problems and the opposition, often from the very people they were trying to help. In the schools, their impact may have been limited by factors such as attendance, teacher opposition, revenues committed to the schools, and the limits of their own understanding of the problems. As these problems are examined, it is important to remember that the immigrant played a part in this debate as well. The new arrivals were not passively acted upon, but made choices as best they could based on their understanding of the options available and their beliefs, suspicions, biases, etc. As far as education was concerned, the immigrant was caught between the conflicting forces within the reforming public school system and the institutions of the ethnic community, including parochial schools. For Catholic immigrants, this meant that a choice existed between two educational options. They made choices which they believed would quickly and successfully integrate them into American society without depriving them of their identity. For this task, the parochial school and the ethnic neighborhood was both more willing and more able to meet the challenge on the immigrants' terms, and therefore could be more successful in helping to Americanize them.

One municipal response of American cities to the urban crisis in the late nineteenth century was the political boss, who provided jobs, assistance in housing, health care costs,

funeral costs, and other needs for survival, in return for votes. Bosses thrived amidst the inadequacy of municipal services, and the immigrants became their major constituency. In Baltimore, the boss was Isaac Freeman Rasin, a former Know-Nothing turned Democrat who rose to power by astute use of patronage in East Baltimore. He used his increasing ward-by-ward control of the city to take over the City Council, which usually dominated the mayor's office, and solidified his support from the business community through the granting of favors and contracts. As in other cities, the boss system and Rasin were defended by some constituents as providing an effective system for leadership and serving the public interest.¹

Whether politically acceptable or not, it became apparent by the late nineteenth century that the boss system was inadequate to deal with the urban crisis. This was the view, at least, of the growing movement of Progressive reformers who chose the municipal government as its major target. Part of the problem seemed to be that the old elite had a view of the world which made it impossible to adjust to the changes of the time. They viewed the problems of the poor as a result of natural selection, and were slow to accept the new challenges created by urbanization and industrialization, much less accept them as municipal responsibilities .²

Many historians would argue that the reformers were also an elite who were trying to preserve a simpler past before the

onset of the modern industrial state. It is conceivable that the reformers and those political leaders that they tried to reform were all cut from the same cloth in their unwillingness to accept the changing times, and their persistent paternalism in their dealings with the immigrants and the rural poor who filled the cities at the turn of the century.³ Crooks describes the members of the Baltimore Reform League as mostly old-stock patricians who were doctors, lawyers and educators. While mostly white Anglo-Saxon Protestant males, there was also a significant number of Progressives in Baltimore who were Catholic, Jewish, immigrant, women and working class. Jewish reformers included Jacob Moses, Mendes Cohen, Fabian Franklin, Jacob Hollander, Jacob Schonfarber, and Edward Hirsch. Among the prominent Catholics were James Cardinal Gibbons, Judge Charles Heuisler, William Ellicott and Charles J. Bonaparte, who was the grandson of Napoleon Bonaparte's younger brother and long one of the leading citizens of the city.⁴ Cardinal Gibbons was outspoken in his support of city planning, public health, consumer protection, regulation of sweatshops and black suffrage. Because of his influence among Catholics in the city and his national prominence, Gibbons can be credited with bringing many Baltimore Catholics into a position of supporting Progressive reforms in the city, through personal involvement and at the ballot box.⁵

Baltimore may have been somewhat unusual because of the social and political prominence of both its Catholic and

Jewish elites, a factor which had impact on the ways in which new immigrants were received. While these groups had important links to the immigrants, they also had a significant distance from them based on their high position in the city.

The reform movement of Baltimore was based on the belief that the system was rotting from corruption, not necessarily that it failed to address the urgent problems caused by urbanization and industrialization.⁶ Bonaparte founded the Civil Service Reform Association of Baltimore, and worked vigorously for the Reform League because he believed that dishonest government was unconscionable. As he wrote:

Honest men may differ as to protection and free trade, as to federal supremacy and states rights, as to gold currency and silver currency and paper currency, but honest men all think alike as to a free ballot and a fair count. If any man helps in, or works at or covers any kind of cheating at the polls, that man is not a misinformed or misguided fellow citizen to be argued with or shown his error. He is a scoundrel, and he should be called a scoundrel and dealt with as a scoundrel by every honest man. A party which would gain or retain power through election frauds is not a party to which honest men can or will belong. It is not a party at all in any true or worthy sense of the word. It is a conspiracy against the most vital interests and against the most sacred rights of the people.⁷

If the political machine was the primary enemy of the reformers, they turned their attentions to other issues after bringing down the machine in the elections of 1895. Supported by both the Baltimore News and the Baltimore Sun, the Progressives of Baltimore began to aim at the ills of the urban industrial society, especially the schools and city

services.

It was during the height of the political battle over reform that the public and parochial schools took on a special significance. A combination of factors underscored the importance of the public and parochial schools in the late nineteenth century in Baltimore. They were regarded as important agents of assimilation by some in all communities of the city for the masses of immigrants, many of whom were illiterate and ignorant of American social and political traditions. To Catholics, Jews, old-stock Americans and Protestants alike, the school would have the responsibility of Americanizing the foreigners. To Bonaparte and other patrician reformers, the schools should not be expected to elevate the masses, but to prepare them for their lot in life. His words lend credence to those historians who claim that the Progressives merely wished to use education to increase their control over the poor, and to channel them into a lifetime of labor:

The time given to acquiring crude notions about history or physics, or learning to mispronounce a few words of one or two foreign languages, is lost to preparation for the serious business of life. Children of our laboring classes leave school ignorant of much they would find of value, because they have been taught instead what they will never use...That we should not use the few years available for study to make our children contented with their lot and useful to society is bad enough; when we educate them to be unhappy and dangerous it is simply an act of folly.⁸

Nonetheless, the reform movement which Bonaparte helped to begin would soon aim at the schools, not only because of its

importance in dealing with the problems of the times, but because it was an institution which was ineffective, largely because of the kind of political interference which Bonaparte so abhorred.

In 1892, the muckraking journal The Forum began an investigative series on public school systems across the United States with an article entitled "Our Public School System: Evils in Baltimore." J.M. Rice presented some anecdotal evidence of the classroom work based on mindless rote and repetition through which he claimed that "...all interest is crushed out of the process of learning...."⁹ This was mostly blamed on the lack of supervision of teachers. In 1899, there were 1,802 teachers employed by the system to teach 65,289 students--with two supervisors for the entire system. In addition, principals were not even able to supervise the teachers in their buildings because they taught a class as well. Sometimes the schools had multiple principals but in name only.¹⁰

The teachers themselves were inadequately trained, often lacking not only professional education but sometimes even a high school diploma. The rules called for passing an exam after graduation from high school or normal school to receive a ten year appointment, but the rules were frequently suspended to accommodate the patronage appointments. Therefore, completely untrained teachers were often hired, then rarely supervised because of lack of personnel, and so

able to teach long careers in the city schools completely oblivious to the art and science of teaching. Rarely was a teacher fired for inability to do her job (most of the teachers were women), and rarely was she assisted in improving her skills.¹¹

Another problem for the school system at the turn of the century was the condition of the schools and the inadequacy of the space provided. In 1896, the women of the Arundell Good Government began a study of the school system of Baltimore with the primary intention of promoting compulsory education legislation, as well as other reforms in the schools. They inspected the schools for sanitary conditions throughout the school year and put out a report in May, which was the first of several such studies. To lend credibility to their findings, they turned in 1898 to Professor S. Holmes Woodbridge, an expert on heating and ventilation from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His findings were then turned over to the Maryland Public Health Association, and publicized through the sympathetic local press. The 1898 report noted that the schoolyards were very small and provided inadequate space for the exercise of the students, and the neighborhoods were filled with harsh noises and dirty air. But the toughest criticism was aimed at the school houses themselves, which Woodbridge found to be "...discreditable to a civilized community..."

The record of inspected schoolhouses includes rented rooms in a damp basement and in private

houses with narrow and dangerous stairways--accommodations temporarily leased for continuous use--and surroundings, such as adjacent lots, used as depositories for manure and refuse, schoolhouse yards wet and fouled by the drainage from neighboring houses or from the schoolhouse sanitariums, outhouses lining the schoolyard fences, dirty alleys used as passageways, bad-odored outhouses for school purposes, light shut out by neighboring buildings, noisy freight yards and streets; in some cases, serious overcrowding of rooms exists, scholars sitting on the platform and benches, or being without even such doubtful conveniences, in others scholars are refused attendance because of lack of room for accommodation, while rooms are elsewhere vacant. In one or more of these respects, nearly all of the twenty-seven schools examined were found to be faulty.¹²

The Sun continued the expose over the next few days, noting "...the startling picture they present of disgraceful, scandalous neglect and incompetency on the part of successive school boards in matters vital to the health and well-being of teachers and children in the public schools, and indeed, of the whole community."¹³ The following year, The Sun detailed the charges of a member of the Board of School Commissioners that the Board was 'rotten' from corrupt practices in awarding contract bids for books and supplies, for improprieties and for favoritism in personnel matters and for the "...inefficiency and ignorance of many of the teachers."¹⁴

The women of the Arundell Good Government Club who annually inspected the schools noticed that the schools in the foreign neighborhoods tended to be in the worst shape. In their 1899 report on the schools, they called for increased

money to be spent on school construction and remodeling, especially in these areas:

Such a policy is the more needed, as buildings of this kind are mostly situated in quarters of the city where training in cleanliness, decency, and order are even more needed than in arithmetic and reading: where the health of children, already impaired at home, needs the best surroundings to develop a healthy race, and where our foreign population and poorest inhabitants are being trained for life by a public school system which falls so far short of the ideal of developing a high type of citizenship. A striking example is Primary No. 2, in the center of the canning and berry picking neighborhood: an overcrowded building with wretched sanitary arrangements, where the enlightened teacher said that free baths in this neighborhood would be as good as a school, and that she waged a perpetual struggle with the conditions around her, which partially neutralized her teaching.¹⁵

While the women moved their focus to other education related topics such as the training of teachers and attendance, the School Board slowly began to address the problem of the inadequate school facilities. Despite the construction of several new schools, it has been noted that the system actually built more schools between 1888 and 1897 than they did between 1900 and 1912, when the Progressives had taken over the School Board.¹⁶

One of the reasons emphasized by Rice to explain the conditions in the Baltimore schools was the political nature of the School Board, set up on the ward system to provide a patronage position controlled by the members of the Common Council. The School Board member from each ward, which was considered a stepping stone to the Council, was responsible

for the recommendation of teachers to be employed in the schools of his neighborhood.¹⁷ This ward system was one of the primary targets of the Progressive reformers in Baltimore.

The reformers targeted the Board of School Commissioners as the major source of political corruption and sought to change its structure from ward representation to at-large representation, while at the same time decreasing the number of members on the Board. This was part of a larger reform of municipal government which was designed to clean up municipal corruption by taking local government out of the hands of political machines and turning it over to professionals who would presumably be both more efficient and more honest. In some cities such as New York the mayor appointed the members while in others they were elected on an at-large basis. Because of their high visibility in the community, reformers had a tremendous advantage over others in city-wide elections.

Municipal reform was usually brought about through changes in the city charter. Many historians see the charter reform movement as a deliberate attempt by an elite to wrest power from the ethnic political machines.¹⁸ Studies have shown that most city school boards after the charter reform were dominated by merchants, manufacturers, bankers, stockbrokers, realtors, doctors, lawyers and professors, to the exclusion of wage earners. The struggle was often between this upper class elite and the Irish and German neighborhood politicians who were derided as corrupt and unqualified for

such an important task. With an emphasis on efficiency, the elites began calling for the professionalization of the public education system which would run on a business model. In her description of these changes in New York City, historian Nancy Hoffman charged that the reformers were merely turning in one form of politics for another.¹⁹

In The One Best System, David Tyack proposed that these administrative Progressives planned to use the schools to push for Americanization of immigrant children. The elimination of diverse ethnic interest on the school board was the first step in their determination to achieve the socialization of immigrant children without allowing room for pluralism or diversity.²⁰ In Baltimore, this was accomplished, but the resistance simply moved to the schoolhouse door. David Nasaw has argued that the charter reform was an effort to deny the immigrants a voice in their own local schools and that it was carried out by a coalition of reformers, muckrakers and businessmen. They accomplished this by blaming the immigrants and their ward representatives on the school board for the overcrowding, juvenile delinquency and other serious problems facing public schools. The solution was to take local control away and replace it with a smaller, more efficient school board dominated by professionals beyond the control of the ward heeler. Unfortunately for immigrants, this took away their opportunity to protect their own interests at the neighborhood level.²¹

Charter reform in 1898 in Baltimore marked the culmination of several years of muckraking, particularly on the subject of the public schools. It began with the Rice article in The Forum in 1892, which blamed corrupt politicians for the many problems of the public schools in Baltimore. He described the Board of School Commissioners as "...a purely political organization, its members being elected, one for each ward, by the members of the Common Council....practically appointed by the member of the Common Council from his own ward... and the nomination rarely fails to receive the official confirmation."²² He concluded that "... [t]he Board of Education of the city of Baltimore is, therefore, a product of the ward politicians."²³

The charter commission led by Johns Hopkins University President Daniel C. Gilman, proposed that the size of the Board be reduced from the 22 ward commissioners to 9 members appointed by the mayor from across the city. They would serve six year terms. This Board of School Commissioners would establish policy and choose a superintendent of schools to run the school system much as a chief executive. This newly strengthened office of superintendent would have the power to hire teachers, plan curriculum and supervise administration of the schools, all under guidelines established by the Board. The professional school superintendent was one of the principal reforms advocated by the administrative progressives in the school systems. Similarly, the other significant reform

suggested was a merit system for teacher appointments so that salaries could be increased to draw and keep competent teachers while unqualified teachers would be weeded out.

The proposals were approved in 1898 and the new charter went into effect the following year. From this point, the new elite reformers of the city would take over the higher echelons of the school system, but their victory was only temporary because of constant resistance from below. Newly elected reforming Mayor Thomas G. Hayes appointed Reform League President Joseph Packard to be President of the School Board, as well as other city leaders such as Gilman, Thomas Baer (later a judge in Baltimore), Dr. William Rosenau, who was the rabbi of the largest synagogue in the city and taught at Johns Hopkins, and former mayor Alcaeus Hooper. Despite the popularity of current superintendent Henry Wise, the Board decided to go outside the city for a professional administrator to serve as superintendent. After consulting notable educators such as U.S. Commissioner of Education William T. Harris, President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, and President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University, the Board chose James H. Van Sickle of Denver as Superintendent. Wise was demoted to first assistant when Van Sickle took over in August of 1900.²⁴ The Progressive elite seemed to have captured the Baltimore Public School System.

It was clear that the Progressives had taken over the leadership of the school system, but their control over the

classrooms was less assured. With most of the veteran teachers and their organizations opposing the Progressive reforms in the school system, the new century would turn into a battle for control of the school system. The resulting crisis in the Baltimore City Schools existed even before the compulsory education laws, which "...created shock waves for school personnel."²⁵ Meanwhile, the problems of educating the urban masses grew larger with increased immigration, and the combination of compulsory education and child labor laws.

The opposition to the Van Sickle appointment began before he even took over with a challenge to its legality based on a municipal law which required officials to be registered voters. Despite the fact that the City Solicitor upheld the challenge and found support from the Baltimore Sun, President Packard defended the Board's action and the matter eventually died out. This initial opposition seemed to be based on parochial resentment within the school system because an outsider had been brought in to run it.²⁶

Further opposition to Van Sickle came from the teachers in the public schools and it continued throughout his superintendency. One of his primary responsibilities was to deal with the problems of teacher salaries and qualifications. In 1892, Rice had concluded that "the schools of Baltimore are almost entirely in the hands of untrained teachers...comparatively few have ever received any professional training whatsoever."²⁷ Rice blamed the problem

on lack of training, political appointments and lack of supervision. While teachers were appointed on ninety days probation after which they received a ten year appointment, many teachers were not even observed during those ninety days at all because of lack of supervision. Rice charged that it was almost impossible to remove a teacher for negligence or incompetence after having received the permanent license.²⁸ The salary of an elementary school teacher averaged about five hundred four dollars without a pension system, so that teachers were reluctant to retire.

Van Sickle began immediately to shake up the school system. He attacked the problem of teacher readiness by removing about sixty teachers judged to be incompetent, while calling for the establishment of a teacher training school. Attendance would be required after high school graduation to qualify for a teaching position in the city. He also reorganized the school system into groups, which combined several schools in an area under one group principal and building vice principals. This system resulted in the demotion of several building principals (as many as four in some buildings) and was intended to improve the system of supervision and create a more tight-knit responsible hierarchy. According to the Atlantic Educational Journal in 1910, this reorganization led directly to the formation of the opposition to Van Sickle both in and out of the School Board which eventually led to his downfall.²⁹ The leading

antagonist was group principal Charles Koch, who led the Public School Teachers Association from 1905 to 1919 and founded the Elementary Teachers Association in 1909. Koch and his followers were continually encouraged by an anti-Van Sickle faction on the Board during the first decade of the twentieth century, which tempered its support for his Progressive ideas.

Accounts of the struggle, because they reflect the view of the administrative Progressives, blame the teachers for the failure of the schools to institute serious reforms. According to both the Atlantic Educational Journal and George Strayer in his 1911 article in Educational Review, the teacher opposition was made up of close minded and conservative teachers who were clinging to the past as well as their own jobs. According to Strayer, "from the very beginning there had been opposition on the part of the more conservative part of the teaching force to the policies of the new administration, which showed itself in criticism of certain features of the new organization, the new courses of study, and the new methods of teaching."³⁰ The Atlantic Educational Journal described the opponents of reform as 'Barnburners' who made up "...a very small group of disloyal, selfish and unprofessional principals and teachers."³¹ According to Strayer, these teachers were unsuccessful in obstructing Van Sickle's initial reforms because of the "...high character and ability of the school commissioners and the single-minded devotion to the

public interest which characterized both the School Board and Board of Superintendents..."³²

Professionalism was a key issue in public education at the turn of the century as the new administrators and college professors who were the 'administrative Progressives' promoted higher standards and efficiency in teaching. It was generally accepted by these reformers that such change must be accompanied by a higher salary structure. But teachers believed that many of the gains would be made at their expense and found that salary improvements lagged well behind other concerns of school administrators and the city governments which funded them. While the financial rewards promised to teachers were slow to develop, the teachers found themselves pressured by new demands of hierarchy. According to historian James W. Frasier, the newly centralized school administration emphasized efficiency and hierarchy and adopted "...a decidedly anti-teacher tone."³³

Frasier contends that in the transition from the old patronage system to the new administrative hierarchy, the status of teachers changed very little. He warns against either romanticizing the old systems in which the teacher was at the mercy of the political machine or the new system, in which the teacher was required to follow orders of the professional administrators of the schools.³⁴ The dominance of the Progressive movement by a social and economic elite was a factor in its distance from the rank and file teachers.

Beyond that, the failure to empower teachers during this critical period of educational reform probably had a great deal to do with gender, since the feminization of the teaching profession was well underway at the turn of the century.³⁵ Under the male-dominated hierarchy of the new school system, the teacher was treated like a child and denied the autonomy of the rural school or even the nineteenth century common school. According to historian Nancy Hoffman, the typical female teacher in 1900 was single, 26 years old, and destined to teach for about five years before marriage. Teaching was considered merely an apprenticeship for her true vocation of motherhood--"Thus she could not be counted on to give her most serious attention to working conditions which she would endure only temporarily...School men even said that her youth and temporary status fit her particularly well for the urban graded school."³⁶ Female teachers were not able to establish a professional identity in part because so many left teaching after only a few years. Those who stayed were often not taken seriously by administrators or school boards, which were dominated by men who were highly educated and well to do.

Teachers and principals opposed the reformers in most cities across the country in the early twentieth century. While the preservation of their own jobs was certainly a motive, the opponents of reform emphasized the importance of home rule and local control of schools. They argued that taking the schools away from local control denied the various

ethnic and religious groups a voice in the running of their own neighborhood schools. The people of the urban communities were generally suspicious of the upper class women and men who presumed to reform schools which they knew nothing about.³⁷

This hostility was aimed not just at the school boards but at the National Education Association and other similar organizations whose primary function was to professionalize the teachers. In Maryland, the Maryland State Teachers Association [MSTA] began to publish the Maryland Educational Journal for this purpose, filling it with progressive educational ideas and lessons for teachers. The Public School Teachers Association of Baltimore ran a lecture series which included prominent speakers on education such as Daniel Coit Gilman of Johns Hopkins University, G. Stanley Hall, William T. Harris, Nicholas M. Butler and Edward Thorndike. Their professional journal The New Pedagogue died in 1905 after only an eight year life, but the organization collaborated with the MSTA to publish the Maryland Educational Journal. Historian William Johnson has described these efforts in Maryland as part of an attempt "...to create a horizontal, rather than a hierarchical, professional culture among teachers."³⁸ But this professional culture was limited to those teachers newly educated on progressive ideas, while the teachers in Baltimore took control of the agenda of their organization and turned it toward the issue of improving salaries. They became involved in a dispute with the Board of School Commissioners and the

Board of Estimates in 1905 when they tried to demand that the city fund a raise in annual salary for elementary school teachers and several special teachers. Their efforts failed, as did their efforts to persuade the Superintendent to give up the promotional exam which had become a prerequisite for salary advance. This exam consisted of a rating of the teacher's 'efficiency' based on classroom observation, a test in the proper use of the English language, and a written report on some aspect or situation in teaching which was defended in front of the superintendent and two others.

In 1910, the elementary school teachers broke off from the PSTA to form their own organization which also demanded modification of the promotional exams and a boost to a salary scale which left them at the bottom. Well connected petitioners were able to secure a hearing with the Board of School Commissioners which excluded Superintendent Van Sickle. By this time, he had become the focus both of groups of disgruntled teachers as well as several machine politicians and their allies on the Board. The Atlantic Educational Journal (formerly the Maryland Educational Journal) cautioned the teachers not to proceed "...in an improper or unprofessional manner..." while it accused "...a few active agitators within the system..." of taking "...unfair advantage of the situation to further their own selfish ends..."³⁹

Turmoil on the School Board broke out into public 1910 when three vacancies opened up, leading both the supporters

and the opponents of the Superintendent to pressure the mayor to appoint favorable individuals. The City Council rejected each reformer nominated by the mayor, while approving those more favorable to the political machine and critical of the Superintendent. Yet the so-called reactionaries were unable to control the Board of School Commissioners, they could merely stall any business. The situation became progressively more confrontational, while teachers lined up on each side of the dispute. One group of 350 teachers and principals met in April of 1910 and stated their clear support for Progressive reform within the system:

Be it resolved...that we advocate unequivocally a school system for Baltimore administered on modern, progressive lines, free from political influence, and representing the most approved professional ideals and practises; that, in our judgement, the present school system of Baltimore represents the professional principles which now prevail in city school systems thruout the entire country; that the system, on the whole, meets with our sincere and cordial endorsement; that we as teachers have no desire to bring about the destruction of the present efficient school system and the adoption of reactionary policies, either for the purpose of lessening our own duties, or for any other reason.⁴⁰

The language of the statement reflects the Progressive agenda of the period, with its emphasis on 'progressive' changes and the need for 'professional' and 'efficient' schools. Those who opposed the reforms were often referred to as 'reactionaries' by the Progressives. The language of Progressivism is also found in the resolution of the Education Society of Baltimore, passed in February of 1910: "That this society regards the

present administration as representing a high degree of efficiency, professionally administered, conducted upon the basis of merit, and free from political influence."⁴¹ The Education Society included members of the Progressive elite in the city rather than the rank and file teachers.

While the Superintendent could count on the support of the 350 teachers, the Education Society, the Atlantic Educational Journal, and other Progressive organizations, he faced formidable opposition from the majority of the teaching force, which numbered about 1750 in all. Over 1000 teachers joined the Elementary Teachers Association for the specific purpose of seeking an increase in salary and opposing promotional exams. Charles Koch instigated another crisis with a published interview which the School Board considered to be "disrespectful and insubordinate," which led former Mayor Alcaeus Hooper to publicly discuss and denounce the proceedings of a private session. Board President John Semmes charged Hooper with a variety of charges, including trying to drive out the Superintendent, and called for a public trial before the Mayor. During the trial, a former Board member testified that Hooper had vowed "...to make that man's (Van Sickles) life a living hell, and I am going to get him out of the city if I have to marshal the entire teaching force against him."⁴² This statement might suggest that Hooper and the other opponents of the Superintendent encouraged the teachers to oppose the new Progressive administration for

their own political reasons but they had little difficulty convincing the teachers to go along with them because of the ties which the teachers had to the political machine, especially those who owed their jobs to the old system of appointments. In addition, politicians were simply stirring up the deeply felt antagonism of many teachers over the issues of pay and evaluations.

The besieged Progressive administration lashed out at the teacher opposition and its leading spokesman, Charles Koch. He bluntly stated that "it is the teachers' duty to teach and teach efficiently. It is the duty of the board to administer and administer efficiently. The board cannot do this if the individual teacher is permitted to go to the newspapers with hostile criticisms and misrepresentations of the governing body..."⁴³ The dispute on the Board led to the resignations of both President Semmes and Hooper. The three new appointees were supporters of the Superintendent. With a seven to two majority, the Progressives seemed to have consolidated their power. Their first action was to commission a study to be conducted of the school system by three leading educators-- U.S. Commissioner of Education Elmer E. Brown, Stanford professor Ellwood P. Cubberley, and Indianapolis Superintendent Calvin N. Kendall. Progressives hoped that the Commission's report would provide them with a blueprint for reforming the Baltimore Schools and an endorsement of their Progressive views.

Unfortunately for the Progressives, the mayoral election of 1911 intervened before the report was finished, and the candidate of the Democratic political machine won by a margin of only 700 votes, after promising to "popularize the schools," and receiving the support of the teachers organizations.⁴⁴ The new mayor, James Preston, did not wait for the commission to publish its findings before asking the Board to remove Superintendent Van Sickle. He then removed the three new members (liable for removal during their first six months by the mayor), which gave him control of the School Board. According to the three new members who were being removed, the mayor was taking this step at the insistence of the teachers. They responded to the mayor upon their removal:

"...You stated that you had found considerable unrest and discontent among a large number of parents of the pupils who had been influenced by the dissatisfied teachers....that whether rightly or wrongly, a large number of teachers seen by you, estimated at more than a thousand, have lost confidence in the fairness and good faith of Mr. Van Sickle, and are in a state bordering on revolt."⁴⁵

According to the three Board members, the teachers were overwhelmingly opposed to the reform administration of Dr. Van Sickle and determined to have him removed. This was accomplished on July 10, 1912, when the new Board voted to remove the Superintendent, and solidified on August 31 when Charles Koch was appointed first assistant superintendent. Assistant Superintendent Henry West resigned in protest against the treatment of Van Sickle and the elevation of the

insurgents and noted in his public letter that "...Mr. Koch is just about the last man in the service who should have been promoted in this memorable year of Baltimore's school history....[he] is utterly unworthy to be a participant in the intimate professional deliberations of the board of superintendents."⁴⁶ The Atlantic Educational Journal lamented that the school system would be "...swept back into a condition of educational medievalism."⁴⁷ The control of the school system by the anti-Progressive forces was completed by the elevation of Koch to the superintendent position in 1915, while he still served as head of the Public School Teachers Association. Inevitably, the latter organization became a puppet under the control of the School Board and ceased to serve as an advocate organization for teachers interests.⁴⁸

During the events of the summer of 1911, the Report on the Baltimore System of Education was published by the special commission. In general terms, the report criticized Baltimore for its lack of spending on schools and urged the system to continue to professionalize along the path laid out by Superintendent Van Sickle. It warned the city to protect the independence of the superintendent from political considerations and to refrain from interfering in his work.⁴⁹ This advice came too late to save Van Sickle or the Progressive wing of the School Board. By the beginning of the new school year, it was clear that the Progressives had lost control of the administration of the Baltimore Public Schools which they

had held since the charter reform in 1898. The clear cut coalition of political machine and the majority of the city teachers who combined to bring about the ouster of the superintendent reflect the lack of deep or sustained influence by the Progressives on the school system during this period, especially at the classroom door. The Progressive elite could be clearly seen on the School Board, in the Superintendent's office, in the Educational Society, the Maryland State Teachers Association, and the Atlantic Educational Journal. But the impact of these reformers would not be felt until the 1920's, when the Strayer Commission Report exposed the lack of progress in the schools in the early part of the century, despite the fitful efforts of the Van Sickle group. The Progressives regained control of the Baltimore schools in the 1920's, with Henry West as Superintendent. By that time the majority of teachers were trained by the Progressives.

The ouster of Van Sickle by the majority of teachers in the city indicates that the teachers were still not greatly imbued by Progressive educational ideals. Much of their activity was related to their emerging sense of advocacy for their own interests, but it can be assumed that they paid little attention to the constant exhortations on professionalization and efficiency which seemed only to undermine them at a time when their job was becoming increasingly difficult because of compulsory education laws.

There is little evidence either to suggest that the

Americanization of immigrant school children according to Progressive educational principles would be embraced by the teaching corps of Baltimore during this period. Rather, it appears that the immigrant children were pouring into the city schools at a time when the system was torn by competing interests among various factions and distracted by issues such as compulsory education, teacher salary, bureaucratic reform and professionalization of the teaching profession. The Baltimore City Schools cannot be described as either progressive or efficient during the early part of the twentieth century, although it can be argued that the seeds of change were sown by Van Sickle and his allies. The strong surge of reaction from 1911 to 1919 indicates a school system which was still pre-progressive and apt to cling to the old constructs of administration.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Both public and parochial schools in Baltimore were affected by the Progressive movement in education at the turn of the century. Though the extent of their impact on the classroom is debatable, it is clear that the reformers managed to take over the public school system at the highest bureaucratic level for a brief time from 1898 until 1911 and that the leader of the Catholic Church in the Archdiocese of Baltimore, James Cardinal Gibbons, was an outspoken Progressive with a national reputation. While these public school administrators temporarily captured the education

hierarchy in Baltimore, they failed to institute any meaningful plan for Americanization of immigrant children because they were constantly beleaguered by opposition from teachers, principals, political enemies and parents. Cardinal Gibbons faced similar impediments in the form of national parishes and schools that fought for the right to retain ethnic identity through language and custom in the increasingly foreign Archdiocese of Baltimore. The energy of both public and parochial school leaders was spent trying to survive in the political minefield from which they claimed to rescue the schools. Historian Marvin Lazerson has noted that while the determination of ethnic groups to establish their own schools at the turn of the century contributed to the growth of parochial schools in the country, it also created a fragmentation which made it difficult yet important to centralize authority within the Catholic school hierarchy.⁵⁰ The efforts of the Church to establish this control was complicated not just by the ethnic movement within the hierarchy but also by the contradictory authority of the teaching orders who ran the schools. The nuns usually taught under the auspices of their specific order, which provided teacher training, curriculum and instruction. At the turn of the century, the diocesan Church authorities attempted to bring the patchwork of parochial schools within their domain under the control of a central authority.

The movement to establish and organize Catholic schools

in the United States became a specific objective of the Church authorities as a result of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, which called for the establishment of parochial schools, academies, high schools and colleges to be made available to all Catholics in the country. Parents were urged to send their children to Catholic schools if at all possible. Specific plans for improving Catholic education which were approved at the Council included the provision of teacher education for all religious and lay teachers, as well as priests, and the requirement of a teacher diploma earned by exam. School committees would be established in each diocese to conduct regular visits and examinations in all schools. These reforms paralleled similar efforts in the public schools at the time to establish uniformity and hierarchy.

Two years later, James Cardinal Gibbons held a diocesan synod in order to put into place the demands of the Council within the Archdiocese of Baltimore, including the commitment to establish a school in every parish. In his study of the history of the Archdiocese, Thomas W. Spalding suggests that Gibbons' commitment to the establishment of parochial schools was not as enthusiastic as many expected in pushing his parishes to establish schools.⁵¹ His desire for Catholic education may have been tempered by his concern over the growing foreign communities developing in his Archdiocese as well as in others. While Catholic immigrants were usually enthusiastic supporters of parochial schools, they insisted

upon the right to establish in their own parishes schools of their own nationality with education conducted in their own language.⁵² Gibbons was well aware of the growing tension between such national groups within the Church which would make institutional control almost impossible.

Historian James W. Sanders has made the case that this diversity and tolerance in the turn of the century parochial school system provided an atmosphere conducive to successful assimilation to American culture.⁵³ He displays the various ethnic forces in Chicago at the turn of the century as a collection of competing interests and demands which constantly impeded the efforts of the Church authorities to establish hierarchy. Various national groups remained absolutely separate from each other and determined to protect their own interests. According to Sanders, the hierarchy recognized these differences and allowed them to continue in part because it could do nothing else.⁵⁴ Gibbons faced similar circumstances in Baltimore and acted accordingly. The most militantly nationalistic of the New Immigrant Catholics were the Poles, who had established a National Church in the United States, independent of Church hierarchy. The National Poles in Baltimore established Holy Cross Parish and school, and Gibbons responded by establishing a diocesan office of dean of Polish Catholic clergy.⁵⁵ Gibbons had to tread carefully among the immigrant Churches of Baltimore, which grew in number and diversity at the turn of the century. By 1900,

there were six German and five Polish Churches, and one each for Lithuanians, Bohemians and Italians. In addition, three Churches were dominated by Irish. Each immigrant Church had clergy of its own ethnic group, and most conducted schools in their own languages.

Catholic schools at the turn of the century were not only strengthened by the efforts of the hierarchy and the immigrant groups themselves, but by the nativism of their enemies. Strident anti-foreign and anti-Catholic sentiment was strong in the 1890's, during the high point of the Baltimore-based American Protective Association. The Catholic Mirror, the newspaper of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, constantly emphasized the attacks of the A.P.A. on the Catholic community and especially on its ethnic groups. Nationally, a dispute developed over the use of foreign language instruction in parochial and public schools. In the states of Illinois and Wisconsin, laws were proposed requiring that subjects be taught in the English language.

The defense of national churches and schools was led by the Germans, who made up the largest ethnic group within the Archdiocese of Baltimore. Gibbons became caught in the middle of the dispute in 1886 when he inadvertently opened doors in Rome for a young priest named Peter Abbelen who was the spiritual advisor to the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Abbelen carried the letter of introduction from Gibbons to Rome without discussing his mission with him. Much to the

Cardinal's chagrin, Abbelen brought to the Church leaders a list of complaints of discrimination against Germans by the American Church in several cities, including Baltimore. Although he was an ardent Americanizer who was cool to the idea of national churches and schools, Gibbons felt betrayed because he had a good relationship with the German community in Baltimore, through the Redemptorist priests and the School Sisters of Notre Dame.⁵⁶

In 1891, he faced a similar situation when he spoke in Milwaukee amidst a dispute there over another German petition to Rome which called for the protection of German parishes in the United States. He spoke out strongly against national separation in the American Catholic Church and sought to establish a note of unity: "Loyalty to God's Church and to our Country!--this our religious and political faith."⁵⁷

The Americanizers within the American Catholic hierarchy tried to emphasize the integration of American Catholics into the broader society. Some even resurrected the controversy over the use of tax dollars to support both public and parochial schools. In 1890, another of the Churches prominent Americanizers, Bishop John Ireland of St. Paul spoke before the National Education Association to call for a compromise system whereby the parochial school could become part of the public school system. Actually nineteenth century schooling arrangements often included a blurred line between public and parochial schools, particularly in rural areas. Schools

staffed by religious orders who agreed to teach the public school curriculum during the regular hours and religious instruction after school sometimes qualified as public schools. Such compromises represented a bridge between the public and Catholic school systems which was favored by the most ardent Americanizers in the Church.⁵⁸ Bishop Ireland's praise for public schools created a furor in the Church, which since the Third Plenary Council was clearly trying to separate Catholic education from the public system. The nativism of the time and the nationalism of ethnic groups in the United States reinforced the tendency toward Catholic separatism.⁵⁹ While Gibbons had two such 'public' schools within his diocese, he preferred to avoid the issue altogether, as he did in 1893 when a circular letter from priests and laypersons within the Archdiocese of Baltimore called for the incorporation of denominational schools into the public school system.⁶⁰ The Americanization controversy within the Church hierarchy was largely provoked by Bishop Ireland but inevitably dragged Cardinal Gibbons in as well. The Church in Rome finally repudiated the so-called Americanizers and the chasm between public and parochial schools widened.⁶¹

Cardinal Gibbons was trying to walk a tightrope between the ethnicity of his constituency and his own views on assimilation. He was part of a group of American Church leaders who emphasized American republican virtues and the importance of speedy assimilation. In 1889, Archbishop Ireland

complained to Gibbons that the eighteenth century American Catholic Church was "...truly American. Later the flood of Catholic foreign immigration overpowered us, and made the Church foreign in heart and act. Thank God we are recovering from that."⁶² These Americanizers would become ashamed to find the New Immigrants even more foreign than the old, in much the same way that German Jews greeted the Russian Jews of the turn of the century. Church historian Thomas Spalding described Cardinal Gibbons sermon at the dedication of St. Wenceslaus Church in 1886 as an effective exhortation of the Gospel of Wealth:

You have not only a duty of religion to discharge to your God, but also of loyalty to your adopted country and to this city in which you have cast your lot. Strive to be law-abiding citizens; study and obey the laws of the country; be always in harmony with the spirit of its institutions; set your face against those pernicious schools of anarchy, nihilism, and socialism and other dangerous organizations whose apostles are striving to destroy but make no effort to build up and strengthen the glorious edifice of constitutional freedom....⁶³

Gibbons and the other Americanizers constantly urged the New Immigrants to assimilate as rapidly as possible, in order to prevent a nativist backlash against them. According to historian Robert Carlson, the Church, led by the Irish clergy promoted Americanization education as vigorously as did the Progressive public school educators as a means of promoting cohesion and acceptance in the United States.⁶⁴ However, the nationalism of the Germans and Poles limited the effect of the appeal, even from such highly regarded Church leaders.

Despite Gibbons' best efforts, the Catholic Church at the turn of the century continued to fragment and resisted the message of Americanization of the elite leaders in the Catholic community. In Maryland, Cardinal Gibbons was part of a Catholic Progressive elite which also included Charles Bonaparte, who was considered by many to be the leader of the Progressive movement in Maryland. According to historian James Crooks, Gibbons and Bonaparte led a group of Baltimore Catholics who were important in the state's Progressive movement.⁶⁵ Gibbons called for improvements in city planning, public health, consumer protection, and the regulation of sweatshops as well as the protection of black franchise. On the other hand, he opposed the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Amendments, as well as other democratic reforms such as initiatives, referendums and recalls.⁶⁶ In his history of the Archdiocese, Thomas Spalding describes Gibbons and Bonaparte as part of the "Maryland Catholic elite...[who] could not claim...to speak for the inarticulate immigrant Catholics...[of Baltimore]"⁶⁷

Like the other members of Baltimore's Progressive elite at the turn of the century, the paternalistic attitude of upper echelon Catholics toward the immigrants impeded their influence over them. In a lecture before the Catholic Club at its Colonists Day celebration in 1899, Bonaparte warned that the immigrants must learn the language of their adopted nation as soon as possible: "To feel himself an American and nothing

else, a man must have mastered the tongue in which are written our constitution and laws and all the great documentary milestones on our national progress."⁶⁸ He described the process of assimilation in forcible terms:

Some of our recent immigrants, Poles and Italians, Hungarian peasantry and Russian Jews, reach our shores....far removed from Americans....but the wheels and burrs of our orderly freedom are steadily grinding and crushing them into shape, and some of those running the mill are now making a place for Cubans and Porto Ricans and even thinking of room for Hawaiians and Filipinos.⁶⁹

The process of "grinding and crushing" immigrants into good Americans was important to the Catholic elite which did not wish to bring disfavor upon the American Catholics as a whole, especially during a period of time in which Catholics came under suspicion for national loyalty due to American wars against Catholic Spain and the Philippines. To Bonaparte, the process of Americanization must be rapid and complete.

Gibbons, on the other hand, seemed to understand the need to move cautiously toward Americanization as the numbers of immigrants increased. In 1907, he wrote an defense of the Catholic schools in the Catholic Standard which shows an appreciation for the role of the foreign language school in bringing the immigrant into American society:

Our Catholic schools afford a much easier pathway for the foreigner to enter the American life than is the case in the public school. There the child must enter at once upon the use of the English language--perhaps under the guidance of one who does not know the habits and customs of the immigrant child, and hence cannot enter into complete sympathy with his work...In the Catholic

School they come under the instruction of those who know the respective languages and can understand their peculiar idioms of thought and speech. With the English language as a constantly enlarging part of their course, they are gradually almost unconsciously, brought into complete sympathy with American ideals, and readily adapt themselves to American manners and customs. This assimilation is constantly going on in our Catholic schools, and is quite an important factor in our national development.⁷⁰

Gibbons' eloquent defense of foreign language schools indicates some degree of transformation in his thinking about the assimilation of immigrants by 1907. He seemed to acknowledge the growing role of the immigrant parochial school in fulfilling the decree of the Third Plenary Council--without the foreign teaching orders, the Church would have been unable to staff the Catholic schools during this period of growing enrollment. His acceptance of the parochial schools in immigrant neighborhoods was also made possible by the easing of nativist tension after the turn of the century. Until World War I began, the demand for immigrant conformity lessened as immigrants settled into their own neighborhoods with their own institutions.

Finally, Gibbons correctly described the process by which these foreign parochial schools became more American themselves over time. For example, German schools in Baltimore after the turn of the century were mostly trying to preserve German culture among the second and third generation Americans of German descent, rather than teaching American culture to Germans. This process occurred over time in other

parochial schools as well. According to contemporary Church historian Rev. James A. Burns, "schools which began with practically all the teaching in a foreign language have become, after one generation or two at most, schools in which practically all the teaching is done in English."⁷¹

According to Marvin Lazerson, the modernization of the Catholic school system in the United States was greatly affected by the nationalistic fragmentation of its membership. Church leaders sought to take over control of this situation by instituting the kind of educational hierarchy which the public schools under the Progressives had begun to put into place.⁷² The systematization of Catholic schools was complicated by the independence of the local parish, which hired its own teachers, provided its own texts and funded the school. Ethnic parishes resisted standards set by what they considered to be an Irish-dominated Church hierarchy.⁷³ With the onset of compulsory education, the Catholic Church had to ensure that their schools met the new requirements of public education in the areas of enrollment, teacher certification and curriculum. This movement to centralize authority and standardize requirements and practices began with the Third Plenary Council but did not take hold in most cities until after World War I, when the pressure for foreigners to conform led to increased cooperation with the Church hierarchy.⁷⁴

Gibbons created the post of superintendent of parochial schools in 1899 at the suggestion of the Examining Board,

which provided standardized tests (often in two languages) to students in the Catholic elementary schools of the archdiocese. The first report of Superintendent Rev. O'Keefe announced the intention to establish a uniform system of studies for grades one through eight which would mirror the curriculum and requirements of the public schools.⁷⁵ He conducted an inspection of all of the parochial schools in the diocese, and met with teachers and school administrators to offer specific suggestions and criticisms. His oversight of the teachers and schools promised to be closer than that of Superintendent Van Sickle in the public schools, since he expected to "...have ample time to ascertain the merits and demerits of each class."⁷⁶ By the 1920's, the diocesan Board of Education regulated time schedules and syllabi for each subject in each grade which included the input of the Supervisors of the religious orders who taught in each school, and rated each school.⁷⁷

Although Gibbons struggled with the ethnic parishes over the issue of Americanization, there is no evidence of rebellion at the schoolhouse door among Catholic school teachers as there was in the public schools. One reason for this is probably that the parochial schools were staffed by religious men and women, who were accustomed to a tightly controlled hierarchy within their order. The School Sisters of Notre Dame received their curriculum and instruction guides from their own superiors in Milwaukee and it is unlikely that

they were allowed very much leeway within their classrooms. They were accustomed to obedience and uniformity before the Archdiocese attempted to impose its controls. Therefore, any conflict over the development of a Catholic school system would involve the clash between hierarchies--the religious order versus the Archdiocese--rather than between administration and the teachers.⁷⁸

In the case of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, it is unlikely that the archdiocese would impose standards which the sisters did not already meet. They were highly trained in content and especially in pedagogy compared to public school teachers. The sisters attended Institutes run by the order to keep abreast of modern ideas in educational theory. By 1903, they included added emphasis on the subjects of U.S. History, Civics and geography.⁷⁹ They were also adding courses on reading and language as well as more courses in vocational subjects, such as bookkeeping and commercial law.⁸⁰ This would suggest that they accepted the importance of Americanizing their students, as Cardinal Gibbons constantly stressed. In January of 1899, the first Superintendent of parochial schools in the Archdiocese of Baltimore, Rev. Michael O'Keefe, published a course of study to be followed in Catholic schools. It was the first attempt to centralize control of the schools in and around Baltimore. The diocesan course of study is very similar to that published in 1900 by the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Both expected teachers to

emphasize the fundamentals of language most of all--speaking, reading and writing. There is little that the School Sisters of Notre Dame needed to do to fit the standards set by the Archdiocese in its guide.

First grade course of study

SSND-catechism

language
reading, spelling,
writing
arithmetic
hygiene
nature study
physical culture
drawing

DIOCESE

-religion
reading and spelling
language
writing
numbers
manners and morals
nature study
physical culture
form study, drawing, music⁸¹

The sisters began to teach the subject of Bible history in third grade, two years before it was called for in the new curriculum. On the other hand, they officially began the study of American history in the sixth grade while the archdiocese called for it to begin in the fourth. However, they began presenting stories about heroes of history in earlier grades.⁸² Their later curriculum guide indicates that they lowered the beginning point of study of American history to the fourth grade, while still beginning to present the mythology of history in the primary grades.⁸³

The sisters placed their work as educators in a missionary context. Their primary purpose was to provide Christian education for children and to keep them in the Church. However, they responded to the growing public school system at the turn of the century by providing a competitive alternative for Catholics to educate their children. Father O'Keefe reminded them of this necessity as he addressed them

in 1899, pointing out that any weakness in either content or instruction compared to the public schools would "...furnish a valid excuse to parents to withhold their children from Christian schools, especially when no excuse can be offered for any inferiority on the part of the Christian school."⁸⁴ They were committed to the continued success of their schools without regard to issues of salary or job security which concerned their public school counterparts, because they were part of a religious community. Hence, they were in a better position than public school teachers to respond to changing conditions and to accept the direction of a hierarchy.

It is also important to note that the SSND's were not typical of the teaching religious orders in the foreign schools, although they taught the largest number of foreign children. First, they came over to the United States in 1847 earlier than other teaching orders in Baltimore. By the twentieth century, they were themselves Americanized and also thoroughly familiar with the process. The Felician Sisters, who staffed most of the Polish schools, came over in 1874, and the German Sisters of Christian Charity were driven out of their homeland in 1873 during the Kulturkampf, and were brought into South Baltimore specifically to take care of the German speaking Catholics in South Baltimore at Holy Cross School.⁸⁵ These orders were not yet Americanized themselves and less likely to emphasize the Americanization of their students, particularly in parishes such as the Polish parishes

in which national identity was an important issue. Second, the SSND's were not restricted to teaching German children. In addition to their German schools (which were largely American German schools by the turn of the century), they were the leading instructors of Bohemian children in the United States and third in the enrollment of Polish children, behind two Polish orders. In Baltimore, they staffed St. Leo's, the Italian school. They were able to do this in part because they took in novitiates of all nationalities.⁸⁶ The largest teaching order in the parochial schools of Baltimore was likely to be an ally of Cardinal Gibbon's goal of Americanization, though perhaps with more patience and understanding of the process. It was probably not the teachers but the priests and members of the foreign parishes who would provide the greatest resistance to Gibbons' plans.

In the period before World War I, even a Church leader with the stature of James Cardinal Gibbons was unable to control the growing school system within his Archdiocese. The ethnic Churches demanded their own schools as a defense against nativism and as a means of controlling the process of assimilation. Like the contemporary public school administrators, Gibbons influence would not be felt immediately. In fact, he could only succeed by walking a fine line between his own desire for rapid Americanization of the new immigrants and his acceptance of the gradual process provided by the ethnic parochial schools. His own Progressive

attitudes were based on a strong optimism about the greatness of American institutions and the opportunities which he believed were limitless, if only immigrants would quickly adopt American culture.

The attempts of administrators in both public and parochial schools to impose their Progressive views on the immigrants met with resistance in the period at the beginning of the twentieth century. The elitism of these reformers combined with the natural resistance of their institutions to change as factors which caused a delay in the implementation of new ideas. The administrative Progressives in both of these systems sought to Americanize immigrants as quickly and efficiently as possible by forcing them to adopt the English language and American culture. In both cases, the elite met resistance at the local level. In the public schools, teachers struggled to survive amid new compulsory attendance laws and diverse population by resisting the authority of the new administrators and ignoring their plans and priorities. Immigrants were not served by the public schools torn by faction and turmoil from within. In the ethnic parochial schools, the priest and people controlled the schools, so teachers sometimes ignored the Cardinal's pleas for rapid Americanization and continued to teach immigrants in their own language. Administrative Progressivism appeared in Baltimore at the turn of the century, but did not truly capture the school systems until after the First World War.

Chapter 2 Endnotes

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2. James B. Crooks, "Maryland Progressivism," in Maryland: A History, 1632-1974 ed. by William Lloyd Fox and Richard Walsh. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1974), 591.
3. The Progressives were defined as provincial, conservative elitists facing status anxiety by Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR (N.Y.: Random House, 1955) and George Mowrey, The California Progressives (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1951). Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism (N.Y.: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), and James Weinstein, The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), suggested that the close kinship between the Progressives and the business community whose methods they so admired resulted in the creation of 'corporate liberalism' which was essentially a merger of the two. The emphasis on the broad base and complexity of Progressivism made by J. Joseph Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," Miss. Valley Hist. Review 44 (Sept. 1962): 231-241, Peter G. Filene, "An Obituary for the Progressive Movement," American Quarterly 22 (1970): 20-34, and John D. Buenker, Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), suggests that even the political machines sometimes had a hand in reforms.
4. Crooks, Politics and Progress, 13-14. On Bonaparte, see Eric F. Goldman, Charles J. Bonaparte, Patrician Reformer: His Earlier Career (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1943).
5. Thomas W. Spalding, The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1989, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) 286; Crooks, Politics and Progress, 197-8.
6. Crooks, "Maryland Progressivism," 594.
7. Charles J. Bonaparte, as quoted in Crooks, Politics and Progress, 44-45. He was one of the founders and leaders of the National Civil Service Reform League.

8. Charles J. Bonaparte, Some Defects in Our System of Public Education, (Baltimore 1885) 5-6, as quoted in Goldman, 31. For the social control theory of education, see Michael Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968), Colin Greer, The Great School Legend (N.Y.: Basic Books, 1971), Marvin Lazerson, The Origins of the Urban School (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1971), David Nasaw, Schooled to Order (N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979), and David Tyack, The One Best System (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1974).
9. J.M. Rice, "Our Public School System: Evils in Baltimore," Forum, XIV (October 1892,) 155.
10. Rice, 156; U.S. Bureau of Education, Report of the Commission Appointed to Study the System of Education in the Public Schools of Baltimore (Washington, 1911) 48-49.
11. Rice, 156-157; USBE, 56-57. An expose of the school system appeared in the Baltimore News, March 2 and September 18, 1895, and November 12, 1896.
12. "School Sanitation: Report on Condition of Buildings in Baltimore Made by Professor Woodbridge, of Boston," Baltimore Sun, May 18, 1898, 6.
13. Sun, May 20, 1898, 4.
14. "Mr. Dix's Charges," The Baltimore Sun, January 14, 1899, 10.
15. Arundell Good Government Club [AGGC], "Conditions of the Schools," Baltimore Sun, May 2, 1899, 7. See also the Minutes of the AGGC annual meeting, May 1, 1899.
16. Alan D. Anderson, The Origin and Resolution of an Urban Crisis: Baltimore, 1890-1930 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977) 42.
17. Ibid., 156; George C. Dorsch, "The Centennary of Baltimore's Schools," Baltimore Sun (May 5, 1929) 10.
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19. Nancy Hoffman, Woman's "True" Profession: Voices From the History of Teaching (Old Westbury, New York: Feminist Press, 1981), 211. David Tyack referred to this new bureaucracy as the "corporate school board" which replaced the old lay bureaucrats with new professionals, in The One Best System, 168.
20. Tyack The One Best System, 180.
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33. James W. Fraser, "Agents of Democracy: Urban Elementary School Teachers and the Conditions of Teaching," in American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work, ed. by Donald Warren (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1989): 126.
34. Fraser, 124.
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3. ATTENDANCE PROBLEMS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Progressives were committed to the public schools as a vehicle for carrying out their social reforms. Compulsory education and child labor laws combined by the early twentieth century to provide a universal system of public education which the reformers hoped would be the agency of change in the urban industrial society. Many historians have seen the public school movement at this time as a deliberate effort to create a common culture in an increasingly diverse society and to ensure that the new immigrant adopted that culture as quickly as possible. According to John Higham, there were two kinds of Americanizers in this period--the settlement house workers who were respectful of the immigrant culture and sought to enable newcomers to blend the new culture with the old, and the nativists such as the Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution who were more insistent in demanding that the immigrants display the signs of good citizenship as soon as possible, so as not to threaten the existing social fabric.¹

The emphasis on the school as an agent of social change and control may be a result of the loss of such power in other social institutions such as the family, church and workplace. The dual processes of industrialization and urbanization had weakened the ties between the individual and the community which were so effective in controlling behavior in the pre-industrial society. To the Progressive reformers,

the school was seen increasingly as the place in which some measure of control could be used to maintain cohesion.² This increased role for the school would only be possible if the children of the poor were required to attend, since they did not necessarily believe that a child of working age should be spending time in school.

As the Progressives gained control of city school systems, they made compulsory education a priority. But it is not clear that these laws actually resulted in universal public education, especially for the immigrant poor. Analysis of enrollment and attendance patterns during the time period do not show that a dramatic increase of attendance occurred after these laws were being passed. Furthermore, this data indicated that several disturbing patterns in immigrant attendance probably interfered with the achievement of the reformer's goal of using the public school as an instrument of social control, including Americanization. Quite simply, many of the immigrants in Baltimore were not physically present in the public school classrooms with any degree of consistency. Of those enrolled, a considerable number were not succeeding, and therefore not likely under the control of the schools. This would suggest that the degree to which public schools had become an agent of socialization has been exaggerated by historians, whether they are applauding the reformers or condemning them for their policies.

Like other school systems of the time, Baltimore

instituted both compulsory education laws and child labor laws at the turn of the century. Both were the result of a series of studies and intensive lobbying efforts by the Arundell Good Government Club, which was a women's progressive reform organization made of largely of the wives of the wealthy and powerful men in the city, along with some professional women. Affiliated with the powerful and elite mens Arundell Club, the Arundell Good Government Club took on the schools as an area of particular interest. These studies began in 1896 and focused on school conditions and attendance. The Club spearheaded a drive to achieve a compulsory attendance law in Baltimore in conjunction with other interested organizations. In 1899, they hosted a meeting on the topic to hear testimony from various experts, including the Superintendent of the Johns Hopkins Training School for Nurses and the General Secretary of the Children's Aid Society and the Charity Organization Society. The chief inspector for the Club was Florence Peirce, a social worker who led the investigations of the schools over the previous three years. She claimed that she had interviewed a large number of teachers in the city public schools who were strongly in favor of a compulsory education law.³

The first law for Compulsory Education passed the Maryland General Assembly in 1902, followed by another in 1906. This second law was coupled with a Child Labor Law which authorities hoped would increase the chances for

enforcement. Children under twelve years of age were forbidden to work at all, and those between twelve and sixteen had to obtain work permits from the Bureau of Statistics and Information. In order to obtain these permits, they had to prove that they knew how to read and write, and that they were physically fit to work. In 1912, another pair of laws were passed which raised the minimum work age two years. During all of this time, the administration and the individual schools struggled with the enforcement of laws which the taxpayers of Baltimore did not want to pay for, and which would clearly impede the efficiency of the schools which reformers greatly valued. Their ambivalence may explain the lack of enthusiasm with which the schools enforced the law. It would require a committed and well staffed attendance department to track down students who were not attending schools due to work or to lack of parental control.

ENROLLMENT

Despite the commitment of the reformers and the compulsory school attendance and child labor legislation passed, there was no significant increase in overall percentage of attendance in the Baltimore City Schools during the early twentieth century. The 1911 study of the school system completed by the Commissioner of the U.S. Bureau of Education confirmed that the school enrollment had not changed appreciably in proportion to the size of the population over a thirty year period.

TABLE 2.

BALTIMORE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

YEAR	ENROLLMENT	POPULATION	TOTAL PERCENT
1880	48,066	332,190	14.5
1890	63,545	434,439	14.6
1900	79,684	508,957	15.6
1910	79,838	558,485	14.3

Source: USBE Bulletin 1911: Report of the Commission Appointed to Study the System of Education in the Public Schools of Baltimore(1911) 93.

In fact, the percentage of the population enrolled in the public schools of Baltimore actually declined from 15.6% to 14.3 percent during the first decade of the twentieth century, despite the passage of compulsory education laws and the determination of the Progressives to revamp the school system.

The enrollment figures fluctuated in the first decade of the twentieth century in such a way that the decline in enrollment is even more dramatic than the figures above indicate. According to the statistics released by the School Board in its Annual Reports, the enrollment peaked at 88,528 in 1902 before beginning a steady decline to the end of the decade. In 1907, the year after the Compulsory Education Law was passed and enforcement began, enrollment in the schools was 81,402, which was only about 200 more students than in 1905. From that point, the numbers declined to 80,235 in 1908, up slightly to 80,263 in 1909, and to 79,838 in 1910.⁴

There are several complicating factors about these statistics. For one, it is difficult to determine the population trend for this age group over this decade from

census data because the categories changed. In 1900, the Census reported that there were 160,379 persons between ages five and twenty in Baltimore, while the 1910 Census reports 153,586 persons between ages six and twenty in the city. While it is difficult to determine if a decline in the age group took place, it should be noted that the city's overall population grew 9.7 percent in the decade, including growth in all categories of race and ethnicity.⁵ It is not likely that the population of school age children declined during this decade.

One possible explanation for the declining enrollment and census figure is an undercount at the time of the census. The 1910 Census reported that only 474 (.9%) of the 51,986 children under five years old in the city were foreign born white. Of course, the children of immigrants born in the United States would be counted as native born white. Nevertheless, the percentages of the total population remain quite low in all age categories of children under twenty years old. Despite the fact that foreign born made up 13.8% of the total population of Baltimore in 1910, only 4.3% of children from age five to nine were foreign born white, and only 5.1% between ages ten and fourteen, and 7.5% between ages fifteen and nineteen were foreign born white. Foreign born children appeared to be a significantly smaller proportion of the total foreign born population than native born children made up of the native born total population. Furthermore, a much larger

percentage of foreign born whites over fifteen years old were married(69.1%) than either native whites(51.3%) or native whites of foreign parentage(51.2%) in 1910.⁶ Such figures would suggest that there would be a higher percentage of children within the foreign born population total, yet these people had the smallest number of children according to the census figures.

These figures are contradicted by the Report of Immigrant Aliens Admitted at the Port of Baltimore, Md. for Calendar Year ending December 31, 1908. If that can be considered a typical year, the disparity is dramatic. Of the 8,472 people admitted, 2,186 or 25.8% were under fourteen years of age, compared to the composite percentage of 6.7% of the foreign born who were under fourteen years according to the 1910 Census.⁷ Immigrants brought a significant number of children over to America with them based on this particular set of data but the proportion does not show up on the census figures two years later. Perhaps the foreign born populace, for a variety of reasons including the desire to keep their children at work instead of school, failed to report properly to the census takers.

This theory is also supported by the suspicions raised by the Arundell Good Government Club in 1908 and 1909, when the School Attendance Committee attempted to correlate birth record in the city to school attendance, in order to determine the effectiveness of the latter. Upon inquiry, they were told

that only about 50% of births in the city were actually recorded, and only about 4% of those include record of the name of the child. Therefore, the birth records would be of no help in trying to enforce Attendance and Child Labor Laws.⁸

The attempt to misrepresent the number of children in a family would be particularly logical after the Child Labor Law of 1906 restricted the work of children under age 12 and required those up to age 16 to register with the Child Labor Inspectors. Each inspector would tour work places in his district in search of children who must comply with the law. But only work places were to be inspected, despite the fact that much homework and sweatshop work was done in private homes. In its instructions to the inspectors, the Bureau of Statistics and Information included certain limitations-- "Inspectors have nothing to do with children not at work or not attending school. Their work is only to find children working without permits. You need not make inquiries of details in private houses. Make inquiries only as to children in private houses."⁹ Inevitably there were many children in the city of Baltimore who were not accounted for by the city in any way.

The inspection for the purpose of the enforcement of the Child Labor Law in the City of Baltimore was carried out in the first years by six inspectors who divided the entire city into districts. In 1908, these men made 19,645 first inspections and 2,791 second inspections for child labor

enforcement in Baltimore City. With the assistance of two factory inspectors, they averaged 2804.5 inspections each for the year. If they worked five days a week for 52 weeks, each had to inspect more than ten workplaces each day. Not surprisingly, only nine arrests were made in the year 1908 for violation of the Child Labor Law, of these three resulted in fines, two were dismissed after paying court costs, and four more dismissed altogether.¹⁰ It is quite likely that many children and employers were able to evade the law. Former Mayor of Baltimore Thomas D'Alesandro remembered working without a permit as late as 1916--"I worked for Poor and Alexander when I was 13 years old--in violation of the law...So the truant officer came in and I "helloed" out. The boss called me, he said, 'Whats the matter?' I said 'I'm not 14.' He said, 'when will you be 14?' I said 'next month.' He said 'forget about it' and I kept on working."¹¹ Children working in homes or sweatshops could easily evade the overextended attendance officers.

Another possible explanation for the declining enrollment is that more children were attending Catholic schools because of the large number of Catholic immigrants in these years. It was also a time in which the Church hierarchy encouraged Catholics to send their children to the Catholic schools. The Catholic Directory provided statistics annually on the Churches and schools in the United States, including the total enrollment figure for each diocese. The Catholic School

Population in the Archdiocese of Baltimore remained exactly constant from 1901 to 1910, which indicates that the total number is not exact, although the numbers vary for individual schools within the diocese from year to year.

However, the ethnic Catholic schools saw an increase in enrollment during the decade, particularly in the parish schools of the new immigrant groups. The Polish parochial school St. Stanislaus Kostka on South Ann Street in the Polish community of Fells Point raised its enrollment from 375 students in 1900 to 750 in 1911 (numbers were not available for 1910), and Holy Rosary, also in Fells Point, went from 460 students in 1900 to 671 students in 1911, and continued to grow to 1023 in 1916. In addition, another Polish school was established at St. Casimir's Church in 1905 with an opening enrollment of 215, which grew to 436 by 1911. The Italian school was in St. Leo's parish--it grew more gradually from 250 students in 1900 to 350 students in 1911. The Bohemian school St. Wenceslaus grew from 365 students to 553 during the same years.¹² The Church was having some success at enrolling the immigrants in parochial schools as an alternative to public schools or to work.

Growth in the parish schools of the older immigrant groups was less dramatic. There were three parishes which were principally Irish at the turn of the century--St. Patrick's, St. Brigid's and St. Martin. Of these, enrollment at St. Patrick's declined significantly, from 695 in 1900 to

326 in 1911. The other two parishes grew (St. Brigid's rose from 154 to 332 and St. Martin's from 670 to 775). These parishes became less and less distinctive as time passed, probably since the Irish were less of a cultural minority in the city and especially within the Church. Without the language barriers of other groups and with an older community to assimilate with, the Irish immigrants depended less on the parish school than other groups did.

The German parishes had always been the largest and most numerous in the Archdiocese and they continued to be at the turn of the century. Seven churches served the German Catholic community of the city of Baltimore until 1917, when one of them, St. Alphonsus, was turned over to the Lithuanians. Each of the these parishes had a school which educated a total of 4171 students in 1900. By 1911, the number of students had declined somewhat to 3773, with changing enrollment reflecting the shifting residential patterns of the large German Catholic population.¹³ It is not clear which public school Germans were Catholic, which were Protestant and which were Jewish, but a significant number of German Catholics attended ethnic parochial schools. It has been estimated that more than one third of the Germans in Baltimore were Catholic and presumably a large number of those sent their children to parochial schools.¹⁴

The 1908 study of the schools by the Immigration Commission broke down the enrollment of both public and

parochial schools in Baltimore according to race, ethnicity, age, grade and gender.

TABLE 3:¹⁵ ETHNICITY OF STUDENTS IN BALTIMORE, 1908

General nativity & race of father of pupil	<u>Pupils by School</u>		Total	% of all pupils
	Public School	Parochial School		
<u>Native-Born</u>				
White.	34,772	5495	40,267	57.5
Negro.	<u>8014</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>8016</u>	<u>11.4</u>
Total Native-Born. . .	42,786	5497 (11.4%)	48,283	68.9
<u>Foreign-Born</u>				
Bohemian and Moravian. .	585	531 (47.6%)	1116	1.7
English.	437	69 (13.6%)	506	0.7
German	5198	1650 (24.1%)	6848	9.6
Hebrew, German	1090	2 (0.2%)	1092	1.6
Hebrew, Polish	348	0	348	0.5
Hebrew, Russian.	6140	0	6140	8.8
Irish	490	911 (65.0%)	1401	2.0
Italian, North	204	64 (23.9%)	268	0.3
Italian, South	675	191 (22.1%)	866	1.3
Lithuanian	234	28 (10.7%)	262	0.4
Polish	383	1076 (73.8%)	1459	2.1
All others	<u>1306</u>	<u>162</u> (11.0%)	<u>1468</u>	<u>2.1</u>
Total Foreign-Born . .	<u>17,090</u>	<u>4684</u> (21.5%)	<u>21,774</u>	<u>31.1</u>
Grand Total	59,876	10,181	70,057	100.0

Table 3 shows the ethnic makeup of the school population in Baltimore on the single day that the study was done. It therefore may say more about attendance than about enrollment, and the totals could be low for groups with poor attendance patterns. If that is the case, it is possible that the foreign born made up a greater percentage of the school population than these figures indicate.

Table 3 shows that foreign born make up a significant proportion of the public school population (28.5%) and an even larger part of the parochial school population (46%). Certain ethnic groups depend heavily on parochial schools for the education of their children, particularly Bohemians and Moravians, Irish, and Polish. The total German population of 1650 in the parochial schools is much lower than the 4171 indicated above by the enrollment figures from the German Catholic schools, possible because those schools were attended by many second, third and fourth generation Germans as well, who would not show up on the 1908 study as foreign. The school had become preservers of German culture for American born German generations by the turn of the century as well as agents of assimilation for new immigrants. In other words, Germans and Russians make up an important part of the public school population at this time, and make up the overwhelming majority of immigrants in the public schools (72.7%). These two statistics would suggest that while the public schools might find ways to accommodate these two groups of immigrants, they

would see no urgency to accommodate other much smaller groups.

ATTENDANCE

The Progressive reformers believed that school attendance was critical to their entire vision of using the schools to bring about social change.¹⁶ The schools would mold the young for their role in the urban industrial society which for the immigrants usually meant labor. They also believed that the school was essential in the process of making good citizens. In 1899, Superintendent Van Sickle noted in his annual report that "one of the most important instrumentalities for training youth to success in life and useful citizenship is the school...."¹⁷ He went on to emphasize the importance of attendance in bringing about this goal.

Historian David Tyack sees the compulsory schooling movement as a deliberate attempt to promote a national culture within the framework of an organizational revolution. Thus the "ethno-cultural theory" that a group of traditional elitists were trying to pass on their values is tempered by the stress on efficiency and organization at the turn of the century.¹⁸ While their language bears out his point, it is ironic that the efficiency was tested by compulsory attendance laws. As Diane Ravitch points out, "...the public school was transformed into a vast, underfinanced, bureaucratic social-work agency..." charged with the Americanization of the immigrant masses.¹⁹ Children who would previously become

workers were now expected to attend school, despite the barriers of language and culture. The efficiency so cherished by the reformers would be greatly challenged by the reality of dealing with the influx of poor children.

The reformers were caught in a bind of their own making. While they wished to use the schools to promote a social and cultural unity, and believed that the schools would prepare students for placement in a modern urban-industrial world, they were straining the uniformity and efficiency which they sought by bringing in the outsiders or immigrants. Paula Fass explains this paradox as a result of the reformers attempts to reform the schools at the same time that they used the schools as an instrument of social reform.²⁰ According to revisionist historians, the emphasis was on preparing the child to fit into the class hierarchy of the industrial society. As David Nasaw put it, they would be "schooled to order."²¹

Whatever the intentions of the Progressives, they met resistance to compulsory education at the schoolhouse door. The Progressive voice was heard in the universities and the School Board Rooms and in the organizations and journals that they created. The Maryland State Teachers Association and its journal, the Maryland Educational Journal, constantly promoted the value of compulsory education. But for those responsible for teaching these reluctant students in newly overcrowded classrooms, inundated with the problems of language and

cultural barriers, the compulsory education laws must have seemed like a curse rather than a blessing. It is the teacher's voice which is largely missing in the studies of the era of Progressive school reforms, largely because of lack of evidence. But the attendance data which survives indicates that the teachers and the individual schools were doing little to encourage the immigrant children to attend regularly and to succeed. Thus, they attended sporadically if at all and often failed.

When the Strayer report of the Baltimore City public schools was completed in 1921, it presented a long range view of attendance patterns, curriculum, instruction and administration of the school system. It pointed out that there was little improvement in actually getting children into school in the first two decades of the twentieth century. It concluded that "...the school attendance authorities have failed to properly enforce compulsory education and that the schools have failed to materially increase their drawing power."²²

While the reformers of the Arundell Good Government Club, the Maryland State Teachers Association, and the Superintendent of Schools were committed to universal public education, they could not overcome the institutional inertia which enfeebled all attempts to improve attendance.

The 1911 Report on the Baltimore Schools conducted by the U.S. Department of Education compared the school system to others in the nation in a variety of areas. While the ratio of

enrollment to population was better than most major cities, Baltimore ranked the *lowest* among the thirteen cities over 350,000 in population in the average number of days attended by each child enrolled in 1910.²³ In fact, the data showed that Baltimore averaged ten days less than the next lowest city, with 133 days, compared to the highest number, which was 175 in Milwaukee. Among urban school systems, Baltimore had the worst record of bringing children into the schools consistently. In 1900, the women of the Arundell Good Government Club forced early confrontation of this trend when they investigated four working class neighborhoods in Baltimore and found that about 25% of the children were absent anywhere from one to three days a week because of either parental indifference or work.²⁴

Superintendent James Van Sickle anticipated that these children would provide a special challenge to the schools when the Compulsory School Attendance Law of 1902 went into effect. He called for special accommodations to be made for those students who had attended school so sporadically up to that point that they would be overage and possibly unmanageable. He envisioned a special school in which "...much stress should be put upon reading, writing, spelling arithmetic and manual training, and upon morals and manners."²⁵ But the system made few accommodations for such schools, in part because few showed up to school at least until after the new law in 1906 which was coupled with a Child Labor Law. Van Sickle's goals

were largely unmet in the accommodation of overage children.

According to the new Compulsory Attendance and Child Labor laws, children under twelve years old were forbidden to work at all, while those between twelve and sixteen had to register with the State Bureau of Statistics and Information to receive work permits, which would only be given to those who could read and write in simple English, and were physically fit to work. The process of registering the children began in the summer of 1906, when the Bureau was inundated with applicants, creating such chaos that it was reported that women were fainting and having clothing torn off in the crowds of immigrants anxious to apply. Most of the applicants were first or second generation immigrants, seeking to work rather than go to school. Nearly 7000 work certificates were issued in the first several days and 20,000 total were issued in the first quarter. Some employers cooperated with school authorities by letting all of the children under twelve go, but others sought to continue to use the child labor.²⁶

In 1908, the Bureau issued 5,177 more work permits in Baltimore City (including 333 duplicates), including 2,977 to males and 2,200 to females. The largest number of permits were given out in June as school ended, but a large number were also given out in May and September, which had the highest totals for the non-summer months.²⁷ This reflects the continuing practice common among immigrants of East Baltimore,

especially the Poles, of following the seasons in employment. They would move out to the outlying countryside in late spring to pick fruits and vegetables. In the late summer, they would work in the canneries at Fells Point through the fall. In late fall and winter, some would migrate to the Gulf Coast to shuck oysters and shrimp in the packing plants. They returned to Baltimore in the spring, to begin the cycle again. This work often employed entire families, and would obviously interfere with regular school attendance.²⁸ It would appear that many immigrant families had adopted a strategy of economic survival which did not coincide with the public school schedule.

The parochial schools also had to contend with the problem of seasonal work, with the sisters of St. Leo's noting that "...a number of pupils left school to work in the packing houses to help their parents being very poor."²⁹ At the Bohemian school St. Wenceslaus, the sisters noted that the children often left school in the spring "...because of poverty they had to look for work to feed their family." The opportunity that the parochial schools had and used to coerce children into school can be seen in September of the same year when the sisters noted that they expected an increase in enrollment "...as the companies adjoining the Church are practically forced to send their children to the Catholic school."³⁰ This concern was expressed by the sisters at these two schools before the turn of the century and the mandatory attendance laws, but the Catholic schools were

already trying to bring the children into the schools, and showed some measure of compassion and concern for the child labor problem years before it was tackled by the Progressives. In 1910, the sisters at 14 Holy Martyrs School began commercial classes upon the request of the priest who hoped that the children would find some alternatives to the factories in the area. The Rev. Peter Alexiecs told the sisters that "...if a confessor could talk to you about what happens to these good children. Beg your Rev. Mother allow you to open a Commercial that our children have a chance to better themselves."³¹ The priest's concern about the corruptive influence of the streets and factories led him to request commercial training for young girls.

The overworked Attendance Department of the Baltimore Public Schools was charged with the responsibility of enforcing the Compulsory School Attendance Laws. Six inspectors investigated 33,782 cases of absence in 1907, finding 1888 truants in the city in the year after the second attendance law and the Child Labor Law were passed. The number of truants had not changed substantially since 1904, when such data was first collected, and did not vary greatly until 1910, when the number of truants leaped to 2628.³² In 1907, the Department also returned 170 children to school, but excused 4024 "special cases." 54 parents were brought before the courts for failure to fulfill their responsibilities for the attendance of their children. Forty-seven children were

committed to the new Parental School for children with serious behavioral and attendance problems. The number of children sent to this school only exceeded 50 three times by 1917. It is apparent that the Attendance Department was unable to keep up with the challenge of enforcing the Compulsory School Education Laws, probably due to the limited number of workers it had at its disposal.

The Arundell Good Government Club continually lobbied for additional attendance officers, and managed to get three of those appointed dismissed (most of the officers were patronage appointees). They clashed with the Department repeatedly when they tried to seek information, such as the number of truant colored children.³³ In 1909, they reported in their minutes that the fired Attendance Officers had been replaced by women, and commended the few efficient individuals who had been hampered by the work of the political appointees. They continued to monitor both the Attendance Law and the Child Labor Law because they believed that neither was being enforced.³⁴

When the new Attendance Law in 1913 raised the age two years to fourteen, the school system was faced with the task of bringing into the school children who were previously not required to attend. The Attendance Department reported in 1913 that the permits of 1018 children were revoked and they had to be brought into the schools. Of these, 913 were returned to school, 27 moved, 17 received permits, 23 were not located, 11

were home legally, 11 were withdrawn by doctors, 2 were committed to institutions, 1 died, and 13 live in Baltimore County.³⁵ But the school system did not seem anxious to educate those brought back in. Assistant Superintendent Joseph C. Hands complained that "...the strict enforcement of the Compulsory Education Law has forced into our schools many overage boys and girls who do not wish to take the regular work of the grades. In many of the schools, these pupils present very difficult problems; and the ingenuity and patience of teachers and principals are sorely taxed."³⁶ He urged the Board to take the same step that Van Sickle had called for over a decade earlier--a special grouping of these students to teach them fundamentals and possibly job skills. But Hands has a different tone toward these special cases than the Progressive Van Sickle did; he wanted to group them "...so that they may be enabled to pass the education test of the Labor Bureau without unnecessary delay."³⁷ By this time, the Baltimore School System had routed the Progressive administration of James Van Sickle and seemed to prefer to move the immigrants quickly into the work force rather than to deal with them in the schools.

The data on attendance provided annually by the school system does not necessarily tell the complete and accurate story about the attendance at school. For example, the percentage of attendance was calculated by dividing the average daily attendance by the average number of pupils

belonging to the roll. This was a common but unrealistic procedure used by school boards to show attendance in a favorable light. The average attendance figures are based on the assumption that students were in daily attendance.³⁸ While total roll for the year is also provided, it is not used to measure attendance. Therefore, attendance percentages for the year 1910 hovered around 90% in many schools. School No. 2 in Little Italy probably included a fairly large number of Italian immigrants and second generation children. They showed an 87% attendance figure for 1910, based on the average number attending (435) and the average number enrolled (500). But the same set of data shows a total of 675 students were enrolled at No. 2 during the school year, which figures to an attendance rate of 64%. Even figuring the attendance rate by the roll on December 31 (541), the attendance rate comes out to 80%.³⁹

It would not be difficult to keep a fairly high rate of attendance by simply taking students off the rolls when they were absent for a few days so that the average enrollment would remain low. As Leonard Ayres of the Russell Sage Foundation pointed out in his study of school attendance at the time, some school took students off the rolls as quickly as three days into an absence so that enrollment was kept just above the prevailing attendance rate.⁴⁰ He charged that the attendance data provided by school systems were merely "...indicators of the clemency of the weather and the

attractiveness of outside diversions. When the weather is stormy, or the circus is in town the attendance falls; when the sun shines and the circus leaves the attendance rises. The figures tell us nothing at all as to which pupils and how many are always in school and the number of those frequently absent."⁴¹ In a school with many immigrant children, it is likely that attendance was poor in the fall and in the spring because of the extended absence of the migrant workers. But if these children were taken off the roll during these times, then they would not drag down the attendance figures for the school. An astute principal could be sure that the roll was filled at all times only with those attending school. For this reason, the attendance data provided by the school system is of limited value in trying to analyze the attendance patterns of immigrant children.

'ELIMINATION' AND 'RETARDATION'

In 1909, Leonard P. Ayres of the Russell Sage Foundation published an investigation of the failure rate and the dropout rate in the various public school systems across the nation, including Baltimore. Entitled Laggards in Our Schools, it was a study of what was often referred to as elimination (dropout rate) and retardation (failure rate) among an alarmingly high percentage of children in the country. His data, which first began to appear in a journal article in the spring of that year, was not well received in Baltimore, where the newspapers criticized his attacks on the city school system as unfair and

inaccurate. Even the Atlantic Educational Journal, which was a strong reforming voice in education in Baltimore and the state, was critical of the way in which Ayres conducted his research.⁴² It is no wonder that Ayres' research was received with hostility in Baltimore--he showed Baltimore to be one of the worst cities in the country for its ability to keep children in school making progress.⁴³

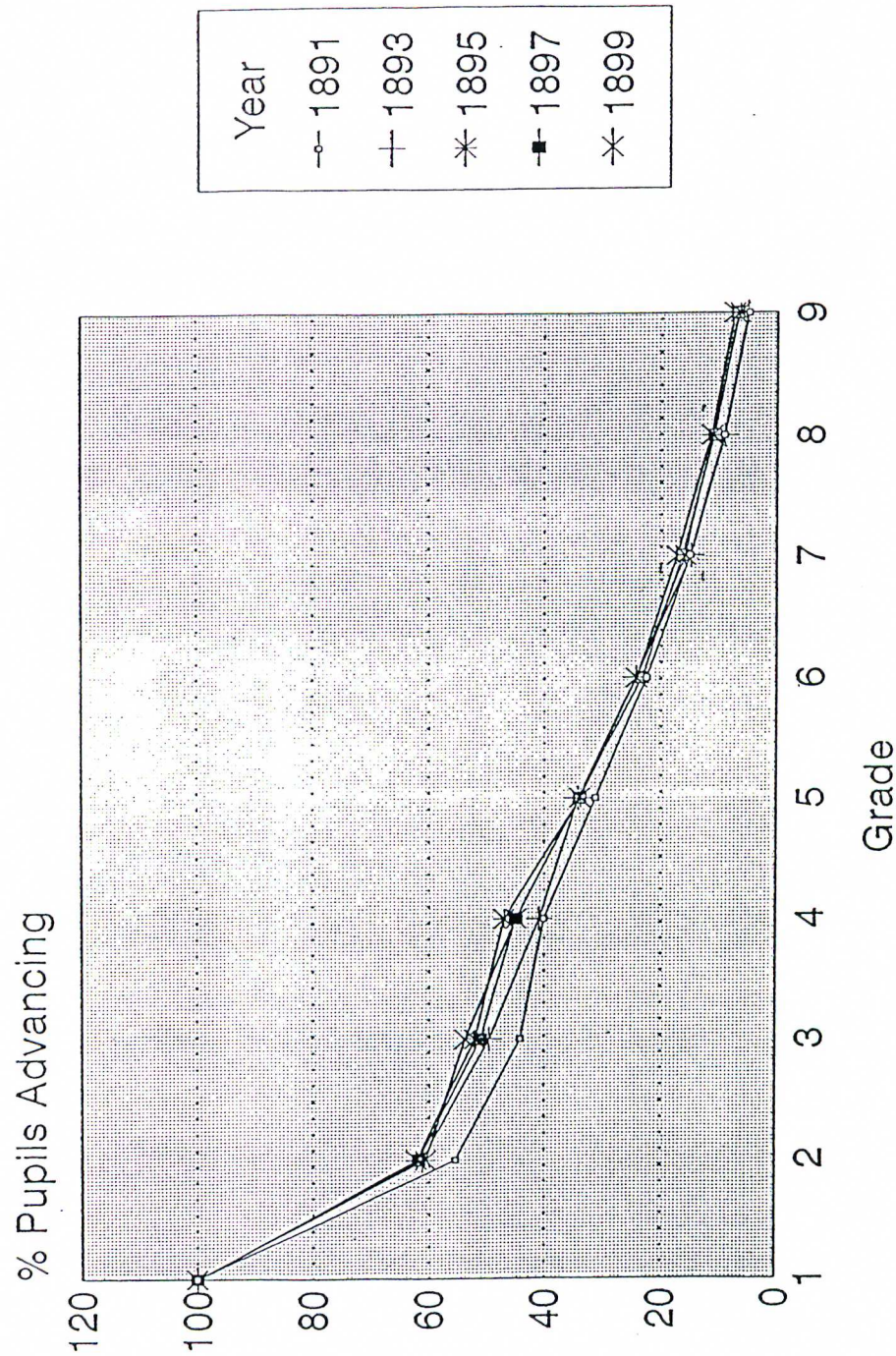
One of the problems with analysis of retardation and elimination such as that done by Ayres is that the data is inexact for that time period because of inadequate record keeping by the schools. While it is possible to determine what number of children are in each grade, and even their ages, it is impossible to know how many of the children in a particular grade just advanced from the last grade and how many remained in that grade. For example, Graph #1 (following page) shows the percentage of students in each class compared to the number in each succeeding grade in succeeding years. Of the total number of first graders in 1891, it would appear that 55.4% advanced to the second grade. But actually, of the number in the second grade, there is no sure way to determine which had advanced from first grade and which were in second grade for the second (or third) consecutive year. The data do not distinguish between those who stayed back nor those who have dropped out. Nevertheless, it can be said that if a school has a steeply declining percentage of children in school relative to the first grade total for that class, it

can be concluded that the school is failing in its task to push children successfully through the eighth grade by the age of fourteen. Ayres lists a variety of factors which would bring about a natural level of attrition in the years that children pass through school and concludes that the population of the eighth grade should be about 87% of its size when it was in the first grade, if all students made perfect progress.⁴⁴

Graph #1 shows the trend in enrollment of pupils from first grade to eighth as each class proceeded through school. While the first grade class of 1891 shows only 55.4% advancing to second grade, that number improves by 1993 to 61.2%. At that point, however, it remained about constant for the rest of the decade. The precipitous decline as the class proceeds through school during these years is apparent in the graph. In 1895, when those first graders are ready for fifth grade, there are only 31.2% of them left, and by eighth grade only 9.2% still in school from that original first grade class. The class which begins in 1899 would presumably benefit statistically from the first Compulsory School Attendance Law of 1902, when they would be entering fourth grade, although they were down to 45% of original size by that time. After that point, their slope of attrition shows very little difference from the classes before them.

If the Attendance Laws were effectively enforced, the slope of attrition should become significantly less steep

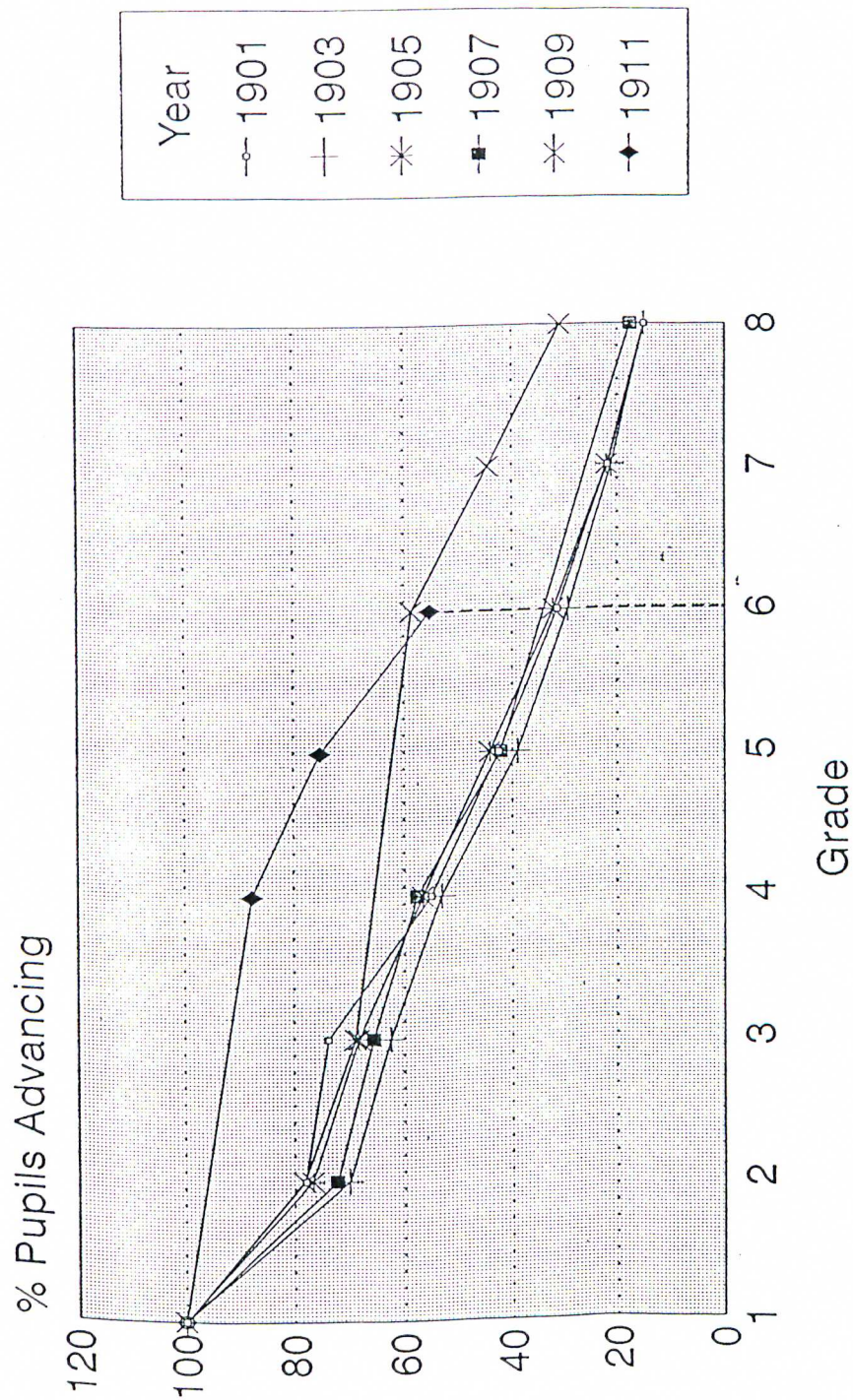
Percent of Pupils Advancing From First Grade to Each Succeeding Grade by Year of Beginning 1st Grade
 Odd Years 1891-1899, 1900



Graph 1A

Taken from figures compiled by the Baltimore Department of Education

Percent Pupils Advancing From First Grade to Each Succeeding Grade by Year
Beginning at First Grade



Graph 1B

Taken from figures compiled by the Baltimore Department of Education
* No data available for 7th and 8th grade

after 1902, and even more so after 1906. Yet the trend makes no dramatic shift in the first decade of the new century. (see Graph 1B) While 78.1% of the first graders of 1901 advanced to second grade and 42.5% to fifth, by 1907 those numbers were actually down to 72.4% and 42.2%. In 1909, still only 78.3% of first graders were advancing to second grade, and this number does not show great improvement until 1914, when 91.8% of students advanced to second grade. During the era of increased attention to universal public education and other Progressive reforms, the reality was that a very large number of students in Baltimore city schools were either failing or dropping out.

While elimination and retardation were national problems, they appeared to be particularly acute in Baltimore. In a list of the largest thirty-one cities in the nation and their percentage of retarded pupils, Baltimore ranked twenty-fifth in 1905 with 46.3% of its school population overage.⁴⁵ In another set of figures, Ayres showed that Baltimore was the worst in a list of thirteen cities in the percentage of students who finished elementary school.⁴⁶ In another set of statistics on retardation, Ayres showed the number of students repeating a grade in 1907 among fourteen schools of comparable size--Baltimore had by far the largest number of repeaters among both boys and girls.⁴⁷ In the 1911 Report on the Baltimore schools by the Bureau of Education, this painful reality was again pointed out statistically. According to the study, "Baltimore has the least satisfactory distribution of

pupils among the various grades, of all the 13 cities above 350,000 population."⁴⁸ On this table, Baltimore showed the second highest percentage of its enrollment in each of the lower grades, and by sixth, seventh and eighth grade, Baltimore has the lowest percentage of all.⁴⁹ While the attrition rate in the higher grades shows improvement between 1900 and 1910, the high proportion of students in the lower grades indicates a lagging retardation rate and probably a high rate of dropouts as well.

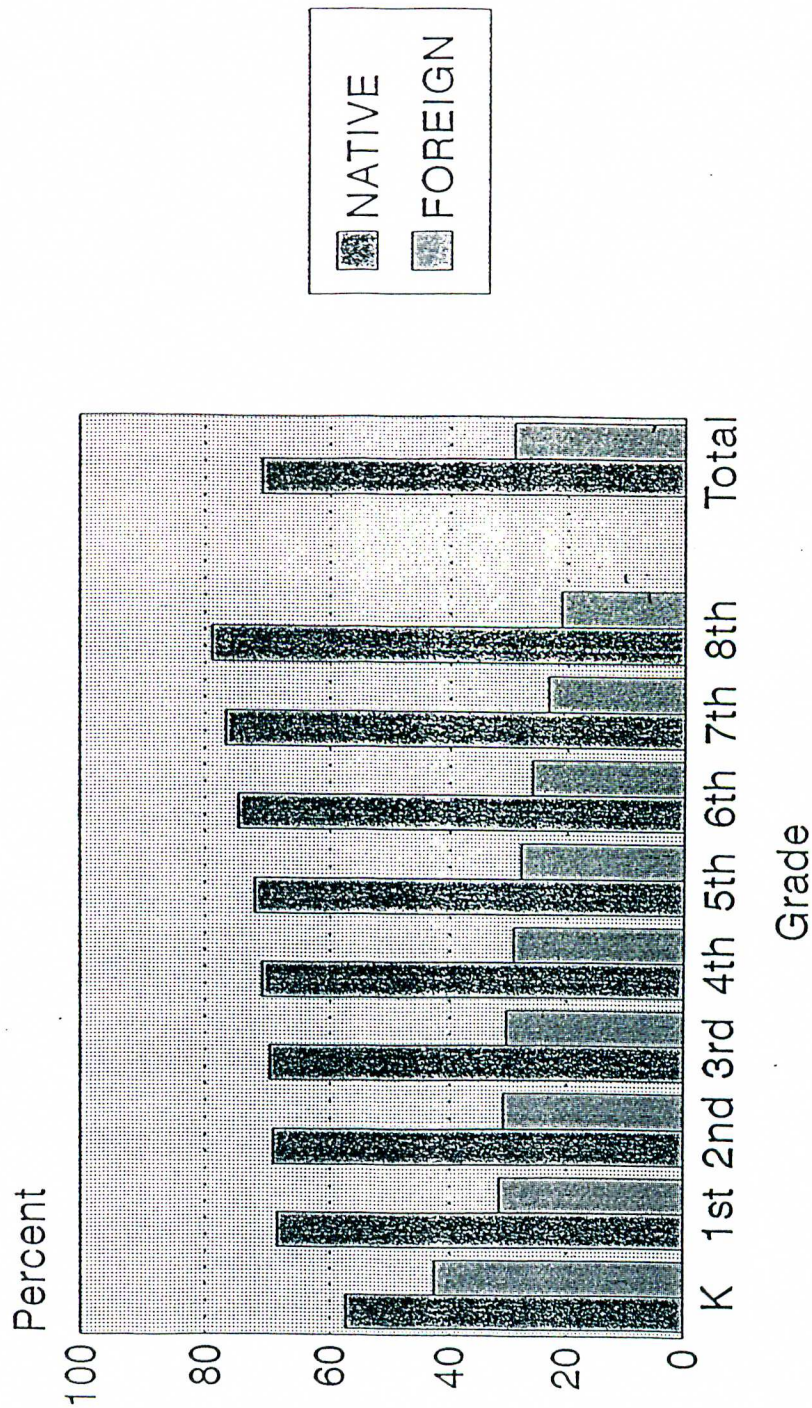
While Ayres minimizes its importance, it can be shown that ethnicity is significant in Baltimore as a determiner of both retardation and elimination rates. He claims that the proportion of children nationwide between five and fourteen attending school is higher among those of foreign birth and parentage than of native birth.⁵⁰ However, his statistics may be skewed by the large percentage of foreign born in the areas of the country with better overall rates of attendance. In the South, where most states still lacked compulsory school attendance laws and therefore attendance was lower, the percentage of population of foreign parentage is quite low (6%) compared to the U.S. as a whole (34%). Also, the foreign born population may be inaccurately counted, which would affect all statistics on immigrants.

The Immigration Commission Study of 1908 sheds some light on the questions of elimination and retardation of those of foreign birth and parentage compared to those who are native

born. While rates for all groups of students in Baltimore schools have been shown to be high, the problem is more acute for certain ethnic groups. Native born whites showed a 41.6% retardation rate while foreign born students showed a 42.3% rate. While this number is not significantly different, a look at specific ethnic groups shows wide disparity. While the Hebrew groups (German, Polish and Russian) had retardation rates in the mid-30's, other Poles had a retardation rate of 55.1%, while Italians and Irish had similar percentages.⁵¹ The newer groups of immigrants who were not Jewish had the poorest rates of retardation in the schools except for Negro children (63.4%). The greater success for the Hebrew groups can be explained in a variety of ways, including the cultural significance of education and the fact that many of these groups attended the German-English public schools which were not only bi-lingual but reputed to be the finest schools in the system. Again, this rate is measured only for those students who were in attendance on the day that the Immigration Committee collected its data, so it is quite possible that many more immigrants simply were not in school.

Graph #2 shows that the percentage of each class that is native born increases as the students proceed through elementary school. Conversely, the foreign born (and children of foreign born) make up a smaller and smaller percentage, which shows that the immigrant children are also less likely to stay in school longer than the native born. The high

Nativity* Percentage by Grade (Native Born/Foreign Born) 1900

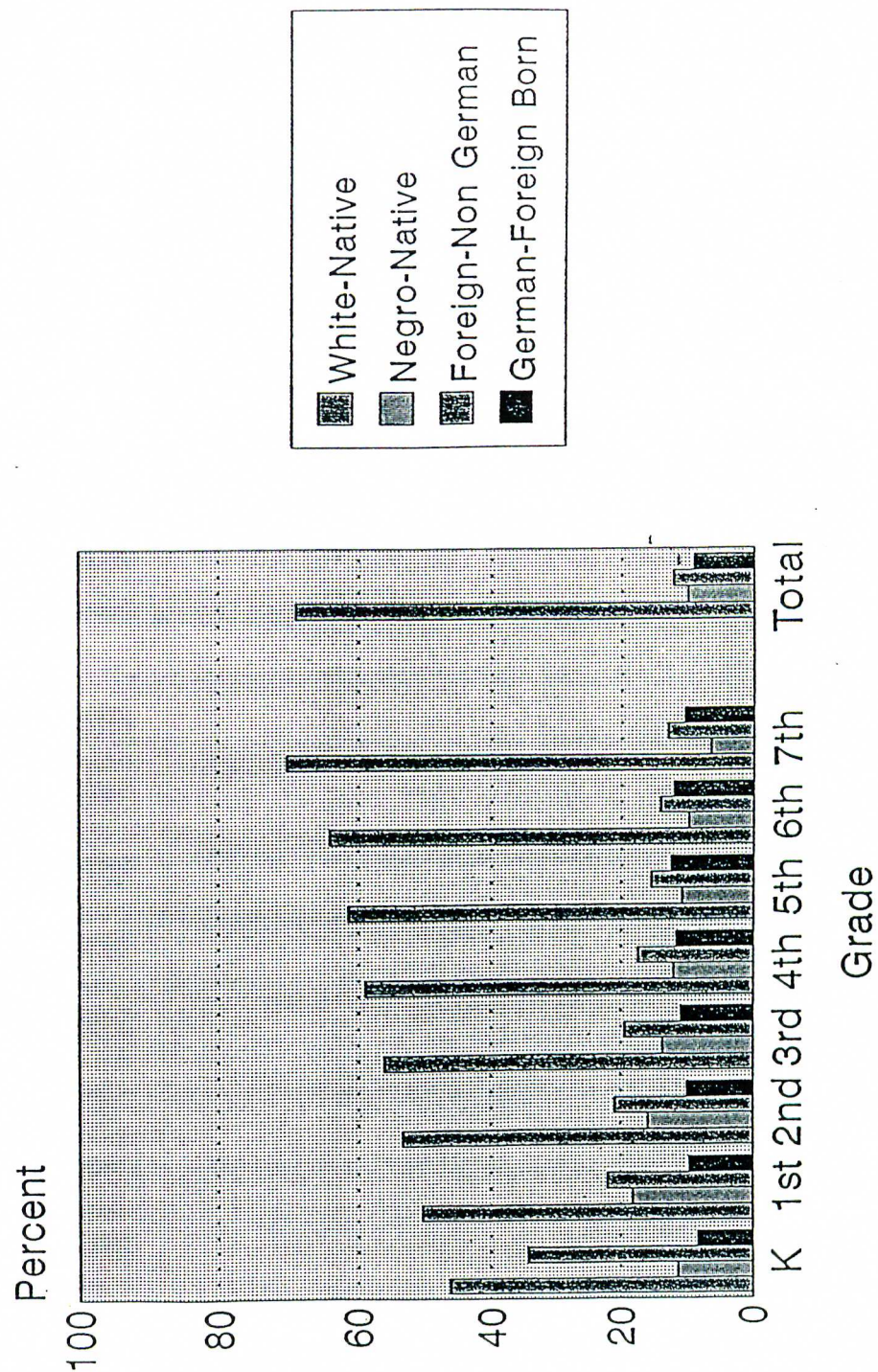


Graph 2

Taken from the Immigration Commission-Table 5, p.64.

*Determined by Nativity of the Father

Nativity Percentage by Grade



Graph 3

Taken from Immigration Commission-Table 5, p.64

retardation rate among immigrant children explains this statistic-many immigrant children were not succeeding in the public schools and eventually left school before completing elementary school. The disparity in attendance habits between native and foreign born is even more dramatic if the blacks are not included in the native born group (since their rates of both retardation and elimination were so high) and if the Germans (both Hebrew and non-Hebrew) are subtracted out of the foreign born group (since their rates of retardation and elimination are not typical for immigrants). In Graph 3, the sharply divergent percentages of native born whites to non-German immigrants is apparent. White natives have grown from 50.4% of the first grade class to 70.3% of the seventh grade, while the non-German immigrants have been diminished from 22% in first grade to 12.9% in the seventh. German immigrants actually increase their percentage of the class from 9.5% to 10.4%. Those immigrants who were not accommodated by the school system (Germans) did not stay in the schools to complete the elementary school program. While the elimination rate cannot be precisely determined, it is obvious that the public schools in the city of Baltimore were not succeeding in educating the immigrant child.

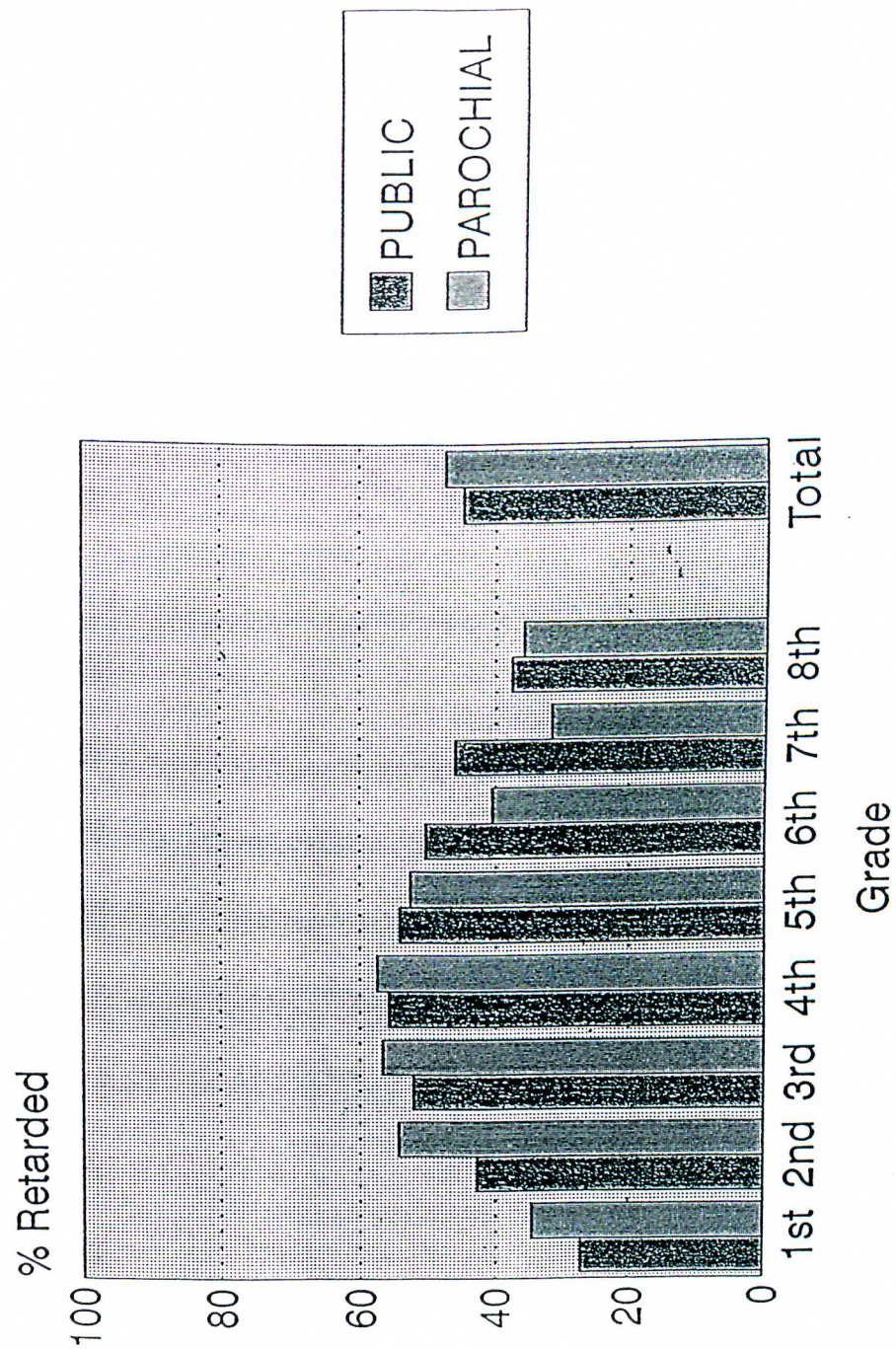
Were the Catholic schools doing any better at keeping children, especially immigrant children in schools? The data compiled on Graph #4 shows that while the parochial schools started out first grade with a higher percentage of overage

children than the public schools, from the fifth grade on the public schools had more overage children. It is not clear how this data is to be interpreted. It may indicate that public schools were keeping overage children in school longer than the parochial schools. It is also possible that more children were failing and staying back in the public schools than in the parochial schools since the retardation rate remains more persistently higher. It is also possible that the higher rate of retardation in the early years of the parochial school is due to the fact that they including a higher percentage of immigrants than did the public schools. If immigrants were more likely to be overage beginning school, the parochial school faced a bigger problem, at least in the early grades.

The comparison between the retardation rates for immigrants in public and parochial schools is shown on Graph #5. The pattern is similar to that in Graph #4, which showed the entire population in the two schools. The parochial schools begin first grade with more than one out of three students overage (or they were in first grade for the second or third time), while the public school showed 23.47% overage in the first grade. Second grade figures show a dramatic increase in overage children in both public and parochial schools. This reflects not only the overage first graders moving up (still overage) but also the students who stayed back in the second grade. In the third grade, however, the parochial school retardation rate levels off and begins to

Retardation Rates for Each Grade in Baltimore Schools

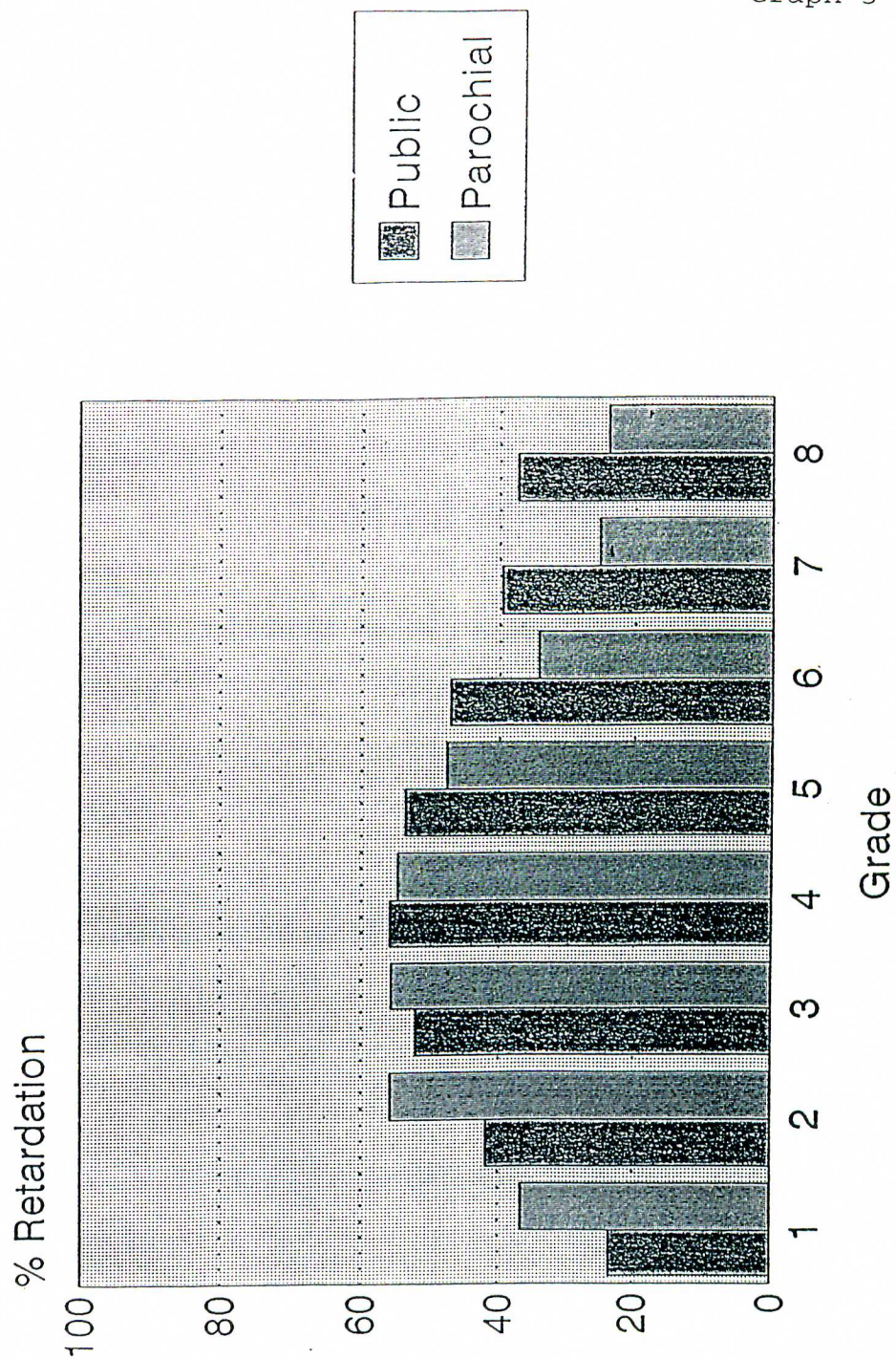
Public vs Parochial (1908)



Taken from Immigration Commission Study

Graph 4

Retardation Rates for Immigrants for Each Grade, in Baltimore Schools
Public vs Parochial (1908)

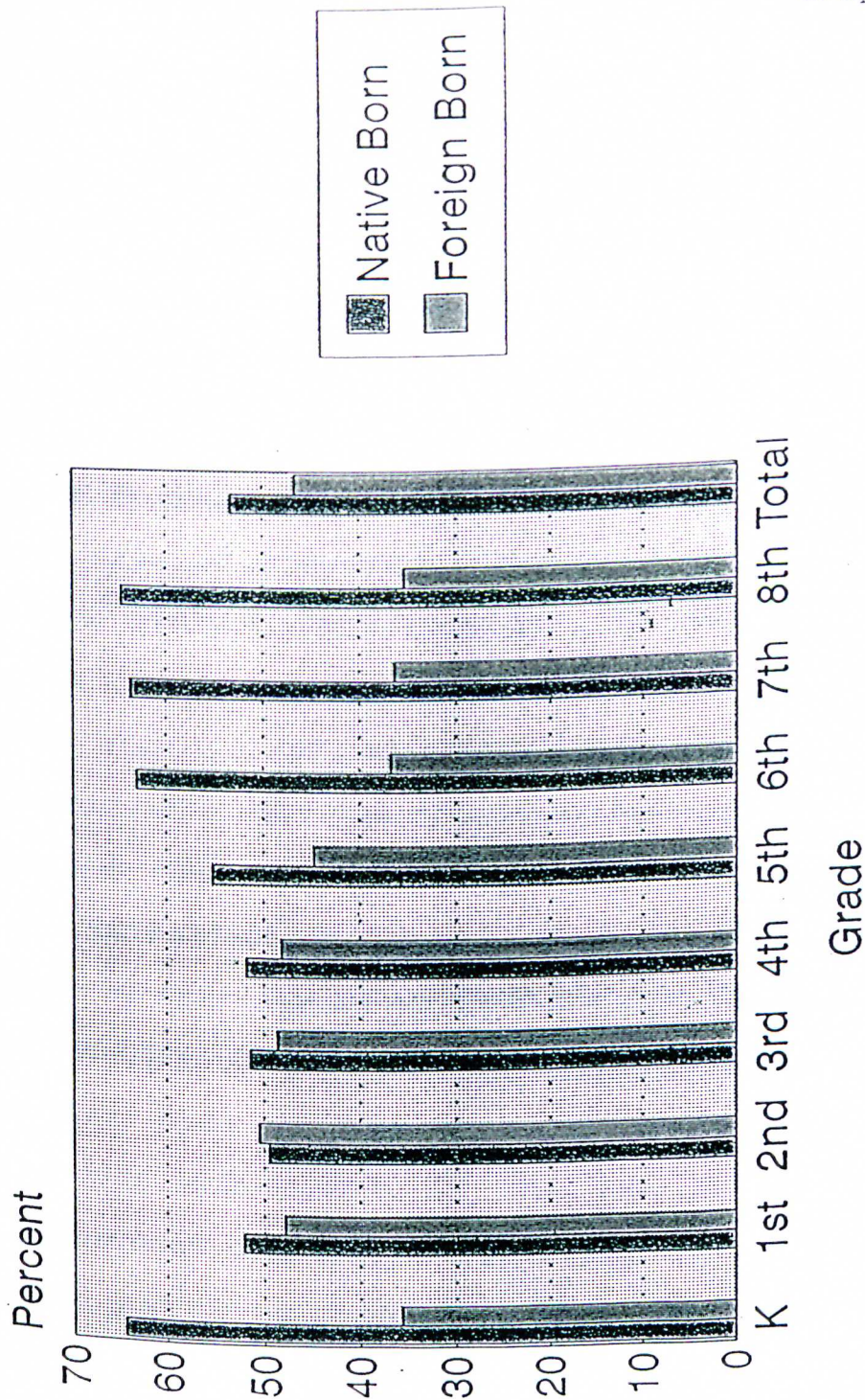


decline for immigrants, especially after fifth grade. In the public schools however, the number of overage immigrants continues to climb until fourth grade, then begins to taper off, but with a higher rate of retarded immigrants in the higher grade than the parochial schools. Again, any conclusions must be speculative since the actual students who started first grade are not tracked through each school.

Finally, the nativity percentage by grade in the parochial school is shown in Graph #6 in an attempt to discover if there is a greater likelihood that immigrants would remain in school if they were in parochial school rather than public school. Again acknowledging that the conclusions are not definitive, it can be shown that the ratio between native born and immigrants in the parochial schools does not diverge dramatically until after the fifth grade while that divergence seems to be steadier in the public schools. It is also clear that immigrants make up a much higher percentage of the students at all levels in the parochial schools, which shows not only that many immigrant families chose to educate their children in parochial schools despite the fact that most charged tuition by the early twentieth century, but that the parochial schools had taken on as a central task the education of immigrant children. It is likely that more accommodations were made for students who made up almost half of the student body, particularly since many of the native born were of the same ethnic heritage but of an earlier immigrant generation.

Nativity Percentage by Grade-Parochial Schools

Native Born/Foreign Born (1908)



Taken from the Immigration Commission, p74.

Graph 6

Statistical analysis of enrollment and attendance patterns are limited by the fact that they are incomplete and sometimes of questionable accuracy. Clear definitive explanations of trends are not possible. Further, no specific attendance data for parochial schools has been found. It is risky at best to depend on the school system for the data used to analyze its own effectiveness. Fortunately, other sources of data exist from the time, such as the Immigration Study, the Census, the Russell Sage Foundation Study, and the two independent studies of the school system done in 1911 and 1921. While the picture is incomplete, it is still worth examining.

It seems highly likely that many immigrant children and children of immigrants were not attending school early in the century, despite the laws passed at the urging of the reformers. The persistent evidence of high child labor rates and the failure of the city to account for the whereabouts of many of these children of poor immigrant families point to the possibility that much of the data on their numbers is inaccurate. The enforcement of the law by the School Attendance Department and the Maryland Bureau of Statistics and Information had to be minimal at best, due to the small number of workers appointed to such a gigantic task.

Even the data provided by the school system show no significant improvement in attendance in the schools despite the laws. Since immigrant children were disproportionate among

child laborers, it can be concluded that the immigrant children were not present in the public schools in significant number or duration for them to be molded, controlled or Americanized by the schools. It is more likely that the actual schools themselves, inundated with students and the difficulties of educating poor immigrants and their children, probably did more to discourage than encourage them in attending school. The immigrants who did enroll in school often did not succeed, and therefore dropped out early. Many attended irregularly because of the seasonal work of their families. Others attended the parochial schools where they found that their culture was not strange to the teachers or other students. Any claim that the Progressives were using the public school systems at the turn of the century to mold the future generations for whatever purpose the historian finds, must be tempered by the knowledge that the access that these schools had to the immigrants was actually quite limited.

Chapter 3 Endnotes

1. John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925 (New York: Atheneum, 1963), 235-238. See also Lawrence Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957 (New York: Harper and Row Inc., 1961) for a sympathetic description of the role of Jane Addams and the settlement house movement in promoting a benevolent assimilation. On the other hand, revisionist historians see Addams and others as emphasizing the need to train the immigrant to fit into the community, at the expense of individual identity. See David Nasaw, Schooled to Order: A Social History of Public Schooling in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 100, 103; Paul Violas, "Jane Addams and the New Liberalism," in Roots of Crisis: American Education in the Twentieth Century (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Co., 1973) 68. Robert Carlson stressed the racial overtones in the nativism of the late nineteenth century, and also criticized Addams, John Dewey and others for stressing practical education, which led to the tracking of vocational education, in The Americanization Syndrome: A Quest for Conformity (London: Croon Helm, 1987) 5, 66-68.
2. David Tyack, "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling," Harvard Educational Review 46 (August 1976): 355-389, as rpt. in History, Education and Public Policy, ed. by Donald R. Warren (Berkeley: McCutchaw Publishing Corp., 1978), 56-89, 69; Paula Fass, Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 20-21.
3. Arundell Good Government Club, Annual Report of the Secretary for the Year 1898-99, np.
4. Baltimore Board of School Commissioners [BBSC], Annual Report: 1904, 31. The Superintendent claimed that the statistics became much more accurate after 1904, when improved recordkeeping began to be emphasized. He said that transfers within the city often resulted in duplicate enrollments, which he estimated could have thrown off the numbers by more than 1000 each year. He also said that the 1904 numbers only showed slight improvement as a result of the Great Fire of that year, but that teachers were now more aware of the importance of these statistics to the schools.

5. Bureau of the Census, Report on the Population of the United States at the Thirteenth Census: 1910, Vol I, (Washington 1910), 842.
6. Ibid., 840.
7. Report of Immigrant Aliens..., as reported in the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland for the Year 1908 (Baltimore 1908), 238-9.
8. Civics Committee of the Arundell Club, Minutes, May 7, 1909. This information came in the form of a letter from a Mrs. Hooker, who was probably from the Workers Relief Committee, since an inquiry had gone out to this organization as noted in the Minutes of the previous meeting on November 27, 1908.
9. Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland, 17th Annual Report for the year 1908 (Baltimore: Kohn and Pollock, Inc., 1908), 194.
10. BSI, Annual Report, 1908, 196.
11. Thomas D'Alesandro, Oral History Collection, Maryland Historical Society, 1973, 13.
12. Data compiled from the Catholic Directory during the years mentioned for each school. The ethnicity of the schools was established by a list provided by the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.
13. Ibid. While the Germans were considered the most concerned with establishing their own churches and schools and clearly made up the majority of the Catholic school students in Baltimore, the Irish continued to dominate the hierarchy of the Church in Baltimore, as elsewhere in the United States. Herein lies the basic conflict of Americanism, with the Germans insisting upon national churches and schools while the Irish pressed for rapid assimilation. The German schools were St. James, St. Michael's, 14 Holy Martyrs, Sacred Heart, St. Joseph's, and Holy Cross.
14. Dieter Cunz, The Maryland Germans, A History (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1948), 393.
15. This table is reproduced from Senate Document #749: Reports of the Immigration Commission: The Children of Immigrants in Schools: Baltimore (Washington 1908), 14.

16. Bruce R. Payne, "Educational Waste," Atlantic Educational Journal. Vol. II no. 10 (June 1907): 7.
17. James Van Sickle, Annual Report of the Board of School Commissioners: 1899, 69.
18. David B. Tyack, "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling." Harvard Educational Review 46 (Aug. 1976) 355-389. A similar point is made by Paula Fass in Outside In--"Increasingly, in the early twentieth century, while still troubled by the inability to integrate industrial work into an older framework of values, Progressives replaced the connection between work and civic life with a new commitment to formal education of all kinds as the strategic basis for adult preparation and community survival." (20-21)
19. Diane Ravitch, "New Education for the New Immigration," in History, Education and Public Policy ed. by Donald R. Warren (Berkeley: McCutchaw Publishing Corp., 1978), 176.
20. Fass, 26.
21. Nasaw, 100. See also Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, "The Problem with Human Capital Theory; A Marxian Critique," American Economic Review 65 (May 1975): 83-84.
22. George D. Strayer, Survey of the Baltimore Public Schools 1920-21 vol. II (Baltimore: Board of School Commissioners, 1922), 130.
23. U.S. Bureau of Education, Report on the Commission Appointed to Study the System of Education in the Public Schools of Baltimore (Washington, D.C. 1911), 94.
24. AGGC Minutes, May 10 1900.
25. Van Sickle, Annual Report 1902, 39.
26. Sherry Olson, Baltimore: The Building of An American City (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 267; Maryland Educational Journal Vol. 7 no. 1, Sept. 1906, 17.
27. Data is taken from the Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland, Seventeenth Annual Report, 1908, Table B on page 204.
28. Linda Shopes uses photographs by Lewis Hine for the National Child Labor Committee between 1909 and 1911, to show the family working in its cycle of crop employment. The photographs show large numbers of children who are obviously of school age, working at these tasks, three years after the

Child Labor Law was passed. Linda Shopes, "Fells Point: Community and Conflict in a Working Class Neighborhood," in The Baltimore Book: New Views of Local History ed. by Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes, and Linda Zeidman (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 130-31.

29. Chronicle of St. Leo's Mission, 1889, 20.
30. Chronicle of St. Wenceslaus (translated), 1892, 21.
31. Chronicle of 14 Holy Martyrs, Sept. 1910, 3-4.
32. Data compiled from Annual Reports of the Board of School Commissioners between 1897 and 1917.
33. Arundell Good Government Club, Minutes, November 27, 1908.
34. AGGC, Minutes, May 7, 1909.
35. Board of School Commissioners, Annual Report, 1913, 71.
36. Board of School Commissioners, Annual Report, 1913, 68.
37. Ibid.
38. Leonard P. Ayres, Laggards in Our Schools: A Study of Retardation and Elimination in City School Systems (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1909), 133.
39. Data taken from Annual Reports of the Board of School Commissioners.
40. Ayres, 134.
41. Ayres, 134.
42. Ayres, 134.
20. Atlantic Educational Journal vol. IV no. 9 (May 1909):
43. Ibid.
44. Ayres, 21.
45. Ayres, 44.
46. Ayres, 67.
47. Ayres, 156.
48. U.S. Bureau of Education, 94.

49. Ibid., 95.
50. Ayres, 115.
51. Senate Document #749, 9.

4. CURRICULUM FOR AMERICANIZATION

The process of Americanization of immigrant children by the public schools of Baltimore at the turn of the century was not a pre-conceived plan by a reforming school board, acting deliberately upon the students to bring them into the urban society of the United States. Nor was it a plan to train them for their proletarian roles in the modern industrial society. Rather it was a process which occurred without pattern or plan according to the interaction between individual students and the schools which they attended. It was determined by all of the parties involved--community, school administrators, teachers and students, each of whom brought to the process a conception of what Americanization should be. Immigrant children were not Americanized by the schools because the schools did not have sufficient power over the children to mold them so completely. The children became American while going to school (if they attended) as much as possible on their own terms, often baffled by what was imposed on them and often learning more outside of the planned curriculum as within it.

The curriculum of the public school system in Baltimore as elsewhere underwent some reform in the hands of the Progressives at the turn of the century. But the reform was uncertain and incomplete, in part because the reformers themselves were unsure of their purpose. Paula Fass points out that they were caught between their desire to accept and

respect diversity and their enthusiasm for using the public schools as a "...unifying power...to create a comprehensive social environment, not only to provide literacy but also to retrain habits, encourage personal growth, provide economic mobility, and serve as a basis for a safe democratic citizenship."¹

Reformers such as Jane Addams believed that immigrant children were failed by the schools which pushed academics at the expense of the dignity of labor. She advocated the ideas of John Dewey and Booker T. Washington in calling for more practical education for the immigrants. The settlement houses led the way in providing sewing and cooking lessons for young girls and the public schools soon followed suit. According to settlement house expert Robert Woods, this would be beneficial because "...the girls can discuss sewing and cooking with their mothers when they have no language to discuss trade winds and syntax."² When the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore discussed the benefits of introducing cooking classes into the seventh and eighth grades for girls in 1899, the Superintendent pointed out that the mothers would benefit greatly from such lessons. He told of one mother who told him "I never did know much about cooking--just had to do it. My little girl is teaching me. It is delightful to know how to make things taste good!"³

Popular curriculum reforms among Progressives included vocational education, health services, hot lunches, school

baths, evening classes and the use of the school building as a recreational and community center. Many historians see these curriculum reforms advocated by the Progressive reformers as simply a means to bring about conformity and rigidity instead of flexibility in the process of Americanizing.⁴ David Tyack points out that the process of Americanization was complex, aiming at the socialization or modernization of the immigrants to prepare them for the urban industrial society, while also trying to assimilate them into American society through the teaching of language and other aspects of American culture.⁵ It is the latter aspect of Americanization which the public schools failed to do, in large part because of the rigidity of the curriculum which made little or no attempt to reach out to meet the immigrant children on any cultural common ground. It is in this area that the immigrant communities and especially the parochial schools were more successful in Americanizing the immigrants because they met the immigrants on their own ground.

Even when the Progressives did succeed in bringing about curriculum reform in Baltimore, the result was a program often devoid of their noble intentions. For example, introduction of sewing into the public schools was intended to show the dignity of labor and the intellectual worth of manual work. The Supervisor of Manual Training Centers in the Baltimore Schools noted that manual training was an important progressive educational value. "The joy of creating is one of

the conditions that lifts man above the animal...."⁶ According to the Supervisor of Sewing, "The great object of all instruction is to strengthen the mind and form the character; even needlework, humble as this employment may appear, may be made conducive to this end. Under a system which is carefully planned and properly carried out, learning to sew may be as educative a process as is the pursuit of any other of the industrial arts...the mind is employed as well as the fingers, powers of calculation are drawn upon, habits of neatness acquired, and taste and judgement cultivated. It then becomes a part of the mental as well as of the manual training."⁷ These are consistent with the ideas of John Dewey and Jane Addams about the value of manual labor to education.

Despite these lofty ideals, the more practical concern of the educators appeared to be job training for the poor. While denying that manual training was aimed at a particular class, Supervisor Gaither noted that it was particularly valuable to the child who left school early to go to work.⁸ Even the noted Progressive Superintendent Van Sickle admitted that these programs were targeted toward those students who least succeed in the schools and would probably drop out. "Many of them are only moderately successful in ordinary school work. Some of them are so unsuccessful that they are found in the lower grades when so old that the ordinary curriculum does not appeal to them. They are therefore irregular in attendance, and often truants and incorrigible...if, while acquiring the

elements of reading, writing, arithmetic, etc, they could be taught to do something with their hands, the school would at least send them out with habits of industry rather than idleness, and with the ability to do work for which some one would be willing to pay."⁹ A few years later, the Superintendent again emphasized the job training function of the vocational education program, noting that in certain areas of the city it was particularly important to send early dropouts out with a job skill. "The indications are that it appeals to a class of children who would otherwise not remain in school. Further study of the results seems to me likely to indicate that we should extend this kind of work to a number of other schools in the city."¹⁰

The sewing curriculum was actually designed deliberately to accommodate the work requirements of local clothing industry. Supervisor of Sewing Davis noted in 1906 that button-hole making was a vital skill to sixth grade girls because it enables them to help their parents assemble garments at home for clothing merchants.¹¹ Ironically, parents were keeping their daughters in school longer than they might have otherwise in order to allow them to learn all the skills necessary for garment making. "Many children add considerably to the home income, by sewing on buttons, hemming trousers, overcasting seams, and working buttonholes."¹² Dewey's principle of learning by doing actually became in practice a justification for perpetuating the hardships of the

local garment industry.

Actually, the reformers had long been at the task of teaching young poor immigrant girls to do housework under the auspices of the Baltimore Association of Sewing Schools. This organization was set up in 1897 by the Association for Improvement of Conditions for the Poor through the support and organization of the various churches. Sewing classes continued even after the public schools began teaching sewing because many girls did not remain in school long enough to benefit from the instruction which began in the fourth grade. The same curriculum was taught but to younger children who began working by age thirteen or fourteen. Because young girls usually went out to work, they did not learn the skills of homemaking at home and simply did the best that they could when they were married and expected to run a household.¹³

The Progressive reformers believed that practical education not only trained the poor to work in the industrial society but served to modernize them as well. They hoped to convince the immigrants from Eastern Europe to realize the value of cleanliness and order. A teacher of domestic science in Baltimore emphasized the skills that a young girl needed to be a homemaker in modern society, such as washing dishes and doing laundry, not only to train girls for their future roles but also in the hope that these skills and values would be carried home to immigrant families. "Mothers from foreign lands feel the influence. I know of a neighborhood where

soiled bedding hung out of the window any hour of the day. After two seasons of vacation school...the mother at first laughed at Mary, but now is following where the child leads."¹⁴ The program of the AICP also focused on the importance of cleanliness and order by holding kitchen garden classes and cottage cooking classes, in which the class would actually take place in a tenement kitchen for women in the neighborhood. "In the tenements in which the lessons have been given a wholesome housewifery pride has been developed and friendly rivalry in the keeping of clean attractive kitchens."¹⁵

The reformers believed that the environment of the child was preventing him or her from becoming 'civilized' and saw the school playing a critical role in saving the child. They were determined that "...efforts should mainly be exerted with such children toward their training in habits of regularity, punctuality, industry, cleanliness, self control and politeness...Many of these children grow up in poverty and crime, without, to the least extent, coming into contact with the influences of civilization."¹⁶ Administrators exhorted teachers to teach children how to avoid tuberculosis and to consider health care an important responsibility of the schools. "...And just as the future citizen should be taught to exert his full powers for the welfare of the State along the usual lines of public good, so should he be made to feel his responsibility in the matter of public health."¹⁷ Under

prodding from the Arundell Good Government Club, the public schools began medical inspection of the schools under the auspices of the Health Board and placed nurses in the schools whenever possible. In 1906 the Medical Inspector noted that 75% of backward, truant and incorrigible children had a physical defect of some sort.¹⁸ A Sun editorial called for the schools to provide hot lunches for poor children so that they could concentrate on their studies.¹⁹

The public bath movement in Baltimore was an example of the reformers efforts to modernize the immigrants. In 1891, the Sun called for public baths for the Russian Jewish immigrants who, despite signs of "higher morality" and temperance, were as unclean in their persons and homes as other rural transplants before them.²⁰ In 1900, the Free Public Bath Commission began pushing to have baths and showers placed in the schools, especially in immigrant neighborhoods. One principal noted in 1916 that "...everyone here is awake to the vital importance of the baths as a means of character building and social improvement. In many instances, the good influence has reached into the homes."²¹ While there were obvious health benefits to the public school baths, the reformers saw the issue more in terms of virtue and public morality. While such innovations might not be thought of as curriculum in the traditional sense, there was an intended lesson in the baths, the tuberculosis lectures, and the housekeeping classes. Modern urban social values such as

orderliness and cleanliness which were so highly regarded by the Progressives were taught to immigrant children while at the same time, they were prepared for their likely position in society through emphasis on manual training.

The public schools seemed to be lagging behind the movement for reform which was already in full swing at the turn of the century in urban areas. While these other reform groups went into the immigrant neighborhoods to try to help the poor in practical ways, the school system resisted making changes. Even the introduction of sewing and cooking classes was offered at grades too high to reach the many of the immigrant children. They also quickly became job training which merely contributed to and perpetuated the existed labor system rather than to try to draw the children out of it. As late as 1911, the Supervisor of Sewing in the Public Schools was proudly claiming that one child convinced her mother to change the wash day on which she stayed home to help with laundry so that it did not conflict with the day of sewing class at school.²² The Supervisor considered this to be a sign of the success of the program, despite the fact that the girl was still going to stay home on wash day. The intellectual development of the child did not seem to be a priority at all in the sewing curriculum.

It was not universally held that all children should even receive a thorough education. There seemed to be a general acceptance in Baltimore that these poor immigrant children

were rightfully destined for a life of labor and the obligation of the school system was limited. In an editorial in 1900, The Sun warned that the availability of public education should be limited. "The educational mania has been fully developed in this country: it is time to put a check on it by considering what are the educational limits naturally arising from mental capacity, social conditions and environment, to the end that the State may not waste its energies in vain attempts to force mental growth, nor increase the dangers to society arising from a little learning too broadly disseminated."²³ According to Van Sickle, the best that the schools could hope for was to "...hold pupils in school until they get educated to such an extent that their vocational training may be of a high order..."²⁴ Far from trying to provide opportunities for the immigrant children to advance, the school system considered that their agenda was to civilize the children as best they could while giving them some practical preparation for their manual jobs. In many cases, neither parents nor schools saw much purpose in holding these children in school for an academic education beyond the minimal age. Consequently Baltimore actually prided itself on its fiscal stinginess, spending a lower percentage of total government expenditures on schools between 1909 and 1918 than most other major cities in the country.²⁵

Overall, the Progressives made few concrete changes in the elementary school curriculum in Baltimore before the

1920's. The 1911 study of the school system done by the United States Bureau of Education reviewed the historical development of curriculum, noting the addition of manual training, science, U.S. history and physical training in the late nineteenth century. When the manual training school was opened in 1884 it was an innovation in American education. But despite the presence of the Progressives at the highest level of the school system in Baltimore, no additions were made to the curriculum between 1898 and 1911.²⁶ A decade later, the Strayer Commission again studied the Baltimore schools and found that "...there is no complete organized, published curriculum..." but only "...fragmentary courses of study and outlines..."²⁷ With wide variation in curriculum around the city, Strayer concluded in 1921 that "...curriculum as actually operative is largely in the minds of the principals and teachers..."²⁸

Before 1920, there were no dramatic changes made in the elementary school program which continued to emphasize arithmetic and spelling. In the 1911 study, the old subjects (English, arithmetic, geography and history) took up 77.9% of the school time in Baltimore, leaving 22.1% of the time to relatively new subjects (drawing, manual training, physical training, etc.). This traditional approach to curriculum contrasted with New York and Chicago, which spent only 62.48% and 52.6% respectively on the old subjects.²⁹ The Progressive innovations in curriculum were already beginning

to take hold in those cities, while Baltimore educational content had barely changed at all under the reformers. Because there was no organized published curriculum in use throughout the city, there was great variation from school to school and class to class before 1920. Because of this lack of uniformity as well as the carryover of nineteenth century teaching practices, the most important source of curriculum in the Baltimore city schools early in the century is the textbook. Most teachers simply taught from the text.³⁰

The curriculum of the parochial schools in Baltimore varied from one teaching order to another but were all heavily influenced by the curriculum of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, who taught the majority of the immigrant Catholic children in the city. The Sisters had come over from Bavaria in the 1840's at the request of King Louis with his specific instructions to teach the German immigrants in such a way that they remained German and would avoid Americanization. They came at a time that the German Catholics in the United States were under increased pressure because of their language and religion. As the Redemptorist order of priests began setting up German Catholic schools for the immigrants in the United States, many were taken over by the SSND's, including St. James, St. Alphonsus and St. Michael's schools in Baltimore. They brought with them the Bavarian plan of study for the Volksschule which was based on the ideas of Pestalozzi and other Romantic educational reformers.³¹

Because they had originally been trained to teach girls of the lower classes in Bavaria, the SSND's had adopted a curriculum designed specifically to meet their needs. Their training was based on the ideas of Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel concerned the stages of development of children and the importance of using play and activity to bring about learning. They designed a curriculum based on these principles as well as the practical importance of teaching young girls the household crafts such as needlework, spinning, knitting and dressmaking.³² Art, especially drawing, became a central part of the curriculum of all schools run by SSND's because of their belief that it was beneficial to the child because it allowed the child to become interested in learning and therefore receptive to further development. In addition, games and sports were used to promote physical wellbeing and proper social behavior as well as to provide an outlet for the energies of children.³³

This curriculum was brought to the United States by the sisters in the mid-nineteenth century. Sister Caroline Gerhardinger, who founded the order and began training the teachers in Romantic pedagogy, personally came to the United States to set up the missions to serve the German community. Her parochial schools in Baltimore and elsewhere were based on the same curriculum and principles in the Bavarian Volksschulen. The SSND's who taught in Baltimore at least through the 1860's were all trained in Bavaria.³⁴ The SSND's

brought to their schools a long tradition of teaching the poor, manual training, and a child-centered educational philosophy which the Progressives were still trying to push into the public schools in 1920.

Comparison between the curriculum guides of the Baltimore Public Schools and the SSND's (which was widely used throughout the city's parochial schools) shows that the latter was more innovative and more likely to be successful with the immigrant child than that of the public schools. The sisters maintained more balance and variation in the basic curriculum than the public schools, which tended to fall back on the three R's. Also, they used a curriculum which was more child centered and incorporated art, music, physical training and manual training more successfully into the whole curriculum. In other words, they taught a more course of study more in step with Progressive ideas than did the public schools.

As early as 1869, the list of curriculum put out by the SSND's included extensive study of geography and world and American history, including civics, which was not added to the Baltimore Public School Curriculum until the 1920's.³⁵ The Baltimore Public Schools put U.S. History officially into the curriculum in 1885, but was not expected to be taught at that time until the seventh grade, which would exclude most students from ever learning it as a distinct subject.³⁶ It was later brought down to the fourth grade just before the turn of the century, but often was neglected compared to the

basic subjects. In 1921, Strayer determined that Baltimore Public Schools spent 61% less time on history and geography than the national median.³⁷

The study of American history and civics was often considered to be an important part of the effort to Americanize immigrant children by introducing them to the heroes and institutions of democracy to prepare them for citizenship. In 1899, outgoing superintendent Henry Wise spoke of the importance of history as a source of patriotic virtue: "...the noble deeds of our great and good men, statesmen, warriors, philanthropists, divines, etc. teach the lessons of patriotism and virtue and excite to noble effort and right-living."³⁸ One hour a month was set aside according to a city ordinance for the teaching of patriotism, especially the deeds of local heroes such as Francis Scott Key and Enoch Pratt. The readers also presented stories on the heroes of American history before the fourth grade, when formal instruction with the text was begun.

The parochial schools run by the SSND's were also concerned about teaching children history through presentation of heroes, particularly Catholic heroes in American history. The 1889 curriculum guide calls for the teachers to begin presenting history through stories about famous people before the actual study of the history book began in the fifth or sixth grade. "In their reading lessons, supplementary reading, and memorized poems, children will have learned of many

important personages and events in the country's history: Columbus and Washington, Lord Baltimore and William Penn, Lincoln and Lee..."³⁹ The sisters emphasized their role in teaching the immigrant children to become good citizens. "Pupils should be taught to love their country and its flag, to know its history, venerate its heroes, obey its laws and respect the men of all times who have sought to uphold its honor among the nations. The national songs should be made so familiar to all the pupils and sung so frequently that they can never be forgotten."⁴⁰ The more detailed curriculum put out by the sisters in 1900 also stressed the importance of history and civics as a way of teaching patriotism to the young. "The chief purpose of instruction on these studies is to inspire the young with a broad, sound, generous patriotism, and to train them for the right discharge of the duties of citizenship."⁴¹

The curriculum of the SSND's shows the importance of the study of history well before the formal study began in the sixth grade. "...At an early age they should be made acquainted with the names of those early missionaries, who brought the light of Christianity and civilization to our land, and of the distinguished patriots through whose efforts our independence was achieved...Let these illustrious names be brought forth and be an inspiration to the young in their endeavor to follow these examples of patriotic Americans, and to emulate the civic virtues of those men, as far as Divine

Providence may call on them to become of service to their country . "42 The commitment of the sisters to religious education caused them to seek to show the legacy of the Catholic Church in the history of the United States. In an era in which Catholics were often under attack by nativists, particularly those within national church schools were accused of ignoring the importance of teaching children how to be American citizens. The course of study used by the SSND's shows instead teachers who placed more emphasis on the teaching of American history than did the public schools.

The course of study of 1900 used by the SSND's early in the century shows as well a concern for civic training. While the study of government did not begin formally until the seventh grade, the students began learning about the city and state in which they lived as part of the home geography study which began in the third grade. In that year, students in the parochial schools learned the neighborhood streets and city names, and the difference between a city and a state. In fifth grade, they began to discuss current events as part of the geography lesson.⁴³ As of 1921, there was still no course in civics or government in the Baltimore Public School curriculum. According to the Strayer Report, it was taught only incidentally by some teachers, most frequently in the schools recently annexed from Baltimore County. When questioned about the omission, most principals claimed that there was not enough time to fit it in.⁴⁴

The emphasis on home geography was intended to use the child's immediate surroundings as a reference point for learning about the broader world. In each grade it served as the basis for the study of geography and history in the parochial schools. In third grade, for example, the curriculum called for the students to be taught "...Child-life among the Indians in contrast with the pupils own lives," as well as "...The school-house and vicinity, streets and important points, neighboring towns, occupation of the people..."⁴⁵

In contrast, the Baltimore Public School course of study from the same time period shows a starting point in geography which is broader in its scope and less meaningful to the child's own experience. Beginning in the second half of the third grade, the curriculum called for students to learn "...the natural divisions of land and water...names of the hemispheres, continents, oceans and grand divisions. General idea of our own country, state, and city."⁴⁶ Even the order of the last three areas indicates the direction being followed by the teachers of the public schools from the larger to the more familiar, rather than the other way around. Apparently by 1911, the reformers had changed this perspective in the geography curriculum based on the prevailing educational philosophy to base education on the child's own experience. "Actual experiences, knowledge of home conditions, and contact with things near at hand furnish the only known means of interpreting conditions elsewhere."⁴⁷ But it is probable

that the teachers in the public schools had not yet adopted the educational philosophy of the reformers, which was consistent with that SSND's for some time. The 1911 study by the Bureau of Education noted that many teachers had anonymously criticized the geography curriculum, often making the point that it called for them to teach too much which was not in the textbook.⁴⁸ It is likely that the area of study which was not included in the textbook was local study, particularly that on the neighborhood level.

The second major distinction between the curriculum of the public and parochial schools at the beginning of the century was the emphasis that the SSND's placed on the non-academic areas of study such as sewing, art, music and physical training. Like the Progressives, they believed that the schools "...should endeavor to develop the whole child..." by providing these areas as an integral part of the curriculum in the elementary school.⁴⁹ In addition, the teaching of needlework and other sewing skills was included for its practical value of training women to work. The sisters studied drawing, sketching and handicrafts in their own training for at least three hours a week so that they would be qualified to teach these subjects. Teachers who mastered these subjects during training were given preferential treatment; so seriously did the SSND's consider these subjects to be that they would hire a secular teacher if necessary to be sure that they were taught properly.⁵⁰ An elaborate outline of drawing

skills is found in the curriculum from the year 1900 beginning with the proper techniques and simple shapes in the first grade and continuing without interruption through the tenth grade.⁵¹ The sisters believed that drawing helped to develop the visual sense and could be used as part of what they called object lessons, which incorporated drawing, reading, science and geography. Drawing was an important tool of learning and understanding the visual world, according to the Romantic ideology of the SSND's. The Archdiocesan Course of Study also emphasized the importance of incorporating art into the whole learning experience, listing object lessons and lessons in Form Study, Drawing and Color from grades one through eight. The object lessons were often tied in with nature studies and language.⁵²

The Public School curriculum did not place great emphasis on the peripheral subjects of art, music, and physical culture. The plan of study called for one hour a week to be spent on drawing, beginning in the first grade with the drawing of points, lines and various geometric shapes. Only in the third grade is there mention of the importance of object lessons, using drawing to learn about the surrounding world.⁵³ This criticism was made by the 1911 Report on the school curriculum which states that "...there seems to be little provision...for the study of art industries and little thought for interrelation with other subjects of the school curriculum. In these respects the course in drawing might be

made stronger and more in line with the present tendency to relate art to industrial training."⁵⁴ Drawing might have been particularly useful as a means of communication and understanding of American culture for those children who were either foreign born or the children of foreign born. While the parochial school curriculum used art as a means of drawing the student closer to the world and to engender enthusiasm in learning and creative expression, the public schools seemed to relegate it to a brief unrelated lesson once a week.

Music also played a very important role in the parochial schools, especially because it was tied into the Catholic faith that the schools were committed to passing on. Besides this primary purpose for teaching music, the 1900 course of study noted that "Music, when rightly studied, becomes a great means of mental discipline...it cultivates the ear and the voice, thus aiding the reading; it arouses and harmonizes, and more than all, it assists in maintaining discipline...the singing lesson acts like a safety valve, providing a means of escape for the child's overflow of spirits."⁵⁵ The students were to receive two vocal lessons per week as the sisters sought to use music to teach other subjects and to bring out the natural enthusiasm for learning that music might promote. Again, the curriculum of the SSND's can be seen as an integrated whole, in which the subjects relate and give support to each other. Their concern for the individual child would be more likely to bring out the best in the immigrant

child who might be intimidated and confused by school.

The Public Schools in Baltimore placed the study of music in the curriculum beginning with the first grade. The students worked their way through a textbook called The New American Music Reader in the primary grades, the same text which the Archdiocese of Baltimore called for in its course of study. Music was the only subject not mentioned in the 1911 Report on the School system so it was apparently not receiving any great emphasis in the public schools as it was in the parochial schools. The emphasis on religious education underlined the importance of music in the Catholic schools.

Despite the ideas of the educational reformers, whose theories and practical suggestions appeared in the Atlantic Educational Journal regularly, the public schools of Baltimore continued to function much as they had before the turn of the century. The important difference was that the mandate was broader as the reformers sought to bring all of the children into the schools through compulsory attendance and child labor laws. The schools were forced to deal with a population which might be difficult to teach because of differences in language, cultural base and priorities. In addition, the most well-meaning educators believed that the immigrants from Eastern Europe were mentally inferior to native born white Americans. They were often educated with the same paternalistic bias as African Americans because they were considered to be mentally competent only to become laborers.

One reference book recommended for teachers advised that even though Italians were "...naturally non-mathematical...", they still must be trained to be good citizens.⁵⁶

The textbooks used by the public schools in Baltimore and elsewhere attempted to train the immigrants to become good citizens by presenting to them an idealized version of American history which relied heavily on the virtues of heroes. These heroes were practically all white Anglo-Saxon wealthy men who lived by a sense of duty and honor to country and a paternalistic concern for those 'below' them in society. These stories served two functions--they provided young people with a common cultural base which history text writer Edward Eggleston called "...a kind of national folklore."⁵⁷ They also provided lessons in morality and American values for the students.

The common cultural base was heavily Anglo-Saxon in the history texts used in the public schools at the turn of the century. The table of contents of three history texts used in Baltimore elementary schools shows great emphasis in the English origins of the nation. These texts, Eggleston's A First Book in American History, Montgomery's Beginners American History and Anna Chase Davis' Stories of the United States for Youngest Readers all include at least one chapter on Columbus and the discovery of America and two include an additional chapter on non-English explorers. Then each book contains at least three additional chapters on English

explorers and founders such as Sir Walter Raleigh (chapters in two books), Henry Hudson (two), Captain John Smith (four chapters total), Captain Miles Standish (two), Captain John Cabot (two), and William Penn (two). Davis' book contains five chapters on the Puritan founders of New England, but only one chapter on the Dutch. Only Montgomery's text includes Lord Baltimore and Roger Williams, who were exceptions or dissenters from the Protestant founding of the nation.⁵⁸

The general text used by the School Sisters of Notre Dame in their German bi-lingual schools is entitled School Encyclopedia for the Use of Beginners in the German and English Languages. Its chapter on the history of the United States places much greater emphasis on the accomplishments of Columbus and the early Spanish empire-builders. It also includes a brief description of the French explorations and settlements, which are ignored in the public school texts. After four pages on Columbus' voyages and four more pages on the Spanish empire, a half page is devoted to the English explorations and early settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth.⁵⁹ This text places greater importance on the role of the Catholic Church in the New World by placing the English settlements into the proper perspective for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries compared to the size and wealth of the Spanish Empire. The Spanish are not simply presented as unblemished heroes, but as cruel and ruthless conquerors who mistreated Columbus and exploited the Indians.

In 1913, the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners approved a collection of readings entitled American Patriotic Prose included several readings on the nature of the American culture and the process of becoming American. Henry Cabot Lodge contributed a piece on George Washington in which he pointed out that both Washington and Lincoln were of English origin, "...sprung from the splendid stock which was formed during centuries from a mixture of Celtic, Teutonic, Scandinavian and Norman peoples, and which is known to the world as English...both...had nothing but English blood...in their veins, and both were of that part of the English race which emigrated to America, where it has been the principal factor in the development of the new people called Americans."⁶⁰ The emphasis on racial makeup and purity and the superiority of the 'race' was common at the time, but implied that those not of the 'race' were inferior.

George Washington was presented in virtually all of the history books and many of the readers as a hero of mythical stature. The readings on him almost always involve his role as Commander of the American forces during the American Revolution, almost never on his Presidency. As a man of courage and action, he is frequently portrayed as the hero of the French and Indian War. His childhood was a source of many lessons on proper conduct and personal values. Besides the story of the cherry tree, the teachers used the story of how a wild colt died while young George was trying to ride it. He

confessed to his mother what he had done, and she replied that "...Of course, I am very sorry to lose my little favorite, but I am glad my son is man enough to tell the truth. This makes me very happy." The same text pointed out that Washington "...tried hard to learn all he could and to be attentive to his lessons."⁶¹ The text used by the SSND's referred to Washington only briefly and placed a great deal more emphasis on the heroic stature of Columbus.

Benjamin Franklin was another prominent figure in early American history who was frequently used as model of American values. Eggleston's Stories noted that "Long before he was a man, people said, 'how much the boy knows!' This was because-- he did not waste his time, he read good books, he saw things for himself."⁶² Another text described Franklin's love of good books as a source of his virtue--"the boy who has learned to read the best books will be an educated man, with or without schools...Here is the sort of young man that will come to something."⁶³ Stories such as these were targeted to some extent to the poor urban dwellers who did not stay in school for very long. This would be their dosage of American history and citizenship training. Eggleston noted that "there are children whose school life is brief; these must get all the instruction they are to receive in their country's history from a book of the grade of this."⁶⁴ A text written specifically for Baltimore students said that "it is intended for use in elementary grades of the schools, so that pupils

who give up their studies early will not leave without obtaining some knowledge of local history and civics."⁶⁵

The outlined text of history used by the SSND's often brought in the accomplishments of foreigners to American history. The contributions of Lafayette, De Kalb, Von Steuben, and Kosciusko and their countries of birth were noted in the account of the American Revolution. This text also noted that the French aid was critical to victory: "without this aid, the Americans probably would not have been able to overcome the superior forces of their enemy."⁶⁶ Immigration was described in the mid-nineteenth century as providing the country with "...large numbers of industrious and skillful merchants and tradesmen, laborers, mechanics, and farmers, who are requisite to meet the demand made by the treasure of the country, affording no small aid to its prosperity and happiness."⁶⁷ Immigrant students learning history from this text could make some connections to their own heritage.

The text on Baltimore was published in 1913 to provide citizenship training for public school children but it presented a view of the city which would hardly be recognized by the immigrant poor who crowded in to East and South Baltimore. While acknowledging the density of the population, the book noted that "...there is no tenement district here, where the people swarm in cramped quarters."⁶⁸ After describing the congested conditions in other cities across the country, the text claimed that "in Baltimore there are few

tenements and their worst evils are prevented by law. Overcrowding to the point where health is endangered is forbidden."⁶⁹ This optimistic assessment must have been greeted with great surprise by those immigrants still in school to read it. The idealized view of the life of Baltimore's poor also included a proud description of Baltimore as the 'City of Homes' in which "...thrifty workingmen, who are steady and reliable, form one of the best parts of the population. Through building associations and by other means, they are enabled to buy their own dwellings and enjoy a degree of comfort and independence rarely seen in industrial cities."⁷⁰ These workers were described as people of "moderate means" whose life is "...much better...than to float from place to place, with no permanent or solid interests, as so many people who live in cities do."⁷¹ This paternalistic view of the life of the working poor in Baltimore did not present local history that the people could relate to because it was idealized. The squalor of the immigrant neighborhoods and the drudgery of their daily battle for something beyond survival was not discussed anywhere in this text. It was as if such neighborhoods did not exist in Baltimore.

The text on Baltimore includes several pages on the work of the Department of Education and the work of the schools. From the tone of the lesson being presented to students on these pages it would appear that attendance was still a

serious problem for the schools when this was published in 1913. Students were urged to attend school regularly not only for their own academic development but because "...if many children are absent, the records are bad; if all are present, the reports are excellent." ⁷² Students were informed that the schools are very expensive to operate but that the people of Baltimore were glad to pay the taxes if the students grew up to be obedient and well informed citizens. The School Board too was happy to serve for free because they would be rewarded with the sight of "...happy and obedient school children growing up to be good men and women." ⁷³ Children were constantly reminded how much city government had done for them and what their duties were as citizens of Baltimore. It did not, however, place the children within the picture anywhere by describing their own distinct neighborhoods, blemishes and all. In fact immigrants were not mentioned at all in the entire book, despite their contributions to the city of Baltimore. They were also barely mentioned in Passano's History of Maryland, which makes a brief reference to the popularity of the Know-Nothing Party in Baltimore before the Civil War. ⁷⁴

The readers used by the children in the Baltimore Public School System also lacked a meaningful connection to the life of the child, despite the fact that this was one of the essential planks of Progressive reform. While Dewey urged teachers to make learning personally meaningful to students'

lives, they were learning to read in books which presented a very traditional rural American mythology which bore little resemblance to their own lives. The Elson Readers, commonly used in Baltimore schools, presented almost entirely rural settings in its books. They included many scenes of farm animals, barns, windmills and other sights rarely seen by people who live in urban areas. The Merrill Readers are illustrated and filled with stories of similar fashion. Only the Lippincott Readers seemed to be concerned with presenting a setting which was meaningful to city children. It used actual photographs instead of illustrations throughout the book, and actually depicted city playgrounds and school yards on five pages out of thirty five total illustrated pages.⁷⁵ None of the Readers examined showed children living in poverty, working, poorly dressed or dirty. None of the books included immigrant children or cultures other than the American culture.

The subject matter of the stories in the readers included children's lives (usually on the farm or in the country) and traditional nursery rhymes and Mother Goose stories. Although one of the Elson Readers has an entire section on fables and folk tales from many countries, most of these stories are of English origin. Most of the teachers probably assumed that the students knew the stories as part of their own folklore, but they would be unfamiliar to many immigrant children. In an article in the Atlantic Educational Journal in 1907, the

Principal of the Teachers Training School pointed out that the teachers should not assume that foreign children were familiar with the stories. She warned that "...one cannot take a common experience for granted..."⁷⁶ A large part of the subject matter of the Readers is made up of stories familiar to native born children but unfamiliar to immigrant children.

Despite the Progressive philosophy of education which was much debated in Baltimore as elsewhere, there is little evidence that the public schools of the city of Baltimore actually changed the body of knowledge that they presented to the students to reflect this philosophy. They made few curriculum changes in the first two decades of the twentieth century when this debate was at its height. Because of the time that it took to train new teachers, this can be partly blamed on a time lag which prevented new ideas from reaching down to the classroom door as they were debated in the educational journals and the universities. Many suggestions for curriculum reform were made in the pages of the Atlantic Educational Journal, at the Maryland State Teachers Conventions, and by the Superintendent of Schools. In addition, the reforms in curriculum suggested by the 1911 study by the Bureau of Education were largely ignored according to the report of the Strayer Commission a decade later. It has been shown that there was an entrenched bureaucratic resistance to the reforms suggested by these sources. This resistance ultimately led to the removal of the

Superintendent in 1911.

One area of change which was a reflection of Progressive ideas was the addition of the manual training skills into the curriculum. Sewing and cooking, as well as various industrial skills for boys were added to the curriculum around the turn of the century. These were intended to provide a practical sort of education for children as well as to teach the value of manual labor to the mental and emotional development of the child. Unfortunately, in the Public Schools of Baltimore these programs often became simply a means of limiting and tracking the educational opportunities of poor immigrant children. They stayed in school only long enough to learn the sewing skills necessary to earn a living and the schools responded to this attitude by adjusting the curriculum to accommodate the wishes of these students. This shows that the schools accepted the limited possibilities of these students and sought to teach them what they needed to become part of the great laboring class of modern urban society. To Americanize the immigrant was to prepare him or her for the role that society expected, not to encourage the child to exceed that role.

The biggest weakness of the curriculum of the Baltimore Public Schools in its task of educating the immigrant was its failure to address them in any sustained and meaningful way. Unlike other cities, Baltimore was slow to develop accommodations such as steamer classes to teach the immigrant

children English so that they could succeed in the schools and in life. They were subjected to a curriculum which was presented in English and based on the Anglo-Saxon tradition, including the belief quite popular at the turn of the century that such a culture was superior. Immigrant children were not connected to the school experience or to the American urban community in which they lived by the curriculum presented to them in school.

While the difference should not be exaggerated, it can be seen that the immigrants who attended the ethnic parochial schools run by the School Sisters of Notre Dame and schools that they influenced were more likely to be connected to their education through the curriculum. They were taught by teachers well versed in the child-centered philosophy of the Romantic educators like Pestalozzi and Froebel who had long presented a curriculum in their schools, both in Germany and in the United States, which involved the student in the learning experience through art, music and various crafts. These subjects sometimes had practical value in these schools as well for the child who would leave school early to go to work, but they were used purposefully as ways of developing mental, emotional and social skills. More importantly, they were used to bridge the gap between the world inhabited by the child and the American urban society which they sought to enter.

In teaching subjects like history, the parochial schools

presented a curriculum which placed the child within the American heritage, by emphasizing the contributions of Catholics and foreigners to American history. Names like Columbus and Kosciusko placed alongside Washington and Franklin show the immigrants that this was not a nation created by and for Anglo-Saxons only. Such a curriculum would allow the immigrant child to become American without having to give up any connection to national or religious heritage. In fact, the parochial schools seemed to emphasize civics and citizenship even more than the public schools did, in part because at that time, ethnic Catholics were under pressure from nativists to show their allegiance.

While the differences are not dramatic between the curriculum of the public and the private schools, it appears that there is enough divergence to conclude that the ethnic parochial schools were bringing the immigrant child into the American society with more success than the public schools were doing at that time. Public school curriculum presented little or nothing for the foreign child to relate to, while the parochial school at least placed the child within American society through emphasis on his Catholic heritage. Ironically, the curriculum used by the School Sisters of Notre Dame was more imbued with Progressive ideas than was the curriculum of the Baltimore Public Schools.

Chapter 4 Endnotes

1. Paula S. Fass, Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 32.
2. Robert Woods, Americans in Process: A Settlement Study of Residents and Associations of the South End House (New York: Riverside Press, 1903), 303-304, taken from Immigrant Women ed. by Maxine Seller (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981) 7.
3. Baltimore Board of School Commissioners [BBSC], Annual Report, 1899, 76.
4. Robert Carlson, The Americanization Syndrome: A Quest for Conformity (London: Croon Helm, 1987), 67. The most famous example of Dewey's principles put to action was the Gary Plan, in which community schools were designed to provide a half day for work and play and the other half day for study on a twelve month program. Revisionist historians have criticized the Gary Plan (as did many immigrants themselves) as an attempt to track the immigrants into a permanent industrial class. According to historians Ronald D. Cohen and Raymond A. Mohl, the revisionist miss the point because they fail to see the role of the communities themselves in such programs. Like Fass, they point out the basic paradox faced by the Progressives between administrative reform (efficiency) and social reform (democracy), in The Paradox of Progressive Education: The Gary Plan and Urban Schooling (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1979), 157.
5. David Tyack, The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 233-4.
6. George M. Gaither, "Value of Manual Training in the School Curriculum," Maryland Educational Journal vol. I no. 2 (October 15, 1905), 8.
7. Laura V. Davis, "Industrial Work for Girls," Atlantic Educational Journal, vol. 6 no. 5 (January 1911), 28.
8. Gaither, 9.
9. BBSC, Annual Report, 1903. 30.

10. BBSC, Annual Report, 1907, 44.
11. BBSC, Annual Report, 1906, 54.
12. Davis, 28.
13. "To Teach Cooking," The Baltimore Sun September 8, 1899, 10.
14. Ruth Mentzer, "Domestic Science in the Public Schools," Maryland Educational Journal, vol. 1 no. 1 (September 1905): 16.
15. The Baltimore Sun, September 8, 1899, 10.
16. BBSC, Annual Report 1898, 103. The Assistant Superintendent proposed the establishment of kindergartens to serve this purpose.
17. H. Wirt Steele, "An Opportunity for School Teachers to Serve Mankind," Maryland Educational Journal, vol. 1 no. 1 (September 1905): 14.
18. BBSC, Annual Report, 1906, 55..
19. "The Public Schools," The Baltimore Sun, September 9, 1899, 4.
20. "Public Baths Needed," Baltimore Sun, August 27, 1891, 4.
21. Robert F. G. Kelley, "The History and Advent of Public School Baths," Municipal Journal (October 22, 1920), n.p..
22. Davis, 28.
23. "Educational Limits," The Baltimore Sun, January 27 1900, 4.
24. BBSC, Annual Report, 1908, 42.
25. George D. Strayer, Survey of the Baltimore Public Schools 1920-21 Volume VII (Baltimore:Board of School Commissioners, 1921), 75. Even worse, Baltimore ranked last among the fifteen cities listed in percentage change in expenditures, actually decreasing school spending by 2.8% of total government spending during these years of supposed school reform.
26. United States Bureau of Education, Report on the Baltimore System of Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911), 64.

27. Strayer, 45. Strayer found common use of the 1908 courses of study in geography, history, nature study and sewing. More recent revisions existed in arithmetic, English, drawing, manual training and hygiene and physiology. In some schools annexed from Baltimore County, the only printed curriculum in the building was that of the County. There was even a pamphlet of suggested revisions published by the Teachers Association but unauthorized by the Board.
28. Strayer, 46.
29. U.S. Bureau of Education, 66.
30. Vernon Vavrina, The History of Public Education in the City of Baltimore, 1829-1956 (Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University, 1958), 18.
31. Margaret Mary O'Connell SSND, "The Educational Contributions of the School Sisters of Notre Dame in America for the Century 1847-1947" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1950), 53; M. Liobgid Ziegler SSND, "The Poor School Sisters of Notre Dame; A Contribution to the Bavarian History of Education" (Ph.D. dissertation, Maximillien University, 1935), 126-8; Suzanne Schultz Preis, "The School Sisters of Notre Dame: Participators in the Development of Romantic Values in Education" (Masters Thesis, Maryland Institute, College of Art, 1988), 6.
32. Preis, 6-8.
33. Ziegler, 105.
34. Preis, 30-31.
35. O'Connell, 61.
36. U.S. Bureau of Education, 64.
37. Strayer, 46.
38. BBSC, Annual Report, 1899, 68.
39. School Sisters of Notre Dame [SSND], "The Curriculum of a Properly Graded Parochial School," 1889.
40. SSND, 7.
41. SSND, "Course of Studies for the Parochial Schools of the School Sisters de Notre Dame" (Chinchuba, Louisiana: Deaf-Mute Institute, 1900), 13.
42. SSND, "Course of Studies...", 1900, 13.

43. SSND, "Course of Study....," 35, 42.
44. George D. Strayer, Survey of the Baltimore Public Schools Vol. III, (Baltimore: BBSC, 1921), 135.
45. SSND, "Course of Study..." 1900, 35.
46. BBSC, "Grades for primary schools," Annual Report 1898, 143.
47. USBE, 79. The study quotes the current geography curriculum at the time.
48. USBE, 79.
49. SSND, "The Curriculum....," 8.
50. Ziegler, 75-80.
51. SSND, "Course of Studies..." (1900) 89-97.
52. Rev. M. O'Keefe, "Course of Study," The Catholic Mirror, January 21 1899, 11. Beginning with the first grade course of study printed in this issue, subsequent grades were printed in the following seven weeks.
53. BBSC, Annual Report, 1898, 144.
54. USBE, 84.
55. SSND, "Course of Studies..." (1900), 18-19.
56. William Hawley Smith, All the Children of All the People: A Study of the Attempt to Educate Everybody (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1920), 192.
57. Edward Eggleston, Stories of Great Americans for Little Americans (New York: American Book Company, 1923), preface.
58. Anna Chase Davis, Stories of the United States for Youngest Readers (Boston: Educational Publishing Company, 1909); Edward Eggleston, A First Book in American History (New York: American Book Company, 1915); D.H. Montgomery, The Beginners American History, (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1902).
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60. Henry Cabot Lodge, "George Washington as He Was," from American Patriotic Prose, ed. by Augustus White Long (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company Publishers, 1917), 129.

61. Davis, 139-153. This story is also referred to in an article by Lida Lee Tall of the Teachers' Training School in Baltimore in the Atlantic Educational Journal, Vol. 2 no. 6 (February 1907): 10-13.
62. Eggleston, 29.
63. Edward Eggleston, A First Book in American History (New York: American Book Company, 1915), 92.
64. Eggleston, A First Book..., v.
65. Allen S. Will, Our City, State and Nation: A Textbook on Local History and Civics for use in Elementary Grades of the Schools of Baltimore (Baltimore: Meyer and Thalheimer, 1913), preface.
66. SSND, School Encyclopedia, 73.
67. SSND, School Encyclopedia, 75.
68. Will, 17.
69. Will, 84.
70. Will, 83.
71. Will, 83.
72. Will, 114-115.
73. Will, 114-115.
74. Leonard Magruder Passano, History of Maryland (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1904).
75. Homer P. Lewis and Elizabeth Lewis, Lippincott's Primer (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1914). Urban photos were found on pages 6,7,8,9, and 23. Another thirteen pages were clearly rural settings, while the remainder were not clearly either, usually because they were inside a house. The Elson Readers examined included: William H. Elson, Elson Primary School Reader Book One (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1913); Elson, Primary School Reader Book Two (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1912); Elson, Elson Readers Book Four (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1927); William Elson and Laura E. Runkel, Elson-Runkel Primer (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1914). The Merrill Readers included: Franklin B. Dyer and Mary J. Brady, The Merrill Readers Primer (New York: Charles E. Merrill Co. 1915); Dyer and Brady, The Merrill Readers First Reader (New York: Charles E. Merrill Co.

1915). The Lippincott Reader was: Homer P. Lewis and Elizabeth Lewis, Lippincott's Primer (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1914).

76. Sarah Brooks, Atlantic Educational Journal Vol. 2 no. 6 (February 1907): 7.

5. INSTRUCTION AS A TOOL OF AMERICANIZATION

The approaches to instruction of immigrants used by the ethnic parochial schools were designed to promote success in students rather than frustration. Both the child-centered teaching style which the sisters were taught and encouraged to use and the accommodations made for the immigrant children were useful in bringing the students into the American society by building a bridge between their culture and the one that they were expected to adopt. The public schools of the city of Baltimore made practically no accommodations to the immigrants and instead demanded that they conform to a system which nevertheless placed different expectations on them with different outcomes than native born children. The immigrants faced the paradox of being looked at differently yet being expected to act the same as 'real' Americans. The tension between the alien culture and the American culture was mirrored by the Progressives' determination to uplift the immigrants despite their suspicions that they were inferior. Paula Fass points out that the recognition of the diversity of cultures often led the educational reformers to industrial training instead of emphasis on academics.¹ This view is echoed by others who stressed the goal of conformity in the Americanizing educators of the period. David Nasaw called this whole process 'schooling to order' the masses for the new industrial society in the United States.²

But Diane Ravitch points out that it is dangerous to

generalize about the immigrant experience in the classroom since the circumstances varied greatly between time, space and group. She also claims that the existence of ethnic private schools constituted a form of tolerance for cultural diversity.³ If social conformity was such a strong demand of the reformers, these schools may not have flourished as they did at the time. They did so because the immigrants themselves insisted on some measure of control over the process of Americanization, which they believed to be an economic and social acculturation which would allow them to hold on to their own culture and to pass it on to their children. It was this last objective which caused many immigrants to continue to send their children to parochial schools long after they had become assimilated. They feared that the public school education would allow their children to abandon and even scorn their ethnic roots so they sent their children to the parochial schools run by the German or Polish nuns. To second and third generation immigrants, learning or retaining the tongue of the forefathers was often the educational objective. According to the daughter of Czech immigrants in Baltimore, the preservation of language was an important part of holding on to culture: "The language wasn't just a language--...the language was a very important part of your heritage. The music and language were very important--that's why they always spoke the language to the child in the home so that they would learn the language because it ceased

to be just a way of explaining ideas. It became an extreme end--a thing in itself."⁴

This desire on the part of immigrants contributed to the success of the ethnic parochial schools in the early part of the century. At the same time, the public schools were struggling to respond to the large number of foreign students. The teaching styles of the time reflected a demand for conformity which was probably more a result of the overwhelming demands that the classroom teacher faced than a deliberate and concerted demand for the immigrant to become American. That forceful pressure on the foreign born and their children to assimilate began with the onset of the First World War. In the twenty year period preceding the War, the schools were too busy trying to function under new demands imposed by compulsory attendance laws, Progressive reforms in curriculum and administration and the changing population in the urban centers. Nineteenth century methods of instruction continued to be used because of tradition and because circumstances in the schools which first brought about the rote and repetition methods were reappearing.

The teaching methods used in the Baltimore Public Schools were discussed by J.M. Rice in his expose of American school systems published in The Forum in 1892. The first article in the series, entitled "Our Public School System: Evils in Baltimore," was a scathing indictment of the Baltimore School System and the teachers in particular. He described in detail

the arithmetic lesson in one classroom which consisted mostly of a sing-song repetition of the basic addition table led by a young boy who tapped on the blackboard in rhythm to the chanting. The reading lesson was equally mechanical, as children read aloud in a monotone, with little apparent understanding of tone, inflection, pronunciation or timing. Geography lessons consisted of students rattling off textbook definitions and answers to questions at the urging of the teacher, all word for word. He described a similar experience in a science lesson, another subject which depended entirely on the textbook rather than experiments:

"In one class, where they were having some physiology, in answer to the question, "What is the effect of alcohol on the system?" I heard a ten-year-old cry out at the top of his voice and at the rate of a hundred miles an hour, "It--dwarfs--the body,--mind,--and-- soul,--weakens--the--heart,--and--enfeebles--the--memory."⁵

According to Rice, these lessons were typical of those he found throughout the Baltimore School System. He criticized the system's political structure, which left the schools "...almost entirely in the hands of untrained teachers," who have been appointed to their positions by local ward leaders.⁶ He urged the system to de-politicize the schools, hire only professionally trained teachers and increase the meager number of supervisors.

Education historian William R. Johnson characterizes the methods described by Rice in Baltimore as "simultaneous instruction." He traces this method to the period of the

1830's when teachers in the Baltimore public schools struggled to adapt the monitorial system of mutual instruction to the realities of urban education.⁷ Teachers in the early years in Baltimore used monitors to break up the overcrowded classroom into groups roughly according to ability, which allowed students to participate in recitations without long waits and enabled the teacher to manage a large number of students at one time. According to Johnson, this monitorial system gradually evolved into a system of simultaneous recitation, which he characterized as a teacher response to overcrowded classrooms, constant change in student population, poorly graded classes and poor teacher training. Faced with these problems on a daily basis, teachers disconnected lessons from each other so that a student could appear in the classroom and begin task immediately, whether or not the content was meaningful.⁸

This system led to the kind of rote memorization and recitation which Rice found in the Baltimore schools in 1892. Johnson's emphasis on the development of this teaching method as a means of survival in chaotic conditions continues to hold validity during the Progressive Era, as the immigrants poured into the schools. When the U.S. Bureau of Education studied the Baltimore City School System in 1911, it found many of the same conditions which Rice had complained of in 1892. While acknowledging that some excellent teaching was taking place in Baltimore, the study criticized the large number of teachers

who were teaching in a manner described as "...mechanical and perfunctory."⁹ It described the teaching methods commonly used in the elementary schools as too teacher-centered and dependent on the text rather than child-centered: "The children feel too little responsibility; the teacher and the textbook are too much in evidence, and the progressive activities of the children too little in evidence...The children take little part in recitations other than answering formal questions...in some schools, pupils are required in their exercises in oral English to reproduce stories that have been told them in exactly the way that they were told...the ideal is to memorize the facts rather than to draw inferences from the facts."¹⁰ The report went on to encourage the teachers in Baltimore to break up their classes into sections so that students would be forced to work on their own during part of the day. This would be a departure from the mass teaching methods such as simultaneous recitation, still a standby among teachers.¹¹ The teachers in Baltimore were still using survival techniques as they faced many of the same problems as their nineteenth century predecessors.

The mindless repetition described by Rice was sometimes used by teachers to introduce students to American culture. Patriotic education usually included the recitation of songs, poems and speeches designed to train students in democratic traditions. A 1900 McClures Magazine article reprinted in the Catholic Mirror of Baltimore demonstrated the effect of

mindless rote on students in the area of civic education. It described a young girl who was reciting the verses of "My Country Tis' of Thee" to a group of adults at a dinner party. They were very impressed with her performance until she volunteered to write down the words for them:

"My country, tissuf thee
Sweet land of libaet tea,
Of thee I sing.

Land where my fathers died,
Land where the Pilgrims pried,
From every mountain side
Let fridmen ring.

My native country the
land of the noble free,
Thy name I love.

I love thy rots and chills,
Thy woods and temper pills,
My heart with ratcher thrills
Like that above."¹²

Upon questioning, it became obvious that the young girl had absolutely no idea what she was singing about.

The incident was followed up by a visit to a local elementary school in which students were interrogated about the patriotic culture which they had memorized. The same mindless sing-song rote described by Rice was found: "The teacher conducted this salute by successive taps of her hand-bell. Tap one, and a curly-haired lassie mounted the platform and unfurled Old Glory; tap two, and the entire class sprang to their feet as one child; tap three, and every hand made a military salute to the accompaniment of the rousing words. 'We give our heads and our hearts to our country. One

country, one language, one flag!' At the final word every little right hand was raised, the forefinger pointing to the Stars and Stripes. This statuesque pose was sustained until a last tap relaxed the tense muscles and gave signal for the little ones to drop back into their seats."¹³

The inclusion of language as a source of unity was obviously aimed at the immigrant children entering the public schools in such numbers at the turn of the century. Education historian Barbara Finkelstein has pointed out that this was a means of initiating them into the American cultural heritage, which relied heavily on the symbols of flag, songs and the language of liberty and equality.¹⁴ The Catholic Mirror criticized the public schools for presenting to children a patriotic education which was largely symbolic but devoid of substance. Catholics and other minorities believed that this mindless conformity was not only ineffective but hostile to their own desire for democratic diversity. The anti-Catholic hostility led by Baltimorean Henry F. Bowers and the American Protective Association haunted the Catholic community in Baltimore and was reflected in the Catholic Mirror, which frequently headlined A.P.A. accusations during this period.¹⁵ The Mirror included a number of articles which urged Catholics to send their children to parochial schools.

Language was a critical part of the new American culture which the immigrants were expected to adopt as a measure of conformity and even loyalty to their new country. In public

schools throughout the United States, immigrants were pressured to speak English immediately and many schools made no accommodation for those who came into the schools unable to speak English. David Tyack describes the approach of the schools as one in which the ethnic groups were considered to be "misfits" who should "shape up" and conform to the system.¹⁶ An immigrant who attended schools in Natick, Rhode Island described the two year kindergarten, or 'sub-grade' program as an attempt to allow students who spoke several different languages to pick up English. Upon entering first grade, the children were expected to be able to understand English: "She [teacher] spoke English and that's how we learned it. In order to give the proper attention to the children that couldn't grasp, she used to call on one of the other children to help..."¹⁷ Another child of an immigrant recalled learning English the same way, because she entered school from a Greek home where no English was spoken: "I had trouble communicating with the teacher and the children but, somehow I did pick up the language relatively fast...The only thing is, because I came from a Greek family from the other side, first generation, and I spoke Greek, I was looked down upon."¹⁸

Education historian Nancy Hoffman explains that teachers used imitation as the accepted form of instruction in language.¹⁹ While students often perfectly imitated the teacher's speaking style, they often did not know what they

were saying. In the Survey of the Baltimore Public Schools 1920-21, it was observed that "...one teacher was found trying to teach a room full of Lithuanian children English by requiring them to memorize parts of "Hiawatha." "²⁰ According to a 1922 article in Educational Review by Sarah T. Barrows, "In some schools the foreign speaking child was allowed to sit silently through the session. The teacher thought that he would eventually begin to understand what he heard, and would begin to speak. This practice happened far too often."²¹ Frequently, by the time the immigrant child learned English well enough to succeed in school, he or she had fallen behind in grade level and some had given up entirely.

The Baltimore Public School System provided several bilingual schools for those who spoke German, but other groups were not accommodated. The Minutes of the Board of School Commissioners in 1902 show that the Board provided a German teacher for School #76 at the request of parents since there were reportedly 131 German children in the school.²² Yet a year later, the School Board declined to provide two interpreters requested by the Bohemians who were running a Night School for adults and children at School #5 because of lack of funds, although they did agree to loan them some First and Second Grade Readers.²³ In 1905, the Board refused a request from Professor Joseph Guglinza for the use of a room three nights a week in School #1 for the instruction of adults and children in both Italian and English.²⁴ In both of these

unsuccessful requests, the ethnic community sought simply to use school resources to help its own people learn through the use of its own language as well as English. While the German language had long been accepted and utilized successfully to assimilate a foreign population in the Baltimore City Schools, the School Board resisted the attempts of other groups to legitimize their languages as part of the educational process. In 1914, a group of Polish organizations in the city requested that the study of Polish be introduced in several schools in Southeast Baltimore, but the Board turned them down, despite the precedent of the English-German Schools.²⁵ After the beginning of World War I, the Board appeared to be more resistant to the pleas of ethnic communities. In 1915, it rejected another request from Italians with the explanation: "...to grant the request will be an equivalent to an invitation to people of other nationalities to urge similar treatment in behalf of their respective tongues."²⁶ The School Board repeatedly made its policy clear--language accommodations to immigrant groups were not acceptable.

While bi-lingual education was firmly rejected by the School Board during the period of the New Immigration, both public and parochial schools had a long tradition of successful education in Baltimore with the German community. Several private German schools were established by Catholics, Lutherans and others during the first half of the nineteenth century. In the mid-1870's, the School Board responded to the

demands of the sizeable German community by establishing a German-English Public School which charged a four dollar book fee per student for those who wished to study German and English simultaneously. The schools expected to accommodate those who spoke German as a native language as well as those American children of German immigrants who would preserve their ethnic heritage by studying the language of their parents. Public support was so great that by 1876 five English-German schools were in operation with total enrollment of 2,963 pupils.²⁷ By 1883 enrollment had risen to 3869 and overcrowding was a serious problem.

One advantage to this sub-system was that it brought many highly trained and innovative German educators into the public school system of the city of Baltimore instead of leaving them separated in a private school system. They were later credited with bringing reforms to the system based on their knowlege and training in German education--physical education instruction was an early example.²⁸ These schools also helped to integrate the entire German-American community into the larger urban community instead of encouraging them to remain segregated in their own school system.²⁹ Despite some early criticism, the schools were favorably received by the press, the School Board and the public. By 1897, seven English-German Schools were educating more than ten percent of the enrollment of the Baltimore Public Schools. They lost their organizational distinctness after the turn of the

century as the system was reorganized into Groups of schools based on location. The Superintendent pointed out in 1903 that thirteen schools were at least partly bi-lingual (German) in the public school system, and praised the schools for their excellence.³⁰ Although they lost their distinctness after the turn of the century, they remained as part of the Public School System in Baltimore until World War I began, when the instruction of German in the system was stopped by the School Board. Despite this successful venture into bi-lingual education for Germans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Board never considered the possibility of using the same strategy to aid the assimilation of other immigrant groups. The public education systems of the early twentieth century were more concerned with conformity than diversity, whether they were in the hands of the traditionalists or Progressive reformers. The success of the Germans in assimilation into American society through the vehicle of bi-lingual education indicated that rapid and forced Americanization was not necessarily the best strategy.³¹

Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe often attended the English-German Public Schools and seemed to be more accepted there than those who attended regular public schools. One immigrant recalled that School #93 was an English-German School with a large number of Jewish students and some teachers who were "...exceptionally bright..." despite the

description of the school system as a whole as full of politically appointed and barely qualified teachers.³² Another Jewish immigrant described School #93 as a place where teachers were always kind, even to the children who attended from the German orphanage, and prejudice was unheard of: "I never encountered any difficulty there at all. I liked my teachers and my mother stressed to each of us that you must respect the teachers, you must take care of your school, you must be thankful that you're getting an education, because if you were living in Russia, you wouldn't have any of that. We heard that every day in the week."³³ The gratitude of the Russian Jewish immigrants concerning educational opportunities was not unusual, but a school in which prejudice was not a problem for Jewish children was rare. Dena Cohen, who later became the Music Supervisor for the Baltimore Public Schools, attended the English-German School on Druid Hill Avenue. She recalled that she went to school on a Jewish holiday and told the teacher that she couldn't write, but could be called upon to give answers. Despite her apprehension, the teacher let her stay in school under those conditions.³⁴ Jewish students were probably more comfortable in the English-German schools where diversity in language and other aspects of culture were tolerated.

In contrast, Jewish students in the regular public schools in Baltimore seemed to suffer more intolerance and demands for conformity. One immigrant recalled his years at

School #70 as "...two miserable years...they had a lot of non-Jewish children there and it was almost like a nest for future Nazi type of person...we used to have to sing these songs...and because I would just move my lips and some of the non-Jewish kids in the class would shake their fists while they were singing these religious songs, they would shake their fists at me and motion with their lips they going to get me after school and I turned out to be the best runner in South Baltimore. They'd chase me..."³⁵ Sometimes, the teachers would drive a wedge between the Jewish immigrant children and their classmates because the former seemed so eager to learn that they would sometimes outshine their peers. An immigrant recalled that her teacher changed the seating arrangement each month based on the averages of the students. The front row or "Maginot Line" as she called it, was soon filled with immigrant children, much to the disgust of the teacher, who banged on the desk angrily and lectured the rest of the class: "You know why they're always there? Because they hitched their wagon to a star. Why don't you girls learn to do that?"³⁶ Such tactics may be considered praise from the teacher, but their primary effect was to engender resentment among the other children in the class, who frequently referred to the Jewish girls by various anti-semitic epithets. The same individual recalled being pressured by the teachers when taking off Jewish holidays and described one of her teachers as "so anti-semitic."³⁷ While Jewish immigrants were often

an uneasy minority in many of the public schools, they were more likely to be comfortable and successful in the culturally diversity of the English-German schools.

Experiments in public education which crossed the bridge into ethnic culture met with success elsewhere as well. During World War I, a school was set up in Detroit specifically for Polish students. It was staffed with Polish teachers and included some study in the Polish language. A student described the school with enthusiasm:

The experience was not to be forgotten. The teachers were enthusiastic. the students were alive and Polish, so many of them. There was a Polish library and a teacher of Polish...Although students were called their first names, surnames were not mangled, nor did teachers stumble over the class rolls at the beginning of the semester as they did over mine at Western High shen I was the only Pole in school...³⁸

Her recollection of the school was a positive one, not simply because of what was taught but because she was able to be comfortable in a world in which her culture (including her name) was not strange, but rather normal and acceptable. Such an environment was rare in public schools for immigrant children at the time. Their native culture was viewed as alien and strange, even dangerous, while American culture was presented in a highly symbolic and unblemished fashion. One researcher has blamed this "cultural conflict" between Italians and the New York City School System for the failure of the system to assimilate the children successfully.³⁹ While the conflict may have been the result of indifference

instead of calculated planning to enforce cultural conformity, the effects on the immigrants themselves included loss of cultural identity and the high chance of frustration and failure.

Most Catholic immigrants in urban areas had a choice between public and private schools at the turn of the century because of the proliferation of parish schools built at the urging of the Church hierarchy after the Third Plenary Council. These ethnic schools were established by some parishes almost immediately after a church was built. The purpose was not usually to impede the process of Americanization, but rather to control it. As one researcher has described it, "...immigrant communities...established...a school where their children could learn to be Americans without totally sacrificing their ethnic identities."⁴⁰

By 1900, Poles in Baltimore had established three schools (all run by the Felician Sisters), the Lithuanians had one, Italians had one and Bohemians had one. The Germans had seven schools long established and three schools were characterized as Irish. The ethnic makeup of the schools shifted in some cases as the neighborhoods changed. St. Leo's was an Irish parish, for example, until the Italians moved into the area which would become known as little Italy in such sufficient numbers that the Church was turned over to an Italian pastor. When the school was established at St. Leo's in 1883, however, the German School Sisters of Notre Dame were

asked to run it. They also ran six of the seven German schools, the Bohemian school St. Wenceslaus, and St. Brigid's, which was Irish.

The School Sisters of Notre Dame had long provided bilingual education for the German community in Baltimore, using their own general text, School Encyclopedia for the Use of Beginners in the German and English Languages. This text was set up in a split page style, with German in the left column and English on the right. It included the subjects of grammar, science, geography and history presented in a catechetical style. The balance of the text between the two languages made it flexible enough to be used in circumstances in which one language or the other might be the native language. The curriculum guide used by the sisters pointed out that local conditions should determine the emphasis between languages and the order of presentation.

In bilingual schools do not permit the beginner to attempt English and his mother tongue at the same time as this will confuse the young mind at the outset; the order in which the languages are to take precedence is best determined by local conditions; it is usually preferable to take the mother tongue first, but after three or four months of school life the deferred language should be taken up and both thereafter continued together.⁴¹

The instructions allow local schools to make their own decisions about the nature of the bi-lingual teaching rather than imposing a rigid set of rules from the hierarchy of the order.

The bi-lingual schools provided a double curriculum, at

least in the subjects of grammar, reading and religion. One Czech immigrant was probably describing St. Wenceslaus school when she said that "...we had double of everything, now like we had English catechism and we had Bohemian catechism. We had English bible history and we had Bohemian bible history, then we had Bohemian grammar and English grammar...but then the others like arithmetic and geography and history that was all the English part of it."⁴² Despite the fact that the SSND's were German, they succeeded in providing education in Bohemian schools by bringing young women of that nationality into the order, and using them to provide language lessons even while they were still in training.⁴³ In addition, the parish priest provided instructions in religion for the children in both languages to prepare them for their First Holy Communion.⁴⁴

The examinations given in these schools were also from both languages. The students in St. Michaels school were tested in the German language in the area of catechism, bible history, grammar, reading and writing. The students were then tested on a separate day in English in the areas of catechism, arithmetic, grammar, U.S. history, geography and spelling. When the students excelled in this demanded schedule of exams in 1891, the sisters believed that their bi-lingual approach was vindicated: "This victory was especially pleasing and encouraging to the parents of the children concerned as at the time the German parochial schools had so many opponents whose

hate of anything German or of different nationality played an important role that day."⁴⁵

Ironically, the German Catholic schools faced some competition from the Public Schools in Baltimore because so many of the Public Schools taught German. After two years of dwindling enrollment at St. Alphonsus from 1910 to 1912, the sister who kept the chronicle complained: "Now, that all our children above 6 years of age, have made their first holy Communion, the stupid Germans think they can send their children to the free public school; then they don't have to pay for books and the like."⁴⁶ The surprising disgust displayed by the sister underscored the fact that immigrant parents in Baltimore--especially German parents--realized that they had a real choice in the education of their children. The parochial schools had to compete with the public schools to provide education for their children, and despite their poverty, many parents chose parochial schools.

The public and parochial schools of the turn of the century faced many of the same problems which resulted from the influx of poor, illiterate immigrants into the urban centers. They were overwhelmed with students who often spoke foreign languages and brought into school the many health problems associated with poverty. Both public and parochial school officials expressed frustration at the attendance patterns of the immigrant children and their willingness to leave school at an early age. Both school systems attacked

the problems with a tremendous sense of mission which was based on their vision for the new urban industrial order and the importance of children to it. To a certain extent, both Progressive educators and the nuns who taught in parochial schools were committed to saving children from the evils that their environment produced.

Yet the schools were different in several important ways. The public schools were beginning to take on the enormous responsibility of universal education through mandatory school attendance laws and child labor laws. But that responsibility was inevitably shouldered by the classroom teacher, who faced the reality of overcrowded and multi-lingual classrooms. Far from the offices of the Board of Education or the Schools of Education where Progressives were proposing and debating educational reforms, the teacher had to actually deal with the circumstances which legislation and demographics had thrust upon her. The limited evidence seems to indicate that the teachers were forced to adopt a strategy of survival--instructional methods long in use in Baltimore schools such as simultaneous instruction and the demand for conformity in language and content.

This approach was reinforced by the message of the Americanizers to insist that the new immigrants adopt American culture quickly and completely for the good of the society as well as for the good of the immigrants. David Tyack has explained the motivations of the Americanizers as part

ethnocentrism and part efficiency.⁴⁷ While Progressive educators had to wrestle with the contradiction between democracy and mass culture, teachers were trying to survive. They were caught up in their own struggle for professional identity and decent compensation at the same time that they faced increased challenges in their classrooms. Many of them were remarkably supportive and compassionate as immigrant children struggled to keep up with the pace of the curriculum which was often taught in a foreign language.

Chapter 5 Endnotes

1. Paula Fass, Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 30-31. This point is also made by Joel Roitman, "The Progressive Movement: Education and Americanization" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1981), 11.
2. David Nasaw, Schooled to Order: A Social History of Public Schooling in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 100. This point is also emphasized by Robert Carlson, The Americanization Syndrome: A Quest for Conformity (London: Croon Helm, 1987), 5; See also Clarence Karier, Paul Violas, Joel Spring, Roots of Crisis: American Education in the Twentieth Century (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Co., 1973).
3. Diane Ravitch, "On the History of Minority Group Education in the United States," in History, Education and Public Policy, ed. by Donald R. Warren (Berkeley: McCutchen Publishing Corporation, 1978), 152.
4. Norma Svejda, Oral History Collection, Maryland Historical Society, 1972.
5. J.M. Rice, "Our Public School System: Evils in Baltimore," Forum XIV (October, 1892): 153-155.
6. Rice, 156.
7. William R. Johnson, "Baltimore City's 'Swollen Village Schools,' 1829-1894," unpublished manuscript, 17. Johnson's premise that nineteenth century urban schools need to be viewed less from the bureaucracy and more from the classroom is also valid for the Progressive Era.
8. Johnson, 19-20.
9. U.S. Bureau of Education, Report of the Commission Appointed to Study the System of Education in the Public Schools of Baltimore (Washington, D.C.:Government Printing Office, 1911): 62.
10. USBE, 88.

11. USBE, 89.
12. Marion Hill, Mclures Magazine (July 1900) as reprinted in The Catholic Mirror LI no. 33 (August 18, 1900): 1,4.
13. Ibid., 4.
14. Barbara Finkelstein, Governing The Young: Teacher Behavior in Popular Primary Schools in the Nineteenth Century United States (New York: The Falmer Press, 1989): 23. She gives great weight to the role of teachers in this process of 'cultural initiation.'
15. Bowers attended Baltimore Public Schools and subsequently charged that they were the object of a Jesuit conspiracy which ruined his own education. See John Higham, "The Mind of a Nativist: Henry F. Bowers and the A.P.A." American Quarterly IV (1952): 16-24.
16. David Tyack, The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 254. The inadequacy of such accomodations as steamer classes and ungraded classes was also described by Robert Pascucci in his dissertation on assimilation in Schenectady, N.Y.: Robert Russell Pascucci, "Electric City Immigrants: Italians and Poles of Schenectady, New York 1880-1930" (Doctoral Dissertation, State University of New York at Albany, 1984), 228; Susan Jean Kuyper, "The Americanization of German Immigrants: Language, Religion and Schools in Nineteenth Century Rural Wisconsin" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1980), 117.
17. Frank Raymond Lancelotta, Oral History Collection, Maryland Historical Society, 1976, 8.
18. Pauline Prevas, Oral History Collection, Maryland Historical Society, 1975, 1.
19. Nancy Hoffman, Woman's True Profession: Voices From the History of Teaching (Old Westbury, New York: The Feminist Press, 1981), 206.
20. George D. Strayer, Survey of the Baltimore Public Schools 1920-21 Vol. III, (Baltimore: Board of School Commissioners, 1922), 131.
21. Sarah T. Barrows, "The Foreign Child and His Speech Handicap," Educational Review (December 1922, 367-376): as reported in Farrell.
22. Baltimore Board of School Commissioners [BBSC], Minutes, October 8, 1902, 107.

23. BBSC, Minutes, October 28, 1903, 134.
24. BBSC, Minutes, March 22, 1905, 37.
25. BBSC, Minutes, March 25, 1914, 99.
26. BBSC, Minutes, November 24, 1915, 372.
27. Ernest J. Becker, "History of the English-German Schools in Baltimore," 25th Report of the Society for the History of Germans in Maryland (Baltimore 1942): 13-14.
28. Donald Austin Hobbs, "The Impact of Immigrant Groups on the Public School System of Baltimore" (Masters Thesis, University of Maryland at College Park, 1960): 50, 54.
29. Hobbs, 50.
30. Becker, 17.
31. Tyack, 248.
32. Isador Terrell, Oral History Collection, Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, 1973.
33. Lee Silver, Oral History Collection, Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, 1976.
34. Dena Cohen, Oral History Collection, Maryland Historical Society, 1975.
35. Nathan Cooper, Oral History Collection, Maryland Historical Society, 1985.
36. Anna Rabinowitz, Oral History Collection, Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, 1985.
37. Rabinowitz.
38. Harriet Pawlowska, "The Education of Harriet Pawlowska," in Growing Up Slavic ed. by Michael Novak (Washington, D.C.: EMPAC, 1976) as rpt. in Immigrant Women by Maxine Seller (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 216.
39. Matthews, 260.
40. Malvina Hauk Abonyi, "The Role of Ethnic Church Schools in the History of Education in the United States: The Detroit Experience, 1850-1920" (Doctoral Dissertation, Wayne State University, Detroit, 1987), 10.

41. School Sisters of Notre Dame, The Curriculum of A Properly Graded Parochial School, 1889, 3.
42. Mary Hradsky, Oral History Collection, Maryland Historical Society, 1975.
43. School Sisters of Notre Dame, Chronicle of St. Wenceslaus, Baltimore, Md. (trans.), 1890, 17.
44. Ibid., 5.
45. School Sisters of Notre Dame, Chronicle of St. Michael's Convent, Baltimore 1847-1933, June 4, 1891, 23.
46. School Sisters of Notre Dame, Chronicle of St. Alphonsus 1876-1914 (translated), 1912, 39.
47. David B. Tyack, "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling," Harvard Educational Review 46 (August 1976): 355-389, as rptd. in History, Education and Public Policy, ed. by Donald R. Warren (Berkeley: McCutshaw Publishing Corp., 1978), 73.

CONCLUSION

Americanization of immigrants in Baltimore at the turn of the century was carried out in various settings, including schools. Public schools have long been touted as the most significant vehicle at the turn of the century in that process, especially in the hands of the Progressives. While they did play a part, it is important to acknowledge the remarkable extent to which the process was influenced by the immigrants themselves through already established institutions of the earlier generations of immigrants. The continuity of assimilation was facilitated greatly by religious organizations in the Jewish and Catholic communities, which were both dominated by Germans (the Irish were also influential in the Catholic hierarchy). Churches, schools, social and cultural groups were prepared to receive new members and help them to become American. Motivated by fear of nativism as much as by empathy and understanding, the second and third generations often encouraged rapid assimilation of the new arrivals, yet with respect for the culture of the homeland.

New immigrants mimicked the old in their desire to greet newcomers and help them to adjust. Russian Jews in Baltimore began establishing night schools before 1890 and Polish Catholics quickly established their own schools, free from the dominance of the Irish and German hierarchy. These immigrant institutions have often been regarded by historians

as leading the resistance to Americanization because they were established and utilized to protect immigrant culture, especially language. Yet no Baltimorean urged immigrants to adopt American culture and values with any more exuberance than Henrietta Szold, founder of the Russian Night School. Most immigrants believed that it was in their own interest to become economically assimilated as soon as possible. Immigrant institutions were actually bridges to American society, allowing newcomers to move back and forth between the Old World and the New until they were more comfortable with the new urban culture of the United States.

Probably no one in Baltimore was more successful at building these bridges than the School Sisters of Notre Dame, through their parochial schools. They were immigrants themselves who had already undergone the process of Americanization in the mid-nineteenth century. By the turn of the twentieth century, they were experienced Americanizers who specialized in bi-lingual instruction (even with languages other than German) for new immigrants as well as for the children of immigrants who sought to preserve the European culture. Just as valuable as their experience in assimilation was their educational training and philosophy, which was based on the Romantic theories of Pestalozzi and Froebel. They brought these innovative educational ideas over from Germany and began to emphasize child-centered instruction and fully integrated curriculum. While

Progressive reformers in early twentieth century Baltimore struggled to introduce the ideas of John Dewey into the public schools driven by rote and recitation, the Sisters had long been teaching according to similar theories. They taught more immigrant children in Baltimore than any other order, and trained their own teachers at the newly established College of Notre Dame. Their contribution to immigrant education in Baltimore at the turn of the century was critical.

The stress on building bridges through immigrant community institutions stands in sharp contrast to the public school system in Baltimore at the time. As the system struggled with serious problems in budget, facilities, teacher training and political fighting, the immigrant problem was virtually ignored. The city was either unwilling or unable to handle the influx of immigrants at the time, and generally followed a policy of neglect. Attendance data paints a bleak picture of immigrant children who repeatedly failed lower grades and finally left school to go to work. The Progressive crusade clearly succeeded temporarily at the high levels of school administration, but the influence lacked both depth and permanence during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Public school teachers were caught in the middle of the struggle between Progressive reformers and the political machines, and often sided with the latter because of their

mistrust of the new Administration, which made many new demands on them without providing support or improving either pay or conditions. It was the teachers who were forced to deal with the new immigrants forced into the classroom by compulsory education laws. It appears that there was little happening in the classroom and the school building itself to encourage immigrant children to attend. Inexperienced, undertrained and surely underpaid teachers did not see the educational process in the same way as the Progressive reformers did.

While Baltimore seemed typical of large American cities at the time, its response to problems was shaped by its unique history and demographics. The city faced many of the same problems spawned by immigration, urbanization, and industrialization as other major cities in the United States. Its municipal services were overburdened by the new arrivals in the city. Municipal reformers attacked the inadequacy of city government, especially the public schools. Here as elsewhere, Progressive reformers put their organizational revolution into place, reorganizing the school board and taking it out of the hands of the political machine and passing compulsory attendance laws. But unlike Chicago, teachers in Baltimore were slow to organize and did not become a force for reform. Instead, most joined the political machine in its resistance to change.

There was no clear dichotomy in Baltimore between

American and immigrant social structure. While the Progressive elite is clearly definable in terms of class, it was not predominantly white Anglo-Saxon Protestant. In fact, both Jews and Catholics had already infiltrated the elite to great extent--Cardinal Gibbons and Jerome Bonaparte were two notable examples. Likewise, German culture had been mainstreamed in Baltimore, as evidenced by the seven bilingual German-English schools in the public school system. To be sure, Baltimore did not face the vast numbers of immigrants who poured into cities like Chicago and New York. Yet, the immigrants who arrived in Baltimore were met by a more visible, powerful and wealthy immigrant community than in other cities. This may help to explain the propensity of the immigrant community to help the new arrivals.

Unlike Chicago, New York, Boston or Philadelphia, Baltimore was a southern city with a large black population. As in other southern cities, Baltimore's blacks were segregated and neglected as second class citizens by the public community, which was even trying to disenfranchise them at the turn of the century. While immigrants were not segregated by public policy, they were by settlement patterns and therefore by schools. While the schools both neglected the immigrants and demanded conformity from them, it did little to actually integrate immigrants into the larger society. In fact, most immigrants who attended public schools in Baltimore in the nineteenth century attended the

German-English schools, which served as an effective vehicle of Americanization, but which segregated Jewish students from others. Many other immigrant students were simply failed by the schools. Progressive reformers sought to phase out the German-English schools (but not the colored schools), but with limited success. Through their refusal to recognize and deal with cultural differences of immigrant children, the public schools helped to create a separate school system for Catholic immigrant children--the parochial schools.

Comparative studies done in the early twentieth century showed that Baltimore continued to lag behind other large cities in public school attendance. Students in Baltimore public schools continued to stay away from school, stay back and drop out at alarming rates. Unlike other cities which adopted strategies such as steamer classes which taught English to new arrivals and community centers in schools, Baltimore schools continued to resist such reforms as too expensive. In doing so, they neglected the immigrants and left the burden of Americanization to the immigrant community.

My research suggests the need to revise our understanding of the role of parochial schools in the education of immigrants, but it also points to several areas for further research. Since parochial school systems educated a significant number of immigrant children, it is surprising that so few studies exist on their curriculum and

instruction, as well as their methods for dealing with immigrants. Particularly valuable would be further studies on various teaching orders, such as the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Until the Catholic school system became as tightly organized from the top as public schools in the twentieth century, the teaching orders had significant autonomy in Catholic school education. In Baltimore, for example, the Felician Sisters staffed three Polish schools. They might be compared to the School Sisters of Notre Dame in philosophy, curriculum and instruction, as well as the conditions in their schools.

More comparison should be done between public and parochial schools at the beginning of the twentieth century. A battle was going on for the hearts and minds of Catholic immigrant children, but it has not yet been clearly defined. Progressivism was integral to this fight through its emphasis on compulsory education and curriculum reforms. Yet, research here suggests that the School Sisters of Notre Dame may have been the carriers of these ideas rather than the public schools. Enrollment of immigrants in Catholic schools was so significant that ignoring these schools would yield an incomplete picture of the process of Americanization in this time period. In addition, other institutions established in the immigrant community played an important part in the deliberate Americanization of immigrants. Night schools, settlement houses, and organizations such as the Jewish

Educational Alliance accomplished much and held much stronger links to the newcomers than the public community. It is imperative to study immigrant education wherever it is found, instead of where it may be discussed or expected by others.

Most important, more research needs to be done on the classroom itself during this period. The emphasis on administrative studies indicates in part its importance to the Progressives, but it also reflects the sources left behind. Administrative significance may be skewed by the paper trail while the fundamental educational transaction itself--between student and teacher in the classroom--has been inadequately examined. Yet it is likely that a sizeable gap existed between the board room and the classroom and between the university and the classroom. The distance between the community and downtown and between the intended and the actual curriculum may be larger than historians think. Nor can teachers unions necessarily speak for the views and experiences of their members. It is crucial to enter the classroom to the extent possible, in order to examine the education of the immigrant.

The study of the history of education needs to be considered in a broader context than merely the public school systems. Parochial schools, night schools, and other types of classes contributed greatly to the education of immigrants at the beginning of the twentieth century. Examination of these places show that the immigrants were capable of a

significant degree of input into the process of becoming an urban American. By building their own bridges, they were able to exert some control over the pace and the nature of Americanization.

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Because sources on the classroom in Baltimore as elsewhere are scarce, it is necessary to study the educational process mostly through the documents designed to shape the process--such as curriculum guides and texts--rather than documents which reflected the actual process as it occurred in classrooms. The Baltimore Public Schools have preserved few documents from the early twentieth century, except for the official records of the School Board through its Minutes and Annual Reports. These printed reports include general information, statistics and new decisions in the areas of curriculum, building construction and policies. Committee Reports and those from Assistant Superintendents provide some indication of the concerns and actions of the administration. While providing useful statistics, textbook lists and the entire curriculum in 1898, the records are limited and demonstrate a remarkable lack of concern for the problems posed by the influx of immigrants. The Archdiocese of Baltimore has also failed to preserve school documents from the period, so the gradual efforts at building bureaucracy and controlling the school system must be gleaned from the Catholic Mirror, which was the official diocesan newspaper and mouthpiece for Cardinal Gibbons. It included annual reports by the Archdiocesan superintendent and printed

the curriculum which was adopted in 1900.

In addition to the curriculum guides found in the Annual Report and the Mirror, the School Sisters of Notre Dame published their own in 1889 ("The Curriculum of a Properly Graded Parochial School") and in 1900 ("Course of Studies for the Parochial Schools of the School Sisters of Notre Dame").

Several studies of the Baltimore schools in that time period have noted that the reliance on formal curriculum was very limited, and that most teachers simply taught from the texts. Therefore, texts were a particularly important source of content. Among those approved for use by the Baltimore schools were: The Merrill Readers Primer and First Reader by Mary J. Brady and Franklin B. Dyer (N.Y., 1915), and the Elson Primary School Reader Book One (Chicago, 1913), Book Two (Chicago, 1912), and Book Four (Chicago, 1927), all written by William H. Elson. Elson collaborated with Laura Runkel on the Elson-Runkel Primer (Chicago, 1914). The Lippincott's Primer (Philadelphia, 1914) was written by Elizabeth Lewis and Homer P. Lewis. History texts usually emphasized American heroes and Anglo-Saxon cultural roots in the public schools. They included: Stories of the United States for the Youngest Readers by Anna Chase Davis (Boston, 1909), Edward Eggleston's Stories of Great Americans for Little Americans (N.Y., 1923) and A First Book in American History (N.Y., 1915), American Patriotic Prose edited by Augustus White Long (Boston, 1917), and D.H. Montgomery's The

Beginners American History (Boston, 1902). Works on local history placed little emphasis on the role of immigrants in Baltimore. They included Our City, State and Nation: A Textbook on Local History and Civics for Use in Elementary Grades of the Schools of Baltimore by Allen S. Will (Baltimore, 1913), and Leonard Magruder Passano's History of Maryland (Baltimore, 1904). The School Sisters of Notre Dame printed their own bilingual text which covered several major subjects, School Encyclopedia for the Use of Beginners in the German and English Languages (Milwaukee, 1876).

Sources on instruction are mostly indirect because they do not come from the teachers or students themselves, although limited anecdotal evidence is found in the oral histories of the period. The School Sisters of Notre Dame provided very specific classroom instructions to their teachers in School Instructions (Milwaukee, 1889), as well as in their curriculum guides. Some information is also found in the Chronicles of the various schools staffed by the sisters--St. Alphonsus, St. Leo's, St. Michael's, St. Wenceslaus, and 14 Holy Martyrs. These handwritten accounts were kept by a sister assigned to the task in each convent. Instruction in the public schools of Baltimore was described rather critically by J.M. Rice in his Forum article of October 1892, "Our Public School System: Evils in Baltimore." Much of his criticism was later corroborated by government studies on the Baltimore schools in 1911 and 1921. In 1911,

the U.S. Bureau of Education published its Report of the Commission Appointed to Study the System of Education in the Public Schools of Baltimore (Washington, D.C.) in the midst of the battle to remove Superintendent Van Sickle from his job. The Strayer Commission Study of 1921, Survey of the Baltimore Public Schools (Baltimore), demonstrated that even by 1920, little had changed in the city schools in the areas of curriculum and instruction.

The area of resources on the schools which is most plentiful at the turn of the century is statistics, which were considered an essential weapon in Progressives' arsenal as they tried to change the schools. After the compulsory attendance laws were passed, increasingly thorough statistics on attendance, enrollment and 'retardation' or attrition were provided in the Annual Reports of the School Board. An enormous amount of data can be found in the Report of the Immigration Commission (Sen. Doc. 749, 1908), which collected data on the public and parochial schools on a single day in 1908. It breaks down student population by race, ethnicity, sex, and grade. Similar data is included on teachers. Comparative data in the 1911 Bureau of Education study, the Strayer Commission Report and the Russell Sage Foundation Report, entitled Laggards in Our Schools (N.Y., 1909) by Leonard Ayres, show Baltimore to be consistently lagging behind other large cities in the areas of enrollment, attendance and cost per pupil. Important observations about

the schools in immigrant neighborhoods is found in the Annual Reports and Minutes of the Arundell Good Government Club, which was the driving force behind school attendance reform. Statistics on attendance in the Catholic schools is limited to the 1908 study, but enrollment data is found in the Catholic Directory, published annually by the Catholic Church.

Statistics are also important in providing a view of the immigrant community and its integration into the larger population. The U.S. Census reports of 1890, 1900 and 1910 break down immigrant resident patterns by wards, and provide important data on age distribution among immigrants. When considered along with the Annual Reports of the Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland and those of the Maryland Bureau of Industrial Statistics, the persistence of child labor can be seen as an important factor in school attendance among immigrants. The determination of immigrant communities to help themselves survive even in the face of disaster can be seen in the statistics provided by the Baltimore Citizens Relief Committee in its Report of the Citizens Relief Committee Appointed After the Great Baltimore Fire: February 7 and 8 1904.

The public debates over the schools and the Americanization of immigrants through various channels can be seen through contemporary newspapers and journals. The Baltimore Sun, Evening Sun and The Baltimore News all

provided a forum for Progressive ideas and actions in Baltimore. The Maryland State Teachers Association and their Progressive ideas were promoted through the Maryland Educational Journal, later changed to the Atlantic Educational Journal, as well as through their Annual Reports. The Catholic Mirror reflected the views of the Archdiocese of Baltimore and Cardinal Gibbons.

The words of immigrants themselves may be the most important resource in understanding the impact of Americanization. Various writings by Henrietta Szold and others can be found at the Jewish Historical Society of Maryland, along with a sizeable collection of oral histories by immigrants themselves, recorded many decades later. The Maryland Historical Society also holds a large collection of oral histories of immigrants into Baltimore at the turn of the century. In both places, some of the interviews are indexed by topic or written transcripts provided so that comments on the schools can be found. They are a valuable resource which provides insight not only into the schools but the entire process of Americanization.

Additional research on immigrant education in Baltimore would certainly be challenged by this lack of primary source material, especially from the schools themselves. However, the material available is enough to begin to examine the schools and their role in the Americanization of immigrant children. While the sources available deal more with the

intended than the actual curriculum and instruction, it is still instructive in understanding the lack of leadership in immigrant education in Baltimore and the important role played by the immigrants themselves through their own institutions.

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