

"THE DETAILS OF CHANGE"

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN HIGH SCHOOL AMERICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS FROM
1970 - 1991

By

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Thesis

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On the basis of this thesis and of
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Why Study History Textbooks?

"Those of us who grew up in the fifties believed in the permanence of our American-history textbooks. To us as children, those texts were the truth of things: they were American history....[T]hey, much more than other books, had the demeanor and trappings of authority. They were weighty volumes. They spoke in measured cadences: imperturbable, humorless....But now the textbook histories have changed, some of them to such an extent that an adult would find them unrecognizable."

- Frances Fitzgerald in America Revised

Neither the authoritative tone nor the infamous "textbook writing style" to which Frances Fitzgerald refers in the quote above has changed since the 1950's. Instead, in America Revised, Fitzgerald notes changes in textbook content, the "truth of things."¹ The addition of female and minority history content is one of the most prevalent of these recent changes. Until the mid-1960s, mainstream historians rarely detailed the histories of American minorities or women. As a result, history textbook authors often "painted a picture of American society that was virtually all-white and all-male."² Now, in the mid-1990s, textbooks include scores of women and hundreds of minority figures. Over the past thirty years, textbook authors dramatically shifted the mostly male Anglo-Saxon focus of American history textbooks to an inclusive description of the men and women who make up the ethnic groups and cultures in America. In this

¹ Frances Fitzgerald, America Revised. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, Limited, 1979: p. 7.

² The Council on Interracial Books for Children. Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks. Washington, D.C.: Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators, 1977: p. 11.

thesis, I document textbook authors' inclusion of more information about African Americans as a case study for the additions describing women and minorities in American history textbooks between 1972 and 1991.³

Why should we concern ourselves with the information contained in American history textbooks? Most importantly, American history textbooks concern society because they powerfully affect the students who read them.⁴ As evidence for this assertion, consider the two fundamental rules students follow as they read history.⁵ First, if the information is in their textbook, it is true. Second, if information comes from a primary document or a non-textbook secondary source, the information is not true. Teachers increase the importance of textbooks by relying on them for the vast majority of their information on American history.⁶ As a result of textbooks' influence on

³ For a comprehensive review of the changes authors have made to content describing women and minorities, see United States Commission on Civil Rights, Characters in Textbooks: A Review of the Literature (Clearinghouse Publication 62, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, May 1980). In addition, I have examined in detail the changes authors have made to content describing women and other minorities in American history textbooks. I did not, for reasons of space and time, include a statistical foundation for the claim that African Americans are representative of these changes but a cursory glance through textbooks of the 1970s and 1990s will show the claim to be justified.

⁴ The Council on Interracial Books for Children, Guidelines for Selecting Bias-Free Textbooks and Storybooks. New York: Council for Interracial Books for Children, Inc., 1980. p. 27.

⁵ Samuel Wineburg, On the Reading of Historical Texts: Notes on the Breach Between School and Academy, *American Educational Research Journal*, Fall 1991, v. 28/1: pp. 495-519. Interestingly, in the same paper Wineburg notes that professional historians rate textbooks as the least reliable of all available secondary sources on history.

⁶ See Arthur Woodward, David L. Elliott and Kathleen Carter Nagel, "Beyond Textbooks in Elementary Social Studies" (*Social Education*, Jan. 1986: pp. 50-51) for a brief description of the research done on teachers' reliance on textbooks in their classrooms. Although this article focuses on elementary education, the research summarized in it relates to secondary level social studies as well.

students and teachers alike, many major interest groups seek to control textbook content.

In addition to concerning society as a whole, textbooks specifically interest academic and professional historians for several reasons. First, history textbooks are the guidebooks for future historians. High school students reading American history textbooks encounter serious history for the first time. Whether or not these students pursue history as a career can depend upon the quality of their textbooks. If their history textbook is dull, poorly written, one-sided or not current academically, it is less likely students will pursue history as a career. Similarly, historians examine the content of textbooks because historians are responsible for their accuracy. If a textbook includes incorrect information, readers may rightfully criticize the historian(s) who wrote the text but they may also criticize historians in general. Third, historians show an interest in textbooks because textbooks provide a window into a society's daily values, priorities, and memories.⁷ An examination of a history textbook is a glimpse into a country's cultural norms and values. Comparing textbooks of one generation to those of another generation is one way to trace societal and cultural changes over time.

Frances Fitzgerald analyzed 111 American history textbooks published between 1900 and 1979 for the reasons listed above.⁸

⁷ See Bessie Louise Pierce, Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1926) as the premier example of using textbooks as an historical source.

⁸ Fitzgerald, America Revised. Fitzgerald further discusses her views on societal change and noted historians comment on her book in "Revising America: A symposium at the national

She concluded that textbooks have several glaring problems: authors include incorrect information; authors omit important historical events (often relating to minorities and women); and "the signal quality of all [textbooks] is an astonishing dullness."⁹ America Revised's greatest impact, however, - as well as its reputation as the definitive work on American history textbooks - is a result of its effect on academic historians. Fitzgerald placed the blame for the inaccuracies, omissions and stereotypes in American history textbooks squarely at the feet of historians who failed to police history textbooks.

"There is perhaps only one group left in the country which does not bother the [textbook] publishers...and that is the academic community...most scholars do not take secondary-school...textbooks seriously - not even when they have a hand in writing them...[T]here is no real check on the intellectual quality - or even the factual accuracy - of school textbooks. The result is that on the scale of publishing priorities the pursuit of truth appears somewhere near the bottom."¹⁰

Since Fitzgerald's book, historians and educators in greater numbers have addressed the content of American history textbooks.¹¹ They concentrate, however, on what American textbooks omit concerning minority and women's history.¹² Rarely

endowment for the humanities," *The History Teacher*, 1981, v. 35 : pp. 561-575.

⁹ Fitzgerald, p. 149. While Fitzgerald mentions other problems as well, these are the most relevant here. In this paper, I am most concerned with the content of textbooks as it relates to African Americans, although, in the conclusion, I do briefly mention the errors and literary quality of the textbooks reviewed.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 43.

¹¹ Philip G. Altbach, Gail P. Kelly, Hugh G. Petrie, and Lois Weis, (eds). Textbooks in American Society: Politics, Policy, and Pedagogy. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991) is the most recent and most comprehensive review of this new literature on textbooks and teaching.

do the respondents to Fitzgerald's criticisms discuss in detail the content textbooks do include. The main body of this thesis is an example of this type of inventory.

Using a mixture of content analysis and commentary, in this thesis I track how authors have added blacks to the story of American history over the past thirty years.¹³ To a lesser extent, mainly in chapter two, I also examine why authors made these content changes. I scrutinized the treatment of blacks in textbooks because, after examining additions that describe several ethnic groups in the United States (women, Native Americans, Hispanics, and Asians, among others), it was clear that authors most pervasively changed the content relating to blacks.

This thesis fills three major gaps in the literature. First, rather than studying many textbooks from various disciplines as Fitzgerald does, or even studying exclusively American history textbooks, I concentrate on only one segment of a single major change in American history textbooks, the integration of African Americans into textbooks. Second, a decade has passed since Nathan Glazer and Ueda Reed completed the last large scale study of minorities' portrayal in textbooks.¹⁴ This thesis documents the

¹² For example, see Diane Kirby and Nancy Julian, "Treatment of Women in High School U.S. History Textbooks (*Social Studies*, 1981, 72(5): pp. 203-207) and Paul Gagnon, Democracy in American History Textbooks: What American History Textbooks Should Add (Washington D.C.: American Federation of Teachers, 1989). Several dissertations have also been written describing women and minorities in textbooks. As an example, see Gary Webb, *An Analysis of Change in Sociocultural Integration Symbolism in a Sample of Middle and Secondary School American History Textbooks*, Ph.D. Dissertation, n. 677. Vanderbilt University, 1986.

¹³ Throughout this thesis, I use the terms "blacks", "black Americans", and "African Americans" interchangeably.

¹⁴ Nathan Glazer and Ueda Reed, Ethnic Groups in History Textbooks, Washington, D.C.: Ethic and Public Policy Center, 1983.

changes authors have made since the early 1980s.

Third, in this thesis I outline four stages of change which textbook authors have unconsciously followed while revising minority textbook content. Most reviewers have focused on the content of textbooks and have not attempted to find a pattern of revision within the textbooks they survey. Instead of describing individual changes which authors should make in the future (as other studies generally do), I have identified a pattern of change that many publishing companies follow while revising their textbooks. After understanding this four step pattern, future authors and publishing companies might decrease the number of revisions necessary to develop a comprehensive textbook. In chapter two, I fully outline these four stages.

To carry out this study, I closely examined the various editions of two high school American history textbooks published between 1960 and 1991.¹⁵ The first to be examined, Rise of the American Nation by Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, originally published in 1950, is now in its tenth edition.¹⁶ The second, The American Pageant, by Thomas Bailey and first published in 1956, is now also in its tenth edition.¹⁷ The 1975 fifth edition

¹⁵ In order to assure Todd and Bailey were representative of most authors' changes within their history textbooks, I also surveyed other textbooks from the 1970s and 1990s. These textbooks are listed in the bibliography. In addition to textbooks of the 1970s and 1990s, I examined texts from the 1960s and 1980s but I do not discuss them in detail here. These textbooks are also included in the bibliography.

¹⁶ Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, Triumph of the American Nation (Orlando: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1990, 1986) and Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, Rise of the American Nation. (Orlando, 1982, 1977, 1972, 1969, 1966, 1964, 1961, 1950). It is unclear why, in 1986, Todd changed the title to Triumph of the American Nation.

¹⁷ Thomas Bailey and David Kennedy. The American Pageant (United States: D.C. Heath

of Bailey's The American Pageant and the 1972 sixth edition of Todd and Curti's Rise of the American Nation represent the 1970s textbooks. The 1990s update of Todd and Curti's ninth edition of Triumph of the American Nation and Bailey's 1991 ninth edition of The American Pageant (David Kennedy replaced Bailey on the eighth edition) represent the 1990s.¹⁸ For the sake of clarity, I will only use one author's name when describing these texts. "Bailey" refers to both the 1975 and 1991 editions of his The American Pageant while "Todd" refers to both the 1972 Rise of the American Nation and the 1990 Triumph of the American Nation.

Chosen because they both have consistently been best-selling textbooks, I base the reliability of this thesis on the assumption that they are among the most influential textbooks of the past forty years. Since the largest states and school districts in the nation regularly adopt Bailey's The American Pageant and Todd's Triumph of the American Nation, many of the high school American history students of the past forty years read one or the other of these textbooks.¹⁹ In fact, Thomas Bailey considered the fact that his book educated over two million Americans among his greatest accomplishments.²⁰

and Company, 1991, 1987) and Thomas Bailey. The American Pageant (United States: D.C. Heath and Company, 1983, 1979, 1975, 1971, 1966, 1961, 1956). Note that Thomas Kennedy co-authored the 1991 and 1987 editions due to Bailey's death.

¹⁸ The tenth edition of each of these textbooks is being sent to schools now. I have seen preview copies of each book but was not able to review them in full and so have relied on the ninth editions in this thesis.

¹⁹ Textbook publishing companies do not provide sales figures so the most accurate measure of a textbook's influence and popularity is the adoption lists for large states like California, Texas, and Florida and major metropolitan areas like New York, Chicago, and Atlanta.

²⁰ Bailey, 1991, p. v.

Using three main methods of analysis, I documented the changes made in these textbooks from one edition to the next. The first was an examination of every picture included in each textbook. I analyzed the pictures used in textbooks for two reasons. Students use the pictures in textbooks to gain a deeper understanding of the issues described in the text. According to educational researchers, pictures reinforce information described in the text, heighten students' interest, and provide visual aids for students' memory.²¹ Second, pictures are important because textbook authors and publishers often use them to represent female and minority history in textbooks. For instance, Bailey added a "total of about 100 new illustrations, including many likenesses of famous women and representatives of various minorities" to his 1975 edition.²²

The second method of analysis was an accounting of each individual African American included in the index of each textbook. By comparing the lists from one edition to another, I show the notable increase in coverage of individual African Americans in American history textbooks.

Third, I analyzed the textbook authors' treatment of African Americans as a people. What major topics do authors include? How do the descriptions change from edition to edition? Is the content complete or somehow prejudiced? I answered these

²¹ See Tracy Bliss, "Visuals in Perspective: An Analysis of U.S. History Textbooks" (*Social Studies*, Jan. 1990, v. 81, n1: p. 10-14) and R. Mayer and J. Gallini "When is an Illustration Worth a Thousand Words?" (*Journal of Educational Psychology*, Dec. 1990, v.82, n4: pp. 715-726).

²² Bailey, 1975, p.vii..

questions in two ways. First, I analyzed the index headings to measure the amount of content authors include to describe blacks. Next, I carefully read the main body of the text and examined authors treatment of blacks in greater detail than was possible from the index alone.

I organized the remainder of this thesis into four chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter provides a context for the alterations that occurred in textbooks between 1970 and 1991 by explaining the major reasons for these changes and giving a summary of blacks in 1960s textbooks. As the conclusion of this first chapter, I describe the stages which textbook authors pass through as they revise the information in history books relating to minorities and women. In the second chapter, I explained these stages more completely by comparing the pictures included in textbooks of the 1970s to those of the 1990s. Next, I examined the information about individual African Americans. Tables show the numbers of topics included and the amount of space authors devote to them. In a similar manner, chapter four documents the portrayal of African Americans as a people in United States history. Finally, in the conclusion, I summarize the major themes of the thesis and speculate on the future of textbook revision.

How and Why Textbooks Changed

"This role of the Negro in the making of America is, generally speaking, neither well known or correctly known. Often the positive contributions of the Negro have escaped the eye of the historian, and hence do not find their way into the pages of his work. Many books on the American past are silent on the Negro..."

- Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in the Making of America²³

Textbook publishers are very secretive about their business but one fact they emphasize is that they only produce what the public will buy.²⁴ For the first half of the twentieth century, as part of the separation between white and black society, substantial segments of the population demanded "whites only" textbooks.²⁵ Then, as World War II ended and people became more aware of the black Americans' importance to American history, whites and blacks alike began to scrutinize textbooks' coverage of blacks.

The American Council on Education completed the first detailed study of black Americans in textbooks in 1949.²⁶ Three conclusions from the 1949 study are relevant to this thesis. First, textbook authors ignored blacks' contributions to American

²³ Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in the Making of America. New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc.: p. 7.

²⁴ See Sharryl Davis Hawke and James E. Davis, "A Small Publisher's Perspective on the Textbook Controversy," (*Social Education*, Jan. 1986: pp. 68 - 69) for an enlightening discussion of a textbook publishers' perspective on marketing a textbook.

²⁵ Hillel Black, The American Schoolbook, New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1967: p. 119 - 121.

²⁶ Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Inter-group Relations, Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials, Washington D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949.

culture and development. Second, of the little information included in pre-1950s textbooks, most references to African Americans portrayed African Americans as a "childlike, inferior group of people."²⁷ These textbook authors seemed to accept slavery as a necessary stage in America's growth. They rarely described it as cruel or brutal treatment. Third, the illustrations used in these textbooks very rarely presented blacks. The American Council on Education did not find a single picture showing blacks and whites together.

In 1960, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith conducted a follow-up study to the Council's 1949 publication. B'nai B'rith found that African Americans were still largely nonexistent in history textbooks. They concluded by describing the "cardinal weakness" of 1950s textbooks as being "a striking lack of any serious discussions of the American Negro."²⁸

Inaction remained the rule for textbook publishers well into the 1960s. Hillel Black summarized her research on 1960s textbooks with two conclusions. First, textbook authors rarely included any African American history. Second, when mentioning blacks as a race, authors invariably described them as "incapable of achieving culture, happy in servitude, a passive outsider in the development and struggles of the American people."²⁹ Although schools integrated throughout the country after 1954, following

²⁷ Ibid., p. 68.

²⁸ Lloyd Marcus, The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961: p. 38.

²⁹ Black, p. 106.

the Supreme Court case *Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education*, many textbooks remained "whites only" for most of the following decade.

By the late 1960s however, some textbook authors slowly began adding information concerning African Americans in textbooks. Michael Kane, in 1970, found that four of the fourteen American history textbooks reviewed included "exceptional or satisfactory treatments" of African Americans.³⁰ Authors did not make consistent changes from textbook to textbook, however.

"[T]he textbook treatment of black Americans...will most probably devote some space to the contemporary black man; how it fills that space is another question. Dramatic improvement has certainly taken place, but it is significant primarily in contrast to the kind of information found in texts ten years ago. [M]ost textbooks still fall short of giving the black man his due representation."³¹

Although not as comprehensive as many African Americans and civil rights activists had hoped, these textbooks of the early 1970s represented a beginning. For the first time, authors added blacks (and some other minorities) to school history textbooks.

Between 1965 and 1970, textbook publishers added African Americans to American history textbooks largely because of public demand. As a result of the civil rights movement, school districts, especially Northern urban districts, began to demand that authors include African Americans in their textbooks.³²

³⁰ Michael B. Kane, Minorities in Textbooks: A Study of their Treatment in Social Studies Texts. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970: p. 79.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 93, 96, and 104.

³² See Harriet Tyson-Bernstein and Arthur Woodward, "The Great Textbook Machine and Prospects for Reform (*Social Education*, Jan. 1986: pp. 41-45, especially p. 43) for a brief description of these demands.

The textbook controversy in Detroit, Michigan was probably the most influential of these protests.³³ At the time, Detroit's school age population was nearly fifty percent black. In contrast, Detroit's adopted history textbooks did not include African Americans except in a superficial and/or derogatory manner. At the start of the 1962 school year, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) approached the Detroit Board of Education with a detailed critique of the racially biased history textbooks used in Detroit and demanded that classrooms abandon them immediately. The Board of Education responded by appointing a special committee to confirm or deny the NAACP's allegations. This committee, after several prominent members of Detroit's black population publicly withdrew their children from classes, eventually agreed with the NAACP's position. Instead of withdrawing the textbooks, however, the Board ordered a local committee to write a supplementary book correcting the omissions and distortions present in the textbooks then in use. The committee completed the booklet in the spring of that school year and put it to use immediately.

The following school year, Detroit refused to adopt the junior high history textbook then in use until publishers made changes reflecting the latest scholarship concerning African Americans. Other large urban school districts, including New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, joined in this boycott of history textbooks. Because of a major drop in sales, publishers during

³³ Black, pp. 109-121. Black offers a full account of the steps taken in Detroit and other cities to bring African Americans into textbooks.

the mid to late 1960's added black Americans to their textbooks. These 1960s textbooks ended over 150 years of textbook authors' neglect of minority history, particularly African American history.

For the next few years, most publishers printed two versions of their textbooks, one including blacks and one not, in order to please both Northern and Southern buyers.³⁴ They did not print separate editions for long, however. Publishers realized their hypocrisy in the early 1970s (as well as the high cost of publishing two editions), about the same time most Southern states adopted textbooks including blacks.³⁵

Between 1970 and 1990, the textbook story of African Americans continued to evolve. Society's increasing acceptance of blacks into positions of political and cultural power pushed textbook authors to include more African Americans in their textbooks. This increased demand for detailed descriptions of African Americans in textbooks placed textbook authors in a difficult position. To completely revise a textbook, publishers required approximately five years.³⁶ But educators wanted the new textbooks immediately.³⁷ To meet the market's time demands, publishers often only added cursory sections at the end of chapters rather than revising the textbooks from scratch.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 119-121.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 120.

³⁶ Fitzgerald, p. 5.

³⁷ Ibid.

As might be expected, the haphazard manner in which textbook authors handled adding blacks to these textbooks disturbed civil rights groups. These groups published scores of articles, books and pamphlets criticizing textbook authors' choice of material or lack of material.³⁸ The most influential of these criticisms was Stereotypes, Distortions, and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks, printed by the Council on Interracial Books for Children. This book included detailed commentary on the errors (as defined by the Council) textbook authors included about female and minority history. Highly critical of history textbooks, this 1975 study did not rate any textbook as satisfactory for all of the major American ethnic groups.³⁹

Nathan Glazer and Ueda Reed, in 1983, provided an update on the status of minorities.⁴⁰ Glazer and Ueda systematically examined six American history high school texts with the assumption that the continuing civil-rights movement of the 1970's may have caused textbook publishers to correct their neglect of minorities, especially African Americans. They concluded that minority inclusion in textbooks markedly increased between 1970 and 1983 but they did not discuss in detail the specific ways in which the information increased. They did not clarify, for instance, whether authors added more African American individuals

³⁸ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Fair Textbooks: A Resource Guide (Washington D.C.: United States Printing Office, 1979) lists hundreds of documents printed between 1970 and 1980 which are designed to correct a perceived imbalance in the coverage granted African Americans, women and other minorities in United States history textbooks.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 125-129.

⁴⁰ Glazer and Reed, Ethnic Groups in History Textbooks.

or more attention to African Americans as a people.

The Glazer and Ueda project is the most recent major examination of minority and female history in textbooks. By the mid-1980s, some of the people rushing to review the descriptions of women and African Americans in textbooks lost their momentum. A new debate joined the controversy over women and minorities in textbooks. Fundamentalist Christians and other social conservatives began to dispute the humanist, evolutionary perspective they found in by many textbooks used by public schools.⁴¹

Despite the shifting market pressures, however, textbook authors continued to add new information, change descriptions, and reorganize information describing minorities and women throughout the 1990s. By the 1991 edition, for instance, Bailey felt the "obligation to incorporate into the historical record the histories of many people who until recently were only dimly visible to historians - including women, ...Native Americans, African Americans, Hispanics, [and] Asians...."⁴²

Because most textbook critics failed to examine the information included in textbooks but focused on inaccurate or omitted information, researchers know little about the process of textbook revision. Fitzgerald did not mention any sequence of changes in her textbook analysis.⁴³ Two other recent (since 1980)

⁴¹ see James C. Hefley, Are Textbooks Harming Your Children (Zondervan Press: Grand Rapids, MI, 1979) for more information on the fundamentalist movement and textbooks.

⁴² Bailey, 1991, p. vi. Note that Kennedy revised this edition.

⁴³ Fitzgerald's silence is possibly due to the fact that her book was published in 1979, before

articles compare textbook content from two separate time periods. Neither of these articles include any analysis of patterns of change over the past thirty years.⁴⁴ Even textbook publishers and authors seem unaware of any coherent pattern in their revisions of ethnic groups' histories.⁴⁵

There are, however, discernible patterns or stages in the textbook revision process. While reviewing these textbooks, I noticed four such phases of textbook change. In the first stage, textbook authors *include and mention* a particular minority population for the first time but treat it only superficially. Minorities are persons "acted upon" rather than shapers of American history. At the second stage, authors *add and section* much more content. Using cordoned off sections, specially titled headings, or colored boxes in more recent textbooks, authors discuss these groups and their impact on American history. The most important addition in step two, however, is the depiction of minority individuals. Authors may include ten, twenty, to fifty

the majority of textbooks had completed their additions. She also studied a very broad range of topics, this may have prevented her from noticing patterns in the revisions she describes.

⁴⁴ see Traci Bliss, "Visuals in Perspective: An Analysis of U.S. History Textbooks" (*Social Studies*, Jan-Feb. 1990: pp. 10-14) and Charlene Register, "Visual and Verbal Content in U.S. History Textbooks of the 1950s and 1980s" (*Reading Improvement*, Spr. 1991: pp. 14-25). Neither of these articles include information about minorities in textbooks.

⁴⁵ This assumption is based on the fact that the same pattern presents itself first with African Americans in the 1960s, then with women about 1970, and is now beginning again with Hispanics and Asians in history textbooks of the late 1980s and 1990s.

⁴⁶ See Nicholis Poulos, Negro Attitudes Toward Pictures for Junior High School Social Studies Textbooks (Ph.D. dissertation. Ann Arbor Michigan: University Micro Films. 1969) for a comprehensive examination of the few pictures of African Americans used in textbooks of the 1960s.

⁴⁷ Bailey, 1961, p. 384.

new minority individuals from one edition to the next.

In the third stage, called *deletion and reorganization*, authors delete the least important minority individuals and general descriptions, and replace them with more content about the minority. This time authors intersperse the information throughout the text rather than placing it in special sections.

Up to this third stage, various authors include many different interpretations and content describing minority or women's history. Authors choose different individuals to feature, use different pictures to illustrate them and often describe the minority groups in varying detail. After one textbook has reached the third stage however, other textbooks will quickly (generally by their next edition), join this first textbook at stage three.

The fourth and final step in this process, *uniting and synthesizing*, is only just beginning to appear in textbooks of the 1990s. After they have reached agreement on the amount of coverage to give to a specific minority, textbook authors slowly move them out of the "minority history" arena and into the mainline story of American history. Authors no longer include individuals or groups simply because they are a minority. Instead, authors include them because of their impact on American history.

In summary, authors have added a large amount of information about minorities and women in their textbooks. These authors have added more information about African Americans than other minorities because of greater public demand. Authors revise their textbooks in four stages: *including and mentioning; adding and sectioning; deleting and reorganizing; and uniting and*

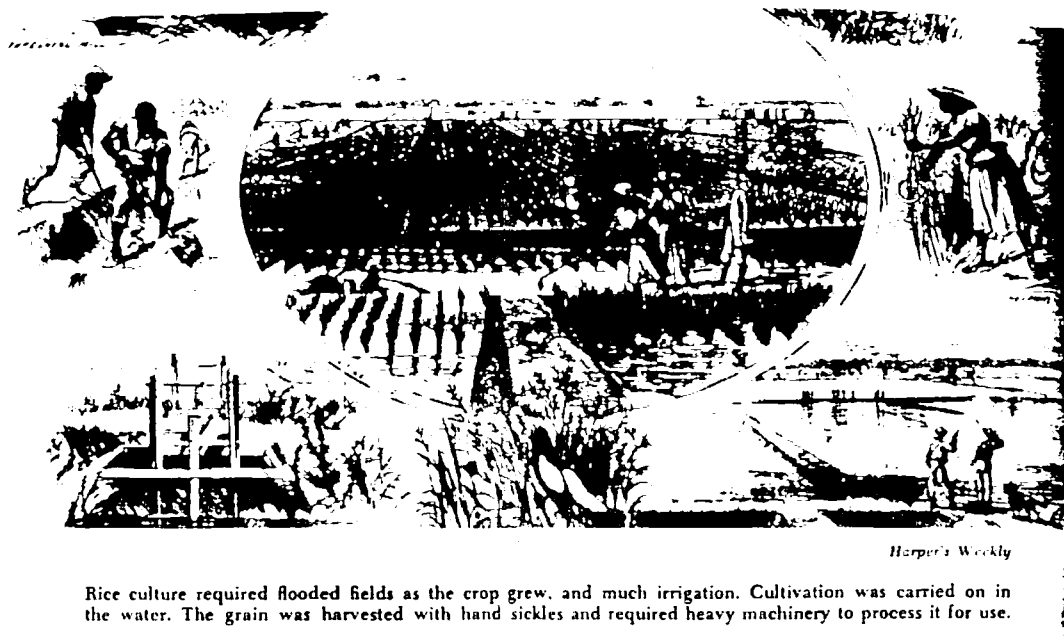
synthesizing. Thus, over several editions, authors bring minority groups and individuals into the mainstream of American history.

Illustrations of African Americans in History Textbooks

A History of the Republic



The illustrations used to depict minorities and women in American history textbooks make the phases of textbook change between 1960 and 1991 more clear. Bailey's 1975 cover, a woodcut of the Boston Massacre does not include any minorities or women. In contrast, the 1991 cover illustration includes one Native American, an Asian American, one female women's rights activist, one older woman, one African American, and one European American male. The differences between these two covers, one only showing white men and the other including men and women of four diverse ethnic backgrounds, is a succinct demonstration of the overall changes authors have made in textbook illustrations between 1970 and 1990.



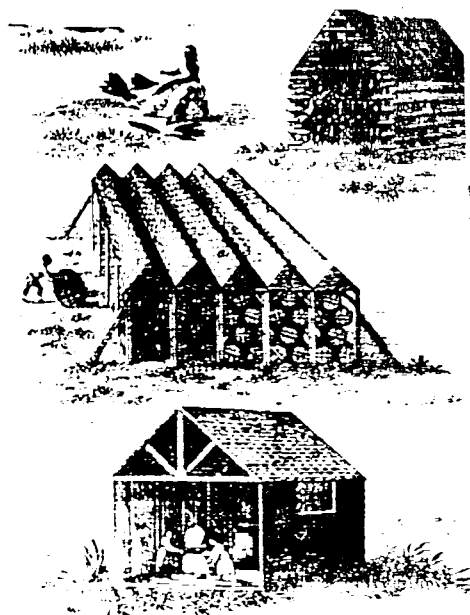
Rice culture required flooded fields as the crop grew, and much irrigation. Cultivation was carried on in the water. The grain was harvested with hand sickles and required heavy machinery to process it for use.

The decade between 1961 and 1970 represented the first phase of change - including and mentioning - for most textbook authors.⁴⁶ Most illustrations of African Americans in textbooks of the 1960s,

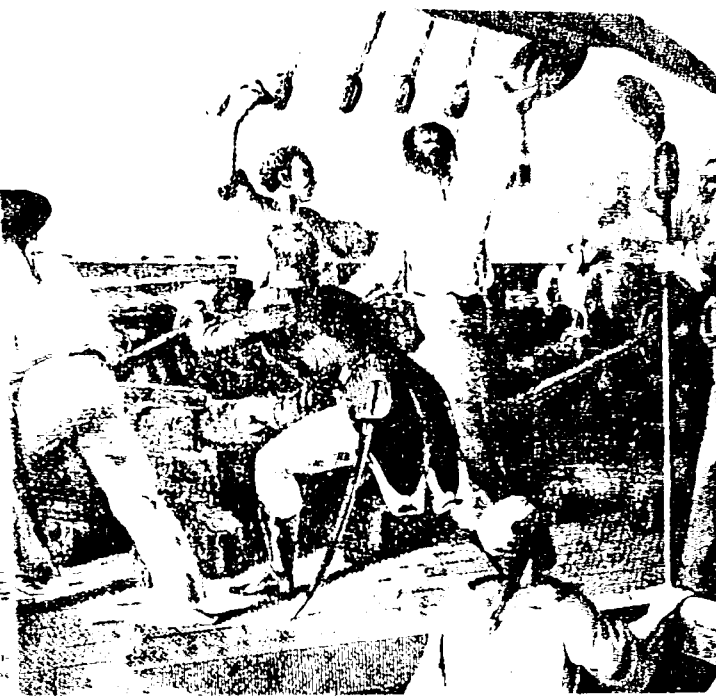
as in Bailey's picture above, show them as slaves.⁴⁷

Note that the caption does not mention that these field workers were slaves. During the 1960s, critics cited this as evidence of prejudice in textbooks and sought a more accurate depiction of blacks' role in pre-Civil War Southern society.⁴⁸ Publishers and authors rewarded their efforts in the next decade.

In the 1970s, Todd and Bailey both added a wide-range of illustrations showing African Americans in American history. Most of these pictures fall into one of three general categories: portraits of individual or groups of African Americans; pictures showing slaves at work; or integrated pictures of blacks and whites together, almost always protesting a cause or at war. An example of each type of picture is shown below.



■ Slave labor was used on southern plantations to produce tobacco, rice, indigo, and other crops. Above, slaves work on a tobacco plantation in Virginia.



■ The Freedmen and save the Union Club as the Americans win a victory in the Battle of Gettysburg, one of the most important American victories in the War of 1862.

⁴⁸ Charles Payne, "The Civil Rights Movement as History", *Integrated Education*, May - Dec, 1981, pp. 54-60.

With these supplementary pictures, Todd and Bailey both move through the including and mentioning phase and into the second phase of textbook change, adding and sectioning.⁴⁹

The portraits Bailey included are an excellent example of the type of treatment given to African Americans in the adding and sectioning stage of textbook revision. For instance, although Bailey did add several portraits to his textbook in 1975, he did not discuss three of the eleven photographed African Americans - Senator Hiram Revels, Shirley Crisholm, and Louis Armstrong - in the text. In his rush to include as many black Americans as possible, Bailey neglected to meaningfully relate many of them to the text. This type of addition is typical of the second stage of textbook revision.

In addition to adding African Americans without integrating them into the text, Bailey sectioned his pictures of blacks. He included all but four illustrations of black Americans in the chapters describing either abolition, slavery or Reconstruction, or civil rights. As a result, between the Reconstruction chapter and the civil rights chapter over 400 pages go by without a single picture of a black.

Todd, having written one more revision than Bailey since 1961, included more black history than Bailey.⁵⁰ If Bailey exemplified the mentioning and sectioning stage, Todd was closer

⁴⁹ Bailey, 1975, p. 1024 and Todd, 1972, pp. 64, 836.

⁵⁰ Todd's Rise of the American Nation released a new edition in 1961, 1964, 1966, 1969, and 1972 for five editions since the beginning of the 1960s. Bailey only released four editions in the same time period. One in 1961, and others in 1966, 1971 and 1975.

to the deletion and reorganization phase of his revision in the 1970s. In contrast to Bailey, Todd did mention each African American pictured in his textbook somewhere in his text, in all but one case on the same page (or the facing page) as the picture. Also, Todd has organized his text so students never read more than 75 successive pages without encountering an illustration of an African American.

The most telling difference between the two books is that Todd included twice as many pictures showing blacks with whites in his 1972 textbook as did Bailey in 1975.⁵¹ The captions to all but one of these pictures mention the fact that both "blacks and whites" are included so they are not really examples of stage four, or "united" pictures, but Todd has certainly reorganized this textbook from the early editions which did not include pictures of this type.

Between 1972 and 1991, Todd and Bailey added about 33% and 92%, respectfully, more photographs in their textbooks. These pictures, like those of the 1970s, can be classified as portraits, illustrations of slavery, and pictures showing blacks and whites together. For the most part, the pictures from the 1990s textbooks are examples of stage three changes, deleting and reorganizing. Between their 1970s and 1990s editions, Todd and Bailey deleted many of the 1970s pictures and replaced them with new illustrations and some newly-captioned pictures.

The portraits of 1990s textbooks, for example, are more

⁵¹ Bailey includes six such illustrations while Todd includes 12.

likely to show African Americans active in American history rather than posing alone. The photos of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Rosa Parks are examples of how authors changed the portraits of blacks from formal, posed depictions to pictures showing blacks involved with life, active in history.⁵²



In March 1965, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., (center) led a march from Selma, Alabama, to the state capital at Montgomery to demand voting rights for blacks. Such marches effectively drew attention to the need for federal civil rights legislation.

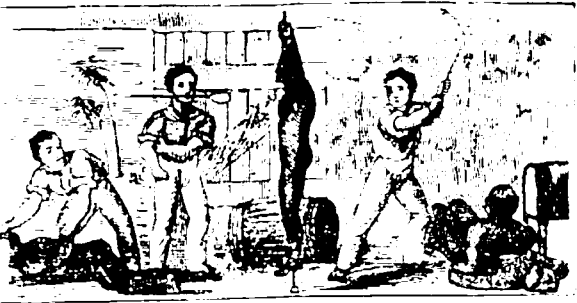


Rosa Parks at Last Sits in the Front of the Bus, 1956. Ms. Parks had been arrested on December 1, 1955 for sitting forward of white passengers, a violation of Montgomery, Alabama's segregation laws. To secure the humble right to sit where they pleased, Montgomery's blacks staged a lengthy and eventually successful boycott of the city's bus lines—and in the process launched the modern civil rights movement. (UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos)

Authors have also reorganized the illustrations depicting slavery. Instead of small, grainy pictures of slaves working in the fields as were shown in the 1970s, these 1990s textbooks show pictures suggesting the horrors of slavery like these two poignant examples on the next page.⁵³

⁵² Bailey, 1991, pp. 899, 924.

⁵³ Bailey, 1991, pp. 350, 352.



Flogging Slaves An example of antislavery propaganda, 1838. (Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society)



The Cruelty of Slavery (left): Held captive in a net, a slave sits on the Congo shore, waiting to be sold and shipped (Collection Phototheque Musee de l'Homme) (above): The device was riveted around a slave's neck; its attached bells, like a cow bell, made it impossible for the wearer to hide from his or her owner.



¹² Bailey, 1991, p. 899.

¹³ Bailey, 1991, pp. 350, 355.

Also, for some of the photographs depicting slaves or slavery, like the example below, authors recaptioned the picture instead of deleting it and choosing another illustration. Generally, in these new captions, authors were more explicitly critical of slavery and people who owned slaves (like the future president of the Continental Congress named below).

TO BE SOLD on board the
Ship Bance Island, on tuesday the 6th
of *May* next, at *Abley Ferry*, a choice
cargo of about 250 fine healthy
NEGROES,
just arrived from the
Windward & Rice Coast.
—The utmost care has
already been taken, and
shall be continued, to keep them free from
the least danger of being infected with the
SMALL-POX, no boat having been on
board, and all other communication with
people from *Charles-Town* prevented.
Austin, Laurens, & Appleby.

N. P. Full one Half of the above Negroes have had the **SMALL-POX** in their own Country.

Henry Laurens, the slave trader named above, became president of the Continental Congress, the first government of the independent colonies.

TO BE SOLD on board the
Ship Bance Island, on tuesday the 6th
of *May* next, at *Abley Ferry*, a choice
cargo of about 250 fine healthy
NEGROES,
just arrived from the
Windward & Rice Coast.
—The utmost care has
already been taken, and
shall be continued, to keep them free from
the least danger of being infected with the
SMALL-POX, no boat having been on
board, and all other communication with
people from *Charles-Town* prevented.
Austin, Laurens, & Appleby.

N. P. Full one Half of the above Negroes have had the **SMALL-POX** in their own Country.

■ During a smallpox epidemic, the owners of a slave ship anchored off Charleston were careful to stress in their advertisement that their cargo of slaves was free from infection.

Finally, the pictures of African Americans integrated with whites increase in number and variety. In the 1990s, Todd and Bailey added many other pictures showing whites alongside blacks. These new pictures illustrate a variety of topics from colonial

life to slavery (shown below left), education (shown below center) to labor, and literature to civil rights (shown below right).⁵⁴

Slave Nurse and Young White Master. Southern whites would not allow slaves to own property or exercise civil rights but, paradoxically, they often entrusted them with the raising of their own precious children. Many a slave "mammy" served as a surrogate mother for the offspring of the planter class. (Missouri Historical Society)



After the war many schools in the South were set up to educate the freed slaves, young as well as old. One observer noted the eagerness of the new learners: "I have seen three generations sitting on the same bench, spelling the same lesson."

Integration at Little Rock, 1957. While white mobs jeered angrily at the first black students entering Central High School, federal troops, with bayonets fixed, enforced the law. (Left, Wide World Photos, Inc., right, UPI Bettmann Archives)



Besides being more diverse, 1990s textbook pictures showing blacks and whites together are important because many do not mention the color of those pictured in the caption.⁵⁵ In some places, at least, authors have decided that a person's ethnic background is irrelevant. On the following page, Todd's picture of seven space shuttle astronauts includes a black, an Asian, two women and three white men but Todd did not comment on the ethnic background of any of these people. They are simply listed as "astronauts" (or in Christa McAuliffe's case, "teacher". Similarly, Jesse Jackson is not a "black American running for president". Instead, he is important for his role as a democratic

⁵⁴ Bailey, pp. 349, 901 and Todd, p. 451.

⁵⁵ Bailey, 1991, pp. 836 and Todd, 1990, pp. 1064.

"candidate" in two successive elections.

Reverend Jesse Jackson, the minister and political activist who sought the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1984, was again a candidate in 1988. Despite his eventual loss to Dukakis, Jackson remained an important force in the Democratic party.



The Challenger crew of six astronauts and teacher Christa McAuliffe was killed in a fatal explosion 73 seconds after liftoff. Memorials have been dedicated to their bravery in Miami, Houston, and elsewhere around the country.



The Union navy underwent a major buildup during the Civil War. It was especially evident in cutting off shipping into and out of southern ports. This is the crew of the USS Hatchback during a brief lull in the action.

Finally, note the contrast between the captions of the 1970s illustration of the War of 1812 (shown earlier) and the caption of the Civil War photo below. Although both show blacks and whites engaged in a common battle, only the 1970s caption mentions that fact.

By not specifically mentioning blacks in some of these pictures, Todd and Bailey open the door to stage four of the

textbook revision process. In fact, the final picture, from Todd, is remarkable compared to other illustrations because it shows an African American for a reason other than his being African American. In the photo below, the man is a representative of the "elderly persons" in the United States, not of black Americans.⁵⁶ This is the culmination of the fourth stage in textbook revision.



By the mid-1980's more than 25 million Americans — more than 10 percent of the population — were aged 65 or older. As the percentage of elderly persons in the population continued to rise, government-sponsored assistance for the aged became an increasingly complex issue.

In conclusion, by the early 1970s, Todd and Bailey both added more pictures to their textbooks compared to the preliminary efforts made by textbook authors of the 1960s. Most of the pictures in these books represent stage two, adding and sectioning, in textbook change. By the 1990s, authors deleted many of these pictures and replaced them with reorganized, less sectioned off pictures still within the three main categories of portraits (now more active than posed), illustrations of slavery (more critical of slavery), and integrated pictures of African Americans and whites in a variety of activities. Finally, the

⁵⁶ Todd, p. 946.

forth stage of revision, blending and synthesizing, is hinted at in three pictures showing blacks for reasons other than their race.

Individual African Americans in History Textbooks

"If Blacks have been all those places and done all those things, why don't I see them in there when I read my American history and world history textbooks?"

- paraphrase of a student's question in ninth grade world culture class

In contrast to textbooks of the 1960s, those of the 1970s and 1990s include many great individual black American men and women. Before I describe the specific blacks discussed in these textbooks, it is important to view them in the context of the total number of black Americans described in these textbooks.

Table 1 - Number of Individual African Americans in Textbooks - 1970-1990

Text	1970s # mentioned	1990s # mentioned	1970s #mentioned twice	1990s # mentioned twice	1970s #mentioned three times	1990s # mentioned three times
Bailey	26	42 +62%	2	11 +450%	1	4 +400%
Todd	64	70 +09%	17	22 +30%	6	5 -17%

Compared to the few blacks included in their 1960s textbooks, (stage one), Todd and Bailey added a large number of African Americans during the 1970s (see table one, above). Often, they placed newly added black Americans in clusters (stage two). For example, in 1972, Todd lists nine blacks on two consecutive pages.⁵⁷ Earlier, in the description of "Negro gains during the 1920's," Todd describes seventeen blacks over the course of three

⁵⁷ Todd, 1972, pp. 826-27.

pages.⁵⁸ Todd does not mention these twenty-six African Americans anywhere else in the textbook. In other words, Todd describes 26 (40%) of the 64 blacks included in his 1972 textbook on three (.3%) of his 845 pages.

While Bailey does not include long lists of blacks all on one page, he does include fifteen of the 26 blacks (57%) mentioned on the final one-hundred pages of his book.⁵⁹ He also only describes two African Americans on more than one page each, and only one on more than two pages in his 1975 edition. Bailey mentions the other 24 individuals once, often in only one sentence. Thus, neither Todd nor Bailey included detailed information about individual blacks in their 1970s textbooks. The majority of their information is in clusters or lists (stage two) throughout their textbooks and students reading quickly through the text might easily skim over them.

Between 1975 and 1991, Bailey added 62% more African American individuals while also increasing the number of blacks mentioned in detail (on more than one page) dramatically. These two changes constitute the end of the adding stage and the beginning of the third stage, deleting and reorganizing. Although he did not delete the extraneous characters from his text, Bailey did reorganize his text in order to include more information about black individuals. Todd is slightly farther along with his

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 662-64.

⁵⁹ In addition, Bailey (1975) does not mention an individual black in the text of his book until Frederick Douglas on page 383. Douglas is the only black American mentioned in the first half of Bailey's textbook chronologically covering the history of the United States to Lincoln's assassination and the beginning of the reconstruction period.

revisions. Between 1972 and 1990, he only added 9% more individuals. He did however, both reorganize and delete some information about most of the black Americans included in his text. Thus, by 1990, Todd is well into the third stage of textbook revision.

Along with table one, table two is evidence that by 1991, these two textbook authors have deleted certain content and reorganized the remaining material on individual black Americans to reach agreement on the most important blacks in United States history (stage three).

Table 2 - Five Most Influential Individual African Americans Mentioned In United States History Textbooks*

Name	1970s # of mentions		1990s # of mentions	
	Bailey	Todd	Bailey	Todd
Martin Luther King, Jr.	3	5	11 + 267%	6 + 20%
Frederick Douglas	2	8	3 + 50%	6 - 25%
Nat Turner	0	3	3 +++	4 + 33%
Dred Scott	0	1	3 +++	3 + 200%
Booker T. Washington	1	5	3 + 200%	3 - 40%

* These five men are the only African Americans mentioned on three or more pages in either of these textbooks.

As further evidence for the development of stage three in the 1990s textbooks, Todd and Bailey both reorganize their information concerning Martin Luther King, Jr. In 1970s textbooks, King was the only black mentioned more than twice in both textbooks. Although Todd and Bailey added information about him in their 1990s editions, (part of stage two), they spread this new information throughout the text rather than placing it in one section. During the 1970s, authors emphasized King's

assassination, not his active life. Bailey only used one paragraph and one sentence to describe King's impact as a civil rights activist. Two additional pages, three paragraphs on one and a sentence on the other, describe his assassination and the resulting riots throughout the inner-cities. Todd also glosses over King's accomplishments and dwells heavily on King's death. By focusing on King's death, in their 1970s edition, Todd and Bailey both take away from the impact of his life.

In the 1990s, King became the central black American figure in these textbooks, a shining example for all blacks. Between 1975 and 1991, Bailey more than quadrupled his coverage of King. He included at least one paragraph each describing King's involvement in the March on Washington, his power as leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the terrible Birmingham riots, King's voter registration drives throughout the South, and his disagreement with the Black Power tactics promoted by Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X. Todd does not add as much information in his 1990 edition but does reorganize his presentation of King so that it is better integrated with the overall chapter on civil rights. Thus, in 1990s textbooks, King is an active force changing America's civil rights legislation and authors describe his actions rather than his assassination as the most influential factor in this process.⁶⁰

Despite their increased treatment of King, neither Todd nor Bailey (in the 1970s or the 1990s) mentioned King's plagiarism in

⁶⁰ See Payne, (pp. 57-58) for more on textbooks and the civil rights movement.

his doctoral thesis or his extra-marital affairs. Todd and Bailey neglect to criticize other important Americans, black and white, but they criticize black individuals especially infrequently.⁶¹ Especially in the 1970s, authors glorified minorities and condemned whites for the injustice and discrimination throughout America's history.⁶² By the 1990s, as I show below, there are a few signs that authors are ending this practice of white-washing individuals throughout American history. For three men below, Frederick Douglas, Nat Turner and Booker T. Washington, Todd and Bailey deleted inaccurate or unnecessary information and reorganized their descriptions for a more balanced treatment.

Todd and Bailey both deleted information about Frederick Douglas, the second most mentioned black in history textbooks. Todd mentioned Douglas more often than King and Bailey pictured him more than King. As a corrective measure, in the 1990s, Bailey deleted one picture and a sentence of description while Todd cut two pictures (he had three in the 1972 edition) and one paragraph of analysis from his earlier coverage of Douglas. At the same time, Todd and Bailey greatly increased the amount of coverage for other individual blacks, including King, but also including Sojourner Truth, Gabriel (a leader of a failed slave revolt), and Thurgood Marshall.

⁶¹ For example, John F. Kennedy is regularly pictured as the model husband and father as well as being an extra-ordinary president in these textbooks. Authors omit his extra-marital affairs just as they exaggerate the impact of his presidential political agenda in these textbooks.

⁶² Nancy Glazer and Ueda Reed analyzed women and ethnic groups in Ethnic Groups in History Textbooks. Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1983, introduction.

Not mentioned in Bailey's 1975 edition, Nat Turner is an excellent example of the balanced coverage of African Americans that is beginning to make its way into American history textbooks. Rather than blaming slave owners for all problems relating to slavery and painting a pure picture of this brutal slave leader, Bailey (1991) described Nat Turner as a "semiliterate...visionary black preacher" who led an uprising that "slaughtered about sixty Virginians, mostly women and children." 63

Booker T. Washington is the fourth black Bailey and Todd mentioned at least three times in these textbooks. He is also another excellent example of textbook authors' struggle to incorporate historically balanced information rather than propaganda in their textbooks. Prior to 1960, Washington was a favorite of textbook publishers. His non-violent, accepting attitude toward discrimination against blacks was agreeable to Southern textbook buyers and at the same time allowed publishers to include an African American in their textbooks. As a result, Todd, in 1972, also included more information about Washington than about Harriet Tubman, Malcolm X, Ralph Bunche, and James Merideth combined. The authors thus implied that Washington had a greater impact on American history than these five other important African Americans, an inaccurate assessment. By 1990, Todd reduced the amount of information included on Booker T. Washington (see table two) and more completely described each of the other African Americans above to help correct the overemphasis on

63 Bailey, 1991, p. 353.

Washington in 1972.

The changing comparison of the views of Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois regarding racial equality is another example of this trend. Washington accepted that blacks could not achieve equality with whites at once and was willing to accept social segregation of African Americans. Du Bois, on the other hand, "believed that only vigorous and continuous protests against inequalities and injustices, and effective appeals to black pride, could change existing conditions."⁶⁴

Consistently, in 1970s textbooks, Bailey and Todd described Washington, the less violent and less militant person, more fully and more favorably than Du Bois. Todd mentioned Washington on five separate pages. These pages include a total of six paragraphs describing Washington compared to Du Bois' three paragraphs on just one page. Bailey also gives Washington more prominence than he allows for Du Bois.⁶⁵ I found a similar pattern when comparing Martin Luther King, Jr. to other civil rights activists of his time. In fact, King receives more space than Malcolm X, Bobby Seale, Stokely Carmichael, Carl B. Stokes, and the entire black power movement combined in both 1970s textbooks.

Todd and Bailey both take steps to correct this imbalance in their 1990s textbooks. Although Todd and Bailey more fully described King in these newest editions, they also dramatically

⁶⁴ Todd, 1972, pp. 422-23.

⁶⁵ Bailey, pp. 587-88. Note especially that Washington is mentioned in the heading of these paragraphs as well as being pictured.

increased the coverage of black power and those African Americans associated with it. Todd also reduced his coverage of Washington while describing other blacks more completely. Bailey, although he did increase his coverage of Washington, also increased his coverage of Du Bois and avoided the confrontational tone other authors used to discuss Washington and Du Bois by emphasizing the fact that Du Bois grew up in the North and Washington in the southern United States. The debate became a part of the larger problems faced by the North and South rather than a personal conflict between two men, one advocating violence and one not.⁶⁶

Overall, between the 1970s and the 1990s, Todd and Bailey added information about individual blacks and they reorganized it better to flow with the surrounding sections of text. Todd and Bailey rarely included the lists of blacks in their 1990s editions as they did in the 1970s editions. Also, both Todd and Bailey changed some of their unbalanced descriptions of blacks between 1970 and 1991 by describing the negative personality traits of some African Americans.

⁶⁶ Bailey, 1991, pp. 569-570.

African Americans as a People in History Textbooks

As early as the 1950s, textbook authors included brief portions of black history. After the civil rights movement, these sections grew rapidly, moving textbooks into the second stage of change by the late 1960s. During the 1970s and 1980s, textbook authors continued developing their coverage of blacks. By 1991, these authors united and synthesized (the fourth stage) much of their information about black Americans with mainstream American history.

The most overt difference between authors' portrayal of general African American history was the label chosen to describe African Americans. Depending on the book and year between 1970 and 1990, authors referred to African Americans as either Africans, Americans of African descent, African American, blacks (with both lower and upper case "B"), black Americans, Negroes, Negro Americans and American Negroes.⁶⁷

In the 1990s, as schools and authors became more aware of the political and social implications of their nomenclature, textbooks began to conform to African Americans' requests for more consistent terminology.⁶⁸ For instance, in his 1991 edition,

⁶⁷ The political connotations of each of these terms depend on the time period, background of the writer, background of the reader, and the context of the situation. During the 1960s, blacks were rarely (never in textbooks) referred to as African Americans. Instead, most textbooks used Negro or black to describe this segment of the American population. Beginning in the 1970s, blacks began to reject the term "Negro" and accept African American as the preferred nomenclature. Some books also distinguish between an upper and lower case "B" as the difference between all blacks and one particular cultural group of Blacks. In the 1990s, most politically active blacks prefer the term "African American". I have used blacks, black Americans and African American interchangeably throughout this thesis.

⁶⁸ Stereotypes and Distortions, p. 11.

Bailey changed his index heading from "Negroes," to "African-Americans."⁶⁹ Ironically, however, Bailey changed only the index. He continued using both "blacks" and "black Americans" in the 1991 textbook.⁷⁰ To simplify this confusing terminology, D.C. Heath and Harcourt Brace Jovanovich (Todd and Bailey's respective publishers) plan to use "African American(s)" throughout the text.⁷¹ They chose "African American" because it is apparently preferred by a majority of African Americans, especially politically active African Americans.⁷²

In the second obvious change between textbooks of the 1970s and 1990s, Bailey and Todd added more information chronicling African American history. The additions, however, are not apparent when examining the index editions. Only by reading through the texts themselves can one discover the copious amount of added information. Table three (on the next page) shows the remarkable difference between the actual and indexed information in both editions.

⁶⁹ Bailey, 1991, index.

⁷⁰ See Bailey, 1991, pp. 1007, 1012 for examples of this. An especially obvious example of this practice occurs on page 1007. In a section discussing "Ethnic Pride" (added since 1975), Bailey lists "Hispanic Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Asian Americans while calling African Americans "blacks".

⁷¹ In separate conversations with two textbook sales representatives: April, 1994.

⁷² Stereotypes and Distortions, p. 9.

Table 3

Difference Between Indexed Information on African American and non-Indexed
Information: 1970s - 1990s

	1970s		1990s	
	# pages indexed	actual pages*	# pages indexed	actual pages*
Bailey	126	20	57 -55%	48 +140%
Todd	109	35	77 -29%	65 +86%
Total	235	55	134 -43%	113 +105%

* The "actual pages" is an estimation of the number of pages the information describing blacks in these textbooks would fill if combined together.

The difference between the actual amount of coverage and the indexed coverage has two primary causes. First, authors greatly over-represented their coverage in 1970s indexes. Bailey included every page that mentions the words Negro, black, or black American in his index. Often these pages only include one short phrase that mentions blacks. Todd does not do this as frequently as Bailey, but he also often used tiny segments of text as a basis for an index heading.

By the 1990s, these authors moved away from listing every reference to African Americans in their index and include only the more important references. This significantly reduced the total number of pages mentioned in their indexes. On the other hand, Todd and Bailey increased the actual amount of information in their 1990s editions by adding more material per index page listing. Often, in 1990s indexes, they did not index pages that only described blacks in a few sentences. These two trends combined to create smaller index listings and much larger amounts of description at the same time. By including more information,

yet not specifically indexing it under the heading "African American," publishers have mainstreamed African American history and moved into the fourth stage of textbook revision.

What content did authors add to their textbooks describing African Americans between 1970 and 1990? In the 1970s, Todd and Bailey both focused most of their attention on abolition, slavery, Reconstruction, and the civil rights movement. First, authors discussed blacks as abolitionists. Next, blacks return to textbooks as slaves during the Civil War and as free-men during Reconstruction. Later, authors feature African Americans as jazz musicians, artists and writers during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and, finally, as civil rights activists in the 1960s.

Todd is invariably more complete than Bailey in these sections. However, even Todd's sections in his 1970s textbooks are generally only short, cursory descriptions of black history. Also, authors often included these sections at the end of chapters in the 1970s. Teachers could easily skip these sections and, consequently, those students who did not read through the chapter often missed the information describing black Americans. Despite these shortcomings, textbook authors of the 1970s clearly added a great deal of content; thus including black history in textbooks for the first time.

By the 1990s, authors described the story of African Americans using seven major topics: Africans in early American history, abolition, slavery, Reconstruction, education, the Harlem Renaissance, and the civil rights movement. Rather than detail the changes for each topic, I will describe the revisions for

"Africans in pre-colonial history," since authors make similar changes in the other six topics.

In 1975, Bailey described the twenty "black Africans" which came to Jamestown in 1619 and very briefly detailed the treatment of slaves in the southern United States using a total of fifteen sentences.⁷³ In contrast to the 1970s, in the 1990s Bailey recognized that blacks helped establish many of the original non-indigenous settlements in what would later become the United States of America. He added two new sections, one called "Makers of America: From African to African-American" and the other "African American culture," to his 1991 edition.⁷⁴ Bailey's 1991 edition includes information concerning free African Americans in the New England colonies, colonial slavery, African American culture and the importance of slavery to the overall economy of the United States. The second added section, "From African to African-American," includes information about African Americans' music, religion (totally neglected in the 1975 edition), slavery, and "psychological weapon[s] with which [they] resist[ed] their masters and preserve[d] their dignity."⁷⁵ Bailey did not discuss any of the above topics from either section at length in the 1975 edition.

⁷³ Bailey, 1975, pp. 14, 16-18, and 35. These page numbers greatly over-represent the actual amount of material Bailey included. For example, pages 16-18 include the following: "The back straining labor was largely performed by Negro slaves and white indentured servants...The hot sun and swampy land combined to create a strong demand for Negro slaves...[Squatters had] little need for Negro slaves."

⁷⁴ Bailey, 1991, African American culture, pp. 46 - 47, and "From African to African-American", pp. 50-51.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 51.

Todd also increased his coverage of blacks between 1972 and 1990. In 1972, Todd first mentioned blacks because the

"expeditions that pushed their way into the unexplored wilderness of the Americas, included Africans as well as Europeans. Thirty Negroes, in fact, traveled in Balboa's party."⁷⁶

Adding to this and other similar examples of pre-colonial African American involvement in early American history, Todd's 1972 edition also includes a section describing African Americans during the colonial period. In the 1970s edition, this section was five columns long without including three large pictures. By the 1990 edition, Todd extended the section to eight columns. He also included two new pictures and a special interest selection on African American spirituals. Todd also moved the section from the end of the chapter into the middle, symbolizing the merging of black and white history into one American history. The authors made similar additions to a variety of topics throughout both textbooks. In general, the information authors added to these topics made them more coherent, more complete, and more synthesized with the surrounding text than they were in previous editions.

At first glance, observers might interpret these additions, to 1970s textbooks as a continuation of stage two or three of textbook revision. This is not the case. Two characteristics of these additions set them apart from the earlier changes. First, in the 1970s, blacks were the only minority to have sections in the book exclusively devoted to their history. These sections

⁷⁶ Todd, 1975, p. 11.

were authors first awkward attempts at including black history in textbooks. In the 1990s, authors added sections describing other ethnic groups. In addition to those already included about African Americans, both authors included lengthy sections on women, Native Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, and several different European American groups. By surrounding the descriptions of blacks with descriptions of other ethnic groups, including European groups, Todd and Bailey made the sections on black Americans less obvious. Also, in 1990s editions, authors no longer placed these descriptions at the end but in the middle and sometimes at the start of chapters. The overall effect was one of balance and coherence rather than awkward inclusion and disunity.

In summary, in the 1990s, authors seem to have settled the controversy surrounding their terminology by using "African American". Next, Todd and Bailey added a large amount of information describing African Americans to these 1990s textbooks, while at the same time the amount of information indexed shrunk by nearly 50%. More than for either the individual African Americans previously described or the illustrations listed in chapter two, these textbook authors' general history of blacks was both blended and synthesized. Although some sectioning remained, much of the African American history in these textbooks flowed with the surrounding text rather than interrupting it.

History Textbooks of the Future

Due to prolonged public pressure, high school American history textbook authors decisively changed their descriptions of women and minorities between 1960 and 1991. Four major phases of revision characterize these changes. First, at the end of the 1960s, most textbook authors included and mentioned minorities for the first time. Next, in the early 1970s, authors added more information describing minorities, but did not merge the majority of this information with the primary text. Instead, they placed the new material in short sections, generally at the end of chapters. Third, in the early 1990s, authors deleted some of the frivolous material added during the 1970s and reorganized much of the remaining information. Finally, in places, authors synthesized their descriptions of minorities and united them with mainstream American history.

Despite adding massive amounts of information describing women and minorities, textbook authors did little to correct two other important problems with textbooks.⁷⁷ First, textbook authors continued to include an abundance of sloppy editing mistakes.⁷⁸ Comparing the index with the text in these textbooks revealed a total of 43 editing errors. The 1990s editions

⁷⁷ Fitzgerald, p. 149.

⁷⁸ Mel and Norma Gabler, of the Educational Research Group in Texas are the foremost textbook watchers in the United States today. Twice a year they publish a very detailed listing of the mistakes included in textbooks of all disciplines. See Are Textbooks Harming Your Children, for a biography and discussion of their work as well as information on how to obtain their publications.

included 26 such mistakes. For example, Todd pictured several blacks (Lil Hardin, Ralphe Bunche, and Shirley Crisholm) in his 1990s textbook, but did not include them in his index. On the other hand, in his 1975 edition, Bailey indexed Nat Turner but did not discuss him in his text. The page number given in the index refers to *Frederick Jackson Turner*, not Nat Turner.⁷⁹ Similarly, in 1990, Todd lists six pages in reference to Frederick Douglas, but one of them refers to *Stephen Douglas* rather than Frederick Douglas. As a final example, in his 1990 textbook, Todd states that Martin Luther King's birthday became a national holiday "in 1983" and, on the facing page, "in 1986." Was his birthday a national holiday in 1983 or 1986? Todd is not clear and, as a result, he confuses and frustrates attentive students.

Second, most textbooks continue to be unbearably dull.⁸⁰ History is exciting, at least partially, because it is controversial. As shown earlier in the chapter describing Martin Luther King, textbook authors regularly paint a picture of American history largely bereft of destructive villains and dishonorable characters. By taking the controversy out of history, textbook authors provide poorly edited, dreary, and sometimes inaccurate accounts of American history. Consequently, high school students view history as a tedious, irrelevant subject, practiced by unprofessional writers. In the end, many

⁷⁹ Frederick Jackson Turner is not included in the index.

⁸⁰ Bailey is one of few textbooks with a personal style, sense of humor and occasional anecdote to relieve the tedious chronicle of American history as presented in these textbooks. He is also guilty, however, of painting over much of the dishonorable traits of American personalities.

students develop a deep dislike for historical inquiry and textbooks fail miserably as the guidebooks for future historians.

Despite constant complaints from teachers and students about their textbooks, the majority of authors continue to use the same revision methods. Over the past ten years, authors have added Asian Americans (sometimes described as Chinese Americans, Korean Americans, or Vietnamese Americans), Japanese Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Spanish speaking Americans to their textbook indexes.⁸¹ In more recent editions, authors have added Italian Americans, Irish Americans, German Americans, and other European American ethnic groups to their indexes and special ethnic sections.⁸² Although not ethnic groups, authors also include American senior citizens and handicapped Americans in their latest editions.⁸³ After adding these minority groups to the black Americans, women, Native Americans (no longer called "Indians" in either textbook), and Jewish Americans that authors have included since the early 1960s, these authors' textbooks are over-flowing with American ethnic groups. Furthermore, as described above, these authors generally hesitate to criticize any of these minority groups for fear of alienating potential customers. Thus, many authors have created a confusing compilation of exalted ethnic Americans rather than a

⁸¹ Todd, for example, includes each of these in his 1990 index and did not in his 1972 textbook.

⁸² Both Todd and Bailey, in their 1990s editions, add many European ethnic groups to their textbooks.

⁸³ Guidelines for Selecting Bias-Free Textbooks, pp. 59-65.

comprehensive American history.

A better understanding of the textbook revision process, as presented in this thesis, might encourage textbook authors to revise their textbooks more quickly and accurately. The four stages described in this thesis are not sufficient, however, to create more interesting, accurate, coherent, and engaging history textbooks. Authors must add a fifth stage - critical and evaluative - if they desire a balanced account of American history. In this stage, authors will examine 1990s textbooks and weed out the ironic descriptions of people like King and Kennedy. Instead, authors will provide an objective outlook toward the personalities and events of American history. Rather than concentrating on minority history, these future textbooks will concentrate on American history. Given the number of editions authors required to reach the fourth stage with African Americans (five, six or seven depending on the book), however, this fifth critical and evaluative stage is still in the distant future.

To some authors, moving quickly into stages four and five of textbook revision may appear impossible. Perhaps authors require the preliminary stages of revision to determine the historically important people and critical facts to include about them.⁸⁴ One woman, however, has proved that it is possible to create a textbook including and evaluate diverse ethnic groups without revising numerous editions. Joy Hakim's new history series for

⁸⁴ This is often the reason given for the slow pace of textbook reform. Publishers claim that changing anything to fast is risky and hurts sales. See Textbooks in American Society. (pp. 163 - 184) for a detailed description of the textbook revision process.

high school students, A History of US (first edition, 1994), includes ten titles describing American history clearly and concisely.⁸⁵

Hakim focuses on Americans' "commonalty" rather than our differences. She does not include index headings for many different minorities. Instead, she mentions the "explorers, cowboys, heroes, villains, presidents, pirates, slaves, slave owners, horse thieves, teachers, and revolutionaries - the girls and boys, men and women, *whom all became Americans.*"⁸⁶ Within the annals of United States history, Hakim includes material describing each major American ethnic group (European as well as non-European), but she does so with an unobtrusive narrative rather than attention-grabbing color sections describing each group. By doing this, Hakim has set an excellent example for future authors to follow. They might follow her lead more easily by understanding the five stages of revision outlined in this thesis.

In addition to helping future authors quickly revise their history textbooks, these five stages of textbook revision could assist historians in understanding societal change. History textbooks contain the memories, events, traditions, and values

⁸⁵ Joy Hakim. A History of US. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1994. The titles included in the series include: The First American: Making Thirteen Colonies: from Colonies to Country; The New Nation: Liberty for All?; War, Terrible War: Reconstruction and Reform: An Age of Extremes: War, Peace, and All that Jazz; and All the People.

⁸⁶ This list is taken from the title page of Hakim's Making Thirteen Colonies and Hakim's accompanying Teaching Guide for Making Thirteen Colonies (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1994: p. 4), (Italics added).

that people deem vital to the continuation of their society.⁸⁷ Since society's demands largely determine textbook authors' choice of content, tracing the content changes in textbooks across time is one way to chart broad societal changes. Although beyond the scope of this thesis, other historians may want to analyze the differences between textbooks of the 1960s and 1990s to better understand the civil rights, feminist, or "politically correct" movements in the late twentieth century.

In conclusion, historians, as the chroniclers of our collective memory and as the most expert members of the public, have a responsibility to closely examine their discipline's textbooks. Although it is practical to examine textbooks and better understand the society they describe, historians are most accountable for the accuracy of the content in textbooks. The general public's demand for purely patriotic, inoffensive, "feel-good" history should not constrain historians. Instead, history textbook authors, especially at the high school level, should provide an accurate account of the good and the bad surrounding the important people and events that make up the United States history. If they are successful, future textbook authors will better train future historians in the techniques of historical research. They will also provide an accurate historical foundation of pride, tradition, and respect which future generations, regardless of ethnic background or gender, can build upon.

⁸⁷ See Lynne Cheney, American Memory: A Report on the Humanities in the Nation's Public Schools (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987: pp. 15-20).

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