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Cultural spoor as a focus for inquiry in the social studies.

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CULTURAL SPOOR AS A FOCUS
FOR INQUIRY IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

A Dissertation Presented

by

WALTER S. REULING

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

August 20, 1970

Major Subject: History and Social Studies Education

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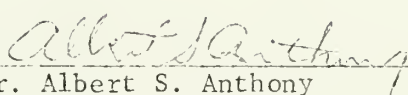
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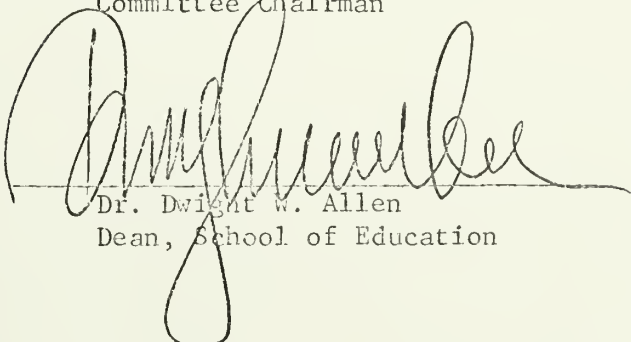
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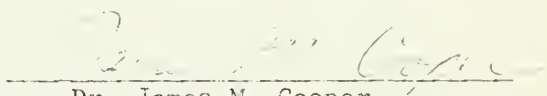
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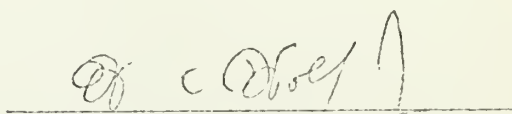
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August 20, 1970

P R E F A C E

Kenneth McIntyre (1964) admonishes the writer of dissertations in education to select a topic unencumbered by theory and then to decide in advance what it is that one wants to prove. Although the appeal of such an approach is considerable, I should hasten to state in advance that these were not among my reasons for choosing to examine the use of cultural spoor as a focus for inquiry in the social studies. Although "unencumbered by theory" to the point that until the term was coined, theory had not been brought to bear upon this particular approach, I would hope that this essay demonstrates reasonable conclusions based upon a rational examination of observations by numbers of scholars and teachers. But even more important to me personally, is the hope that my interest in things and what they can represent in history teaching will be evident in the essay, not only as it served a motivating and sustaining function, but as a factor contributing to a total effort that hopefully makes some sense.

Others whom I choose to implicate in the endeavor spread out over the next few pages are the members of my committee, Dr. Albert Anthony, Dr. Robert Jones and Dr. James Cooper, to whom go thanks and appreciation. In particular, though, I would like to thank Dr. Anthony for providing me with a place to work, unlimited access to his personal library and collection of materials, and for many hours of stimulating discussion about history, the social sciences, academic freedom and university governance, in addition to those hours spent with me on my particular problem, this paper.

McIntyre goes on to advise that a thesis need not go so far as to have a soporific effect on its readers. I would do him one better -- to hope that this effort might indeed have a stimulating effect upon others, perhaps even to the point of encouraging additional energies to be expended in the directions I suggest.

Read on.

Walter S. Reuling
Amherst, Massachusetts
August, 1970

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

PREFACE	iv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Background of the Problem	
Statement of the Problem	
Significance of the Problem	
Overview and Organization	
Delimitation of the Study	
Definition of terms	
II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	16
History and the Social Sciences	
Culture, History and the Social Studies	
Inquiry, Discovery and Reflective Thinking	
The Case Method in the Social Studies	
Summary	
III. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS	44
Dimensions of Material Culture	
Origins	
Physical	
Constructional	
Function	
Change	
Human	
Some Considerations For Selection of Materials	
Teacher Centered Considerations	
Student Centered Considerations	
Substance Centered Considerations	
Arrangements of Materials	
Modes of Experience	
Description	
Simulation	
Participation	
Summary	
IV. APPLICATION	77
Classes of Cultural Spoor Adaptable to Such Treatment	
Tools	
Weapons	
Manufactories	
Conveyances	
Public Works	

Things	
Homes	
Public Places	
A Sequence of Source Material Descriptions	
Levittown, Pa.	
Guilford, Vt.	
Brooklyn, N. Y.	
St. Bernards Parish, La.	
Williamsburg, Va.	
Leeds, N. Y.	
Plimoth, Massachusetts Bay Colony	
Newtown, 2,000	
A Partial Development of a Selected Instance	
Readings -- Levittown Instance	
Suggested Inquiry Along Dimensions of Material Culture	
V. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	107
Summary	
Review of the Literature	
Theoretical Considerations	
Application	
Conclusions	
Recommendations	
Underlying Questions	
Theoretical Questions	
Materials Production	
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	121

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
1.	3 Arrangements with the Common Characteristic of the Same Discipline at Each Posthole.	64
2.	3 Arrangements with the Common Characteristic of Multiple Disciplines at Each Posthole	66
3.	3 Arrangements with the Common Characteristic of a Different Discipline at Each Posthole	68
4.	Matrix for Arrangement of Materials with Dual Variables of Discipline and Medium.	69
5.	Matrix for Arrangement of Materials with the Three Variables of Discipline, Medium and Culture. . .	70
5a.	Combinations Developed from Figure 5	71

History -- whether public or private -- can be known only when and only because something that exists in the present bears some mark that was impressed upon it by a past event. Certain of these marks are impressed on the living cells of the human brain, but they share the vicissitudes of the cells themselves -- changing and fading and ultimately perishing. Much more durable marks of the past are impressed upon objects or artifacts -- pots and weapons and coins, charred bones and the tiles from ruined walls. These belong to the present, but they are vestiges of the past. They are evidence that something happened. By intricate chains of reasoning one can infer what did happen -- one can reconstruct the events that will account for the place and the condition and the form in which these objects now lying before us were found.

Arthur Bestor

C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

The Background of the Problem

Donald Robinson once wrote something to the effect that it doesn't matter so much what you teach, but how you teach. The products of learning aren't regenerative, he seems to be saying, which reaffirms what Henry Adams probably meant when he said that "what one knows is, in youth, of little moment; they know enough who know how to learn."

In terms of what the educational community professes, the idea is far from startling, but when matched to the realities of what does in fact get taught in many schools, the idea is largely heretical. Reconsidered objectives demand reconsidered teaching strategies and it's exactly this that the multiplicity of curriculum projects now extant are seeking to do under the rubric of the "New Social Studies."

Much has been written in response to the New Social Studies but few writers claim in any seriousness that the millenium is here, the possible exceptions being the authors or advocates of materials and projects now or soon to be in print. Those teachers and systems that have invested heavily in one or the other of the many packaged programs in the hopes of finding solution to all the problems of teaching may already be a little restless and perhaps even somewhat disenchanted with what they have bought. Much of the new materials requires far greater teaching skill and teacher effort than did the textbook and can be even more stultifying if improperly or unimaginatively taught. (Picture the results, say, of a read, recite and review approach to the use of the

Public Issues Series (Oliver & Newmann, 1967) of the Harvard Social Studies Project.) Those publishers that have tried to make their packages "teacher proof," on the other hand, have created a new orthodoxy that would put the old to shame.¹

And those programs that have already or will seek to combine the best of each into a heady eclecticism are risking confusion, disorientation, destruction of continuity and relatedness as well as a dilution or diminution of whatever substance may once have been present. For all the invective that's been hurled at chronological narrative approaches to the teaching of history and the social studies, it has yet to be challenged in respect to its potential for meaningful continuity.

From all of this, though, have emerged significant gains in the teaching of history and social studies. Fenton and Good (1965) have characterized the movement by pointing to certain emphases common to many of the projects. They cite emphasis on structure and inductive teaching, the renewed interest in the disciplines, emphasis on sequential learning and new materials -- all of which could be strung together in a litany to answer the oft repeated question of "what is (are) the New Social Studies?"

Allen (1967) assesses the current scene with something less than enthusiasm and perceives immaturity of the movement, atomization of effort in the development of single and isolated courses, a pessimism

¹The "materials cum orientation" package of the E.D.C. "system," for example, can at best provide the uniform approach necessary for meaningful evaluation and comparison -- at worst squeeze out whatever teacher creativity might have been present.

about the reconciliation of what appear to be the conflicting aims of the disciplines, and lastly, a lingering futility over the resolution of two familiar questions: (1) should the integrity of the disciplines be maintained or should the approach be interdisciplinary? -- (2) should specific subject areas be identified at separate grade levels, or should there be a sequential arrangement of non-graded units extending throughout the curriculum?

But whether mode of inquiry, content knowledge or value development is chosen as the ultimate Good, or whether the problem approach, skills development, generalization formulation, the project method or simulation are chosen as the vehicles for approaching one's Alpha or Omega, certain rather homely pedagogical near-truths have emerged from experimentation with the welter of new materials. We have learned, for example, that naked, undisguised interest value rather than historical moment as a criterion for selection of materials has paid off in dividends in the classroom. (The plethora of anthologies of short, arbitrarily selected readings now on the market indicates that students and teachers aren't alone in recognizing this.) We know too that innate curiosity and puzzle propensity in students can be and has been exploited to advantage in diverse materials, from crossword puzzles to gaming packages, and that variety in approach, in stimuli, in substance and in classroom procedures is absolutely essential, or conversely that its absence constitutes the kiss of death to any approach or package of materials. Programmed materials and independent study components of the new materials have demonstrated enticing possibilities in the direction of self-directed

learning. There can be little doubt that these and other factors can be looked upon as dividends from the current explosion of social studies materials, playing a significant part in what promises to be a steadily improving picture as more and more teachers add to their repertoires of materials and teaching skills.

But perhaps the most important lesson of all that may be emerging from the use and analysis of the New Social Studies is that materials packages or indeed the substance of any single lesson or learning experience must provide identification with the experience or needs of the individual student, whether real or perceived -- that there must be some point of reference to which the student can affix himself and that can give some meaning or relatedness to the experience in which he participates as a learner.

The case method provides such a referent, and whether historical, fictional or contrived, permits the student to enter into the learning situation while providing a checkback to the realities of experience and perception for confirmation.

As explained by Berelson and Steiner (1964) the case study intensively examines many characteristics of one 'unit' (person, work group, company, community, culture), usually over a long period of time. The goal of such investigations is to learn 'all' about the area of interest for the one case involved. Although this has been the commonly accepted and widely used notion of what constitutes the case method, particularly as developed in law and business schools, its narrowness bespeaks built-in limitations.

But if we speak of the method rather than the study, the goal perceived by Dinwiddie (1967) -- namely, to assist learners in developing conclusions of general significance from analysis of concrete situations, is made possible by an endless variety of means and is not limited to the historical case study.

According to Newmann and Oliver (1967), there is no single "case study method," rather, it is any mode that succeeds in focusing learner attention upon discrete instances and gathering detailed information about a relatively small class of phenomena, the ultimate purpose being two-fold -- to illustrate foregone conclusions, or to provoke controversy and debate on issues for which true conclusions do not yet exist. Methods for achieving such, according to Newmann and Oliver, can be found in stories, vignettes, journalistic or historical narrative, research data, texts, or interpretive essays. In their materials, such techniques are used to involve students emotionally, thereby, (the theory goes) making facts intrinsically relevant and therefore more learnable.

Commenting about the success of the case method in law schools across the country, Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School (in London and Lanckton, 1969) sees its "concreteness" as largely responsible -- where students talk about something specific and then derive generalizations from the concrete. Gilliom (1967) mentions the modified role of the teacher, from purveyor of information to that of catalyst prodding and challenging the student into exploration and testing of fresh alternatives, in conjunction with the case study's propensity for "bridging the gap" between "school knowledge" and the student's personal world -- as

factors in its potential for success in the classroom. And personal experience with students who jump right into the skin of a character in a case study in order to grapple with issues as perceived by different individuals indicates to this writer the high interest-motivation possibilities promised by the personal identification component that can be built into social studies materials.

An analysis of the parables of Jesus, the fables of Aesop and the fairy tales of Grimm may explain in part the success of those today who make use of the case method in any of its many possible forms. Hoover and Hoover (1968) see as advantages to the case method, the following: (1) it can be realistic; (2) it possesses the potential for igniting imagination; (3) it deals with a relatively large slice of reality in microcosm; (4) it may treat feelings as facts (in that feelings are facts in the personal and social equation); (5) it bridges the very real gap between the school-type experience and the real-life experience of the student and (6) it fosters analysis and integration of knowledge.

Statement of the Problem

For the purposes of this essay, therefore, perhaps we could suggest that personal participation in the learning experience, either directly or vicariously through identification, can provide the connectedness that Bruner says is the proper emphasis in education, and the motivation that we all know to be of such crucial importance in the teaching-learning moment.

The use of "Cultural Spoor" as another focus for inquiry in the

Social Studies adds another dimension to the case method and its potential for use in the classroom. The historical "instance" that is represented by a tangible trace of a culture past or in transit may provide the reference point, the object for identification and the link for relatedness while at the same time effecting a wedge of entry into all kinds and classes of phenomena up and down the chronology and across the disciplines.

The historical "instance" that can essay these miracles will be the specific examples of the physical traces of the culture -- the house, the ship, the canal, the container, the cathedral -- selected to be the case study, a medium or vehicle, as it were, for use by the teacher in pursuit of his particular aims and objectives.

The departure here suggested, then, is that the physical products of the cultures we seek to study can provide unlimited focus for inquiry, either replacing, alternating with or complementing the use of verbal and literary products as case material, to whatever ends.

Significance of the Problem

Throughout the history of any people stand many silent witnesses to that history which not only have a great deal to say about what they have seen, but also mirror the cultural influences that have contributed to their existence -- to what they are. These "silent witnesses" -- the spoor left behind by all cultures in all ages -- may have something to offer the student of the social studies, perhaps in terms of novelty and interest value, maybe in their value as a focus for inquiry learning,

perhaps as a springboard for whatever efforts the student himself might choose to embark upon.

Man's Home, for example -- a house where people used to and still do live -- has a fascinating story to tell of what it has seen over the years. As an avenue of cultural expression it reflects something of the economics of the moment in the manner and scale of its construction, and the aesthetic of a collective tradition in the choices, both conscious and unconscious, made by the designer and builder. It might mirror the political sentiment of the age or locale in the symbols it displays, and most certainly will tell us something of the organization and complexion of the family that first occupied it. It is also possible that a careful reading of the evidence could alert us to ethical and moral strictures of the time, and the structure itself cannot avoid demonstrating the technological capital of the moment of its conception and execution. In short, there seems to be a great deal about Man and how he interacts with his social and physical environment that can be learned through a careful study of the homes he built and lived in, his factories, the conveyances he moved about in, his excavations and mounds, his public places and similar cultural spoor adaptable to treatment in the classroom. And in addition to these possibilities and perhaps even more significant and interesting than what can be learned about the cultural balance sheet that they reflect, the things left by a culture may have revealing stories to tell about the individuals who built, used, occupied or discarded them -- about their eccentricities and aspirations -- and may even illuminate patterns or regularities of behavior that could be generalizable to other times and other places.

If we may begin with a rather oversimplified definition of culture as "the patterns and products of learned behavior" (Havighurst & Neugarten, 1967) it is evident that neither the behaviors nor the products of such behaviors can be easily separated from the other, and that there exists a kind of automorphosis.² A certain attitude or value, for example, can be given expression in a variety of ways which can in turn shape or redirect the original attitude, and it's for this reason that students of the products of a culture must be wary about imputing simple cause-effect relationships between pattern and product. This difficulty notwithstanding, the relatively permanent and unchanging nature of the structure or "cases" in which patterns of behavior are contained (not the institutions, but the receptacles or cases within which the institutions flourish) provide a continuing reflection of the learned behaviors of their authors and thereby become susceptible to imputation and inference -- in short, material for inquiry.

A significant percentage of conjecture thus generated is bound to be faulty. A certain amount will be highly suspect. Some may approach the truth of what really was and a little bit of it may be quite accurate. But if excavations 4,000 years hence turn up a steamtable from a church basement with the imputation that this was an apparatus for certain sacrificial rites, who will judge that the conjecture is any less valid than the reality? Or, as this excerpt from "Magical Practices Among the

²Coined to describe the phenomenon discussed by Kluckhohn when he writes that "culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning influences upon further action."

Nacirema" (Miner, 1956) so incisively points out, faulty inferences do abound --

The focal point of the shrine is a box or chest which is built into the wall. In this chest are kept the many charms and magical potions without which no native believes he could live...the charm is not disposed of after it has served its purpose, but is placed in the charm-box of the household shrine. As these magical materials are specific for certain ills, and the real or imagined maladies of the people are many, the charm-box is usually filled to overflowing. The magical packets are so numerous that people forget what their purposes were and fear to use them again. While the natives are very vague on this point, we can only assume that the idea in retaining all the old magical materials is that their presence in the charm-box, before which the body rituals are conducted, will in some way protect the worshipper.

-- but in discussing the American Medicine Cabinet, who will presume to say that this obviously culture-conditioned observation is less than valid, or that the caricature that Thucydides predicted would proceed from the foundations and temples of Athens is of any lesser value to those who would study them?

Words can misinform, notes Seymour Fersh (1963) as he discusses semantics and the study of culture, but it is interesting to note that the preponderance of data offered as focus for inquiry in the materials of the New Social Studies consists of words -- documents, papers, newspaper accounts, diaries, journals -- all highly suspect as symbols one or more times removed from the realities they profess to represent. Is it possible that "things" can provide a more accurate picture of reality than words? -- that the car a man drives may reveal more about him than his diary, his business correspondence or his obituary? --- that the spoor laid down by a culture, even its rubbish dumps, can give us greater

insights into individual and collective behavior than any quantity of words that people write about themselves? Perhaps not, or perhaps yes with severe limitations, or perhaps sometimes when used to complement the word symbols. Perhaps there exists sufficient promise for the approach in secondary social studies teaching to warrant a systematic investigation into its possibilities.

Overview and Organization

If Man's Home, or his Ditches, his Conveyances, his Manufactories, or whatever, can thus be seen as unbelievably rich reservoirs of evidence about Man as a thinker, builder, competitor, despoiler, and dreamer, then why not tap them?

This paper will seek to make it possible -- first by demonstrating that the traces left by Man as he moves across time and space are indeed rich in potential for use in the social studies -- secondly, by suggesting that the use of materials generated by such a focus can add another dimension to the already acknowledged values of the case method, and thirdly, by demonstrating how strategies now current and part of the repertoires of teachers now practicing can be readily brought to bear upon such an approach to the teaching of social studies and history.

In terms of the organization of the paper itself, the development will consist first of a discussion of the context within which the proposal is made (the literature relating to the relationship between history and the social sciences, the interplay between culture and history, inquiry and reflective thinking, and the case method); secondly

of a discussion of certain theoretical considerations relating to the dimensions of material culture and selection and arrangement of such materials; thirdly, of some application of these ideas by means of the development of representative materials, and lastly of a summary and discussion of conclusions and recommendations for further study.

Delimitation of the Study

Although it might be tempting to take on all of the windmills in social studies education, discretion dictates that we explain just exactly what this study does not propose to do.

This effort does not, for example, seek to assign values to the multiplicity of goals and objectives extant among social studies practitioners. The approach, or the strategy herein described possesses an integrity apart from any constellation of values or objectives, no matter how global or specific.

This essay, likewise, eschews participation in the debate that perennially centers upon the social studies vs. social sciences conflict, but if the overall complexion of the presentation seems to indicate a commitment to either one or the other, that is the reader's inference and one which the writer doesn't feel obliged to defend.

Neither does this paper speak to the question of substance or content, though a discussion of strategy must necessarily be coupled to content. Substance included by way of example is not intended to imply editorial preference for certain kinds of content over others. Likewise, the writer does not care to join the discussion of when certain content

areas should be taught, or even how or by whom. The inquiry vs. content discussion is left to others, as are the really large questions such as the nature of History and Man.

The search for a unifying discipline within the social sciences or social studies has been a longstanding quest. For some, the Grail has been history, for others anthropology and for still others, who can guess? The suggestion that the physical traces of the products of a civilization be utilized as a focus for inquiry in the classroom as a potentially revealing clue to individual and social behavior might be interpreted prematurely as advocacy of a "junior anthropologist"³ approach to the social studies -- if so, then this final delimitation: that the use of cultural spoor as a focus for inquiry is proposed as but another strategem for incorporation into the diversified repertoire of materials and approaches of the social studies practitioner.

Definition of Terms

History and social studies. The phrase "history and social studies" and more often "social studies" is used to describe the agglomeration of subjects, including history, taught in the schools that deals with such diverse content as history, government, citizenship, economics, geography, sociology, and so on, whether integrated or taught as separate disciplines.

³The possibility is beguiling. Spindler (1958), for example, suggests that "by virtue of this very generalizing, holistic breadth, anthropology is particularly relevant to the teacher of social studies. By implication, if not by definition, social studies comprises an equally broad range of interests."

The term is imprecise, admittedly, but will serve.

Social science. The term social science is used to describe the constellation of disciplines, each possessing a distinctive mode of inquiry, that deals with the phenomena of individual and group behavior. Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology, Political Science, Economics and Geography would be examples of the social sciences. For the purposes of this paper, history is excluded, remaining with the Humanities, though the whole matter is wide open to discussion.

The New Social Studies. Those programs and materials characterized by emphasis on inductive or inquiry learning, renewed interest in the disciplines, and emphasis on structure and integratedness and that are relatively recent, are referred to quite loosely as the New Social Studies. The term also implies a departure from "traditional" materials and strategies.

Discovery, inquiry, problem solving. Although some writers assign singular properties to each of these terms, the problem is that in current usage they are employed almost interchangeably. Since their use in this paper will almost invariably be used to characterize "types" or classes of materials rather than in a concerted analysis of any particular mode of thought or learning process, we might stipulate in advance that the three terms do indeed possess a significant relationship, but leave its delineation to others.

Culture. Where Phillip Bagby devotes fifty pages to the definition of "culture," we will devote a lesser number of words. A definition of culture that goes: ideas, institutions and things, derived through

invention, interchange and inheritance -- (no significance in the order), though it may leave something to be desired in precision, more than makes up for it in brevity. But more than just for its simplicity, the definition is chosen for its factorability -- its components lend themselves to ready application to the generalizations that this essay seeks to develop.

Cultural spoor. Coined specifically for this study, the phrase refers to the traces any culture leaves behind it as it progresses through time. These signs are more usually thought of as the tangible products of a culture, although evidences of erosion or accretion might qualify -- in fact might be more "valid" than the conscious products of a culture because in being not at all self-conscious are therefore non-reactive to a greater degree. Books, dwellings, ships, cathedrals, bottles, reservoirs, weapons -- all would be examples of cultural spoor as used in this paper.

Instance. Specific examples of cultural spoor are referred to as "instances" to distinguish them from the more transitory "events" that are the more usual focus for inquiry in the social studies.

Case method. Used in its broadest possible connotation, the term is used here to describe any instructional mode that seeks to stimulate discussion of issues for which conclusions do not yet exist, and the formulation of generalizations from the study of relatively discrete instances of individual or group behavior.

Identification. The term is used in a quasi-psychological framework to describe any degree of congruence between the learner and his experience and the substance or structure of the learning situation.

C H A P T E R I I
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Implicit in Chapter II is the intent to create a reasonably representative description of the context within which teaching in history and social studies has taken place and within which new developments must have their origins. This context will be described, for the most part, by reference to the related literature within the rather broad categories of (1) history and the social sciences in the curriculum; (2) the concept of culture as used and reflected in written history; (3) the development and use of the notions of inquiry, discovery and reflective thinking and (4) the development and use of the case method in the social studies.

It may be evident in the ordering of these areas that the movement is from the very general and least susceptible to exhaustive and definitive review, to the more specific and manageable, both historically and methodologically. The approach seems to have merit in that an ordered approach from necessarily vague and diffuse backgrounds, through a steadily narrowing focus up to the most immediate and relevant aspects of any problem, can facilitate logical inquiry, if for no other reason than that the broader the base the greater the stability and reliability of that which grows out of it.

Though every effort has been made to be representative in the selection of the literature to describe this context, the very scope and magnitude of the total literature make it necessary to declare in advance certain limits within which references have been made. As a result, any given reader will be able to note the absence of his favorite authority

on the meaning of history, culture, inquiry or the case method. It is to be hoped that the essay be thereby not fatally flawed, but the exigencies of time and space suggest that we take the gamble.

History and the Social Sciences

If the proposition that material culture take its place in the social studies curriculum as a focus for inquiry possesses merit, it must first be noted that though such evidence is historical in nature the inferences growing out of the data are of a social science character. It would seem appropriate at this juncture therefore, to examine the literature relating to the place and relative roles of history and the social sciences as a preliminary step to exploring the context within which moves in this direction must take place. Growing out of any such discussion, too, are questions of uniqueness and patterns of behavior, to which this section will also be addressed. Are the two terms mutually exclusive? Must it be one or the other? And, depending upon the answer that one supplies, how does this then validate the use of generalization and imputation in social studies instruction? If a review of the literature appears to suggest a sympathy for the notion of "patterns," then a basis will have been established for a discussion of "culture" and what its study may have to offer the student. But first, history.

The writing of history is almost as old as history itself. It has long been a part of human nature to be curious about the past, to extol that part of it that reflects to one's credit and to seek to draw some lesson from it that might have a salutary effect upon the present or

future. And for even longer than man has been writing history, of course, he has been teaching it to new generations, always with the vague hope that the record of the past will in some way work upon the present to produce a stronger, better, more successful reembodiment of his thwarted expectations or to avert what his most pessimistic view of the future tells him must lie around the corner.

"Happy is the people without a history," wrote Christopher Dawson, "...for as long as we possess a living culture we are unconscious of it, and it is only when we are in danger of losing it or when it is already dead that we begin to realize its existence and to study it scientifically." And of course, it's just then, when the sands are seen to be running out, that the answers produced by such study have traditionally been emphasized in the schools.

In discussing this role, Commager (1965) returns to the basic question of "why" -- why teach history at all? -- and suggests in reply that in spite of multitudes of historians and teachers to the contrary, history has no practical use. History has no practical use, he says, in that it won't solve problems, show how to win wars, explain depressions, predict elections or contribute in any overt way to progress. To Commager, history is useful in the same way that a lot of things that society values are not demonstrably useful and do not provide certain answers to questions. History is to be experienced -- is in fact almost an aesthetic or even mystical experience like art, music and philosophy whose value lies not in the answers thus developed but in the experiencing. His view, then, of what is useful and appropriate content in social studies, or rather to

what ends the experiences may be put, should be apparent.

Though slightly less taken with the literary uses of history, Muller (1952) is similarly realistic about the uses of history. Agreeing with Morris Cohen that the ideal of history is "an imaginative reconstruction of the past which is scientific in its determinations..." (Cohen, in Muller, p. 52), he suggests that the most scientific thing that history can do is take into account the reasons why it can't be strictly scientific in method. On a more positive note, however, he supposes that from such a perspective, universals or underlying uniformities can be perceived if one doesn't commit the error of attributing absolute truths and certainties to them.

To inform, to explain, to please the reader and to inspire him to action in the present -- these, then, are the principle purposes of history (Bagby, 1963), and they all have implications for the teaching of history. It is in the weighting, or emphasis given each, that are to be found in the underlying reasons for content and methodology in the social studies at any given time. In his search for those historical foundations of current social studies content, Oliver (1957) goes back first to the committee of Seven of the American Historical Association (1899) and then to a 1916 N.E.A. report. Where the Committee of Seven looked upon history as the only social science worthy of inclusion in the curriculum of the secondary school, the 1916 report reversed previous sentiment to the point where history was seen as only one of a number of "social studies" capable of doing something for the development of secondary school students. History, according to the 1916 report, was not a sacrosanct body of knowledge to be taught for its own sake, but rather a study that should be

justified in terms of what light it can bring to current problems, an interesting presage of certain current views. A course in "problems of democracy," as a matter of fact, was first recommended by this report.

Oliver jumps next to the 1930's and the work carried on by the Commission of Social Studies of the American Historical Association, which reaffirmed the dual responsibility of the social studies: (1) social education in individual terms and (2) the frame of reference within which such a personality is to be developed, this frame of reference then to be translated into the specific social science knowledge necessary to achieve the desired results. The new element here introduced, of course, was the moral and ethical implications for education.

Further significant effort in the search for guides to content in the social studies was to be delayed by the Depression and World War II. The next was to be the 1956 report of the National Council for the Social Studies, which advanced twelve Themes, each of which has implications for content in the curriculum and for concepts around which content may be selected. In summary, these Themes were:

- Theme 1: The reciprocal adjustment of man and nature.
- Theme 2: The adaptation of individual and group ideas to an interdependent world.
- Theme 3: Recognition of the dignity and worth of the individual.
- Theme 4: The use of intelligence to improve human living... and maintenance of the free marketplace for ideas and values.
- Theme 5: The intelligent acceptance of individual responsibility for personal and general welfare.

- Theme 6: Increasing the effectiveness of the family as a basic social institution.
- Theme 7: The intelligent and responsible sharing of power in order to attain justice.
- Theme 8: The wise allocation of scarce resources in order to bring about the widest material security.
- Theme 9: Achievement of adequate horizons of loyalty
...a sane and reasoned patriotism and a global humanitarianism.
- Theme 10: Cooperation in the interest of peace and welfare
...an increase in conference and conciliation, mediation and arbitration, seeking a consensus.
- Theme 11: Achieving a balance between social stability and social change.
- Theme 12: Widening and deepening the ability to live more richly.

It takes no great effort to perceive the central role that these themes are playing in curriculum discussion over a decade later, but even so, the formulation of criteria for content selection remains a rather tacky endeavor, the individual-society dichotomy being further confused by the content-for-own-sake vs. content-for-utility, and short vs. long-range usability discussions. In history, for example, should content be selected solely for its antiquarian or curiosity value on the one hand, or with the intent of creating some kind of reservoir stocked with data from which evidence in support of current economic or social theory can be extracted? Somewhere between the two extremes, needless to say, lies a reasonable rationale for the selection of course content. The trend seems to be away from the former and towards the last mentioned, a responsible compromise to be seen perhaps in the Joynt and Rescher (1965)

view of history as both a user and producer of generalizations, "first as a consumer of scientific laws, secondly as a producer of limited generalizations formulated in the interests of its explanatory mission and its focus on specific particulars."

The social sciences, then, appear to have created a place for themselves in the curriculum, though exactly where that might be depends upon who is making the proposal. Those who do propose inclusion of social science knowledge or methodology usually begin with a broadside at history as it has been taught. Rundell (1965) characterizes history as highly vulnerable to the encroachments of social science since it has universally been badly taught and its position overspreading most of the social studies curriculum makes it the logical candidate for attack. If history is indeed all about Man's past, then it should incorporate the wisdom of the economist, psychologist, political scientist and others, though without reducing history to a social science. "As long as one acknowledges the fact that the activities of man, the chief subject of man, cannot be measured or recorded with scientific precision, one conceives of history as a humanistic study." Rundell further sees the utility of tracing unifying patterns from history, but recognizes that these don't follow specific laws.

Howard Mumford Jones (1966) is likewise disposed to move slowly in this matter, seeing the value in analyzing patterns of behavior in other times less as a lesson in basic human similarities as a valuable lesson in questioning current preoccupations with current values.

Hughes (1960) notes a change in the self-perception of history from

the once predominant view of history as an inclusive, mediating discipline to a view of history as linking literature with social science, the same sort of thing that Nicoll (1969) speaks of in his assertion that the "sense of history" thus gained can give the student of history a more expanded view of the character of mankind than his own personal experience would have afforded him. Margaret Mead (1951) remarks upon the inevitable rapprochement of history and the social sciences as their carefully cultivated areas of separate and special interest become a thing of the past and as the expected unpleasantness attendant upon interdisciplinary work give way to an increasing "delight and pleasure" in the exploration of each other's methods and insights.

Though many writers question or even attack the primacy of history in the social studies curriculum, just as many see it as a rich source of social science data or material for developing generalizations about human behavior. Filene and Oliver (1969) for example, speak of an "untapped richness in the concept of history because by its very nature historical discourse is highly concentrated abstraction and summary about persisting problems in man's existence." Randall (in Baron et. al., 1951) emphasizes this dependency of the social scientists upon history and explains it as due to the fact that their subject matter is fundamentally historical, that the institutions they study are essentially temporal, and that they necessarily use methods of historical analysis. Cahnman and Boskoff (1964) perceive the common subject matter of human interaction to be responsible in part for the rapprochement of history and the social sciences, and although ready to admit that students of the past suffer

from the problem of working with an infinitesimal percentage of what actually happened, are quick to point out that the student of the present is often suffocated by too much.

And conversely, there are those who see social science as providing historians with tools and concepts which they may use to advantage. Smith (1938) feels that "our basic interpretations of the past find their validity in present and prospective reference and not in their correspondence to some unalterable and irrevocable state of affairs that have passed away." The interpretations with which the study of history proceeds will be invigorated in both meaning and significance by a study of present conditions and their problems" to wit, a social science approach.

The logical outgrowth of all of this, it would seem, would be a movement toward, or at least some discussion of, a unified approach to the social studies. Brown (1966) calls for more coordinated multi-disciplinary work rather than for interdisciplinary endeavor, and is just a little harsh with the "history as reservoir" concept, referring to it deprecatingly as the "grabbag" approach. Mendonhall (1963) sees at worst an "ill-digested mixture of poor history and worse social science" as being an all too likely consequence of a move such as that advocated by Keller (1961) in his call to throw out the social studies as being "vague, murky and too all-inclusive." Massialas and Cox (1966) see the social studies moving toward interdisciplinary methods for the study of society -- a curriculum organized to emphasize the principles that explain human interaction and institutional development. And Alfred Kuhn, in The Study of Society: A Unified Approach (1963), expresses preference for the approach

in which the analytical tool is placed at the center of focus, from which it can then branch out and be applied to a multiplicity of problems -- rather than the interdisciplinary approach where a problem is placed at the center of focus and all the disciplines are then brought to bear upon it.

But whether the approach is to be interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary (some say that we need both) the observation must be that much has already come from the turmoil and more is still to come. Potter (1963) sees the development of the behavioral sciences and their "convergence in a science of human behavior" as holding great potential importance for history, in fact displacing it as the primary study of man. "They are moving, perhaps imperfectly, but certainly purposefully, to resolve those basic questions about the nature of man and his society which history has not only failed to answer but has often failed even to recognize or to define."

Those authors who continue to see irreconcilable differences between history and the social sciences will continue to argue the description vs. analysis, and the unique vs. general questions, but some (Cahnman & Boskoff, 1964) choose to accept the practical complementarity of the unique and the general, while a person of no less stature than Professor Evans-Pritchard (in Mendonhall, 1963) avers that "any event has the character of uniqueness and generality and that in an interpretation of it both have to be given consideration." Or, as E. H. Carr (1967) puts it, "the historian is not really interested in the unique, but what is general in the unique." What can happen when this complementarity is

ignored is noted by Lipset (1970) as he comments upon those who comment about revolution, particularly the "revolution of our times." He notes the ahistoricism of certain writers and their exaggeration of the uniqueness of the contemporary, a condition that has led to the case of national hypochondria that Daniel Boorstin (1970) sees emanating from our current preoccupation with ourselves, the present and the particular.

Recalling the second of Bagby's (1963) principal purposes of history, that of explanation, it is manifest that if American education concurs, the kind of history or social studies that is best at reporting and identifying patterns in human behavior may be the most successful in accomplishing its aims. Assuming that this leap has some basis in logic, let us next look at something of what has been written about the study of culture as a focus for ascertaining such patterns if indeed they do exist.

Culture, History and the Social Studies

If the physical evidence of a culture is to be considered as inquiry material in history and social studies teaching, it will have to proceed from some understanding of the relationships between the concepts of culture and history. In this particular section of the review of related literature some of the thought that has been addressed to this relationship will be examined, particularly as it has relevance to the development of materials with an instance-orientation rather than an event-orientation.

A. L. Kroeber (in Bagby, 1963) has spoken of "certain vaguely discernible, evershifting uniformities, like patches of color on the

surface of the sea," which seems to lend a measure of literary style to Bagby's (1963) more prosaic definition of culture as the ways in which large number of people do things. If what people do is what constitutes history, then culture is the patterned or repetitive element in that history and if this description seems to make some sense, then a shift in focus from unique individual events to the recurrent or patterned aspect of those events seems to be indicated. Hughes (1960) predicts that as historians move toward social science method they can begin to "learn how the group mind works, how individual reactions conform to established patterns." And as if responding to the same questioner, A. L. Rowse (in Bagby, 1963) notes that "though the individual is apt to be unpredictable...great social groupings, masses of men, classes, communities, nations tend to react in similar ways to similar situations..." and that although one can't quite talk about laws of behavior that have the same regularity and exactness of the laws of the physical sciences, it is possible to make generalizations of something like a statistical or predictive character. And if that sounds like a description of the social sciences, then we have come full circle to how Randall (in Baron, 1951) describes all of the social sciences: all different branches of a common "science of culture."

At the epicenter of any and all generalizations thus derived, of course, is Man himself, and certain writers whose number is growing steadily are advocating a renewed focus upon Man as the most appropriate study. Anthony (1966) suggests that to merit a place in the social studies curriculum, history topics should involve a "generic human con-

cern." Linton (1936), as eagerly as he might be expected to pursue the phenomena for which men are responsible, urges first the study and understanding of Man himself, the "common denominator." Samuel P. Hayes (1966) discusses approaches to the more human side of history, not, as is often attempted, by orienting substance to the "human interest" factor in history, but rather by embarking upon a systematic study of human experience and behavior with the end result the formulation of solid and concrete generalizations about man. In addition to the increased significance of the substance of social studies content, he foresees additional dividends in the interest and motivational factor.

Smith (1955) concurs, advocating relating every principle studied to the "hopes and fears of mankind as a whole." In suggesting a new approach to the teaching of world history, Krug (1964) argues for a new and universal history with mankind as a whole as the frame of reference, the need, as he sees it, arising from the fact that science and technology (depicted almost anthropomorphically) have outstripped our ability to order our world. And Charles Keller (1961) has long been urging that Man and his works assume a place of central importance, not only in social studies but also in English and the fine arts through the development of "humanities" curricula.

If the commentary developed thus far appears to be setting the stage for a description of investigations and programs that embody the study of culture, the study of Man, or the study of anthropology as their major focus, then the suspicion is well founded, for here follows a brief description of the literature related to anthropology or man-centered

materials in the schools.

Winthrop (1966) speaks of the role that anthropology can play in contributing understanding about the resistance that custom, habit and ideology offer to the spread of any super-cultural phenomena, whether it be technology or the United Nations. Mendonhall (1963) suggests an anthropological framework for the study of history, though warning that too precipitous a change would be disastrous. Leinwand (1966) agrees with Hanvey (1965) that anthropological insights have far too long been neglected in the curriculum, and Spindler (1958) sees anthropology as particularly relevant to the teacher of social studies by virtue of its generalizing, holistic breadth and a range of interests comparably broad to that of the social studies.

History books and social studies classes have always been concerned with cultural and anthropological content, particularly in the lower grades where a greater emphasis on activities and the project method has lent itself to the construction of log cabins, pyramids, sarcophogi and the study of customs and costumes. But as students progress through their subject sequences, that kind of content and activity seems to diminish and perhaps unfortunately so, because as his experiences widen the student becomes more amenable to discovery and understanding of anthropological generalizations. Many textbooks (particularly in world history) of the past decade, though largely still chronological narrative in format, have been steadily increasing their "anthropological" content. As may be evident even in the titles, some noteworthy examples of this trend have been as follows:

The Record of Mankind (Roehm, et. al., 1961) which in title, introductory chapter and illustrations throughout establishes a cultural frame of reference, but which in substance and organization is largely political-economic-military chronological narrative.

A History of World Civilization (Savelle, 1957), in which the author attempts to present the whole of human civilization with the emphasis throughout that although there are distinct differences in cultures, each is a variant within the total picture of the cultural achievements of Humanity with a capital H.

A Global History of Man (Stavrionos, et. al., 1966), in which the authors depart from the usual chronological arrangement to four basic approaches, or themes: (1) geographical factors affecting the development of civilizations; (2) the development and spread of civilizations; (3) an analysis of seven of the world's major cultural regions and (4) the world today -- a "global view of uniting and divisive forces."

Our World Through the Ages (Platt and Drummond, 1961) in which is to be found some treatment of prehistory and the concept of civilization, and an emphasis on the larger themes of human interaction, though superimposed upon a traditional chronological approach.

A Living World History (Wallbank and Schrier, 1964) in which archeology and prehistory are likewise used as an introduction, but where emphasis throughout is upon institutions and unifying forces that transcend political boundaries.

But perhaps the greatest impetus to this move toward increased anthropological content in the schools has been given by a number of

groups engaged in the production and testing of materials -- experimental units and entire curriculum sequences that are either strongly anthropologically oriented, or out-and-out anthropology courses. The Educational Development Corporation (formerly E.S.I.) at Cambridge, Massachusetts has produced materials entitled Man, A Course of Study, designed for use at the Middle School level. The Anthropology Curriculum Study Project (University of Chicago) has produced a sixteen week secondary social studies course entitled Patterns in Human History: An Anthropological Perspective, and the Anthropology Curriculum Project at the University of Georgia is similarly engaged.

To keep pace with the growing interest in anthropology in the schools, a number of books have been published or republished recently, aimed directly at the high school student. Johnson (1967) has compiled an annotated bibliography of such books that contains rather extensive descriptions of some twenty-four titles, some introductory and general in character, some in physical anthropology, some in archeology and prehistory, and ten ethnographies of which some are prepared just for high school students but the majority of which are adapted or condensed versions of classical ethnographies with guides to classroom use.

Hanvey (1965) regrets that "so far, the capacity to think systematically about man's nature, his many societies, the whole career of his species has not been included in our definition of the educated citizen" and urges that folk ideas about social phenomena give way to understandings of generalizations about human behavior of the sort produced by the disciplined researches of the social scientists, with anthropology

playing a role in the democratization of the social scientific comprehension of man.

If those writing in the field today know of what they speak, if the need exists, and if the suggested orientation has any merit, then a great measure of effort must be forthcoming -- effort in materials production to be sure, but more than that, effort in the development of identifiable theory and the formulation of generalizations about substance and strategy that must be forthcoming if the movement here described is to be anything more than another dimension to the confusion already rampant within the social studies.

Inquiry, Discovery and Reflective Thinking in the Social Studies

If anthropology, the study of the processes and products of culture, or the study of man and his works can be viewed as an endeavor worthy of investigation and trial, it would seem almost axiomatic that the methods and strategies best used would be those that in some way make use of the concepts of inquiry, discovery, induction, reflective thinking or whatever way one cares to describe the modus operandi of the new social studies. Whatever materials might eventually be generated through the orientation under discussion, they will in all likelihood be framed largely in the mode of inquiry learning. The discussion that follows seeks to examine and comment upon the literature in this area, particularly as it might apply to the teaching of history and the social studies.

Bruner (1961) asserts that "teaching through discovery will maximize

the students' intellectual potency, increase the motivation for learning, acquaint the participant with heuristic devices in obtaining new knowledge, and help him to retain acquired knowledge," -- a representation that may err on the side of overenthusiasm. But if only half of the claims for discovery learning have substance, however, then perhaps "discovery" is rightly the predominant focus in curriculum development.

Not everyone agrees on what discovery is. Some prefer to call it inquiry learning, some like the sound of inductive teaching and some claim that it's the sort of thing that good teachers have been doing for centuries without benefit of catchy nomenclature. Henderson (in Gage, 1963) prefers the term heuristic methods as being less vague than "discovery" but hastens to point out that heuristic devices can be either inductive or deductive. In either, the process is initiated by exposure to data upon which inferences may be built, either with or without additional input from the teacher. The end result of the process is to have the student "discover" the item of knowledge. Hering (1968) sees the inductive or inquiry approach as ranging from total, independent and spontaneous discovery -- something almost akin to revelation, to teacher oriented discussion with the teacher providing the clues necessary to insure that the right conclusions and discoveries are made. How do you identify induction? Hering isn't quite sure but suspects that the key to the problem lies in an analysis of the degree to which knowledge is received and meshed with the existing conceptual frame of reference of the student, a notion that sounds a lot like Bruner and Dewey. Massialas and Cox (1966) characterize the movement as stressing the analytic rather

than the descriptive. Brown (1966) avoids the difficulties inherent in attempting to define "discovery" by describing it not so much as a method but as an "attitude, a stance, a style" in which the student begins with a question or uncertainty (Dewey, again) and then uses a variety of methods, perhaps even a teacher or a textbook, to seek an answer.

This rather loose view of the nature of discovery, if it has any validity, raises the rather basic question of disciplined vs. undisciplined inquiry, represented at one extreme by those who describe the systematic and formalistic steps in the process of thinking -- and those who see the process as a random thing with implications for non-directive or undisciplined inquiry. Berlyne (1965) sees a great deal of energy wasted in random, unstructured trial and error approaches and discusses the role of the teacher as an intervening influence to establish direction and minimize unnecessary waste of time, and Sanders (1968) furthers the cause of precision in terminology by his use of the terms "directed discovery" and "pure discovery." Newmann (1967) raises some questions about inquiry in the social studies, particularly in regard to the large slices of life experience that are largely undisciplined but which nevertheless possess varying degrees of educational value. But whether disciplined or random, the process has been analyzed into its component parts by many. Rath, et. al., (1967) have produced a taxonomy of operations that gives some meaning to discovery by making it an almost manageable notion, and Taba (in Fair and Shaftel, 1967) has summarized recent studies that deal with the structure of the intellect, developmental theory and strategies of thinking incorporating the contributions of

Dewey, Bruner and others. Crabtree (in Fair and Shaftel, 1967) performs a neat trick in putting a handle on the concept of reflective thinking by pointing to its origins in philosophic pragmatism and the logic of inquiry and in effect, proclaiming them to be synonymous.

"To think logically...is to think reflectively"...she concludes after her analysis of Dewey's Five Steps, which if true, makes the problem of induction-inquiry-reflection much more manageable, though it doesn't help much with the problem of random or spontaneous discovery, though Bruner (1960) deals with this in his Process of Education.

If one can somehow accept inquiry-induction-reflection as a sort of trinity concept (defying separate explanation but nevertheless all bound up in something that has meaning anyway), it might resolve some of the insecurities of the classroom teacher who strives desperately to create a reflective climate in his classroom while at the same time harboring feelings of inadequacy because he isn't structuring discovery situations or using discovery materials. Massialas and Cox (1966) have identified "reflective participation criteria" against which any classroom encounter or activity can be measured:

- (1) Does it (the activity) relate to an aspect of inquiry?
- (2) Does it require some initiative, organization, planning and responsibility on the part of the student?
- (3) Does it lead to consistent and socially integrated patterns of behavior?
- (4) Can it be used in an intellectually defensible way?

Massialas and Zevin (1967) in their book Creative Encounters in the Classroom, give meaning to the terms creativity, reflection and inquiry,

not so much through analysis (which they do quite well in the initial chapter, "The Process and Content of Inquiry") as by way of example in the materials for classroom use that are presented and tested against the theoretical framework presented by Bruner.

Lest we get carried away too far from the realities of the classroom, Leinwand (1966) sounds a cautionary note:

I, for one, am doubtful that this...can be accomplished through induction alone, and I am skeptical of the possibilities of having students see the great overriding concept or generalization by giving them a worm's eye view of the experiences of one man, one explorer, one city, or what have you. It may be appropriate for biological scientists to study the life cycle of the amoeba and to glean from it insights into the life cycle of man. But it has yet to be demonstrated that the same procedure is appropriate for the student of the social studies. Can we in a limited period of time realistically build up an adequate reservoir of inductive experiences so that students can discover for themselves the theories of government upon which the Declaration of Independence depends, the nature and meaning of revolution, the implications of nationalism and imperialism, the causes of war, the ways of peace, the structure of the Constitution, or the change in status that home rule brought when the revolution was won? Some alternatives to the procedures heretofore believed to be the sole arsenal of a teacher's strategy are indeed desirable, and inductive case studies are useful additions to that arsenal and are surely appropriate. But to structure an entire curriculum from K-12 is to fragmentize rather than unify the learning experience of the student.

And the follies of overemphasis on the approach (or on any approach, no matter how valid in and of itself) prompt Rundell (1965) to observe the possibly superficial, erroneous and harmful results that may occur when students are constantly urged to generalize on the basis of insufficient facts -- the "vacuous generalization" that Huston Smith (1955) warns us about in his plea for returning to a study of the principles from

which generalizations emanate.

The work of Edwin Fenton cannot be ignored as it is he as much as anyone else who is responsible for the translation of abstruse yet plentiful theory on inquiry and the social studies into useable materials faithful to the principles they embody. Early criticism of Fenton for his interpretation of "structure" as meaning "mode of inquiry" (1966) and his early preoccupation in materials development with the ways in which historians and social scientists inquire into their disciplines has been somewhat mitigated as the materials are published in toto and it can be seen that the emphasis is not overwhelming or disproportionate.

The work of Bayles (1950) is reported by Metcalf (in Gage, 1963) as being as comprehensive as any on the subject of the reflective method in the social studies, but has since been built upon by Massialas (1961) and Cox (1961), Barratt (1965), David (1968), Elsmer (1961), McGarry (1961) and Rothstein (1960) -- among others.

If any single observation can be made from a cursory glance at the literature on discovery and reflective thinking, it would have to be that despite a solid grounding in theory in the works of Herbart, Dewey, Ausabel, Bruner and others, the field is still characterized by an immense confusion of definitions and aims. Out of all of it, however, the implications are clear: that associative and motivational considerations must play a significant role in the development of materials and strategies in the social studies. There does seem to be general agreement in this at least, that the "tell and do" method of instruction, as well as it has served its purposes over the years, must push over a

little and make room for discovery, however one defines or implements it. If intrinsic motivation appears to be superior to other kinds, then too perhaps the meanings derived must be internally kindled, as Bolster (1969) suggests in his admonition to curriculum developers: that the student must learn that the purpose of the study of the past is not to find certainty but to clarify ambiguity -- "the ultimate source of meaning is not in the external world of events but within himself" -- a state of affairs to which discovery learning may be able to contribute.

The Case Method in the Social Studies

A reasonable mode for presentation of materials developed from nuclei of cultural spoor would appear to be the case study method, or case method. No other method seems logically quite so well suited, since learner attention is at the outset to be focused upon a specific instance of material culture. One could go so far as to say, perhaps, that by definition, cultural spoor as a focus, is a sub-class in a larger category of method rather loosely called the case approach. Here follows discussion of some of the literature related to this particular method or approach.

Much of the raw material for induction or discovery in any context of the new social studies consists of case material of one kind or another. The preponderance of it is in the form of case histories, or case studies, which consist of journalistic narratives of things that happened to people, served up with the expectation that the student will in some way identify with the person or problem involved so that the situation takes on an internalized meaning for the student and is there-

by better learned. Types of case materials used in the social studies range all the way from the use of cases in the literal sense (transcripts or summaries of court cases as exemplified by Starr (1959) to the use of data of any kind as an instance not only to provoke interest and promote reflection but also to generate some degree of congruence between the concrete and the abstract, the familiar and the unknown. The lad described in the following bit of doggerel was apparently unable to bridge the gap --

A student of business with tact
 Absorbed many answers he lacked
 But, acquiring a job,
 He explained with a sob,
 "How does one fit answer to fact?" (Willings, 1968)

-- and might be doing better in his new job if something had been done to assist him in making the leap from theory to practice.

The most comprehensive and flexible definition of the case method is that supplied by Newmann and Oliver (1967) which outlines an approach or a style rather than a well-defined and inclusive set of conditions. This writer's interpretation of their definition would be any mode of instruction that succeeds in focusing learner attention upon discrete instances -- presenting detailed information about a relatively small class of phenomena that has within it the potential for suggesting principles generalizable to other, larger and wider situations.

The case method (usually in its narrower case study or case history form) has been used extensively in schools of law, medicine and business for many years (Pigors and Pigors, 1961) but only recently on a conscious and premeditated level in primary and secondary education, though teachers

have for years been working materials into their lessons just for the purpose of being able to start from familiar and concrete situations prior to developing abstractions.

Although he probably wasn't advocating a specific method, John Dewey established the theoretical psychological and pedagogical bases for the case method in How We Think (1913). His admonition that "knowledge taught should be typical" and his discussion of how inquiry is capable of removing the apparent isolation and nonconnectedness of separate knowledge, clothing it with meaning -- seem to provide the case method with a respectable and eminently sensible foundation. And in his analysis of the maxim "going from the concrete to the abstract" he suggests that "at the outset of any new experience in learning, make much of what is already familiar, and if possible connect the new topics and principles with the pursuit of an end in some active occupation." It should be pointed out, however, that Dewey uses the term "abstract" in a relative (to the individual) sense, noting that certain very concrete things can be entirely outside the individual's experience, or that certain abstractions (numbers, for instance) are easily manageable and therefore within the realm of usable, manageable starting points.

Bruner, Goodnow and Austin (1956) predicate their investigation of thinking upon the near universality of the phenomenon of categorizing or conceptualizing, a condition or practice that promises achievements not unparallel to those expected through use of the case method. These are listed as (1) reduction of the complexity of one's environment; (2) assistance in identifying phenomena; (3) reduction of the necessity of

constant learning; (4) providing direction for instrumental activity and (5) enabling the ordering and relating of classes of events. These might well serve as descriptors of the kinds of procedural skills in the social studies that are at work in the formulation of generalizations from the study of discrete instances of behavior, as in the case method. At any rate, use of the case method seems to be a logical starting point for the development of conceptual and categorizing skills.

Although he's not too clear about how discovery operates to produce conclusions of general significance from concrete situations, Bruner (1960) is emphatic about the values that may accrue from the grasp of fundamentals. He contends that to understand basic organizing principles makes a subject more comprehensible, that memory is best served when a structured pattern provides regenerative potential and that transfer is enhanced when it proceeds from a solid base of principles and concepts.

Similar theoretical justification for the use of the case method can be read into the writings of Piaget (Jennings, 1967) particularly where he says that

knowledge is not a copy of reality. To know an object, to know an event, is not simply to look at it and make a mental copy, or image, of it. To know an object is to act on it. To know is to modify, to transform the object, and to understand the process of this transformation, and as a consequence to understand the way it is constructed. An operation is thus the essence of knowledge, it is an internalized action which modifies the object of knowledge.

"Intelligence" (meaning knowledge, or information, it is assumed) "is born of action," he continues, and "anything is only understood to the extent that it is reinvented." We might assume that the "vicarious

experience" that Oliver and Baker (1959) describe as one of the characteristics of the case method would approximate Piaget's "reinvention" or foster the regenerative qualities of which Bruner speaks.

In discussing the difficulties attendant upon moving from concrete situations to abstractions, Clark Abt (1970) makes a case for gaming (a strategy or approach well within the looser definition of case method) in his analysis of universal predispositions "to attempt to cope with reality by fashioning models of things they feel to be important, simulating what is believed to be reality in a simplified and scaled down model they (the learners) can easily understand" -- a "reunion of action and thought" as he puts it, which though in the case method is largely vicarious, seems to be common to both.

Oliver and Baker (1959) ask the question "What kinds of concrete experiences can lead to questions of a fundamental and general nature?" McKeachie (1963) raises questions about the effects of the familiar upon the remote, and about the interference potential of misconceptions -- and wonders what disadvantages are posed to the case method in social studies because of the lesser degree of hierarchical ordering that is inherent in the social studies. And McDonald (1959) discusses familiarity, contextual association, identification and relevance as all being bound up together and as having some effect on motivational factors.

The case method appears to be whatever one cares to make of it and is available for whatever purposes one holds to be important, from the resolution of value conflicts (Massialas and Cox, 1966) to the development of citizenship (Patterson, 1960). It appears to have psychological

and pedagogical advantages which may be more clearly demonstrated as additional research provides the educational community with findings that have wider generalizability than those now available.

Whatever its theoretical merits, the case method has found acceptance in a wide variety of forms, from the use of fiction and contrived situations to the use of archeological site maps and plaster reproductions of potsherds, bones and the like. The forms it will take in the future will await additional theoretical development and experimental justification as well as additional creative endeavor in materials development.

Summary

Literally millions of words have been written about history and the social sciences, about culture and history, and about aims, approaches and strategies in the social studies. That portion that has been assembled here represents but a small fraction of all the intellectual energies that have been brought to bear upon the persisting questions of history, culture and the social studies. One can only hope that the ideas thus gathered are representative and will indeed provide a solid ground from which next steps can be taken. If history and the social sciences promise more through cooperation than through continued bickering; if the study of culture and its instrumentalities seems appropriate to public education, and if the process of inquiry through the medium of the case method seems to be suited to the task, perhaps all can be assembled in slightly new combinations to create something usefully refreshing, or maybe even refreshingly useful. Let us see.

C H A P T E R I I I

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Emanating from and building upon the context created by the discussion of the literature in Chapter II, Chapter II of this essay seeks to accomplish four related objectives, one of which may be significant but not very helpful, the other three of which may be merely helpful but not really significant. In the latter category the intent is to develop and offer criteria for the selection of instances by writers and teachers, to propose varying combinations and arrangements of the inquiry materials thus selected according to chronological, substantive and methodological considerations and to describe certain modes of experience within which such materials may be used. The objective that may be significant is the analysis and description of certain dimensions of instances or things, a topology of the terrain, so to speak, across which the teacher or writer must move as he makes the choices that must inevitably be a part of materials production or teaching.

Dimensions of Material Culture

Any given thing or event exists in a multiplicity of dimensions. Delineation of these dimensions can materially assist in systematizing a given area for purposes of description and explanation. An event in history, for example, possesses a chronological dimension (when did it take place, and over what period of time?) that can serve as a matrix for description if time relationships are indeed what one wishes to describe. The same event also possesses physical and spatial dimensions

which can be explained by describing where it occurred, how many and what kinds of people participated or were in some way affected, what the extent of the damage or destruction might have been, what sort of buildings or things or wagons or whatever were involved, and other such readily quantifiable, describable characteristics. The same event can likewise be examined along its sociological dimensions, its "human" dimension or its technological dimension, to name but a few of the describable attributes present and available for use by the inquirer, whether he be author, teacher or student. Which of the dimensions are chosen for examination, of course, will depend upon a number of factors that will bear differing priorities at different times to different people under different circumstances. Among these factors (to be discussed in greater detail below) are the exigencies of time, one's immediate and long range goals, the varying competencies of the author, teacher or student, the particular interest of the moment, prior successes or failures, or even one's attitudes about such things as variety in the classroom.

In suggesting that cultural spoor can serve as a useful complement to more traditional inquiry materials in the social studies, it would seem to be helpful to lay out and describe certain of these dimensions -- those that are common to the products -- which may later serve the dual purpose of providing some system to facilitate manipulation of materials and providing valid bases for logical and systematic comparison. The dimensions of any given instance that appear to suggest useable directions for materials production or for any teacher considering the increased use of cultural spoor, and which are herein discussed are as follows: (1) the dimension of origins; (2) the physical dimension; (3) the dimension of

construction or manufacture; (4) the dimension of use or function; (5) the dimension of change and (6) the human dimension. Conspicuous by its absence in this topology of things is the value dimension which is excluded as a discrete category only because it suffuses all the others in the ever present realities of choice making, cannot be distilled out and must therefore provide a persisting and pervasive coloring to all dimensions.

The Dimension of Origins. Quite unlike the events in which Man finds himself involved, the discrete* products of his culture seem to possess the universal dimension or attribute of authorship. Authorship can be individual as in the case of crusty old Korczak Ziolkowski and his great stone portrait of Crazy Horse, or it can be collective as in the case of the committee that produced the Edsel. Where joint or collective authorship is involved, sheer numbers make it more of a task to pinpoint responsibility (or blame, in the case of the Edsel) and sometimes almost impossible. Where products by their very scope and magnitude assume the proportions and complexity of events, the task is impossible unless one is willing to succumb to the temptation and risks of attributing authorship to an "age," as is sometimes done with instances of Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals in Europe. But whether individual, joint or indeterminate, the pursuit of the answer to the question "Who?" is crucial to the description or explanation of the dimension of origins and appears

*Waste, pollution, woe and war are the kinds of products that though no less real, are non-discrete in nature and therefore resist description in terms of personal or collective human causation.

to offer a logical and reasonable entree for those who might wish to inquire therein.

Perhaps more difficult to establish than authorship but no less relevant to inquiry into origins is the matter of "How?" The nature of creativity, the processes involved, its methodology, the steps involved from inspiration through planning to the cutting of the ribbon may not conform to any one pattern or description but their examination may be no less interesting or useful. Is the Eureka Method a myth? Is inspiration no more than the one percent that Edison perceived it to be? Does group pressure inhibit or level creativity or does the collective experience open up additional avenues for exploration? What about the real Maverick, the individual whose creativity is quite spastic in character and value as opposed to the hack turning out stereotyped and predictable work for the greeting card company? These few quick questions seem to indicate the potential for interesting speculation and useful generalization if the "how" of authorship can be examined recurrently and systematically. No doubt few of the answers to all of the possible questions that can be framed around "how?" will ever be found, but questions need not always have ready answers to be of value.

Logically and psychologically, it could be said, need or stimulus precedes response. In teaching, however, and in our discussion of the dimension of origins, natural curiosity about needs, motives, stimuli or the "why?" of a thing seems to follow more readily after identity has first been established, or after some person or people have first been noted and discussed as the source or focus of speculation about "why."

But wherever it best fits, pursuit of the elusive "why" is important to the examination of origins and may in fact be the single most important question to be examined.

With the possible exception of the nihilists among us, Man invents and creates out of response to certain fundamental needs, whether the act of invention is deliberate or impulsive, compulsive or even when accidental, as the Freudians would assert. The design, engineering and manufacture of bottles in "Middletown" in the late 19th Century filled a very real need for containers for the various fluids we wished to consume, though the physical vs. psychological and social needs that produced the need for the gross volumes to be contained, so to speak, might take considerable study to sort out. Or what might appear at first to be the product of the need for a purely aesthetic experience (as some have represented for works as diverse as those of Salvadore Dali and Eero Saarinen) might upon closer examination be discovered to be responses to rather base economic or psychological needs. The matter of mode or style or form has interesting antecedents in questions of individual and collective needs and the possibilities for perceiving uniformities of behavior across time and culture seem particularly promising here. If one feels the need to be wholly multidisciplinary at this or any other stage, then he need only be sure that he has considered needs arising from all the spheres of human activity, or at least those that he deems to be important.

If the teacher or writer pursuing the "why" of origins in the process creates a matrix for some understanding of the context within which the instance was conceived and constructed, then fine. If not, then

relatively straightforward responses to questions about "where" and "when" will go a long way toward creating awareness of such a context for whatever purposes he may have in mind.

Teachers and writers manipulate and organize materials in the interests of clarity, interest value, meeting individual and group needs and sometimes even for the sake of convenience. Whether one sees events, institutions or things as his favorite focus for inquiry, the observation here offered is that among the exploitable dimensions of any given thing, institution or event stands its dimension of origins, a systematic perusal of which may contribute to clarity in explanation, convenience in presentation or whatever purposes in between one holds to be of value.

The Physical Dimension. The genetic properties of a thing give rise to physical properties, which together constitute the physical dimensions of a thing. Physical dimensions of anything are eminently susceptible to description and are more often than not quite measurable -- a fact seized upon with glee and dispatch by the temple measurers among us. Just as extreme, though in the opposite direction, are those who contend that the things in history which count best, count least.* As is usually the case, the answer probably lies somewhere between the two extremes. The measurable attribute may explain the immeasurable, or the seemingly insignificant external may reflect quite significant choices on the part of the builder or even the society for which he speaks. The gross dimensions of the amphora brought up from the floor of the Aegean may be capable of

*These two, the quantitative fallacy, and the antinomian fallacy are suggested by Fischer, Historians' Fallacies, (1970).

revealing origins, destinations, trade routes, contents, prosperity indices, bathing habits and all kinds of things, or can at least raise some interesting questions. The kind of stone out of which the sarcophagi at Stonehenge were whittled can give rise to speculation about where they came from, how they were tooled, how they got to where they ended up, not to mention limitless inferences about what kind of society would or could do this sort of thing and what on earth was the motivation that could have surmounted all of such purely physical considerations, anyway? The color of the glass in a bitters bottle from Antrim, New Hampshire, the shape of a nail or the tool marks from an up-and-down saw, the degree of entasis in a doric column, the location of a kitchen midden, the width of a canal or the draft of the Ticonderoga -- all are physical dimensions of one kind or another, but all represent a wealth of usable data for the development of whatever deductions, inferences, generalizations, imputations or what have you one cares to make or mistake. Raw material for inquiry aplenty, in other words.

The Constructional Dimension. But to describe something as it stands or sits is not sufficient. Two objects, quite similar in shape, size, or materials can be products of vastly dissimilar fabricating techniques. A Royal Barry Wills home standing in Duxbury, Massachusetts may replicate the dimensions and idiom of the real thing, but in materials, tools and techniques, in the labor forces deployed behind it, in costs and in what the finished products represent to the users, the similarities are less than between unrelated individuals with the same name over a span of four generations.

The dimension of construction, then, as it relates to both the

object itself and the socioeconomic, conditions within which it is produced, is suggested as still another way in which things can be examined.

A reasonable analysis of "construction" might easily begin with materials, with consideration given to choices in selection and the relative merits of alternate kinds of materials. The historical evolution of modes or styles in materials (in building, for example, a discussion of brick, stone, wood, iron, steel as choices) would seem to offer interesting possibilities for investigation, as might a discussion of the sources of such materials.

A second logical focus within the constructional dimension might devolve upon the tools or instruments utilized in construction. Tools such as the loom, the saw and the kiln, when seen as essential factors in the construction of a thing take on larger significance and would appear to be worth pursuing in terms of their workings, their operation and their history.

And a third focus within the constructional dimension might be that of technique, or skills, which might be developed concurrently with the other two. The training for and transmission of such skills as stone masonry, book binding or glass blowing would seem to provide a worthwhile focus for investigation not only historically but also on a comparative basis.

Where tools, materials and techniques appear to be likely possibilities for investigation as they bear upon the creation of the object itself (sometimes surprisingly well documented as in the Gillispie edition of the Diderot "L' encyclopedie) -- the additional ground of contextual

description or investigation might run to such things as markets, labor pools, social and political stability, costs, wages and the level of technological capital available, to name just a few of the possibilities.

Where possibilities for spin-off exist in the dimensions enumerated thus far, it is in this that interesting potential for both horizontal and vertical exploration really abound, while still another pedagogical attraction to the more concrete dimensions of construction is that it can be taught at a strictly representational level, at a highly symbolic level, or anywhere in between, depending upon the needs and capabilities of the students involved. The treatment of a certain mode of conveyance, for example, might take place by dealing with an automobile at the representational level or the Automobile on any level (including political, ecological, economic or even Freudian) that happens to be appropriate for those involved.

The Dimension of Use or Function. Things can't easily be studied apart from the uses for which they were intended or the uses to which they are eventually put, intended or not. To do otherwise is to study the works of man in the abstract and to commit the fallacy of essences in reverse --- to consider the whole without regard to its essential nature. The essence of any Thing produced by Man resides somewhere to the west of its thingness and just a little to the south of its functional dimension. Exactly where we don't know, but the relative magnitude of the functional dimension is almost universally agreed to be pretty big.

To study use in a thing is to examine something significant, though to describe it may be easier than to explain it. One approach to the description of function might be in terms of ends, goals or intended or

actual uses, as in statements similar to the following: The Great Eastern was built in 1859 to lay the Atlantic cable. The Norris Dam was constructed to impound the waters of the Clinch River, thus providing electrical power and recreational acreage to inhabitants of the area. The ironworks at Saugus were built to satisfy a need for greater quantities of iron. Statements of this nature, though, are tricky because they don't distinguish between stated aims and real aims, and usually don't consider the complex question of motivation.

Another approach to the description of function or use might be couched in terms of patterns or clusters of behavior rather than stated use, as in the observation that the front door of the Crandall House in Thetford Center wasn't used (nailed shut, in fact) from November through April of most years, or that the Tunbridge Meeting House was used on the average of forty-eight times per year for functions including regular worship except for the summer months when those who cared to risk it were free to worship with the Baptists over in Randolph Center.

So in addition to rather obvious but still significant answers to questions about what the function of a thing might be, equally significant and perhaps more intriguing answers might be forthcoming from questions about how, by whom, in what way, and why such functions were performed. The high level of sociological content in such investigation should be apparent in the data about customs, traditions and other patterns that will emerge from such a study. Investigation of the American Woodshed, beyond its capacities for storing wood, for example, might reveal interesting insights into certain initiatory rites and father-son relationships (or show it all up as a myth). The comings and goings on in the icecream

parlor, the general store or the dispatcher's office portray patterns of use that exceed stated function and provide a basis for promising inquiry. And to give even greater depth to the use dimension, consideration of misuse, dis-use and non-use aspects of a thing are available and capable of revealing additional insights about the nature of a thing and the humans associated with it.

And lastly, attention to the consequences of use opens up another wide range of information for possible exploration. The consequences of the use of Fat Boy far exceeded the immediate results, for example. The consequences of the functioning of any of Charles Kettering's many inventions far exceed the immediate use to which they are put, though teachers and writers should be warned about the pitfalls that abound in simplistic approaches to explanation of causation.

Whether the use dimension of an object is to be examined along its function, pattern or consequence axes is left to the teacher selecting experiences and directions or to the materials producer assembling case studies and explanations, for whichever and to whatever degree the dimension is used must remain a matter of choice. Suffice it here to say that the possibilities have been indicated.

The Dimension of Change. Except for some examples of contemporary expression programmed purposely to self-destruct at the moment of their completion, most of the works of Man exist over time and are subject to change or modification in shape, size, function, use and appearance. Change can be examined as it effects a particular instance over the years, as Norah Lofts likes to do with old English Manor houses, or change can be examined over successive examples of the same genus as

might take place in a study entitled The Automobile, The Aeroplane, or The Can Opener. The former (following one thing through the years) might provide greater propensity for identification on the part of the student, but because it involves a smaller sample may be less generalizable. The Queen Mary, from the laying of her keel on the River Clyde in 1934 to her "retirement" at Long Beach thirty-three years later has witnessed and been subjected to considerable change and represents a kind of materials presentation infrequently exploited in the classroom.

Apart from the passage of time and actual modification in use, structure or appearance, there are additional elements in the change dimension that might warrant consideration. Reasons for change, character of change and method of change, not to mention qualitative judgements that can be made about such matters as whether the change reflects a move forward or backward, are some of these. Is an evident change accomplished by design or by default? Is it evolutionary or revolutionary in character? What were the costs in terms of human effort? Was the change difficult? What were the consequences of the modification? And so on.

If change is indeed the only constant, as they say, perhaps the inclusion of it as a focus for investigation is important. Exactly how it is to be handled will depend upon individual predilection, but whether it is to be echoed as an underlying and recurring theme in the materials or as a specific topic or "problem" for analysis, we suggest it as a significant dimension to the study of cultural spoor.

The Human Dimension. It would be difficult if not impossible to measure the aforementioned dimensions apart from the people who participate in their existence. Use and change, construction and creation can no more

be investigated without giving consideration to the human element than can teaching be examined apart from learning. If one wanted to be systematic and comprehensive in his treatment of the dimensions of a thing, the human element could assume the position of a subcategory in each. But if one were less interested in form or use or change for its own sake than for how it represents or reflects the human condition, perhaps particular efforts might be directed to the human dimension of the objects one selects for use -- a focus already discussed in Chapter II and certainly a valid direction for movement. One way in which this might be treated would be at the "who" level -- who were the inventors, builders, residers, users, passengers or whatever, involved in the history of the object. Another might be at the level of interaction -- in what ways did the thing wag the person -- in what ways did the human interact with the thing?

Motivation, responses and reactions, preferences, choice and decision making, valuing -- all are human operations that take place in and around the transpiration of events and the construction or manufacture of the less transitory things around and through which people move and work as they participate in those events. To study artifacts apart from their users is to study less than the whole. To study the human animal as he interacts with time, other people and his environment is to do something of value.

Some Considerations for Selection of Materials

As often as not, choices involved in selection of curriculum materials take place in the absence of clearly defined guidelines. If guide-

lines are viewed as restricting and inhibiting to creativity, then perhaps it's a good thing that teachers and writers of curriculum materials usually operate without such constraints. But if, on the other hand, guidelines can be seen as indicative of optimum possibilities, as suggesting and permitting more comprehensive and complete selection, and as helpful in insuring that choices are consistent with goals, then it's to be lamented that more aren't available.

Within a few rather gross restrictions, the case materials that can be selected to enhance a lesson or teach a point are almost limitless -- most selections will probably "do" adequately, but some individuals seem to possess better judgement in choosing materials than do others. In selecting instances of cultural spoor particularly, some system or set of guidelines may prove useful to the teacher or writer. Such is offered here, commonplace though it may appear to be.

Teacher Centered Considerations. It should be obvious that the experiences a teacher develops for his students should be a function of his long range goals. A teacher of world civilizations whose aim it is to leave the students with some sense of the universality of certain kinds of human behavior will select and arrange experiences that are particularly susceptible to the comparison of Man across time and space. A U. S. History teacher whose persisting aim is to permit discovery of the role of divergent thought in the life and growth of our nation will be more likely to select instances that reflect the diverse in our culture than will the teacher whose passion is for unity and progress above all. A particular dedication to the teaching of political institutions, special interest and goals relating to economic man, an underlying emphasis on

social interaction -- all will produce differences in the selection of instances, because to do different things, one obviously needs different tools and different materials.

But teachers have immediate aims and short-range goals, too, that color their choices. A particularly heavy or intense diet of one type of experience will call for a change in substance or method, for example. A perceived falling off of interest and attention in a class demands the selection of "shot in the arm" materials, or reconsidered strategies. And immediate events and interests will determine to some degree what and how things get taught. But whatever the long or short range intent might be, materials selection should be consistent with such goals.

The very practical consideration of availability is another quite unavoidable determinant. A field trip to the Temple of Amon at Karnak, for all that it might do to infuse students with a sense of the magnitude of the thing, is not usually an available experience. Those things handiest, most available, are most likely to be considered, though "availability" could mean in actual fact, in replica or in document of one kind or another.

Student Centered Consideration. One could hope that choices in teaching aren't always determined by the whims or convenience of teachers -- that in fact the needs of the students play an equal if not greater part in materials selection. One could also hope that the long range goals just discussed are determined in part by the individual and

collective needs of the students.* Apart from such needs (which few would be willing to agree upon, unreservedly, anyway,) stand the more immediate and more manageable considerations of interest value and proximity to student experience.

Interest value as a consideration may equal or even exceed substantive moment in importance. Novelty, the possibility of something off-color, different, questionable, incongruous, illegal, macabre, unusual, risqué, ludicrous or unexpected -- all mean more to students over the short run than "importance" as determined by their elders who, as perceived by students, don't seem to be able to agree. A case study developed around John Mullen's 30-gallon per day sour mash still, or around a speak-easy on Second Street in Ashland, Wisconsin could score better with high school students than, say, the administrative offices from which the Volstead Act was administered -- not only in terms of immediate interest value, but possibly also in terms of general understandings of the period. This is not to suggest, we hasten to say, that entertainment value per se ought to outweigh other considerations. But it is important.

Call it relevance if you care to, but it's almost a truism that the degree to which the learning experience is proximate to a student's experience is the degree to which he becomes engaged in that experience. Local instances, in addition to high marks for availability, also already

*Though it should be apparent that as far as an awareness of societal needs is concerned, the teacher would hopefully possess a clearer perception. By way of evading a discussion beyond the scope of this essay, perhaps we could stipulate that individual and collective student needs are capable of resolution within the larger framework.

occupy a position in the students' experience so that whatever the lesson or truth or understanding that the teacher wishes to impart or have the students discover, meaning is enhanced. Biological and social needs run across socioeconomic lines, too, so perhaps the selection of instances that relate to these needs will meet the test of proximity also. Eating, sleeping, and having fun are processes and needs that are familiar to all students, common to persons in all cultures at all times, and perhaps therefore logical representatives of the areas within which one might search for instances of cultural spoor for use as case studies. Possibilities that suggest themselves in this category might include toys and games, examples of early bicycles or sports cars, beds and pillows (documentation on the Murphy bed is readily available) and even eating utensils.

Substance Centered Considerations. And then there are those considerations that, though they too are ultimately a matter of teacher choice, grow out of the nature of the subject matter itself.

The consideration of quality, for example, in the selection of instance and attendant documents is important. So too are substantive importance, vividness, whether the instance represents comprehensive or specialized coverage, the question of timeliness vs. timelessness, relative complexity -- to name a few. But perhaps the most important consideration, the one that will do more to determine what materials are selected is the matter of representativeness of class of phenomenon. Depending upon what one's goals may be, different individuals will respond differently, for example, to the question of representativeness in time. If materials are being developed for use in a history class, one might feel that instances should be selected from representative periods -- that chronological

balance should be a consideration. Those who aver that periodization is in bad form might worry less about developing instances from successive fifty year periods, but whatever importance one attaches to it, chronological representativeness remains a consideration.

To select instances from one geographic region is to commit ethnomorphism, and that's bad -- unless it happens to conform to one's objectives. An American history course in search of instances would do well to move beyond Massachusetts and Virginia. Too assiduous an attention to geographic representativeness, on the other hand, might result in the omission of otherwise excellent opportunities and a balanced but uninspired menu of rather ordinary fare.

But beyond representativeness in time and place, attention must be directed to the socioeconomic sector from which selections are made. In discussing fallacies of composition, Fischer (1970) points to the tendency of writers to conceptualize human groups in terms of their upper strata, with the result a substitution of Culture for culture, Civilization for civilization and Society for society. While not entirely discrediting the propriety of such a focus, he points to times in history when the larger currents of human behavior have flowed in quite opposite directions to the antics and customs of any elite. So unless one consciously intends to teach about the manners and morals of the Best People of the Early Republic, the selection of instances of cultural spoor should go beyond Monticello and the Hermitage.

And if we are to avoid the error of studying man in a one dimensional focus, he must be viewed in all the spheres of activity within which he moves. To select instances that report Intellectual Men to the exclusion

of his other faces is to be incomplete. People move about in a number of different worlds all at once, and if the instances we select are to have validity as inference generators, all those worlds must be represented in the selection of materials that purport to represent Man. Biological Man, Social Man, Psychological Man, Economic Man, Religious Man, Political Man -- all should be represented somehow in the selection of materials, though not necessarily on an "equal time" basis. This is not to suggest that all history courses should always teach all about man, because stated or unstated purposes often militate to the contrary.

Although no list of selective criteria can ever amount to more than what the teacher's predispositions will permit, and though much of what has been discussed verges on the commonplace, these criteria for materials selection are offered in the hope that choices that would otherwise have been made intuitively will be stronger and more defensible for having been made systematically. Although outcomes might be identical, discernible, checkable criteria can enhance consistency, comparison and evaluation.

Arrangements of Materials

If one is committed to an event-centered chronological approach to the teaching of history, then the arrangement or patterning of materials is pretty much predetermined. But if one doesn't care too much if he proceeds from past to present or from the present to the past and then into the future, if he isn't committed to any particular disciplinary focus, and if he can see advantages in focusing on instances every once in a while rather than on events all the time, then arrangements of inquiry

materials present almost limitless possibilities for combination. As in the selection of materials, their arrangement will depend upon a number of factors related to pupil needs, teacher interest and capabilities and availability of materials. And as in the selection of materials, no single arrangement can be suggested as "better" simply because what's right for one teaching situation may be wrong for another.

In the schematic representations that follow, all include the elements of time, discipline and substance, with the chronological element post-holed at 100 year intervals for ease in representation. Additions to or deletions from the three dimensions, of course, will alter the numbers and kinds of combinations available.


The first of the nine arrangements that we here suggest involves the pursuit of one discipline through the medium of one trace (thing, spoor) over time. Graphically, it might appear as in Figure 1A, with A standing for aesthetics (just for example) and  representing the instances from domestic architecture intended to serve as the medium within which aesthetic choices are evident. The scheme suggests that entry may be made in the present or at any convenient point in the past and could represent the plan of one lesson, a unit or an entire year's work. In this particular example, the teacher might have decided that a look at the valuing that is reflected in choices related to design would be a worthy endeavor. Applying certain criteria for selection of materials, he might have selected as his case studies instances of domestic architecture over a 400-year period and then in his presentation and in the students' use of the materials, have hoped for discussion and generalization about design in relation to needs, time and place.



FIGURE 1

3 Arrangements with the Common Characteristic
of the Same Discipline at Each Posthole

Advantages to this arrangement lie in its possibilities for exhaustive specialization -- a disadvantage is that interesting questions of an economic, political or social nature have to be investigated but briefly lest they impair the attainment of objectives.

A second such scheme involves the pursuit of one discipline, though through a variety of media in case studies at each date. In Figure 1B, A could still stand for aesthetics but the variety of symbols within the larger learning experience suggests that valuing in design be analyzed as it might be represented in instances of domestic architecture, bridges and conveyances, the instances constant for each date. This approach avoids the dangers of tunnel history as seen in the first combination, and opens up possibilities for comparison and confirmation. On the other hand, the approach would demand more time at each posthole or risk superficiality.

Scheme 1C, once again, is unidisciplinary in focus, but rather than dealing with a variety of instances at each chronological level, selects a single, though different instance for each posthole. In Figure 1C, A still stands for aesthetics, though it could as easily be T for technology, E for economics or S for sociology, but the symbols tell us that the case study from 1950 would be from domestic architecture, from 1850, conveyances, from 1750, containers and from 1650, public places. This arrangement overcomes some of the criticisms of 1A and 1B, but in doing so virtually eliminates the comparative possibilities that are built into 1A and 1B.

The approach represented in Figure 2A is multidisciplinary as can be seen in the letter symbols that represent aesthetics, economics, technology and sociology (or any other four or eight subject areas one wishes to handle) but through the focus of one medium, in this example, domestic



FIGURE 2

3 Arrangements with the Common Characteristic
of Multiple Disciplines at Each Posthole

architecture. Case studies developed at each time level, then, could be examined in a multi-disciplinary framework. Comparisons across time are somewhat facilitated by this approach, and the comprehensive nature of the analysis speaks in its favor, though at the cost of concentration or specialization in any one.

Arrangements - 2B and 2C are also multi-disciplinary at each posthole, 2B through the same variety of traces at each date, 2C with a different trace at each date. An examination and comparison of 2B and 2C (or of any of the possible combinations, for that matter) will reveal certain advantages and disadvantages for differing teaching aims and requirements. 2B may appear to some to be too diffuse, perhaps -- or rather, more suitable over a long-term plan, whereas 2C provides the same variety though in more manageable doses.

The combinations represented in Figures 3A through 3C have as their common ingredient a different single substantive focus at each time level, which might provide the advantage of multi-disciplined attack though with the more manageable one barrel at a time. 3A brings a different discipline to bear on successively different examples of the same medium. The diagram might be seen as representing how a mid-20th Century example of domestic architecture is examined through economic spectacles, a mid-19th Century instance through aesthetic spectacles, a mid-18th through sociological, and so forth and so on. Figure 3B provides for the examination of a variety of media with a different discipline at each date, and 3C permits a different trace to be examined with a different discipline at each of the successive postholes.

If potential for comparison is a highly considered value in one's



FIGURE 3

3 Arrangements with the Common Characteristic
of a Different Discipline at Each Posthole

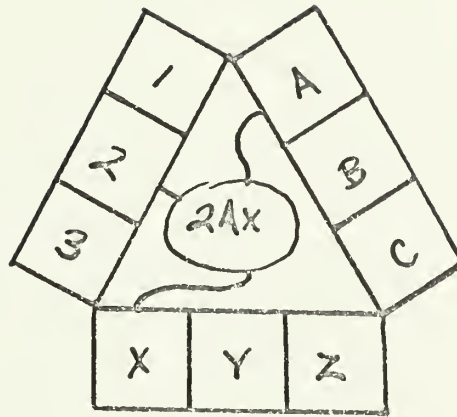
	A	B	C
1	1A	1B	1C
2	2A	2B	2C
3	3A	3B	3C

1. Same Discipline Each Date
2. Multi-Discipline Each Date
3. Different Discipline Each Date

- A. Same Medium Each Date
- B. Multi-Media Each Date
- C. Different Medium Each Date

FIGURE 4

Matrix for Arrangement of Materials
with Dual Variables of Discipline and Medium



1. Same discipline each date
 2. Multi-discipline each date
 3. Different discipline each date
-
- A. Same medium each date
 - B. Multi-media each date
 - C. Different medium each date
-
- X. Same culture each date
 - Y. Multi-culture each date
 - Z. Different culture each date

Figure 5

Matrix for Arrangement of Materials
With the Three Variables of Discipline, Medium and Culture

1AX	1BX	1CX
1AY	1BY	1CY
1AZ	1BZ	1CZ
2AX	2BX	2CX
2AY	2BY	2CY
2AZ	2BZ	2CZ
3AX	3BX	3CX
3AY	3BY	3CY
3AZ	3BZ	3CZ

Figure 5a

Combinations Developed from Figure 5

personal array of priorities, then certain of these combinations will prove to be more suitable than others. If comprehensiveness of coverage in the application of analytic tools of the disciplines is important to one, then certain others will be more appropriate. If a deeper examination of a particular discipline, of a particular medium, or of a certain time period is what one deems to be important, then still others will offer best what one most wants. And if cross-cultural comparisons are what one seeks, then none of these combinations will do just exactly what one wants or even help very much, except perhaps to provide a model for arranging the variables according to one's priorities. Simple matrices can thus be developed to incorporate unlimited numbers of variables, as in Figure 4, which represents the matrix from which the preceding nine combinations were derived, or Figure 5 which incorporates the additional element of cultural variation, thus boosting the total number of possible combinations to twenty seven.

Modes of Experience

Rather than seeking to apply specific instructional techniques to the use of material culture, this essay elects instead to discuss certain modes of experience within which the writer or teacher may apply those techniques with which he's most comfortable or which seem most appropriate to the situation.

Description, simulation and participation are three modes of experiencing that seem to embrace the full range of instructional approaches, providing a simple classification scheme that may be useful in terms of getting optimum use of materials in relation to the needs and opportunities

of the instructional situation. None is exhaustive or inclusive, and as any teacher will tell you, neither are they independent, though for the purposes of this brief discussion, they will be treated as if they were.

Description. As a mode of participation in any event or instance, description is necessarily after the fact, removed from instance or event, couched in abstractions and therefore probably bears less learning impact than those types of experience closer to the realities of the actual occurrence. Description alone, whether written as in books or spoken as in the lecture, achieves full utility only when coupled with explanation, either in the perception of the recipient or by means of the mediating influence of the author or teacher. By whatever name it is known, description and explanation in the form of a teacher making oral presentation to students can take place in relation to instances of material culture as readily as it does to events. Not necessarily limited to one way discourse and amenable to unlimited variation, the lecture and the text best fulfill their purposes when crafted with a clear understanding of what those purposes are. A useful scheme for classifying function and clarifying intent in description and explanation is that offered by Swift (in Metcalf, in Gage, 1963) in which five types of relational explanation are discussed: (1) the dispositional, (2) the psychological, (3) the genetic, (4) the causal and (5) the historical. Most explanation in texts and from teachers seems to run to causal and historical, with less frequent use of the genetic and those that relate to human motivation. Once aware of these types of relational explanation, those who speak and those who write can more easily perceive their overcommitment to any one, or

conversely, their continued slight of any one.

Description (and then explanation) implies the use of examples and therefore is well suited as a medium through which cultural spoor may be exploited.

Simulation. But word descriptions, no matter how carefully crafted, are symbolic abstractions and as such somewhat less than ideal for day in, day out, unrelenting use in the social studies classroom. A degree closer to the instance than description affords is the instance in simulation. Approaches to simulation are many, and include movies, pictures, recordings, gaming, the use of models and replicas, the so-called project method and, to stretch a point, the use of primary source materials which, though usually peripheral to the instance or incident, are nevertheless a real part of the context within which the instance occurred. When these and other devices are used to immerse the student in an approximation of the actual instance, the role of external explanation may diminish to be supplanted by internal explanation, or as some prefer to call it, discovery.

Participation. If there's anything at all to the folk wisdom contained in --

I hear and I forget,
I see and I remember --
I do and I understand.

then the possibilities for real learning appear to be enhanced as the learner actually "does" or participates in the experience. This may be direct as in the case of the field trip or actual use of objects, or it may be vicarious as in exposure to authorities -- persons who have been there. As understanding may increase through direct participation,

however, it's only fair to point out that efficiency as measured by "understandings gained per hour of instructional time" seems to decrease proportionately.

It's possible that there exists some kind of balance among these modes of instruction that is optimum for the requirements of any given situation. Teacher capabilities and preferences will influence choice, as certainly will availability of instances, or their approximations. And the role of explanation in all three should be evident as it essays to bridge the gap between description and understanding, and between perception and understanding.

Summary

Chapter III of this essay has tried to give the curriculum worker or the teacher (usually one and the same) something to go on as he explores the possibilities of using instances of cultural spoor in the learning situations he seeks to develop. The proposition that a thing be handled in terms of the dimensions suggested -- its origins, construction, use, etc.) -- may ultimately produce materials and emphases somewhat different from the more usual use of things as they relate to events. But more than merely suggesting corners in which to look, the taxonomy of dimensions as here suggested provides a structure that can remain constant from lesson to lesson (if that's what one wants) or throughout any continued use of cultural spoor, no matter how sporadic. Such a structure may ease material collection, provide a framework for continuing analysis and comparison, and create consistency and pattern to the enhancement of the learning process.

The few observations offered about materials selection aren't new, are probably not comprehensive and certainly aren't complete. What value they may possess probably lies in their suggestion that choices in materials can move beyond hunch and intuitive judgement -- that system and logic are desirable factors and should be included in the selection process.

The patterns of arrangement are proposed as indicative of the way that the variables relating to goals, substance and strategy can be combined and recombined into whatever patterns most particularly suit the needs of teachers and learners. Rather than providing structures that may be limiting to teacher initiative and ingenuity, perhaps these can be seen as suggestive of thousands more, the important thing being their development from goals, materials and approaches in a systematic and replicable way.

And the classification of current teaching techniques into a scheme that establishes some measure of "distance" from experience may again be helpful in assisting writers or teachers faced with the task of selecting and deploying appropriate materials.

Chapter III has not provided anyone with a "how-to-do-it" bag from which he can extract lessons or units. It has, however, indicated some of the directions in which he is free to move, and may suggest still others that he might consider for himself.

C H A P T E R I V

APPLICATION

Where Chapter III deals primarily with theoretical considerations, this chapter essays to suggest some ways in which this can all be put to some use. The first effort in this direction will take the form of a catalogue of examples of the types of "things" that would seem to lend themselves to the uses suggested in this paper. For every suggestion offered, of course, other and better examples undoubtedly exist. The purpose in discussing these quite arbitrarily selected examples is to indicate the wealth of substance available to those who might care to mine it in post-holes of their own choosing. The second effort towards "application" takes the form of one such class of things put together into a sequence of experiences that might represent the skeleton of a "unit" in American history that is multidisciplinary in approach through the unifying medium of domestic architecture. (Arrangement 2a from Figure 2.) The materials suggested obviously are "raw," to be done with as one sees fit, though it will become obvious that the results of the process of selection will have something to do with the best uses to which they can be put. Part III of this chapter consists of but one of the instances in such a plan, developed to the point of selection and arrangement of source materials with a representative array of "why" questions to indicate some of the depth and range to which inquiry might occur. Textual interspersions are omitted, but would follow and grow out of one's objectives in selecting and offering the materials.

Classes of Cultural Spoor Adaptable to Such Treatment

Here follow some examples of kinds of material culture that seem to be suited for the treatment and use suggested by this paper.

Tools. The machines and devices that man develops to focus, preserve and multiply his energies constitute a potentially rich source of inference when considered in terms of their origins, development and evolution as well as in the larger consequences that emanate from their use. The Plow, to use an overworked example, is capable of effecting access to interesting and useful inquiry into questions that have to do with economics, technology, and social patterns in either longitudinal investigation or cross-cultural comparison. To one with any degree of resourcefulness, equal riches may be found to be lurking behind the Wrench, the Xerox 914, the Rivetgun, the Steamshovel, the Hoe or Mr. Hoover's Strange Machine, to mention but a few of the possibilities, the full potential of which has been suggested by the sort of thing that Eric Sloane (1964) has accomplished with a number of his titles.

Weapons. Though tools by any definition, weapons as a class of tools has built into it an additional dimension of human experience. The tank, the arbalast, the atom bomb, the pigeon directed Skinner missile, the longbow, the F-111 -- if developed as case studies either isolated from other considerations, within a chronological historical context or grouped together for prolonged scrutiny in a unit sort of thing, would seem to possess value for those who would care to capitalize upon it.

Manufactories. Large, old, small, new -- wherever and whenever

individuals or associations have set up arrangements for making things, the factories thus developed represent a wealth of data for study and inference. The Lockheed plant at Marietta, Georgia represents considerable sociological information over and above its expected yield in terms of technological and political data. The ironworks at Saugus, Massachusetts (in restoration) represents something of significance from a day long past. The conditions under which Lucy Larcom worked in Lowell, or if one prefers to stick to the familiar, Slater's Mill or the first plant at Dearborn, would appear to possess considerable possibilities for those who would care to use them.

Conveyances. How people get around tells much about them and their values, and can reveal social and technological disparities between time periods, across cultures or within societies if that's what one wishes to pursue. Whatever the "lesson" that one might wish to have students discover, there are instances of private and public conveyance that will go a long way toward doing the job when put into case study form. Consider the inferential potential of the Pullman car, the Zeppelin, the M.T.A., the Leviathan or the Mistral in public transportation, or of the Tucker, the Conestoga wagon, Mr. Piper's little yellow J-3, J.F.K.'s Lincoln or the Stanley Steamer, to name a few private conveyances around which case studies might be developed. And if timeliness counts for anything, the role of the internal combustion engine vis-a-vis air pollution might suggest relevant directions for inquiry. And although it seems to defy analysis, there's something about things that go that seems to appeal to people of all ages, but particularly to school kids.

Public works. Those instances that have developed from the minds of civil engineers or their equivalents seem to present another class of cultural spoor with high utility value. Public works represent the products of the corporate mind and as such are capable of revealing insights about corporate life in any age. The aquaduct at Segovia, or for that matter Rome's water system would make interesting case studies. Hadrian's Wall, the Erie Canal, the High Aswan Dam, any of the pyramids or even the sewage disposal system of Paris, France in 1850 or of Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1970 would likewise serve well, as would thousands of similar instances, exotic and familiar, simple and complex.

Things. And then there is that great number of objects and artifacts that defy classification except along their common line of curiosity value. The electric can opener and the 18th century apple-peeler might offer potential for comparison if that's what one wants; the bitters bottle and the non-returnable beer can suggest possibilities for investigation of aesthetic, utilitarian, economic and social considerations, particularly when studied in tandem, and the Wham-O Frisbee or the Hula Hoop, in themselves economic and social phenomena, might be studied in relation to folk-toys of the past. Whether or not comparisons are what one seeks, there seems to be a wealth of potential in small and seemingly unimportant things. One need only consider the full page ads that heralded the arrival of the Reynolds Ball Point Pen in 1945 (at \$12.50 per pen) to appreciate the possibilities.

Homes. Domestic architecture encompasses a major portion of the various spheres of activity within which man moves and as such represents

a significant windsock to many diverse currents of human endeavor. Unlimited numbers of really rich instances abound, awaiting only selection and development as case studies. Those that no longer stand are often sufficiently well documented to provide ample evidence for inquiry. So great are the possibilities in fact, that perhaps selection in light of one's specific aims is one of the more difficult aspects of the approach.

Public places. Churches, stadiums, terminals and halls offer considerable depth for study, particularly in terms of use and design, although the politics of origin and the dimension of construction and change are certainly not to be overlooked. Instances that have long been used, though often largely in terms of their functional dimension, would be edifices like the Parthenon, Circus Maximus, the Cathedral at Chartres or Kings Chapel. Other instances perhaps less overworked but offering equal or greater potential might be places like the Crystal Palace at the London World's Fair of 1898, Faneuil Hall, and some of Le Corbusier's more imaginative buildings, Dulles International Airport, the Saarinen Chapel at M.I.T. or even Pennsylvania Station. Places of Commerce, too, might be worth examining. Any recent shopping center reflects considerations in design, population movement, personal and corporate habits, man's relation to his environment, technology -- and others too numerous to mention. Or consider the MacDonald stand and the wealth of inference potential under just one set of the Golden Arches.

Whichever dimension one chooses to take the measure of, these few examples seem to represent almost limitless data for inquiry. Exactly how this development is to take place awaits further development but will

in large part depend upon individual aims and interests.

A Sequence of Source Materials Based Upon Arrangement 2A

By way of illustration, here follows a sample development of source materials as might be arrayed to pursue a multidisciplinary approach to American History. In this particular example, it is done through the medium of domestic architecture over a number of postholes at roughly fifty-year intervals. It should be soon obvious in the choices evident that certain decisions about desired outcomes are implicit in the materials, but such analysis will be left to the reader. And though obviously multidisciplinary in approach, exactly which emphases are available within the materials will also be left for the reader to ponder. Except where otherwise noted, materials exist, have been checked out as appropriate, and are readily available. Where not, additional digging will turn up equivalents. The materials (or more accurately, descriptions of materials) are intended to represent the bones of a skeleton which the individual teacher may flesh out by employing the specific techniques of discussion and analysis that best suit his aims and fancy.

If the teaching-learning experiences that would seem to emanate from these few suggestions appear to be oriented more to abstract, symbolic types of experiences and less to manipulations and descriptions of things, this is intentional. It is intentional because such a format is relatively familiar to teachers accustomed to such materials and because within the continuum from things "right in hand" to the manipulation of abstract principles, the teacher or learner may find the degree of abstract with which he is most comfortable.

In passing it should be noted, in other words, that alternate treatments of the basic focus could as easily be far more object oriented with less emphasis on readings and greater emphasis on things or their representations.

1950

The first instance: 37 Appletree Lane, Levittown,
Bucks County, Pennsylvania 1953--1952

Photograph, front elevation, plan view and site plan

Aerial photograph or diagram of entire development

Contemporary magazine and newspaper accounts of the instance

"The Six Thousand Houses that Levitt Built," Harpers Magazine, September, 1948, pp. 79-88. This article describes the Long Island accomplishment but in doing so sets the stage for the Bucks County project.

"Using An Efficient Assembly-Line Porcedure Levitt Builds Houses in an Outdoor Factory," Life, August 23, 1948, p. 77. Also relative to Levittown, L. I. but a fitting introduction to the technological accomplishment at both sites.

"Housing--Levittown, Pennsylvania," Time, September 3, 1951, p. 98. Describes the search for and selection of the new site, with tentative schedule for development and completion.

"The Cost of a Levitt House--A Guess," Fortune, October, 1952, pp. 150-152. This comparative breakdown of costs (Levitt vs. "small builder") includes such categories as land and site improvement, labor, materials, overhead, taxes and profit. The differences are startling.

"The Most House for the Money," Fortune, October, 1952, excerpt from "family and business" portrait. This selection describes the Levitts in terms of their entrepreneurial characteristics.

"Discrimination in Levittown," The Nation, July 18, 1953, p. 59. This letter to the editor describes the circumstances of one William Cotter who was granted a rental before the owners discovered he was a Negro.

"Levittown in Bucks County," The Nation, May 31, 1952, pp. 524-5. A description of the Levitt reaction to demands of organized labor and shifting social patterns.

"Growing Pains at Levittown," The Saturday Evening Post, August 7, 1954, excerpt on p. 27. The racial problem and incipient attempts to deal with it.

Typescript of taped interview with present occupant
1900

The Second Instance: The Mungo Commune at Packers Corners,
Guilford, Vermont 05301
New England Farmhouse

Photographs, 1900 and 1970

Description of salient architectural characteristics, illustrated.

Entry from 1897 diary describing proposed construction

Description of adversities of farming in New England

Pages from journal -- seed costs, acres planted

Illustration and description of coin issue, 1900

Front page from New York Journal, February 17, 1898

Selected New England Farmer jokes

Recipe for Sap Beer

Magazine and newspaper accounts of the instance

"If Mr. Thoreau Calls, Tell Him I've Left the Country," Atlantic Monthly, April, 1970. An article by a member of the commune at Packers Corners describing his search for a more meaningful way of life.

"The 'Good Earth' in Guilford," Brattleboro Daily Reformer, April 23, 1970. A description of Raymond Mungo's Earth Day speech on the Brattleboro Common.

"Pasture Normal Again," Brattleboro Daily Reformer, April 24, 1970. A newspaper account of the aftermath of a fire that killed four members of the commune at Johnson's Pastures -- adjacent to the house at Packers Corners.

1850

The Third Instance: 220 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, New York
New York "Tenement," 1893

Realtor's Prospectus, 1863

Photograph, 1970

Selected readings related to the instance

The Uprooted, by Oscar Handlin, pp. 144-169, in which housing arrangements and conditions for newly arrived immigrants are graphically described.

Excerpt from Theodore Dreiser -- description of buildings of comparable period, Philadelphia and Chicago.

"Democracy, the Hope of the Nation" -- oration by the Honorable Fernando Wood delivered at Tammany Hall, July 4, 1876 -- in Historical and Patriotic Addresses, New York: E. B. Treat, 1893, pp. 321-326.

"Tammany Defended" -- a reply to Lincoln Steffens' The Shame of the Cities in which Richard Croker, the Tammany Boss referred to in the Steffens account, argues that his organization strengthens democracy by teaching immigrants how to be citizens, in Arthur Mann, Immigrants in American Life, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1968, pp. 100-102.

Letters to the Daily Forward, by four Jewish immigrants, 1906, in which are reflected some of the difficulties of adjustment to which new immigrants were subjected, in Rhoda Hoff, America's Immigrants, New York: Henry Z. Walck, Inc., 1967, pp. 115-117.

"Tell Him to Halt," "Never Mind the Pinch, Boy," "Work With a Will" and "Whom Shall We Let In?" -- words and music from Song Bells! Boston: Oliver Ditson & Company, 1880, that pretty well explain themselves just by their titles.

"Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation," from Seventeen, 29:62, April, 1970.

1800

The Fourth Instance: Three Oaks, St. Bernard's Parish, La.
The Hermitage, Geismar, 1812

1750

The Fifth Instance: The Phillip Lightfoot House
Williamsburg, Virginia, 1740

Photographs before and after restoration

Introduction, pp. 1-4 to Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut by J. Frederick Kelly, New York: Dover Publications, 1963, in which the author discusses early domestic architecture of the American colonies, its character and English heritage.

Text of the Tucker -- Coleman painting agreement.

The Application of 18th Century Paints, pp. 4-6 in the monograph Housepaints in Colonial America, by Richard M. Candee -- an interesting account of materials and methods.

Excerpts from the Harwood account book.

The Will of Samuel Shepherd, 1751, p. 77 in Virginia Colonial Extracts, Vol. 7, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1961.

"At the Sign of the Wooden Indian," in the Index of American Design, by Erwin O. Christensen, New York: The MacMillan Co., 1950, pp. 63-70 -- a description of the origins and use of designs, signs and shop figures in 18th Century America.

Other journals and broadsides

1700

The Sixth Instance: The Salisbury House at Leeds, New York, 1705

1650

The Seventh Instance: A House at Plimoth Plantation

Drawings and descriptions of construction and materials

Excerpts from selected journals -- Bradford diary

Selections from Daniel Boorstin on the Puritan phenomenon

Isaak de Raisiere's letter reporting what he saw at New Plymouth in October, 1627, in Ashabel Steele, The Life and Time of William Brewster, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1857, pp. 337-342.

2,000

A Student Exercise in Architecture and Social Engineering

"The New Architects," Time Magazine, May 4, 1970, p. 59 -- an article on advocacy architecture, a movement seeking to bring architecture deeper into its proper relationships with society.

Selections from Frank Lloyd Wright, Buckminster Fuller, Mies van der Rohe and Eero Saarinen

The Exercise, a problem in personal or community planning according to requisites and criteria worked out in advance by the class or on an individual basis.

Even in outline form, the approach to history and the social studies reflected in the experiences shown here indicates a richness beyond that of the more usual focus upon incidents, events or even persons in history. It should also be apparent that even within the structure selected (multidisciplinary through a single medium, domestic architecture) unlimited flexibility prevails -- enough, in fact, to challenge any teacher to serious reflection about what it is that he hopes to do through his choices of experiences. The outline above implies certain aims and certain preferences in learning content and teaching style, none of which are suggested to be necessarily appropriate for any but the author, if even for him. What is suggested is that given the focus, given the approach and given perceptive writers, worthwhile and interesting materials will emerge to provide a worthy complement to traditional techniques as well as those coming out of the New Social Studies.

Partial Development of a Selected Instance

Here follow certain readings selected to accompany the Levittown

instance already outlined in this chapter. Normal materials development might next call for textual interspersions -- explanations, questions and analyses. But rather than further delimit the scope of inquiry by including an additional narrowing process, such will be left to conjecture while instead offering some idea of the potential within the readings by suggesting certain questions, both specific and general, that reside within the materials.

"The Six Thousand Houses That Levitt Built," Eric Larabee, in Harper's Magazine, September, 1948

The largest private builder of houses in the Eastern United States is the firm of Levitt and Sons, of Manhasset, Long Island, whose president-William J. Levitt-is to the housing industry somewhat as Robert R. Young first was to railroads. Both men have been successful, both have called attention to the shortcomings of their professions, and both have preached reform, rationalization, and respect for the public. From the consumer's point of view, a housebuilder or railroader who pays the public any mind whatever is bound to seem like a hero. The two industries are longstanding utilities that a European socialist state would nationalize in a minute; here both contain strong and ancient unions, cling to antiquated techniques, and deal so directly with the consumer that delay and incompetence are immediately apparent. Communing with the public in large advertisements, both Mr. Young and Mr. Levitt have made a direct attempt to take the consumer's side, and Mr. Levitt, in a series addressed to "Kilroy," has even assumed to speak specifically for the veteran. Mr. Levitt's claim to be listened to is that he can build low-cost homes in quantity. Resting his case on the record, the number of houses he has built since 1945, he can present an accomplishment of heroic proportions.

Before the war dotted defense areas with large developments made up of many small houses, most private housebuilders put up less than two houses a year. Since the war, Levitt and Sons have built over six thousand. The figure is as of the beginning of this month; in April they were finishing 60 houses a week; in May, 100 a week; and in July, 150 a week.

Bill Levitt is also an example of what the London Economist has described as "the new type of (American) business

men, developed since the slump, who believe they have a responsibility to their country as well as to their shareholders" Levitt, for one thing, says he is the only private housebuilder in the country who is in favor of public housing. On the face of it, he would seem to stand for the continued vitality of real, rip-snorthing free enterprise, but partly by temperament and partly of necessity he has had to become political. His business, housing, is a national issue, and the laws which determine its financing have gone through many variations in the past few years. All construction, in any event, Levitt's included, is circumscribed by the building codes, of which there are tens of thousands in the nation, all of them different and all of them notoriously loaded with local political considerations.

. . .Where business has for many years approached the public as an apologist, explaining what it has already done, Levitt, again like Robert R. Young -- does not wait for that; he has created opinion ahead of time and used it as he went along. It would be easy to maintain that Levitt was just what the veterans' needed; to say that the veteran was just what Levitt needed would sound very sour and unfair, but it is an equally sustainable argument.

. . .Levitt has something of the GI flavor and style, and he has done it. Architects may quibble slightly about the design of Levitt's small house, which is rudimentary and inflexible, but builders' magazines contain frequent ads from manufacturers who proudly announce their products are being used in Levittown. Levitt has been accused of no serious defects in the buildings themselves, and he reports that the most violent complaint he had last year was that in one house none of the appliances would work -- it turned out that the master fuse was loose.

The Levitt small house is a cultural index, a mean between what the money will buy and what people are willing to pay for. The houses might look quite attractive if there weren't so incredibly many of them. Levittown is about ten miles in from the sea on the Long Island flats. From the Wantagh Parkway, the town stretches away to the east as far as the eye can see, house after identical house, a horizon broken only by telegraph poles. The exterior colors are varied and good (among them a strong, dark red), and the houses, which might have been in even lines, are at least slightly staggered.

Levitt is the Dream's entrepreneur; he is not entirely a free agent. He has done the impossible and made it pay, overcoming restrictions and shortages that were supposed to be insurmountable. But there are still hard questions to be answered: How does he do it, and how long can he go on doing it? Is the

Levitt system a good one, and can it be applied elsewhere? What will be the effect of the Levitt communities on the Long Island suburbia where they have been built? The answers involve building techniques and building codes, housing laws and housing unions -- so many strings gather together in Levitt's hands that it is often hard to say whether he pulls or is himself pulled.

A house that goes up in Levittown will have been handled by Levitt and Sons from start to finish. When Bill Levitt uses a favorite phrase, "vertical organization" he is talking about a principle he has applied as rigorously as the housing business will allow. His lumber, for example, comes from the Grizzly Park Lumber Company, of Blue Lake, California, which he owns. It is cut from timber which he owns. All of his appliances (a Bendix, say, or a GE refrigerator) are purchased from the North Shore Supply Company, which he owns. He doesn't buy nails and concrete blocks; he makes them himself. Like most builders, he has many contractors working for him (the number varies in the neighborhood of fifty), but here also the vertical principle is retained. All of his contractors work for him and for no one else, and most of them were put in business by Levitt.

The advantages of this top-to-bottom control are considerable. The timber can be cut at the mill in California to the exact size at which it will finally be used in the house. This means not only a saving on freight and handling (the wood can bypass the Levitt factory at Roslyn, Long Island, and go directly to the site), but also an initial cost saving of 30% -- the mark-up that Levitt, and the consumer, would be paying if he didn't own his source of basic material.

Levitt's system of contractors is subject to varied interpretation, but the net effect is gain for Levitt. ("My father always taught me," Levitt has said, "when you talk to a builder keep your hands in your pockets.") There are twenty-seven different operations in the construction at Levittown, and a crew for each that goes from house to house putting in plumbing, or tacking on shingles, or whatever. Contractors to handle such individual jobs are normally hired by competitive bidding, and take a profit or loss thereafter on their own responsibility -- a system that is anything but "vertical." Under Levitt, bidding is replaced by negotiated contract and the stipulation that Levitt's own supervisors shall have authority on the job.

The actual building techniques used by Levitt, of course, are not those of which a carpenter's guild would be likely to

approve. He uses time and labor-saving machinery whenever possible, even when such use (as of paint sprayers) is specifically forbidden by the union. Beginning with a trenching machine, through transit-mix trucks to haul concrete, to an automatic trowler that smooths the foundation-slab, Levitt takes advantage of whatever economies mechanization can give him. The site of the houses becomes one vast assembly line, with trucks dropping off at each house the exact materials needed by the crew then moving up. Some parts -- plumbing, staircases, window frames, cabinets -- are actually prefabricated in the factory at Roslyn and brought to the house ready to install. The process might be called one of the semi-prefabrication, in which a great deal of building is actually done on the site, but none that is unnecessary or that could be better done elsewhere -- a lot of hammering, as Bill Levitt says, but very little sawing.

Once this process begins, it has to go fast. Levitt works a five-day week, but they are the five days on which building is possible; Saturday and Sunday are considered to have been the days when it rained and there was no construction. He built straight through this past winter, as few builders could, since he had set out foundations and frames before the snow came. And in the same way, incentive pay, company-paid retirement funds, salaries paid to those who entered the services, and an annual profit-sharing plan are all good methods of encouraging production and insuring machinery. Levitt's labor-saving are savings only as long as he can keep up the volume and the speed.

As Bill Levitt sits in his oak-paneled office in Manhasset today, he can see a good future ahead for his kind of building. The desk is large and ornate (a panel slides out in front for callers to write on), and behind it he is wearing a custom-made shirt with embroidered initials. "We believe," he says, "that the market for custom housing, like that for custom tailoring, no longer exists. People who want to buy that kind of thing will always be able to get it, but the real market is for the ordinary, mass-produced suit of clothes. And you can't build \$30,000 houses by the six thousands.

He refers to the estimate that this country will need fifteen million houses during the next ten years -- "Let's see, that's a million and a half a year. The best we ever did before was nine hundred thousand" -- and he sometimes speaks hypothetically of a hundred-million dollar housing company that could go to Washington and be treated with respect. A moment later he is likely to be speaking of what "we" could

then do, but will explain that he means that such an organization would have to be very similar to Levitt in its methods. He reserves considerable scorn for the prefabricators, who have so far been unable to equal him in either quantity or price. "A steel frame makes it last as long as the Empire State Building, if that's what you want, but the housewife never sees it -- what does she care? A complete wall already made up fills additional airspace and increases the freight. Look at the prices, not even including lot and improvements!"

What would he like to do if he had his own choice? "I guess our dream is just like anybody else's -- to work without interference," that is, without timid building inspectors, county planning boards, or obnoxious legislators who don't understand the business ("I told them in Washington," Levitt says, "that I didn't know all there was to be known about housing but I certainly knew more than any of them did"). He would like to see building codes revised on a State, if not national, scale; what offends his orderly nature is not so much the specific regulations as the chaos, the variation from one locality to the next. The inhabitants of one community, when they discovered that Levitt was intending to build, put through a special code with deliberately ridiculous provisions; Levitt beat it down without much difficulty in public hearings, and the incident strengthens his case against locally independent codes. But at the same time one cannot help but sympathize with the good people of Long Island. A building code is one of the few defenses against Levitt that they have.

If you lived in an area that Levitt was about to invade, you might feel very much as they did. The taxes to support those five schools in Levittown are going to be a good deal higher than they ever were before (the cost per year to educate one child has always been higher than the per capita tax). Levitt knew this, warned them, and made his own plans accordingly. He is amiable about the fact that the county was caught short building schools, but does not feel deeply concerned. "Those people in Nassau County," he says, "are beginning to realize that they're just what somebody once said they were -- the bedroom of New York City. They don't want any more houses; they want corporations and factories, that pay taxes and don't have any children"

It is fairly clear that Levitt does not have a high opinion of "city planners," who are the only ones who think as much as he does about where factories and homes should really be put. He is a "planner" himself -- but not the book, pamphlet, and committee kind -- and he will not stop

to nurse along the others whose "plans" lag behind his own. When he was once asked if the Levittown shopping centers would not cause congestion on the highway that cuts across the town, he said, "Yes, of course, but that's somebody else's problem. I just did what they told me to do."

Levittown, even to the casual visitor, is overwhelming; one can only imagine that for the veteran inhabitants its extended uniformity must stir uneasy memories. A community that, by nature, is limited to families of the same generation from the same financial bracket, is potentially a monster. Whatever the course of Levitt's stake in it, he would be wise to remove it for more reasons than financial foresightedness; the inhabitants of six thousand identical houses, as even the Levitt theory holds, will be especially anxious to hang on to whatever individuality they have left -- when there has been trouble, it has been the kind Levitt likes least. Yet it will not seem fair that he should have no responsibility for what he has created. Levittown will carry on his name, the name he gave it, long after all the mortgages have been paid off and the veterans have drawn their last bonus. When it is finished, it will cease to be a problem in financing and building schedules, and will become an organism with a life and future of its own. That ought to go on the books, somehow, as the stake that Levittown owns in Levitt.

The building of houses, to Bill Levitt, is a great game, one that he plays with a consummate skill that comes in part from having written many of the rules for himself. The little Levitt house is American suburbia reduced to its logical absurdity, and what Levitt has done in planning his town is different only in scale from what the builders of subdivisions have always been allowed to do. The community that Bill Levitt has fastened onto the Long Island soil is of the most class-stratifying sort possible; it can be excused only by a shortage that should never have existed and the inability of an entire industry to reform itself;

Rational building laws, an energetic housing program, and a truly rationalized housing industry would have made the Levitt performance both impossible and unnecessary, and if American cities could be made livable so many of the inhabitants might not have to leave them every night to get some sleep. Someday the "planners" may learn to bat in his league, but you can be sure that even then, Bill Levitt, whatever the rules, will play the game with profit and enthusiasm.

"Using An Efficient Assembly-Line Procedure Levitt Builds Houses in an Outdoor Factory," in Life, August 23, 1948.

Levitt is best characterized not as a builder but as a manufacturer of houses. But unlike most manufacturers his factory is outdoors, where the whole building project has been organized into a giant assembly line. His technique is to have his products (houses) stand still while his workers and machines move past them. One Levitt man, for example, does nothing but walk from house to house caulking windows -- 300 windows a day. Another specializes in installing Venetian blinds, a crew of 45 does nothing but nail shingles, another group simply installs bathtubs. All told there are about 100 such repetitive operations involved in manufacturing a Levitt house. Machines have simplified some of these steps until they are almost automatic.

Such mass production requires a highly standardized finished product. Every Levitttown house has exactly the same kitchen, the same 12x16-foot living room, the same two bedrooms, the same bath and the same unfinished attic. There are no basements. Instead Levitt sets his houses down on 25x30-foot concrete slabs in which are embedded radiant-heating coils.

Like every successful manufacturer Levitt is a good merchandiser. As part of his \$7,990 package he throws in a number of sales-luring extras that rarely come with a new house: a washing machine, a refrigerator, various built-in bookshelves and steel cabinets. He also provides five different exteriors each just different enough from the next to avoid too great monotony. Every house comes with a 60x100-foot plot of ground neatly landscaped. Levitt's biggest extra, however, is still not completed. It is his plan to provide Levitttown with eight huge, free swimming pools, a theater and three shopping centers, each with a large variety of stores.

"Housing, Levittown, Pa.," in Time, September 3, 1951.

As the world's biggest homebuilder, Long Island's Bill Levitt has been hard hit by the squeeze of credit restrictions and materials shortages. He had to cut his 1951 output of low-priced houses to 2,500, compared to 5,333 last year, and abandon altogether his "Landia" project for 1,750 homes in the \$13,000 class. To get started again at the pace he and his brother Al need for their cost-cutting methods, Bill Levitt has been roaming the U. S. looking for a big, new site in a critical defense area. Last week

he announced that he had found one in the southern part of Bucks County, Pa., midway between the site of United States Steel's \$400 million Fairless Works and the Kaiser Metal Products plant on the Delaware River. There the Levitt's will build Levittown, Pa., a 16,000-home community second only in size to their Long Island Levittown's 17,546 houses.

Bill and Al should have no trouble finding customers for their houses. By the time U. S. Steel and Kaiser have their plants running, 14,500 workers alone will have moved into the area, whose total population is expected to grow by at least 32,000. If the Bucks County site is declared a critical defense area, as Bill Levitt is confident it will be, he will get priorities on scarce materials, and credit restrictions will be lifted since the houses will sell for less than \$12,000. The Levitts have bought 2,500 acres (average price: \$1,100 an acre). They will break ground for Levittown, Pa. in two months, and will put up a complete community from scratch with the usual Levitt trademarks: swimming pools, a town hall, athletic fields, parks, playgrounds, schools and shopping centers.

The Levitts are switching from the kind of house they built on Long Island to three-bedroom, ranch-type homes, with 1,070 sq. ft. of floor space v. 800 in the Long Island homes. They will have woodburning fireplaces that open onto three rooms, radiant heating, picture windows, sliding panels that make it easy to enlarge the living room, electric ranges, refrigerators, washing machines.

"The Cost of a Levitt House -- A Guess," in Fortune, October, 1952.

Anytime the Levitts care to reveal a complete breakdown of their costs, any building magazine will probably be glad to devote an entire issue to the subject. Until then there can only be informed guesses. Here, FORTUNE's guess at Levitt's 1952 costs. In an adjacent column is a small builder's estimate of what he would charge to build just one Levitt house.

The small builder's estimate assumes that utilities are available and that land and building costs fall midway between those in Westchester County and those in a small New Jersey community. Naturally, the small builder does not supply community and recreational facilities, which will cost Levitt about \$22 million -- or \$1,375 per house -- in the new Levittown.

	<u>Levitt</u>	<u>Small builder</u>
Land and site improvement	\$1,100	\$1,300
Labor in shops and at house site	2,000	4,300
Materials and appliances	3,300	4,700
Overhead, supervision, misc.	700	1,950
Community facilities	1,375	-
Pennsylvania taxes and settle- ment charges	525	-
Profit before taxes	<u>990</u>	<u>1,500</u>
Total	\$9,990	\$13,750

"The Most House for the Money," in Fortune, October, 1952.

If Levitt & Sons is still not the Ford of the building industry, its influence on housing is almost impossible to exaggerate. While Levitt, of Manhasset, Long Island, produced only one house out of every 200 built in 1950 (Levitt's and the industry's peak year), at least one other house in 200 looked like a Levitt house. Beyond that, countless thousands of 1950 houses -- perhaps one-third of all other single-family houses -- carried innovations of one sort or another for which Levitt could take substantial credit. Consider these items:

In 1947 Levitt was the first builder to mass-produce houses on a radiantly heated concrete slab. A recent FHA survey shows that in 1950 nearly 25 per cent of all new houses were on slabs.

In 1949 when Levitt defied custom and moved the kitchen up next to the front door and pushed the living room back to the rear of the house, thousands of builders found courage to follow suit.

Singlehanded Levitt turned Thermopane window lights from a luxury into a common building material. And to provide the ventilation that Thermopane doesn't, Levitt invented a simple sliding window in a light aluminum frame that can be lifted out of its tracks for cleaning.

After experimenting with countless ways to close a closet, Levitt has now settled on a light bamboo screen hung from a ceiling track. (Levitt dislikes swinging doors because they restrict furniture location.) Word went back to an astonished manufacturer in Japan that Levitt wanted, as an initial order,

1,750,000 square feet of matchstick polished-bamboo screen -- fumigated and mildew-proofed -- cut exactly to 94.5-inch widths. The Japanese will learn what it means to be touched by Levitt.

When Levitt saw that copper tubing was not going to be available this year for radiant floor heating, it urged General Motors to modify one of its steel tubings to do the job. The new tubing, cheaper than copper, will probably put a permanent crimp in the copper-tubing business.

A new speckled, two-tone paint, used almost exclusively by Levitt until this year, will give numberless houses a new interior look. Levitt is satisfied that the paint, by Maas & Waldstein, is the most washable made.

The widely publicized York-Shipley counter-height boiler, conceived by Levitt, will soon take its place in thousands of non-Levitt kitchens. And Colorbestos, the large 32-by-96-inch sheets of colored-asbestos siding material, developed for Levitt by Johns-Manville, will doubtless revolutionize the exterior appearance of housing from coast to coast.

A sliding window, a bamboo screen, a speckled paint, even a new midget boiler, may not be high technology. But if the housing industry is going to hold its million-houses-a-year volume, it will need all of the Levitt kind of technology it can find.

"Discrimination in Levittown," in The Nation, July 18, 1953.

Dear Sirs:

I am having my wife write this for me because I am a completely paralyzed polio patient confined to a respirator for the past four years. But in spite of my condition, I feel a sense of outrage at the situation of a good friend of mine, William Cotter, whose back yard adjoins mine in Levittown. He lives there as a guest of the tenant, who is away on a trip. The house represents a decent place for the Cotter family, Bill, his wife, and five children. Before they moved into this house they lived in inadequate quarters in Port Washington.

Mr. Cotter applied for a Levitt rental and was granted one before the owners discovered he was a Negro. When they sent him an acceptance of his application he gave up his Port Washington apartment. He has since tried to rent or purchase a home time and again and has always been refused. The last time, in fact, he was bluntly told he was "undesirable" because of the color of his skin. This past week the lease on the premises he occupies expired, and already the management has demanded that he vacate immediately.

Last week my wife went to the buying office to see about purchasing our home, which has been altered to fit my particular needs. While there, she asked why the Cotters were having such difficulty buying a home, remarking that they were well liked in the neighborhood. She was told that the Cotters would never be allowed to buy a house in Levittown, and if we felt differently, we needn't buy one here either. In indignation, my wife wrote the management a letter protesting against their decision concerning the Cotters. She took it around to the closest neighbors, and all of them were glad to sign it.

Mr. Cotter, an automobile mechanic, has been a good neighbor and more. He has helped with the manual chores of our household, which because of my condition I am unable to do. His religious and moral attitudes have been a source of inspiration in my troubled life. His children are well liked and well integrated into the community. We, the neighbors of Mr. Cotter, cannot believe that it is the American way of doing things to deny a man a home because of the color of his skin. Nor do we feel that we can teach true democracy to our children when the very homes we live in are segregated in this way.

Lawrence Alexander

Levittown, Long Island

"Levittown in Bucks County," in The Nation, May 31, 1952.

When 300 workers from the powerful Building Trades Council of Philadelphia (A. F. of L.) recently threw a picket line across the entrance of the mammoth Levittown housing project near here, it was a familiar story to builder William J. Levitt. The same thing happened to him during his debut into the mass-housing field on Long Island in 1947 -- and for the same reasons.

Levitt's local project is part of an industrial and general building boom which is threatening, among other things, to chase the artists and writers out of historic and beautiful Bucks county. The biggest single industrial development in the area is the \$500,000,000 United States Steel Corporation plant -- called Fairless after the firm's famous executive vice-president -- in neighboring Morrisville. It has been predicted that the industrial boom will bring at least 100,000 workers into the area and Levittown is designed to accommodate 50,000 of them.

Levitt has been called the Henry Ford of the housing industry; he mass-produces his houses in "cycles." First a team of bulldozers scoops out a block of perhaps fifty foundation excavations; a crew follows to lay down the foundations; another crew sets up the walls in assembly-line fashion. Roof and interior soon follow, and then detail and trim. Here at Levittown the schedule calls for construction of nearly 6,000 houses a year for three years -- an average of nineteen per working day.

The picketing union workers charge that while Levitt likes to deal with materials en masse, he prefers to deal with his employees on an individual basis. Specifically, members of the Philadelphia council charge that 400 of the 600 men employed in building Levittown are nonunion; that skilled mechanics are made to perform a variety of jobs which cut across craft lines and thereby violate union rules; that many of the workers are paid on a piece-work instead of an hourly basis.

Ralph W. Myers, Levitt's public-relations man, admits that "some of the work is done on piece-work basis," but insists that in most cases wages are paid on an hourly scale. On the open-shop charge, his reply isn't at all evasive: "Mr. Levitt, biggest builder in the country, has been in business for twenty-two years and has never had a union shop." Presumably he never intends to have one. Last week he got a county court order enjoining the pickets. The injunction was not obeyed and state police were called out by Governor Fine to "provide whatever assistance is needed" to preserve order.

Levitt is likely to meet trouble in fields other than labor. There is the question of racial discrimination. According to the Philadelphia Housing Authority, about a half-million Negroes live in the Metropolitan area and a lot of them are going to be employed in Bucks County. Where will they live? In Levittown?

The other day I dropped into a Levittown office and applied for a house. "But," I told the salesman, "there's something I want to ask you about that's very important to me." The salesman lifted a reassuring hand. "You mean the talk that's going around about colored people living here?" he asked. "Listen, this is the point of sale -- strictly between you and me -- and believe me, we sell to whites only, mister."

Under Pennsylvania law, housing for Negroes is guaranteed in all residential construction aided by public funds -- as is Levittown. Confronted with this issue, Levitt said he wasn't planning to make any "noble experiments" but added that, if necessary, he would build a separate community for Negroes "with their own clubhouse." The builder's efforts to maintain a "lily-white" clause in his Long Island leases were defeated by the stubborn opposition of liberal New Yorkers. But here, as there, he can attempt to keep his community white by adroit manipulation of his sales instead of his leases.

Levitt's disinclination for "noble experiments" extends into other areas. For instance, he doesn't like to mix varied economic groups in a single area. His "Country Clubber" houses, most expensive of the Levittown models, sell for \$17,000, and are separated from the \$10,000 homes designed for housing-starved veterans and defense workers. Moreover, there are reports that he doesn't like to mix Democrats with Republicans, either. The story is that he has assured Joseph R. Grundy, boss of the Pennsylvania Republican machine, that Levittown won't become infested with too many Democrats. It would be a neat trick, though obviously difficult of accomplishment.

Levittown is only one factor -- albeit an important one -- in the metamorphosis of Bucks county from bucolic retreat to factory-plus-suburb. Other similar developments are beginning to dot the rolling countryside, including one being built by United States Steel. Public-spirited citizens complain that there is no overall planning, no proper zoning, no proper conservation of the area's natural beauty. The Philadelphia Housing Association has warned:

The open green of the countryside can all too easily be changed...into the dirty, foul-smelling crowded landscape of badly-planned factories, hot-dog stands, service stations, and a wilderness of trailer camps and jerry-built speculative developments.

The United Automobile Workers of America (C.I.O.) and the United Steelworkers of America (C.I.O.) have expressed similar uneasiness, and not only about the physical changes in the region. Charles Ford, regional director of the Steelworkers union insists that "democratic growth" must accompany material well-being in an intelligently-planned community. Drayton Bryant, imaginative and dynamic assistant to the Executive Director of the Philadelphia Housing Authority, points out that Levittown failure to adopt a program of racial integration can mean:

...separate housing, separate schools, plus lines of tension in home and community facilities...The steps are short from separation and ignorance to suspicion -- from fear to hatred and then violence. Levittown and Bucks county have now become an outstanding opportunity and a national front line for the growth of a strong but adolescently fearful American democracy.

Acutely aware of the dangers implicit in the shattering of the Bucks county idyll, a group of representative citizens have formed a Human Relations Council under the chairmanship of Clarence Pickett, honorary secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. The council will seek to make sure that the area has enough schools, playgrounds, and other facilities and does not secede from the Bill of Rights.

"Growing Pains in Levittown," in The Saturday Evening Post, August 7, 1954.

Within Levittown, many residents say, the atmosphere is more tolerant and neighborly than any other place they ever lived. However, Levittowners collectively have not yet come to grips with one problem that could give rise to a really tense situation. This is the problem of Negro exclusion.

The Levitts do not sell their houses to Negroes. This, as William Levitt explains it, is not a matter of prejudice, but one of business.

"The Negroes in America," he says, "are trying to do in four hundred years what the Jews in the world have not wholly accomplished in six thousand. As a Jew, I have no room in my mind or heart for racial prejudice.

But by various means, I have come to know that if we sell one house to a Negro family, then ninety to ninety-five per cent of our white customers will not buy into the community. That is their attitude, not ours. We do not create it, and cannot cure it. As a company, our position is simply this: we can solve a housing problem, or we can try to solve a racial problem. But we cannot combine the two."

Over the years, Levitt has been the butt of much sharp criticism on this subject, which he has learned to take philosophically, although it rankles him at times to know that his most vigorous critics are those who refuse to accept what he regards as the realities of his position. But there is another reality involved that many people have not understood. Once the title to a Levitt house passes from the builder to the buyer, that buyer is free to sell it to anyone. Because of this fact, Friends Association Chairman Blanshard confidently predicts that a day will come when a Negro family will move into Levittown. And Levitt replies, "If that should happen, there is nothing I can, or would, do about it."

Against the day when Blanshard's prediction comes true -- the William Penn Center has inaugurated a series of classes which represent a new departure in attempts to anticipate community crises that may arise from racial or religious discrimination, or other forms of bigotry. Worked up by J. Leon Rabben, a Philadelphia lawyer, and called "incident-control courses," they consist of lectures in which Rabben describes various types of occurrences that have led to serious difficulties in other cities, and prescribes lines of action by which citizens, individually or in groups, can act to control them. Up to mid-1954, some sixty Levittowners have taken the courses. In the same period, 125 Levittown houses have been resold by the original purchasers, but no Negro family has yet bought one.

In order to give some indication of the potential for inquiry that is to be found within these readings, here follows a brief commentary on the types and kinds of discussions and investigations that might naturally grow out of them. Far from being an exhaustive

analysis of subject matter intended to isolate every scrap of evidence that speaks to generalized human behavior, these simple statements are intended only to suggest the depth of inquiry that lies within the various readings. Implicit within the statements are certain unasked questions, both specific in relation to Levittown and general in relation to the wider class of human behaviors it represents. And similarly unstated are an infinite number of generalizations about individual and group behavior it might be hoped would be the goal of students using such materials to discover. In keeping with the scheme for analysis suggested in Chapter III, these statements are loosely grouped within the dimensions of origins, physical characteristics, construction, function, change, and the human dimension. It might also be noted that in all of these dimensions, there are three parties to the instance: The Levitts or those who caused the phenomenon to come about; the individuals who buy, occupy and use what the Levitts have caused, and the society within which the incident has occurred, namely, the biological, economic, social and political ecology of the surrounding countryside. These three parties cut across all dimensions and can be analyzed within each, though what follows will not necessarily be that comprehensive.

Origins. In discussing origins from the point of view of authorship, certain interesting points of departure are evident immediately. The entrepreneur, his psychological complexion, modus operandi and failure-success index in a given society would seem to merit inquiry,

for example. In viewing origins from the point of view of the consumer, on the other hand, questions about the shelter drive and its economics, motivation and choice and perhaps even the matter of the herd instinct would seem to be suggested by the readings, with the Levitts and Levittowners providing specific data for the development and examination of larger generalizations.

Physical Dimension. The physical dimension of a given instance offers ready fodder for comparisons across time and culture. Housing norms, perhaps in terms of size and facilities, or in relation to some kind of index of real income might provide the basis for interesting comparisons which in turn might provide useful insights. Questions about the role and force of tradition in determining forms should appear to be a worthwhile pursuit, as might the whole question of community and corporate planning. A psychological twist might be to consider the matter of the territorial imperative as it relates to Joe Jones on a 60x100 foot lot.

Constructional Dimension. A look at the constructional dimension of a house in Levittown suggests an examination of the conflicts arising from industrialization of skills, the conflict of craft vs. trade. A study of materials and methods could reveal significant information about change and resistance to change or about cross-cultural differences and similarities. A study of the constructional context might lead to relevant information about building codes, comparative costs, union activities and a number of other things.

The Use Dimension. Careful attention to the readings could

conceivably lead to certain conclusions about a Levitt lifestyle and from there to comparisons with other times and places -- or perhaps to questions about luxury and convenience vs. utility. An examination of use patterns could lend support to generalizations about the American family and its use of the home, both in the 50's and the 70's, perhaps with comparisons to earlier times. The question of form vs. function would also seem to be available as a possible direction for investigation from the use of the readings.

The Dimension of Change. When Levittown came to Bucks county, significant change was inflicted upon the residents, industry and economy of the country side. As Levittown was built and functioned as it was intended to, (and sometimes as was not intended) additional change occurred in almost every sphere of human activity within and beyond the limits of the development. How the bulldozer, the paving and the sewage disrupted an ecological balance and in turn created another seems to be worth investigating. With virtually nothing connected with the project immune from change, from labor unions and wildlife to building strategies and family life, a focus on change certainly won't fail for want of substance.

Human Dimension. Another dimension just as rich in materials and potential for inquiry is the human dimension. Approached from the point of view of the individuals involved, producing, consuming or enabling, the potential seems to be unlimited. When related to questions of wider human involvement, group and community life, questions of success and failure, choices and valuing, the potential is even

greater.

If the few statements above don't appear to be sufficiently comprehensive, it might be pointed out that these readings comprise but one part of a segment of what might be the total materials. If anything, the problem for curriculum developers might be to somehow limit the scope or regulate the number of directions in which students might want to inquire. The intent was to demonstrate the overall potential to which a teacher or writer might apply the particular needs and objectives of his clientele. But no matter how it may be viewed, the approach suggests that additional energies be expended in its development and testing.

C H A P T E R V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As many sins as have been charged to social studies teaching in the American high school, complaisance hasn't entered into the indictment for some ten years or so. In its place has flourished a great deal of self analysis, moderate quantities of constructive effort and increasingly promising results right down to the classroom. The times could hardly be more receptive, it would seem, for creative and imaginative approaches to the persisting challenges of social studies instruction. In a serious effort to take advantage of these propitious times, this essay has proposed certain new directions for research, reflection and eventual testing.

Building upon the words of Arthur Bestor quoted in the frontispiece, this paper has suggested that the physical products of the cultures that we seek to study can provide alternative foci for inquiry -- supplanting, supplementing or complementing the more usual use of the verbal and literary products of a given culture.

Some attention was devoted to establishing a case for cultural spoor as a valid indicator of the cultural capital available at any given moment, and to demonstrating that any given instance (product) is rich in inference material across all the disciplines that one might care to study in the high school. Some thought was also assigned to the problems associated with inferences and generalizations developed from limited evidence, and to related questions developing out of what seemed to be the logical

avenue for investigation of this nature, the case method approach.

Such conjecture, of course, stands flat-footed without attention to the body of thought already developed. To this end a rather sweeping survey of the literature was conducted -- not in the hope of exhausting the available resources, but rather in anticipation of establishing some understanding of the context within which change in the social studies must take place -- a broad foundation for further thought.

The review of the literature. The review of the literature was conducted within four rather loosely defined and often overlapping areas. Since cultural spoor as evidence is found within a historical context but possesses potential for inferences of a social science character, it was thought that the first area to be reviewed should have to do with questions dealing with the relationship between history and the social sciences. An historical perspective of such relationships in public education as offered by Oliver (1967) was advanced to provide a basis for comparison with the views of Muller (1952), Bagby (1963), Carr (1961), Rundell (1965) and Mead (1951). Numbers of writers have recognized the interdependence of history and the social sciences and some (Cahnman and Boskoff, 1964) (Mendonhall, 1963) (Massiaslas and Cox, 1966) have perceived the subject matter of human interaction as common to both history and the social sciences. The move toward interdisciplinary endeavor was found to have been heralded by writers such as Brown (1966) and Keller (1961) while being viewed with considerable skepticism by Mendonhall (1963) and others. Underlying all this discussion was found to be the significant question of patterns in human behavior and the question of uniqueness in history,

both of which appear to be no closer to final resolution.

A second general question to be surveyed in the literature was that of culture and history and their joint relationships with the social studies. Although it was difficult to perceive a consensus of any sort, the factor that seemed to be common to all the discussion was Man himself. Anthony (1966), Linton (1936), Hays (1966), Krug (1964), and Keller (1961) all urge that a concern for Man and his Works assume a place of central importance in the social studies. From this point of view, it appears, have been developed curriculum materials with Man as the focus, including some with an admittedly anthropological perspective and methodology. Johnson (1967) has put together an annotated bibliography of such books available for use in secondary schools, and Hanvey (1965), one of a growing number of spokesmen for such an approach, urges learner attention upon discrete instances that have the potential for suggesting principles that have wider generalizability. Abt (1970) was found to have utilized similar grounds for his work in simulation and others (Oliver and Newmann, 1968), (Gibson, 1967) have used the case method as a foundation for developing materials of considerable significance.

Admittedly, these four areas together comprise territories far too wide and much too vague to handle exhaustively or definitively in an essay of limited scope as is this. The intent was to create a general background for the theoretical questions that were developed in Chapter III, and their application in Chapter IV.

Theoretical considerations. Chapter III of this essay sought to

accomplish four related objectives within what might be termed theoretical considerations related to the development and use of cultural spoor materials. In the order treated, these were: (1) an analysis and description of certain dimensions of instances, (2) some considerations in the selection of instances, (3) representative arrangements of materials in terms of time, discipline and substance variables and (4) modes of experience available to writer, teacher and student.

Suggested to be requisite to any description and subsequent analysis was a scheme outlining the subject and method of description. Lacking such a scheme -- one that is constant from one instance to the next, meaningful comparison is difficult if not impossible. In an attempt to systematize the development of materials, the following dimensions were suggested:

1. The dimension of origins, which reflects questions of authorship, motivation, and the process and nature of creativity.
2. The physical dimension, which encompasses matters of size, shape, number, color and other purely physical and spatial characteristics.
3. The constructional dimension, which may reflect choices and competence in technique, materials and tools, but perhaps more importantly provide a mirror to the cultural context within which the object was created.
4. The dimension of use or function, which may provide access to questions about immediate ends or long range effects, or for those of a sociological bent, about clusters of behavior associated with the object.
5. The dimension of change, which might include the elements of method, character and motivation for the modifications that continuously take place.
6. The human dimension, which though underlying all other dimensions, and of sufficient significance to merit

attention on its own, was suggested as a basis for selection and study in terms of motivation, response, choice, and valuing.

The problems related to selection of instances were discussed in terms of teacher centered considerations such as aims, preferences and availability. Student related considerations such as needs, interest value and proximity to experience, and those considerations growing out of the substance itself such as representativeness, were also treated briefly.

In situations where one must deal with a number of related variables simultaneously, the resulting number of potential combinations may prove discouraging and thus restrictive. In order to systematize choices available to writer or teacher, the variables of time, discipline and substance were arranged to create a matrix from which one might extract whatever combination of variables best meets his immediate and longrange needs and goals. These were then displayed graphically to indicate the extreme flexibility in arrangement available. And to show greater versatility, another matrix with the addition of "culture" as a variable was developed to indicate the combinations available to anyone wishing to incorporate cross-cultural comparison into this development of materials.

And lastly, some discussion was given over to three modes of experience (description, simulation and participation) which appear to provide still another basis for choice in the selection of learning experiences.

It was not intended that Chapter III perform a "how to do it" function. It was intended instead that a theoretical foundation be

created upon which others might build with the ultimate result -- some-day -- of materials for use in the classroom based upon the concept of cultural spoor as a focus for inquiry.

Application. Chapter IV dealt with suggestions more closely related to possible application of the principles developed in earlier portions of the essay. It was felt that although completely developed materials based on cultural spoor would constitute a more worthwhile exercise, the exigencies of time might excuse a more limited and restricted offering of examples.

In an effort to reveal the wealth of substance available to the writer or teacher moving in this direction, classes of cultural spoor adaptable to such treatment were listed and discussed -- among them tools, weapons, manufactories, conveyances, public works, things, homes and public places.

And then to show the potential in but one of these categories, a sample development of source materials was arrayed as for a class pursuing a multidisciplinary approach to American history through the medium of domestic architecture.

These same source materials -- those relating to the first instance -- were then presented, with editing, with "why" questions developed along the dimensions suggested in Chapter II -- not to represent what finished materials might look like, but to indicate the depth and breadth of inquiry possible within but one case study of one rather ordinary and unremarkable house in Pennsylvania -- an exemplar suggestive of fuller development.

CONCLUSIONS

This investigation was not the type to produce manageable conclusions, for if an hypothesis can be identified at all, it is certainly not of the type susceptible to quantitative confirmation or rejection. In fact, with no facetiousness intended, the overriding conclusion here must be that conclusions are not yet warranted -- that conclusions of a definite character must await further investigation.

From a purely subjective point of view, however, it can be stated with certainty that the exercise constituted by this essay has confirmed the belief, indeed the certain conclusion that: (1) the notion of cultural spoor as a focus for inquiry in the social studies is sound; that (2) it is not only sound but promising and (3) that further study and considerable creative effort are required to realize that promise. Which leads quite naturally to the matter of recommendations. If this paper is sparse in its conclusions, the same cannot be said of "recommendations," for of these there is no lack at all.

Recommendations

A task yet unfinished has greater appeal for many in that choices remain to be made. While options are still available, there persists the intriguing possibility that one still unchosen will provide the key to sudden clarity and understanding. The task suggested by this essay is far from finished -- is hardly off the ground -- and uncounted choices still await the investigator. The questions that elicit those choices cannot have escaped any but the most casual reader, and it is to these that we now turn. If what Dewey said about a condition of

disjunction being a necessary preliminary to learning is at all true, then here has been created a situation rife with potential for learning.

The questions that have been raised by this investigation and which are here recommended to further study fall into three categories. The first of these consists of those persisting, global, underlying and over-arching questions that have no answers but which must nevertheless continue to be asked. The second category includes those specific questions dealing with the theoretical bases of any move toward the increased use of the material culture as inquiry material. The third deals specifically with the production of materials, suggesting in effect that until such materials are produced, no amount of ratiocination can reveal their true value or lack of it.

Underlying questions. It is recommended that continuing attention be given to basic questions relating to the role of history and the social sciences in the social studies, particularly in a form or fashion available to practitioners. On the theoretical level, this should continue as heretofore, but there needs to be some mechanism for including teachers in the discussion. One possibility might be to involve teachers in quantitative investigations of history and social science content in social studies curricula, or more revealingly, in analyses of daily lessons.

The proposal that comprises the major thrust of this essay is predicated upon current understandings of relational explanation. It is recommended that energies be directed not only toward attaining clearer definitions of explanation and generalization in the teaching of history and social studies, but that continued thought be given to the development

of explanatory techniques to be made available to teachers and that consideration be given to methods of teaching inference development to students as a social studies skill.

Just slightly more susceptible to quantitative study is the area of discovery learning, though additional effort must be directed toward clearing up the confusion of definition and aim that now exists. If discovery or inductive learning is to continue to play a growing role in the social studies, we should try to find out more about it. But in its application, courage must be shown in viewing it as but one of a variety of modes of learning, perhaps with some study directed toward the development of guidelines to indicate when or how much discovery is appropriate to the total learning situation.

The organic curriculum (Senesh, 1967) is a concept that merits further investigation -- the idea the concepts not be presented atomistically but all at once to grow with the child. Any development of materials in the direction suggested by this paper would seem to embrace the concept, but might also require that attention be given to identifying the fundamental ideas of each social science (Pelto, 1965) (Senesh, 1967).

And then there are those rather vague questions continually under discussion among anthropologists such as the relationship between man and his products -- how they in turn affect him and his society -- that must continue to occupy the attention of savants in the field.

Theoretical Considerations. The discussion in the body of this essay has released a veritable Pandora's Box of unanswered questions, all demanding further investigation if a solid theoretical framework for the

use of cultural spoor is to be developed.

The salient methodology suggested here is the case approach. Though long in use in business, medical and legal education, its use in the public schools is relatively recent and evaluation that goes beyond intuitive judgment is necessary. Clarification of definition and perhaps the development of a cluster of methods within the approach would also serve a useful purpose. And of course, psychological investigation into the efficacy of learning within varying circumstances and conditions of identification seems to be indicated.

One of the major advantages seen in the use of "things" to effect pedagogical access is their very concreteness and all that that implies. It has been suggested that this concreteness can provide a platform from which probes into the abstract can be made. Effort spent grappling with an analysis of paths leading from the concrete to the abstract, or from the representational to the symbolic in teaching could yield useful insights into the process and perhaps even produce a model of "moves" similar to that of Bellack et. al., (1966) along the lines of Woodruff's (1961) levels of conceptual distance from the sensory world.

Closely related are questions about motivation, interest and concreteness, and the question of subject matter per se vs. interest value, all of which merit further study.

Although the classification of dimensions of a given instance appears to be a potentially useful approach to materials development, it is recommended that alternate dimension systems be developed, or that

entirely different systems of analysis be created as tools for the study of the material products of a culture. Characteristics of the human condition such as adversity, individualism, conformity or whatever one holds to be universal or important might provide a basis for analysis, for example an interesting move in another direction is that of Dudley and Faricy (1960), in which the element of judgment is added to the more usual questions about subject, function, medium, organization and style.

Which in turn suggests still another direction for study -- the investigation of theory and the development of materials aimed at developing visual awareness and aesthetic judgment. This particular component is not present as an active ingredient or aim of the materials suggested, except perhaps as an unexpected side result. The whole question of visual orientation and awareness becomes increasingly more important as problems of population and ecology intensify. Perhaps it should be studied.

Materials production. And lastly, it is recommended that conjecture and theorizing be matched and followed by the development of materials, whether entire curricula, courses of study, isolated units or source materials. Exactly how this is to be done will depend upon the doer, his goals, and the character and interests of the clientele for which he writes. From a personal point of view, it would be interesting to see the sequence suggested in Chapter IV developed from front to back, with textual interspersions, questions, graphic materials, recordings, and evaluative exercises, dropped into the classroom in care of

interested teachers and reacted to by both teachers and students. But just in case a multidiscipline approach to American history through the medium of domestic architecture isn't what's needed, it would be interesting and informative to see other patterns developed, used and evaluated.

Once in print or in use, there can be no doubt that reaction and analysis will be forthcoming. From this, it can be hoped, will develop a synthesis that may more nearly hope to approximate the needs of young people, their teachers, and the society in which they move.

Although points of intersection between history and the social sciences are not yet clearly defined, much can be done to integrate all into usable experiences for high school students. Charles Keller once pointed out that experiences of students don't come wrapped in six packages, so why should understanding of culture, social stratification, power, scarcity, drive and region await delivery of six similarly marked packages? At the outset, a disclaimer to global aims was issued which the writer has no intention of retracting. But if the reader should harbor sympathies to larger purposes such as the rational clarification of value conflict according to Oliver, reflective examination of contemporary issues as urged by Metcalf or progressive reconstruction of the society ala Massialas, such appear to be compatible with the approach here suggested. To the extent that the use of cultural spoor as a focus for inquiry fosters these and other aims through its emphasis on concepts and generalizations which explain human interaction and illuminate the difficulties that beset mankind, it will present a reasonable and viable alternative in the teaching of history and the social studies.

alternative in the teaching of history and the social studies.

..Chartres is made of stone and glass. But it is not just stone and glass; it is a cathedral, and not only a cathedral, but a particular cathedral built at a particular time by certain members of a particular society. To understand what it means, to perceive it for what it is, you need to know rather more than the generic properties of stone and glass and rather more than what is common to all cathedrals. You need to understand also -- and...most critically -- the specific concepts of the relations between God, man and architecture that, having governed its creation, it consequently embodies. (Geertz, 1965)

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