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ABSTRACT

The seven essays in this document celebrate the place of children in the nation's life. The catalogue contains reproductions and replications of portraits and posters that were brought together for the exhibit. The ways in which people understand their nationality influence how they raise their children and help determine the ideas and experiences to which individuals expose them. Citizens of the early nation recognized that childhood was a critical period for instilling patriotism and republican values if the new government was to survive. Michael Zuckerman writes that every citizen could see that the fate of the national experiment would depend on fostering feelings for the republic among the rising generation. Allen F. Davis points out that in thinking of U.S. values, people most often consider U.S. heroes. These adult images form childhood attitudes and values. Randall M. Miller in "Children of Democracy" states that many educators insist that experience in a democratic environment teaches lessons for living in the republic. Nurture rather than nature brings forth the U.S. democracy. William T. Cutler, III says that the schoolhouse embodies many of the democratic aims of education in a free society. The schoolhouse should be a citadel of democracy. Yet, for many children who were immigrants, the U.S. ideal fell short. Tensions and conflicts among the ethnic groups often fell heaviest on the shoulders of children. (SM)

Red, White & Blue

Childhood & Citizenship

Please Touch Museum 1987

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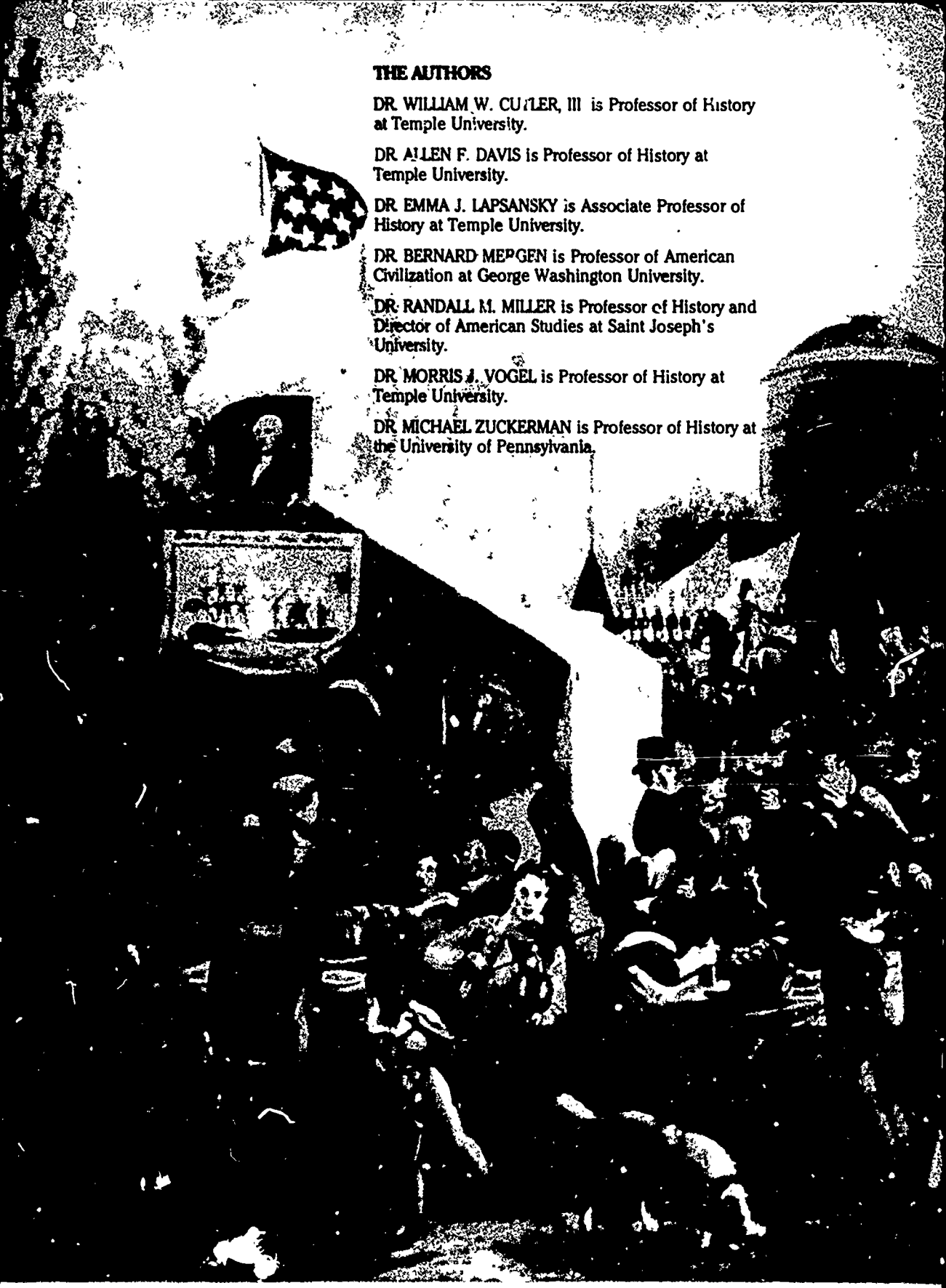

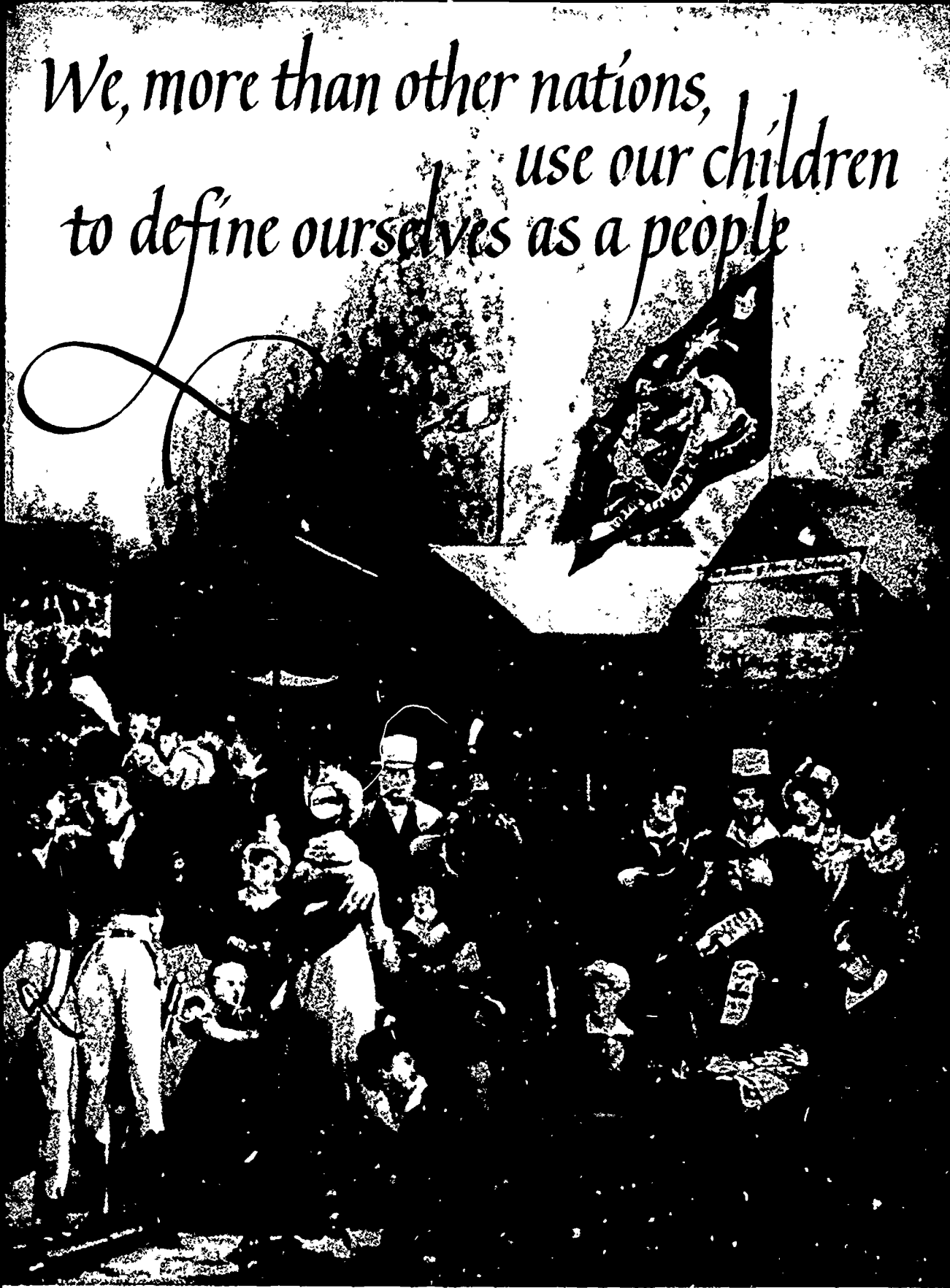
We, more than other nations,
use our children
to define ourselves as a people

Red, White & Blue — Childhood & Citizenship

Editor Morris J Vogel

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This exhibition was funded by We the People 200, Inc as part of a national celebration in Philadelphia of the United States Constitution.

Additional support was given by the Barra Foundation

Designed by Joanne Dhody

Cover photograph: Civil War Veteran with Child (July 4, 1953)
Philadelphia: photographed by Newman, from Philadelphia Bulletin
Temple Urban Archives.

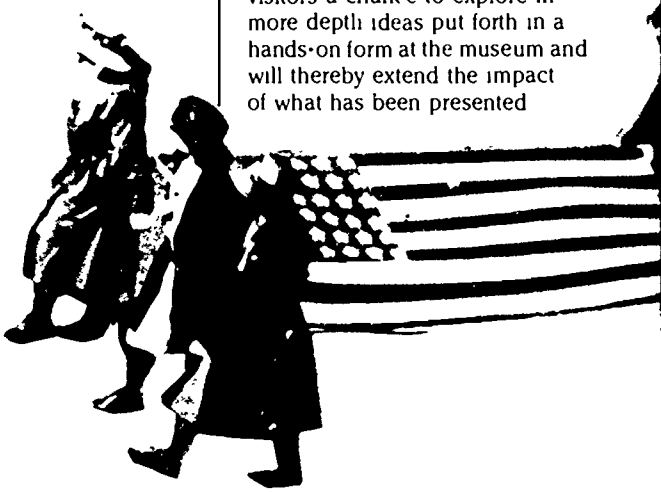
FOREWORD

The ratification of the United States Constitution two hundred years ago is considered by many to have been the single most significant action taken by the founders of this country To mark this anniversary, the We the People 200 Celebration Committee of Philadelphia is sponsoring a number of special projects in 1987 by cultural organizations in the city. Please Touch Museum's exhibition and accompanying catalogue entitled *Red, White & Blue Childhood and Citizenship* is part of that celebration

Seven distinguished historians, expert in various aspects of American studies, have written the lively essays contained in this catalogue They have looked at an important issue in the growth of our nation—how children have been taught to be Americans by their families and by the society in general

Our academic advisors include Morris Vogel who was editor of the catalogue as well as a contributor, Bernard Mergen as guest curator and contributor, William Cutler, Allen Davis, Emma Lapsansky, Randall Miller and Michael Zuckerman as our other contributors Their essays were an integral part of the exhibition's planning process, being the basis for our choices of exhibit displays and the written materials used for labels

The catalogue will be a permanent record of the exhibition, able to be referred to later at home or by teachers in the schools As a take-home piece, it gives adult visitors a chance to explore in more depth ideas put forth in a hands-on form at the museum and will thereby extend the impact of what has been presented



Others who have made substantial contributions of their talents and energy have been members of the museum's project team headed by our Director of Visitor Services, Sandra Jones, and including Senior Curator, Dona Horowitz, Registrar, Kim Robinson Sincox, Education Curators, Judy Herman and Helen Kirschner, Exhibition Director, Rebecca Stoddard, her staff Peggy Blei, David Brown, Lance Lauffer, Modesto Maisonet, and Director of Programming, Martha Zazyczny

This exhibition tries to show the many ways Americans symbolize their nationality through artifacts and practices, running the gamut from the traditional to the ephemeral. We hope the ideas being presented will stimulate dialogue between adults and children on important questions about being an American

Which groups have embraced American nationality in all its manifestations? What traditions persist from other nationalities? For all its strengths, what tensions, inconsistencies and contradictions remain as reminders that our system is less than perfect? Through this very process of discussion we believe the project will demonstrate the value we place in freedom of expression—so fundamental to the spirit of the American Constitution

We wish to thank the We the People 200, Inc and the Barra Foundation for their support of the project Many other institutions and individuals have also contributed significantly to the success of this project We are very grateful for all their help which is more specifically recognized in the acknowledgements that follow

Portia Hamilton Sperr
Executive Director
Please Touch Museum

Fig. 2

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Patriotism and citizenship—specifically, what do these ideas mean to young children? Not documents and abstract concepts—we are sure—but instead, lots of small things that most of us all take for granted

The opening section of *Red, White & Blue* has focused on the ideals of the new American republic, the center section with key American values such as Might and Benevolence, Prosperity, and Democracy, the final section of the exhibit with the thorny issues of exclusion, assimilation and the persistence of other ethnic traditions

A real challenge faced in amassing the artifactual and visual materials that would define these abstract concepts associated with being an American Great credit must go to historian Dr Morris Vogel of Temple University, for developing the exhibition's general outline which in turn, we have had to represent through a great variety of hands-on activities, objects and visual materials Dr Bernard Mergen from the American Studies Department of George Washington University worked the most closely with us to make sure that the physical objects presented will adhere to the major themes being addressed

Dr Cutler of Temple University has also been particularly helpful in researching visual material reflective of the important role played by American schools in developing the American character Dr Fredric Miller of Temple University's Urban Archives gave generously of his time in helping us find relevant photographs, as did Dr Lapsansky, who gave us leads to appropriate artifacts illustrative of her section dealing with assimilation and exclusion

Staff members from other institutions, private collectors and several interested individuals have all helped in providing additional photographs, visual materials and artifacts for the exhibition

I am grateful for the assistance in collecting background material, photographs, and visuals from a wide variety of sources; the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, the American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, Massachusetts, the American Legion Headquarters, Indianapolis, the American Museum of Immigration, New York City, the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, Philadelphia, the Boatmen s National Bank, St Louis, the Bettmann Archive, New York City, the Philadelphia branch of the Boy Scouts of America, the City Archives, Philadelphia, the George Washington Elementary School, Philadelphia, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Library of Congress, the Philadelphia branch of the National Archives, the New York Historical Society, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, the public relations department of the Philadelphia Phillies Baseball Club, the Pedagogic Library of the Philadelphia Board of Education the Philadelphia Bulletin Collection at Temple University, The Philadelphia Inquirer, Time Magazine, New York City, and the Urban Archives, Temple University

Loans for this exhibition have come from a number of collections in the Philadelphia area. the American Red Cross, the Atwater Kent Museum, the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, and the University Museum. Other sources of loans have been the Center of Science and Industry, Columbus, Ohio, The Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, Rochester, New York, and the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History

Private collectors who have been very generous with their loans to the exhibition are Bernard Mergen, Portia Sperr, Morris Vogel, Barbara Whiteman, and Gloria Weiss

Finally, I would like to thank our former archivist Jan Rosenberg, for the initial research she did in locating many sources of visual material for this exhibition.

Dona W Horowitz
Curator
March, 1987

Introduction

Morris J Vogel

Americans have never had the luxury of taking their nationality for granted. From the very origins of our republic, we have been a nation of immigrants and the children of immigrants, a diverse multitude. We have always had to decide who we were and how we differed from other peoples Even today these issues remain ingrained in so many aspects of our politics and our culture that we are ordinarily unaware of how much attention we devote to them. Indeed, the ways we understand our nationality influence how we raise our children and help determine the ideas and experiences to which we expose them There are reasons rooted deep in our history why we, more than other nations, use our children to define ourselves as a people

From its birth in 1776, this was a nation like no other. The thirteen separate colonies hugging the Atlantic coastline were divided from each other by an often difficult terrain, by diverse forms of government, and by long standing jealousies For the most part, they had more in common with England, the center of the empire, than they did with each other Within the colonies as a whole there were yet other significant divisions along the lines of religion, ethnic background, race, and national origin These lessened the chances that colonists who had joined together in the Revolution to defend their rights as Englishmen, or their prerogatives as citizens of Massachusetts or Virginia, would be able to create a united nation

The War of Independence created a nation, but not a people Americans, as the former colonists began to call themselves, lacked many of the qualities that bound together the peoples of older nations They stemmed from no common tribal group, shared no common faith, possessed no common history, celebrated no common rituals; cherished no common myths. And yet as the citizens of a new republic, they needed to emphasize what they did have in common They found these commonalities by stressing the ways in which the citizens of the new land differed from the subjects of the old.

Fig 3

In contrast to European states, the new American republic placed fewer barriers in the way of ordinary men seeking to participate in the political process. This was a land of relative equality (for white males, at least), which did not demand deference to political and social superiors American society allowed more upward mobility, more widespread land ownership, and generally greater tolerance of religious diversity than European lands. The first American generation seized on these contrasts and built a national ideology around them. We proclaimed ourselves a people because we were different from other peoples—freer, more egalitarian, more democratic, more tolerant of diversity

From the outset, then, ours was a nationalism based on ideas It would be several generations before Americans began to acquire the instinctive loyalty to country that follows birth into a nation that is also an ethnically and religiously homogeneous community We were Americans precisely because we proclaimed our devotion to certain principles And these principles had to be continually reasserted if they were to endure. Most modern governments recognize that citizenship has to be taught. But in this country, with citizenship and nationality nearly interchangeable, more than lessons in civics were required Americans had to learn what Americans should value, what they should believe, how they ought to behave

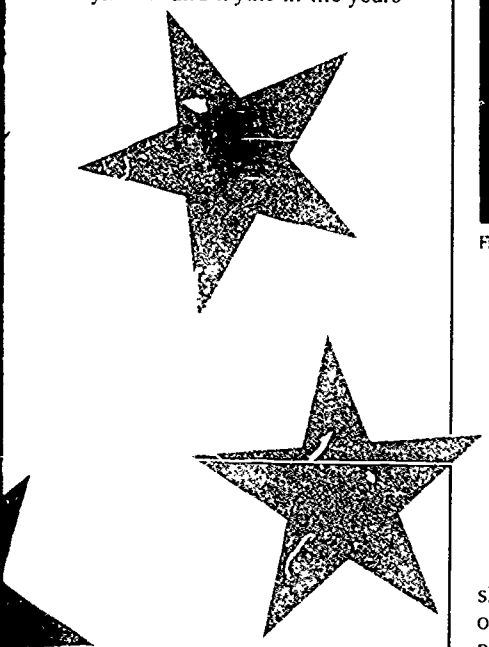
In our first decades as a people, children were still included in many adult activities, not yet segregated into a downsized child's world set off from reality. Children naturally learned many of their patriotic lessons alongside adults. Children and parents alike listened to sermons and orations extolling the republic; they attended parades, set off fireworks, and waved flags to celebrate nationhood together Though few public activities were directed at the young, citizens of the early nation recognized that childhood was a critical period for instilling patriotism and republican values The popular mythology created in the early nineteenth century stressed that it was in childhood that George Washington had learned never to tell a lie. Americans assigned the family—specifically the mother—

Fig 4

responsibility for republican nurture Indeed, mythology reserved to Washington's mother a central place in the American pantheon, she, after all, had imbued her son with the qualities that enabled him to lead the nation to independence

We continue to honor and use the original emblems of our nationality Columbia has undergone a slight transformation into Miss Liberty, the flag has added some stars, and the eagle has landed. But we have added other symbols and myths in the years

Fig 5



since Independence The opening of the west, our extraordinary prosperity and our power, our role as haven for the oppressed—all of these experiences have entered into our national ideology They have become part of the way we define ourselves as a people, part of the lesson we teach our children about what it is to be an American

It is easy to see why shared symbols and beliefs have grown in importance over the course of our history Even as American nationalism became instinctive for the descendents of earlier settlers, newcomers by the millions have continued to arrive While those who settled here have not always received a warm welcome, with few exceptions they have been able to assume citizenship—to become Americans—by swearing allegiance to the nation For most of our history the remarkable ease with which immigrants could become citizens testified to an extraordinary confidence in the

The varied myths and symbols we teach our children suggest the difficulty of defining who we are and yet the importance of doing so.

Fig 6

special nature of American nationality, in its ability to embrace so many peoples But there has always been an undercurrent of doubt—fears more strongly expressed in some periods than in others—that foreigners could really transform themselves into Americans Our hopes—and our sometimes intolerant pressures—for assimilating immigrants and for reaffirming nationality in general have been directed especially at the young

Our schools have taught the formal lessons of nationality and citizenship, transmitting the honor roll of our heroes and heroines, and the values by which they have lived and in whose defense they sometimes died Scouting has done likewise, and songs, stories, and celebrations have reaffirmed those patriotic messages But the myths and symbols of our nationalism—the beliefs we cherish as Americans even if we do not always live up to them—have also been woven into the very fabric of American childhood

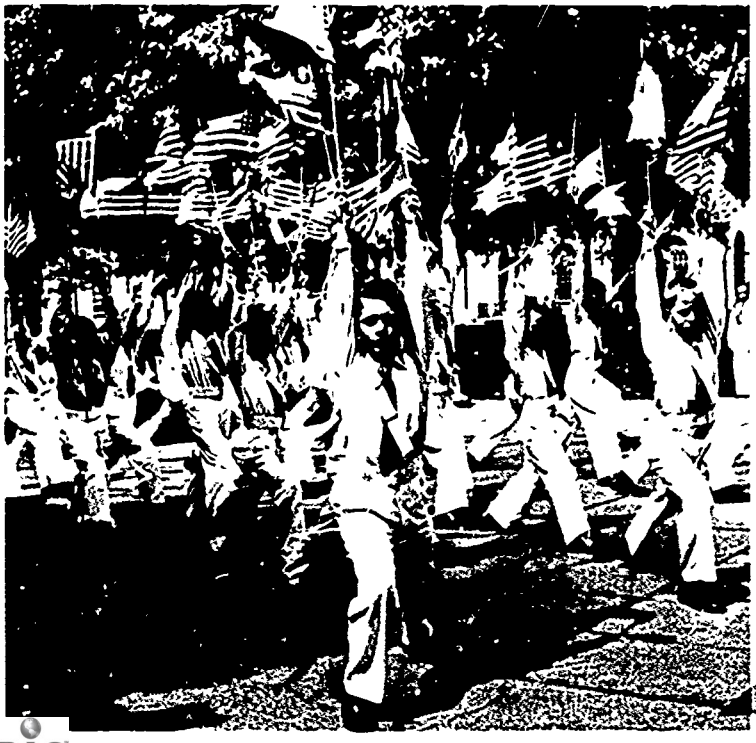
We teach the young that our government is a democracy, the envy of many of the world's peoples They watch parents vote, and they vote and run for office themselves in student government elections that start in the lower grades But if children pick up adult abstractions at all, they tend to translate them onto their own level Children are taught the American way when parents, teachers, and coaches lecture them about playing by rules and about fair play, they act as Americans when they choose up sides to begin a street or schoolyard game They understand our larger lessons about citizenship—about our democratic form of government—to mean that the United States possesses both right and might They are safe in their American homes, protected by parents, cowboys, Superman, GI Joe, and even Rambo

Children's popular culture conveys another image of American nationality as well A cornucopia of playthings mimics the real prosperity for which we give thanks as a people, and which has attracted so many to our shores searching for the land of plenty Horatio Alger novels and Monopoly games tell secrets about the road to riches, Betty Crocker kitchens and Barbie Dolls offer child-sized shares of the gross national product It is, after all, mostly through our wealth that the rest of the world identifies America So too it is with our own children, playing with toys that mean

Fig 8

America even when they are not festooned with red, white, and blue, even when they are not fashioned in the images of national heroes

Toys, games, and other trappings of childhood indicate how much we as a people depend on the young in fashioning our national identity They are also a reminder of the many ways—prosperity and tolerance, the frontier spirit and diversity, power and democracy, history and ritual—we define that nationality The varied myths and symbols we teach our children suggest the difficulty of defining who we are and the importance of doing so And because we cannot take our nationality for granted, because it is not an automatic product of birth in this country, we must become more acutely aware of the pain caused a child deprived of any part of the American dream because of poverty or background, race or religion It is painful for a child to be excluded from any society for any reason To be left out in our country adds the extra ache of not being an American in America



The Rising Generation in the Young Republic

Michael Zuckerman

When they declared their independence on the fateful fourth of July, Americans did much more than announce their separation from Great Britain. They inaugurated the age of the democratic revolution. And as they did, they transformed their civic situation as well. In the old countries of Europe, men and women were governed by monarchs. In the infant nation of the New World, they would govern themselves. The United States of America would be a republic. Its inhabitants would be citizens, not subjects.

In refusing obeisance to kings, the revolutionaries launched upon a daring experiment. None of them knew how citizens would act with one another, or relate to authority, or experience a conviction of connectedness. None of them had any clear idea how to make a nation out of individuals who denied deference to rulers and insisted, on principle, that rulers were servants of the people rather than the other way round.

Their difficulties in devising an effective government were compounded by the absence of any genuine bonds among the colonies whose representatives had come together in Continental Congress in Philadelphia. Half a century later, James Russell Lowell would look back on those colonies as "our jangling clans." Even at the time, as John Adams acknowledged, the most remarkable thing about the Revolution was that "thirteen clocks had struck as one."

Most Europeans and many Americans doubted that such unity could last. They foresaw the unraveling of the Revolutionary alliance and the emergence of two, or three, or four, regional confederations, riven by their divergent economies, religions, and social systems. Even Americans who did not desire such dissolution feared it and struggled to avert it by strident affirmations of a new national language, poetry, or politics.

Not even those Noah Websters really knew whether they could create a national community which would endure, or engage men's affections, or elicit their loyalty. Not even the most ardent patriot knew how to instill the kind of citizenship the young republic would require.

But every American could see, as Webster saw, that the task would entail the inculcation of such citizenship in the young. Every American could see that the fate of the national experiment would depend on fostering feelings for the republic among the rising generation which would not, in the nature of the case, come naturally to the men and women who had made the Revolution. Those rebels had been brought up to be loyal to a king and parliament across the Atlantic, to the British empire or perhaps to a particular American province: Virginia, say, or Pennsylvania. They would never feel in their bones what they hoped their children would. At the same time, however, many Americans believed that the preservation of the nation would depend on perpetuating attributes of personal virtue among the young who had helped their elders gain independence. Those who had broken with Britain had been raised as provincials, without the prerogatives of imperial power. They had never faced the temptations they knew their offspring would.

Every American could see that the fate of the national experiment would depend on fostering feelings for the republic among the rising generation.

Fig. 9

Preparing children for republican citizenship upon such imperatives would have been difficult under any circumstances. It was especially difficult in the last decades of the eighteenth century, when there were few institutions for schooling young children. It was still difficult to the time of the Civil War, when most of the nation was still without compulsory public schooling and almost all of it without kindergardens, nursery schools, or other public agencies of early education.

Most American children of the last quarter of the eighteenth

century and the first half of the nineteenth still lived and learned amid adults. They imbibed their ideas of appropriate participation in collective life from sharing far more fully in adult work and play than youngsters do today. Children and parents of the early republic marched in the same patriotic processions and sang the same

Fig. 10

patriotic songs. They attended the same rallies and gawked at the same fireworks. They even sat through the same tedious orations. Children did not participate in such age segregated activities as scouting, nor did they play with toys that took the form of child-sized versions of national symbols.

The young were close to adult affairs. They could hardly avoid seeing that American nationality was an embattled issue. This land lacked the homogeneities of older European nations. It had always encompassed a wide array of languages, faiths, ethnicities, economies, and visions of what the new country might be. Abstract ideas about government, the individual, and the national destiny, rather than real commonalities of religious creed or tribal custom have bound Americans together if anything ever has. But such bonds lent themselves to controversies that tore at the fabric of American society. If, as Robert Coles insists, even the insulated children of our own time constantly notice "who gets along with whom, and why," surely the youngsters of an earlier day, so much less sheltered from the stresses and strife of their elders, saw the unsettlement of citizenship in their time.

In a country where sentiments of national attachment were weak to begin with, efforts to assert civic unity often ended in embodiments of the very divisions that racked the nation and precluded such comprehensive community. Americans of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries could not even concur on a pantheon of founding fathers to set before the young as models for emulation. George Washington was widely admired, to be sure, but a national subscription campaign for a memorial for the centennial of his birth in 1832 foundered in failure for half a century. And if indifference dogged fund-raising for a Washington monument, active sectional and partisan antagonisms beset the reputations of other founders and framers. To take a single instance among several, Thomas Jefferson was never once toasted in forty years of Federalist banquets in Boston, and just as the great Virginian was anathematized by New Englanders in the first decades after independence, so he was disowned by southern secessionists in the last decades before the Civil War.

Likewise, the documents we now treasure as the tablatures of explicit American citizenship, the Declaration and the Constitution, proved sources of schism as often as of solidarity. Susceptible as they were of disparate interpretations, they were diversely revered or repudiated by one party or another, one section or another, one economic faction or another, at one time or another, through the three-quarters of a century from the ratification of the Constitution to the firing on Fort Sumter. Different constituencies adopted different symbols of American nationality—those prizing the radical principles of the Revolution attached themselves to the Declaration, those preferring the consolidation of power emphasized the Constitution—in a country whose sense of nationality was already loose at best.

Alexis de Tocqueville understood that citizenship in a democracy had more to do with what he called habits of the heart than with specific legal forms, rights and obligations.

It was exactly unease over the corrosive consequences of such partisan pleading, and equivocal engagement in the common cause of America, that generated fascination with dilemmas of allegiance and treason in the young republic and impelled efforts to instill a profounder patriotism in the rising generation. Nathan Hale, who regretted that he had but one life to give for his country, and Benedict

Arnold, who epitomized base treachery, were set endlessly before the young and their elders alike. They were the two most prominent figures of the Revolution, surpassing Washington himself, in nineteenth-century American drama, and they were scarcely less significant in Revolutionary fiction.

Even today, students of the political socialization of children show that young boys and girls have only the most minimal grasp of politics beyond their immediate surroundings. Their essential experiences of authority—their models for citizenship—are those close at hand, parents, teachers, policemen, perhaps the mayor. And in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, America was a far more parochial place than it is today The nation was not knit together by the long technological revolutions in transportation and communication Localistic loyalties to family, church, and town, and provincial attachments to state and section quite regularly exceeded any allegiance to the nation or commitment to its common traditions and shared ideals In many places the very rituals that might have raised national consciousness, such as the jubilation of July 4, served instead to stimulate local chauvinism, as orators and toastmasters vied with one another in extolling the part played by locals in the attainment of independence

And yet, amid all these impediments, children did learn They did acquire an American identity, did become true sons and daughters of the new nation They never attained such civic awareness in the formal political or legal fashion defined, say, by the Constitution or specified by classic or contemporary political theory But they imbibed a distinctive American sense of themselves nonetheless, a sense of shared fate strong enough to survive even Civil War

Beneath the dilemmas of attenuated civic attachments and precarious patriotism, a solution was stirring Despite cleavages that set them against each other, Americans were coming of age with shared anxieties, aspirations, and assumptions that set them

Fig 11

sharply apart from those who were not of their New World In a now-nearly-forgotten novel of the nineteenth century, a character calls it an almost "impossible task on the memory to trace those influences by which a lad is led to form his life's opinions" Twentieth-century social scientists have hardly improved on nineteenth-century novelists in dealing with that task. Political sociologists still have only the most meagre notions of the ways in which young children come to any consciousness of public life or acquire beginnings of a political ideology But their—and our—ignorance may not matter as much as we suppose

In World War II, for example, American sentries sometimes confronted strangers dressed in American uniforms speaking fluent English The strangers might have been Americans detached somehow from their own units, or they might have been German spies The sentries did not demand of them a mere password Instead, they posed a battery of questions from a standard interrogation format designed to test American affiliation They asked the strangers to tell them who played center field for the New York Yankees, or who starred in *The Outlaw* For they understood that deep American citizenship—enmeshment in the American way—had more to do with ballplayers and movie stars than it did with politics or the provisions of the law when such citizenship was literally a matter of life and death

Long before there were baseball heroes or movie queens, Alexis de Tocqueville understood that citizenship in a democracy had more to do with what he called habits of the heart than with specific legal forms, rights, and obligations. He considered childhood central to the shaping of American citizenship precisely because it was the time when such habits were initially instilled And he therefore hailed the family as the essential institution for the tutelage of children in the democratic self-regulation they would require to make their way in America

Children learned much from their immersion in the life of the local community, but they learned still more from their families, and especially from their mothers New notions of the sexual division of labor gained ground after the Revolution, notions which consigned women to a separate sphere, in the home, as the norms of the colonial era never had.

Excluded from the wider world to an unprecedented degree, republican mothers took upon themselves the responsibility of readying their offspring—especially their sons—for lives of self-reliance and sturdy independence. Where parents in the Old World presumed that their children would continue to live with or near their families, subject to familial authority, neighborly norms, and traditional sanctions, the mothers of America prepared their children for autonomy. European visitors to the United States were struck again

Fig 12

and again by the insolence and impertinence, as it seemed to them, of American children But there was more to it than met the European eye, conditioned as it was to presumptions of patriarchal power and filial subordination Even as American parents rejoiced in their sons' spiritedness, they also aimed to implant principles of virtue—moral gyroscopes—which would keep their boys ethically upright as they grew to manhood and abandoned ancestral ways and whereabouts, as they inevitably would Mason Weems parable of George Washington and the cherry tree was a travesty of eighteenth-century southern childhood but a resounding expression of nineteenth-century ideals of upbringing.

Such precocious training for independence, and the early exile from the security of submergence in the family which it entailed, were bred in the bones of Americans—or at least of American males—as of few others in the Atlantic world of the nineteenth century. American boys scarcely ever experienced the delights of idence or the comforts of a clear course ahead of them They grew up to surpass their fathers rather than succeed them, to be self-made rather than revered for the status they inherited They matur ı under the yoked signs of opportunity and anxiety And as they did, they came, almost inevitably, to sense their kinship with all those other Americans who struggled with similar ambitions amid similar insecurities They came to feel comfortable with such comrades, and to know that they belonged to each other

Americans might not be able to come to accord on whether to toast Thomas Jefferson or John Adams, the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution, the south or the north, their state or the nation, but they could concur on matters of more moment None dissented when toastmasters offered prosperity, or the cultivation of the improving sciences, or farming, or the ladies. These, not politics, constituted the common ground of American patriotic celebration, the common core of the attachments that ultimately defined citizenship itself

Yet none even of these central themes were simple. They too entailed conflicts, one with another. Republican mothers tried to implant unyielding moral standards in their sons, but they also tried to ready them for change and prepare them for the hustle and bustle of business From the first, their sons were caught in the contradiction between the selfless virtue of the Revolution and the abounding incentives to self-aggrandizement of the explosive economy of the nineteenth century. By 1855 Henry Tuckerman feared that "the ideal of success" had "totally changed with the blandishments of prosperity, from the resources of character to the artifices of wealth" But the tension between the two was in fact never so neatly resolved, it continued to haunt American lives and define dilemmas of American identity into our own time

Indeed, just because Americans did respect those resources of character, they remained persistently vulnerable to jibes that they were not the pillars of probity their parents were More than a few of them dreaded that the Spirit of '76 would "reproach the degeneracy of posterity" And yet every effort to glorify the fathers, as models for the rising generation to emulate, ended by demeaning the sons Every move to monumentalize the founders ended up impeding the drive to democratize America and celebrate the common man Every acclamation of the moral immensity of the Revolutionaries ended by undermining the inculcation of moral personality in their children Republican parents never did resolve the problem of praising the Founding Fathers as exemplary demigods without denying democratic access to their characteristic virtues Republican pedagogues never did reconcile the patriotic presentation of American nationhood as an inheritance from glorious ancestors and the aspiration they urged on their young charges to achieve their own careers on their own merits rather than derive status and significance from their lineage

All of these ambiguities were in some degree perennial It was never easy to be an American or to become one, constantly creating oneself amid such fearful contradictions, in a society whose stunted sense of tradition defined so little for the individual

The difficulties and dilemmas of devising a way of life in the absence of any compelling conventions and expectations would

It was never easy to be an American, constantly creating oneself amid such fearful contradictions.

persist. The dynamic of American development was to devastate progressively the social supports within which people hedged their existence, leaving each individual ever more utterly the fearful liberty to define himself or herself And the awesome—and augmenting—necessity became increasingly the bond by which Americans would recognize one another and establish as much comradeship as they could manage Just because it did, the difficulties and dilemmas would deepen in the decades after the Civil War.

Mighty Heroes & Moral Deeds

Allen F Davis

Fig 13

When we think of American values, of the American myth, of the things that make this country unique and special, we probably most often think of American heroes, of soldiers marching—perhaps in a Memorial Day parade—with flags flying and drums beating. Or we imagine pioneers and cowboys subduing the wilderness, settling the West, and killing Indians. Perhaps we envision an Olympic athlete standing proudly to receive a gold medal with the American national anthem playing. Our images of American patriotism are most often masculine, competitive, and aggressive Those adult images also inform childhood attitudes and values From toy soldiers and cowboys-and-Indians to GI Joe and Rambo, the aggressive side of patriotism is ordinarily dominant.

But there is another side to the American character—a more feminine, helping, and benevolent side This aspect of Americanism includes the genuine missionary desire to help other people, the benevolent impulse to promote reform, eliminate poverty and work for world peace Unfortunately this softer side of American patriotism does not translate well into parades and ceremonies The Red Cross nurse is not as impressive as the soldier Missionaries trying to aid Indians (even for the wrong reasons and in the wrong way) are not as easily made the stuff of children's games as the cowboys or scouts who shot Indians Yet both benevolence and aggression are part of the American character.

The nation's overwhelming size and great Western wilderness have played a large role in shaping the American character in myth and reality Western heroes from Daniel Boone to Kit Carson, from Buffalo Bill to General Custer were depicted as strong, self-reliant solitary adventurers who overcame both the wilderness and the Indians Custer became a hero because he gave his life and the lives of his men to preserve civilization. That he blundered awfully and should never have been surrounded in the first place did not trouble the myth makers. The Indian victory at Little Big Horn was only a pause in the ruthless annihilation of native Americans by settlers and the United States Army. It was not very pretty but the process created heroes who live on in the stories we tell children and in the films on which we raise them.

One early painting of Daniel Boone by George C Bingham showed the frontier hero leading settlers, including women and children, West to establish a new civilization. The more usual depiction of Boone, though, was as the solitary mountain man. Of course there were women in the West and the woman's experience —her concern for her gardens, her children and her friends—was different from the male experience. Even the men were usually ranchers, farmers, or miners, but the legend we share with our children emphasizes Westerners as cowboys the man alone with his gun and horse, opposing evil to protect the community and make it safe for women and children. In reality the cowboy was a drifter, an employee hired to do the dirty work of driving cattle. The gritty reality was transformed into a fable of good guys and bad guys, cowboys and Indians. Cowboys-and-Indians was the great American game, the basis for countless books and movies and children's plays. In 1897 Sears Roebuck Catalogue advertised several versions of the cowboy hat for both men and boys including the

Fig 14

"World Famous J.B. Stetson Sombrero (made in Philadelphia) worn by the most famous scout and guide in the world (Custer)" for $5.00. By the turn-of-the-century, make believe cowboy outfits and immitation revolvers were on the market, but a child did not need elaborate equipment to play cowboys-and-Indians. Sticks became guns, poles could be imaginary horses, and branches

Fig 15

and strings turned into bow and arrows. Cowboys-and-Indians was a versatile and flexible game It could easily be altered to become cops-and-robbers, or Americans-and-Germans.

The Boy Scouts were a little like cowboys and Indians with one dramatic difference—the Scouts were organized. Founded in 1908 in Great Britain by General Robert Baden-Powell, the scouting movement derived partly from the work of American naturalist Ernest Thompson Seton Seton founded the Woodcraft Indians in 1902 because he thought that city boys could learn manliness by surviving in the woods. The Boy Scouts of America was established in 1910 and quickly became popular Nearly 400,000 boys had joined by 1920. The Scouts were concerned with making men out of boys, but also with making good citizens "On my honor I will do my best. to do my duty to God and my country," the Scout oath began "A Scout is trustworthy, loyal, courteous, kind... brave, clean, and reverent," young boys recited. With their uniforms, badges, salutes and parades, the Scouts were often accused of being a [illegible]-military organization A Boy Scout was not a soldier, but he did learn how to be patriotic. The *Boy Scout Handbook*, one of America's most popular books, was a guide for survival in the woods, but also a blueprint for how to become a man, and a loyal, trustworthy American. Ordinarily committed to international understanding, scouts spread around the world, but especially in time of war the Scouts became an instrument of nationalism, rather than of peace and brotherhood.

The Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls were offshoots of the Boy Scouts. Girls Scouts had to earn badges in homemaking and laundering in order to become first class scouts, and the Camp Fire Girls' final law was to "Be Happy " To be a Girl Scout was to learn how to be "domestic," to be a Boy Scout was not only to learn how to be trustworthy, but also aggressive and manly.

Patriotism and pride in country tend to increase in time of war or during national crisis or celebration. Children, like adults, are influenced by these national moods. Such symbols of patriotism as the flag, the eagle, and the image of " liberty" have been used on books, furniture, and children's toys since the early days of the republic. Memorial Day, established in the wake of the Civil War, made the flag more visible. In the war's aftermath, little boys used toy soldiers to fight mock battles between the Blue and the Gray They purchased models of the "Monitor" complete with the American flag Philadelphia's Centennial Celebration in 1876 increased the use of patriotic symbols, but in many ways it was the decade of the 1890s that generated the most intense patriotic feelings in the United States Reacting to increasing immigration from southern and eastern Europe, such organizations as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Colonial Dames coordinated a flagwaving —and sometimes racist and anti-immigrant Americanization campaign. The DAR stressed the "Pledge of Allegiance" to the flag and taught "obedience to law, which is the groundwork of true citizenship." The intense Americanism of this period could help young immigrant children feel pride in being Americans, but it could also lead native-born children to harrass Italians or Jews because they were foreign and un-American.

The intense patriotism of the 1890s also included elements of jingoism and imperialism The Spanish American War brought patriotism to a fever pitch All over America boys emulated Theodore Roosevelt's charge up San Juan Hill or destroyed imaginary Spanish ships Jane Addams, the pacifist and social reformer, discovered that almost instantly after the outbreak of hostilities children were playing war in the streets of Chicago. "In no instance," she remarked, "were they 'freeing Cubans', but with the violence characteristic of their age, they were 'slaying Spaniards.' " Shortly after the turn of the century boys could choose from such board games as "The Game of Battles, or

Fig 16

Fun for Boys," or "War at Sea or Don't Give Up the Ship." There were no peace games.

Ironically it was American sports—baseball, but especially football—that provided a somewhat peaceful equivalent for war in the twentieth century. In college stadiums, on high school fields, and on informal sandlots across America, boys could go into mock battle while keeping themselves physically fit for the war that might come. With marching bands, patriotic songs, and solemn half-time ceremonies, football, patriotism, and war became intertwined for one generation after another in America.

The patriotism of might is more translatable to children's play than the patriotism of benevolence.

World War I increased the connections between war and patriotism. Bond drives and parades captured the imagination of children as well as adults. Little girls could dress as Red Cross nurses, pretending that they were caring for the wounded, or they could serve coffee and donuts at a canteen. But it was more fun to play war. The 1919 Sears Roebuck Catalogue offered a "Real Toy Machine Gun," a game called "On Guard" with cardboard soldiers along with a pistol and wooden bullets to knock them down. There was also a "Blow Up the Battleship Game." But one did not need store-bought toys to play—sticks and other objects could be turned into rifles and bayonets. Unfortunately playing war usually meant killing Germans and the 100 percent Americanism of the war years often meant that children picked on any boy or girl with a German-sounding name or one who appeared un-American or pacifist. Those who opposed American participation in the war had a difficult time convincing adult and child alike that it could be patriotic to oppose the war.

World War II raised patriotic fever to yet greater heights. Children who said the Lord's Prayer and the Pledge of Allegiance so close together at the beginning of each school day that they thought it was one poem had no problem with the sentiments of "God Bless America," the most popular song of the war years. Children growing up during the war were convinced, as were most adults, that the enemy was evil and Americans were good. They accepted the myth that the United States had a God-given right and duty to help other people and to lead the free world to victory. Boys and girls during the war participated in scrap drives, cared for Victory Gardens, and saved war stamps at school. Boys built model airplanes and dreamed of being P-40 pilots and shooting down "Japs" and Germans. Young girls played nurse and dreamed of becoming a WAC or Wave.

Since World War II the country has never been as united in a cause, so confident that it was right, or so sure of a solution to the world's problems. Korea, Vietnam and the Cold War were more complicated, although the Communists were enemies, the good guys were difficult to tell from the bad guys, and it was no fun to play "Atomic War." Children did learn to "Duck and Cover" and how to stock a bomb shelter, but the war they continued to play was more like cowboys-and-Indians. After President John Kennedy made guerilla war and the Green Berets popular, new uniforms and weapons could be adapted to the old game, but the game remained the same. Some children marched with their parents in peace protest parades during the Vietnam War, but other children, or perhaps the same ones, played with GI Joe dolls and models of jet planes and were convinced that the United States always stood for right, justice, and freedom. Television provided new models for how to be a soldier and how to be a good citizen, but despite impressive visual effects-- Superman could really fly—it was often the same old story of fighting for good and against evil. The patriotism of might was more believable and more translatable to children's play than was the patriotism of benevolence.

Fig 17

Red, White, Blue, & Green

Citizenship & Prosperity

Bernard Mergen

Being an American has traditionally meant sharing in the prosperity of an expanding economy Equality of opportunity is a fundamental principle of our democratic faith and the right to private property is protected by law and tradition Children soon become aware that they can and should acquire personal property They learn the sometimes painful lesson that other children may judge them by the number of toys they own Boys and girls learn to look forward to gifts and one of the first measures of autonomy is the trip alone to the store to buy something Becoming a consumer is a step toward becoming a citizen

The decades following the Civil War were a Gilded Age for children as well as for their parents Such popular writers as Horatio Alger wrote stories illustrating how the young might rise from rags to riches if they worked hard and were honest and lucky. Cast iron banks were given to children to encourage them to save money. These banks were shaped like bank buildings, safes, and animals. Some had comic figures: frogs that swallowed coins or hunters who shot coins into bears. Patriotic parents might give their children a Statue of Liberty bank, while others preferred the traditional lucky pig Teachers often helped their students organize savings clubs and during both World War I and World War II, children bought savings stamps and bonds.

Children did not need to be forced to collect things. Boys and girls a century ago found it easy to collect rocks, sea shells, flowers, marbles, and picture cards Sunday schools gave out cards with religious pictures, merchants advertised their goods with a variety of multicolored pictures, and cigarette and gum companies put pictures of athletes in their packages Any small item could be collected and then traded. The skillful trader acquired both "wealth" and respect Numerous games such as Lotto, Bingo, cards, and dice were used to teach children to win by "taking the pot" Milton Bradley's popular Checkered Game of Life (1860) rewarded the lucky player who landed on the square marked "Industry" with a move to one called "Wealth" that was worth ten points, twice the points awarded for "Honor," "Happiness," or "Success"

For boys the way to wealth was through the acquisition of marbles. The newspaper editor William Allen White, who grew up in Kansas in the 1870s, recalled "that by setting up a fancy marble for boys to shoot at from a hazardous distance and charging two or three commies (common marbles) or a white alley (an inexpensive marble) a shot, then giving the prized marble to the man who hit it, he could accumulate marbles faster by running this thing he called a bank than he could by playing for keeps, although he was fairly deft at that." Even a slave, Sella Martin of Louisiana, was able to use his marble playing ability to amass enough marbles to hire a white boy to teach him the alphabet.

Young White and Martin illustrate the best in the American entrepreneurial tradition Other children were driven by envy to steal and cheat to get the things they believed they deserved. In his autobiography, McKinlay Kantor, who became a distinguished novelist, described stealing a red, white, and blue eraser from a variety store, toys from friends, and money from his mother's purse.

The availability of toy money mirrors the expanded use of currency in late nineteenth-century America. "United States Educational Toy Money" was sold in 1877, and the game of "Moneta or Money Makes Money" was advertised in the 1889 Montgomery Ward catalog. In 1911 the popular magazine *Youth's Companion*

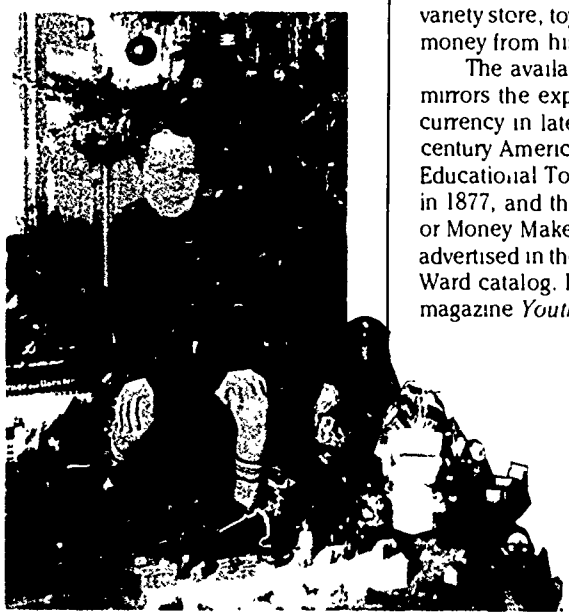


Fig 18

Fig 19

advised its readers to buy a toy cash register because "one cannot begin too early to learn the value of money." Few children had such elaborate toys, but many played store with items "borrowed from their mother's kitchen or from the town dump."

Today toy money is readily available in games with names that echo our preoccupation with material success—Monopoly, Pay Day, Careers, and Risk. Educational toy companies sell "realistic" toy money at inflated prices. The words of a popular song of 1984 only confirm what we already know—"it's a material world." The sidewalk lemonade stand, the newspaper boy, the Girl Scout selling cookies—all have a hallowed place in our image of childhood. Profit and patriotism go hand in hand in our popular political philosophy.

Milton Bradley's Checkered Game of Life rewarded the lucky player with a move to "Wealth" worth ten points, twice the points awarded for "Honor," "Happiness," or "Success."

The automobile has been a clear symbol of American success since 1903, when Montgomery Ward advertized a mechanical "Auto-Runabout" toy with a clockwork motor, bright colors and ornamentation, plush seat cushion, and rubber tires. In 1920, *Playthings*, the leading journal of the toy industry, featured an article on "Americanizing Children of Foreign Born by Means of Toys," in which Walter M. Howlett, New York Metropolitan Director of the International Association of Daily Vacaton Bible Schools noted that Chinese-American children were so enthusiastic about making toy automobiles that they offered to work after school and on Saturday and Sunday in Howlett's program. Child movie star Shirley Temple appeared in ads for the 1936 Dodge automobile, but most children contented themselves with model cars and soapbox racers.

Within the family children learn the meaning of material abundance at holidays like Thanksgiving, Christmas, birthdays, and Halloween. Thanksgiving, which celebrated the survival of the first colonists and their adaptation to native American foods, is perhaps the most appropriate celebration of American abundance. Immigrant children learned in school that Thanksgiving was the most American of holidays, and they instructed their parents in its observance. But turkey, sweet potatoes, pumpkin pie and other typical holiday foods are common to more than Thanksgiving, being found in the miniatures that lend realism to dolls' houses and elaborate toys like the Betty Crocker kitchen.

The commercialization of Christmas is also a product of American abundance. The greeting card industry, toy manufacturers and retailers, and department stores all have contributed to making December the greatest month of sales. No child is immune to the glitter of store windows, newspaper and television advertising, and the decoration of public parks and buildings. The season from Thanksgiving until after New Year's is filled with sporting events, principally football, with displays of flags, the singing of the national anthem, and patriotic pronouncements. No wonder the child's mind is confused by the mingling of citizenship and prosperity.

Fig 20

It is Halloween, however, that has in the years since World War II, become the most blatant celebration of American prosperity. The ritual of Trick-or-Treat

Fig 21

sanctions a demand for candy or even coins. Elaborately costumed like visiting royalty, children are often driven from neighborhood to neighborhood to beg, with no idea that their grandparents often spent far more time doing mischief than collecting treats. Our ambivalence toward this celebration of excess is shown by the increasing phenomenon of poisoned candy and apples embedded with razor blades.

Television and motion pictures teach children that material prosperity is part of their heritage as Americans Actors and actresses provide glamourous role models and commercials constantly entice viewers, however young, to become consumers. Barbie and her cohorts are part of the TV generation Students of children's play refer to the creation of Barbie in 1959 as a symbolic bench mark from which to measure the increasing materialism of the nursery and playroom. A study done in North Carolina in 1975, showed that the average number of toys in a one-year-old's bedroom was 28, while the average for six-year-olds was 91, figures that underestimate the number of toys actually owned by children but scattered through other rooms in the house.

Barbie alone has more than one hundred costumes and accessories available to her. Moreover, most of Barbie's clothes are designed for leisure activities Barbie is a consumer of things rather than a producer. Children and their parents have learned that leisure activities more than work provide identity and personal satisfaction. The consumption of time has become the ultimate mark of American prosperity

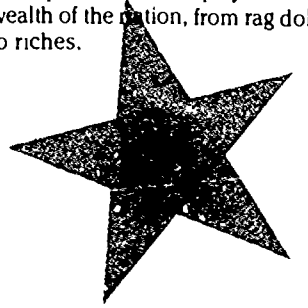
Children learn to value material possessions in the context of their homes. In the

Fig 22

Chicago area children and their parents were asked recently what household objects had special meaning for them Children mentioned stereos, TV, furniture, musical instruments, beds, pets, sports equipment, collectibles, books, vehicles, radios, refrigerators, stuffed animals, clothes, photos, and toys in that order. While 32.9 percent mentioned furniture, only 8.9 percent mentioned toys—the relatively low ranking of the latter suggesting that children learn to value what their parents value.

But while children may value the same objects as adults, their reasons for doing so are often different. Children cherish things for their immediate relation to themselves, adults for their past associations. Children value furniture for its function—a hiding place, a fort, a ladder, a trampoline—not for its design or because it was a gift. The refrigerator has become an icon of the modern American home because cold drinks, frozen foods, and fresh produce have become staples of the national diet, but for children the refrigerator means freedom to feed themselves and treat their friends. The fact that many families decorate their refrigerator with magnetic letters and animals enhances the importance of this appliance. The refrigerator door becomes a place to learn to read, to leave and receive messages, and to create designs.

The political lessons of American prosperity surround children from birth and shape their values. Toys, like other products, are planned to become obsolete as designs change and the child grows older. In the United States, citizenship means opportunity to make money and money is the way to acquire and to display the wealth of the nation, from rag dolls to riches.



Children of Democracy

Randall M Miller

Can children understand what American democracy is? Many social scientists answer no, arguing that democracy is too abstract a notion for the young mind to grasp Many educators think otherwise, insisting that experience in a democratic environment teaches lessons for living in the republic Nurture rather than nature brings forth democratic Americans Even though children cannot articulate or define democracy, they can understand it experientially and practically.

A child is first socialized in the family The family was not a democratic institution in early America, but, over time, it increasingly became responsive to the needs and desires of its young. The nature of parental power changed as well, with the stern father giving way to the sympathetic mother Over time, the family gave up many of its socializing functions to outside agencies, especially the school Children confronted "democracy" when they left the intimacy of the family for the impersonality of the school (or today even the pre-school) The child who once could claim the attention of an adult in the home now had to share the teacher with many classmates

Americans since the mid-nineteenth century have looked to education as the foundation of a democratic society In molding young people into responsible citizens no institution outside the family figured as prominently as the public school Our schools have always played important roles in transmitting culture and values along with reading, writing, and arithmetic.

The concept of democracy too abstract to be presented directly to students in the lowest primary grades, but the arrangement of the school hinted at its principles Dividing the school into grades according to students' ages, a mid nineteenth-century innovation, not only promised order and more uniform instruction, but also gave students a lesson in both competition and equal opportunity On a more equal footing with his or her mates, a child might hope to advance according to his or her merits. At the end of the century, "progressive educators" began to encourage children to express and defend their own opinions, teaching them the democratic principles of individual voice and responsibility. Eager hands raised in the classroom represented healthy democracy in action

Beyond the object lessons provided by classroom organization, children learned democratic values by witnessing and participating in patriotic rituals. Beginning in the early twentieth century, the American flag became ubiquitous in schoolrooms, joining the portraits of Washington and Lincoln, which have since been supplemented by such other heroes of American democracy as Joe Lewis, Charles Lindbergh, Martin Luther King, and Christa McAuliffe. First graders recited the Pledge of Allegiance and sang celebrations of America, the "sweet land of liberty" where freedom rang and God crowned His good "with brotherhood, from sea to shining sea." In school plays children in historical costumes reenacted such events as the landing of the Pilgrims, and in public declamations they recited lines from the Declaration of Independence, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, and famous public speeches. No school band was unfamiliar with the Star Spangled Banner. Patriotic holidays from school reminded children of their democratic heritage, and no doubt made many school children glad to be Americans on those lucky days. Primary schools early on developed their continuing role of introducing their youthful charges to America's national icons and to its patriotic catechism. It remains unclear how successfully these messages are conveyed. First graders electing representatives to student government are often unsure of what they're doing or why Many students memorize a Pledge of Allegiance in which nonsensical phrases about "invisible nations," "Richard Stans," and "liver-trees" succeed each other.

American children learn about democracy outside of school as well. School occupied several hours a day for much of the year, but afternoons, weekends, vacations, and summers were time for play. Middle-class children

Fig 23

especially had time to enjoy games Board games with names like "Centennial Presidential Game," "Presidential Election," "The Game of American History," "Yankee Doodle," "Uncle Sam's

Fig 24

Cabinets," "Politics," and "Bigwig" have been sold since 1876 to parents who hoped to amuse themselves while teaching their children about American democracy Getting elected, capturing the votes of the states, and negotiating for office and power communicated the excitement of politics to even very young players Occasionally, game manufacturers have gone beyond our national borders In 1920, the Baker and Bennett Company sold a "League of Nations Puzzle" that encouraged young Americans to become citizens of the ..orld

For children of all classes, the city streets became the schools of socialization, sometimes challenging the values taught in school They also became self-directing "democracies " The children of the city invented their own games, formed their own gangs, and organized the world of the streets Children chose up sides for stickball and other games, made up rules as they were needed, and regulated their own play. In twentieth-century suburbs adults have invaded children's recreation with such regimented, adult-directed activities as ...g (where today a scout can earn a merit badge in civics), Little League, and summer camps The city s congestion allowed children greater control over their own amusements

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s in many cities, and even today in some, the block (sometimes called "the stoop") or neighborhood provided children with lessons in government Within each age group a hierarchy of leadership scheduled events, settled disputes, and negotiated with rival groups Leadership was based on talent and common consent, fulfilling the republican ideal of a natural elite Individualism, competitiveness, resourcefulness, majoritarianism —just those democratic values historian Frederick Jackson Turner once ascribed to the American frontier—rule the stoops

The block or neighborhood had clearly defined boundaries (turf) which its occupants defended against outsiders A child's address was often more important than ethnic or religious background in determining group loyalties. Ethnically mixed blocks sped "Americanization" faster than school programs by bringing together children of different backgrounds and giving them common space, purpose, and interests. The kid's block was living testimony to the principles of government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" and of *e pluribus unum*.

Throughout this century, urban and suburban children alike have built, or at least occupied, clubhouses wherein "members" almost instinctively establish a crude democracy without recourse to civics textbooks. Clubhouse members haggle over rules, most particularly who should be allowed to enter the clubhouse. Once decisions are made, the tyranny of the majority enforces them The clubhouse also serves variously as a make-believe castle tower, a fort in the "wild West," a spaceship so many things. Oblivious to chronology or accuracy in their play, clubhouse members assume "historical" guises in common defense of their "country," the clubhouse. The city also afforded hands-on political

Fig 25

Fig 26

experience for children. Electioneering, with young boys earning a few cents as runners for local party chieftains, and parades made popular politics immediate and tangible to urban children in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—more so than has the television era with its packaged campaigns directed solely to voting-age audiences. Nine- and ten-year old newsboys hawked political sheets and newspapers

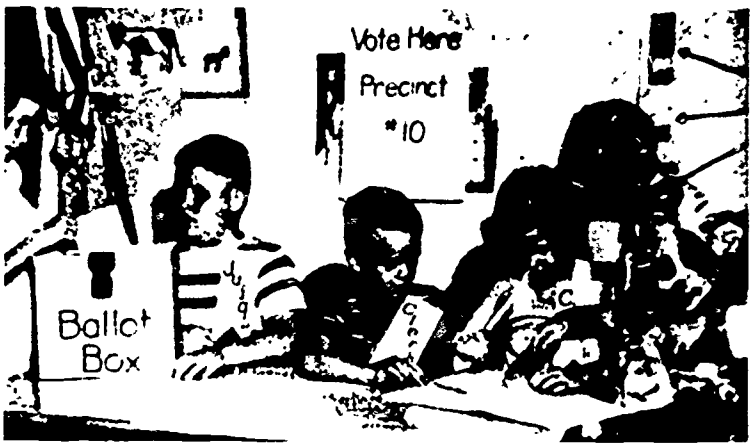


Fig 27

Ward bosses dispensed candy, favors, and advice to young and old, making American "democracy" personal for many immigrant and poor city dwellers until the demise of the old-style party machines in the 1930s.

The young have also learned about democracy during times of crisis when the nation as a whole rallied in pursuit of a common purpose. Two world wars taught children that America looked to them for help in preserving materials necessary to defend democracy. In 1918, for example, *Life* magazine warned mothers "Do not permit your child to take a bite or two from an apple and throw the rest away, nowadays even children must be taught to be patriotic to the core." During World War II young children earned money and demonstrated their patriotic pride by collecting scrap metal and rubber. They joined junior civil air defense clubs, where they got to elect the officers who conducted their meetings. In 1979 children tied yellow ribbons to trees to remember American hostages in Iran. During virtually every recent American military engagement, school children have scratched out notes, letters, and drawings for servicemen overseas. Such acts bind children emotionally to the nation and emphasize its symbols and democratic rhetoric. These actions are meaningful even to children who do not understand the issues at hand.

Small children today still receive educations in democracy out of school, and sometimes before they go to school. Interest groups staging demonstrations for television cameras have discovered that young children can be useful tools for many causes. Parents draft their children to carry signs in protests against abortion or for women's rights, in strikes, or in such school-related controversies as racial integration and busing. Even without the vocabulary to describe their experiences, these children no doubt learn something about citizen involvement and dissent.

Popular culture, which entered the home in the form of comic strips, dime novels, and later comic books, radio, and television, also offered images of American "democratic" society. Children's fare has teemed with American heroes exhibiting a firm sense of duty, respect for individual rights, and belief in capitalism. By dressing up as Superman a child implicitly accepts the obligation to defend "truth, justice, and *the American way*." American popular culture, like formal education, blurred the meaning of democracy by commingling it with notions of American citizenship and prosperity.

Although the schools and popular culture alike have tried hard to promote good citizenship and a common American identity, it is difficult to determine how much children actually have grasped of the educational experiences, the exhortations, and the public rituals and symbols designed to introduce them to "democracy," pure and simple. An elusive concept like democracy can have many meanings, for American children at least, the term has lacked precise definition. In our child-centered consumer culture democracy often has boiled down to nothing more than a child's "right" to choose among different products. These products include such democratic symbols as souvenir Liberty Bells, T-shirts emblazoned with Statue of Liberty decals, and tanktops in American flag motifs.

Children's attitudes generally tend to be non-political and non-ideological, so it is no surprise that while small children have highly positive feelings about the country, its leaders, and its symbols, their ideas about America do not extend far beyond their own environment. But there is reassuring evidence that throughout this century children in America have associated "democracy" with freedom of expression and obedience to law. From parental injunctions to obey policemen, to school messages on civic duty, to peer group pressure to play by the rules, children have learned that American "democracy," like citizenship, involves reciprocal relationships. That, as the Founding Fathers appreciated, is a foundation of liberty.

Fig 28

Schooling for Democracy

William W Cutler, III

When Americans recall their schooling what comes to mind? Classmates? Teachers? A favorite subject? Among the most vivid memories are certain to be the schoolhouses and classrooms in which so many hours were spent Such memories are reinforced by the symbolic role of the schoolhouse in American culture. It embodies many of the democratic aims of education in a free society

Teachers, principals, and school reformers have thought about the schoolhouse, too, believing that it should contribute to the cultural and political education of the young As Horace Mann, the first secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, observed in 1832, the schoolhouse ought to be "a beautiful temple, planned according to the noble purpose of improving the rising generation, and bearing evidence, in all its outward aspects and circumstances, of fulfilling the sacred object" for which it was constructed One such object, of course, was citizenship, and since the 1830s American educators have thought that the schoolhouse should be a "citadel of democracy" Another important purpose has been the teaching of nationality In school children should learn how to be good citizens and real Americans, lessons that could be taught by the appearance of the schoolhouse and the layout of the classroom as well as by the words of the teacher.

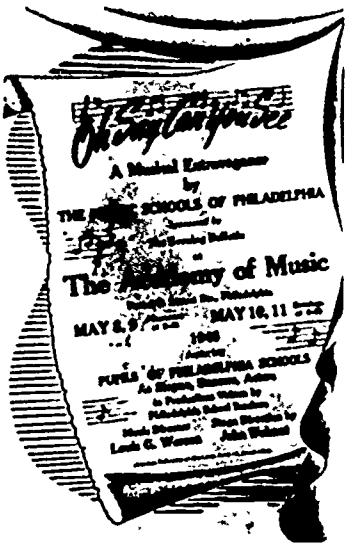
What is a good American? There are many answers to this question in a nation as diverse as the United States But the public schools have acted as if there was a consensus True Americans, one [illegible] in school, take pride in America. They know about its heritage and can name its heroes, they are loyal to its political institutions They believe in freedom and equality Convinced that America's greatness depends on these values, they are willing to defend them both at home and abroad. The good American has a civic conscience, doing what he or she can to make this country a better place in which to live. While believing in personal freedom, Americans respect the rights of others They are prepared to place their neighbors' well-being ahead of their own and even sacrifice some of their traditions in the interest of the nation as a whole

The schoolhouse ought to be a beautiful temple, planned according to the noble purpose of improving the rising generation... a "citadel of democracy."

By its appearance, inside and out, the public school has been expected to inspire children and remind adults to love America Whether a one room schoolhouse in a remote rural area or a comprehensive high school in a large city, its stately facade, flying the American flag, has been a source of national pride Stout yet well-proportioned, it stands for honesty and discipline, virtues essential to success in the land of equal opportunity Even those school buildings with two front doors—one for boys and one for girls—were no exception Patriotism, after all, was unrelated to gender.

Symbols of America have always been prominent features of public school rooms Although not as common as they once were, such patriotic paraphernalia as flags, presidential portraits, and framed copies of the Declaration of Independence remain customary classroom accessories. In the nineteenth century one might have thought that George Washington was still in office, considering how often his image could be found on schoolroom walls. In those states which remained in the Union during the Civil War, schools made the bearded Lincoln into an American icon Patriotic slogans posted above the teacher's rostrum spoke volumes to thousands of American school children. Such basic equipment as charts, maps, and globes taught not only geography but also national ideology It was America's destiny, after all, to fill the North American continent from sea to shining sea and then spread democracy to other parts of the world

Student artwork has been devoted to patriotic themes for generations. Displayed in classrooms and school corridors, pictures of Pilgrims celebrating Thanksgiving or "Old Glory" proving America's mettle at Fort McHenry reinforced lessons taught by textbooks and teachers Bookcases in schoolrooms and libraries shelved works extolling the nation Children learned the American way



to read, write, and spell from books written in the nineteenth century by such authors as Noah Webster, Jedidiah Morse, and William McGuffey. First published in 1917, *American Government* by Frank Abbott Magruder taught students year after year to respect the American political system. When David S. Muzzey brought out *An American History* in 1911, he could not have foreseen that it would become the most popular book of its kind. Full of heroes and villains, it told children what many parents wanted to hear. The United States was a land of promise. Led by men of character—free, white, and Anglo-Saxon—it was the greatest nation in the world.

In America the public school has been the meeting ground of many cultures. But newcomers have discovered that the schoolhouse speaks only one language. To read its directional signs and educational displays parents and children must know English. Between 1840 and 1920 some urban school districts experimented with the use of German or Italian in instructing immigrants. More recently, bilingual education has been touted as a panacea for Spanish-speaking students. But English is the national language of the United States, and it has always been the language to be seen, if not heard, in American public schools.

Classrooms have not been the only places for political and cultural education in American schools. Civic lectures, historical plays, and student government functions made their appearance in the auditoriums introduced in many schoolhouses by the end of the nineteenth century. In some schools the auditorium became a shrine to democracy, citizenship, and nationality. Busts of Greek philosophers stood on pedestals, portraits of American political heroes graced the walls. The faces of the school's past, looking down from photographs of senior classes long since graduated, taught current students to honor their heritage. Inscribed on an ornate plaque, the names of alumni killed in battle reminded the school of its sacrifices for freedom in America.

Physical education facilities broadened the lessons of citizenship. On the playground, gridiron, or baseball diamond, the young learned that hard work, fair play, and self-discipline not only helped win games but also contributed to the preservation of democracy. The lessons of the playing field applied to civilian life. As President Theodore Roosevelt put it in 1902, when he spoke to a crowd of students at the dedication of Philadelphia's new Central High School, "Don't flinch, don't foul, and hit the line hard." But often lavish sports arenas found in American high schools have not been an unmixed blessing. They have contributed to a moral misunderstanding, a belief that victory and virtue are one and the same.

Fig. 30

Americans have treated the public schoolhouse as a civic building, teaching students democracy and citizenship by example. In many rural areas the building doubled as the town hall, housing public records and providing politicians with a convenient place to meet constituents. Victory gardens sprouted in many school yards during World War II. Community observances of such national holidays as Washington's birthday or Memorial Day often take place on school grounds. In many turn-of-the-century cities, schools evolved into neighborhood centers. Beginning in the 1890s schoolrooms and playgrounds began to host ethnic festivals, union meetings, and naturalization classes. Only by keeping "the big schoolhouses" open at night and on the weekends, said immigrant and journalist Jacob Riis in 1902, could they "have the soul breathed into them," making "their teaching effective for good citizenship." Even now, many Americans vote in school buildings on election days.

In America the classroom and the schoolhouse are the country of the young. But in school the young have learned to be loyal to another country, the United States of America. Since the early nineteenth century American educators have faced a dilemma. Should the school be exclusive or inclusive, devoted to just one or many images of America? To what extent should it cultivate or even tolerate dissent? Open to the world, the public school could not always be harmonious or homogeneous, but in a nation trying to keep diversity and discord under control, the classroom and the schoolhouse, as well as the curriculum, were fashioned to build citizenship, nationality and cultural solidarity.

An "Outsider's" Perspective

Emma J Lapsansky

This land is your land, this land is my land,
From California, to the New York island

Woodie Guthrie

Often, a child gets his or her strongest images of what it is to be an American through song. Woody Guthrie's harmonious vision has impressed many an American with the vastness and the rich diversity of the nation while at the same time fostering a sense of belonging in the land that was "made for you and me." For other Americans, however, diversity and commonality have been more discordant than harmonious. The range of differentness celebrated by Guthrie have led many Americans to feel that they were—and are—strangers in their own land

Tensions and conflicts among the nation's ethnic and racial groups have, in many ways, fallen more heavily on children than on adults. Children are often more direct and more unabashedly, innocently, and casually cruel to each other As the turn of the twentieth century brought different classes, races, and nationalities together in crowded American cities, it was the exceptionally sensitive parent, teacher, or other adult who w nced or corrected the child who sang.

There's a fruit store on our street
It's run by a greasy Greek,
And he has good things to eat,
But you should hear hi, speak.

Few children saw the barb in referring to Brazil nuts as "nigger-toes" or to tissues as "Polish linen."

Newcomers in American cities learned that hard work and the rapid adoption of American ways could lead to the satisfaction of prosperity and acceptance

When I first came to this land, I was not a wealthy man,
So I got myself a shack, and I did what I could
And I called my shack, break my back
But the land was sweet and good, and I did what I could

Sometimes, for some people, the land *was* sweet and good What this song implied—that eventually the ambitious and frugal child could become "somebody," maybe even president—was often enough a reality

Fig 31

But for other Americans, generations of participation in building the American dream, and years of personal sacrifice for its protection and defense have not been enough to guarantee inclusion in that dream For some Americans the process of Americanization has remained perpetually incomplete

Children growing up in Afro-American households in the 1920s were soon able to appreciate the irony in their parents' recordings of satirist Bert Williams:

Patriotism always has been uppermost with me,
I used to go out every night just to kiss Miss Liberty
A friend of mine, named Samuel Brown,
Who lived next door to me uptown,
Heard of the war in Mexico,
Said, "I guess I'll go on down"
He said, "Goodbye, I'm on my way to Mexico,
See you when I'm back"
He said his name would always live in history,
*Like Johnson (he was talking 'bout Jack)**
I envied him, so I enlisted when I heard
The warlike bugles blow
But they hung my friend
*From a sour apple tree***
I 'xpect I'm gone before I go.

Much of being part of a community, a culture, a nation is an act of imagination, of being able to gather personal meaning from the intangibles which symbolize that community But for many of the children who grew up in American communities, it has taken a nimble facility with bi-cultural symbolism to be "American" and still be themselves The school bus and the 4-H Club have had to co-exist in the imagination with the mezuzzah and the yarmulke, apple pie has had to compete with sweet potato pie, Boy Scout uniforms jostled against Ku Klux Klan robes, the cannoli has shared the table with the hot dog All are part of the jumble of ideas that have meant

* Jack Johnson, a boxing champion and hero in the black community

** Reference to lynching of black soldiers during Texas race riot

"home" to various of America s children Some "outsiders" responded by encouraging their children to learn to be "American," to eat, dress, and speak like the "local" people

Americanization programs, instituted in the public schools at the end of the nineteenth century, were designed to help immigrants teach their children to fit in But these programs often engendered patronizing attitudes, immortalized in a still popular children s song

With my hand on myself I say "Was is das here?"
"Das is my noseblower, ya Momma dear,
Noseblower, eyebrowser, inkydinky doo
Das vat I learn in de school

American society was often harshly unforgiving of newcomers who could not or would not quickly absorb these lessons

Tensions and conflicts among the nation's ethnic and racial groups have, in many ways, fallen more heavily on children than on adults.

Lunchboxes containing pita or matzoh or fried chicken instead of peanut butter and jelly on Wonder Bread and Tastykakes spotlighted the little newcomer as an ideal target for the school's jokesters and bullies

If they listened carefully, children could hear more welcoming voices Settlement house workers promoted toleration Some schoolteachers had a generous vision of a diverse America And there were even some songs This one, from a series, " Little Songs on Big Subjects painted a hopeful picture of what equality might be

You can get good milk from a brown-skinned cow,
The color of the skin doesn t matter nohow,
Ho ho ho, can't you see, the color of the skin
Doesn't matter to me
As the peach pit said to the apple core,
The color of the skin doesn t matter any more
Ho ho ho, you and me,
the color of the skin doesn t matter, you see

School yards were more likely to echo with chauvinist choruses than with idealistic verses written to promote the virtues of brotherhood Countless children jumped rope to the nicely syncopated rhythm of "Dago, Dago, Dago, wop," without concern for anything other than the slim possibility of a bloody nose from the passing Italian who might take offense.

Fig 32

Children unselfconsciously maligned even those ethnic groups they rarely saw

Ching, Ching Chinaman, sittin' on a fence,
Tryin' to make a dollar outta fifteen cents

Surrounded by a chauvinist society, Children echoed the reality of an America that fell short of its ideals

No, not yet for everyone is the land "sweet and good " Many children know that they are not yet included in this land that "belongs to you and me " There is for them not yet incentive to "break my back," for they have not yet seen an American president who resembles what they will look like when they become adults no American president has yet been a woman, a Jew, an Afroamerican, an Italian, an Asian-American, or the child of an immigrant. Only in a few self-consciously pluralistic schools does any but the bravest child dare to open a lunchbox of "foreign" foods

Still, in mild and steady persistence, and in ever-more-numerous voices, the champions of heterogeneity spread their message Every day, Jim Henson s muppets remind millions of American children to be aware that "it's not easy being green." The same Sesame Street's Roosevelt Franklin suggested that one might even celebrate one's individuality:

Take a look at me walkin'
I like the way I walk
Take a listen to me talkin'
Ya know, I like the way I talk
If you've never seen my kind
I wonder where you have been
Lots of people have my kind of skin
Ya know, I like the skin I'm in

Where we will go from here is, of course, unknown But it is possible that the children of tomorrow will fully grasp the message from Disneyland

It's a world that we share,
and it's time we're aware
It's a small world after all

Checklist of the Exhibition

CASE I

Section A: THE YOUNG REPUBLIC Pre 1850

1 lithograph
"Centennial Rising of Liberty Pole in Philadelphia, July 5, 1776"
Philadelphia: *Centennial Album*, 1845
lent by Atwater Kent Museum

2 reproduced page from
The Life of George Washington with curious Anecdotes, Equally Honourable to Himself and Exemplary to His Young Countrymen (7th edition)
by M L Weems
printed for the author in Philadelphia 1808
lent by Free Library of Philadelphia

3 reproduced page from
Yankee Doodle An Old Song, 1775
illustrated by Howard Pyle
New York Dodd Mead & Co, 1881
lent by Free Library of Philadelphia

4 *The Mother of Washington and Her Times* by
Mrs Roger A. Pryor
New York The Macmillan Co, 1903
lent by Portia Hamilton Sperr

5 *Nathan Hale A Story of Loyalties* by Jane Darrow
New York The Century Co, 1932
Please Touch Museum archives

Section B: MID-19th CENTURY

6 sheet music
"The American Boy A New Patriotic Song from the American Sentinel, composed and humbly dedicated to Col James Page by Francis Johnson"
Philadelphia Lehman & Duval Lith, 1850
lent by The Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum

7 child's drum and bugle
American Civil War period
lent by Atwater Kent Museum

8 Betsy Ross doll
American 1876
lent by Atwater Kent Museum

9 Uncle Sam doll
American 1876
lent by Atwater Kent Museum

10 Army doll
American 1876
lent by Atwater Kent Museum

Section C: MIGHTY HEROES AND MORAL DEEDS

11 child's canteen apron in shape of Keystone State
American World War II
lent by Atwater Kent Museum

12 *Handbook for Boys, Boy Scouts of America*
New York Boy Scouts of America, 1945
Please Touch Museum archives

13 The Challenge of Active Citizenship Badge
Girl Scouts of the United States of America 1978
Please Touch Museum collections

14 Crackerjack prizes
American 1940-1969
lent by Center of Science and Industry, Columbus, Ohio

15 cereal box premium
"Outerspace Fun Kit"
American 1978
Please Touch Museum archives

16 lacrosse stick
Iroquois, 1934
lent by The University Museum

17 children's magazine
St Nicholas for Boys and Girls
American July 1918
Please Touch Museum archives

18 publicity brochure
"Trevor's Campaign for the Homeless"
Ardmore, Pennsylvania 1983
Please Touch Museum archives

19 ceremonial gown with award beads
Bluebird hat and booklets
American Campfire Girls, Inc, 1973
lent by Rebecca Stoddard

20 a. Rambo doll
American Coleco Industries, c 1985
b GI Joe action figures
American Hasbro, Inc, 1982-1986
c toy soldiers
American World War I
all three from Please Touch Museum collections

21 dissected map puzzle of U S
New York McLoughlin Brothers, 1887
lent by Atwater Kent Museum

22 child's cowboy vest and gun
American mid 20th century
Please Touch Museum collections

Section D: DEMOCRACY

23 political campaign buttons
"Vote Democratic" & "Vote Republican"
American c 1950
Please Touch Museum archives

24 bubble gum cards
"Children's Crusade Against Communism—Fight the Red Menace"
Philadelphia Bowman Gum, Inc, 1951
Please Touch Museum archives

25 newspaper advertisement
"Vote Now, Masters of the Universe, Create a Character Contest"
Washington Post, Sunday Comics 1985
Please Touch archives

26 board game, *The Bicentennial Game I*
"Birth of a Revolution
An exciting 'Spirit of America' game for 8 and up"
American Coach House Games, 1975
Please Touch Museum collections

27 baseball glove
American c 1920
Please Touch Museum collections

CASE II: RED, WHITE, BLUE AND GREEN: CITIZENSHIP AND PROSPERITY

28 board game, *Monopoly*
American: Parker Brothers, 1945
Please Touch Museum collections

29 board game, *Trust Me*
American Parker Brothers, 1981
Please Touch Museum collections

30 board game, *Easy Money*
Milton Bradley Co
American mid-20th century
Please Touch Museum collections

31. glass marbles
American early 20th century
Please Touch Museum collections

32 toy money
"Educational Toy Money E.S Fisher's Patent"
American: Milton Bradley, 1877
lent by Atwater Kent Museum

33 mechanical bank
"Uncle Sam"
American. 1850
lent by Atwater Kent Museum

34 card for coins
"PSFS Children's Saving Club"
American: mid-20th century
lent by Philadelphia Savings Fund Society

35 mechanical bank
"The Eagle Feeding Her Young—Freedom Nurturing Her Children"
American: 1883
lent by Atwater Kent Museum

36 *The E[illegible]nd Boy, or, How Phil Brent Won Success*, by Horatio Alger, Jr.,
New York: A.L. Burt, Publisher, 1888
Please Touch Museum archives

37 Barbie doll (with wardrobe by Oscar de la Renta)
American Mattel, 1982-1986
Please Touch Museum collections

38 toy oven
"Betty Crocker Easy Bake Oven"
American Kenner Products, Co., c 1960
Please Touch Museum collections

39 assorted American toy company catalogues
1982 to the present
Please Touch archives

CASE III: AN "OUTSIDER'S" PERSPECTIVE

40 U.S. citizenship papers
lent by Morris J. Vogel

41 board game, *Entry 1925*
Assimilation Curriculum Materials
American c 1980
Please Touch Archives

42 child's dress (worn aboard ship by a four year old)
German c 1920
lent by Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies

43 black Girl Scout doll
American c 1950
lent by Barbara Whiteman

44 victrola record
"Ballad for Americans", sung by Paul Robeson
Camden, New Jersey RCA Manufacturing Company, mid 20th century
lent by Gloria Weiss

45 original sketch by Sumiko Kobayashi
Basketball Court—Block 30
Tapaz Relocation Center
Tapaz, Utah; 1943
lent by Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies

46 *Told Under the Stars and Stripes An Umbrella Book*,
stories selected by the Literature Committee of the Association for Childhood Education
New York The Macmillan Company, 1946
lent by Carol and Bernard Mergen

47 flash cards, *Rainbow ABC's*
Assimilation Curriculum Materials
American: c. 1980
Please Touch archives

48 citizenship award
Bala Cynwyd, Pennsylvania. Cynwyd Elementary School, 1981
Please Touch Museum archives

49 chewing gum cards
"American War Songs for School Rooms"
American: Lion Chewing Gum Company, early 20th century
lent by Atwater Kent Museum

50 *McGuffey's New Juvenile Speaker Containing More Than Two Hundred Exercises, Original and Selected, For Reading and Speaking*
Philadelphia J.B. Lippincott, 1867
Please Touch Museum archives

51 *Abe Lincoln Grows Up* by Carl Sandburg
New York Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1928
Please Touch Museum archives

52 school publication
"The Washington Eagle"
Philadelphia Home and School Association of the George Washington Elementary School
1940-1948
Please Touch Museum archives

53 reproduced photographs
Japanese life at Seabrook Relocation Camp
Seabrook, New Jersey World War II
lent by Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies

54 magazine
"Special Immigrants Issue The Changing Face of America"
Time, (July 8, 1985)
Please Touch Museum archives

55 four silhouettes of U.S. Presidents and drawings for "Why I'm Proud to be American" (made by children in Philadelphia area day care centers)
Spring Conference, DVAEYC, 1986
Please Touch Museum archives

CASE IV

56 child's George Washington costume
American 1932
lent by the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution

RAMP CASE

57 mechanical bank collection
reproductions of banks from 1877-1907
Wrightsville, Pennsylvania The John Wright Company
lent by John Zazyczny

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Fig. 1. "Fourth of July Celebration in Center Square" painting by John Lewis Krimmel, 1819 Courtesy The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Fig. 2. "Liberty Loan Parades, 11th District Police Station, Philadelphia April 6 1918 Courtesy, The Library Company of Philadelphia

Fig. 3 "THE AMERICAN BOY A New Patriotic Song from the American Sentinel, composed and humbly dedicated to Col James Page by Francis Johnson," sheet music Lehman & Duval Lith Philadelphia, 1850 Courtesy, The Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum

Fig. 4. Church of the Epiphany Cub Scout Troop 26 in Memorial Day Parade staged by South Philadelphia veterans at 13th and Snyder photographed by Rosenberger May 30 1970 Courtesy, Philadelphia Bulletin Temple Urban Archives

Fig. 5. American Youth Constitution Day children of Philadelphia public schools salute flag at Independence Hall photographed by Wasko May 29, 1964 Courtesy The Free Library of Philadelphia

Fig. 6. Children observing Flag Day Parade at 20th and Benjamin Franklin Parkway photographed by Maicher, June 15 1969 Courtesy Philadelphia Bulletin Temple Urban Archives

Fig. 7. Safety patrols of John M Patterson and Avery D Harrison public schools join forces for a flag drill photographed by Montone June 12, 1959 Courtesy Philadelphia Bulletin Temple Urban Archives

Fig. 8. Young Citizen, AP Wirephoto February 28 1964 Courtesy The Free Library of Philadelphia

Fig. 9. Stump Speaking painting by George Caleb Bingham 1854 Courtesy The Art Collection of The Boatmen's National Bank of St Louis

Fig. 10. Election Day at the State House (Philadelphia) painting by John Lewis Krimmel 1816 Courtesy, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Fig. 11. Militia Training painting by James Goodwyn Clonney 1841 Courtesy The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts The Carey Collection

Fig. 12. Young 76 painting by Charles G Grehen 1855 Courtesy The New York Historical Society

Fig. 13. Soldiers Young But Bold International News Photo date unknown Courtesy The Free Library of Philadelphia

Fig. 14. Flags for Hostages AP Laserphoto date unknown Courtesy The Free Library of Philadelphia

Fig. 15. Boy Scouts loading sacks into Goodwill Industries truck 1955 Courtesy The Free Library of Philadelphia

Fig. 16. Child with toy soldiers California photographed by Russell Lee May 1942 Courtesy The Library of Congress Farm Security Administration Collection

Fig. 17. America's Appeal to Patriots Not in Vain 1918 Courtesy The Free Library of Philadelphia

Fig. 18. Child with toys at Christmas Brooklyn New York 1938 Courtesy Otto Sperr

Fig. 19. Brownies ready for Girl Scouts cookie sale photographed by Higgins January 23 1959 Courtesy Philadelphia Bulletin Temple Urban Archives

Fig. 20. Shirley Temple advertisement of Chrysler Corporation *The Saturday Evening Post* February 15 1936 Courtesy The Free Library of Philadelphia

Fig. 21. Guamanian family buying U S Bonds, U S Marine Corps photo from International News December 20 1944 Courtesy The Free Library of Philadelphia

Fig. 22. GI's Christmas for Korean kids U S Army photo from AP December 23 1954 Courtesy The Free Library of Philadelphia

Fig. 23. World War II Homefront East Harlem New York 1940's Courtesy The Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies Covello Photographs

Fig. 24. Children pledging allegiance to the flag *American Association of School Administrators* 1954 Courtesy The Free Library of Philadelphia

Fig. 25. Window Displays for Civil Defense—Philadelphia Schools—Logan School Project circa 1960 Courtesy The Pedagogic Library Philadelphia Board of Education

Fig. 26. Children celebrating Fourth of July newspaper reprint from 1945 Courtesy *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

Fig. 27. Election year lessons for our children *National Parent Teacher*, December 1954 Courtesy The Free Library of Philadelphia

Fig. 28. Choosing Up Sides *Milwaukee Journal* May 29 1938 Courtesy The Free Library of Philadelphia

Fig. 29. Poster for musical event on the theme of tolerance, participated in by 700 public school children under dual direction of the Curtis Institute and the Philadelphia Public Schools May 1946 Courtesy The Pedagogic Library of the Philadelphia Board of Education

Fig. 30. Kindergarten department James Forten Elementary Manual Training School, Philadelphia February 1 1897 Courtesy The Pedagogic Library of the Philadelphia Board of Education

Fig. 31. Peter You Can Never Be President, advertisement of Republic Steel, *The Saturday Evening Post*, May 20 1944

"Black mother in Transylvania, Louisiana, photographed by Russell Lee, 1939 Courtesy, Library of Congress Farm Security Administration Collection