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The Treatment of the Reconstruction Period in United States History as Reflected in American High School History Textbooks, 1890-1983 the Treatment of the Reconstruction Period in United States History as Reflected in American High School History Textbooks, 1890-1983

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THE TREATMENT OF THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN UNITED
STATES HISTORY AS REFLECTED IN SELECTED AMERICAN HIGH
SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS:

1890-1983

by

David Earl Morgan

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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VITA

The author, David Earl Morgan, is the son of Henry Louis Morgan and Linda (Davis) Morgan. He was born on September 4, 1941 in Brownsville, Tennessee. His elementary and secondary education was completed at the Carver Elementary School and Carver High School respectively in the same city.

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

A. Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this dissertation is to evaluate selected secondary school textbooks in United States history based on an analysis of the treatment given the topic of the Reconstruction period in terms of the nation as a whole. A secondary school textbook in American history is identified in the study if it meets the following criteria: (1) it must be a national rather than a regional or state treatment; (2) the book should be suitable for use between grades seven and twelve; and (3) it must be representative of one of the several schools of interpretation in Reconstruction historiography.

A general treatment of a scholarly nature, such as specialized monographs and scholarly journals, will be used to establish and define the categories. An extensive analysis will be applied to the secondary textbooks. This analysis will be used to (1) discern the general trends in American history as indicated by textbooks used in grades seven through twelve; and (2) arrive at specific categorization in accordance with the schools of interpretation in Reconstruction historiography.

As used in this study, secondary level will be defined as constituting grades seven through twelve. The word "Negro" will be replaced with the term "black", except in the cases where "Negro" is a part of a scholarly journal, or is included in the title of an article,

a book, in the footnotes or bibliography, or appears in quoted excerpts. In this study the textbook treatment of Reconstruction was, likewise, evaluated for bias, prejudice, author's philosophy, errors of omission and commission, blandness, and evidence of the denigration of the role of blacks in American history. Whether modern research findings have been incorporated in new editions of high school history textbooks will also be considered.

One method used by the writer to study the charge of scholarly lag was to examine the historiographical views of Reconstruction as presented in high school history textbooks over a span of ninety-three years (1890-1983) and to trace the changes in historical interpretation of Reconstruction based on modern scholarship as compared with the presentation of the period as set forth in high school history textbooks. One assumption of this study is that even among the so called "revised" texts the newest historical scholarship is not totally reflected.

To cite one example of inaccurate historical reporting, it is clear that the chapter dealing with Reconstruction in the The Adventure of the American People has been revised. While some changes are for the better, the presentation of the period is still seriously flawed.¹ For instance, the text does not conform totally to the Conservative view. Nevertheless, it holds to the incorrect concept that President Andrew Johnson wished to adhere to Lincoln's wise and conciliatory policies.

¹Mark M. Krug, "Freedom and Racial Equality: A Study of 'Revised' High School History Texts," School Review, Vol. 78, No. 3 (May 1970): p. 333.

The authors maintain that Johnson harbored "deep rooted prejudices" and, therefore, was inept in dealing with the Radical Republicans.²

The book relates that Johnson's two "strong prejudices" made him anti-southern aristocrat and anti-black. This is a valid point since the contest between Johnson and the majority of Congressional Republicans, not just Radicals, cannot be comprehended by high school students in the absence of the knowledge that Andrew Johnson was not only biased against blacks, but was a convinced white supremacist. The Adventure of the American People does not reveal this plainly authenticated fact.

B. The Studies of Bailey and Emanuel

A somewhat similar effort to this dissertation was the study completed by Thomas B. Bailey Jr. at the University of New Mexico in a dissertation entitled "Historical Interpretation of the Reconstruction Era in United States History As Reflected In Southern State Required Secondary Level Textbooks of State Histories."³ The findings of the Bailey study resulted in the grid which could be used in evaluating textbooks for the purpose of selection and identifying requirements for

² Henry F. Graff and John A. Krout, The Adventure of the American People, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973), p.294.

³ Thomas B. Bailey, "Historical Interpretation of the Reconstruction Era in United States History As Reflected in Southern State Required Secondary School Level Textbooks of State Histories." Dissertation. University of New Mexico, 1967, p. 294.

updating. Recognizing bias in prescribed textbooks would provide the teacher with a better idea of the kinds of supplementary materials needed to treat the subject of Reconstruction in a fair, objective and judicious manner within the classroom.

The Bailey study of Reconstruction was confined to the South, or the eleven ex-confederate states. In contrast, this study will examine the Reconstruction period, as treated in high school history textbooks, for the whole nation. Thus, Bailey's study covers a more definite and narrow field in that it is a regional interpretation of the topic. Like the Bailey study, this dissertation identifies schools of interpretation as viewed at various times in American history. The study covers the Reconstruction Era (1865-1877) as treated in high school history textbooks published from 1890 to 1983 and describes the characteristic interpretation for each period since 1865.

This writer believes that the Reconstruction Era must be studied in its total environment, which included both the North and the South. The period must be studied in its entirety rather than from a regional viewpoint. Indeed, Reconstruction was an integral part of the national history. As Professor John Hope Franklin has pointed out, "South Carolina's political life after 1865 was affected by more than the presence of blacks in the state legislature or in other positions of public trust. It was affected, as well, by the dynamic changes of economic Reconstruction. Reconstruction in 1865 was, indeed, nation-wide."⁴

⁴John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 298.

Thus, this study treats the Reconstruction period as a national phenomenon rather than an isolated episode in the history of federal-state relations. It is, therefore, assumed that more limited histories, local, state, and regional, are an integral part of the larger picture that encompasses the entire nation.

Another somewhat similar effort to this dissertation was made by Gary Lynn Emanuel at the University of Northern Colorado in 1979 in a dissertation entitled "An Analysis of the Textbook Treatment of the Reconstruction Period: Changes That Occurred Between Editions of College Level Survey Textbooks." However, whereas this study examines secondary school level history textbooks from 1890 to 1983, Emanuel's study analyzed college level survey textbooks on the same topic for the period from 1960 to 1973.

The purpose and method used in this dissertation and those of Bailey and Emanuel are similar in that all deal with the period of Reconstruction in United States history textbooks. The basic method used in this dissertation is historical and involves using secondary data sources. The related literature, as already defined, involves the use of books, monographs, scholarly journals, sources in education, the teaching of history, and American high school history textbooks.

C. Initial Discussion of Schools of Interpretation

As alluded to earlier, the high school history textbooks analyzed represent several schools of interpretation in Reconstruction historio-

graphy as defined by the writer and for the rationales set forth. For the purpose of scholarly investigation, it is assumed that the Reconstruction Era must contain some degree of organization and reference points. Therefore, the following components or schools of thought are defined and discussed with reference to the Reconstruction program.

The books are classified in terms of the Partisan School, or those who hold strongly to a regional, partisan, or ethnocentric viewpoint. The Conservative view is defined as the Rhodes-Burgess-Dunning School or the New South School of Interpretation. The Liberal School constituted writers who, before the 1930's, wrote objectively and judiciously about Reconstruction as discerned in the light of modern scholarship. Like the Revisionists after them, the Liberal School of historians gave more credit to the Republican Reconstruction program, made blacks an integral part of the scene during Reconstruction and treated them as human beings. The Revisionist School of Thought, is similar to the Liberal School, but began in the 1930's. The Revisionists sought to reanalyze and reinterpret the findings of the earlier Partisan and Conservative Schools.

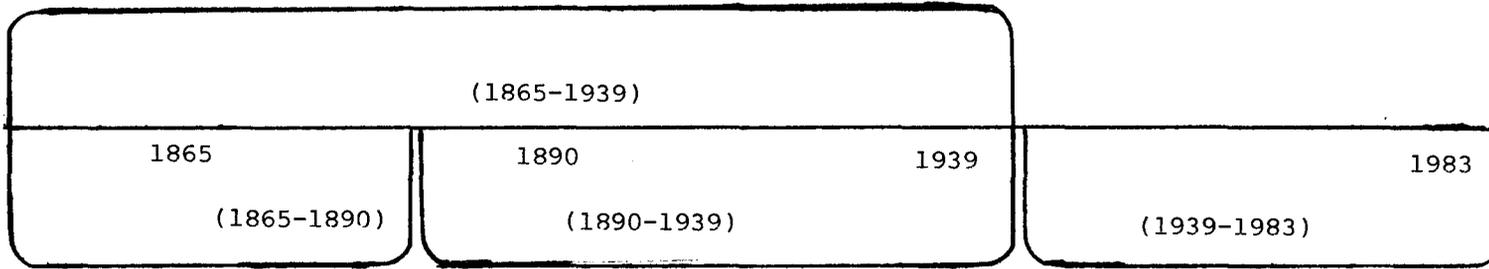
Though there is no definite dividing line as to when one school of interpretation ended in Reconstruction and another began, approximate dates can be ascertained for the purpose of convenience. Nevertheless, in reality one period gradually cancelled out the other over a period of a decade or more. The Partisan School of Reconstruction historiography extended, approximately, from 1865 and the ending of the Civil War to

the 1890's. The Conservative School of Reconstruction began in the 1890's at Columbia and with the work of John W. Burgess of Tennessee and William A. Dunning of New Jersey as professors of political science and history respectively. This school of thought maintained that the political reconstruction which preceded the Civil War was a national tragedy. The majority of these writers maintained that the Radical Republicans who controlled the U.S. Congress, and the carpetbaggers, scalawags and blacks who controlled the southern legislatures, through their corruption, opportunism, and vindictiveness made Reconstruction the most disgraceful period in the country's political history. This school of thought lasted from the 1890's until fairly recent times and was challenged in the 1930's by the Revisionist School of historians. First emerging in the 1930's, The revisionists have reanalyzed and reinterpreted the findings of the Conservative School. Running concurrently with, first the Partisan School and later the Conservative School of Reconstruction historiography, was the Liberal School. This small band of scholars struggled against an establishment of professional historians until the 1930's when their views began gradually to win the day in the form of Revisionism. The Liberal School, extending from 1865 to 1939, was comprised of historians who wrote sympathetically concerning the Reconstruction program and the role of scalawags, carpetbaggers, blacks and Radicals and treated them as human beings. A more detailed discussion of these schools of interpretation and of their birth and death follows in succeeding chapters.

On page nine is a time line presenting the four schools of interpretation in Reconstruction historiography and the approximate years of the emergence and decline of these schools. The Revisionist School emerged in the 1930's and is still in vogue.

TERMINAL DATES

THE LIBERAL SCHOOL



THE
PARTISAN
SCHOOL

THE
CONSERVATIVE
SCHOOL

THE
REVISIONIST
SCHOOL

SCHOOL OF INTERPRETATION IN RECONSTRUCTION HISTORIOGRAPHY

A TIME LINE

D. The Format

The first section of Chapter I is devoted to a general introduction to this study. The rest of the chapter concerns itself with an establishment of the historical aspects of Reconstruction. This section identifies the significance of the time, place, and individuals and their historical roles during this period. In sum, the second part of Chapter I gives the generally known picture of Reconstruction as it relates to this study. This chapter will give a synopsis of what happened during Reconstruction, the rationale and interpretation for the actions of Lincoln, Johnson, Radical Republicans, Scalawags, Carpetbaggers, and so called Redeemers are also mentioned, but will be discussed more fully in a later chapter. In other words, Chapter I will provide a reference point and background for succeeding chapters.

Chapter II constitutes a survey of research studies on textbooks, while Chapter III analyzes the scholarly literature on Reconstruction. In addition, this section builds a framework upon which to base a content analysis of the high school history textbooks by describing the historiography of the various periods and relating these to the schools of interpretation. The several schools are The Partisan School, The Conservative School, The Liberal School, and The Revisionist School. A more detailed definition of these schools will follow.

Chapter IV analyzes some selected high school history textbooks that were published between 1890 and 1983. This section analyzes the texts in terms of their treatment of the Reconstruction Period and

describes them in terms of belonging to one of the aforementioned schools of interpretation. The texts are assessed to determine if they engage in scholarly lag, racism, or an error of omission or commission. The author of a textbook would commit an error of omission if the study omitted or ignored the black contribution to Reconstruction. It would be termed an error of commission if the writer of a high school text degraded the black race. The high school texts will also be analyzed to see if they are excessively bland. If the book failed to relate the civil rights struggle of blacks or discounted racial conflicts, then it would be guilty of distorting the facts to make history a harmonious narrative. Also considered in evaluating the high school history textbooks are assessments of the philosophies of the authors. Upon this knowledge will depend whether or not the texts have respect for the individual's value and dignity, the kind of treatment given to blacks as a group in the American social order and the degree to which the texts take into consideration the dynamics of interracial relations.

Chapter V, which summarizes the previous sections, concerns itself with the adequacy of high school history textbooks in general and the degree to which these texts reflect the older Partisan-Conservative view or the contemporary Liberal-Revisionist outlook in Reconstruction historiography. The writer recommends to textbook authors, future authors, and state and local book review committees dealing with histories for secondary level students to demand and work toward using only those textbooks that contained the latest historical investigations in their quest to rectify the distorted historical views often found in

high school history textbooks. By these methods, and in other ways, relevant suggestions for the improvement of these textbooks are being made.

E. Definition and Clarification of Terms

The following terms, used commonly in Reconstruction history, will be defined for the purpose of this study.

Reconstruction: The term Reconstruction denotes that period in United States history that came after the Civil War. The word also refers to the process by which the Union reestablished relations with the former Confederate states following their defeat. Reconstruction extended from 1865, through the Lincoln, Johnson, and Grant Administrations, until 1877. It was one of the most revolutionary and controversial eras in the nation's history.

Lincoln's Plan: In December 1863 President Lincoln presented his plan of Reconstruction. This proposal offered a pardon to all southerners who took an oath of allegiance to the Union. Lincoln recommended that if ten percent of a state's registered voters took the oath, the state could formulate a new government and draw a new constitution that would prohibit slavery. The ten percent plan would be based on the percentage of individuals who had voted in the Presidential election of 1860.

Johnson's Plan: Johnson announced his plan of Reconstruction in May 1865. It offered pardons to all white southerners except Con-

federate leaders and wealthy Confederate loyalists. The southern states were asked to hold conventions and form new state governments. These governments were required to abolish slavery and pledge allegiance to the nation as the criteria for readmission to the Union. However, Johnson's plan did not offer blacks a role in Reconstruction. The newly formed state governments were to determine the black's role.

Black Codes: The most crucial problem of Reconstruction soon became the status of the freedmen. Under Johnson state governments were established which passed a series of laws called Black Codes. These codes compelled blacks to sign labor contracts agreeing to work at a job for one year. Another code gave employers permission to whip black employees, and stipulated that states could jail unemployed blacks and hire out their offspring.

The Radical Republicans: The Radicals were a group of Congressmen during Reconstruction who demanded a new Reconstruction policy. Led by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, the Radicals urged the federal government to take action to insure the rights of blacks and loyal whites in the South. They also maintained that giving blacks the right to vote was the only means of establishing southern governments that were Republican controlled and loyal to the Union.

The Moderate Republicans: The Moderates constituted the majority of Republican Congressmen during the Reconstruction era and, consequently, controlled the party. They concurred with Johnson in maintaining that the states should decide whether to give the right to vote

to the freedmen. Nevertheless, the Moderates also believed, like the Radicals, that the rights of blacks needed greater protection. As a result, they agreed with the Radicals in requiring that Congress, rather than Johnson, should formulate a Reconstruction program.

The Ku Klux Klan: The Klan was a secret organization that originated in Tennessee in 1866. Members wore robes with sheets draped over their horses. The organization rapidly grew until it spread terror throughout the South. It beat and murdered blacks and their white supporters and prevented them from exercising their rights as citizens.

Carpetbagger: Carpetbagger was an unwelcome stranger coming into the South with no property, other than what he could carry in a carpet-bag, to dominate the region allegedly against the interests and aims of some or all of its inhabitants. In U.S. history the term connotes northern Republican politicians or financial speculators who used the recently enfranchised blacks to obtain office or fortune in the southern states during the Reconstruction period. Nevertheless, not all of them were idealists concerned with freedom and education. Among them were adventurers seeking state offices or chances for financial gain, according to the Conservative School of Historians.

Scalawags: The Scalawags were white southerners who joined the Republican Party during the period of Reconstruction, and helped to conduct the Reconstruction governments in the South. The Scalawags included men of property, Unionists, and poor farmers.

Reconstruction Amendments: The three amendments added to the U.S. Constitution during the Reconstruction era include the Thirteenth Amend-

ment which freed the slaves. The Fourteenth Amendment provided citizenship for the freedmen and the Fifteenth Amendment entitled them to the right to vote.

F. Reconstruction: Historical Background

This chapter also provides a reference point background for the topic of Reconstruction and attempts to tell the story of this period from 1865 to 1877 from a basically Revisionist perspective by using the recent historical findings on the subject. The guiding criteria will be the inclusion of factual available material, and the extent to which authors make use of new historical interpretations of events as these relate to the Era of Reconstruction.

The treatment of Reconstruction in history textbooks has been a controversial topic for years. Research of leading historians, including C. Vann Woodward, John Hope Franklin, T. Harry Williams, Stanley Coben, Francis B. Simkins, LaWanda Cox, John H. Cox, W.R. Brock, Eric McKittrick, Howard K. Beale, David Donald, and others, have rejected many of the old assumptions about Reconstruction that were associated with the Dunning or Conversative School.

The picture of Reconstruction that depicts a devastated and suffering South, the vindictive Radical Republicans, the disloyal Scalawags, corrupt Carpetbaggers, and illiterate, barbarous and gullible blacks, has been greatly revised by contemporary historians of The Revisionist School. The subjects treated in this chapter constitute the

general historical narrative under review in this dissertation. What follows are the commonly known historical accounts of Reconstruction as viewed by contemporary historians.

Reconstruction is a term used in United States history to mean the years immediately following the American Civil War (1861-1865). The Reconstruction of the eleven Ex-Confederate states, which earlier had seceded from the Union, grew out of the effort to find a satisfactory solution to the political, economic, and social questions that had been caused by secession and war. The political question was basically one of how to restore southern state governments to what President Lincoln considered their "proper relation" to the Union.

The Reconstruction Era which John Hope Franklin revives for us was a period when many threads of national, political, and economic life were woven together in one way in the South, in another way in the North. An era too often treated as a chapter in regional crucifixion - appears in these pages as an episode in the history of a great and expanding nation. Franklin reminds us that "neither North nor South, neither Yankee nor Rebel, neither White nor Black had a monopoly on virtue, ignorance, vice, greed, or courage."⁵ The economic question was one of how to adjust to the economic revolution that was changing a pre-war agrarian society into a postwar industrial one.

⁵ Ibid., John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 298.

The Revisionists have forced several modifications in Reconstruction history. They have demonstrated, among other things, that the corruption of the Reconstruction state governments has been exaggerated and that, in any case, corruption was a national, not purely a southern phenomenon, with an expanding capitalism as the chief corrupting agent; that Democrats were quite as willing as Republicans to be bought by business; "that the supposed astronomically high appropriations of the Reconstruction governments seems so only in comparison with the niggardly budgets of the planter controlled governments of the ante-bellum period."⁶

T. Harry Williams argued that though the Reconstruction governments were immodest, they still promoted real progress in the area of public education and internal improvements. Williams maintained that the Congressional Reconstruction Program was radical only from a superficial perspective in that it obtained political power for blacks but did not bring them economic security through the promised confiscation and ownership of farms. As a result, the status of the blacks had no permanent foundation and, consequently, their "rule" was quickly overthrown.

One of the accepted conventions of Reconstruction scholars is that the Carpetbaggers failed because their measures were excessively radical. We have often been told how four million people were suddenly

⁶ T. Harry Williams, "An Analysis of Some Reconstruction Attitudes," The Journal of Southern History, Vol. 12, No. 4 (November 1946): pp. 469-470.

hurled from slavery into freedom; how black barbarians were forced to attempt to play the roles of New England gentlemen; how seven thousand of these illiterates were given the vote and the privilege of office holding. But were these measures genuine radicalism, acutal uprootings which inevitably led to fundamental changes in society? The answer is that they were scarcely more than artificial or superimposed remedies from the outside which in no real sense struck at the roots of southern life.⁷

Francis B. Simkins maintained that a revolutionary Radical program would have demanded the confiscation of land for the ex-slaves. Land was the main source of southern wealth, and the only successful means with which the freed blacks could have fought for economic parity and social equality. The attempts of the Freedmen's Bureau to get land endowments for the freedmen were small and irregular.

From another economic perspective, historians have propounded the concept that Radical Reconstruction was a successful effort by Northeastern business, maneuvering through the Republican Party, to dominate the national government for its own economic objectives, and particularly, the protective tariff, the national banks, and sound currency. Radical Reconstruction is also alleged to have been the manner by which the captains of capitalism used politics to exploit southern resources with federal protection. It was also maintained that western anger to

⁷Francis B. Simkins, "New Viewpoints of Southern Reconstruction," The Journal of Southern History (February 5, 1939): p.55.

these eastern business aims was placated by huge appropriations for harbors, rivers, railroads, free land, pensions and by waving the "bloody shirt", and as a result, prevented the union of South and West to oppose financial capitalists in the East.

Thus, both Carey, a spokesman for Pennsylvania protectionists, and Atkinson, a cotton manufacturer, overstated the unity of New England manufacturers, oversimplified the varied and conflicting interests in the West and conjectured about the probable political and economic alignments of the postwar South. Nevertheless, both were more realistic than historians who have explained northeastern leadership of Radical Reconstruction in terms of a unified northeastern business interest anxious to keep the South out of the Union in order to protect high tariffs and hard money.⁸

Similarly, the direction and support that northeastern spokesmen gave to Radical Reconstruction cannot be adequately defined as an effort to enable northern economic penetration and exploitation of the South. Northeastern capitalists with an urge to place their capital in a war ravaged and undeveloped region were rare. Finally, northerners did make large investments in southern factories, mines, railroads and real estate. However, it is important to observe that only a small percentage did so as long as Radicals dominated southern state governments.

⁸ Stanley Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction: A Reexamination," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 45, No. 1 (June 1959): p. 84.

A large percent of southern spokesmen and periodicals acknowledged the necessity for northern capital in the post Civil War decade and many courteous invitations were acknowledged. The Commercial and Financial Chronicle of New York City maintained that southerners wanted capital attracted to the South but added that this would not be accomplished so long as the states were under military rule. DeBow's Review argued that it was unsound to expect capital to venture southward until order had been restored in southern society.

The social problem related to the question of the status of the freedmen. Since these questions related to basic matters involving authority and jurisdiction, it was probably natural that any serious effort at finding a solution would create dissension between President and Congress, and the respective states. Modern scholarship has destroyed the stereotype from which southerners fashioned the myth of their humiliation and oppression under the yoke of "Black Reconstruction." Gone are the hordes of venal "Carpetbaggers", the Renegade "Scalawags", the "Swaggering Blacks" who elbowed whites from the sidewalks and turned legislative halls into forums of buffoonery. The assumed outrage of "black dominance" has yielded to historic facts: Blacks as legislators and office holders constituted a minority in the Republican state governments. Constructive achievements marked the period, particularly with respect to the new constitutions and the new school systems. Both within and without the seats of governments blacks

displayed, more often than not, a spirit of moderation and magnanimity toward old masters.⁹ LaWanda and John H. Cox have argued that it was defiance and terror on the part of whites rather than black ineptness and corruption that are now considered the dominant factors contributing to chaos and disorder during the Reconstruction Era.

The truth is that whites never lost control of state governments at any time during Reconstruction. In South Carolina where blacks were the majority in the lower house until 1874 they could not win the governor's mansion or the upper house. Blacks did assume, through elections, positions as subordinate and ceremonial state officials, but they never gained numerical power or control in any state, contrary to the popular myth of Radical Reconstruction.

Historians usually agree that the post-Civil War years were characterized by corruption and dishonesty throughout the nation. The country was beset by corruption in politics. The Grant Era was brought to shame by several scandals involving high officials in government. In New York City, William Tweed and the Tammany Hall gang pilfered one hundred million dollars from the municipal treasury in a notorious scandal. Dishonesty and greed was a national phenomenon due to the lucrative wartime contracts and speculation which was a part of the business and economic reformation that came with the Civil War. The South was simply one area in a nationwide experience of waste and corruption.

⁹LaWanda and John H. Cox, Reconstruction, the Negro, and the New South, (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), p. xxiii.

It is true that some Scalawags, Carpetbaggers and Blacks were incompetent and dishonest. But most of the men who were elected to the southern state legislatures during Reconstruction were characterized by traits of perseverance, efficiency and integrity and sought to reform and rebuild the society. Public taxes were used for public works, and railroads which in turn brought northern businessmen huge profits. In other regions of the nation the state governments also incurred debt for similar reasons as the South.

The ordeal of readjustment during Reconstruction was also made difficult by certain sectional problems that arose out of conditions of victory and defeat. The victorious North was confronted with such difficult problems as demobilization, conversion of wartime industry to peacetime production, and restoration of civil law in places that were under military authority. In the defeated South demoralization was exacerbated by physical destruction, hunger in some areas, insufficient transportation facilities and an increase in lawlessness that prevailed under conditions of paralysis of local government.

G. Presidential Reconstruction

1. Lincoln's Plan

Efforts toward reconstruction of the rebel states were taken by the President before the war concluded. Initially, under Lincoln and then under Andrew Johnson, presidential plans of extra ordinary leniency were adopted. Lincoln's plan was implemented during the conflict in areas occupied by the Union Army. In December 1863, the President set forth a proclamation containing his "ten percent plan." This concept permitted the forming of a state government where ten percent of the voting populace of 1860 had taken a prescribed oath of allegiance. Put into use in Louisiana, Tennessee, Virginia and Arkansas, the plan had gradually unfolded from Lincoln's experience in dealing with border states and with military governments established in occupied areas and from his own evolving concept of the nation.

Lincoln's plan was to urge southerners to reorder their political priorities and to take their places as citizens in the new nation that had emerged from the old union. Based on the premise that reconstruction of a state government was solely a presidential task and that it was basically a political matter, the plan provoked a bitter controversy between the executive and legislative branches of the Republican Party. Once the Radicals conceived of Lincoln's plan as being devoid of social and economic reconstruction in the South they started to challenge his reconstruction strategy.

The Radicals own forceful program was contained in the Wade-Davis Bill passed in July 1864. This measure held that Congress alone had the prerogative to admit the ex-confederate states into the Union. The Radicals maintained that the southern states had given up their rights at the time of sucession. As a result, the states were considered territories over which Congress was entitled to exercise control. The Wade-Davis Bill maintained that a majority, rather than ten percent of the citizens who voted in 1860, were required to take a loyalty oath to be eligible for admission to the new Union. Lincoln, expecting to "reanimate the states" under executive authority before Congress reconvened, pocket vetoed the Wade-Davis Bill.

2. Johnson's Plan

Lincoln's assassination in April 1865, brought Andrew Johnson of Tennessee to the executive position. Johnson, a Southern Unionist who became Vice President on the Republican ticket in 1864, continued Lincoln's mild program with some revisions. As a result, he alienated the Radicals just as Lincoln had done. When Congress reconvened in December 1865 the Radicals were ready again to challenge executive control of Reconstruction.

The Revisionist Historians believed that Republican decisions had sprung, in part, from a genuine concern for freedmen and the Union. They even praised moderate Republicans for their restrained, creative leadership in the early phases of the struggle with Johnson and they condemned Democrats, and especially Andrew Johnson, for failing to

cooperate with moderate Congressional Republicans. They also admitted that after the war southerners had done many foolish and a few outrageous things when they should have waited for northern leaders to decide upon peace terms.

The challenge between President Johnson and Congress began on the first day of the new Congress when that body refused to seat the "Confederate Brigadiers" who had been elected by southerners and proceeded to form the Joint Committee on Reconstruction. The high point of this struggle between Congress and the President occurred in the election of 1866 when both branches sought to obtain popular support for their causes.

Johnson's excessive outbursts against the Radicals, together with such reactionary responses in the South as the opposition to the Fourteenth Amendment (except in Tennessee, which was readmitted in 1866), race riots in Memphis and New Orleans, and passage of offensive "Black Codes" by Johnson-aligned state governments greatly strengthened the Radicals' position and helped them win an overwhelming victory in the election. With this mandate from the voters in the states that took part in the election the Radicals took authority of the Reconstruction process from the President.

Several studies emphasized the struggle between the executive and legislative branches as paramount in determining the Congressional action. Although the initiative of the Radical Republicans in inspiring

Congressional jealousy is generally conceded, the sincerity of those who appealed to the perogatives of Congress is the subject of some dispute.¹⁰

Even William A. Dunning discovered that early opposition to Johnson, which caused the appointment of the Joint Committee, was not a rejection of Johnson's policy but a statement to the effect that Congress had a right to a voice in the Reconstruction. Dunning argued that the Radicals, in following Stevens and Sumner, recognized an esprit-de-corps of the Congress as against the President and astutely exploited the issue in an attempt to thwart early restoration. Dunning implied that the Radicals asserted legislative prerogative only to the degree that this would enable them to make political capital of this issue. On the other hand, Howard K. Beale argued that the Radicals were trying to remodel the form of the U.S. government into a parliamentary one.

Even if it is granted that the election of 1866 furnished a mandate to the Radicals, one may ask a mandate for what? Was it for higher tariffs, subsidies to businesses or increased land grants to railroads? Hardly, for as Beale observed, the Radicals purposefully underplayed these issues. In fact the surface issues were far removed from economics and generally revolved around the allegedly deplorable state

¹⁰John G. Clark, "Graduate Student Essay: Historians and the Joint Committee on Reconstruction," The Historian: A Journal of History, Vol. 23, No. 3 (May 1961): p. 353.

of affairs in the South, particularly those touching upon the persecution of freedmen and southern loyalists.¹¹

When Thaddeus Steven's bill for dividing the South into military districts reached the floor of the House in January 1867 Dodge voted against it; and explaining his vote he told his Republican colleagues: "I claim to be as loyal as any other man ... but if these southern states are still to be kept year after year in this state of disquietude we in the North, sympathizing with them in our social and business relations, must to a certain extent, suffer with them."¹² Dodge went on to assert that the businessmen believed that this bill would bring excessive and continued taxation to publicly support an army in ten states.

The end of Presidential Reconstruction came on March 2, 1867. On that day three acts of Congress were passed which brought executive authority to the lowest point it has ever reached before or since. The Reconstruction Act voided the legality of all existing governments in the formerly seceded states, placed the South as a whole under military rule, and specified that "no state could reconstruct itself and become re-eligible for representation in Congress without enactment of full black suffrage and wide scale disfranchisement of ex-confederate

¹¹Stanley Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol., 46, No. 1 (June 1959): p. 87.

Note: Henry Dodge was a Republican Senator from Wisconsin during the Reconstruction Period.

¹²Ibid., Stanley Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction."

leaders." The Army Appropriation Act contained a section severely limiting the President's function as Commander-in-Chief. "Military orders were to be issued only through the General of the Army, who could not be transferred from Washington without his own or the Senate's consent. The Tenure of Office Act forbade the President to remove civil officers without the consent of the Senate." ¹³

H. Congressional Reconstruction

The Reconstruction Acts passed in March 1867 assured congressional control of the Reconstruction Process and were especially designed to abolish the Presidential program of Lincoln and Johnson. Consequently, the ten remaining ex-confederate states were divided into five military districts. Each district was under the authority of a Major General from the U.S. Army. These military personnel were to supervise the Reconstruction process of the states in their assigned districts until a new constitution could be formulated and approved by Congress.

Reconstruction was not imposed upon the South by a few bad men but by "democratic processes in the victorious northern society; it was not the outcome of petty spite or vindictiveness but of deep seated emotions which drew upon the experience of war and upon political slogans sanctified since 1776." ¹⁴ If Reconstruction was unwise, then it was not the

¹³Henry F. Graff and John A Krout, The Adventure of the American People, (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1973), pp. 298-299.

¹⁴W. R. Brock, An American Crisis and Reconstruction (New York: Macmillian, 1964), p. viii.

folly of a few but of an entire society and its way of life. Moreover, if this was folly then it is a popular concept in the contemporary world in the sense that the ideas as embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution had become closer to reality for men of color, as well.

With the ex-confederate states under their control the Radicals increased their legislative hegemony by impeaching President Andrew Johnson. The president was saved from conviction by one vote in the Senate. In the 1868 election Ulysses S. Grant succeeded Andrew Johnson in the White House.

Was the dislike of radical rule caused by bad government or rather by dislike of northern and black participation in it, whether good or bad? Many southerners would not have liked even ideal conditions of life so long as they owed them to northern imposition or generosity. To what extent was dislike of northerners, who had beaten them in war, a cause of southern opposition to Radical rule? How important was unadulterated racial prejudice that would have resented utopian conditions if northerners and blacks played an important part in them? These emotional factors need measurement and analysis.¹⁵

In reality the good achievements of the interracial Reconstruction legislators have been acknowledged by Revisionist Historians of the period. They paved the way for the South's readmission into the Union

¹⁵ Howard K. Beale, "On Rewriting Reconstruction History," The American Historical Review, Vol. 45, (July 1940): p. 824.

and produced the preservation that Lincoln had sought. The South approved the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments that provided citizenship and the suffrage for blacks and others who had not been granted these privileges before. The Reconstruction governments enabled blacks and poor whites to participate in the political process. They abolished the infamous Black Codes by which southern whites attempted to return blacks to a status of semi-slavery.

I. Southern Reconstruction

With the United States Army supervising, southern citizens were registered, delegates were selected to constitutional conventions, local officials elected and state constitutions drafted. From June 1868 to July 1870 the ten remaining states were readmitted to the Union through the processes stipulated in the Congressional Reconstruction program. Specific steps were taken to establish these governments. The military was to supervise the election of delegates for the state constitutional conventions. Blacks were provided the right to vote, but former confederate officials were disfranchised. The state constitutions were to provide for black suffrage. The citizens in each state would examine their constitutions for approval. Then Congress was to approve the state constitutions. After the state legislature met under its new constitution it was required to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. At this juncture the state could then reapply for admission to the United States.

In general, the postwar state governments were characteristically Republican and were administered by political coalitions of blacks, "carpetbaggers" and "scalawags." The conservative sector in the South continued to be hostile toward these Republican state governments since they were viewed as unnatural creations imposed by the North.

One year after approval of the Reconstruction Bill in 1868 six ex-confederate states re-entered the Union. Nevertheless, Congressional Reconstruction encountered opposition in Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. By 1870 all the former confederate states were restored to the Union.

Southerners resented the work of the Freedmen's Bureau, a federal device especially designed to aid blacks to adjust to their new status and to aid southern whites left destitute by the war. The Union League, though born in the North during the Civil War, had moved South just after the war. The League became the most provocative agency for indoctrination of the newly freed blacks in Republican principles.

In an effort to establish democracy the Reconstruction governments improved the quality of life of the common people by providing a free school system, public services, and social welfare. Heretofore, the ante-bellum South was dominated politically and economically by the landed slaveholding planters at the expense of the destitute whites and black slaves. The southern aristocracy made no provision for a free system of public education, except for charity schools, since their children were sent to private southern academies, northern schools, or

aboard. Consequently, Reconstruction laid the groundwork for a more democratic society for both whites and blacks. Most southern whites lived on small farms and didn't own many slaves. However, with the advent of Reconstruction they were to reap the benefits of the "New South" developed by the black and white legislatures. It is significant to observe that the former confederates did not nullify the many constructive laws that the Reconstruction legislatures created, when they returned to political participation at the conclusion of Reconstruction.

Many blacks during the Reconstruction Era made eminent contributions in their states. Jonathan C. Gibbs, a graduate of Dartmouth College was the Superintendent of Public Instruction in Florida and a distinguished southern educator. He was the prominent author of the educational system of that state. Jonathan J. Wright, a black South Carolina Supreme Court Associate Justice, won wide acclaim as an able and fair jurist. P.B.S. Pinchback was acting Governor of Louisiana in 1872. Between 1868 and 1876, Pinchback and two other blacks served as Lieutenant Governor of that state. The majority of black public officials served ably and few violated the laws and ethics of their positions contrary to the biased historical interpretation, stereotypes, and myths to which they have been subjected.

Several blacks also served in the national government. While two blacks sat in the Senate, fourteen served in the U.S. House of Representatives. The two Senators, Hiram R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, were intelligent, competent, and resourceful. Ironically, Revels was

chosen to fill the position left vacant by Jefferson Davis, the former president of the Confederacy. Several black congressional representatives were either former state politicians or war heroes. Though some were without much formal education, the majority of these officials devoted themselves to obtaining educational opportunities and the privileges of citizenship for blacks and poor whites. Some prominent members in the House of Representatives included Robert Smalls of South Carolina, a Civil War hero; Alonzo Ransier of South Carolina; John R. Lynch of Mississippi; and James T. Rapier of Alabama.

The Freedmen's Bureau provided the destitute of both races with clothing, food, fuel, and health care. It gave housing to the homeless and established courts to settle wage disputes. The Bureau's greatest achievement was in the field of education. It established and administered black institutions for various categories of education. Famous black colleges and universities of today obtained support and inspiration from the work of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Southerners' resentment to Reconstruction measures led to the growth of terrorist organizations, the most influential of which was the Ku Klux Klan. There were other groups such as the Knights of the White Camelia, the White Brotherhood and the Pale Faces which used violence. Increasing southern resistance finally led to the overthrow of congressional supported state governments that had been formed when civilian rule was re-established. Southern conservatives re-established control of their state legislatures by fraud, intimidation and violence.

From North Carolina came an early request for protection from the outrages of the Ku Klux Klan. A born Republican wrote Benjamin F. Butler: "I can say to you with safety that a Union man's chance is slender here in North Carolina." A prominent carpetbagger of Greensboro wrote: "The old aristocracy and slave owners of the South are sore-headed; thus far they have refused to be comforted by any sanctifying grace flowing from Republican sources." Their hostility to the Republican Party and their hatred of the U.S. Government drove them into the Ku Klux Klan organization. They hoped that by means of that wicked order they would get undisputed control of the South and "with the assistance of Tammany they would walk into the White House in 1873."¹⁶

In 1877 the last federal troops were withdrawn from the South, and the last Radical regimes were overthrown, while the black, a pawn no longer usable, was callously surrendered to white southern authority with all the empty promises of equality still ringing in his ears.¹⁷ When federal troops left Louisiana in 1877, the last state to be "redeemed", the Democratic Party had re-established itself as a powerful force in every southern state.

Booker T. Washington once said that the white man could never hold the black man in a ditch without getting in the ditch with him. The Ku Klux Klan was a perfect illustration of that proposition. Beginning as

¹⁶Jack B. Scroggs, "Southern Reconstruction: A Radical View," The Journal of Southern History, Vol. 24, No. 4 (November 1958): p. 423.

¹⁷John Higham, ed., The Reconstruction of American History. (New York: Harper, 1962), p. 104.

a social fraternity devoted to playing pranks, it was soon transformed into a terrorist organization aiming at the preservation of white supremacy. And in the context of Reconstruction politics after 1867, it became a counter-revolutionary device to combat the Republican Party and Congressional Reconstruction policy in the South. For more than four years it whipped, shot, hanged, raped and otherwise outraged blacks and Republicans across the South in the name of preserving white civilization.¹⁸

In the absence of widespread public support the Klan could not have begun its career or continued in it. The group was not just a host of desperadoes whom society abhorred. The organization was joined by many who gave it aid and support in the communities where it functioned. Perhaps the majority were both attracted and repelled by the organization. Although southern whites sympathized with its aims some were critical of its methods. On the other hand, some feared Klan retaliation if they opposed its program and perhaps more than that they were afraid of being accused of treason to the white South. In substance, the Klan paid allegiance to the stars and bars, recited racist literature which had been designed to justify black slavery, threatened death to non-supporters, and proved itself unconquerable to orthodox southerners.

Allen W. Trelease's and Mark M. Krug's attitudes toward the Klan is in keeping with the view of most recent historians of the Reconstruction

¹⁸ Allen W. Trelease, White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction. (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. xi.

Era. Writers no longer accept the opposite view which, in the past, had celebrated the Klan and its "civilizing mission" in the South. This view also arose from an increased knowledge of the depth and power of the Klan conspiracy which has, in turn, placed the plight of southern Republicans in a better perspective and put Republican men and programs in a more respectable light than in the past. By the same reasoning, it has shown the degrading effects of racism in societies which fall prey to this form of illness.

J. The Importance of the Reconstruction Period in American History

The Reconstruction period made a permanent mark on United States history. In the national arena it marked an economic revolution that had started during the Civil War and would produce the incredibly rapid transformation of a basically agrarian society into a modern industrial nation. Southern reforms included the reorganization and improvement of the judicial system, the establishment of a public school system and more effective taxation methods. Many state constitutions that were adopted in the post Civil War years are still in use. Others were maintained long after southern redeemers regained control of state governments.

The new state constitutions formulated by the Radical Reconstruction governments were more democratic than those in use during the antebellum period. Property qualifications to register and vote in a free election and to hold office were abolished. There were improvements in geographical representation in conformity with the number in the population. Women rights were increased. There was an improvement in tax systems and most new state constitutions required a provision for tax supported schools. A school system was basically absent in the South before the war. In addition, most constitutions included provisions for an improved and more equal balance between the three branches of government.

Despite the efforts of churches and other agencies the ex-slaves persisted in experiencing poverty and despair in their daily existence. In farming communities it was impossible for blacks to earn an adequate living standard. In the urban areas few were capable of succeeding in the crafts, business, or industry and everywhere blacks were systematically exploited. In the absence of the means to achieve land ownership, the majority of blacks either remained or returned to the plantations and their former masters as hired hands, tenant farmers or as sharecroppers. Under such conditions they remained in heavy debt to shopkeepers or the landowners and were, in substance, reduced to perpetual peonage. As a result the ex-slaves continued to experience the same exploitation and wretchedness in their lives which they had known in slavery.

Kenneth M. Stamp argued in The Era of Reconstruction: 1865-1877, one of the most impressive contributions in Revisionist historiography, that the tragedy of Reconstruction was not that it took place, but rather than it ended without achieving its egalitarian objectives. Recent writers reject the biased and sometimes racist approach to Reconstruction that was practiced by many of their predecessors. Nevertheless, even in recent scholarship, romanticism and moralism characterize much of the literature on the topic. The difference is that the heroes of the earlier schools of Reconstruction historiography are now the villains of the Revisionist School of Interpretation and the old villains are now the heroes.¹⁹

¹⁹Kenneth M. Stamp, The Era of Reconstruction: 1865-1877, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), pp. i-ix.

CHAPTER II

A SURVEY OF RESEARCH STUDIES ON TEXTBOOKS

The review of textbook studies that are analyzed in this chapter will cover the whole historical period of the Reconstruction Era as presented in this dissertation. The chapter presents the recognized and recently established views on Reconstruction in U.S. History textbooks as reflected in the scholarly textbook studies from the viewpoint of both a national and international perspective.

From a national perspective these studies on textbooks place the Reconstruction period in a historical perspective and view it within the context of the discrimination and ignorance perpetuated by the American public school system since its establishment. The studies also prove that presenting the total and true history of the Reconstruction period to a high school audience is crucial to the achievement of a sound and just society. From an international perspective the views of several foreign history texts dealing with the topic of American history, and particularly as it relates to Reconstruction and black Americans, are investigated.

Within this context, textbooks demand attention because they not only provide a basic source of school instruction but also transmit culture, reflect values, and serve as springboards for the intellectual development of individuals and the nation. Providing the source of ninety percent of instruction, textbooks wield powerful cognitive and

affective influences upon individual families, and the nation. Historically, textbooks have changed in response to the prevailing educational philosophy and curriculum-reform movements of the times, as well as to pressure from both liberal and right wing elements of society and from vocal minorities.²⁰

Little research has been completed on learning effectiveness from standard textbooks. However, research on programmed texts has emphasized comparing these teaching media with other instruction methods. The results suggests that programmed texts can be instructionally effective as teachers and sometimes better, "that ordinarily they can do this in an equal amount of time and sometimes more rapidly, and that programmed texts and teachers, working cooperatively, are more productive than either working alone."²¹

The work of the seventh and eighth grades commonly represents the first serious and systematic instruction in history. It cannot be doubted that points of view, attitudes, and prejudices engendered at this time will often persist, even if detailed facts are largely forgotten. It is these enduring outcomes of the initial study of history that form the perspective through which the next generation will view the problems of national life. "If the elementary course is fundamentally at fault, this perspective will inevitably be distorted and its

²⁰ Harold E. Mitzel, ed., Encyclopedia of Educational Research, (New York: MacMillan, 1982), p. 1933.

²¹ Ibid.

distortions will be reflected in fallacious collective thinking and ineffective collective conduct..." Under conditions that are general in American history and secondary schools, the textbook is a significant element in instruction in history.²²

Selecting textbooks is of utmost concern for educators since these books are a fundamental means of providing information and for giving students an academic foundation. A textbook should give instructional information that should be supplemented freely from other sources. In reality, however, textbooks in elementary and secondary schools dispense about eighty percent of the concepts for students in any particular school subject. Quite often the textbook is a major source of instructional material providing for the individual's intellectual development.

Within most systems of instruction the textbook plays a crucial role. It is impossible for any written record to be current and completely up-to-date. It is not the role of the textbook to compete with a daily newspaper, for even the newspaper is inadequate in giving current news in comparison with radio and television. To consider the textbook as a compendium of current information is to accept it as being continuously and forever out of date.

Orderliness of presentation is an essential goal and a high value for any system of instruction. Jerome Bruner has argued that there is a

²² William C. Bagley and H. O. Rugg, The Content of American History As Taught in the Seventh and Eighth Grades. University of Illinois: School of Education Bulletin, Vol. XIII, No. 16 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, August 21, 1916), p. 7.

basic structure in the disciplines and that the goal of instruction is to locate and reproduce this structure by stages.²³

On the other hand, when a textbook's content agrees with the parental and community values in which it is used it is considered "acceptable." Nevertheless, changes in school curricula and in texts have occurred as a result of multiethnic and multicultural requirements, as well as the recent emphasis on humanism and the inquiry approach to instruction. These changes have caused considerable controversy.²⁴

Some modern historians, such as the nineteenth century German Leopold Von Ranke (1795-1886), hoped to describe the past as it actually happened. That could not be done for a number of reasons: (1) some records, especially of ancient times, are scanty; (2) other records are often too voluminous, sometimes contradictory, and possibly inaccurate; (3) historians themselves cannot be completely objective and omniscient, they are all creatures of their own time and place, and they can never completely surmount these limitations or personally know all the primary sources except for brief periods.²⁵

²³ Jerome Brunner, The Process of Education (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp.6-8.

²⁴ Lee C. Deighton, The Encyclopedia of Education (New York: Mac-Millan, 1971), pp. 212-213.

²⁵ Asa S. Knowles, ed., The International Encyclopedia of Higher Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1977), p. 2014.

These observations should be carefully considered in evaluating the four schools of interpretation in Reconstruction historiography as these appear in high school history textbooks. Therefore, interpretation and selection of materials must be a major determinant by school textbook committees in their choice of high school history textbooks.

A study by Ruth Miller Elson in 1964 was based on over a thousand popular textbooks used in the first eight years of schooling. The study was limited upwards to grade eight, since at the time most of these old texts were published, high school history was not a normal part of the training of most Americans and the eight year span did not become normal until the turn of the century. This study assumed that the first presentation of an idea to the child at an early age, and, with the school's authority supporting it, makes a more profound impression than later presentations.

In some books that were written after the Civil War the blacks became a subject of brief conjecture. The child taught from these books would not see the black as a participant and contributor to American history. He would believe that the emancipation of the slaves was a constructive achievement which took place without any effort on the blacks part, but, nevertheless, removed an evil from his civilization, a flaw that was caused during the colonial period under British dominion and before the United States had control of its affairs. With emancipation the whites would no longer owe a debt to the black man. However, the child could assume that the whites should have some responsibility

for taking care of the blacks since they were "incapable of self-control and self-direction."

The generations that made decisions about the Civil War, slavery, and Reconstruction, whatever they were taught about slavery, were thoroughly indoctrinated with the concept of black inferiority. It is interesting to note that this inferiority consists in an absence of the very traits: "responsibility, industriousness, initiative" considered particularly valuable to an America "on the make." Their conspicuous absence causes the black to be a poor candidate for equality in American society.²⁶

It should also be noted that the image of the black was of the same "gay, foolish, childlike creature" who appeared in the writings of George Fitzhugh and Thomas Nelson Page, as well as in the consciousness of the old southern aristocracy, and finally in the minstrel show. It is not the "bestial black" in the writings of Thomas Dixon at the end of the century, nor in thinking of the Ku Klux Klan and the southerners who fixed a rigid and all pervasive segregation of the races. Rather, the blacks of the schoolbooks must be "cared for by the whites as one would care for a child"; he is not "vicious", nor is it essential to "quarantine" him. His place in the nation's future is clear; he will assist the whites from his "menial" but useful position.²⁷

²⁶Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century, (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), p. 99.

²⁷Ibid., p. 99.

Thus, like the idea of race, nationality in nineteenth century textbooks, while uniting people in groups, was a great divisive force for humanity. In post-Civil War textbooks, the absence of a public school system in the Pre-Civil War South continued to be a serious flaw in the society. One book relates that the geographically low density of the population made the growth of a common school system a difficult endeavor. In other books, this absence is viewed as southern neglect of a crucially important attribute to national progress. Post-Civil War texts give promise of a South that is endeavoring to correct its antebellum inadequacies. The majority of the schoolbooks in the Post-Civil War period of the nineteenth century indicated that free labor was more profitable than slave labor. By the turn of the century, the schoolbooks were proclaiming a "New South." Unlike North and South in American nineteenth century textbooks, the West has no permanent special characteristics. In contrast to present texts, in the nineteenth century the West was, in reality, a moving frontier and this fact is reflected in the uncertainty with which its boundaries were discussed.

One major assumption in nineteenth century textbooks is the moral nature of the universe. This assumption was at the heart of American culture. Accordingly, nature and man, animal and plant are invested with morality and follow moral law. If a man succeeds in business it is not so much because of application and effort, but of good character. What was true for individuals, in this respect, was also true for nations.

Unlike many modern schoolbooks, those of the nineteenth century did not pretend to be neutral. While they evade issues seriously controversial in their day, they took a firm and unanimous stand on matters of basic belief. The value judgment is their stock in trade: "love of country, love of God, duty to parents," the necessity to develop habits of thrift, honesty and hard work in order to accumulate property, the certainty of progress, the perfection of the United States. These were not to be questioned. Nor in this whole century of great external change is there deviation from these basic values. In pedagogical arrangements the schools of the 1790's are vastly different from those of the 1890's, but the continuum of values is uninterrupted. In terms of old texts, "Neither the Civil War nor the 1890's provide any watershed in basic values."²⁸

Nineteenth century history texts gave no hint of Darwin's natural selection from chance variations, nor of the higher criticism, comparative religion, William James' pluralism, nor of the neutral nature depicted by literary realists. Ethics do not evolve from particular cultural situations, nor are they to be developed by the individual from his own experience and critical thinking. Nor are they to come from his peers. They are absolute, unchanging, and are derived from God. The

²⁸Ibid., Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition, p. 99.

Note: Higher criticisms as used in this study means the literary historical study of the Bible that seeks to determine such factors as authorship, date, place of origin, circumstances of compositions, purpose of the author, and the historical credibility of each of the various biblical writings together with the meaning intended by their authors.

child is to learn ethics as he learns information about his world, unquestioningly, and by rote. His behavior is not to be inner directed, nor outer directed, but dictated by authority.

Also, in contrast to many modern texts, those of the nineteenth century, while ideologically simple, are not entirely bland. However, glossed with sentiment, death and disease is a natural part of the world of the schoolbook. Reality is portrayed not so much through the postman, fireman, and things familiar in the child's environment, but through the deeper reality of hardship, tragedy, passionate devotion to a cause, the satisfaction in overcoming obstacles.

As is invariably true for other nations, the schoolbooks of the United States endeavor to persuade the child to believe that his nation is superior to the others. The growth of American ideas and institutions is generally portrayed in the absence of its natural world setting, and the impact of freedom and the industrial revolution are supposed to be creations of America. Freedom is usually discussed as a characteristic unique to America.

Although the textbook writers consider themselves the preservers of liberty, they can be more precisely described as preservers of tradition. On social matters the tone of textbooks has been conservative. This country is forever identified with freedom, but this freedom is best considered as that which was set up in 1783 after the separation from England. The nineteenth century student was encouraged to adhere to America's past accomplishments and to believe in the spread of the American system throughout the world. However, the nation's contem-

porary problems of that age are conspicuously absent from these textbooks and reform movements which would have a major social or political impact are either ignored or scorned. According to these texts, also, the industrial revolution, while increasing American power, left no division in the American social order. Labor organization is not apparent in the textbooks until the late nineteenth century and when it does appear it is identified with violence and property destruction carried out by irresponsible elements in American society. These texts also reason that women in the United States had already been awarded all the rational liberty suitable to their natures, and more than in other countries. Dissatisfaction with their status is both unwomanly and ungrateful. Always the child is shown an America serene and united. He must be tolerant of other religions, but he should not recognize them as equal to Protestantism on pain of subversion of both church and state. He should be moved emotionally by the inhumanity of war, but he should admire without reserve the exploits of military heroes and be happy to sacrifice his life in any war in which his country is engaged. Before the Civil War he can look back to the evils of slavery as being safely buried in the past, but he need not concern himself with the freedmen; the latter quickly fades from the pages of his schoolbooks. He must revere values already established in American society by his schoolbooks' judgment on these rather than attempt to institute new ones or expand the old. Elson contends that ironically, their very efforts to "present a united society prevent these schoolbooks from mirroring America as a whole; only the social ideals of the more conservative

members of the society were offered to the nineteenth century child. It is these social ideals that nineteenth century schoolbooks admit to the American tradition and hope to preserve."²⁹

Doctrines critical of the textbook are no novelty, dating back to Rousseau and before. Similar criticisms were enunciated by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and John Dewey in the twentieth century. During the 1930's the textbooks that were published under the auspices of state governments were disappearing from the scene. This development was part of a trend toward more provincial courses of study. The movement also permitted different textbooks to be utilized in different schools within a state and consequently made for more flexibility.

An eminent Dean, E.P. Cubberly, once said in a statement that: "The disadvantages of uniformity in school textbooks (from school to school) become even more marked when we pass from the elementary school to the junior and senior high schools..." In the preceding passage, Cubberly defined improved texts as those that "represent real advances in content or in the organization of subject matter." No doubt his opinion of what constitutes textbook improvement reflected the beliefs of conservatives like William C. Bagley.³⁰

²⁹Ibid., Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition, p. 99.

³⁰Lee J. Cronbach, ed., Text Materials in Modern Education, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955), pp. 16-17.

Today, more than ever before, history teachers realize the importance of having their students know and understand the roles and contributions of the various ethnic groups in the history of the United States. The histories of these parts of the whole is to be more than fiction. The study of American history in the schools has been and still is incomplete as far as the role played by blacks in the history of the nation is concerned, and particularly during the Reconstruction period. "To continue to ignore the contributions of blacks serves not only to distort history, but also to deprive the black American of his heritage."³¹

Leroy F. Psencik argued that due to the request for black history studies, educational institutions at all levels have tried to incorporate such studies into their curriculums. Nevertheless, instructors are of the opinion that proposals for separate and exclusive courses in black history have a tendency to isolate blacks from the main stream of American history of which they are an integral part. Therefore, it is essential that the instructor strive "to integrate with existing course work a more balanced and complete presentation of the black role."³²

Psencik maintains that the majority of teachers who are presently employed were taught from textbooks which basically ignored black Americans and other ethnic minorities. It is argued that constructive integration of black history into the social studies curriculum on

³¹Leroy F. Psencik, "Teaching Black History in Secondary Schools," The History Teacher, Vol.6, No. 3 (May 1973): p. 375.

³²Ibid.

Reconstruction as well as in other areas necessitates a fresh orientation of these teachers' ideas. Combined with this prerequisite is the need for an ingrained equality and a sense of dedication to humanity itself which encompasses a sense of fairness in representing totally and factually the black American's role in U.S. history and in the contemporary social order. Therefore, it is essential that the history teacher be widely read and possess a strong intellectual foundation in which to refer when teaching about blacks.

To know what is required of a high school history textbook in general as well as on the topic of Reconstruction, it is essential to know the inadequacies and shortcomings of the texts that have been in use in both the present and the past. The studies cited here will review criticisms of textbooks over a long period of years and will analyze these books on the basis of interpretation of objectives, content, and methods of use.

In Black Reconstruction, a seminal study of the blacks' role in Reconstruction written by W.E.B. DuBois, the author asks: "What are American children taught today about Reconstruction?" He then related that Helen Boardman in her study of the, then, current textbooks had noted three dominant themes: "(1) All blacks were ignorant, (2) All blacks were lazy, dishonest, and extravagant, (3) Blacks were responsible for bad government during Reconstruction."³³ For each of the

³³ W.E.B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction in America (New York: Russell and Russell, 1935), pp. 711-713.

three dominant themes cited by DuBois, he then substantiates each position by quoting the appropriate passages from selected U.S. history textbooks. DuBois held that students who received such information in elementary and secondary school would finish high school without learning the true story of Reconstruction. Argued DuBois, "In other words, he would in all probability complete his education without any idea of the part which the black race has played in America;" of the tremendous moral problem of abolition; of the cause and meaning of the Civil War and the relation which Reconstruction had to democratic government and the labor movement today.³⁴

Louis Gottschalk defines history as being the "past of mankind." The concept is expressed that history cannot be "reconstructed." Basically, mankind's past is beyond recall for even those with superior memories. Consequently, the total recollection of the past, though a cherished goal by historians, is an aim they know well is not attainable.³⁵ Gottschalk maintains that objects like ruins, parchments, and coins survive from the past. Otherwise, the facts of history are derived from testimony and therefore are facts of meaning. They cannot be seen, felt, tasted, heard or smelled. They may be said to be symbolic or representative of something that once was real, but they have

³⁴ Ibid., W.E.B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction, p. 714.

³⁵ Louis Gottschalk, Understanding History, (New York: Knopf, 1969), p. 41.

no objective reality of their own. In other words, they exist only in the observer's or the historian's mind (and this may be called subjective). To be studied objectively (that is, with the intention of acquiring detached and truthful knowledge independent of one person's reaction), a thing must first be an object; it must have an independent existence outside the human mind; and most of history is based upon recollections - that is written or spoken testimony.³⁶ Thus, it is said that a nation's history is viewed from a different perspective in each generation.

Mark M. Krug's study entitled "Freedom and Racial Equality: A Study of 'Revised' High School History Textbooks," investigates how textbooks treat certain aspects of slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. Krug's guiding criteria was the degree to which authors of specified history textbooks, on the aforementioned subjects, included or excluded factual available material on black history, the extent to which writers quote worn out "cliches", continue old myths, or use current historical concepts in relation to the role of blacks in America, and the extent of dedication of the textbook writers to the moral values implied in the struggle for racial equality.³⁷

"The last criterion is probably the most controversial one and "clearly reveals the bias of the examiner", argues Krug. Krug continues

³⁶ Ibid., Louis Gottschalk, Understanding History, p. 42.

³⁷ Ibid., M.M. Krug, "Freedom and Racial Equality", p. 300.

by maintaining that it can be argued and it is argued "eloquently by textbook publishers," that textbook authors should be free of bias and commitments to certain groups and their task is to be neutral and present historical data in a factual and objective manner. Publishers seldom talk about this, "but those who know the textbook publishing business are fully cognizant of the fact that a textbook must be bland, neutral, and noncontroversial if it is to be sold in large quantities in Michigan, Ohio, Texas, Louisiana, New York, California, and Georgia."³⁸

The response to the above position is simple, argues Dr. Krug. There is no factual or objective history. A "neutral objective" presentation of a historical event is neither neutral nor objective. If a history text "evades the basic injustice of slavery and its violation of the American belief in a democratic society" and if it "objectively" refers to some slave owners as "cruel" and others as "benevolent" it "demonstrates a definite bias against the spirit and principle of the equality of all men and earns the criticism it has obtained from black scholars." Krug continues by demonstrating, through argument, that putting the "fanatical" and "extreme" abolitionist of the North on the same rung of moral values as the "fire eating" defenders of slavery in the South is a biased position, and is consequently indefensible.³⁹ The writer then cites the Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Intergroup Relations, established by the American Council on Education,

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid. Mark M. Krug, "Freedom and Racial Equality," pp. 301-302.

and its criteria for the examination of textbooks. These criteria, in outline form, are as follows:

- I. Respect for the individual's value and dignity
 - A. Are the concepts of individual responsibility stressed in reference to blacks?
 - B. Is the black's struggle for the safeguards of human worth which have been established in the evolution of American democracy (such safeguards as civil liberties and due process of law) completely described?
- II. The treatment given to blacks as a group in the American population
 - A. How are the terms "racial group" used?
 - B. Are the types and results of segregation and other forms of discrimination presented with candor?
 - C. Are the results of tolerance, mutual respect and cooperation made clear in accounts of improvement in relation between blacks and whites?⁴⁰

Thus, using these criteria and other components, Mark Krug analyzes the various interpretations of the Reconstruction Era as observed in high school history textbooks and suggests that a majority of the texts present material in oversimplified terms which do not incorporate much of the recent scholarship. The texts in question frequently ignore Lincoln's concern for creating a South loyal to the Union and his interest in limited black suffrage. The textbooks also fail to cite Andrew Johnson's political ineptitude, the range of opinions among

⁴⁰ Ibid., Mark M. Krug, "Freedom and Racial Equality", pp.301-302.

so-called Radicals, the degree of southern opposition to political rights for blacks and of the Reconstruction governments, and the illegal atrocities of the Ku Klux Klan. Mark Krug suggests the rewriting of the Reconstruction story in secondary textbooks to reflect a more accurate picture.

Irving Sloan has commented that even the high school history texts that include the recent scholarship and are considered the "best" leave much to be desired.⁴¹ Here follows some of Sloan's other findings in his survey of the thirteen American history textbooks studied by most of the nation's junior and senior high school students.

1. That the blacks who first arrived in English America came as indentured servants, not as slaves. This, at least suggests to the student that it was not an inherent racial inferiority which explains why blacks became slaves. Unfortunately, only one text indicates the first blacks were here with the Spanish explorers, so that their presence in America precedes the English colonists.
2. That slavery as an institution was degrading to masters and slaves alike. A few of the texts, however, still cling to the romanticized versions of the happy slave life.
3. That the abolition movement was not just a white movement. No text gives enough attention to the the participation of blacks in the struggle for freedom.
4. That blacks made significant contributions to the wars fought by the United States. While most texts mention the fall of Crispus Attucks in the Boston Massacre and the number of blacks who

⁴¹Irving S. Sloan, The Negro in Modern America History Textbooks, (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers, 1972, ERIC EDO 69838, p. 15.

fought in the Civil War, rarely do any of them give this adequate discussion.⁴²

5. That between Reconstruction and the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the American black did not "disappear." In analysis after analysis of the texts the reader will find the statement that after Reconstruction "200 to 300 pages pass before we get a reference to the black." This is why whites do not always "see" blacks. As Ralph Ellison puts it, they are "invisible." And the reason they are unseen is that they are left out from such a large part of American history. In most of the texts it can be said that the black is considered only as a slave before the Civil War and a problem after the Civil War.⁴³
6. That the Civil Rights Movement should be explained only in the light of this 1954 decision and the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Very few of the texts included in this study trace the economic, social, and political abuses endured by the black in both the North and the South through the long years of his "emancipation."⁴⁴

Irving Sloan observed that this last finding and others agree with the conclusions made by Astrid C. Anderson's findings in her study on elementary school social studies texts completed under the direction of the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs. Sloan notes that the Anderson study dealing with the treatment of blacks in elementary school texts indicates a more deplorable state than that observed in the high school texts. This is true, despite the fact that elementary school students, who in their most formative years, need

⁴² Hillel Black, The American Schoolbook, (New York: William Morrow, 1967), pp. 115-117.

⁴³ Ralph Ellison, The Invisible Man (New York: Random House, 1952), pp. 3, 4, 5.

⁴⁴ Ibid., Hillel Black, The American Schoolbook, p. 117.

historical truth and perspective as much as secondary school students. Nevertheless, in general the elementary school history texts are bland, distorted, and untruthful.

Hillel Black argues that there is a great improvement in the illustrations among elementary school texts. These texts are more illustrated than the junior and senior high school books of recent years and it is in these texts that the black American presence can at last be viewed, maintains Black.

Harold Eibling holds that the single most important instructional tool is the textbook. He maintains that if all the other teaching tools were combined, projectors, films, teaching machines, etc., these could not equal the old textbook. Eibling then asserts that two general statements can be made concerning the selection of textbooks in a typical school district. Usually the procedure used is as follows:

1. There is no specific system designed to insure that textbooks are reviewed regularly and effectively. Unless somebody raises a question, a textbook once adopted is liable to be continually utilized until it is no longer in print.
2. When the question of selecting a new textbook (or reaffirming the use of an old one) does come up, a committee of teachers is appointed to make a selection. Their recommendation to the superintendent is accepted with "thanks" and passed on to the board which ratifies with haste.⁴⁵

William H. James, Superintendent of Schools, Branford, Connecticut, holds that choosing the correct textbook is a difficult task.

⁴⁵ Harold Eibling, "Is Your District Using the Right Textbooks?" School Management, (October 1964), p. 80.

James has developed a system which aids in making the best decisions by showing the present status of the district's textbooks in terms of number, quality, and physical condition. Asserts James, "Our procedure is based on the assumption that two basic questions must be answered about every text. First, is the book educationally valuable and appropriate for the student group it is serving? Second, what is the physical condition of the book?"⁴⁶

James maintains that the text's educational quality should be judged subjectively in regards to "accuracy of the material; age and ability level of the students; intended use of the text; student interest in the book; curriculum objectives, vocabulary and general clarity of writing and organization; reading level of the material;"⁴⁷ etc. The teacher is the best person to evaluate the text in terms of these attributes.

Harold H. Eibling, Superintendent of Schools in Columbus, Ohio, asserted that one of the most important tasks after selecting teachers is to be certain that the best textbooks are chosen. This is accomplished in two steps. First, by choosing the teachers who constitute the textbook committee. An attempt is made to select teachers with at least two years experience. Other than this requirement, the criteria

⁴⁶ William H. James, "Textbook Selection: How To Get Rid of the Weak Ones," School Management (October 1964), p. 81.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

is very broad. The textbook selection method consists of seven steps.

1. Committee Assignments. A priority list for textbook studies (based on teacher suggestions) is drawn up at the start of the school year by the administration. Each of the principals is then invited to nominate a teacher to serve on the selection committee.
2. Notification. All publishing companies whose textbooks are included on the approved list of the state department of education are sent a letter indicating; (1) textbooks (subject areas and grade levels) to be studied, (2) the procedure to be followed in submitting samples; and (3) the procedure to be observed by publisher's representatives in having conferences with committee members.
3. Samples. Publishers are instructed to send book samples directly to the committee members. The committee members will ask other teachers on their staffs to examine and comment on the samples.
4. Conferences. Publishers representatives make initial contact with committee members at their schools to set up a schedule of conferences. The publisher's representatives tell our teachers how they think the book should be used.
5. Elimination. The committee meets as a group until it is able to recommend at least three books as being superior to the others. These books are referred to the superintendent and curriculum committee of the school board for close examination.
6. Recommendation. The committee members set about choosing one book among the finalists for school recommendation.
7. Resolution. After the curriculum committee of the school board has reviewed the final recommendation of the textbook committee, a resolution is presented to the board by the superintendent asking for adoption of the textbook.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Dr. Harold H. Eibling, "How To Be Sure the Right Ones Are Picked" School Management, (October 1964), pp. 81-86.

From Dr. Eibling's view, a textbook is too valuable a part of the school curriculum to be chosen haphazardly. To a great degree, the textbooks that are used determine classroom teaching and instruction. In turn, the question of what is taught should be examined periodically in a detailed manner using the most recent research findings in the field.

Another way of getting an idea of how the Reconstruction era has been treated in American high school textbooks is to compare it with the textbook treatment of other revolutionary times in our history. In Seller's and Truss's study, entitled "High School Textbooks and the American Revolution," it is maintained that "junior and senior high school teachers examine critically the manner in which textbooks present the American Revolutionary period." Since many commonly used textbooks are more than ten years old, they cannot present the result of recent scholarship and even the newer texts, though improved over earlier editions, "still contain weaknesses."⁴⁹ To aid teachers in textbook selection this article surveys the strengths and weaknesses of ideal samples of commonly used junior and senior high school history texts and provides advice on how the most common weaknesses can be corrected. Although the article addresses itself to junior and senior high school instructors, this analysis is also beneficial to college instructors. It can aid college teachers in detecting weak areas in their students

⁴⁹Maxine Sellers and Andrew Truss, "High School Textbooks and the American Revolution," The Journal of Southern History (February 1939), p. 55.

preparation and can give them an awareness of the weaknesses in college texts also. Similarly, many of the proposals for "filling the gap" can be adjusted for college use also.

In this study Seller views the American Revolution as it is presented in two types of high school history textbooks. Two types of textbooks are available to the high school American history teacher - the traditional chronological narrative (such as Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti's Rise of the American Nation, or David S. Muzzey's and Arthur S. Link's Our American Republic, and the newer "systems" approach (such as Bartlett, Fenton, et al., A New History of the United States: An Inquiry Approach, or Hounier, Rosentreter, Gandy, et al., Perspectives in United States History). "Despite a generally more thematic approach and more extensive use of a closely knit program of audiovisual aids and outside readings, the system textbooks do not differ significantly from their more conventional counterparts in their treatment of the Revolutionary Era."⁵⁰

The majority of the texts at both the junior and senior high school level were discovered to be short on social history in the pre-Revolutionary era. There is also insufficient material on such questions as the nature of the family, the use of the press, educational development and schools, religious persuasions, the civil rights struggles, and political beliefs. The majority of the texts also inade-

⁵⁰ Ibid., M. Seller and A. Truss, "High School Textbooks and the American Revolution," The History Teacher, Vol., 9, No. 4 (August 1976) p. 539.

quately cover the rise of patriotic organizations, the growth of revolutionary dogma and analysis of various forms of propaganda.

Almost all the texts do a superior job at giving an account of the military events of the war. Also, little discussion is provided for diplomatic activity during the Revolution and details of peace treaties. On the other hand, the accounts of the Loyalists are uniformly insufficient and many books mention this group without adequate descriptions of their social and economic status and of their relationship to the masses. Too few texts give adequate attention to the impact of the Revolution on internal developments, literature, arts, sciences, and the urban population. Despite the research and recent scholarship on history "from the bottom up" the effect of the Revolution on the masses is seldom alluded to.

Most texts describe, to some degree, the political and social changes that occurred during the Revolution, but the phenomenon of democratizing and economic leveling is exaggerated. The weakest part in the majority of the textbooks is the description of the period from 1781 to 1789. Most writers exaggerate the problems and failures of the Articles of Confederation period and under emphasize its accomplishments in order to develop the needs and reasons for a Constitution. Most texts relate the concept that the Constitutional Convention was an occasion where the best and the brightest men created the best possible Constitution. Seller believes that Benjamin Franklin would have thought this idea was amazing.

As there are strengths and weaknesses in the usual chronological descriptions of the Revolutionary events, there are also serious errors of omission in practically all the textbooks. There is insufficient coverage of social and cultural history and particularly of the history of the lower classes just as there is insufficient coverage of the poor whites during and after the Reconstruction era. Equally blatant is the fact that though there is a growing source of materials on racial and ethnic minorities most accounts still depict the Revolution as a white Anglo-Saxon-Protestant struggle. In recent years textbooks have improved their treatment of sources on blacks in American society, particularly with respect to the Civil War and Reconstruction, and with the civil rights crusade. Nevertheless, in analyzing fifteen popular textbooks, only two cover the African backgrounds of colonial blacks and one acknowledges black contributions in the Revolutionary War. Thus, from a similar perspective, the same flaws and weaknesses which are detected in accounts of the Revolutionary era can also be found in the older conservative accounts of the Reconstruction Era.

Coverage of other ethnic minorities such as American Indians, French, Jews, Dutch, Scotch-Irish, and others is equally scant. Both the roles of outstanding ethnic individuals and the impact of the Revolution on ethnic communities are overlooked. Perhaps the most glaring omission of all is the failure of textbooks to present information about women, which constituted half of the population. Since the typical United States history textbook devotes only about one out of its 500 to 800 pages to women's lives and contributions in all historical periods,

their absence from accounts of the Revolution is not surprising. Though colonial women were shopkeepers, furtraders, ship builders, farmers, and medical practitioners, textbooks portray colonial America as a man's world.⁵¹

As is true for the Revolutionary era in American history, it is important for teachers to supplement even the best textbooks to provide their classes with a more correct, balanced, and recent interpretation of the Reconstruction era. Some starting points in the direction of aiding teachers in "filling the gap" may include the following suggestions. (1) Consulting recent bibliographies for teachers and students for an up to date interpretation on various aspects of colonial history. (2) Teachers can present ideas for significant questions to be examined, complete classroom enterprises, and seek ways of utilizing informal speakers, local associations and other community agencies. (3) Other topics that teachers may want their students to become acquainted with is the role of religion, minorities, and women during the Revolutionary era as well as during the era of Reconstruction.

In a series of articles published in The New Yorker in the spring of 1979 Francis Fitzgerald raised questions about the quality of the American history textbooks used in the schools. These articles, which were subsequently reprinted as America Revised, examined how history textbooks got published and the implications of the process for what

⁵¹ Ibid., Maxine Seller and Andrew Truss, "High School Textbooks and the American Revolution," p. 539.

students learn about the United States.⁵² Fitzgerald left little doubt that the "truth" about American history which students learn from textbooks is shaped by many other considerations other than what scholars have found out about the past.⁵³ While ostensibly an educational and intellectual undertaking, publishing a textbook is, in reality, a commercial venture and an exercise in interest group politics. Pressure from state adoption committees, the publishers marketing departments, as well as the weight of tradition heavily influenced the content of history textbooks. According to Fitzgerald, "They were written to tell children what their elders wanted them to know about their country." This information is not necessarily what anyone considers the truth of things, Fitzgerald noted. The result is that in the scale of publishing priorities the pursuit of truth appears somewhere near the bottom.⁵⁴ Consequently, the bland and tepid textbooks resulting from this development attempts to avoid offending any prominent group by describing the social problems in the absence of the human agencies that caused them.⁵⁵ The texts rarely give any detailed analysis of how the American social order really functions.

⁵² Ibid., Maxine Seller and Andrew Truss, "High School History Textbooks and the American Revolution," p. 539.

⁵³ Francis Fitzgerald, America Revised (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1979), pp. 1-25.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Francis Fitzgerald, America Revised.

⁵⁵ Matthew T. Downey, "Speaking of Textbooks: Putting Pressure on the Publishers," The History Teacher, Vol., 14, No. 1 (November 1980): pp. 62-63.

Pressure groups that publishers must contend with, such as the Advertising Federation of America and the NAACP, have an interest in what is printed in American history textbooks. Fitzgerald points out that it was, basically, pressure from urban school districts and civil rights organizations in the 1960's that caused an inclusion of ethnic minorities in the textbook version of American history. The publishers were merely responding to the demands of textbook selection committees or to their own marketing departments. A new textbook constitutes three or four years of work and a great financial investment. When publishers fail to produce a text that is intellectually stimulating it is because they feel no pressure to do so. Consequently, when American history textbooks do not measure up to the requirements of historians and history teachers it is partly a result of society's own lack of concern in providing the required pressure.

Fitzgerald noted that the academic community was probably the only major group in the United States that has not seriously questioned the publishers of history textbooks. According to Fitzgerald, most scholars do not take secondary school (or even college) textbooks seriously, not even when they have a hand in writing them. They do not make a practice of reading textbooks in their field, and no academic journal reviews textbooks on a regular basis. "One consequence is that new scholarships trickle down extremely slowly into the school texts. Another consequence is that there is no real check on the intellectual quality, or

even factual accuracy, of school textbooks."⁵⁶ Even the historian whose name appears on the book cover may have had a minor role in its development. Contemporary textbooks are often "developed" rather than written; specifications for the manuscript, decisions about prose style and reading level, and the choice of content to be highlighted may be largely determined by the "inhouse social studies editor" rather than by the author. Although some publishing houses occasionally publish manuscripts more or less as they arrive since some authors write to editorial specifications. But, usually the editing is heavy. When editors want the author's name more than his work, they may accept a manuscript that is inadequate to their purposes and "rewrite" it. And when that happens, there is no professional or academic agency that is able to hold the publishing house responsible for the result.⁵⁷

The academic community can do several things to force textbook publishers to be more sensitive to its concerns. Historians and history instructors could become more serious about textbooks. Social studies associations and professional historians could formulate their own policy for publishers of textbooks and authors. These groups could ensure that textbooks are reviewed properly as informed criticism is pertinent in any intellectual endeavor. It is through academic criticism by peers and through professional reviews that standards have usually been preserved in the professions. Nevertheless, The History

⁵⁶ Ibid., Francis Fitzgerald, America Revised, p. 25.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Matthew T. Downey, "Speaking of Textbooks," pp. 62-63.

Teacher is the only history journal that reviews textbooks regularly. Unfortunately, it does not include a high percentage of secondary school teachers among its readers. The major journals addressed to school teachers have few or no textbook reviews. It is incomprehensible that the major history and social studies journals should consider scholarly monographs or other general histories as more legitimate than textbook reviews. Downey maintains that the first effort toward putting pressure on textbook publishers should be toward the goal of reviewing history textbooks on a regular basis in a forum that will be available to both secondary school teachers and to professional historians.

While the suggestions that textbooks should be properly reviewed is obvious, how they should be reviewed is less clear. Regardless of whether a textbook is reviewed by an individual or a group of specialists, it should be judged by a set of criteria that historians and teachers can agree are crucial characteristics of a history textbook. Downey suggests that the following requirements be demanded of any history textbook being reviewed.

1. Is the book well informed? Is it sufficiently indebted to recent historical scholarship that it it avoids factual errors, reflects changes in historical interpretation, and contains material from new as well as from traditional content areas? For example, a textbook that does not reflect recent scholarly work in the new Social History or the new Labor History will only leave the students uninformed about important areas of social history. It is also likely to give them incorrect information. Historians have discovered during the past decade or so that the extended family was not typical of preindustrial America and that men and women in the eighteenth century did not marry at a much younger age than

they do nowadays. Yet some history textbooks continue to misinform students about these and other aspects of American social history. They are not merely out of date. They are also wrong.

2. Is the book concerned about historical analysis as well as historical description? Does it help students to understand the processes at work in American society as well as the institutions and structures created and sustained by them? Fitzgerald found most of the textbooks which she examined to be glaringly deficient in economic analysis, for example. American history texts are remarkable for their lack of economic analysis. In this most economically successful of societies a child can hardly discover what a corporation is, to say nothing of the nature of the economy. There is not even the most general description of the modern corporation, modern financial institutions, agri-business, international trade and monetary agreements, or the tax structure. There is a near ban on the term 'conglomerate' and 'multinational corporation';... There is no analysis of the growth of service industries or of the growth of the government sector. And, there is no discussion of the relationship of economics to political power and the way people live. The same kind of questions should be asked about the quality of the political and social analysis in American history textbooks. And how well does the textbook explain the role of the United States in international affairs? We should not have to depend upon Iranian militants to educate our students about the role of the United States in the Middle East. Yet one searches in vain in most American history textbooks written for secondary school students for any hint of the kind of cold war politics which those militants were protesting.
3. Does the book help the student understand the process by which history itself is created. Are students who use this book likely to understand that historical truth itself is tentative and subject to change?

4. Is the book organized, written, and designed in such a way that it helps rather than hinders historical understanding?⁵⁸

Matthew T. Downey argues that there is a need for a forum that would measure textbooks by the aforementioned criteria. The need is now, whether it be in the form of a journal or a newsletter designed for history teachers or an established periodical such as The History Teacher or Social Education.

In summarizing Francis Fitzgerald's study, America Revised, it was noted that the contents developed an analysis of history textbooks from the nineteenth century to contemporary times. This study relates how and why textbooks have changed through the decades. The book is divided into three chapters. Chapter one, entitled 'Past Masters' details the politics of textbook publishing, the power of large adoption agencies, and the text from which most American school students were taught history: David Saville Muzzey's American History. Chapter two on 'Continuity and Change' emphasizes several ways in which U.S. history texts have treated topics such as immigration, Reconstruction, the American Indian, assimilation and multiculturalism, the role of the United States in world affairs and communism. Chapter three entitled 'Progressive Fundamentalists and Mandarins' examines lack of intellectual history in textbooks and their consequent dullness.⁵⁹

⁵⁸Ibid., Matthew T. Downey, "Speaking of Textbooks," p. 64.

⁵⁹Ibid., Francis Fitzgerald, America Revised, pp. 1-150.

In an article in Social Education for January, 1960 Albert Alexander maintained that textbooks in American history had become dull, lifeless, and were very similar to each other in uniformity and standardization of the treatment of the American past. In this article Mr. Alexander examines the extent of relevance and vitality of American history textbooks. Alexander began by arguing that there are no American history textbooks that impart the total reality and substance of United States history which is found in the best collegiate textbooks. He also admits that no significant change was taking place for the better by 1960. While more attention was given to problems, past and present, the issues examined were hardly more crucial, probings were not deeper, and alternative views and interpretation were rarely investigated. Above all, the history of the nation was still basically presented "reverently, as a sort of graven image in print." "Yet a nation's history contains its successes and its failures, its achievements and its frustrations, its loves and its hates." As the official statement on The Writing and Teaching of American History in Textbooks by the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians tells us.⁶⁰

Albert Alexander argues that historical research continually finds new facts and that historians should constantly arrive at different interpretations of the facts in a changing society that requires answers

⁶⁰ Albert Alexander, "Does the American History Textbook Still Wear A Gray Flannel Cover?" Social Education, Vol., 33 No. 3 (March 1969) p. 300.

to old and new questions. It is true that recently a movement in historical research has reflected that interpretations are multiple. As is true for all good history, the textbook should be a guide to the future through its special conveying of the past. For on the citizen's knowledge of the past depends the health of the nation now, and in the future. In history textbooks there is a playing down of content, wisdom, or guides, and interpretations while writers appear to be more concerned with "what" rather than "why". There is also an absence of the author's philosophy underlying his particular interpretation of the past.

In general, then, one finds little feeling for the integrity of the historian's craft because one seldom encounters evidence of how conclusions are modifiable and changeable, and not irretrievable or simplistic. Too frequently there is a general spinning of a seemingly endless web of progress. The seams and rents in the changing social and political fabric of the nation appear less frequently.⁶¹

One book contends that "it helps to develop skills of independent thinking and at the same time develop an understanding of the processes of history."⁶² In substance, this quote sums up the unfilled requirements for a competent text in American history. Basically

⁶¹Ibid., Albert Alexander, "Does the American History Textbook Still Wear A Gray Flannel Cover?", p. 301.

⁶²Ibid., p. 302.

a high school text should possess an awareness of the principles of that level which emphasizes the aims of society and the provision of essential tools to deal successfully in a complicated world with that of the discipline oriented perspective sought by the university. None of the books analyzed by Alexander met this standard, although they came closer to this aim in 1968 than in 1960.

The reasons historians do not accomplish their objectives have little relation to their capabilities which in many instances have been more than proven in their college texts or specialized monographs. Ironically, at least in two instances, authors who have written superior presentations in college texts have been characterized by inferior materials for high schools on the same topic. In one instance an expert on the progressive era demonstrated a scholarly gap when writing his high school interpretation of this period. In another example a recognized authority on foreign affairs omitted his well informed analysis when he approached the contemporary period of American participation.

Alexander holds that the basic reason for the "gray flannel cover" is that American history textbooks are made for market, especially the large single adoption regions of the nation. Consequently, pressures on publishers of American history textbooks have caused more emphasis to be placed on black history, including the Reconstruction Era.

Turning now to the specific content of the current crop of American history textbooks Alexander holds that one is immediately struck by

a marked improvement in the treatment of the black. The black's origins are more definitely traced and his place in the milieu of American history is more discernible. His African origins are acknowledged. Conditions of slavery, including the moral and psychological aspects, are usually treated more adequately than previously. Slave rebellions receive more attention - although one text alleges, and others imply, that "seldom did a group of slaves attempt to revolt." Several accounts associate the tragic aspects of Reconstruction with contemporary problems. More effort is also made to indicate specific black contributions. "Most authors have attempted to correct the hitherto textual disappearance of the black from the period of Reconstruction to the momentous Supreme Court decision of 1954." While no book deals adequately with the black throughout United States history, "a composite of all selections would reveal that he is no longer lost in any of the standard major periods or geographical sections of our history." Even the tumultuous and rebellious 1960's is not neglected, although some earlier texts usually contain inadequate coverage of the most recent past.⁶³

In sum, recently American history textbook authors appear to possess a better idea of what an adequate textbook should contain. Nevertheless, they have not adequately solved the issues of controversy, interpretation, selection, and extent of treatment. More of society's

⁶³ Ibid., Albert Alexander, "Does the American History Textbook Still Wear A Gray Flannel Cover?", p. 303.

major problems are recognized, however, and all texts to some extent recognize the significance of urban growth and, in some instances, urban crisis. More must be accomplished, however, before the high school history student can see in a truer light the course of American history from colonial times through Reconstruction down to the present.

There was a time when a study of the treatment of black history in textbooks was a simple matter. One merely leafed through the pages of several dozen texts and dutifully noted the meager notice paid to black history. When black history did come into the texts during the decade of 1960 it was often in the form of a passing notice that the black had been brought to the new world as a slave and that he had a disposition to be "kind, cheerful, deeply spiritual, and docile" to the point of being childlike (this was in a day when docility was still expected from children). Then an additional mention was usually of the black having acquired his emancipation as a result of the "War Between the States" (never the Civil War), and of being badly misused by unprincipled carpetbaggers and scalawags in the "confusing days of Reconstruction." Then after some brief utterances concerning the white "redemption of the South", there was brief referral to distinguished blacks, usually Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver. "This pattern was so unchanging that one sometimes feels that if there had been no George Washington Carver or Booker T. Washington the textbook industry would surely have invented them,"⁶⁴ but not W.E.B. DuBois.

⁶⁴ Jack Abramowitz, "Textbooks and Negro History," Social Education, Vol., 33, No. 3 (March 1969), p. 306.

Jack Abramowitz maintains that after the allusion to distinguished blacks was made, a vast conspiracy of silence would fall upon the history of blacks in earlier history textbooks. Blacks would become non-persons in most instances and adds that in considering their treatment down to contemporary times this omission in textbooks may not have been the unkindest thing that the publishers have done.

Nevertheless, there are changing views on black history in textbooks when compared to its treatment two decades ago. Despite many deficiencies Abramowitz observes a great improvement in the present treatment. These changes have taken place because of the "revolution" of our era and due to the patient research over the past forty years of such eminent scholars, both black and white, as W.E.B. DuBois, Howard K. Beale, Carter G. Woodson, Ralph Bunche, Herbert Aptheker, E. Franklin Frazier, John Hope Franklin, August Meier, L.D. Reddick and many more.

Although changes have occurred, many texts are still inadequate and educators must recognize that the availability of all the newest materials in the textbook is no guarantee that it will be related to the pupils in the classroom. In short, one cannot be sure that the recent changes in some textbooks which correlate black history with U.S. history are really being taught by teachers in the classroom. If many instructors still find it less difficult to teach as they were taught, it will be detrimental for the newest research that educators are hopeful of introducing in the schools. Consequently, black history will not owe its success or failure on the extent of coverage it receives in the textbooks, though that is significant. Abramowitz remembers one

publisher's representative telling him that his textbooks were not accepted in one city due to its inadequate treatment of black history despite the fact that he put so many numbers of blacks on a certain number of lines. This representative perceived the problem as that the city in question had failed to apprise him of the right number of allusions to blacks and the correct number of lines desired. If he had known that, he could have made the necessary revisions to meet the criteria. This is, of course, only one small part of the problem facing authors and publishers in relation to black history. "The crude yardstick by which some school systems measure the value of a text in respect to black history bespeaks one kind of moral and intellectual bankruptcy." ⁶⁵

In referring to the need for an adequate criteria in judging textbooks Abramowitz was alluding to a growing urge to demand that textbooks contain material on black history that is substantiated on a very weak factual basis. It is essential, argues Abramowitz, that those who "challenge historical facts or interpretation do so with a proper respect for the minimal requirements of historical evidence." ⁶⁶ A panel that could address the major assumptions of black history would be an effective vehicle in clearing up some misunderstandings.

In some instances, a publisher has produced two editions of the same text. In this way, all our efforts to bring back black history

⁶⁵ Ibid., Jack Abramowitz, "Textbooks and Negro History," p. 307.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

into the text are repelled when the publishers permit the school districts to obtain a lily-white interpretation. In these "star editions" texts all references, or all positive references, to black or other ethnic groups were deleted. As a result, the same basic book would be marketed and the purchaser could make a choice. One could choose a text that included black history and interracial pictures or he could have the text that eliminated these controversial statements and pictures.

Abramowitz contacted thirty-one publishing houses in an effort to determine whether they had issued a star edition. Of the twenty-seven publishing companies who responded, seven either stated that they had used the star edition in the past or still used such editions.

Melton McLaurin, in his study of deep South public school history textbooks, argued that elementary and secondary state history textbooks used in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi presented an inaccurate picture of the role of blacks, especially in the treatment of slavery, Reconstruction, the post Civil War years, as well as in the recent civil rights era.⁶⁷

One study represented an evaluation of twenty-five elementary and secondary level textbooks. The purpose of the study was to determine the degree to which these textbooks correctly described the multi-racial, multi-ethnic and pluralistic nature of our society from past eras down to contemporary times. Part I gives a detailed analysis of

⁶⁷Melton McLaurin, "Images of Negroes in Deep South Public School History Texts," Phylon, Vol. 32, No. 3 (March 1971): pp. 237-246.

the study and a coverage of the findings. Part II constitutes the full set of textbook reviews upon which the findings in the report are based. The findings show that the nature of a pluralistic society was not adequately mirrored in the texts studied.⁶⁸

A recent study sponsored by Phi Delta Kappa, the National Council for the Social Studies, and the American Historical Association, examined high school history textbooks used in forty countries throughout the world to discover how these textbooks treated the history of the United States, including contemporary times. The report will be published as a supplementary history textbook for use in high school American history classes. The title, As Others See Us: An International View of American History, New York: Houghton Mifflin. Donald W. Robinson was director of the project. He is now Director of Special Publication, National Association of Secondary School Principals.⁶⁹

When President Eisenhower ordered Federal troops to enforce the integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, many U.S. citizens responded to this event with embarrassment and fear of the consequences that this event would have on the world's opinion of the United States. In reality, this effect was not as detrimental as might

⁶⁸The University of Michigan, "A Study of Elementary and Secondary School Textbooks: Part I, The Textbook Report; Part II, The Textbook Review," The English Journal (June 1973): p. 174.

⁶⁹Donald W. Robinson, "European Textbooks and America's Racial Problem," Social Education, Vol., 33, No. 2 (March 1969), p. 310-313.

have been suspected. The foreign students of France, Iraq, and Japan, in sharing their opinions of this event, gave basically the same response. Their reaction, in sum, was that they understood our racial problems; that it was not new and we were doing something to correct it and, therefore, should be congratulated. Further, these nations, too, have their problems of colonialism, caste, and oppression which they, too, were seeking to correct. Nevertheless, a look at the high school texts utilized in the European countries suggest that most of these give a judicious and reasonable treatment of America's racial dilemma.

The moral judgment is inescapable and the textbook writers do not evade it. On both sides of the iron curtain, they report both the facts of segregation and the fact that discrimination is contrary to American ideals.⁷⁰ On a global scale textbooks are reasonably up to date. Many contain extended coverage of the Atom Bomb, the developments in the cold war, the struggle for civil and human rights, and the Cuban crisis. Historians are at variance as to whether an author should include events of the present decade, and the majority avoid coverage of present topics. As a result, most coverage of racial problems lags a decade behind the times. These accounts are basic, however, for they supply the background with which youths all over the globe will interpret contemporary newspaper and television reports. An example of high school history texts from several foreign countries will supply some

⁷⁰ Ibid., Donald W. Robinson, "European Textbooks and America's Racial Problem," p. 311.

ideas as to how our racial problem is viewed by high school students. These foreign accounts will, in turn, present some idea of how these same textbooks treat the story of Reconstruction in American history.

At the same time it is important to observe that in countries whose textbooks show references to our racial problems, most of these treatments are historical and nonjudgmental. While some stress the remaining problems of inequality and discrimination others emphasize recent progress.

An eminently judicious treatment is the following passage from a French textbook. As cited by Robinson, this text gives the history of blacks from the period of Reconstruction through the long period of disfranchisement, segregation in the South, the wretchedness of racism and prejudice against color, lynchings, and the progress made by the joint action of the federal government and the Supreme court decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in educational institutions. The French text concludes on a positive note: "It is reasonable to foresee that in the near future a situation which imposed a flat contradiction of the principles of American society will be only a memory. No ethnic minority in the world has made, in a generation, as much progress in the way of collective bargaining."⁷¹

The Holland text, used in the Netherlands, refers to both the positive advances and the moral challenge in U.S. history. This text

⁷¹Ibid., Donald W. Robinson, "European Textbooks...", p.311.

refers to the advances of blacks in the educational and financial realms. The book concludes the subject by adding: These measures are also closely related to the moral leadership which the United States has taken upon itself after the war. "It is impossible to gain trust among the colored populations of Africa and Asia, who are represented in the United Nations in an ever growing number, if one does not adhere in his own country to those human rights which one advocates for other nations."⁷²

The subject of America's race problem in a Finnish text starts with the Civil War origins of the Ku Klux Klan and ends with a well balanced generalization about the nature of contemporary racial problems. "The Civil War settled the slave question but created the black problem instead. Especially from the beginning of the 1960's the dilemma has become increasingly worse," according to this analysis. The text continues by holding that with the decade of the 1960's the black population began to vigorously demand equal civil rights, "not only on paper but also in practice. The black problem is a rather mortifying one for the United States which likes to appear in the eyes of the world as the champion of human rights"⁷³

In addition to a brief description of endeavors to enlarge black educational opportunities, a Danish author expresses a moral judgment concerning America's treatment of blacks. During the Eisenhower Era

⁷² Ibid., Donald W. Robinson, "European Textbooks...", p. 311.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 312.

there began to emerge in the U.S.A. a conflict which had long been dormant. This was the race question. "In a world in which more and more colored people were winning independence, it was disgraceful for the U.S.A., as a great power, to continue to talk about black discrimination within a large section of the country."⁷⁴ The text then analyzes racial discrimination during the Truman and Eisenhower Eras and concludes with the Little Rock episode.

These textbook treatments emphasize different events. Nevertheless, the general effect from Reconstruction to contemporary times is similar. The following passage from a Swedish text describes the Selma March in Selma, Alabama, U.S.A. in March, 1965. "Even though all the American citizens, according to the Constitution, are entitled to vote, the black citizens of the South have in reality been excluded from voting."⁷⁵ The passage continues by describing the peaceful demonstrations of Martin Luther King in finally obtaining voting rights for the blacks in Selma and concludes with an attack on James B. Reeb by four whites with clubs who beat him to death as onlookers silently observed. In several of the books the Ku Klux Klan is described as a secret organization for white southerners who had no other legal means to defend their interests but later became a criminal organization which killed and mistreated northerners and blacks who had voted during and after Reconstruction.

⁷⁴ Ibid., Donald W. Robinson, "European Textbooks...", p. 312.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

The perspective covered in the textbooks of England and Canada are not basically different from those already emphasized. But both countries give more coverage to the subject of blacks. The coverage given the topic in the texts of the communist nations is somewhat more severe, but basically is similar. Two examples follow. A principal Russian text relates that discrimination against blacks has continued to the present day, embarrassing the nation. The book continues by relating that blacks are paid less than whites for services performed; "in the South they were not permitted to study with white persons; or to ride with white persons on the same street car or bus, etc., In the southern states even today there are frequently cases of savage mob law, reprisals against blacks who are struggling for political and everyday equality."⁷⁶

A contemporary Romanian history textbook related the concept that the 'pure' democracy heralded by Americans was basically meaningless. The 'equality' written into the Constitution after the Civil War became a slogan. The political rights of blacks were continually restricted. Along with this treatment, blacks also lacked civil rights; mixed marriages were banned and separate spaces were created for them in trains, streetcars, restaurants, and cemeteries. "Immediately after the War of Secession, the secret society of the Ku Klux Klan, subsidized by the most reactionary elements, inaugurated a brutal system of terror, massacre, and lynching directed against the blacks."⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Ibid., Donald W. Robinson, "European Textbooks...", p. 313.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Raymond P. Alexander was encouraged by Carter G. Woodson at an early age to study black American history. He looks to history to illuminate complexities in race relations. Alexander cites a study by a group of University of California professors who found that the textbook treatment of blacks strengthened the concept among whites of their superiority and among blacks of their inferiority. A columnist, Gerald Grant, reported the study's conclusions which appeared in the August 13, 1964 issue of the Philadelphia Inquirer. Alexander contends that there is a powerful necessity for both whites and blacks to be informed of the facts concerning their place in American history. He further maintained that the security of this nation depends upon a real knowledge of United States history and the informed use of this knowledge in constructive planning to provide a better life for all Americans in the future.

The need for a rejection in teaching myths and caricatures concerning blacks is now supported by the best and most recent historical scholarship. For instance, it is argued that few if any of the history books tell the American students that in the post bellum or Reconstruction Period, twenty-two blacks served in the Congress of the United States and two of this number served as United States Senators. From this point-of-view of history this is interesting to note because these two blacks were from Mississippi. They were Senators Hiram R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, who contrary to the writings of some southern historians, were well educated, cultured and highly respected gentlemen who left scholarly records in this legislative body. Of equal current

interest is that three of these Congressman were from Alabama, Benjamin P. Turner, James T. Rapier and Jeremiah Huralston, all of whom served in the forty-second, forty-third and forty-fourth Congresses. In addition, every state of the Solid South saw blacks in both houses of their legislatures and in many of the cabinets of the state governments. During this period the highest state office to which a black was elected was that of Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana. This honor went to the Honorable P.B.S. Pinchback who for a time served as acting Governor of that deep South state.⁷⁸

In general, the biographies of these men appear in Carter G. Woodson's "Black Makers of History." They were easily the equals of their white counterparts in Congress and the state legislatures. Many of these law makers exceeded in training, talent, and culture that of the Vardamans, and Cole Bleses of the 1960's and would also rate above the Talmadges of Georgia and the Eastlands of Mississippi.

In summary, Alexander emphasizes the need for textbooks which provide the contributions of all people to American history and refuses all racial myths and stereotypes. The works of some distinguished black writers provide some of the necessary materials for instruction in the nation's history. These writers focus on formerly neglected topics such as the contributions of free blacks to ante-bellum America, and the achievements of black leaders during the Reconstruction period. By

⁷⁸Raymond P. Alexander, "Study of Negro Blasts Racial Myths: Judge Alexander On Textbooks in a Letter to the Philadelphia Inquirer," Negro History Bulletin, Vol., 28, No.1 (October 1964), p. 5.

studying this kind of history, blacks will better understand themselves and whites will better understand their country.

Sol M. Elkins, in an article entitled "Minorities in Textbooks: The Latest Chapter," maintains that one part of school desegregation that is almost forgotten, amid the mass of protests and law-suits, that is of profound importance is the treatment of blacks in American history textbooks. The portrayal of blacks as reflected in American history textbooks is being criticized more by black leaders and this criticism is influencing all texts that deal with the subject.⁷⁹ The response to this criticism has caused a widespread change toward the treatment of all minorities in school textbooks.

In relating the experience in Detroit, Elkins told how the materials on black history were placed in the public schools after a protest and how a recently acquired textbook, entitled Our United States, was dropped as a large textbook publisher was influenced to change its editorial policy toward blacks. With the cooperation of the Superintendent of the Detroit Public Schools, a critique cited seven major categories of objections to the treatment of the black in the American history textbook. Most relate to the period from the beginning of the North-South dispute to the Reconstruction period following the Civil War. These include: (1) the book's casual approach to the introduction of slavery in colonial America, (2) the presumed lack of interest

⁷⁹ Sol M. Elkins, "Minorities in Textbooks: The Latest Chapter," Teachers College Record, Vol., 66, No. 6 (March 1965), p. 501.

of the black in freeing himself from slavery, (3) the thesis of the positive, paternalistic role of the slave owner, (4) a biased description and discussion of the Reconstruction period, (5) an image of the black as a dependent servile creature who, with the exception of his ability to sing and make music, has contributed minimally to the development of this country and is incapable of functioning as a responsible person, (6) failure to discuss the historic and current struggle of the black to achieve equitable civil rights, and (7) failure to mention the emergence of a single black African nation, although the book does discuss the United States and the evolution of governments in Europe, Asia, and Africa.⁸⁰ The review Board of the Detroit Public Schools agreed that the criticisms were justified and adequate measures were taken to correct the situation.

Charles E. Stewart, in an article entitled "Correcting The Image of Negroes in Textbooks," contends that because many of today's culturally deprived children are black, for these children materials constitute an even more serious obstacle to learning. The black child confronts a unique kind of obstacle when his school materials ignores his existence as a worthwhile human being in society and disregards his historical background. Generations of experiencing these inferior conditions has impeded setting high standards and aspirations for black

⁸⁰ Ibid., Sol M. Elkin, "Minorities in Textbooks," p. 502.

children. Stewart holds that a relationship exists between a child's self concept, his individual aspirations, his goal and academic achievement.

In 1949 The American Council on Education reported four major criticisms of the treatment accorded the black in social studies textbook materials.

1. The average textbook ignored the blacks' position in contemporary society.
2. Most references to blacks were to the period before 1876, and pictured the members of this "race" as slaves and bewildered freedmen, thus perpetuating a stereotype of a childlike inferior group of people.
3. There was a great lack of scientific data on the races of mankind.
4. Textbook illustrations of the blacks in American life were even more inadequate than the written material in these books.⁸¹

Stewart also cites an article in an issue of Integrated Education for October-November, 1964. In this report, six University of California historians reviewed the American history textbooks used in the California school system and reported their conclusions to the California State Board of Education. These included the following observations.

Most of the textbooks we have examined reflect views on racial themes that have been rejected or drastically modified by the best of current historical

⁸¹Charles E. Stewart, "Correcting The Images of Negroes in Textbooks," Negro History Bulletin, Vol., 28, No. 1 (October 1964), pp. 41-42.

scholarship...These historical distortions help perpetuate and intensify the pattern of racial discrimination which is one of our society's most serious problems. We are concerned not only because much of the material in these books is bad history, but additionally because it is a kind of bad history that reinforces notions among whites of their superiority and among blacks of their inferiority.⁸²

Thus, Stewart concludes that schools have created a stereotype which makes it more difficult for black children to consider themselves worthy human beings or to be so considered by the larger society. Accordingly, the State of Michigan issued a booklet entitled "The Treatment of Minority Groups in Textbooks." In sum, this was a position report for the State of Michigan addressed to local boards of education as well as publishers. The message to textbook publishers in Michigan was to move diligently and skillfully in providing textbooks adequate for use in the schools.

Ralph Adams Brown and Marian Brown still believe the textbook is one of the most important tools for social studies teachers and that textbooks remain necessary to good instruction. The authors, in discussing scholarship note, however, that textbooks avoid new interpretations, new conclusions, and recent research. They hold that writers at all levels have notoriously avoided including recent scholarship and recent findings in school textbooks. The Browns contend that not only do many social science textbooks avoid coming to grips with important issues, but they fail to consider recent historical scholarship. A

⁸²Ibid., p. 43.

bit earlier, Noah and his associates concluded that the world inhabited by the compilers of high school history textbooks tends to perceive the past in terms that are black and white, stereotyped, suitable for perpetuating myths which pass for history, but unable to provide students with contrasting interpretations of events and policies.⁸³ The Browns conclude that in evaluating a book one should focus on what is included and what is omitted, with what is emphasized and what is treated in a casual manner. The evaluator should check for sequence and development, chronology, geographical balance, social, and cultural aspects must be developed without either over-emphasis or basic omissions. Also important is an evaluation of the author's philosophy with respect to the aims and goals of the educational system.

William L. Katz, who has evaluated the teaching of black history in the high school, contends that many school systems have been influenced by the need of this essential field of knowledge. He concludes that the emphasis throughout the school curriculum should be on telling the whole truth, which encompasses an integration of black history as part of the history of the United States.⁸⁴

Perry L. Ward's study reviews and analytically extends Francis Fitzgerald's America Revised. Fitzgerald sees the American history

⁸³Ralph Adams Brown and Marian Brown, "Selecting Social Studies Textbooks: The Challenge of Choice," Social Education, Vol., 33, No. 3 (March 1969), p. 319.

⁸⁴William L. Katz, "Black History in Secondary Schools," The Journal of Negro Education, Vol., 38, No. 4 (Fall 1969), p. 435.

schoolbook as a reflection of the public mind. Her objective has been to depict writers and publishers as "arbiters of American values" and as "ministers of truth for children." These books, nevertheless, have suffered from many defects since early in the nineteenth century. The statewide textbook choices prevalent in the South encouraged publishers to produce texts that treated Reconstruction according to regional perceptions. Also, few modern books have stressed class divisions and economic processes in society.⁸⁵

Patrick Groff in his study, entitled "The Freedmen's Bureau in High School History Texts" has shown that the distortion or omission of black history in high school textbooks have been as enduring as the black's oppression. The study illustrated that it is easy to find bias against blacks in their treatment in high school history textbooks. As readily apparent is that any appropriate attention given to black Americans in history texts used in schools has occurred since 1965. While the relevant studies agree that such emphasis still is inadequate, there are indications that this situation has improved. Abramowitz reported by 1969 the so-called "star editions" of school history texts, ones in which references to blacks found in regular editions were deleted or played down, still were produced by only a few of the publishers he contacted. Groff observed a "marked improvement in the treatment of the black" in school texts published between 1961 and 1970.

⁸⁵ Paul L. Ward, "Review Essay: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century," History and Theory, Vol., 19 (March 1980), pp. 362-370.

However, Krug found that writings in these texts about the entire period of Civil War and Reconstruction "still needs major improvement and major revision."⁸⁶

In Groff's study thirty-six contemporary high school history textbooks were analyzed for their accuracy in reporting the negative role of the Freedmen's Bureau. Groff investigated to determine if the textbooks related the negative role that the Bureau assumed in the freedmen's attempt to achieve a status of political and civil equality during Reconstruction. A large percentage of the thirty-six textbooks analyzed obviously understood the historical importance of the Freedmen's Bureau since only seven of these history texts failed to make any reference to it. The other twenty-nine history texts, which described the Bureau from various perspectives, were divided into four categories in Groff's study. First, eleven of the textbooks cover the Freedmen's Bureau only in a superficial manner. These books only mention the goals of the Bureau, such as to provide food, clothing, shelter, jobs, education and land. As a result, the student is left with the inaccurate belief that these goals were actually realized by the Bureau. A discussion of the failures and shortcomings of the Bureau is absent.

Secondly, nine of the history textbooks give positive assessments of the Freedmen's Bureau. These texts hold that the Bureau was

⁸⁶ Patrick Groff, "The Freedmen's Bureau in High School Textbooks," The Journal of Negro Education, Vol., 51, No. 4, Fall 1982), p. 429.

effectively managed, was absolutely necessary, and endeavored to perform more than its assigned function. It is argued that the Bureau played a crucial role in aiding blacks in post-Civil War America. Other authors hold that the Bureau defended the freedmen in disputes with whites and administered the labor contracts so that the freedmen were treated fairly by whites who employed them. Another history book reports that the Bureau was able to extract fair terms for work the freedmen performed as laborers and share-croppers for white landowners. Other authors subscribe to the false premise that the Bureau was extremely reluctant to urge the freedmen to sign labor contracts. More than once, they argue, the Freedmen's Bureau had the task of influencing them to sign.

In the third category are five history texts which report that the Freedmen's Bureau "attempted to protect the blacks' civil rights," or "tried" to defend the civil rights of the southern blacks or "tried" to safeguard blacks, and "sought" to relieve the blacks from the oppressive black codes. One text's acceptance that "disagreement continued" over the accomplishment of the Freedmen's Bureau expresses the reservation concerning the Bureau's effectiveness more emphatically. The subtle character of such reservations might escape the notice of many high school students who could interpret them as evidence of the Bureau's success.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Ibid., Patrick Groff, "The Freedmen's Bureau in High School History Textbooks," p. 430.

Finally, only four of the high school texts examined for the present study made straight forward, historically accurate statements about the shortcomings of the Freedmen's Bureau. These comprise category four. They state that the Bureau "never fulfilled its promise or potential" and that many Bureau officials who "compromised the interests of the freedmen" saw their task as to "get ex-slaves to sign and abide by contracts with their former masters." There were in fact "secret agreements between bureau agents and southern whites to take advantage of blacks." Correctly enough, "In practice the bureau met with scant success;" it "redistributed virtually no land, and its local administrators often yielded to white sentiment" in labor contract disputes. Without a doubt the Bureau was "a feeble protector of the freedmen."⁸⁸

In summary, these writers conclude that the Freedmen's Bureau was competent in distributing lands to freedmen. On the other hand, it is observed that "between 1860 and 1880 southern plantations increased by 287 percent while family farms of less than one hundred acres decreased by fourteen percent."⁸⁹ Thus the contention that the Bureau gave sufficient aid to millions for the work they did and in the distribution of land is contradicted. This conclusion would not have been possible in

⁸⁸ Ibid., Patrick Groff, "The Freedmen's Bureau in High School History Textbooks," p. 431.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

view of the Bureau's limited operation with less than eight hundred employees, with four hundred and twenty-four of these being soldiers with temporary service.

The history texts which reported on the Freedmen's Bureau during the Reconstruction period, with their titles and dates of publication, are as follows.

Category I. Superficial Mention

The Free and the Brave (1980)

The American Experience (1979)

The Restless Centuries: A History of the American People (1979)

The Call of Freedom (1978)

American Adventure (1977)

The Challenge of America (1973)

American History (1972)

Mastering American History (1971)

We The People (1971)

Category II. Positive Evaluation

American History: A Survey (1979)

Exploring Our Nation's History (1979)

Our American Heritage (1979)

The Shaping of the American Past (1978)

The United States (1978)

History: U.S.A. (1976)

A History of the American People (1975)

The National Experience (1973)

Building the American Nation (1971)

Category III. Mention with Qualifications

Freedom and Crises (1979)

History of A Free People (1978)

The Pageant of American History (1975)

United States History: A Developing Nation (1974)

Episodes in American History: Division, Unity and Expansion
(1973)

Category IV. Historically Accurate Statements

The American Pageant (1979)

The Search For Identity: Modern American History (1978)

The Great Republic (1977)

The United States (1976)⁹⁰

As alluded to earlier, only four of the thirty-six recent high school history texts that were analyzed for this study furnish students with an up to date and accurate account concerning the role of the Freedmen's Bureau. One of its functions, the field of contract labor, has played an important role in the gloomy socioeconomic status of black Americans in the post Civil War years. The emphasis given in our society since 1965 to inequities of social and economic injustice has influenced the treatment of the Freedmen's Bureau in only a few secondary

⁹⁰ Ibid., Patrick Groff, "The Freedmen's Bureau in High School Text-books," pp. 431-432.

history textbooks. These books persist in many errors of judgment, emphasis and inaccuracy concerning this organization and for the Reconstruction Period in general. Nevertheless, some supplementary texts have been specifically written that do relate the unusual mismanagement of freedmen's affairs and how the Bureau cared more for the interests of the white plantation owner than for the freedmen.

Very often high school students are given inaccurate assessments of important historical occurrences, particularly as these events involve racial minorities. Nevertheless, the inaccurate accounts in high school history of the Freedmen's Bureau in continuing the economic subserviency of blacks during Reconstruction is especially a damaging error on the part of these texts. For instance, unless students comprehend the wrongs of the Bureau's labor contract system and how this system was a basic factor in perpetuating black subserviency in the South he will fail to understand why contemporary blacks, as a whole, have been incapable of achieving the socioeconomic level experienced by the heirs of European immigrants. Today one can hear the falsehood that American blacks and European immigrants were equally depressed in the post Civil War period, but that the immigrants advanced ahead of the blacks since Europeans possessed more positive attitudes toward work and education and a higher motivation for achievement and success. This ethnic myth is given credibility by most of today's high school textbooks when there is an absence of an explanation of the role played by the Freedmen's Bureau agents and the role they performed in restraining the freedmen's economic advancement.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER II

In reviewing the research studies on history textbooks it is evident that textbooks wield tremendous influence, both cognitive and affective, upon society. In the nineteenth century textbooks united people along racial or nationality lines and were a great divisive force for humanity. The generation that lived during and immediately preceding the Civil War and Reconstruction were firmly indoctrinated with the concept of black inferiority. Unlike twentieth century textbooks, those of the nineteenth century did not seek to be neutral or bland.

Although textbook writers have claimed to be preservers of liberty, they could more accurately be called preservers of tradition and the status quo. In the twentieth century textbooks have become increasingly uniform and bland. Ellwood P. Cubberly, in agreement with William C. Bagley, considered good textbooks to be those constituting real advances in "content or organization of subject matter." William L. Katz and others have shown that textbooks have treated the black person as invisible or as a problem in America. On the other hand, the textbooks have failed to admit that bigotry has been a profound American attitude since Columbus arrived on these shores. One would have hoped that by 1983 publishing houses would have eliminated the necessity for this kind of criticism. The Michigan Department of Education has reported on seventy-five texts used in its high schools and the findings are in keeping with Katz's conclusions.

More than ever before contemporary history teachers understand the importance of encouraging students to know and understand the true role of the contributions of various ethnic groups in American history. Mark M. Krug, in his article, held that the guiding principle for judging history textbooks was the extent to which such studies on such selected topics as Reconstruction included or excluded factual available material on black history. Irving Sloan, in his critique of nineteen so-called 'revisionist' textbooks argues that even the texts containing the latest historical accounts and are considered the 'best' leave much to be desired. Harold Eibling maintains that textbooks are too essential in the school curriculum to be chosen haphazardly. Maxine Sellers agrees with Krug, Eibling and others by suggesting that even the best textbooks, though improved over earlier editions, still contain glaring weaknesses. Likewise, Francis Fitzgerald postulated that the real 'truth' about American history which students learn in textbooks is formed by many factors other than what scholars have discovered about the past.

As Gerald L. Gutek has maintained in An Historical Introduction To American Education, "The continuing role of American education can be interpreted in the context of the quantitative and qualitative challenges it faces."⁹¹ In elaborating on this point Gutek continues by

⁹¹Gerald L. Gutek, An Historical Introduction to American Education (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 231.

holding that the history of the United States has been a steady and increased demand, in substance, for a better education. Certainly, one of the values or attitudes that the school must face in order to accomplish this task is for school boards, universities, and colleges throughout the nation to revise their curriculum to the degree that professional personnel can teach the history of blacks and their struggle for freedom with proper concern for the factual interpretation, maximum integrity and scholarly balance.

Fortunately, in terms of the present set of high school history textbooks, there is a continual improvement in the treatment of blacks, but much remains to be accomplished. It is significant to notice that nations whose textbooks show reference to the American racial dilemma are nonjudgmental. Rather, the account is presented in an objective, judicious, and balanced fashion. For instance, the Holland text showed both the positive advances and the moral challenge in American history.

Charles E. Stewart's study maintained that the schools have helped in developing a stereotype which, until recently, has made it difficult for black students to be considered worthy human beings. Ralph Brown and Helen Brown, in their study, noted that textbooks are especially noticeable in the realm of acceptance or avoidance of new interpretations, new conclusions or recent scholarship while Paul L. Ward's study of history textbooks in the twentieth century reviews and extends Francis Fitzgerald's study, America Revised. In a similar vein, Patrick Groff holds that most appropriate attention to the black's role during

the Reconstruction period, and in U.S. history in general, have occurred since 1965. Groff also suggests that the blacks depressed socioeconomic conditions of the present can be traced, in part, to the infamous labor contract system that was advocated by the Freedmen's Bureau. As most of the thirty-six textbooks accounts on the Freedmen's Bureau were inaccurate, seven failed to make any reference to it.

Chapter III

A SURVEY OF THE SCHOLARLY LITERATURE

In examining the several interpretations of the Reconstruction Era one must be cognizant of the factual, cultural, and other societal influences and limitations which infringe upon a particular author in a certain time and place. Thus, chapter three surveys the historical literature on the Reconstruction period. In reviewing Reconstruction historiography, the literature is divided into four schools of interpretation for the purpose of analysis. (1) the Partisan School; (2) the Conservative School; (3) the Liberal School; and (4) the Revisionist School. Using these schools as guides, chapter three surveys the scholarly literature and develops a framework upon which to categorize a content analysis of high school history textbooks.

According to E. H. Carr, the historian begins with a conditional selection of facts and interpretation which is made either by other historians as well as himself. As the historian writes, both the interpretation and the selection and manipulation of facts undergo subtle modifications through the effect of one or the other variable. This activity of interpretation and manipulation of facts encompasses reciprocity between present and past as the historian lives in the present and the facts are a part of the past. Consequently, the historian and the facts of history are essential to one another. Thus,

in considering the Reconstruction Era, it is important to note that each generation has answered the call to writing its own interpretation of historical events. To quote Carr: "The historian without his facts is rootless and futile; the facts without their historian are dead and meaningless. My first answer, therefore, to the question, What is history?, is that it is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past."⁹²

⁹²E. H. Carr, What Is History? (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 35.

THE PARTISAN SCHOOL

The first school of interpretation in Reconstruction historiography to be considered is the Partisan School. The Partisan School in Reconstruction constitutes those writers who took positions based on a partisan viewpoint and influence of a single political party or group. Thus, they demonstrated adherence to either a cause, party, faction or person. As such, the Partisan School was carried away by a prejudiced, unreasoning, blind or fanatical allegiance to a particular cause, party, or person. Whether these Reconstruction historians were northerners or southerners their writings on the period were characterized by sectional feelings still embittered by the Civil War. As a result, they were more concerned with justifying or proving a thesis than with a patient search for truth. Hilary Herbert and his adherents gave a southern indictment of northern policies. Northern historians took the position that Radical Republicans had saved the Union by their Reconstruction program, that the Democratic Party was traitorous and that Andrew Johnson was a misfit. Southern politicians who represented the Partisan School in the 1890's and 1900's include Ben Tillman, Carter Glass, Henry W. Grady, Charles B. Aycock, Tom Watson, Hoke Smith, and James K. Vardaman.

Writers of the Partisan School and their works which will be discussed in this section are as follows:

Blaine, James G., Twenty Years of Congress: From Lincoln to Garfield, Norwich, Connecticut: Henry Mill Publishing Co., 1893, Two Volumes.

Davis, Jefferson, The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1881. Two Volumes.

Herbert, Hilary, Why the Solid South? Reconstruction and Its Results, New York: D. Appleton, 1890.

Neale, Walter, The Sovereignty of the States, New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1910.

Pike, James S., The Prostrate State, New York: D. Appleton, 1874.

One side of the partisan view is portrayed in the works of James G. Blaine. While Blaine agreed with the policy of emancipation, he would later suggest a harsher program for Reconstruction.⁹³ Blaine believed that Lincoln had earned such a controlling influence over the public mind in the loyal states that any mature policy advocated by him would have been acceptable. While charitable toward Lincoln, Blaine's contempt for Johnson prevented him from recognizing any good in the President or his program. On the other hand, Hilary Herbert's text, entitled Why the Solid South, is openly and blatantly propagandistic and takes a partisan stand in defense of the South.⁹⁴ Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, published a two volume history of the war and the immediate aftermath, Reconstruction, which provided one side of the partisan view. Whereas the northern partisan spoke of the "will of the people," the southern partisan alluded to the respect for a constit-

⁹³James G. Blaine, Twenty Years of Congress: From Lincoln to Garfield, (Norwich, Connecticut: Henry Mill Publishing Co., 1893).

⁹⁴Hilary Herbert, Why the Solid South: Reconstruction and Its Results (New York: D. Appleton, 1890), pp. 1-35.

ution to which he had denied allegiance.⁹⁵ Through not as prominent a political figure as Davis, Neale in The Sovereignty of the State demonstrates that he is a states righter as well. Neale analyzes the use of violence in overthrowing Radical oppression. Both Davis and Neale are examples of the southern partisan view which shows that Reconstruction had not ended at the time of their writings.

A brief survey of the Partisan School of Reconstruction historiography offers convincing evidence of the generalization that Reconstruction's heroes have become the villains and vice versa. The first accounts of the period, for the most part, were written by participants who themselves had played an active and sometimes crucial role in Reconstruction. One such account was made by James S. Pike, a northern journalist who went to South Carolina, then published a devastating coverage of events there. Although an antislavery Republican, Pike shared many of the dislikes, racial as well as cultural and economic, held by his contemporaries toward blacks. Consequently, in keeping with the popular beliefs of the day, his account reflected his hatred of blacks and his view that they were a race distinctly inferior to whites. His report on the South Carolina legislature simply reflected his feelings that native white citizens were mistreated by a corrupt and evil Republican regime that was supported by an equally corrupt federal

⁹⁵ Jefferson Davis, The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1881), Two Volumes, pp. 3-25.

government. Pike's thesis was that Reconstruction was the worst evil ever perpetrated on American society.⁹⁶ Pike's dramatic condemnation of the Republican rulers in his book, The Prostrate State, was especially influential in view of his record as an antislavery spokesman since the 1840's.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, Pike was much like many other Republicans of his era who harbored intense hatred for slavery as well as a pronounced dislike for blacks. Pike and other partisan writers share a commonalty for the knowledge they give on the "ambiguities and limitations" that were characteristic of the antislavery crusade and the Reconstruction program of the Republican Party.

Recent research has changed what C. Vann Woodward has characterized as the "antislavery myth," that is the concept that the Mason-Dixon Line divided slavery from freedom in antebellum America. But it did set apart racial inhumanity in the South from "benevolence, liberality and tolerance in the North."⁹⁸

Both Pike and his book as well as his journalistic and political career give a dramatic personal demonstration of one of the ironic and tragic dimensions of the Civil War and of nineteenth century America.

⁹⁶Neil W. Macaulay, Jr., "South Carolina Reconstruction Historiography," The South Carolina Historical Magazine, Vol., 65, No. 1.

⁹⁷James S. Pike, The Prostrate State: South Carolina Under Negro Government (New York: D. Appleton, 1890), pp. 1-25.

⁹⁸Ibid., Neil W. Macaulay, Jr., "South Carolina Reconstruction Historiography," p. 19.

Robert F. Durden argued that Pike, even as a vehement antislavery spokesman, had revealed lack of understanding or sympathy for the human potential of the black man.

Like many who followed him in the controversial historiography of Reconstruction, Pike was a journalist and ardent partisan. Though an abolitionist he had long been an outspoken black phobe. A Liberal Republican and an avowed enemy of "Grantism" Pike was embittered by the crushing defeats handed his party in 1872 in the nation and, especially, in his home state of Maine, where his brother lost a race for Congress and charged the regular Republicans with fraud and vote buying. During the campaign of 1872 Pike wrote an article for the New York Tribune, "A State in Ruin," indicting the Grant Administration for fostering a grossly corrupt and inept government upon South Carolina. There he spent most of his time observing the General Assembly in Columbia and conversing with conservative enemies of the regime. Finding in South Carolina what he had set out to find, Pike filled his journal with accounts of the corruption and ignorant shenanigans of Republican officials. His observations were first published in a series in the Tribune in the spring of 1873; the next year they were issued in his famous, The Prostrate State, one of the foundation stones upon which most studies of South Carolina are built.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Ibid., Neil W. Macaulay, Jr., "South Carolina Reconstruction Historiography." The South Carolina Historical Magazine, Vol., 65, No. 1 (January 1964), p. 20.

THE CONSERVATIVE SCHOOL

This writer defines the Conservative School as those Reconstruction historians who hold a political philosophy or point-of-view that advocates preservation of the established order and views proposals for change critically and usually with distrust. In extrapolating from this definition of conservatism the synonymous term, Tory, may also suggest a sometimes reactionary allegiance to long established social customs and principles.

In further elaborating on the meaning of the Conservative School the writer includes authors who believe the black person to be inherently unfit for citizenship and the suffrage. Those writers who select and use facts and opinions to prove that the South was correct during Reconstruction, the North vindictive, and the black inept.

Thus, the Conservative School, a revision of the Partisan School of historians, was associated principally with the Burgess, Rhodes, and Dunning School. Between 1890 and 1915, Reconstruction became the major concern of young white southern historians often described as the "Dunning School" since most had studied with Dunning at Columbia. More appropriately, the group could also be called "The New South School." The interests and interpretation of its members seem to have been formed mainly by the emotional and psychological atmosphere of the "New South." Coming from middle and upper middle class families in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, they grew up in a colonial society that was

envious of northern progress, and conscientiously aware of the South's obvious backwardness. They could not easily point to slavery or the Civil War, since the prevailing concept of nationalism generally forced southerners to bear quietly the responsibility for both. Nor could they point to "the degrading effects of segregation; it was one of the principal features of southern life that they wished to justify. Inevitably, their attention focused on the one phase of southern history for which northerners seemed to assume full responsibility - Reconstruction."¹⁰⁰ The Columbia School of historians and social investigators had issued, between 1895 and 1935, sixteen studies of Reconstruction in the southern states, all based on the same thesis and all done according to the same method: "first, endless sympathy with the white South; second, ridicule, contempt or silence for the black; third, a judicious attitude toward the North, which concludes that the North, under great misapprehension, did a grievous wrong, but eventually saw its mistake and retreated."¹⁰¹

The chronological limits of Howard K. Beale's study of the election of 1868, perhaps the most influential scholarly product of pro-Johnson historiography, precluded an examination of the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 and the Fifteenth Amendment. However, a chapter was de-

¹⁰⁰Larry Kincaid, "Victims of Circumstances: An Interpretation of Changing Attitudes Toward Republican Policy Makers and Reconstruction," The Journal of American History (April 1967), p. 50.

¹⁰¹W. E. B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction in America (New York: Russell and Russell, 1935), p. 719.

voted to black suffrage as a general issue. Beale divided its Radical proponents into four groups — old abolitionists, who believed in the principle of equal suffrage; friends of the black who saw the ballot as his only means of defense; men hostile to racial equality, who would use black suffrage to humiliate the defeated south, and lastly, "a more numerous group" to whom "expediency was the motive."¹⁰² Curiously, his classification had weaknesses which offered the reader no evidence that any of the four "groups" were identifiable in terms of specific individuals. In fact, despite a deep personal commitment to black equality and intensive manuscript research, Beale added little new except to link the suffrage issue with his general thesis that Radical leaders were motivated by economic as well as political ends. "If the South could be excluded, or admitted only with black suffrage," he wrote, "the new industrial order which the Northeast was developing, would be safe."¹⁰³

In Beale's work, entitled The Critical Year, his interpretation connected the Radicals inextricably with the monolithic capitalistic, exploitative goals of northeastern business circles.¹⁰⁴ William B. Hesseltine in "Economic Factors in the Abandonment of Reconstruction,"

¹⁰²Howard K. Beale, The Critical Year: A Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930), pp. 1-25.

¹⁰³LaWanda Cox and John H. Cox, "Negro Suffrage and Republican Politics: The Problem of Motivation in Reconstruction Historiography," The Journal of Southern History, Vol., 33, No. 3 (August 1967) pp. 310-311.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., Howard K. Beale, The Critical Year, pp. 25-50.

accepts this thesis which conceived business as having a collective attitude seeking, through its Radical proponents in Congress, to achieve mastery over the economic life of the nation.¹⁰⁵ Further support is found in T. Harry Williams' "An Analysis of Some Reconstruction Attitudes," which accepts Beale's sectional class explanation that Reconstruction was an attempt by northeastern business, acting through the Republican party to control the national government for its own economic ends.¹⁰⁶ Billias argued that Beale went beyond Charles Beard when he saw the Radical Republicans as being the representatives of northeastern business.¹⁰⁷ The Beardian approach to the Civil War and Reconstruction had been phrased basically in general terms and provided little in the realm of empirical data. However, Beale's Critical Year brought out one of the truly significant revisionist works dealing with economic forces and Reconstruction politics.

Beale's thesis has recently undergone searching criticism from a number of historians such as Irwin Unger, Robert Sharkey, Stanley Coben, and Eric McKittrick, who have argued that the Radicals were not united by common economic bonds. There were sharp conflicts, these scholars

¹⁰⁵ William B. Hesseltine, "Economic Factors in the Abandonment of Reconstruction," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 22 (November 1946) pp. 469-486.

¹⁰⁶ T. Harry Williams, "An Analysis of Some Reconstruction Attitudes," The Journal of Southern History, Vol., 12 (November 1946), p. 469-486.

¹⁰⁷ George A. Billias and Gerald N. Grob, American History: Retrospect and Prospect (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 207.

assert, between the Radicals and northern businessmen alike. High protectionist manufacturing interests in Pennsylvania and Ohio tended inevitably toward a soft money philosophy. New England proponents of hard money, conversely, generally supported a low tariff program. Moreover, few northern businessmen were interested in southern investments in the early postwar years, and these few were hostile to Radical Republicanism.¹⁰⁸

With the attack on Beale's interpretation came renewed emphasis on the political demands of the Radicals as the essential element distinguishing them from their northern colleagues. "The only common denominator of 1866 that united the Radicals," asserted John and LaWanda Cox, "was their determination that the South should not be reinstated into the Union until there were adequate guarantees that the slaves liberated by the Union should enjoy rights of free men." McKittrick, in turn, found the Radicals of 1866 distinguished by their promotion of black suffrage, their demands for the exclusion of the southern states until this requirement was met, and their political opposition to Andrew Johnson.¹⁰⁹

For Beale, Radical Reconstruction, thus, became an effort to prevent the South from regaining its prewar hegemony and to ensure the

¹⁰⁸Edward L. Gambill, "Who Were the Senate Radicals?" Civil War History, Vol., 11, No. 3 (September 1965), p. 238.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 238.

continued dominance of northern capitalism. The moral fervor that characterized the writings and speeches of the Radicals, Beale implied, was merely a facade covering their economic motivation.¹¹⁰

In discussing Charles A. Beard's The Rise of American Civilization John Higham maintains that the political agency for the "revolution during Reconstruction was the Republican Party." Beard argued that Lincoln's election in 1860 meant not only civil war but the revival of Federalist-Whig economic policies; and the party's long postwar rule, free of any restraint from the now devastated planter class. It provided a favorable climate for the "triumphant advance of business enterprise." To Beard, the reformer, its consequences were repulsive. "Looking beyond the casualty lists and material ruin, beyond the ordeal of Reconstruction, he discovered the bitterest fruits of the war in the ruthless exploitation and shoddy social values of the gilded age."¹¹¹ Unlike the national interpretation, Beard reduced slavery and elevated economic forces as the cause of the conflict between North and South. Despite their differences, the Beard thesis and the nationalist tradition are similar in that both believed that the Civil War was caused by large impersonal influences which carried men and events toward an

¹¹⁰Ibid., George A. Billias and Gerald N. Grob, American History: Retrospect and Prospect, pp. 202-203.

¹¹¹John Higham, ed., The Reconstruction of American History (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 110.

uncontrollable conflict. During the 1930's the opposition to this kind of determinism took the form of a major revolt in the outlook called revisionism.

Charles Beard gained insights from Marxian ideology without becoming confined to its precepts. He was an advocate of economic determinism and a devotee of the social reforms of the progressive period. Beard viewed the Civil War as a decisive chapter in the struggle for ascendancy between an agrarian society and a growing industrial one. The Civil War was considered a 'Second American Revolution' where the North-South opposition represented a tremendous change of power from the planting aristocracy to a new union of entrepreneurs administered by northern capitalists and supported by free farmers.¹¹²

In Claude G. Bowers study, The Tragic Era: The Revolution After Lincoln, the author describes the twelve years from 1865 to 1877 as a "time of revolutionary turmoil with the elemental passions predominating..." and regards public men as "brutal, hypocritical, and corrupt." Bowers maintains that in this age politicians and army officers "used the Constitution as a doormat" and the Supreme Court was treated with contempt. Then Bowers praises Andrew Johnson as one who "fought a brave battle for constitutional liberty" and the preservation of American institutions. Bowers contends that Johnson was mistreated

¹¹² Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), pp. 1-25.

by his enemies for attempting to implement Lincoln's conciliatory and wise policy and argues that Lincoln was hated by the Radicals at the time of his death. Thus, Bowers gives a fuller treatment of the minority in Congress and argues that they represented more Americans, both North and South, than did the Radicals and were more correct on the program of Reconstruction.¹¹³

Bowers arraigns the so-called Radicals both in Washington and in the southern state capitals. Nevertheless, this writer does not find himself in total accord with Bowers' major thesis. Bowers contends that Johnson's policy, in its essentials, was like that of Lincoln. Consequently, it was good, according to Bowers. This contention is questionable. Bowers and the other conservative writers on the Reconstruction period have not made a substantial case for the acquittal of Andrew Johnson. The Tragic Era's greatest fault is that Bowers is an apologist for Johnson. His work is a classic example of the historical propaganda of the Reconstruction era. With the publishing of this study, along with George Fort Milton's Age of Hate, the pro-southern viewpoint of Burgess, Rhodes and Dunning reached the apex of its popularity. Milton was an ardent Democrat and his book had the accoutrements of a political tract.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Claude G. Bowers, The Tragic Era: The Revolution After Lincoln (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), pp. 1-33.

¹¹⁴ George Fort Milton, Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and the Radicals (New York: Knopf, 1930), pp. 1-50.

During the 1920's and 1930's, a period in Reconstruction historiography which saw the "canonization of Andrew Johnson," little sympathy was shown to those who had been Johnson opponents. Bowers developed the "conspiracy approach to black suffrage", seeing it as the culmination of a plot hatched by Sumner and a few Radicals and dating back at least to the early days of 1865. He quoted approvingly the Georgian, Benjamin H. Hill, who charged that black suffrage was a matter of "knaves using fools to keep the party in power in the approaching presidential election... to retain by force and fraud the power they were losing in detection of their treason in the North." ¹¹⁵

Paul Herman Buck's Road to Reunion: 1865-1900, a survey of American history from 1865 to 1900, emphasizes those factors in the political, social and cultural experience of the nation which first hindered then brought a reconciliation between the North and the South.¹¹⁶ In this study of the resumption of peaceful pursuits after the Civil War, Buck traces the slow nature of the reunion process. He does not ask whether real alternatives were present at the conclusion of the war that would launch the Reconstruction period in a different direction from which it actually took. He did not have the experience of World War II as a guide as to what great differences were possible in achieving an

¹¹⁵LaWanda and John H. Cox, "Negro Suffrage and Radical Politics: The Problem of Motivation in Reconstruction Historiography," The Journal of Southern History, Vol., 33, No. 3 (August 1967), p. 309.

¹¹⁶Paul Herman Buck, The Road to Reunion: 1865-1900 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1937), pp. 1-23.

emotional settlement between the two regions. Although Buck's study is written in a vein of objectivity and neutrality, it also acquiesced in the racist settlement that came with the conclusion of Reconstruction. Hence, its classification in the Conservative School camp.

Even John W. Burgess, who was not sympathetic toward Radical measures, defended the Wade-Davis Bill, considered the concept of restoring the South to territorial status to be reasonable political science and held that the theory of Congressional rather than Presidential Reconstruction to be right, logical, legal and moral. Another error in considering the Reconstruction record is its treatment as an almost isolated development in federal-state relations. Consequently, to think of Reconstruction's "constitutionality" is not very relevant beyond theorizing. The crucial question was exactly how the Constitution itself was amended.

Burgess, a Columbia University professor with origins in Tennessee Unionism, was apt to see the Civil War as a contest between nationalism and particularism. He considered the theory of state sovereignty and slavery as an evil that caused southern secession. Thus, these two evils had to be abolished in the name of progress. In this respect, Burgess was more typical of Rhodes of the nationalist tradition in Reconstruction historiography. Burgess described the period of Reconstruction as a "frightful scourge" and a "blunder crime." He thought that the reason for real sectional conciliation was northern acquiescence of southern racial views. Both Burgess and Rhodes assumed that

the black was inferior, and it was this racist judgment that was typical of the age that shaped their views on Reconstruction.

Burgess is a Tory and open apostle of reaction. He tells us that the nation now believes "that it is the white man's mission, his duty and his right to hold the reins of political power in his own hands for the civilization of the world and the welfare of mankind." For this reason America is following "the European idea of the duty of civilized races to impose their political sovereignty upon civilized, or not fully civilized races anywhere and everywhere in the world." He complacently believes that "There is something natural in the subordination of an inferior race, even to the point of the enslavement of the inferior race, but there is nothing natural in the opposite." He, therefore, denominates Reconstruction as the rule "of the uncivilized blacks over the whites of the South." This has been the teaching of one of our greatest universities for over fifty years.¹¹⁷

E. M. Coulter's study on Reconstruction contains biases and, like Dunning, Burgess, and Rhodes before him, harbors corresponding doubts concerning the black's ability. In his study, entitled The South During Reconstruction, he blatantly continues the Conservative School tradition in an age when historians were becoming increasingly influenced by the school of revisionism. Coulter's philosophy closely resembles the

¹¹⁷W. E. B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction in America (New York: Russell and Russell, 1935), p. 719.

Dunning interpretation. The book contains many limitations of a sectional treatment.

Coulter believes Reconstruction to have been a time of trial for the South. Nevertheless, he thoroughly documents the return to normal life. He asserts that "there were... with all the political and constitutional abnormalities of the times, the ordinary activities of the people, as they sowed and reaped, went to church, visited neighbors, sang their songs, and sought in a thousand ways to amuse themselves."¹¹⁸ A critique of Coulter's "facts" and his thesis is found in John Hope Franklin's "Whither Reconstruction Historiography."¹¹⁹ Thus, the basically hostile attitude of the Dunning School toward Reconstruction was continued in Coulter's work.

After 1945 it appeared as though the revisionist interpretation of Reconstruction had replaced the older Dunning interpretation. Undoubtedly, history textbooks in both secondary and college survey courses continued in many cases to reflect the Dunning view of Reconstruction. Yet this was probably due to the fact that textbooks, in general, lag as much as twenty-five to fifty years behind the scholarship in any given field. At any rate, with the possible exception of the diehard Dunningites, like E. Merton Coulter, relatively few scholars

¹¹⁸E. M. Coulter, The South During Reconstruction: 1865-1877 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1947), p. ix.

¹¹⁹John Hope Franklin, "Whither Reconstruction Historiography," The Journal of Negro Education, Vol., 17 (February 1948), pp. 446-461.

were willing to accept the moralistic and racist interpretation of Reconstruction that was characteristic of American scholarship in the early twentieth century.¹²⁰

Avery O. Craven, in his study, entitled Reconstruction: The Ending of the Civil War (1969), writes impartially and less judicially than this writer had expected when considering the fact that on many issues he is often categorized as revisionist.¹²¹ Craven's study, a biased and partial treatment of a very complex era in the life of the nation, is another example of a familiar conservative view of Reconstruction. The writer disagrees with Craven's concept of slavery and argues that no free black was ever anxious to be reenslaved. Craven agrees with Dunning in many instances, at other points with Beale, Beard, and occasionally with present day revisionists. Although considered a revisionist, Craven still views the Civil War as a tragedy that should have been avoided. Due to his dedication toward the South, his later writings deemphasized the problems in the sectional conflict and stressed the difficulty in settling moral questions within the democratic process. Craven also analyzes Presidential vs. Congressional Reconstruction under Johnson and concludes with the Grant Era.

¹²⁰George A. Billias and Gerald N. Grob, American History: Retrospect and Prospect (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 207.

¹²¹Avery O. Craven, Reconstruction: The Ending of The Civil War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 1-50.

William A. Dunning's book, entitled Reconstruction: Political and Economic- 1865-1877, displays strong sectional feelings, yet this study was done by a mature and well informed historian. To Dunning, Reconstruction was not just a process applied by the North to the South, but rather a "realignment of national powers."¹²² For Dunning, it was a readjustment between the two sections, a slow recuperation from injuries on the political body caused by Civil War. The purpose of Dunning's study is to show that Reconstruction, with all its trauma and injustices, was not planned deliberately as retribution for those who were in rebellion. Nevertheless, Reconstruction was a clumsy and partisan effort. On the positive side, it had left a legacy out of which developed the consciousness of a national harmony that was stronger and more enduring than before the war.

Dunning was less dogmatic as a writer, and his own statements are often judicious. But even Dunning can declare that "all forces (in the South) that made for civilization were dominated by a mass of barbarous freedmen"; and that "the antithesis and antipathy of race and color were crucial and ineradicable." The work of most of Dunning's students has been one-sided and partisan to the last degree. John Hopkins had issued a series of studies similar to Columbia's; Southern teachers have been welcomed to northern universities, where often black students have been systematically discouraged, and thus a nation-wide university attitude

¹²²William A. Dunning, Reconstruction: Political and Economic- 1865-1877 (New York: Harper, 1918), pp. 1-75.

has arisen by which propaganda against the black man has been carried on unquestioned.¹²³ While there were difference in tone and emphasis on the part of individual historians, the generalized picture of the Dunning or Conservative School was remarkably homogeneous. After hostilities had ended, according to this school, most southerners accepted their defeat and expressed willingness to return to the Union as loyal Americans. President Lincoln, a wise and beneficent man, advanced a plan of Reconstruction which, if adopted, would have solved quickly and efficiently most outstanding problems. The assassination of Lincoln, however, removed from the White House one of the greatest and most astute men ever to occupy the Presidency. Andrew Johnson, a good and courageous individual attempted to carry out his predecessor's policy, but his natural stubbornness and combativeness alienated moderate elements in the North that were indispensable for the success of this policy. Consequently, "the ground was set for a group of scheming and evil Republicans who quickly overthrew an essentially good policy and substituted one in its place designed to ensure the retention of political and economic power in their own hands." Such was the Dunning approach. Indeed, so strong was this approach that its influence on historians has continued- in one form - in textbooks down to the present day.¹²⁴

¹²³Ibid., W. E. B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction in America, p. 719.

¹²⁴Ibid., Billias and Grob, American History: Retrospect and Prospect, p. 201.

Hamilton J. Eckenrode's study, entitled Jefferson Davis: President of the South, maintains that the Civil War was basically a conflict between Nordic and non-Nordic values, between individualism and communism, between agriculture and industry, and between democracy and autocracy.¹²⁵ The writer's conclusions are reached basically without reference to political and constitutional considerations. John R. Ficklen's study, entitled Reconstruction in Louisiana, is antiblack in spirit, but, in other respects has a certain sense of historic honesty.¹²⁶ On the other hand, Walter L. Fleming's Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama provides stereotypes of the shiftless poor white scalawags; the greedy carpetbaggers; the ignorant deluded and vicious blacks, and every noble sentiment for courageous, chivalrous and noble southerners who fought and won the struggle for white supremacy.¹²⁷ The accepted version is the imposing of a corrupt carpetbag regime on a proud state; and the accumulation of an astronomical debt. In Black Reconstruction W. E. B. DuBois hints at a reexamination of the nature of the Alabama debt. However, he accepts Fleming's figures as sound for 1874.

Fleming was one of the early founders of the New South or the Conservative School. His study of the Civil War and Reconstruction in

¹²⁵Hamilton J. Eckenrode, Jefferson Davis: President of the South (New York: D. Appleton, 1964), pp. 1-65.

¹²⁶John R. Ficklen, Reconstruction in Louisiana (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), pp. 1-50.

¹²⁷Walter L. Fleming, Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama (New York: Peter Smith, 1949), pp. 1-50.

Alabama sought to prove a thesis which is supported by his choice of documents. Fleming was one of Dunning's foremost students and his study, included in the Yale Chronicles of America Series, made a specific charge. The election of 1868, Fleming argued, showed that Democrats could command more votes than Republicans "whose total included nearly 700,000 blacks." This prompted the Radicals to frame the Fifteenth Amendment, which as it appeared to them, would not only "make safe the black majorities in the South, but also add strength from blacks previously denied in the North, thus assuring 900,000 black voters for the Republican Party."¹²⁸ In contrast, Garner's Reconstruction in Mississippi, though influenced by the 'Dunning School', nevertheless has more scientific poise and cultural background. It depicts the blacks as being as integral part of the cultural milieu during Reconstruction and treats them as human beings.¹²⁹ On the other hand, Joseph G. Hamilton's Reconstruction in North Carolina reaches the Climax of the Conservative-Dunning School philosophy when he maintains that the black codes, which even Burgess denounced, as "being reasonable, temperate, kindly, and necessary."¹³⁰

¹²⁸LaWanda Cox and John H. Cox, "Negro Suffrage and Republican Politics," The Journal of Southern History, Vol., 33, No. 3 (August 1967), p. 309.

¹²⁹James W. Garner, Reconstruction in Mississippi (New York: D. Appleton, 1930), pp. 1-50.

¹³⁰Joseph G. Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina (New York: Macmillan, 1929), pp. 2-75.

Edgar W. Knight's The Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South, one of the early treatments of education during Reconstruction, is extremely critical of the Radicals.¹³¹ An influential revision which encompasses more than the educational problems is Horace Mann Bond's Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel.¹³² Ella Lonn, like several others of the Conservative School, was not a student of Dunning, but her study, entitled Reconstruction in Louisiana After 1868,¹³³ made her one of the most distinguished members of the Dunning School.¹³⁴ Another study in the Conservative School is Milton's Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction, which suffers from the vigor of the author to defend Johnson undeservedly. It certainly adds to our knowledge of Johnson's inadequacies, but it cannot change the calm account of authenticated historical facts.¹³⁵ James G. Randall's The Civil War and Reconstruction, a substantial volume on the Civil War and Reconstruction, served as a standard study from the 1930's to the

¹³¹Edgar W. Knight, The Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South (New York: Arno Press, 1969), pp. 3-23.

¹³²Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1951), pp. 5-45.

¹³³Ella Lonn, Reconstruction in Louisiana After 1868 (Baton rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), pp. 1-95.

¹³⁴Howard K. Beale, "On Rewriting Reconstruction History," The American Historical Review, Vol., 45 (October 1939-July 1940), p. 809.

¹³⁵George Fort Milton, The Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction (New York: Macmillan, 1930), p. 3-75.

1960's. It handled the topic of black suffrage with restraint; but in substance he partook of a mild version of Bower's conspiracy thesis.¹³⁶ Randall's variant was the "importance of the black vote to the Republican party North and South caused the leading Radicals to keep their eyes upon the issues." Although northern sentiment would not support nationwide black suffrage, as the power of the Radicals increased they moved toward their goal. "Step by step, they were able to enact laws promoting black suffrage without an amendment itself in the first year of Grant's administration."¹³⁷

James Ford Rhodes' study, entitled A History of the United States From the Compromise of 1850, holds up remarkably in the face of subsequent research, although he too has biases and corresponding doubts about the black's ability. Rhodes' views were in keeping with his contemporaries including John W. Burgess. When the two writers considered the postwar period their arguments turned forcefully to the white South and its principle of local self rule. Both Burgess and Rhodes considered Reconstruction as a great misfortune. Rhodes held that the Reconstruction program "pandered to the ignorant blacks, the

¹³⁶James G. Randall, The Civil War and Reconstruction (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1936), pp. 1-95.

¹³⁷Ibid., LaWanda Cox and John H. Cox, "The Problem of Motivation in Reconstruction Historiography," p. 310.

knaveish white natives, and vulturous adventures who flocked from the North."¹³⁸ Nevertheless, Rhodes showed little respect for Andrew Johnson.

The final study to be analyzed in the Conservative School of Reconstruction historiography is Robert W. Winston's Andrew Johnson: Plebian and Patriot. This study, like several other Johnson biographies, attempts to rehabilitate the President's reputation at the expense of the Radicals and blacks. If Reconstruction is approached from this direction, the role of Republican legislators is obvious. They were the agents of northern capitalism who used their political power to consolidate the economic and political gains the capitalists had made as a result of secession and war. Taking advantage of the South's helplessness and the gulf that war had placed between the South and the West, the Radicals kept the former Confederates out of Congress while they secured for big business higher tariffs, more subsidies, more favorable currency and banking legislation and the protection from state legislatures provided by the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment. Then, they enfranchised black men in the South to prevent southern whites from disturbing the new economic system that Republicans had created.¹³⁹

¹³⁸James Ford Rhodes, History of the United States From the Compromise of 1850 to the Final Restoration of Home Rule at the South in 1877 (New York: Macmillan, 1913), p. 44.

¹³⁹Robert W. Winston, Andrew Johnson: Plebian and Patriot (New York: Knopf, 1928), pp. 1-50.

By the end of the 1920's, this interpretation of Reconstruction had appeared in, at least, two influential surveys of American history and was being presented with increasing frequency in college and university courses. As it gained wider acceptance, the reputation of Republican policy makers of the Reconstruction era declined space. A second cause for this decline was the arrival in the late 1920's of the unabashedly partisan historians who set out to rehabilitate Andrew Johnson's historical reputation. The three most important of these writers were Robert W. Winston, George F. Milton, and Claude G. Bowers. Because of their similarities in background and sectional sympathies, it is not surprising that the tone, argument, and conclusions of these authors were strikingly similar. Convinced that Johnson was the most poorly understood, poorly treated figure in American history these Conservative writers stressed that he had suffered defeat and disgrace because he had fought to achieve the generous peace Lincoln had envisioned. Determined to vindicate the President from Republican slanderers and the accusation of historians, they uniformly minimized the importance of Johnson's errors, blamed them on others, or insisted that they were not errors at all.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰Larry Kincaid, *Victim of Circumstance: An Interpretation of Changing Attitudes Toward Republican Policy Makers and Reconstruction*, "The Journal of American History" (April 1967), p. 55.

THE LIBERAL SCHOOL

A third school of interpretation examined is the Liberal School. As used in this context, the term "liberal" is defined as that school of historians in Reconstruction history who wrote before 1939 and the advent of revisionism and were neither partisan nor conservative. The Liberal School of historians is open minded and not bound by authoritarianism, orthodoxy, or traditional or established forms in action, attitude or opinion. The "liberal" historian makes significant changes in the social or economic structure if he felt it would improve society. Also included within the liberal context is the concept of liberal constitutionalism which emphasizes the individual's inalienable rights. The most general term for the Liberal School suggests emancipation from convention, tradition or dogma.

Included in the Liberal School are those writers, who from the nineteenth century to the 1930's, have studied the history of blacks and write sympathetically about them. Also included in this school are those authors who seek the facts without regard to the status quo, and in most instances, do not ignore the truth concerning blacks, and the standard works of black historians who are objective and judicious in their defense. Some liberal authors seek the facts in narrow and specialized fields. Some representative authors of the Liberal School and some of their works will follow.

In Lewis H. Blair's study, entitled A Southern Prophecy: The Prosperity of the South Dependent Upon the Elevation of the Negro, the author, who attacked segregation, was ignored and denounced fiercely. His work, one of the best rationales for the civil rights movement ever written, was first published in Richmond, Virginia in 1889. Its author was a member of the confederate army and a southern businessman of prominent family. The study is a historical novelty in that it was written in an age when the prevailing mood was against such concepts as the integration and full equality of blacks in American life. It also gave unusual impetus in the civil rights debate. The study was rediscovered by Yale Professor C. Vann Woodward, who added notes, an introduction, and an index for its republication seventy-five years later.¹⁴¹

Blair considered himself a realist rather than idealist. This book contains some of his provocative and prophetic thoughts. Concerning segregation in public places, he maintained that the black man must be allowed free access to all hotels and other places of public accommodation. Concerning black voting he contended that the ballot was and is as absolutely necessary for freedom as is the atmosphere for the substance of life. Regarding education he believed that separate schools poison at its very origin the stream which produces the "best and noblest fruits of education." He suggested that "the North should also

¹⁴¹Lewis H. Blair, A Southern Prophecy: The Prosperity of The South Dependent Upon the Elevation of the Negro (Richmond, Virginia: Yale University Press, 1889), pp. i-viii.

clear its own conscience on the treatment of the black man." Blair has written an iconoclastic and profound attack on the dogmas of white supremacy and black inferiority, the plantation legend of slavery and Reconstruction, the paternalistic tradition of race relations, the black domination picture of Reconstruction, and the complacent optimism of the New South School of economists.¹⁴²

W. E. B. DuBois's Black Reconstruction is an early attempt to redress the missing balance in the Reconstruction picture. "DuBois, despite the histrionics, Marxist bent and provocative argumentation" in this book, collected an extraordinary amount of scattered material into one place and "helped to create the contemporary mood of questioning" that Conservative School historians had considered as certainties. "Black Reconstruction, from the Marxist phase, has an implausible theory of the southern proletariat." Nevertheless, the book is valuable for the chapter entitled "The Propaganda of History" gives an indictment of American historians which could be studied with profit by students of the period. However, "DuBois has presented a mass of material that future historians must reckon with..."¹⁴³

Edward A. McPherson's volume, entitled A Political History of The United States During Reconstruction, is a complete coverage of the

¹⁴²Ibid., Lewis H. Blair, A Southern Prophecy, pp. i-viii.

¹⁴³Howard K. Beale, "On Rewriting Reconstruction History," The American Historical Review, Vol., 45 (July 1940), pp. 802-807.

abolitionists during the Civil War and Reconstruction. As such it is a very valuable work. McPherson does not report much about the role of the abolitionists in the drive to obtain the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment.¹⁴⁴ The book stresses the positive accomplishments of the abolitionists and gives new insights on the blacks, the abolitionists, and Reconstruction. In a similar vein, Albion W. Tourgee's study entitled A Fool's Errand By One of the Fools, was a book which challenged James S. Pike's diatribe on South Carolina. At the very time that Pike was helping to establish a framework that would have a marked influence over future historians, other writers were interpreting the events of Reconstruction within a very different framework. Of particular importance in this respect was Albion W. Tourgee, a northerner, who had fought in the Civil War on the side of the Union and later migrated to North Carolina after the hostilities. For nearly four years Tourgee played an important role in the politics of his adopted state. His sympathies were clearly for those southerners who had resisted the confederate cause. Tourgee gained the greatest fame as a spokesman for the black freedman and he fought for the establishment of civil rights, political equality, free public education, as well as other reforms aimed at democratizing the social and political structure of the South.

¹⁴⁴ Edward A. McPherson, A Political History of the United States During Reconstruction (New York: Macmillan, 1897), pp. i-ix.

"For his efforts he became, in the eyes of many southerners, the epitome of evil - the carpetbagger par excellence."¹⁴⁵ Not only was he a social outcast in his adopted state, but his very life was threatened by those who saw him as a menace to the South and all that section represented. Consequently, Tourgee left the South after fourteen years of residence there.

In the same year that Tourgee left the South, he published a novel entitled A Fool's Errand which quickly became a best seller, and a year later a sequel, Bricks Without Straw. In both of these works Tourgee portrayed the South as being in conflict with the ideas of democracy, freedom, equality, and material progress.¹⁴⁶ Unlike Pike, Tourgee did not see Reconstruction as the work of selfish and corrupt persons seeking personal wealth. On the contrary, he depicted Reconstruction as a struggle waged by the Republican Party to achieve political equality and reform by defeating the forces of racism and reaction. The triumph of the latter, however, did not detract from the humanitarian and egalitarian goals inherent in the entire process of Reconstruction.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., George A. Billias and Gerald N. Grob, American History: Retrospect and Prospect, p. 195.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., George A. Billias and Gerald N. Grob, American History: Retrospect and Prospect, p. 195.

THE REVISIONIST SCHOOL

A fourth group of historians of Reconstruction is called the Revisionists. The term "revisionist" connotes a re-examination or careful scrutiny for correction or improvement. Revisionism implies improving the accuracy of Reconstruction history. In other words, it seeks to reanalyze or reinterpret historical data in light of subsequent knowledge. Beginning in the 1930's, a group of historians known as revisionists have reanalyzed the Reconstruction Era and subjected the older interpretations to critical re-examination and scrutiny. These writers have not repudiated all of the traditional accounts, but they have corrected many misconceptions and errors.

Around the turn of the century, most American historians agreed that the Reconstruction Era was a national tragedy. The majority contended that the Radical Republicans who controlled Congress and carpet-baggers, scalawags and blacks who dominated the southern legislatures, through their corruption, political opportunism and vindictiveness made the Reconstruction Era the most dishonorable period in American history. The writers of that period maintained that the policies of Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson were both unselfish and astute and that if they had prevailed the country would have avoided an ordeal of strife and corruption. The difference between North and South would have been solved more readily and the South would have discovered a just solution to the problem of race.

As recently as the 1930's almost all American history textbooks acquiesced in this Conservative viewpoint with only a few reservations. Over the past forty-five years, however, historians have reanalyzed the period of Reconstruction and subjected the traditional interpretation to careful analysis. As a result of this reexamination, revisionism has become the new orthodoxy. Revisionism obtains its force from more than four decades of successful research, from the large number of scholarly books, monographs, and articles, from changed ideas about race and from a modified social environment. Contemporary historians rarely defend the traditional interpretation of Reconstruction. Consequently, a growing number of American history textbooks are being reevaluated in the light of the Revisionist findings.

The revisionists maintained that the Radicals in the North and the South were not so radical. After the Civil War they had implemented no systematic land confiscation, no mass terror plans, no wholesale reprisals for the losers. The sole instance of radicalism that the revisionists could agree on was the instant grant of political power to the freedmen. Even in this instance, however, the Republicans failed to be radical enough. They did not support the movement by granting land and federal financial assistance to the exbondsmen.

During the 1930's and 1940's such writers as Francis B. Simkins, Alrutheus A. Taylor, Horace Mann Bond, David Donald, Vernon Wharton, and later Kenneth M. Stampp, Harold M. Hyman, and others maintained that Reconstruction had not been as corruptive, vindictive, expensive, and permanent as the historians of the Conservative School had thought.

Gradually, historians in the North and South began to disprove the southern arguments. They began to accept the view that the stereotypical portrayal of freedman, carpetbagger and scalawag were basically incorrect concepts which originated in political debate and was continued by the economic, political, and psychological atmosphere of white southerners. Increasingly, historians began to disprove the southern thesis. This development, in turn, caused doubt about the correctness of the Conservative School of Reconstruction.

Revisionist historians, free from the attitudes that warped the visions of earlier writers, have sought to rewrite the political history of Reconstruction. In doing so these scholars have reinterpreted the concept of a Republican party united in the interest of northeastern business. They have contended that Republicans, and particularly the so-called Radicals, were honestly concerned about the injury that former rebels could cause for the Union and the blacks. An example of revisionism is the more recent examinations of the character and political philosophy of Thaddeus Stevens, a leading Radical spokesman in Congress. Thaddeus Stevens has been revised too. His character changed from black to white, from cruel and vindictive to persistent and sincere. Revisionists have argued that the moderate Republicans were more numerous and influential than the Radicals when the conflict between legislature and executive began. Insisting that the executive was the aggressor in this conflict, they hold that southern refusal to compromise caused the national legislature to adopt the measures that it did.

In Thomas B. Alexander's Reconstruction in Tennessee the author surveyed the role of the whigs in Tennessee Reconstruction and discovered a more complex picture than had previously been suggested. This is basically a study of the political aspects of Reconstruction in Tennessee. However, economic and social factors are not relegated to the background. In many respects Reconstruction in Tennessee was unique. Alexander admits that local Unionists reestablished civil government and the radical influence which reigned for a time was local.¹⁴⁷ Congress excluded Tennessee in the military Reconstruction program. Consequently, local considerations were given free play. It is certainly incorrect to say that the bottom was on top in the case of Tennessee. The people were grouped along the lines of intrastate sectionalism, former party loyalty, Reconstruction policies and Confederate-Unionist allegiances.

Throughout the 1930's and 1940's revisionist scholars continued to complete the economic approach that Beard and Beale had so forcefully presented in their seminal works. According to Billias and Grob, "Some of these scholars- notably W. E. B. DuBois and James S. Allen, wrote within a Marxian or quasi Marxian framework." DuBois, for instance, view's Reconstruction as an "attempt to unite northern workers with southern blacks." DuBois held that the attempt failed "because southern

¹⁴⁷Thomas B. Alexander, Reconstruction in Tennessee (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1950), pp. 3-70.

conservatives made use of racial animosities to divide the masses and thus to maintain their own dominance." Other scholars saw Reconstruction as "a struggle between compelling economic interests" and interest groups while racial issues served only as a facade.¹⁴⁸

James Stewart Allen's Reconstruction: The Battle For Democracy devotes its attention to the black man during the Reconstruction period.¹⁴⁹ According to Emanuel "Allen brought to this economic interpretation of Reconstruction his own Marxist framework. He saw Reconstruction as an attempt by big business in the North to colonize and exploit the South." This northern dominance had some beneficial results, for instance, "the North, in Allen's thesis, had smashed the feudal power of the South and created a new democratic class."¹⁵⁰

In his essay entitled "On Rewriting Reconstruction History," Howard K. Beale suggested a more complex reexamination of motives and interests, and for an objection to the thesis that carpetbaggers and southern white Republicans were evil, that blacks were illiterate incompetents, and that the entire white South owes a debt of thankfulness to those who reestablished white supremacy. "As Beale disagreed

¹⁴⁸Ibid., Billias and Grob, eds., American History: Retrospect and Prospect, p. 203.

¹⁴⁹James S. Allen, Reconstruction: The Battle For Democracy: 1865-1876 (New York: International Publishers, 1937), pp. 2-80.

¹⁵⁰Gary Lynn Emanuel, "An Analysis of the Textbook Treatment of the Reconstruction Period." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Northern Colorado, 1979, p. 29.

with the Dunning School with its foundation in racism, he did not deny Beard's economic interpretation."¹⁵¹ As a result, the Beale thesis presented the radical Republicans instituting military Reconstruction to continue the dominance of the business influenced Republican party, not to eradicate the southern social order as Dunning had claimed.

Horace Mann Bond, in his study, recognized that no survey of factors influencing public provision for black children could be sufficient without knowledge of the conditions surrounding the requests of white children upon the state for tax supported education. Thus, the major thesis of Bond's study goes beyond the major title into a delineation of the influence of cotton and steel interests upon public and private education for whites and blacks alike. The main stress is placed, however, upon the influence of these factors upon public education for blacks. The work is significant to southerners in general and to Alabamians in particular. Bond, in his study of Alabama, showed that the deadly struggle in that state involved competing railroads and other business interest groups attempting to control the prosperous shipping and newly created iron and steel industries. "The race problem," he maintained, "was merely used as a tool of selfish interests which had no particular concern one way or the other for the issue of race."¹⁵²

¹⁵¹Ibid., Gary Lynn Emanuel, "An Analysis of the Textbook Treatment of the Reconstruction Period," Ph.D. Dissertation.

¹⁵²Horace Mann Bond, "Social and Economic Forces in Alabama Reconstruction," The Journal of Negro History, Vol., 23 (July 1938) pp. 290-348.

William R. Brock's study, An American Crisis Congress and Reconstruction: 1865-1877, studied the development of congressional policy for the South from 1865 to 1877. Brock's thesis was that Sumner and Stevens were realistic in suggesting that the southern states be governed as territories during a prolonged period of social transformation. Brock argued that the policy failed because it was not supplied long enough; "though one may blame them for their determination to have a revolution, it is a little unfair to blame them for being forced to stop half-way."¹⁵³ Brock's main thesis is interpretative. Occasionally he implies that if the United States had adopted a British system of government many difficulties could have been avoided. Brock, in this perceptive study, treated the post-Civil War period in an objective and judicious way and with an understanding of the problems of the Reconstruction Era.

Stanley Coben argued that the thesis of a unified goal for the Radical Republicans was a larger myth than the Dunning interpretation. Coben analyzed the economic goals of the different gigantic northern economic interests and compared them with the voting record of the congressmen who represented them. He maintained that neither business leaders nor radicals were united on behalf of any program of economic goals. On the contrary, Coben held that some northern business groups who were considering large investments in the South emphatically objec-

¹⁵³William R. Brock, American Crisis: Congress and Reconstruction (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963), pp. i-ix.

ted to radical control of the region. These interest groups' findings obviously disagreed with Howard K. Beale and his adherents who insisted that "Radical rule in the South would promote business dominance in the region."¹⁵⁴

Samuel S. Cox's Union, Disunion, Reunion: Three Decades of Federal Legislation: 1855-1885, indicates the range of the book. The first decade starts with the creation of the Republican Party at Pittsburgh in 1855. This party was partly created upon the demise of the Know Nothing and Whig parties. The theme of the organization was the emphatic and intellectual anti-slavery zealotry which had been a potential factor in U.S. politics. The era of sectionalism started in this decade. It was followed by a long and bloody Civil War which ended in 1865. The second decade begins with the era of Reconstruction.¹⁵⁵

The often criticized agents of the Freedmen's Bureau have been made the subject of an objective analysis by John and LaWanda Cox. Their Politics, Principles and Prejudice: 1865-1866 represents a thesis independently conceived and examined through painstaking observation of the primary sources. The study was undertaken without preconceptions as the writers argue that they did not try to "either upset a thesis or to establish one." The conclusions are similar to those of other recent

¹⁵⁴ Stanley Coben, "Northeastern Business and Radical Reconstruction: A Reexamination," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, No. 33 (June 1967), pp. 303-333.

¹⁵⁵ Samuel S. Cox's, Union, Disunion, Reunion: Three Decades of Federal Legislation: 1855-1885 (New York: Books For Libraries Press, 1970).

studies, which find that the Radicals did not represent a unity of economic interest or purpose, that their antagonists utilized race prejudice as political ammunition, and that Andrew Johnson had a large share of responsibility for the disagreement in early 1866 between Congress and President. In explaining that tragic impasse the writers considered two important factors that had never been given much attention: (1) "an effort to jettison the old Republican coalition in favor of a conservative Union Party attractive to Democrats in both North and South; and a crystallization of Republican opposition to Johnson over the issue of basic civil rights, short of suffrage, for the freedmen."¹⁵⁶ The authors could not believe that all the North wanted of the South was mere symbol; by March 1866 the peace terms demanded were substantive. Since most of the historical writing in this field, until very recently, has emphasized the principles of the pro-Johnson forces and the politics of their opponents, the Coxes have tried to call attention to the principles of those who supported Congress and the politics of those who followed the President.

Robert Cruden's The Negro in Reconstruction, published in 1969, chronicles the black man's role in Reconstruction and synthesizes recent findings of the black role in Reconstruction. Cruden emphasizes the black's positive contribution and analyzes the major issues in black Reconstruction including the importance of the black church, the stereo-

¹⁵⁶LaWanda Cox and John H. Cox, Politics, Principles and Prejudice (New York: The Free Press, 1963), pp. viii-x.

typing of the black man and the propertyless laborer, the limits of black political power and the psychological and economic apprehensions of whites that finally undermined America's first crucial experiment in integration. The last three chapters trace the collapse of Reconstruction in the South, analyze the astronomical consequences for black people, and explain why their "hopes of achieving racial equality were unrealistic. Many blacks elected to public office were competent and honest and the constitutional rights of whites were not suppressed by blacks as were those of blacks during Reconstruction."¹⁵⁷

James G. Randall wrote a study entitled The Civil War and Reconstruction that was later revised posthumously by David Donald, one of Randall's most prominent graduate students. Donald began the new section on Reconstruction by maintaining that it was from this period that one "dates the dominance of industrial over agrarian forces in the American economy." While emphasizing the radical desire to maintain Republican ascendancy, he saw fierce economic rivalries underlying political conflicts and he implicitly related Reconstruction to the triumph of radicalism and business values in American society. Building upon the large body of revisionist literature that had been accumulating since the 1930's he sharply modified many, if not most, of Randall's judgments. The record of black officeholders was equal to that of their

¹⁵⁷ Robert Cruden, The Negro in Reconstruction (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), pp. i-ix.

white counterparts; corruption was a national rather than a sectional phenomenon, and in any case, cut along economic, sectional, class and party lines.¹⁵⁸ The Radical Republican governments in the South had many constructive achievements to their credit including the growth of social services, the creation of free compulsory education, and framing of the progressive state constitutions. Nevertheless, Donald insisted that the Radical governments were not forced upon the South for in many cases they had the support of the prewar Whigs, many of whom had joined the Republican party after the war. The story of Reconstruction portrayed by Donald showed the distance historians had gone since the days of Dunning and his adherents.

But another group of economic determinists, the Marxists tended to ignore the historical distinctions of Reconstruction and viewed it as a glorious era in the class struggle. With W. E. B. DuBois in Black Reconstruction, published in 1935, the color line is less distinct, but the class line is sharp and clear. As DuBois uses the word "Negro" it is interchangeable with "Proletarian;" and the whites-whether they are carpetbaggers, scalawags, or conservatives-are capitalist exploiters. In the chapter entitled "The Black Proletariat in South Carolina," the native poor whites are in effect ignored. According to DuBois, the black government, the "center of the corruption charge, was due to the fact that the poor were ruling and taxing rich men." DuBois holds that

¹⁵⁸Ibid., Billias and Grob, American History: Retrospect and Prospect (New York: The Free Press, 1970), pp. 205-206.

only the blacks (Proletarians) were virtually free of corruption, for according to DuBois, "if there was one thing that South Carolina feared more than bad black government, it was good black government." Nor was the race issue really important, because beneath it "and unconsciously of more fundamental weight, was the economic issue. Men were seeking again to establish the dominion of property in southern politics."¹⁵⁹ DuBois' several ideas were blurred, in some instances, as he took them to absurd conclusions.

John Hope Franklin maintains that the period of military subjection was shorter than has been usually assumed. He describes in detail the operation of South Carolina governments, the behavior and qualification of blacks and other members of the state legislatures and the postwar constitutional conventions; and he evaluates the positiveness of these efforts. Franklin argued that the "Reconstruction period is veiwed as a time when many threads of national, political and economic life were woven together in one way in the South, in another way in the North. It is a period too often treated as a chapter in regional history" or in regional punishment. Rather, it is an "episode in the history of a great and expanding nation" Franklin contends that "Neither North nor South, neither yankee nor rebel, neither black nor white had a monopoly on virtue, ignorance, vice, greed, or courage."¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹Neil W. Macaulay, Jr., "South Carolina Reconstruction Historiography," The South Carolina Historical Society, Vol., 65, No. 1 (January 1964), p. 30.

¹⁶⁰John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), p. 298.

Thus, Franklin's study reexamines Reconstruction in the light of modern historical scholarship. The exaggerated story of suffering in the former Confederate states has become a national legend. On the other hand, this book is a balanced, well written interpretation based on known sources. Franklin attacks a number of vulnerable stereotypes. He shows that Radical rule was, on the whole, marked by moderation rather than by excesses and it accomplished positive gains in the field of education and the general welfare. The elected black officials performed well in terms of competence and honesty. As for corruption, it definitely prevailed, argued Franklin, but throughout the nation and not exclusively in the South.

John Hope Franklin's Reconstruction After the Civil War, one of the best revisionist works, is an account of American life in an era of great challenge, new problems, and uncertain leadership. This study discusses the Radical's effort to obtain racial justice in the South, the fact that corruption existed not only in the South, and that some positive measures resulted from "carpetbag legislatures."¹⁶¹ Certain phases of Reconstruction have been revised, but this study is the first judicious account ever published that incorporated these findings.

Harold M. Hyman's New Frontiers of American Reconstruction is a revisionist study consisting of a collection of essays which focus on

¹⁶¹John Hope Franklin, Reconstruction After the Civil War Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 1-25.

the era of Reconstruction from four different perspectives: Constitutional history, Political history, the black, and the impact of the era on Latin America and Canada.¹⁶² Harold M. Hyman relates new views in Reconstruction and political-constitutional institutions. A. H. Kelly describes the racial crisis as well as Hyman's commentary. John Hope Franklin competently summarizes revisionist historiography in Reconstruction and the black role. August Meier cites subjects awaiting study and urges writers to concentrate more on the activities of blacks. C. Vann Woodward's Seeds of Failure in Radical Race Policy also appears in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society for February, 1966. Russell B. Nye comments on the topic of Reconstruction as it relates to postwar failure of abolitionists and Reconstructionists to unchanging racism and concepts of reforms.

Harold M. Hyman's Era of the Oath: Northern Loyalty Tests During the Civil War and Reconstruction has continued the revisionist research by contending that the oaths were usually ineffective.¹⁶³ This evidence further discredits the concept that large numbers of exconfederates were excluded from government. However, it is due to Andrew Johnson's wholesale pardoning of the exconfederate officials that caused, to a large degree, the congressional resistance.

¹⁶²Harold M. Hyman, Era of the Oath: Northern Loyalty Tests During the Civil War and Reconstruction (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954), pp. i-iv.

¹⁶³Harold M. Hyman, Era of the Oath: Northern Loyalty Tests During the Civil War and Reconstruction (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954), pp. i-iv.

In Ralph Korngold's Thaddeus Stevens: A Being Darkly Wise and Rudely Great the author gives a most convincing picture of Stevens.¹⁶⁴ It shows that Stevens' motives were consistent, his rivalry with Lincoln and Johnson as being morally righteous, and portrays him as an intellectual rather than a hostile individual. Consequently, this revisionist interpretation can serve as a more judicious and balanced picture in contrast to the older vindictive portrait of Stevens. In another revisionist vein, Staughton Lynd argued that those historians who saw Reconstruction in essentially moral terms by no means ruled out a consideration of economic factors.¹⁶⁵ Unlike the followers of Beard and Beale, however, their approach was rather different. The newer historians argued that the struggle over equality failed because Congress did not give the freedmen the economic independence to resist political intimidation. Lacking an economic base, black suffrage was supported only by the presence of Union troops and collapsed when they were withdrawn. Other advocates of this position were Thaddeus Stevens, Wendell Phillips, and W. E. B. DuBois as well as C. Vann Woodward. Consequently, southern blacks could not resist the decline in their status after 1877.

The consensus approach to Reconstruction is best shown in Eric McKittrick's Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction. The Conservative School

¹⁶⁴ Ralph Korngold, Thaddeus Stevens: A Being Darkly Wise and Rudely Great (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1955), pp. 1-100.

¹⁶⁵ Staughton Lynd, Reconstruction (New York: Free Press, 1967), pp. i-ix.

of historians agreed that Johnson had a wise and sound policy of Reconstruction, but that he was placated by the vindictive Radical Republicans. The thesis in McKittrick's study seeks to demonstrate how Andrew Johnson threw away his presidential power as party leader, how he assisted in preventing reconciliation between the two sections and how his behavior disrupted national political life. McKittrick argued that many of the "later and unfortunate developments during Reconstruction could have been avoided had it not been for Johnson's inept leadership and poor judgment."¹⁶⁶

James M. McPherson's The Struggle For Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction is a study that maintains that the abolitionists provided moral justification, but party policies "were undertaken primarily for military or political reasons."¹⁶⁷ Indeed, McPherson condemns the whole North for a failure of conscience and belittles the public support given to equal rights as "primarily a conversion of expediency rather than of conviction."¹⁶⁸ David Montgomery's Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans- 1862-1872 is a

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., Billias and Grob, ed., American History: Retrospect and Prospect, p.216.

¹⁶⁷ James M. McPherson, The Struggle For Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 1-50.

¹⁶⁸ LaWanda Cox and the John H. Cox, "Negro Suffrage and Republican Politics: The Problem of Motivation in Reconstruction Historiography," The Journal of Southern History, Vol., 33, No. 3 (August 1967), p. 314.

study of the labor movement during the era of Reconstruction. It gives much previously unavailable information on the labor unions, labor reform movements and labor parties. As a work in Reconstruction history it provides new insights into the political and social phenomena of the era.¹⁶⁹ Rembert W. Patrick's study, The Reconstruction of the Nation, was written by a southern historian. Patrick understands and sympathizes with southern whites, but also realizes that the really tragic figure in Reconstruction was the blacks whose systematic oppression far outweighed any suffering by the white community.¹⁷⁰ This book resembles a peace treaty to end the war between various historians. It is a synthesis of the older findings and recent revisionist research. In a similar vein Willie Lee Rose's Rehearsal for Reconstruction is a study that demonstrates that the betrayal of southern blacks was the most significant phenomenon of the Reconstruction Era.¹⁷¹

At the same time that some historians were analyzing the economic interpretation of Reconstruction, others were looking directly at the moral approach. World War II caused historians to examine moral issues. Nazism, whatever its origin, could not be explained in the absence of its moral dimension. As a result, a greater appreciation of the moral

¹⁶⁹David Montgomery, Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans: 1862-1872 (New York: Knopf, 1967), pp.1-100.

¹⁷⁰Rembert W. Patrick, The Reconstruction of the Nation, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 1-75.

¹⁷¹Willie Lee Rose, Rehearsal For Reconstruction (New York: MacMillan, 1978), pp. 2-30.

dimension began to be included in an analysis of Reconstruction. The era could no longer be explained merely in economic, social and technological terms. From this perspective, perhaps, some Americans in 1865 were sincere in their request for black equality.

The most emphatic request made for a reanalysis of the whole story of Reconstruction was an essay by a southern historian, Francis B. Simkins. At this time Simkins had moved from the Dunning viewpoint in earlier works. Addressing himself, basically, to southerners, Simkins admonished them to put an end to obsolete prejudices and consider the positive aspects of Reconstruction. He maintained that the age had come to refrain from viewing the era as a reign of terror. This article, entitled "New Viewpoints of Southern Reconstruction," represented the new moral trend in Reconstruction historiography.¹⁷² Simkins maintained that the ultimate failure of Reconstruction resulted from southern whites refusal to accept social equality with the black man. This study, in a sense, reverts to an earlier Dunning contention that someone was to blame for the shortcomings of Reconstruction. The difference is that Simkins found the South itself as the cause of these shortcomings.¹⁷³

¹⁷²Francis B. Simkins, "New Viewpoints of Southern Reconstruction," The Journal of Southern History, Vol. 5 (January 1939), pp. 49-61.

¹⁷³Ibid., LaWanda Cox and John H. Cox, "Negro Suffrage and Republican Politics: The Problem of Motivation in Reconstruction Historiography," The Journal of Southern History, Vol. 33, No. 3 (August 1967), p. 314.

In this article, Simkins was reverting to the concepts used for defining Reconstruction as a failure. Though he did not discount a study of economic factors, Simkins saw Reconstruction within a moral framework. While stressing constructive achievements of the postwar decade, he also saw these as years of failure for the remaining problem of race relations which, by 1938, Americans had been unwilling to admit.

Kenneth M. Stampp, who maintained that the South was more a victim of its own shortcomings rather than any radical policy, analyzes the accomplishments and failures of Reconstruction.¹⁷⁴ It was not until Stampp published The Era of Reconstruction in 1967 did the contours of the revisionist approach emerge in clear and understandable terms. Dismissing the Dunning view as racist, Stampp reverted to the older concept of Tourgee by seeing Reconstruction as giving black Americans full political and civil rights. To Stampp, the main issue of the postwar decade was the place of the black man in American society. To argue that Radicals had invidious and selfish motives, Stampp held, did them a severe injustice.

Another revisionist book on Reconstruction in South Carolina was published by Alrutheus A. Taylor in 1934. In the Introduction to The Negro in South Carolina, Taylor analyzes the shortcomings of earlier works on Reconstruction.¹⁷⁵ Some of them were developed by noted

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., Kenneth M. Stampp, The Era of Reconstruction: 1865-1877 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), pp. 1-100.

¹⁷⁵ Alrutheus A. Taylor, The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction (Washington, D.C.: D. C. Heath, 1924), pp. 1-85.

scholars of history who took advantage of the first graduate schools of northern universities, especially John Hopkins and Columbia. These earlier studies were written to prove that blacks were incapable of the responsibilities of citizenship, argued Taylor, and to justify the intimidation used to overthrow the Reconstruction governments.

"Selfish interest impelled them to select such facts as would establish their point of view and to ignore the facts to the contrary..." Thus, in this study Taylor attempts to treat the social and economic aspects of South Carolina during Reconstruction.¹⁷⁶

In Allen W. Trelease's Reconstruction: The Great Experiment, the author views Reconstruction as a time when the victorious North attempted to "remold the South in its own image and thereby provide a better future for the black Americans it had just emancipated."¹⁷⁷ Four decades ago the Reconstruction Era had a different meaning and since that time the meaning has changed, partly because of the civil rights issues of the 1950's and 1960's. Since the mid-twentieth century Americans have confronted the attitudes, objectives, and problems that were experienced by our heirs over a century ago. Historians are now sympathizing with the Radical Republicans more now than they did a cen-

¹⁷⁶Ibid., Neil W. Macaulay, Jr., "South Carolina Reconstruction Historiography," The South Carolina Historical Magazine, Vol., 65, No. 1 (January 1964), p. 25.

¹⁷⁷Allen W. Trelease, Reconstruction: The Great Experiment (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 1-25.

tury ago when they were closer in time, but not in sentiments, according to Trelease.

C. Vann Woodward's sympathies were with the South also and he too was a devoted liberal, but he was too shrewd and too realistic to accept the old dualism. Where previous students had seen only what may be called an "external fight between victorious northern industrialists and defeated southern agrarians, Woodward, far more subtly, perceived that there had always been whiggish forces in the South ready to embrace industrial goals," and that the Confederate defeat had set the stage for these forces to take over.¹⁷⁸ In Origins of the New South Woodward showed southern redeemers competing and even joining with northern capitalists in pursuit of capital.¹⁷⁹ For C. Vann Woodward Reconstruction was a series of deals struck between the North and the South. In reality, Reconstruction had seen the triumph of industrial capitalism in the North. The South, however, had received at least two desired goals in return. First, it received the implicit blessings of northern politicians to "allow southerners to arrange their social order in a manner pleasing only to the white South. Second, the South also received northern investments and some of the economic largesse wrought by the

¹⁷⁸Marcus Cunliffe and Robin W. Winks, eds., Past Masters: Some Essays on American Historians (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), pp. 1-89.

¹⁷⁹C. Vann Woodward, Origins of The New South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957), pp. 1-89.

triumph of northern capitalism."¹⁸⁰ C. Vann Woodward made two major contributions toward a revision of the end of Reconstruction in Reunion and Reaction (1951) and Origins of the New South (1952). Woodward proved convincingly that the Hayes-Tilden settlement in 1877 which signaled the end of Reconstruction was basically an economic arrangement representing the visions of railroad promoters. Nevertheless, the continuous search for economic motives has continuously "weakened the Beard-Beale theory by dissipating the myth of a massive single minded economic interest group."¹⁸¹

In C. Vann Woodward's The Burden of Southern History (1960) the experience of the South is multiple and complicated. The study stresses such an experience and its contribution to a shaping of a unique culture.¹⁸² The essays depict historical events that the South shared with the rest of the nation. But in each case the effect of the experience was greatly different for the South than for the other parts of the nation. Similarly, the Civil War debate over the equality for the black man as "the third war aim" and the revolutionary policies implemented for Reconstruction were northern aims. But the revolutionary effect of

¹⁸⁰Ibid., Gary Lynn Emanuel, "An Analysis of the Textbook Treatment of the Reconstruction Period: Changes That Occurred Between Editions of College Level Textbooks," Ph.D. Dissertation, (1979), pp. 29-30.

¹⁸¹C. Vann Woodward, Reunion and Reaction Little, Brown, and Co., 1951), pp. i-v.

¹⁸²C. Vann Woodward, The Burden of Southern History (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), pp. 1-50.

these developments were basically experienced in the South.¹⁸³ In Reunion and Reaction (1946) Woodward analyzed the economic interpretation of Reconstruction in such a manner that it resulted in a modification of the older Dunning interpretation. Surely, if impersonal economic events were important to a knowledge of the postwar years, then it could not be maintained that the substance of the Reconstruction episode was a prolific struggle between good and evil.¹⁸⁴ Slowly but continuously, therefore, the revisionist research began to change the specific modifications of the Dunning thesis as well as the entire picture of the era. Basically, the Revisionists did not view Reconstruction as a sectional problem. On the contrary, Reconstruction was a national problem that included economic forces and developments that transcended local and state boundaries. Woodward argued in the 1950's that Reconstruction spelled the ultimate triumph of industrialism in the nation. As a result of events during the Civil War-Reconstruction decade, the South finally accepted its "colonial status" and in return the North gave it a free hand to deal with blacks on its own terms as well as share in the rewards of the new economic age.

¹⁸³Ibid., Marcus Cunliffe and Robin W. Winks, Past Masters: Some Essays On American Historians (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), pp. 279-280.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., C. Vann Woodward, Reunion and Reaction (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1951), pp. 1-50.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER III

This, then, is the conclusion of the four schools of interpretation in Reconstruction historiography. The four schools that were stipulated are the Partisan School, or those historians who held strongly to a regional, partisan, or ethnocentric viewpoint. The Conservative or the Rhodes-Dunning-Burgess or New South School of interpretation began in the 1890's and sought to provide a more balanced view of Reconstruction than the earlier partisan view had assumed. The Liberal School was that band of martyrs who, before 1939, wrote objectively and judiciously about Reconstruction and the role of blacks, scalawags, and carpetbaggers and treated them as human beings, and the Revisionist School of thought, which is similar to the Liberal School, but began in the 1930's and sought to reanalyze and reinterpret the findings of the earlier Partisan and Conservative Schools.

When the topic of Reconstruction is considered in relation to the instructional program and in the light of the scholarly lag prevalent in many American high school history textbooks, it is obvious that teachers will need supplementary materials to balance even the best textbooks in order to provide their classes with an up-to-date picture of the Reconstruction Era in American history. The treatment of the Reconstruction period has been a controversial topic for many years. Research by leading revisionists such as Kenneth M. Stampp, C. Vann Woodward, David

Donald, Eric McKittrick, W. R. Brock, and John Hope Franklin has revolutionized or modified many of the well established conservative assumptions concerning Reconstruction.

Revisionists argue for a more sophisticated interpretation of the Reconstruction period for high school history textbooks and point out that this was not an era in which the North viciously mistreated the South. There is a denial that President Johnson attempted to carry out Lincoln's Reconstruction policy. At the time of his assassination Lincoln had no Reconstruction policy, his early ten percent plan had failed and he realized this. Johnson's plan stressed the role of the President over the congressional role. Also, unlike Lincoln, Johnson was a white supremacist.

Some historians, like Howard K. Beale (after he changed his mind), W. E. B. DuBois, and other revisionist scholars argued for school textbooks which depict the contributions of all people to American history. They call attention to such formerly neglected topics as the contributions of free blacks to pre-Civil War American life, and the accomplishments of black leaders during Reconstruction. A study of a more balanced American history can help the blacks better to understand themselves and whites better to understand their nation.

CHAPTER IV: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SELECTED HIGH SCHOOL
HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

It was once argued by E.H. Carr that the history of a nation is rewritten in each generation. This perception is given credence through an analysis of the treatment of the Reconstruction Era in United States history as it is reflected in selected American high school history textbooks. Within a period of less than one hundred years, 1890-1983, we observe this particular aspect of national history manifesting continuously shifting facets, emphases, inclusions and exclusions or commissions and omissions of certain "facts" over the decades under consideration. In part this on-going reformation and transformation from one interpretation to another illustrates the emergence and extinction of certain "schools" of thought pertaining to the writing of an historical event for a high school audience, each with its own perspective, its own goals to pursue. Other developments determined alterations in Reconstruction history as well, rooted in, yet distinct from a skillful division into "school" categorizations.

As already alluded to, nineteenth century history was basically political history which emphasized the event, the "great" individuals involved, and was concerned with the "short term," that is the period regarded as an entity in itself divorced from past, present and future consequences. Following World War I and continuing into the Great Depression, the focus was diverted to the economic arena as a basic

determinant of history as evidenced in the studies of Charles A. Beard, Howard K. Beale, and others. This, in turn, was to veer into the sociological domain which reflected new interests in contemporary society.

With this brief introduction, the writer will turn to a representative sampling of secondary school textbooks in order to evaluate and analyze them through such criteria as truth or bias and the absence or presence of regional, political, or ethnocentric influences, the perpetuation of old myths and cliches, and the extent of the commitment of the authors to the moral values implied in the struggle for racial equality. A consideration of these and other component factors should enable us to determine errors of omission and commission, and to acquire considerable insight into how Reconstruction history has been interpreted or indeed, in some cases, "rewritten" for generations of American secondary school pupils.

One school of interpretation which emerged at an early age in the preparation of high school history texts could be labeled partisan in approach to Reconstruction. These authors took a position based on their personal viewpoint or experience, or based on allegiance to a section, a party, a cause, an individual, or some other prejudicial thesis. J. Wm. Jones, Roy F. Nichols, et al., Allan O. Kownslar and Donald B. Frizzle, William H. Mace, among others, either in full or to some extent, represent this philosophy. In his A School History of the United States, Jones devotes little space to the Reconstruction topic

and concludes the subject with a sigh of regret and relief. In agreement with James S. Pike in The Prostrate State, Jones is disdainful of the Reconstruction process and scorns the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution which granted suffrage and citizenship to the freedmen. He viewed the conventions in each state which was composed of "scalawags" (native whites who took the oath), "carpetbaggers" (men from the North), and blacks, as being "foisted" upon the people with the most objectionable state constitutions. The "magnanimous and wise" President Johnson is pictured as he is impeached by a "radical and vindictive" Congress.¹⁸⁶

On page 401 of his study Jones relates, for example, conditions in the South by 1868:

In 1868 Arkansas, Louisiana, and North Carolina having (under the rule of their carpetbag-scalawags-black conventions) ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, and adopted state constitutions acceptable to the Radical Republicans who ruled in Washington, were admitted to the Union again. Texas, Georgia, Mississippi, and Virginia, not having fully complied with the terms laid down, were kept still under military rule, were finally readmitted, in addition to previous conditions, which fastened on them and the other states black suffrage, and gave Congress the right to enforce it.¹⁸⁷

In addition, Jones saw the emergence of the Ku Klux Klan as a natural response to the reign of the carpetbagger and contends that Grant was hypocritical in proclaiming "Let us have peace" upon his

¹⁸⁶J. Wm. Jones, A School History of the United States, (New York & New Orleans: University Publishing Co., 1901), p. 400.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., J. Wm. Jones, A School History of the United States, p. 401.

inauguration as President while maintaining federal troops in the South. Thus, in the same vein as the partisan historians Hilary Herbert and Walter Neale in chapter III, Jones takes a partisan stand in defense of the South.

Jones, in 1901, purported to be interested in an account of Reconstruction "fair to all sections... but doing full justice to the southern states." His reason for being more fair to the South is evident in the revelation of his former position as chaplain in the Confederate Army; this is advanced in his statement that a "more complete coverage of 'southern interests' than could be found elsewhere was necessary." His partisan thrust thus covered a broad spectrum in view of his apparent close relationship to the southern cause, and one who had played an active role in this cause, his belief that a section had not been paid due respect in other texts, his respect for the great Confederate leaders he had been close to. For Jones, in his effort to justify or prove a thesis, the key word for the defeated South was "persecuted."¹⁸⁸

In the manner of James S. Pike, Jones, in his study, uses both facts and opinions to demonstrate adherence to the southern cause. Consequently, he is more concerned with giving a southern indictment of the Radical Republicans and northern policies in general. In his account of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, Jones gives no reason as

¹⁸⁸Ibid., J. Wm. Jones, A School History of the United States, pp. 3, 400-402.

to why the proceedings took place or what were the real issues involved. If Jones is the apex of partiality, in great measure due to his closeness to the period and his involvement in its history, the Partisan School need not rely simply on these prerequisites.

In contrast with Jones's quite obvious bias in such areas as seeing the emergence of the Ku Klux Klan as a "natural result" of the need to protect "true" southerners, whites against blacks, the Nichols-Bagley-Beard perspective is more balanced, even veering into the Conservative School. Nichols et al., found that many "honest and devoted" northerners went South to help the distressed; but in unison with Jones, they maintained that "carpetbag rule" was "one of the blackest chapters in American history," surely an ethnocentric statement in light of the treatment of Indians and the introduction of slavery. From a similar partisan perspective, Nichols, et al., are following the partisan lines of James G. Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, Jefferson Davis's Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, and James S. Pike's The Prostrate South by citing northern policies and giving indictment of these measures. Together with Jones- Nichols, et al., noted that the growth of the Ku Klux Klan was more essential than evil, coming about because the educated whites were shut out of the political process in favor of "irresponsible and ignorant" blacks.¹⁸⁹ Nichols, in agreement with Hilary Herbert's Why the Solid South, and in defending Andrew Johnson's Re-

¹⁸⁹Roy F. Nichols, William C. Bagley, and Charles A. Beard, America Yesterday, (New York: Macmillan, 1938), pp. 395-401.

construction plans while denigrating the Radical Republicans, made the following comment:

President Johnson, though an honorable and just man, had many enemies who decided to undo his work in the South. These "Radicals" as they were called, claimed that the black to save himself must be made a citizen and be given the vote. The Fourteenth Amendment was adopted making the blacks citizens. But as the southern states refused to agree to this amendment or to let the blacks vote, the Radicals decided to force them to do so. Congress passed a law putting the southern states under military rule. The state governments were destroyed and the South was divided into five military districts ruled by northern generals. Those who were elected were expected to form governments which would ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and give the black the right to vote.¹⁹⁰

Thus, like other partisan historians, Nichols, et al., is contemptuous of the Reconstruction process and, in the manner of James S. Pike, felt that native white citizens had been mistreated by a corrupt and evil Republican regime that was supported by an equally corrupt federal government.

In another passage on page 389 Nichols again defends President Andrew Johnson while attacking Congress:

The Radical politicians in the North then turned upon Andrew Johnson. These politicians, bitterly seeking vengeance upon the South, were engaged in a series of practices shameful in a democracy or any other government. The hatred of the Radicals toward the South was a dangerous sign, but the quarrel between Congress and President Johnson was worse. So intense did congressional hatred of Johnson become that his enemies sought to remove him from office and to put one of their own comrades in the White House.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰Ibid., p. 397.

¹⁹¹Ibid., Roy F. Nichols, et al., America Yesterday, pp. 397-398.

In the conservative-Bowers tradition, as well as in the manner of Hilary Herbert and his adherents, Nichols, et al give a southern indictment of northern policies. Nevertheless, Nichols fails to explain why Congress refused Johnson's Reconstruction plans. It did so because Johnson was determined to return the South to the Union without congressional consultation. He also permitted unrepentant exconfederate leaders to return to power and refused to ensure the fundamental rights of the freedmen. Another reason the book failed to cite was the restrictive black codes passed in the South which decreased tremendously the blacks' freedom. As a result, this textbook is another example of the Partisan School view which does not provide students with a balanced account of the Reconstruction governments.

On the surface, in dramatic contrast to Jones and Nichols, et al., the partisanship of Allan O. Kownslar and Donald B. Frizzle is both subtle and sophisticated in its position. As evidence of their "fairness" and "modernity", they utilize original sources as historical evidence; these are drawn from both northern and southern perspectives. But this seemingly even handedness is tarnished in an aftermath, which too would appear beyond reproach. Students are admonished to form their own hypotheses on Reconstruction through thought on certain provided statements. In the phrasing of these "thoughts" it becomes quite clear that the authors are, in certain respects, biased. This is not the overt prejudice of Jones and the more restrained type of Nichols, et al., but it is intended to lead the student into thinking that the Civil

War, and the consequent upheavals of Reconstruction, may have been unnecessary in that one cannot "force" change "upon people without conflict. If one waits long enough the desired change will ensue naturally."¹⁹² In advocating this political philosophy the authors are suggesting adherence to a prejudiced, unreasoning, blind, and fanatical allegiance to the confederate cause and therefore can be termed partisan as this concept is defined in chapter III. Kownslar and Frizzle describe the emergence of the Ku Klux Klan in glowing, amoral, and what is pretended to be, nonjudgmental terms. On the other hand, it was Samuel Elliot Morison who has said that "objective history which avoids judgment is dull history." The most dramatic and most significant example of the inclusion of value judgments in the texts is the change which has taken place in their treatment of the Reconstruction Period. As recently as 1969, Mark M. Krug contended that "this topic as presented in many classrooms is a black and white picture which lacks judiciousness, balance, and depth."¹⁹³

From a similar partisan perspective, William H. Mace too indulges in bias through clever means. The three texts cited above (Jones, Nichols, and Mace) also make matter-of-fact statements on Reconstruction policies citing, for example, the ignorance, the unreadiness, or the

¹⁹²Allan O. Kownslar and Donald B. Frizzle, Discovering American History, (New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, 1967), pp. 493-494.

¹⁹³Irving Sloan, The Negro in the Making of America, (Washington, D.C.: The American Federation of Teachers, 1972), p. 9.

being led astray by white rascals as the predications of blacks as the new political force. In the manner of Jefferson Davis, Hilary Herbert, and James S. Pike, Mace paints vivid "word pictures" in order to ridicule a race. "In those halls, once sacred to Calhoun, Toombs, and Stephens came blacks, laughing and talking loudly, eating peanuts, smoking cigars, idle and given to uproar." He allows that several of the black politicians were intelligent, but only because "they had the good fortune of being trusted servants of white masters."¹⁹⁴ In inviting students to see how incredible it was to entrust government to the ignorant, how needful it was to reassert white southern leadership, Mace, like Walter Neale in The Sovereignty of the States, demonstrates a more dangerous partisanship than is the case with the other textbook authors with their more blatant sectional prejudices.

Another typically partisan and dominant theme in Mace's study was that blacks were ignorant, lazy and unfit to govern. This is evidenced in the following statement:

No such extravagance and corruption had ever been seen in the southern states. Millions were wasted and millions were stolen. The carpetbaggers grew rich, but the people had to pay the bills... The results were bad in the extreme: (1) The black proved himself unfit as yet to govern, and made it harder for some to believe that he would ever learn so difficult a lesson. (2) This taste of public life made many blacks unwilling to go back to common occupations. (3) The states burdened by debt were unable to encourage industry and free schools, the two things the South most

¹⁹⁴William H. Mace, A School History of the United States, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1904), pp. 392-393.

needed. (4) Worst of all was the race hatred. The southern whites had suffered most because they owned most of the property. Stung by the overbearing conduct of the black and his leaders, they, therefore, resolved to keep the black man from controlling southern affairs.¹⁹⁵

Thus, like Jefferson Davis, Herbert Neale, James S. Pike, and other partisan historians, Mace takes the standard anti-black philosophy. In a similar vein, he harbors grave doubts concerning the black's ability and his fitness for citizenship and the suffrage. In conformity with other partisan writers, Mace harbored a pronounced dislike and lack of understanding or sympathy for the human potential of blacks. As is also typical of conservative studies, Mace does not provide a balanced description of the so-called "carpetbaggers and scalawags." Rather, the carpetbaggers are depicted as selfish unprincipled northern men who came South with a quickly packed bag to exploit the blacks and become wealthy as quickly as possible. The scalawags, or southern whites, fare no better since they too were more concerned with wealth and power than in rebuilding the area, according to this study. As a result, Mace's text, too, is characterized by sectional feelings still embittered by the Civil War and the aftermath of Reconstruction. Consequently, he is more concerned with justifying the southern cause than with a patient search for the truth.

In James T. Adams and Charles Garrett Vannest, we see emphasis on the "economics" of Reconstruction, natural perhaps in that the text is a

¹⁹⁵Ibid., William H. Mace, A School History of the United States, p. 393.

product of the 1930's. Of course statistics can be utilized to interpret history in different ways; in Adams and Vannest, it is factual, a product of the Liberal School since this is regarded as concerned with seeking those facts in specialized fields. At the same time it is also mixed with the Partisan School outlook. Thus southerners struggle to regain control in order to "prevent their complete ruin." In proof of this need, the authors cite the state debt increases in South Carolina from seven million dollars to twenty-nine million dollars in a brief interval. In New Orleans, the tax rate grew by four hundred percent in four years.¹⁹⁶In Adams there is a contrast with Jones, who saw the need for regained white control as vital for safety, or of Mace and Nichols who perceived white control as redress from political barbarians, black and white.

In keeping with the partisan views of Herbert, Neale, and Pike, in the Adams study, Lincoln is praised for his conciliatory attitude toward the South in 1865. Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, is defended as a strong and able President. The Republican Party leadership in the personage of Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner is considered to be too radical, extremist, and vindictive. The blacks are presented as lazy, dishonest, and extravagant. Adams and Vannest also defend the black codes and states that "the codes recognized the black man's freedom and gave him almost all the rights of any ordinary citizen, al-

¹⁹⁶James T. Adams and Charles G. Vannest, The Record of America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937). pp.362-369.

though he was not allowed to vote or sit on juries."¹⁹⁷

Arthur M. Schlesinger, in common with Adams and Vannest, is interested in the economic aspect of Reconstruction. The breakdown of the plantation system took place simultaneously with the start of industry in the South. While agriculture recovered slowly after the dissolution of the large estates, this was necessary in order that the South pass from a "semifeudal" social and economic entity to a modern one. Schlesinger, interestingly, points out that "poor whites" were emancipated with the coming of wage labor as surely as the blacks had been freed with the Thirteenth Amendment.¹⁹⁸ In using this approach, he shows a true liberal inclination, with a sympathy for significant reform in the social and economic order that was, however, difficult for those involved, necessary for the ultimate benefit of the section and the nation as a whole.

In terms of the economic reconstruction of the South, Schlesinger also maintains that another result of the Civil War was the industrial reorganization of the South. Although these changes were a phase of the great Economic Revolution that was affecting the entire country, they were the immediate results of the derangement of southern economic life wrought by the war. As the scene of the conflict, the South had

¹⁹⁷James T. Adams and Charles G. Vannest, The Record of America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), p. 362.

¹⁹⁸Arthur M. Schlesinger, Political and Social History of the United States: 1829-1925 (New York: Macmillan, 1925), pp. 255-258.

suffered losses that were well-nigh irreparable— bridges wrecked, towns destroyed, railroads torn up.¹⁹⁹ On another note, Schlesinger takes a more conservative view in arguing that "In the face of heavy odds the great planters sought to reestablish agriculture on its former large scale basis. Their efforts were unavailing, for they had to operate on borrowed capital, and were hampered by the excessive taxation of the carpetbag governments as well as the irresponsible character of their black labor."²⁰⁰ From this perspective Schlesinger is in conformity with the partisanship of James S. Pike in sharing many of the dislikes, racial as well as cultural and economic, held by his contemporaries toward blacks and Reconstruction.

Eugene C. Barker and Henry Steele Commager also focus on the economic aspects of Reconstruction, but with a more balanced, judicious and conservative approach than Schlesinger and with more emphasis paid to the social implications of that era for later-day America. As a result, this conservative approach demonstrates a revision of the partisan approach in Reconstruction history. As in Adams and Vannest, there is a narrative on how Reconstruction governments harmed the southern states, basically through the waste and theft of public funds. Barker and Commager relate that these expenses were paid for by those

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., Arthur M. Schlesinger, Political and Social History of the United States: 1829-1925, p. 256.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 257.

who had no voice in voting for or against them, causing a resentment in white southerners toward the North and a determination to take control of their own governments once more.²⁰¹ On this point Barker and Commager are in agreement with James Ford Rhodes' study entitled A History of the United States From the Compromise of 1850, which stands up well in the face of later research, although Rhodes too has biases and doubts concerning the black's ability. Rhodes' views were in conformity with his contemporaries including John W. Burgess. In agreement with Barker and Commager, when Rhodes and Burgess considered the post war period their arguments turned forcefully to the white South and its principle of local self rule.

According to Barker and Commager, the Reconstruction governments injured the southern states. "The extravagance and corruption of the carpetbag-scalawag governments staggers belief." In North Carolina, according to this study, the state debt grew from sixteen million dollars to forty-two million dollars. The South Carolina debt grew from seven million dollars to twenty-nine million dollars. In Louisiana the debt was increased from fourteen million to forty-eight million dollars. Georgia and Mississippi suffered only slightly, the authors maintained. Some of the money was spent for necessary improvement and repairs, bridges, roads, levees, public buildings, and education. "But most of it was simply squandered or stolen. Huge sums were voted for railroads

²⁰¹Eugene C. Barker and Henry Steele Commager, Our Nation (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1941), p. 433.

that were never built. In South Carolina the capitol was refurnished at enormous expense," according to this report.²⁰²

The Conservative School philosophy also includes Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, who were also interested in the economic development of the South during the Reconstruction Era. Their originality and creative genius is far more vivid than the figures and statistics that dominate the writers noted earlier, for the Beards paint a vivid description of the devastation and desolation of such cities as Atlanta and Charleston as well as the countryside. Houses, bridges, roads, mills, railroads, together with capital and credit destroyed. Confederate monies and bonds, they point out, were now worthless. As in Barker and Commager, the Beards write of the social effects of the economic changes, most importantly, perhaps, is the alteration of the South from a narrow sectional characterization promoted by the plantation system to one more "like the North in agriculture and business." A local class of small farmers, businessmen, and industrial workers rose to become of social and political import.²⁰³

From a conservative perspective, one reads, for instance, Charles and Mary Beard's Rise of American Civilization with a comfortable feeling that nothing right or wrong is involved. Manufacturing and industry develops in the North; agrarian feudalism develops in the South. They clash, as waters strive,

²⁰² Ibid., Eugene C. Barker and Henry Steele Commager, Our Nation, p. 433.

²⁰³ Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, History of the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1946) pp. 428-433.

and the stronger forces develop the tremendous industrial machine that governs us so magnificently and selfishly today. Yet in this sweeping mechanistic interpretation, there is no room for the real plot of the story, for the clear mistake and guilt... for the triumph of sheer moral courage and sacrifice in the abolition crusade; and for the hurt and struggle of degraded black millions in their fight for freedom and their attempt to enter democracy. Can all this be omitted or half suppressed in a treatise that calls itself scientific?²⁰⁴

A text entirely devoted to economic affairs is that of Earnest L. Bogart. Because this is its sole emphasis, it can be as its author states, "A study of causes and tendencies... and explanation of men's actions from this perspective... and an explanation of present economic problems by the historical background." Hence, Bogart is much more matter-of-fact in his analysis of the Reconstruction based on these principles.²⁰⁵

Several of these texts stress economics, the Beards for one, lead to the concept that many others have utilized as their "take off point," the idea of a New South emerging from the ashes and devastation of the old. From the conservative philosophy of John W. Burgess, William A. Dunning, and James Ford Rhodes, this theme is popular, one would assume, as easing the burdens both of the defeated and the conquerors alike in the explanation of Reconstruction history. The South could portray it-

²⁰⁴W. E. B. Dubois, Black Reconstruction in America (New York: Russell and Russell, 1935), pp. 714-715.

²⁰⁵Earnest Ludlow Bogart, Economic History of the American People (New York: Longmans Green, 1930), p. v.

self as eventually triumphing over cruel circumstances, the North as having, by its freeing of the slaves, brought the former adversary into the modern world and real Union. In a typical conservative outlook, Avery O. Craven and Walter Johnson take this position, in effect favoring the northern intervention, when they find that the "state constitutions drafted under Radical Reconstruction were improvements over previous ones." So too was the extension of public schools and reform of local government. The revisionist view prevails in the author's assertion of the "criminal development of the Ku Klux Klan."²⁰⁶ According to Craven and Johnson, the Klan was a powerful secret society pledged to fight black equality and restore whites to power. Disguised in sheets, carrying skulls, and playing the role of ghosts of Confederate dead returned from hell, "Klan members rode through the night terrorizing blacks and radical whites... There was little central control of the Klan, and before long criminals and adventurers began to use the secrecy of the movement for their own ends."²⁰⁷

Much in the same perspective is the work of Gertrude Hartman who believes Reconstruction to be a part of the passion for social justice in a common culture bridging North and South over a span of years. Many blacks, argues Hartman, became the tools of these unscrupulous men.

²⁰⁶Avery O. Craven and Walter Johnson, American History (Boston: Ginn, 1961), p. 347.

²⁰⁷Ibid., Avery O. Craven and Walter Johnson, American History, p. 348.

"Numbers of the ex-slaves who could neither read nor write were elected to state legislatures. Of course, they knew little about making laws." Hartman also holds that white officials were appointed to positions for which they had little qualifications. The carpetbaggers persuaded inexperienced legislatures to vote huge sums and made enormous debts which the states had to pay through taxing the populace, argues Hartman.²⁰⁸ Thus, through the eyes of Hartman we can discern a continuation of the Conservative School philosophy toward the Reconstruction process. Like John W. Burgess, Hartman denominates Reconstruction as the rule of the "uncivilized blacks" and scalawags over the southern elite. Like Burgess, Hartman is a Tory and an open apostle of reaction in maintaining that the people of the South had a right to rebel against these "corrupt governments." She views the emergence of the Ku Klux Klan as being a force for both good and evil. In breaking the power of the carpetbag rulers, taking away the black vote by forcing blacks from the polls, and forcing carpetbaggers to leave the South if they wished to live, it was seen as a force for good. In a negative or evil sense, and without explanation, Hartman maintained that many people in the South did not approve of the Klan. Then she concedes that in time the responsible southern people took control of the state governments.²⁰⁹ Like

²⁰⁸Gertrude Hartman, *America: Land of Freedom* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1959), pp. vi, vii.

²⁰⁹*Ibid.*, Gertrude Hartman, *America: Land of Freedom*, pp.426-427.

Claude G. Bowers, Hartman arraigns the so-called Radicals in both Washington and in the southern state legislatures. Also, like Bowers, Hartman praises Andrew Johnson, while demonstrating little charity for Johnson's opponents.

Thus, in large part this book follows the inaccurate and traditional assumption that Andrew Johnson wanted to follow Lincoln's policies toward the South. In another instance, Hartman agrees with the revisionists that Andrew Johnson was "less able and less generous" than Lincoln. Also, the book does not balance its statements concerning the "Republican leaders." The alienation of the President by the moderate Republicans, which was the majority, was the basic cause of his downfall and is not accounted for in this book. In a similar vein, the terrorist illegal activities of the Ku Klux Klan are not questioned or condemned.

In keeping with the conservative Burgess-Dunning-Rhodes philosophy and in agreement with Claude G. Bowers, James J. Reynolds and Grace Taylor take a similar position with Hartman by arguing that "politics in the South after the Civil War were very bad," but see a gradual "recovery of the South until now it is one of the most important sections of the nation."²¹⁰ As in other conservative accounts, this text presents a distorted and one-sided view of the Reconstruction governments in the South and contributes to the distorted and unbalanced appraisal of the period.

²¹⁰ James J. Reynolds and Grace A. Taylor, Modern Social History of the United States, (New York: Noble and Noble, 1932), p. 34.

Henry F. Graff states that with the Compromise of 1877 during the Hayes Administration, "the North and South found it possible to work together again." In other words, the South was viewed as rehabilitated and the North could turn its attention to other considerations. In agreement with John W. Burgess, Graff holds that the period of Radical Reconstruction was thus tacitly acknowledged as a failure for both sections. It was time for peace and reconciliation. In this respect, Graff also concurs with the concepts as presented in Paul Herman Buck's Road to Reunion: 1865-1900. Although Buck's study is written in a vein of objectivity and neutrality, it also acquiesced in the racist settlement that came with the conclusion of Reconstruction. Although Graff is considered in the Conservative School, he is more objective, judicious, and fair in his treatment of the Reconstruction period, with viewpoints veering into the Revisionist School. For instance, in commenting on the corruption in radical southern state governments he adds a note of explanation. He contends that corruption was then widespread throughout the United States. It was prevalent not only in the South, but in the North also. The increased responsibilities taken on by government made necessary public contracts involving large sums of money. "Politicians had more favors to sell than ever before. As city and state budgets all over the country grew, the amount of money to be used could not be easily watched."²¹¹

²¹¹ Henry F. Graff, The Free and the Brave (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), p. 465.

One can follow Reconstruction by another route, the political perspective, a traditional way, and as such is utilized by all schools of thought, Partisan, Conservative, Liberal, and Revisionist.

Charles K. Adams and William P. Trent may be best termed conservative in outlook. Their early work is set out to illustrate the many different policies of Reconstruction and their results. They are concerned with congressional actions and those of the political parties ... and how these affected the course of Reconstruction.²¹² Adams and Trent maintained that "many theories were held with regard to the status of the commonwealth that had seceded." Some persons held that they were conquered provinces; others that they had lost their statehood and become territories. Others held that the southern states had committed suicide, as it were, and that the Federal Constitution and laws did not apply to them, and would not until Congress declared them once more in operation. This theory prevailed in the congressional plan of Reconstruction, which was advocated by Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the Reconstruction Committee and of the Committee on Ways and Means and was adopted in the spring of 1867. It provided that the blacks should vote, and the Confederate leaders should not vote. "To ensure the permanent effect of the black vote the Fourteenth Amendment

²¹² Charles K. Adams and William P. Trent, A History of the United States (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1902), pp. 446-457.

to the Constitution was adopted by Congress, and was ratified on July 28, 1868, by the necessary majority of three-fourths of the states.²¹³

Although this particular account by the authors, Adams and Trent, is basically factual, the influence of the conservative philosophy is most evident in their account of the emergence and growth of the Ku Klux Klan. According to the authors, "a secret society known as the Ku Klux Klan," was organized, the object of which was to counteract the influence of "carpetbaggers" and to make it impossible for northern men to get control of local affairs. "Many northern men were secretly seized and some even put to death, and for a considerable time in some parts of the South something like a reign of terror prevailed."²¹⁴

Although the above quote is a more truthful admission, with supposedly a justification, for the Klan activities, unlike other accounts of this organization, it does not attempt to hide the fact that the Klan did commit murder in its efforts to counteract the influence of lawfully constituted governments. Again, in this study there is no condemnation of the illegal acts of the Ku Klux Klan and to call such a terrorist group a "society" is unhistorical. The account provided in this text of the murderous activities of the Klan is nothing less than incredible. It is an open admission of the murders, beatings, lynchings, maimings, and illegal acts of this group.

²¹³Ibid., Charles K. Adams and William P. Trent, A History of the United States, p. 453.

²¹⁴Ibid., p. 453.

Writing in 1913 A.B. Alderman is also basically examining the political scene as the proper way of looking at the period. Once again a mere sketch of political events is all that give pause.²¹⁵ Advocating preservation of the established order and viewing change critically, Alderman describes the role of the carpetbagger during the Reconstruction Era:

At the close of the war the government at Washington disqualified the leaders and officers of the southern Confederacy, so that they were not permitted to hold any office of public trust. Of course, the poor whites and the blacks were unfit and incapable of managing matters of this nature. Consequently, many adventurous politicians from the North moved to the South for the express purpose of getting control of the government. Had they carried on the official business in an upright and straightforward manner, it would not have been so bad, but instead, in official business the most corrupt and debased methods were pursued. Taxes increased over fifty percent and often times instead of being used for the public good they were actually stolen by these carpetbag officials. It must be admitted to the shame of patriotic citizens, that the Federal government supported and protected the carpetbag government.²¹⁶

Thus, in the tradition of Burgess, Dunning, Rhodes, and Coulter, Alderman reveals his disapproval of the Civil Rights Acts and of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. He also presents a totally unbalanced description of the so-called "carpetbaggers", "scalawags", and blacks. The carpetbaggers are corrupt northern men who came South

²¹⁵A. B. Alderman, Student's History of the United States (Marion, Iowa: Educator Publishing Co., 1913), pp. 328-342.

²¹⁶Ibid., p. 333.

to exploit the ignorant blacks, according to Alderman. Continuing in the same vein, the South was deprived of competent leadership since the unrepentant former officers of the confederacy were not allowed to hold office and the blacks and poor whites who were in power were "unfit" to hold office. Alderman fails, however, to balance the accounts of corruption in some of the Reconstruction governments in the South by the background of corruption in the North during the Grant administration. Alderman sympathizes with the Klan by having its criminal deeds masked in a false role of patriotism. The author is also in agreement with Dunning in that he views the substance of Reconstruction as, basically, a prolific struggle between good and evil.

But in 1933, William Elson, while interested, in the main, in the political scene as the avenue to explain Reconstruction, nonetheless, views the period as displaying a definite break with the past because, just as following the Revolution "the great problem of restoring the seceded states to their normal relations in the Union" represented a serious task for government. Elson goes on the "stump" as it were to find this problem one with no precedent in history and was not provided for in the Constitution.²¹⁷ But Elson is, with all his political implications of balance, still partisan in his discussion of the black in that political context. "He can become equal to the white man in the government of the South only when he makes himself an equal force in

²¹⁷Henry W. Elson, History of the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1923), p. 786.

civilization... the black is quite safe and his happiness quite secure under the white man's government." Reading between lines a bit, Elson, too, is a Tory and like John W. Burgess, believes that it is the white man's mission to hold the reins of political power in his own hands for "the civilization of the world and the welfare of mankind." While the white makes laws, says Elson, "these do not, aside from the franchise, discriminate against the black man... even if denied the ballot and a part in making the laws, he still enjoys the same protection."²¹⁸ With Elson, we see how it is possible to compile a "reasonable" assessment of political events, but yet display a definite bias in others.

In typical partisan perspective, Elson describes the differences between President and Congress as follows:

But the practical question was how to reinstate the straying sisters in the family. On this subject the Republican Party came to be seriously divided. One faction took the position that when the war was over and the southern states had accepted the great twofold result, the restoration of the Union and the removal of slavery, they should readily be forgiven and should be readmitted with as little further humiliation as possible. To this class belonged President Lincoln, Secretary Seward, Generals Grant and Sherman, and many of the leading men of the North who did all in their power to put down the rebellion. The opposing faction was far more radical. It comprised the majority of the members of Congress led by Charles Sumner in the Senate and by Thaddeus Stevens in the House. These men and their followers were ready to humiliate the people of the South still further after defeating them in battle, and to grant them forgiveness only when they abjectedly begged it and acknowledged themselves

²¹⁸ Ibid.

utterly in the wrong. This was asking too much. If it be granted that the southern people were sincere in warring against the Union, how could they be expected, on their defeat, instantly to denounce the cause in which their fathers and brethren had died as a false one? Time alone can bring such changes; matters of the heart are wholly beyond the powers of legislative coercion.²¹⁹

From a partisan perspective, Elson demonstrates adherence to the cause of southern sectionalism. Here Elson goes one step beyond the typical conservative viewpoint by arguing that although southerners died for their beliefs, he redeems his position by predicting that in the long run, time would change conditions and their beliefs even when these are "matters of the heart."

Returning to a more conservative outlook and in dramatic contrast to Elson's descriptive account of the social and political history during Reconstruction is the very stark, "bald fact" presentation of main events given in the Barnes' History Series. Here a detail is provided with no comment and no discussion. The "event" thus seems to live in a vacuum.²²⁰ The Barnes account of Reconstruction is less interpretative, and basically factual interspersed with such topics as foreign affairs, the Centennial Exposition, and war with the Sioux. Unlike the ridicule and contempt shown in similar studies, in this account of Reconstruction the black is treated with indifference and

²¹⁹ Ibid., Henry W. Elson, History of the United States, p. 786.

²²⁰ Barnes Historical Series, A Brief History of the United States, (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1885), pp. 281-294.

silence. Like the Beard study, this text does not take the blacks into account during the critical years of Reconstruction.

Andrew C. McLaughlin is another writer who is devoted to the political aspects of the Reconstruction period. On the whole, McLaughlin takes a middle-of-the-road position between such extremes as the political partisanship of Elson and the blandness of Barnes; if he sees carpetbaggers as corrupt and blacks as ill prepared for a political role, he can also see the southern people as intolerant and sometimes guilty of outrages.²²¹ In being more objective, judicious, and fair than earlier studies cited, this work deserves praise. McLaughlin correctly contends that Andrew Johnson's plan of Reconstruction tended to put the power into the hands of the white South without making any provision for the freedmen. Consequently, the great majority of Republicans opposed it since they intended to keep the southern states under the control of the national government until the black man was secure in his rights. The opposition to the President would not have been so strong had it not been for two things (1) Johnson showed himself headstrong and utterly lacking in tact; (2) the southern states, organized under the President's direction, began to pass laws that bore heavily upon the freedmen- laws that seem to have the object of making the black, to all intents and purposes, a slave again.²²² Although this

²²¹Andrew C. McLaughlin, A History of the American Nation (New York: Appleton, 1908), pp. 478-479.

²²²Ibid., Andrew C. McLaughlin, A History of the American Nation, p. 479.

text is considered conservative in some respects, from the aforementioned account McLaughlin's philosophy of defending black humanity is more reminiscent of the Liberal School of thought in Reconstruction historiography in that he considers blacks as being an integral part of the scene during Reconstruction and treats them as human beings. This text attempts to present a more balanced appraisal of the era.

As the Elson text demonstrates, is it possible for an author to be a northern partisan in one area and fair to conservative in others- or even more interesting, not perceive himself of the difference? For as Elson himself sees his work, he "has taken the utmost care to be fair to both sides; though as a native and resident of the North I no doubt partake of the prejudice of my section." He goes on to point out that he has refrained from using the terms "rebel" and "traitor" "because of my profound respect for their sincerity."²²³ Elson also criticizes the national government for disfranchising leading confederates and confided that these were the most reliable, most capable to govern, and the best disposed element of the South and further maintained that this was also the view of President Lincoln, but not so with congressional leaders. Consequently, there was a serious breach between the legislative and executive department of the government. Continuing, now in a more conservative vein, Elson, like Robert F. Winston, George F. Milton, and Claude G. Bowers, defends Andrew Johnson as one of the most notable

²²³Henry W. Elson, History of the United States of America, (New York: Macmillan, 1923), pp. 789-790.

examples of all our presidents "who rose from the humbler walks of life."²²⁴

A type of selective bias similar to Elson can also be observed in Nelson P. Mead's study. He notes that both the North and the South shared equally in contributing to the woes of Reconstruction, the difficulties, vastly increased by the "spirit of vindictiveness displayed by the victors and that of sullen resentment shown by the vanquished." He also is willing to concede that in the face of many handicaps "substantial progress was made by blacks in the South in a comparatively short time." He notes the "remarkable zeal for education" that spread among the blacks. Yet, in agreement with William A. Dunning and John W. Burgess, he rather spoils this liberalism quite distinctively as early as 1930, by also viewing blacks as "simple minded and credulous" and found that the better elements as it were "soon found their way home and settled down to a normal life." Only the vicious, reading between lines a bit, actually challenged white authority, becoming targets of the Ku Klux Klan. Again, we do discern some attempt to portray the black as a human being, bringing some measure of sympathetic understanding to the subject while not losing sight of objectivity in the process.

²²⁴Ibid., Henry W. Elson, History of the United States of America, p. 790.

On another vivid but prejudiced note Elson gives an account of conditions in the South during Reconstruction:

For periods of varying length extending in the case of Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina to eight years, the states of the South were subjected to an orgy of corruption and misrule probably never equaled in the history of civilized government. Northern carpetbaggers, in league with southern scalawags, supported by the misled enfranchised blacks, and aided and abetted by the Radical Republican leaders in Congress, possessed themselves of the machinery of government in the South. The blacks were organized into so-called "Union Leagues" and encouraged by unscrupulous white leaders to commit acts of violence against their former masters. In all of the state legislatures there was a considerable number of blacks, and in South Carolina they were in a majority. Many of these blacks were illiterate and others could scarcely write their own names.²²⁵

Thus, in commonalty with Claude G. Bowers, John W. Burgess, William A. Dunning, and James Ford Rhodes, Elson views Reconstruction as the most scandalous and disgraceful period in American history. James Ford Rhodes, too, held that the Reconstruction program catered to the ignorant blacks, the knavish scalawags, and the exploitative carpetbaggers who came from the North.

In conformity with Elson's position, in a later text, 1977, Lew Smith pursues the same "truth". Smith notes blacks having meetings to protest conditions under the new Black Codes, intended to hamper their

²²⁵Nelson P. Mead, The Development of the United States Since 1865 (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1930), p. 29.

progress; they do not meekly submit and indeed force Congress to take a position in 1865, resulting in the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau. Similarly, Smith recognizes that many black politicians were ill prepared for governmental responsibility due to lack of education and experience, not inherent inferiority. He goes on to name some elected black officials who performed well: Pinchback, Bruce, Revels, among others.²²⁶ In a revisionist tone, Smith maintained that the "racially integrated governments" achieved a number of reforms. Their new state constitutions, drawn up in 1867 and 1868, abolished slavery. Most of the Reconstruction governments did away with property qualifications for voting and holding office. They gave the vote to all male citizens "except certain classes of exconfederates. Free public school systems, improved tax systems, and charities were part of their reforms," according to Elson.²²⁷

Another historian of a similar revisionist perspective is Thomas A. Bailey who states that all blacks did not "cave in" to the "tomfoolery and terror" from the Klan, suffering for their stubbornness as shown in such statistics as two hundred victims killed or wounded in a two day span in one Louisiana parish in 1868, according to this text. On the other hand, Bailey shows his bias toward blacks by employing such terms

²²⁶ Lew Smith, The American Dream (Dallas, Texas: Scott Foresman and Co., 1977), p. 455.

²²⁷ Ibid., p. 456.

as "otherwise honorable" and "once decent" to those whites who felt violence against blacks their sole recourse.²²⁸

The final assessment of Bailey must be his treatment of the black in Reconstruction as a whole. Bailey, in his 1966 text, both by errors of omission and commission would be labeled racist by many revisionists. In agreement with the views of Burgess, Dunning, Coulter, Fleming, Rhodes and Bowers, he implied stereotypical traits of laziness, ignorance, sloth, and dependency to all blacks. He did not balance tales that reflected poorly on blacks with positive comments. These charges, however, could not be made against the latter textbook. The 1971 textbook eliminated blatantly racist terms, but had left many sentences which still were not consistent with the heightened racial sensitivity of the 1970's.²²⁹ It appeared obvious to this writer that there was one basic philosophical difference between Bailey and the revisionist/revisionist belief that Reconstruction was worthwhile because it gave suffrage to both races and a basis for civil rights for the ex-slaves. He strongly felt that "wholesale liberation was probably unavoidable given the feverish conditions created by war. But wholesale

²²⁸Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant: A History of the Republic (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1966), pp. 477-479.

²²⁹Ibid., "An Analysis of the Textbook Treatment of the Reconstruction Period: Changes That Occurred Between Editions of College Level Survey Textbooks," pp. 82-83.

suffrage was avoidable..." Given this belief, it was no wonder that Bailey, like Burgess and Rhodes before him found little of worth in Reconstruction.²³⁰

The changes that were made in the 1971 version omitted overtly racist words but retained basic thoughts which stereotyped the black experience as profoundly as the Conservative/Bowers tradition. The evidence of the content assessment chart and the 1966 or 1971 version of Bailey's American Pageant would suggest that the history of our country, from Bailey's perspective, was a history to which blacks had contributed little. As a result, these textbooks gave evidence to the critics' denouncements of American history textbooks. Bailey's 1971 text was certainly sensitive to the black experience in our country's history.²³¹ But, for Emanuel, the textbook, at its worst, bordered on racism. In this respect, despite some revisions, it still retains many of the Conservative School views with regard to Reconstruction.

Leland Baldwin and Mary Warring demonstrates a somewhat different view of blacks during Reconstruction, offering proof that they were as terrorized by their supposed friends, the Republicans, as by white Southern Democrats. Thus, we discover that blacks who declined, for whatever reason, to vote Republican tickets were threatened with loss of freedom once more or even "horsewhipped" by the Union League, a secret

²³⁰Ibid., G. Emanuel, "An Analysis of the Textbook Treatment of the Reconstruction Period," p. 83.

²³¹Ibid.

organization with apparent attachments to the Freedmen's Bureau itself. Here is, indeed, "revisionism" in that the usual emphasis on the northern Radical Republicans being devoted to their black friends is given a sharp blow.²³² Nevertheless, as a whole, the study is reminiscent of the conservative viewpoint as is evidenced in the following account of the Republican regime. According to this text, the Radicals knew very well that they did not have the popular support to seize control of Congress and destroy the powers of the states. Of course, "there was real danger that if they tried this would stir up a political storm which would unite South and West. Accordingly, they planned to use the blacks to outvote the southern whites."²³³ Based on this narrative, blacks were first given a taste of political power during Reconstruction without any effort on their part. This text, also, follows the conservative Dunning perspective and further argues that blacks were helpless in controlling their own destiny. While Andrew Johnson is applauded, the magnificent figures of Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens are besmirched almost beyond recognition. As in similar studies, this writer makes the leaders who fought to perpetuate human slavery extraordinary and unexampled for their beauty, unselfishness, and fairness, while the antislavery leaders in Congress are pictured as narrow, hypocritical fanatics, vindictive, and liars. The so-called Radical Republicans, as the abolitionists of an earlier era, fought

²³² Leland D. Baldwin and Mary Warring, History of Our Republic, (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand, 1960), pp. 390-391.

²³³ Ibid., p. 385.

slavery because it was wrong and their efforts should not be minimized or forgotten.

Yet another way of viewing Reconstruction in the same vein as Bailey's study, that is, contending one is "liberal" and nonbias, but turning this in some respect toward a personal view is evidenced in John A. Garraty's text. Garraty, basically, takes a middle-of-the-road position between conservatism and revisionism. In his narrative, he is basically factual, judicious, and fair. Nevertheless, one omission is evident when he correctly announces that Johnson harbored a strong dislike for the Southern planter, but fails to announce his stronger dislike and prejudice toward blacks. It is important for high school students to know this fact if they are to arrive at a true understanding between the President and the Congressional Republicans who advocated full equality for the freedmen.

Garraty is primarily concerned with the political aspects of Reconstruction as is Mead, McLaughlin, Bailey, and Smith. It is interesting that he notes that most Americans are today, as then "middle-of-the-road politically." For instance, in accord with C. Vann Woodward's Origins of the New South, Garraty held that Reconstruction ended because the Radical Republicans lost the support of the people for this plan. President Hayes and Congress then returned to Lincoln's call for moderation "binding up the nation's wounds," even if this meant renegeing on the promise of true emancipation for blacks. ²³⁴

²³⁴ John A. Garraty, et al., American History (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1982), p. 493.

One trend in Reconstruction as it relates to high school texts and to "revision" of that era is a product of the 1940's in particular. These books were written during and just after World War II: Reconstruction was examined in light of this conflict and its threat to the nation. Edna McGuire and Thomas B. Portwood point out that wars always bring social, economic, and political change; they have a tendency to foster new growth and development in their wake. Problems emerge as well that can take years to solve but the confrontation of these can lead to the attainment of the ideals of justice and democracy.²³⁵ However, in general, this study commits the same errors as previous conservative accounts. While the authors maintain that Andrew Johnson remained loyal to the Union as a southerner, it is not accurate to assert that he "disliked slavery very very much." The truth is that Johnson was a convinced white supremacist and was against the idea of black equality. On another line the authors maintain that under the "latest plan of Reconstruction the right to vote was given to black men, but at the same time it was denied to all white men who had supported the Confederacy." The results of this law can be easily imagined. Blacks who had no training in self government were thrust into power. There were some able white men who had remained loyal to the Union and who were, thus allowed to vote. "However, by this law the large majority of white men in the South were denied any part in setting up

²³⁵Edna McGuire and Thomas B. Portwood, The Rise of Our Free Nation (New York: Macmillan, 1944), pp. iv, 431.

the new state governments.²³⁶ Also, as typical of other conservative studies, McGuire and Portwood refer to the Ku Klux Klan as a "society." For Krug, to term the Klan a "society: is to exaggerate historical credibility far beyond accepted limits. Also, in this study it is true that there is not a word of condemnation of the terrorist, illegal acts of the Ku Klux Klan. "Even the tone is sympathetic. One can only imagine how a black high school student who is compelled to use this text feels after reading these passages..." It is rather strange that authors of textbooks who express strong disapproval of those civil disobedience tactics to fight inequalities "have no qualms about implying approval for an organization which was dedicated to the overthrow by force of lawfully constituted governments."²³⁷

This theme of reinterpreting Reconstruction through World War II experiences can be seen in John Vay Duhn Southworth, writing in 1953 and concerned that history must not be distorted, with parts concealed or overemphasizing what is pleasing or inventing of facts "as the Nazis did with the history of Germany." The carry over of World War II insights comes out in such revisionist statements as the results "of Reconstruction were far more lasting and far more distressing than the results of the war itself." He notes that resentment aroused by defeat in battle are not so deep as those that follow the actual combat. He

²³⁶ Ibid., Mark M. Krug, "Freedom and Racial Equality: A Study of Revised High School History Textbooks," p. 339.

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 340.

also sees danger in the lack of a two party system in the South, the result of so called Republican evils during Reconstruction.²³⁸ Although mixed with revisionism, this study also takes on many of the characteristics of the Conservative School viewpoint. Johnson is vindicated as being "an honest, well-meaning man who believed in fair treatment for the beaten South." As a result, "his ideas of Reconstruction were not unlike those of Abraham Lincoln," according to Southworth.

Consequently, this book follows the traditional and inaccurate line that President Johnson wanted to follow toward the South the "conciliatory and magnanimous" policies of Lincoln. The truth is that Johnson, burdened by deep prejudices, was not the right man for the position. The lives of Steven and Sumner are representative, even when the author is apologetic because of the black man.

On page 498 Southworth gives the following account of the Ku Klux Klan: "At last, in desperation, the white leaders of the South took matters into their own hands. Secret societies were organized, the most famous of which was the Ku Klux Klan." This portrayal of Reconstruction, like the other conservative accounts, cannot be termed other than unbelievable. Again, it is a thinly disguised justification of the murderous, revolting, and illegal activities of the Klan. On page 407, in another assessment of the Reconstruction Era, the author makes the

²³⁸ John V. D. Southworth, Our Own United States (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1950), p. 403.

following statement: "It is not surprising that the new southern legislatures, containing large numbers of newly freed and totally unprepared blacks and guided by carpetbaggers and scalawags, did many extremely unwise and undesirable things."²³⁹ In reply to this statement, this writer has discerned the same conservative cliches, myths, and distortions as in similar studies already cited. In common with Southworth's position, William A. Dunning had declared earlier that all forces in the South that constituted civilization were dominated by a "mass of barbarous freedmen." In this text, the author does not bother to balance the description of carpetbag-scalawag-black legislatures. The carpetbaggers are depicted as the selfish northern men exploiting the illiterate blacks and the unscrupulous thieves who came to the South only to pursue get-rich-quick schemes. The scalawags are treated no better. Southworth argues that the carpetbaggers and scalawags were more concerned about personal wealth and power than in reconstructing the South. Thus, in common with other Conservative School authors, Southworth advocates preservation of the status quo and views proposals for change critically and with distrust.

Harry J. Carman, et al., in a text composed during World War II, bring out a facet not stressed by many other authors but is in accord with the thesis of John W. Burgess; that is, wartime emergency powers tend to develop federal powers at the expense of those of the states.

²³⁹Ibid., John V. D. Southworth, Our Own United States, p. 403.

Subjects once considered the business of the state alone become absorbed out of necessity by the central government. Once this occurs, as Reconstruction proves, the states never fully recover these powers again.²⁴⁰ However, a similar point of view is announced by Charles A. and Mary R. Beard in their analysis of the Reconstruction era. Carman's study was completed in 1942 and, as is typical of most high school history materials of the time, demonstrates a scholarly lag. Though the research of the new revisionism was available by this period, this book basically emphasizes the older conservative viewpoints with regard to Reconstruction. Consequently, it repeats the cliches and distortions. The account of the infamous activities of the Klan is superficial and brief. But, at least, it states that it "aimed to keep blacks from the polls and to restore the control of government to the whites, but its use of force made conditions still worse. The law abiding suffered with the lawless."²⁴¹ As in later studies, the state governments, still called carpetbag governments, are portrayed basically as unscrupulous men seeking control of the South and was written as if Woodward, Franklin, Bond, Brock, McKittrick, DuBois and other revisionists had never written on the Reconstruction Era. Carman also compares the Ku Klux Klan with the Union League when, in fact, there is no comparison

²⁴⁰Harry J. Carman, et al., Historic Currents in Changing America (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1942), pp. 369-370.

²⁴¹Harry J. Carman, et al., Historic Currents in Changing America, p. 370.

since the Klan was an illegal terrorist organization. On the other hand, the Union League was a society for the mutual aid of the freedmen with governmental support.

The textbooks written during and after World War II can be contrasted with a number of works which appeared in the 1920's and 1930's; in the main these represent a Conservative School viewpoint toward Reconstruction, although there are exceptions. As part of the conservative mind-set, there is stress on either the established order as is stressed by John W. Burgess and William A. Dunning or a seeming desire to merely skim the surface of the era without attempting real interpretation or insight. Reuben Gold Thwaites, et al., see the abandonment of the "force" used by the North against the South as the beginning of a "gradual renewal of friendship between the sections. The North realized its error for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments had not been greatly successful in gaining rights for slaves." They were not willing to continue the military support of these doomed efforts for "Americans do not like military rule."²⁴² Thus, the presentation of the Reconstruction Era in this textbook has seen no revision and distorts the whole picture of the era.

In this study Thwaites does not spell out the issues between Johnson and the Republican majority in Congress although there is a description of "Johnson's Reconstruction Methods." Nevertheless,

²⁴²Reuben Gold Thwaites, et al., A History of the United States (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924), pp. 426-427.

Johnson's opposition to giving blacks the rights of citizenship, including voting rights, is not revealed, and Johnson's veto of the Civil Rights Bill is blandly alluded to by maintaining that Johnson had held that "citizenship must be defined by the states and not by Congress." The loss of support by Johnson of the moderate Republicans is excluded from this text. The author includes a topic entitled "Carpetbag Government in the South," which promotes the usual stereotypes of corruption among carpetbaggers and black politicians and concludes with the "successful methods used by the white men of the South," though often "harsh and cruel," to force out the carpetbaggers, take away the power of the blacks and to retain political power in their own hands.²⁴³ This perspective, too, is in accord with the Burgess-Dunning-Rhodes conservative view. Thus, Thwaites advocates preservation of the established order and uses facts and opinions to prove that the South was correct during Reconstruction, the North vindictive, and the black stupid.

Taking another New South or conservative stance is Charles E. Chadsey, et al., who found in 1939, a South with higher agricultural and industrial capacity than ever before, in part the product of northern capital. The stripping of the right to vote from blacks was compared to northern legislatures who refused the ballot to foreigners not ready for citizenship; despite this, the black is perceived to have made progress

²⁴³ Ibid., p. 410.

while North and South "is more firmly united than ever."²⁴⁴ Like Paul Herman Buck's Road to Reunion: 1865-1900, Chadsey emphasizes those factors in the political, social, and cultural experience of the country which first delayed then brought a reconciliation between North and South.

As in other typical accounts of the Conservative School authors, there are serious historical inaccuracies in Chadsey's text. Rather than representing men like Stevens and Sumner as the magnificent figures that they were in the struggle for the improvement and greater perfection of American democracy, they are, instead, being belittled. On the contrary, they should be pointed out to young high school students as shining examples and proof that not all of white society condoned racial discrimination and injustice. It is to Stevens and Sumner, as well as to Lincoln, that blacks owe their freedom. To cite another glaring inaccuracy, Chadsey, on page 483, argues that one form of lawlessness gave rise to another. "In different parts of the South members of a secret society known as the Ku Klux Klan now pledged themselves to offset the lawless rule of the blacks and scalawags, and to reestablish the old power of the planters."²⁴⁵ As in previous studies of this kind, there is absolutely no word of condemnation of the illegal terrorist acts of the Ku Klux Klan. On the contrary, the tone is sympathetic and

²⁴⁴ Charles E. Chadsey, et al., America in the Making, (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1939), pp. 484-485.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., Charles E. Chadsey, et al., America in the Making, p. 483.

supportive. In truth, most of the planters were not given the right to hold office immediately following the Civil War since many were former officers of the confederacy or high officials in the U.S. government who had broken their oath of office to the Union.

Thomas M. Marshall views Reconstruction as "northern interference" in the internal affairs of the South, the problems of which the North, eventually, decided to leave to that section to solve.²⁴⁶ This text, too, is in accord with the conservative views of Claude G. Bowers, John W. Burgess, William A. Dunning, and James Ford Rhodes. Like Marshall, Bowers saw Reconstruction as a "time of revolutionary turmoil" with the "elemental passions predominating." Burgess viewed the era as a "frightful scourge" and "blunder crime" while William A. Dunning maintained that Reconstruction was not just a process but rather a "realignment of national powers." On the other hand, Rhodes, like Burgess, considered Reconstruction to be a great misfortune, although unlike the other three writers, Rhodes had little respect for Andrew Johnson.

Marshall's text, then, follows the typical Conservative School view with respect to the Reconstruction program. The book repeats almost every cliché about Johnson, the Radical Republicans, carpetbaggers, scalawags, and black politicians. Again, the work does not stress the difference between Lincoln and Johnson, but rather their

²⁴⁶Thomas M. Marshall, American History, (New York: Macmillan, 1930), pp. 461-462.

similarities are emphasized, which were few. The truth is that Johnson, as military governor of Tennessee, was told by Lincoln that Reconstruction must be the duty of "only those men who can be trusted for the Union." On the other hand, Johnson was a dedicated southerner and a states-rights Democrat. The author does not fully explain why Congress rejected Johnson's Reconstruction plans. It did so because Johnson was intent upon returning the southern states to the Union without congressional cooperation or consultation. Another reason was the passage of the oppressive Black Codes in the South which greatly restricted the freedom of the blacks.

In most cases, it is an accurate assessment to maintain that the earliest texts would be most inclined to veer toward the Partisan School due to their relative closeness to the era and the passions this entails. This was noted previously in such authors as Jones, for instance. But it is apparent that these writers cannot be so easily classified simply on the basis of their time frame. Thomas B. Lawler, in 1902, is content to offer a statement of events with few embellishments beyond a mild comment that with Reconstruction, "the institution of slavery was now destroyed forever."²⁴⁷ The text falls short of giving a full appraisal of the Reconstruction era. No mention is made of the Republican controlled state governments that followed the congressional plan of Reconstruction in the South. Though much is omitted, this

²⁴⁷ Thomas B. Lawler, Essentials of American History (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1902), p. 329.

study is more factual than interpretative. The topics included on Reconstruction are short, concise, and to the point.

David Scott, too, gives events with little to indicate any personal point of view, or indeed what position students might preferably adopt.²⁴⁸ As in the Lawler study, this text omits much that is pertinent to a true picture of Reconstruction. The period is devoted, basically, to presidential administrations, the national legislature, and foreign relations. Little mention is made of internal conditions in the South or North or the advent of the so-called carpetbag-scalawag-black governments following congressional Reconstruction. Thus, though conservative in tone, most of the record on Reconstruction is omitted in this text.

Mary Sheldon Barnes feels that historical records and sources are the best means for the formation of historical judgment on the period of Reconstruction; the facts are thus presented, but she insists that in using these sources, the student must be free to pass his own decisions on the given events.²⁴⁹ This text, though basically omitting the Reconstruction period, spoke of the era in terms similar to the other conservative scholars who wrote on the period. Nevertheless, Barnes' study falls very far short of the partiality exhibited by Jones and

²⁴⁸David B. Scott, School History of the United States (New York: Harper and Row, 1882), pp. 382-394.

²⁴⁹Mary Sheldon Barnes, Studies of American History (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1907), pp. iii-iv.

several other texts that were examined. In Alexander Johnston, 1901, we do observe emerging some semblance of bias, this time on northern grounds. Johnston takes note of what the other writers ignore; the northern states were each divided politically among two nearly equal parties. However, the southern states, as the years before and during the war had evidenced, were used to acting together, forming the politically "Solid South." If not kept from immediately entering back in government, which there was no express law to prevent, they could control such vital events as those surrounding the expenses of the war itself. This the North could not tolerate.²⁵⁰ In this study Johnston correctly states that Andrew Johnson had two strong dislikes. One was the wealthy influential southern planters whom he wished to punish and another a deep rooted prejudice toward blacks. Since the Republicans were determined to protect the freedmen and Johnson was against black equality, there was continuous conflict between President and Congress. This text, though terming the Klu Klux Klan a "society", rightly admits that it attacked carpetbaggers, scalawags, and black Republicans. Riding at night in disguises, it terrified, whipped, maimed, and murdered black and white Republicans.

Showing signs of partisanship on the southern side is E. B. Andrews, who in 1903, saw the "methods of Reconstruction resorted to by Congress as occasioning dreadful evils." This was because it "ignored

²⁵⁰ Alexander Johnston, High School History of the United States (New York: Henry Holt, 1901), pp. 441-442.

the natural prejudices of the whites, many of whom were as loyal as any citizens in the land."²⁵¹ Since these loyal citizens had just waged war against the Union, this is a bit difficult to accept.

David H. Montgomery, writing in about the same time frame, on the other hand, holds that "political and material benefits resulted from the war... together with the immense moral uplift involved in the result." In high rhetoric, Montgomery allows his northern sentiments full scope as he sees the results "acceptable on both sides" as itself a benefit. "General Grant was magnanimous in victory;" Lee was "in the wrong" and now preached a "one country, Americans all line." Montgomery, in typically partisan and then conservative fashion, gives his prejudices full scope when he holds that blacks were responsible for bad government during Reconstruction. "The blacks got control of these states. They had been slaves all their lives and were so ignorant they did not know the letters of the alphabet. Yet they now sat in the state legislatures and made the laws."²⁵² Thus, like John W. Burgess and James S. Pike, Montgomery believed that Reconstruction was the worst evil ever perpetrated on American society. Montgomery, like Pike and Burgess, share a commonalty of views because of their pronounced dislike for blacks and the Reconstruction program of the Republican Party.

²⁵¹E. Benjamin Andrews, The United States in Our Own Time: 1870-1903 (New York: Scribners, 1903), pp. 36-37.

²⁵²David H. Montgomery, The Leading Facts of the American History, (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1899), p. 337.

From the aforementioned rather exalted and emotional accounts, it is a relief to turn to the very conservative matter-of-fact content-with-reciting-events style of Charles Morris. He notes in his introduction that "avoidance of partisan or sectional opinions and impartiality being made a leading requisite."²⁵³ Although, as a whole, the account of Reconstruction is nonpartisan in this study, enough is said on the topic of "carpetbag governments" to identify it with the Conservative School. On this topic the traditional cliches are repeated concerning corruption in several of the southern state governments without being balanced by the background of corruption in the North and throughout the nation. Thus, like the other conservative studies, this text advocates preservation of the status quo and views Reconstruction policies critically and with distrust.

Edward Channing also merely recites the main events in Reconstruction history without adding much in the way of remark on this topic.²⁵⁴ As we see from the examination of these two authors who were close to Reconstruction in point of time, they tend to be no more "one sided" than later text writers. Some illustrate a partisan thrust in terms of section or politics, but most do not. In fact, one may say that, as a

²⁵³Charles Morris, School History of the United States (Philadelphia: 1909), pp. 559-573.

²⁵⁴Edward Channing, A Student's History of the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1898), pp. 559-573.

whole, these texts are more apt to be only records of the actual occurrences of the period, with some distortions, than would be expected from those, perhaps, more intimately involved than later authors. What then of those texts which appear just previous to American moral involvement in World War I, a traumatic event that would color later texts accordingly. This period was one of overall conservatism which could reflect on the school books of the time.

James Schouler's book dates from 1913 and it is obvious that he is a true representative of the Conservative School. This is evidenced by his holding that the "fairest" and, indeed, the "vast preponderance" of northerners supported the "generous and judicious policy" of President Johnson on Reconstruction. Also, in agreement with this viewpoint are three prominent Johnson biographers: Robert W. Winston, George Fort Milton, and Claude G. Bowers. In other words, no sweeping change, for instance, in black civil rights. James Ford Rhodes, on the other hand, was no admirer of Andrew Johnson and in several respects Schouler finds himself in agreement with Rhodes in finding Johnson inept. Nevertheless, Schouler attempts to vindicate Johnson after being convinced that "some injustice had been done to him in the popular estimate of his official career..."²⁵⁵

In keeping with the Dunning-Burgess-Rhodes Philosophy on Reconstruction, the conservatism of Schouler continues in Charles M.

²⁵⁵ James Schouler, History of the United States of America Under the Constitution, Vol. II; 1865-1877 (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1913), p. 32.

Thompson as he notes "Reconstruction was needed in all parts of the United States and not just in the South." He holds that after the withdrawal of Federal troops the Klan was "left with little to do so it dissolved," and he finds that the South had some justification for passing the Black Codes in order to prevent blacks from becoming charges on the public treasuries, a true conservative stance on "proper" concern for government spending policies.²⁵⁶ The author announces in the preface that the text will meet the needs of advanced high school classes in the conventional history of the United States.²⁵⁷

Roscoe L. Ashley too presents a conservative picture of the rights and wrongs of Reconstruction. It is his theory that no true "moderate" position was ever properly developed and presented to Congress. As a result, the only choice seemed to rest in the southern or presidential concept of what should be Reconstruction, actually only readmitting policy, and the Radical "conquered territory" thesis. The failures and problems of the era, therefore, stemmed from the lack of a middle ground.²⁵⁸ Unlike similar studies of the Conservative School view, the author argues that Andrew Johnson possessed few qualities to commend him to the great office even in ordinary time. James Ford Rhodes also supports this view of Andrew Johnson. Ashley holds that although Johnson

²⁵⁶ Charles M. Thompson, History of the United States: Political, Industrial, Social (Chicago: Sanborn and Co., 1917), pp. 342-345.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. iii.

²⁵⁸ Roscoe Lewis Ashley, American History For Use in Secondary Schools (New York: Macmillan, 1910), pp. 433-435.

was a "man of unusual intelligence and will power, he was tactless and vindictive, intemperate in thought, speech, and act, the opposite in almost every respect to the man whose place he took, whose cabinet he retained, whose policy he adopted, whose popularity for a time covered his most glaring defects."²⁵⁹ In short Johnson lacked sufficient patience, political skill, and tact to provide effective leadership at a critical time in American history.

Somewhat earlier than the preceding two works, that of William A. Mowry and Blanche S. Mowry, in 1906, can yet be best compared to the above in point of conservative belief structure. This study sees the freeing of the slaves as a secondary outcome; the primary duty of Reconstruction was to make our nation "one and indivisible... taking rank as a leader among world powers," which it was not capable of doing when separate and divided.²⁶⁰ Paul Herman Buck in Road to Reunion: 1865-1900 is supportive of this concept when he argues that the reunion process emphasized those factors which brought a reconciliation between North and South. In unison with Mowry and Buck, William A. Dunning held that Reconstruction had left a state of things out of which had developed the "consciousness of a national harmony" that was stronger and more enduring than before the Civil War.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 432.

²⁶⁰ William Mowry and Blanche Mowry, Essentials of United States History (New York: Silver, Burdett, 1906), p. 317.

Leon C. Prince, in 1907, is notable for his ability to combine partisan views in unison with conservatism, thus setting him apart from Thompson or Ashley among others. Prince sees the KKK, for instance, as an "effective" organization. The black governments could not exist after withdrawal of Federal troops because they were "corrupt and scandalous beyond all precedent or parallel. It is absolutely essential to the progress and welfare of southern governments that white men shall rule it." These statements are all very partisan. As evidence of conservatism, and in common with the views of William A. Dunning and John W. Burgess, we can point to his desire to see the return of the status quo to the political and social system. In common with Leon C. Prince, Dunning held that the "antithesis and antipathy of race and color were crucial and ineradicable." Similarly, in support of Prince's view, Burgess argued that it was the white man's duty to hold the reins of political power in "his own hands." For Prince, the Fifteenth Amendment is considered a "dead letter," the Fourteenth "weakened," and the North content to permit the South to deal with its own problems in order to develop its resources and keep pace with the rest of the nation.²⁶¹

All the above texts can be viewed in light of a few years, and seemingly a whole generation in terms of outlook following World War I. Cecil Chesterton's text in 1919 notes that his brother died in order to

²⁶¹Leon C. Prince, A Bird's Eye View of American History (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1919), pp. 269-271.

"break Prussian power over Christendom." Himself, an Englishman, Chesterton believes that the British have censored treatment of southern blacks; he claims that only with a knowledge of Reconstruction can this seeming abuse be explained. Drawing on his own war experience and essentially conservative bent, he sees the need for "all white men, whatever their options, to vote together," in order that the black never again regain his supremacy, reintroducing "terror."²⁶² In this we can see the same mind-set that wished to punish Germans and weaken that nation so it could never threaten the "civilized" world.

One can view the Liberal School as arising prior to 1939, a group of authors who were neither partisan nor conservative in their presentations and thus imparting their own type of revisionism in the field of Reconstruction. The writer will then determine if this is actually the case or whether some bias or status quo sentiments may yet be discovered. Lester B. Shippee, in 1930, saw the Reconstruction period as a necessary bridge between two periods of American history. By 1876, the issues that haunted the Reconstruction era were already dead ones if "not yet buried." The traditions of the antebellum South, for instance, were no longer of concern for, in light of progress, those days had already been forgotten except for the old and hide-bound.²⁶³ In the same

²⁶²Cecil Chesterton, A History of the United States (New York: George H. Doran, 1919), p. 304.

²⁶³Lester B. Shippee, Recent American History (New York: Macmillan, 1930), p. 34.

perspective, Theodore C. Pease and A. Sellev Roberts, using only documents, see history as "evolution," and the student to be brought to see the need for change and inevitability.²⁶⁴

In 1939 David S. Muzzey saw reconstruction as a break with the past, with its conclusion. Government now passed into the hands of men "who saw the necessity of laying aside old issues... to grapple with the problems... raised by the marvelous expansion of the country's industries... cleaning up graft," and similar occupations. It was time to confront the new age just opening.²⁶⁵ Nevertheless, earlier editions of Muzzey's text were definitely conservative. Many students are attracted by definite characterizations or strongly supported points of view in their textbooks. One of the major appeals of the old Muzzey text, probably the longest and largest seller of all history textbooks, was the fact that its pages were liberally sprinkled with heroes and villains. Yet the judgments of history are often elusive. These texts present writers who are not opposed to the expression of definite beliefs and points of view, they do believe, however, that a teacher, and through him the students, should be made aware of such emphasis.²⁶⁶

Our American Republic is a revised version of the textbook written by David Muzzey, which had the title Our Country's History. This text-

²⁶⁴Theodore C. Pease, and A. Sellev Roberts, Selected Readings in American History (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1928), p. iii.

²⁶⁵David S. Muzzey, Muzzey's A History of Our Country (Boston: Ginn, 1939), pp. 449-450.

²⁶⁶Ibid., David S. Muzzey, Muzzey's A History of Our Country, p. 450.

book, according to the testimony of publishers, has been used by over thirty million students. This is not really good news because Muzzey's textbook was not a very good one. In fact, its treatment of a number of important issues left much to be desired. The textbook repeated every cliché and myth about slavery, abolitionists, the causes of the Civil War, Lincoln and blacks, and especially Reconstruction. John Hope Franklin's description of much of the writing on Reconstruction fit the textbook well indeed: "Thanks to the fictional accounts of Reconstruction by novelists, and near fictionalized accounts by influential writers in other categories, the many misconceptions and distortions regarding the period are tenaciously persistent."²⁶⁷ Our Country's History began its account of Reconstruction with this inaccurate and misleading statement in conformity with the views of Johnson's biographers which included Claude G. Bowers, Robert W. Winston, and George F. Milton. "Johnson proceeded during the summer and autumn of 1865... to carry out the plan of Lincoln." Having made this poor start, the text continued to tell the story of how the "extreme", south-hating Radical Republicans, led by the "vengeful" Thaddeus Stevens, sabotaged Johnson's sound and magnanimous plans and imposed on the suffering and desolate South corrupt governments which were composed of an unholy coalition of carpetbaggers, scalawags, and "illiterate", easily exploited ex-slaves, etc., The text was quite charitable to the Ku Klux

²⁶⁷Ibid., Mark M. Krug, "Freedom and Racial Equality: A Study of Revised High School History Texts," p. 341.

Klan because it tried to expurgate the evil governments from the South, even though some times using unorthodox methods to achieve its aims.²⁶⁸

Muzzey's book was revised by Arthur S. Link the distinguished historian and biographer of Woodrow Wilson. This scholar took extra care in rewriting the chapter on Reconstruction. He communicated extensively with the experts on the topic of Reconstruction, including Mark M. Krug, and sought out John Hope Franklin's assistance in reading the whole manuscript. As a result, the revised chapter on Reconstruction in Our American Republic is superbly written, accurate, and interesting.

In 1939, as well, Jesse H. Ames, et al., emphasize the "new nation that was emerging as the bitterness of Reconstruction gradually faded."²⁶⁹ In many respects, however, this text follows the same cliches characteristic of the Conservative School viewpoint. In a section on page 440 entitled "Better Schools" it does give credit to the New South as having planned schools for "all children, both black and white." What the author fails to mention is the fact that the provisions for a common school system in the South were written into the state constitutions during the period of so-called Radical rule.

It was, however, in the 1960's, with its own record of turmoil and progress, war, civil rights agitation, political assassinations — that

²⁶⁸Ibid., p. 341.

²⁶⁹Jesse H. Ames, et al., Our Land and Our People (St. Louis: Webster Publishing Co., 1939), p. 442.

we might expect to encounter true revisionism in respect to Reconstruction history. Revisionist authors have sought to reanalyze Reconstruction history and have subjected the conservative interpretation to a critical reexamination and scrutiny. These revisionists also held that the so-called Radicals in the North and the south were not so radical since during the post Civil War decade of Reconstruction they had implemented no mass terror plans, no systematic land confiscation, and no wholesale reprisals for the losers. The one instance of radicalism that some revisionist authors could agree on was the immediate grant of political power to the freedmen. Even in this case, however, revisionist authors such as Kenneth M. Stamp, Staughton Lynd, William R. Brock, and W.E.B. DuBois held that the Republicans failed to be radical enough since they did not support the movement by granting land and federal financial assistance to the exbondsmen.

John R. Alden and Alice Magenis, Richard C. Wade, Nathaniel Platt, Muriel Jean Drummond, Lewis Paul Todd, Merle Curti, Mark M. Krug, and Richard Current are included among the revisionist high school textbook authors who note that while the Compromise of 1877 appeased the South and allowed for the scars of Reconstruction to heal, it was accomplished only with the cost of the "idealism" that the antislavery movement and the war itself had generated.²⁷⁰ This analysis was in keeping with the

²⁷⁰Richard Current, et al., United States History (Oakland, New Jersey: Scott Foresman, 1967), p. 357.

new rise of idealism in the 1960's. Nathaniel Platt and Muriel J. Drummond see the positive result of Reconstruction as "giving new hope to believers in democracy" as well as in important changes for the better in the lives of blacks,²⁷¹ again reflecting the expectations of the effort for civil rights in the 1960's. Richard C. Wade, surprisingly, breaks no revisionist ground at all; indeed space is provided to that throw-back of earlier historians, the "New South" or conservative concept and the idea that Reconstruction only began when Federal troops left the South, allowing this section to solve its own affairs.²⁷² John Alden and Alice Magenis are definitely in the revisionist camp with Richard N. Current, Lewis Paul Todd, Merle Curti, Mark M. Krug, Nathaniel Platt, and Muriel Drummond, in seeing Reconstruction as a time when southerners, black and white, were learning to live together in new relationship patterns— again much like what was occurring in the 1960's.²⁷³

Much of the above revisionism can be contrasted with a text appearing just prior to the upheavals of the 1960's. Everett Augsburger and Richard McLemore were writing in 1959 that Reconstruction was a "revengeful policy that had inflicted deep wounds." They go on to state

²⁷¹ Nathaniel Platt and Muriel J. Drummond, Our Nation From Its Creation (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1964), pp. 420-423.

²⁷² Richard C. Wade, et al., A History of the United States: With Selected Readings (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1966, 1970), pp. 44-50.

²⁷³ John Alden and Alice Magenis, A History of the United States (New York: Benziger, 1966), p. 280.

that this is a primary thought for the entire chapter on Reconstruction.²⁷⁴ This attitude, the concept that Reconstruction had accomplished nothing beyond pain and bitterness, must be compared with another 1960's text by John Caughey, et al., which states that if the free black had been "given the ballot and treated like a man," Reconstruction history, and the history of the 1960's, as well, would have been far different. The Civil Rights Bill would have come one hundred years earlier.²⁷⁵

The idea of "giving the freedmen the ballot and treating him like a man" was first propounded by Frederick Douglass, a U.S. journalist, one of the most distinguished of black American orators and antislavery leader. This view is also in accord with such revisionist scholars as Kenneth M. Stampp. Alrutheus Taylor, Harold M. Hyman, Staughton Lynd, John Hope Franklin, and W. E. B. DuBois. Stampp, dismissing the Dunning perspective as racist, reverted to the concept of the Liberal Tourgee, by viewing Reconstruction as giving blacks their full political and civil rights. For Simkins, the ultimate failure of Reconstruction resulted from the refusal of southern whites to accept social equality with the black man. Simkins' in effect reverts to the older Dunning contention that someone was to blame for Reconstruction. While Dunning blamed a vindictive North, Simkins on the other hand, blamed the Southern whites. Alrutheus Taylor's study was written to prove that

²⁷⁴ Everett Augsburger and Richard McLemore, Our Nation's History (Chicago: Laidlaw Brothers, 1959), p. 329.

²⁷⁵ John Caughey, et al., Land of the Free (New York: Benziger, 1966), p. 361.

blacks were capable of the responsibilities of citizenship. Harold M. Hyman, from a constitutional and legal perspective, agreed with Taylor's thesis and maintained that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God. Staughton Lynd held that equality failed because Congress did not give the freedmen the economic independence to resist political intimidation. Lacking an economic base, the suffrage was artificial being supported only by the presence of Union troops. John Hope Franklin describes the qualification of blacks and other members of the state legislatures and the postwar constitutional conventions and he evaluates the positiveness of these efforts, while W. E. B. DuBois contends that there was one thing that South Carolina feared more than bad black government, and that was good black government.

Lewis Paul Todd, Merle Curti, and Mark M. Krug continue in a similar vein in that they too, voicing observations of society following World War II, see much of the same behavior during Reconstruction. That is, both "North and South facing a breakdown of public morality," due in part at least, to a war which dislocated long-established ways of life in every section of the country.²⁷⁶ In this study the opening chapter of the unit entitled "Rebuilding the Nation, 1865-1900, : deals with Reconstruction. The first page presents an engraving of a black legislator captioned, "A Civil Rights Speech in the House of Representatives." Included in the material is a section entitled "Black Southerners in

²⁷⁶Lewis Paul Todd, Merle Curti, and Mark M. Krug, The Rise of the American Nation (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1950), p. 403.

Public Life," an excellent example of the judicious and revealing approach to the material of the text.²⁷⁷

According to this study, "Blacks were elected to the southern "carpetbag governments", and they played an important role in some of them. In recent years, however, some historians have pointed out that the blacks' role in these governments has often been exaggerated. Only one black served briefly as a southern governor. The record of black citizens in Reconstruction politics also has been misrepresented, according to recent historians.²⁷⁸ After these topical sentences, the text gives many details supporting the statements. It concludes that "blacks in public life during Reconstruction did not demand revenge upon white southerners. In fact, most black leaders favored returning the right to vote to their former masters. The record of those elected to the United States Congress compared well with the records of many of their white colleagues."²⁷⁹ Almost without exception the current texts reflect, as this one does, the revisionist historical scholarship of Reconstruction, so that in this instance the text is offering what others do. But, there is in this chapter a selection, "The Struggle of Black Southerners to Find Their Place in the New South," which gives a detailed account of the emergence of Jim Crowism and the Washington-

²⁷⁷ Ibid., Irving Sloan, "The Negro in the Making of America," (Washington, D. C.: The American Federation of Teachers, 1972), p. 24.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

DuBois conflict which is matched by only a very few of the other texts.²⁸⁰ In the second half of this study the material on black Americans are similarly sufficient and integrated. There is not a topic or scarcely a chapter which excludes such material. What is most exceptional is that the study gives this presentation without the reader thinking that this is basically a black American history. Rather, the book manages to have such a quantity of this type of subject matter come off as merely part of the fabric of American history.

By the 1970's the Civil Rights Bill had been passed, new issues faced the nation, including Watergate. How then, close to contemporary times, have the writers of American history presented Reconstruction to high school students? Examples of such books are those by Thomas Bailey and David Kennedy, Clarence Ver Steeg and Richard Hofstadter, Leonard C. Wood, et al., John Wiltz, Lewis Paul Todd, Merle Curti, and Mark M. Krug. Jack Abramowitz notes that while Reconstruction accomplished many things, full rights for blacks were left to later generations to fulfill—and guarantee.²⁸¹ This reaction is to be expected in view of the heated controversy that had just been waged on behalf of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Abramowitz also notes, perhaps in light of this experience, that whites in the North "proved unwilling to help bring

²⁸⁰Ibid., Irving Sloan, "The Negro in the Making of America," p. 25.

²⁸¹Jack Abramowitz, Our Nation's History (Chicago: Follett Educational Corporation, 1970), pp. 338-339.

racial justice to the nation... racism and white supremacy had long existed in America and most people were willing to accept the status quo." He brings out the fact that "many of the black leaders fought bravely against terror and threats."²⁸² A sharp contrast with Susan P. Lee, writing in 1896 that a "high spirited courageous people could not submit to the outrages and indignities from blacks,"²⁸³ probably these same "brave" leaders spoken of by Abramowitz as the wronged party.

In accordance with the views of Albion W. Tourgee and Kenneth M. Stampp, and from a revisionist perspective, Clarence Ver Steeg and Richard Hofstadter show, through actual pieces from southern Black Codes and Reconstruction legislation, how segregation replaced slavery following the Civil War. Photographs and readings show methods of terror and other segregationist practices used against blacks.²⁸⁴ Thus, this is one of the best examples of how far American history textbooks have come in their level of historical scholarship in terms of the treatment of black Americans. Similarly, Albion W. Tourgee, unlike James S. Pike, did not see Reconstruction as the work of selfish and corrupt persons seeking personal wealth. On the contrary, Tourgee viewed Reconstruction as a struggle carried on by the Republican party to achieve political equality and reform by defeating the forces of racism and reaction. The

²⁸²Ibid., p. 432.

²⁸³Susan P. Lee, A Brief History of the United States (Richmond, Virginia: B. F. Johnson, 1896), p. 338-339.

²⁸⁴Ibid., Irving Sloan, "The Negro in the Making of America, p. 28.

triumph of the latter, however, did not detract from the humanitarian and egalitarian objectives inherent in the whole process of Reconstruction. Later, Kenneth M. Stampp likewise reverted to the older concept of Tourgee by seeing Reconstruction as giving black Americans full political and civil rights. To Stampp, the main issue of the postwar decade was the place of the black man in American Society. To argue that Radicals had invidious and selfish motives, Stampp held, did them a severe injustice.

Leonard C. Wood, et al., in America: Its People and Values (1979) show, almost at the beginning of the unit dealing with "Civil War and Reconstruction", a full page feature on Frederick Douglass, thereby giving this important black figure greater importance. Not surprisingly, this text gives one of the longest discussions of the role of black soldiers and sailors in the war. Among other things, cited is the too-often-overlooked fact that 29,000 black sailors fought in the Union navy and four of them won the medal of honor for courage.²⁸⁵ In the chapter on Reconstruction Thaddeus Stevens is portrayed sympathetically and not as the "fanatical nigger-loving politician" frequently characterized in the old texts. This view of Stevens is also in accordance with the findings of the revisionist scholar Ralph Korngold in a study entitled Thaddeus Stevens: A Being Darkly Wise and Rudely Great. Both Wood and Korngold agree that Stevens understood that

²⁸⁵Ibid., pp. 80-81.

abolishing slavery was only a beginning for the freedmen. It is pointed out that "unlike most of his countrymen of the time- northerners as well as southerners- Stevens believed in full equality." He insisted that if freedmen must have the right to vote, it was because justice required this. At the same time, however, the text balances the interpretation of the Reconstruction era by noting that there were sound political reasons for extending voting rights to freedmen. Thaddeus Stevens, being a Republican, naturally desired to keep his party in power. Consequently, he had two major aims. The first was to give the freedmen the ballot, and second, to keep the Republican party in control of Congress.²⁸⁶ A description of the Reconstruction governments is summed up in a selection entitled "The Good and the Bad." In support of John Hope Franklin's thesis, this analysis represents a balanced picture of the strengths and weaknesses of these governments. There is also a full-page feature on one of South Carolina's most prominent leaders, Robert Small.²⁸⁷

In conformity with the views of C. Vann Woodward in Origins of the New South, Leonard C. Wood, et al., saw the renewal of friendship between North and South as costing the southern blacks their civil and political rights. Until this amity had been accomplished, the South had to afford some measure of freedom to blacks, now this reason was gone.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶Ibid., p. 81.

²⁸⁷Leonard C. Wood, et al., America: Its People and Values (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 491.

²⁸⁸John E. Wiltz, Modern American History: Search For Identity (New York: Harper and Row, 1981), p. 209.

In the same vein, John E. Wiltz notes that while slow transition "to first-class citizenship for the black might well have been in the best interest of both races, white America showed no interest in a transition, gradual or otherwise." They had sold themselves on the idea that blacks were happy with no ambition to better themselves. By believing blacks were biologically inferior, even decent whites paved the way for violence and lynchings they themselves disapproved of.²⁸⁹ This view can be looked at from that of E. Benjamin Andrews writing in 1898 that it was precisely the "decent" southern whites who saw it their duty to use violence in order to preserve their own political rights as well as their culture.²⁹⁰

In their text, A People And A Nation, Clarence Ver Steeg and Richard Hofstadter, in 1977, brought in a new idea that helped explain the "binding of the nation's wounds" that is "shared experiences of North and South encouraging unity." This too is reinterpretation that closely echoes what occurred in new civil rights legislation—many ties linked North and South, then and now.²⁹¹ In accord with Ver Steeg and Hofstadter, C. Vann Woodward in Reunion and Reaction saw Reconstruction as a national problem that included economic forces and develop-

²⁸⁹John E. Wiltz, Modern American History: Search For Identity (New York: Harper and Row, 1981, p. 209.

²⁹⁰E. Benjamin Andrews, History of the United States (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), pp. 271-275.

²⁹¹Clarence Ver Steeg and Richard Hofstadter, A People and A Nation (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), p. 368.

ments that transcended local and state boundaries. Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, in 1983, follow this theme by stating that "Reconstruction programs were too narrowly conceived." With more vision it "might well have embraced the social and economic rehabilitation of the South, including the blacks." Thus, in agreement with such revisionist authors as W. R. Brock, Staughton Lynd, W. E. B. DuBois, and Kenneth M. Stampp, Bailey and Kennedy contend that reconstruction, then did not go far enough, drastic changes were called for, change that Americans in both sections feared and shunned. As a result, it was left for our own era to finally bring to a close "Reconstruction history" in its truest form.²⁹²

²⁹²Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, The American Pageant: A History of the Republic (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath, 1983), p. 451.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER IV

In the fourth chapter the writer described the content analysis of the selected high school history textbooks, and identified them as to Partisan, Conservative, Liberal, Revisionist, or a combination of these schools of interpretation. Since the elapsed time between editions of the textbooks ranged from approximately 1890 to 1983 there was a tremendous number of varying themes in the Reconstruction historiography ranging from the strictly Partisan to the Revisionist approach. In reviewing these textbooks the writer was also cognizant of the fact that textbooks may lag several decades behind the newest historical scholarship.

Of the high school history texts cited several were categorized under the Partisan School which comprised those writers who took positions based on a partisan viewpoint and influence of a single political party or group. As a result, these historians were characterized by sectional feelings still embittered by the Civil War. Consequently, they were more concerned with justifying a thesis than with a patient search for the truth. Judging from this definition, the partisan texts, with their authors and dates of publication, included the studies of J. William Jones (1901), Roy F. Nichols (1938), Allan O. Kownslar (1967), William H. Mace (1904), Gertrude Hartman (1959), Henry W. Elson (1923), Alexander Johnston (1901), E. Benjamin Andrews (1903), David H. Montgomery (1899), John B. McMaster (1897), James J. Reynolds and Grace Taylor (1932), and Leon C. Prince (1907).

The Liberal School comprised those authors who, from 1865 until the 1930's, have studied the history of blacks and write sympathetically, objectively, and judiciously about them and in most instances do not ignore the truth concerning blacks as well as the standard studies of black historians who are objective and judicious in their defense. The high school history texts exhibiting some sense of liberalism or taking a basic matter-of-fact nonbias position constituted the smallest group in this selection. These include James T. Adams (1937), Arthur M. Schlesinger (1925), Andrew McLaughlin (1908), Lester B. Shippee (1930), and Theodore C. Pease and A. Sellew Roberts (1928).

Some writers who take a middle-of-the road or neutral position may be listed in more than one school of thought since their writings may partake of the viewpoints of two or more interpretations. On the other hand, authors who are partisan or conservative in one area may be fair or liberal in others. Hence, the same text may be listed under more than one school or viewpoint.

As expected, the majority of the high school history textbooks were categorized under the Conservative School of Interpretation. The Conservative School constituted those historians who held a political philosophy or point of view that advocated preservation of the established order and viewed proposals for change critically and usually with distrust. Leading conservative writers include John W. Burgess, William A. Dunning, James Ford Rhodes, and their adherents. Also included in this school of thought are those writers who select and use

facts and opinions to prove that the South was correct during Reconstruction, the North vindictive, and the black inept. These writers may also be termed the "New South" school of historians. The authors of conservative high school texts, with the dates of their publication, include the following: Eugene C. Barker and Henry Steele Commager (1941), Charles Adams and William P. Trent (1902), B. Alderman (1913), Thomas A. Bailey (1966), John A. Garraty (1982), Reuben Gold Thwaites (1924), Charles E. Chadsey (1939), Thomas M. Marshall (1930), John B. McMaster (1897), James Schouler (1913), Charles M. Thompson (1917), Roscoe L. Ashley (1910), William Mowry (1906), Cecil Chesterton (1919), David S. Muzzey (1939), Avery O. Craven and Walter Johnson (1961), Henry Graff (1967), Harry J. Carman (1942), Charles Morris (1909), and Richard C. Wade, et al., (1966).

The high school textbooks contained in the Revisionist School are steadily increasing, and just as this school of interpretation has become the new orthodoxy among the scholarly literature these new interpretative findings are also gradually gaining an entrance into the new high school history textbooks. As used in this context, the revisionist authors sought to reanalyze or reinterpret Reconstruction history in light of subsequent knowledge. Beginning in the 1930's, the revisionists have reanalyzed the era of Reconstruction and subjected the old interpretation to a critical reexamination and scrutiny. These writers have repudiated many of the Conservative accounts. Consequently, from a revisionist perspective, many villains of the Conser-

vative School have become Reconstruction's heroes and vice versa.

Revisionists such as W. E. B. DuBois and Horace Mann Bond agree that the race issue was often secondary to the economic issues during Reconstruction. On the other hand, Charles A. Beard and Howard K. Beale saw Republicans supporting a monolithic northeastern capitalism in an effort to exploit a defenseless and defeated South. Writers of high school history texts who also focus on the economic approach in Reconstruction are Eugene C. Barker and Henry Steele Commager (1940), James T. Adams and Charles G. Vannest (1937), Arthur M. Schlesinger (1925), Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard (1946), and Earnest L. Bogart (1930). As is true for the economic interpreters, other writers present a matter-of-fact presentation of the main events in Reconstruction and, consequently, are in the camp of both Liberalism and Conservatism. These include the Barnes History Series (1885), Thomas B. Lawler (1902), David Scott (1882), Charles Morris (1909), and Edward Channing (1898).

CHAPTER V: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The development of American history as a school subject largely evolved from geography textbooks. The earliest geographies contained considerable historical content. It appears that the interest in the study of history was stimulated by American wars. The first interest seemed to have come with our history of the Second War with England (War of 1812). Many history textbooks appeared after this conflict. A great impetus followed the Civil War.²⁹³ A century after the Civil War, there was also a great influx of American history textbooks during the 1960's and 1970's.

The scholarly lag, referred to in this study of U.S. history textbooks, is decreasing in some texts while still persistent in others. In the old history textbooks, apart from the mention of a few individual blacks, there is little or no allusion to the black after emancipation and Reconstruction, either as a person or as a component part of the American population. In the analysis of the Reconstruction Era he is treated as a pawn in the controversy between the President and Congress.

According to the early textbooks, the basic problems in Reconstruction were constitutional ones. The textbook accounts of blacks seem also to be an accurate reflection of the manner in which they were treated by the political parties of the day. Certainly, it demonstrates

²⁹³John A. Nietz, Old Textbooks: From Colonial Days to 1900 (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961), p. 269.

with some accuracy the role assigned to the black in the historiography of Reconstruction. After being granted his freedom and experiencing the ordeal of Reconstruction (1865-1877) he disappears from the textbooks.

Some examples of popular textbooks that have been used by millions of American high school students in the latter half of the nineteenth century and beyond will follow. For instance, David H. Montgomery wrote an original history text, The Leading Facts of American History (1890), which became rather popular. It appeared in several editions and provided the Barnes Histories with very keen competition. It was somewhat larger than the earlier Barnes editions and contained the leading dates in the front of the book rather than in the back and its appendix contained ninety-six pages. John B. McMaster's A School History of the United States (1897) was another text first written in this period that attained considerable circulation after 1900. A third example of a popular American text that have been used by millions of American high school students is David S. Muzzey's Our Country's History (1931).

The fact that these books enjoyed a wide circulation among American school children is not really a positive good since these texts were not really very good ones. In fact, their treatment of the period that is generally referred to as the Reconstruction Era left much to be desired. These texts also repeated every cliché, myth, and stereotype concerning blacks and slavery.

More than half a century ago, in 1911, Edward A. Johnson, a leading black historian of the time, had observed the sins of omission and commission on the part of white authors, most of whom seem to have written exclusively for white children and studiously left out the many creditable deeds of blacks. Accordingly, the general demeanor of most school histories has been to portray blacks as inferior, as this is either stated or implied by lauding the deeds of one race while completely excluding the other.²⁹⁴

It is the writer's contention that in the decade of the 1980's and beyond the charge of the virtual omission of the black in textbooks will no longer be made. However, no textbook and no topic, particularly a topic as controversial as the Reconstruction period, has been treated so that there cannot be improvement. Revisions will continue, it is hoped. It is also expected that new and more fully integrated textbooks will continue to emerge.

The revised high school history texts as analyzed in this dissertation were not reviewed in terms of utilization for black studies courses. Rather, the writer's interest was the general American history textbook that was balanced and judicious in its treatment of the Reconstruction period in particular and in the general American experience in all its dimensions, including black Americans in that experience. Although there is always room for improvement, it is now believed that

²⁹⁴Ibid., Irving Sloan, "The Negro in the Making of America," p. 5.

most current history textbooks are on the path to providing the student with the values and knowledge which are the responsibility of every American classroom.

The Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Intergroup Relations established by the American Council on Education agreed on the following criteria for the examination of textbooks which is also helpful in our examination. Since these criteria have already been referred to, in details, in a previous chapter on "A Survey Of Research Studies On Textbooks" they will be simply summarized in this chapter. These criteria are as follows:

1. Respect for the individual's values and dignity.
2. What is the treatment given to blacks as a group in the American population?
3. Are the dynamics of interracial relations presented?²⁹⁵

The importance of providing for high school students a well rounded and historically accurate picture of the Reconstruction Period in American history, as well as the nation's history in general, should not be under estimated. Turning now to the specific topics in the present group of history textbooks, there is a marked improvement in the treatment of blacks. In these books the Afro-American's origins are more adequately traced and, therefore, his role in the natural flow of American history is more discernable. The black's African cultural

²⁹⁵Ibid., Mark M. Krug, "Freedom and Racial Equality: A Study of 'Revised' High School History Textbooks," pp. 301-302.

background is acknowledged. The slavery period, including the moral and psychological aspects, are usually treated more fully than in the past. There is more recognition of slave revolts. Several interpretations associate the tragic aspects of Reconstruction with today's problems. More attention is given to specific black contributions.

The majority of textbook authors have sought to correct the hitherto textual absence of the black from the period of Reconstruction to the 1954 Supreme Court Decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education*. While no book deals sufficiently with the black throughout American history, a list of all U.S. history texts would show that he is no longer absent in any of the major eras of the nation's history. Even the developments of the 1960's are not ignored, although some earlier texts do not adequately deal with the recent events. Albert Alexander argued that every ethnic group has contributed to the American accomplishment. "Neither the historian nor the textbook fully portrays the American past if he or she indulges in class, ethnic, national or ideological prejudice."²⁹⁶

With the foregoing thoughts in mind the writer chose three texts which have made some progress correcting the shortcomings of the past. In this study of high school history textbooks these "revised" texts were judged by the writer as acceptable for use in the classroom. These

²⁹⁶ Ibid., Albert Alexander, "Does the American History Textbook Still Wear A Gray Flannel Cover?" pp. 303-304.

studies are as follows: (1) Todd, Curti, and Krug, The Rise of the American Nation (1972), Clarence L. Ver Steeg and Richard Hofstadter, A People And A Nation (1977), and Wood, Gabriel, and Biller, America: Its People And Values (1979). In each of the three aforementioned texts the chapters on Reconstruction reflect the revisionist scholarship and imparts a positive attitude to the students concerning the historical account of blacks in government.

To cite the first example, The Rise of the American Nation by Todd, Curti, and Krug (1972) is a revisionist text that has made some progress in correcting the sins of omission and commission. This book is in its third edition and is considered to be one of the most popular American textbooks in the nation. Although the book has its shortcomings with respect to the black role, its strengths are far more numerous than its weaknesses. It is thought to be one of the most competent studies included in the survey of selected high school history textbooks of chapter four. Irving Sloan argued that it is the "standard that all future American history texts must be measured against in terms of the treatment of the black American." In this text there is no significant and relevant fact left out. "Yet this has been achieved without even the appearance of overreaching in the area of black American history. The material is fully integrated as part of the text and the flow is natural."²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷Ibid., Irving "The Negro in the Making of America," p. 19.

In The Rise of the American Nation the chapter on Reconstruction starts with an engraving of a black lawmaker entitled "A Civil Rights Speech in the House of Representatives." Also, included in the chapter is a section entitled "Black Southerners in Public Life," which is another instance of the balanced approach of the material in this study. The book relates that blacks were elected to the "carpetbag governments" and played a crucial part in some of the state governments. However, some historians have contended that the black's participation in these governments was exaggerated. As proof, Curti cites the fact that only one black served shortly as a southern governor. The authors relate that the black person's role in Reconstruction has often been distorted and unbalanced, according to contemporary scholars. This book provides many details to substantiate the above conclusions.

Mark M. Krug argued that this textbook fairly assesses the "reasons for the conflict between Johnson and Congress and gives a balanced evaluation of the Reconstruction governments. Stevens and Sumner do not appear as the villains of the story and their dedication to the cause of black freedom is not questioned."²⁹⁸ The section on Reconstruction concludes in the following manner:

The blacks in public life during Reconstruction didn't demand revenge upon white southerners. In fact, most black leaders favored returning the right to vote to their former masters. The records of those elected to the United States Congress compared well with their white colleagues. ²⁹⁹

²⁹⁸ Ibid., Mark M. Krug, "Freedom and Racial Equality," p. 343.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., Irving Sloan, "The Negro in the Making of America," p. 19.

Most current texts, including this one, show the revisionist scholarship in Reconstruction. However, unlike other texts, in this book there is a section entitled "The Struggle of Black Southerners to Find Their Place in the New South." This topic provides a detailed coverage of the growth of Jim Crowism. Also the Washington-DuBois disagreement is analyzed in very few of the other books. Throughout the book the material on the black American is plentiful and integrated. The book accomplishes this objective without causing an undue awareness of black history. Instead, the material is interpreted as being merely an integral part of American history.

Another revised text is Leonard C. Wood's, et al., America: Its People and Values. In this textbook the coverage of the abolition movement, the Civil War and Reconstruction are all examples of the balanced treatment of black Americans. In an objective, judicious, and scholarly fashion, the textbook provides details and examples on all the major topics. It integrates the black role in all the American wars beginning with the Revolutionary War and provides information on the causes leading to the growth of the black church which performed a great service in the history of blacks down to the civil rights movement of the 1960's and beyond.

In a section dealing with the goals of American reformers the topic of womens rights is discussed in conjunction with the topic of abolition, thus reinforcing the material. This is accompanied by a full-page feature of Lucretia Mott, a prominent woman reformer and the

chair person of the Philadelphia antislavery society.³⁰⁰

Near the start of the unit entitled "Civil War and Reconstruction" there is a whole page feature on Frederick Douglass, interestingly and uniquely. This text also provides the longest analysis on the role of black soldiers and sailors in the war. Also revealed is the fact that 65,000 black soldiers were killed in the Civil War. In the chapter on Reconstruction, Thaddeus Stevens is treated sympathetically rather than as the fanatic that was portrayed in the earlier textbooks. He is praised for his contention that abolishing slavery was only a beginning for the freedmen. The book relates that, unlike most American citizens of his day, Thaddeus Stevens advocated full racial equality for the black man and insisted on his right to suffrage. He argued that justice required that the freedmen have the right to vote. Simultaneously, the book balances this interpretation with the concept that there were "good political reasons" for giving the freedman the vote. Since Stevens was a Republican, the book reasons, he naturally wanted his political party to retain control in Congress. As a result, Stevens' two related objectives were "(1) To give the freedmen the right to vote, and (2) To keep the Republicans in control in Congress."³⁰¹ The discussion of the Reconstruction governments is summed up in a section entitled, "The Good

³⁰⁰Ibid., Irving Sloan, "The Negro in the Making of America," pp. 79-81.

³⁰¹Ibid., Irving Sloan, "The Negro in the Making of America," p. 81.

and the Bad," which gives a balanced presentation of the strengths and weaknesses of these governments. There is a full-page illustrated feature here on Robert Smalls who, after the war, became one of South Carolina's most important political leaders."³⁰² Smalls was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1874 and served four terms there.

This is a great text for classrooms where there is a need to emphasize people and values. Blacks and their perspectives are presented in a judicious percentage of the pages providing both black and white students a well informed portrait of U. S. history. Consequently, this text was also judged acceptable and admirable.

The third and final text in this summary which was categorized under the Revisionist School is entitled A People And A Nation (1971) by Richard Hofstadter and Clarence L. Ver Steeg. Although, as a whole, the text leaves much to be desired, it is a great improvement over earlier textbooks in the treatment of Reconstruction.

In this text a full report on black enlistments is included in the chapter on the Civil War, with reinforcement of chapter exercises. There are also strong value judgments substantiated by reliable evidence. Although one hundred pages pass, after the Reconstruction, before another allusion is made to blacks, which is a defect, the topics that are covered are treated qualitatively.

³⁰²Ibid.

At any rate, the black American is treated in the chapter on social reform movements in the 1830's and 1840's. The antislavery movement and David Walker are given unusual coverage in relation to his exciting pamphlet. William Lloyd Garrison received briefer coverage than Walker. The slave rebellions and Lovejoy's murder received more detailed coverage here than in any other text. A long account on "abolitionism vs. gradualism" is presented. The topic entitled "The Institution of Slavery" is one of the most impressive found in any textbook.

The chapter on Reconstruction is unequalled for its thoroughness and balance. Sloan maintained that "Mark M. Krug who wrote a devastatingly critical analysis of the textbook treatment of this subject in the mid 1960's could not fault this presentation."³⁰³ A whole section entitled "Improved Constitutions," gives the important gains of the Reconstruction governments. This section also discusses the failures and compares these with the corruption in the North during the same era.

Although the textbook handles Reconstruction adequately in the qualitative sense, in the chapter on Reconstruction, this does not compensate for the sins of omission in other chapters. It is argued that a text can compensate for these omissions if what it does is done well enough and in depth. Nevertheless, the long debated issue remains.

³⁰³Ibid., Irving Sloan, "The Negro in the Making of America," p. 31.

To emphasize only the problems of blacks and deemphasize, or ignore, their achievements is a "disservice both to American history and to black Americans," argues Sloan.

However, the text does cover the achievements of individual black Americans. Topics on the "Organization of the Black," and "The Harlem Renaissance" include an impressive amount of material. The chapter on the 1960's entitled "Black Protests and White Response" is a great success in regard to its thoroughness and judiciousness. There is also a feature comparing the nonviolent direct-action philosophy of Martin Luther King Jr. with that of Black Power Advocate Stokeley Carmichael. Based on these three revised texts, there is no question that these are the "best examples of how far American history textbooks have come both in their overall pedagogy and in their level of historical scholarship."³⁰⁴ In its coverage of the black American, what it does is done excellently. What it does not accomplish in amount of information can be compensated for in those classrooms where this kind of textbook will be used.

As a whole, the account of Reconstruction in the last three aforementioned "revised" textbooks should be a good starting point toward an accurate portrayal of the Reconstruction period which many students have missed in the earlier Partisan/Conservative textbook version. The weakness in the Hofstadter-Ver Steeg text was its failure to integrate much of the material in a "natural flow." Aside from this flaw, the text is

³⁰⁴ Ibid., Irving Sloan, "The Negro in the Making..." p. 32.

superior to many others. Mere quantity of information is not as important as the quality of the approach in presenting knowledge. Another essential criterion in the evaluation of high school history textbooks is the level of historical scholarship. In this regard, the writer believed that the foregoing "revised" textbooks meet the highest excellence.

However, despite these improvements in high school history texts, much remains to be accomplished. Patrick Groff's study, for example, of thirty-six recently published high school history textbooks examined found that only four made straight forward, historically accurate statements concerning the shortcomings of the Freedmen's Bureau during the Reconstruction Era. This writer agrees with John F. Ohles who argued that historians and publishers possess the responsibility to insure that texts in U. S. history accurately present "truth as far as it can be determined, to keep their materials up to date with recent scholarship findings, to be free as humanly possible from bias, local and regional pressures, financial influences, and pressures from over-anxious and patriotic self-appointed guardians of the American heritage."³⁰⁵ This advice also applies to ethnocentric groups. The history of the nation should be continuously subjected to the objective, critical and minute examination of educated and skillful scholars.

³⁰⁵John F. Ohles, "Shoul NCSS Evaluate Textbooks?" Social Education, Vol., 33, No. 3 (March 1969), p. 324.

On the basis of the previously stated conclusions, it is recommended that historians and teachers of American history accurately portray the black person, not just as a passive character, but as an individual who is active in his own behalf and in that of the nation. Emphasize the effects of social forces, such as segregation and discrimination, upon the black person and how these forces have been stimulated by his presence in America. Consider Recommendations that will provide a basis for a well rounded treatment, not only of the Reconstruction, but of American history in general in order to gain a true picture of that history. Jack Abramowitz has maintained that "The crude yardstick by which some school systems measure the value of a text in respect to black history bespeaks one kind of moral and intellectual bankruptcy."³⁰⁶ A survey of the research studies on high school history textbooks investigates Reconstruction within the context of the discrimination and ignorance perpetuated by the American public school system. With the growth in the knowledge explosion, it is essential for the educator and historian to develop criteria by which textbooks can be screened in order to determine objectively that which must be imparted to the student. For this reason this dissertation was written.

³⁰⁶Ibid., "Textbooks and Negro History," Social Education, p. 307.

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

November 28, 1984
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