

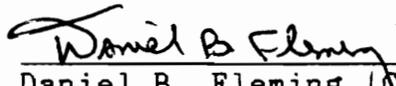
IMMIGRATION AS TREATED IN EARLY HISTORY TEXTBOOKS 1789-1939:
PRELUDE TO MULTICULTURALISM

by

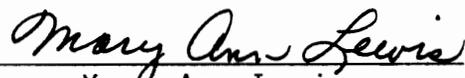
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(ABSTRACT)

The purpose of this study was to discover the degree to which thirty-nine secondary textbooks used in the United States from 1789 to 1939 covered the significant topics that comprised the immigrant experience. Immigrants from Europe, Japan, and China were studied. Using a topic outline as the basis for discussion, authors' comments that were typical representations of their viewpoints were included. Besides this outline, which formed the heart of this study, several other evaluative measures were used. Bias was determined by using an evaluative coefficient analysis system. A picture identification checklist was utilized to classify designated components of each picture. Also, page coverage was included for the topic of immigration as well as by immigrant group classification.

The results of this study indicated that immigration was not a significant topic in the early American history textbooks until after World War I. This investigation also revealed that immigration was treated in an biased light by the 1789-1939 historians. Bias that favored the English immigrants was discovered when page and topic coverage was analyzed. Bias by the omission of immigrant contributions was found. Pictures, too, formed a negative stereotype of

the immigrant as a victim of crowded cities and the lines of
Ellis Island.

DEDICATION

To Doug, my loving husband.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Realization of a goal in one's life often depends upon the support, advice, and encouragement of others. With this thought in mind, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the Chairman of my Dissertation Committee, Dr. Dan Fleming. He was always there to give of his intellectual resources and moral support. From the day we first spoke together on the phone about beginning my studies, and throughout the entire four years in graduate school, he served as my mentor and guide. His sound advice never erred.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Overview

The educator John Amos Comenius, as a citizen of the seventeenth century, had grasped a basic premise of multicultural education before the term was ever developed when he wrote:

We are all citizens of one world, we are all of one blood. To hate man because he was born in another country, because he speaks a different language, or because he takes a different view on this subject or that, is great folly. Desist, I implore you, for we are all equally human (Monroe, 1900, p. 85).

Our country's formation is unique in the history of nations. As a nation of immigrants, Americans have experienced a variety of cultural influences. Founded by religious and political minorities, our nation has long proclaimed the ideas of equal opportunity and freedom to achieve. The famous admonition to ". . . Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free. The wretched refuse of your teeming shore." is an affirmation of the American Dream. But it has only been in the last thirty years that the United States has emerged as a consciously pluralistic society. The immediate popularity of Alex Haley's Roots, and the genealogical research it inspired, points to the healthy desire of people to develop a sense of continuity with their past. Unfortunately, it does not necessarily follow that people will want to recognize the past of others.

Historically, the United States accepted and assimilated vast numbers of immigrants. The earliest migratory group, the Native American, probably crossed a land or ice bridge from Asia over twelve thousands of years ago following the tracks of animals. After the Native American's arrival, the land lay undisturbed except for a few temporary colonies set up by the Vikings. After the sixteenth century, though, few nations have been built so quickly and completely by an influx of outside peoples and cultures. Although the eastern seaboard colonies were settled originally by a predominantly homogeneous group of Anglo-Saxon European stock, their population was, by no means, confined to settlers from England. In addition to the original Native American descendents, the first census, taken in 1790, showed that more than half of the population consisted of African, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, German, Dutch, Swedish, French and other non-English inhabitants (American Council of Learned Societies Report of the Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States, 1932).

During the nineteenth century, the tide of immigration swelled and its sources expanded. Chinese and eastern Europeans, considered essential for the growing thrust of industrialization, came to be a part of the growing nation. When the great migrations occurred, it fell upon public education to provide a common socialization experience for this diverse population.

Education and Textbooks in Early America

Commenting upon the nineteenth century American, Henry Steele Commager (1950) wrote that Americans had a "great passion for education." He continues with "Schools were not only an expression of American philosophy; they were the most effective agent in its formulation and dissemination" (pp. 37-38). America's love for the written word may best be traced to the information distilled in the pages of popular textbooks used by students in schools throughout the United States. John A. Nietz (1961), professor from the University of Pittsburgh and an authority upon old textbooks, believes:

An analysis of the school textbooks used in the past reveals a truer history of what was taught in the schools than does a study of past educational theories alone (p. 1).

Since teachers in early America were so meagerly trained and educated, they depended on their textbooks for what to teach and how to teach. Therefore, what was contained in the textbooks usually reflected the establishment thought of America. What more accurate way can be found to assess America's ideas concerning immigrants and minority groups than through the writings in the American history textbooks that were studied by the youth in classrooms across the United States?

History as a Discipline

American history, as a school subject, seems to have been laggard in entering the American school curriculum. In

the early years of the nineteenth century such history as was taught was usually incorporated into the work done with the classics, geography, or reading, particularly with the declamation work (Russell, 1915, p. 7). Interest in the study of history was stimulated by American wars, particularly the War of 1812.

After the War of 1812, although none too gloriously waged, except for the battles on the Lakes and Andrew Jackson's victory at New Orleans, the patriotic fervor and national enthusiasm which swept over the country resulting in the first attempts to introduce the study of American history and the federal constitution into the schools. However, not until the third decade of the nineteenth century, with the rise of Jacksonian democracy did history take root in the secondary schools. (Bining and Bining, 1935, p. 9)

Tryon (1935) concurs that "it was during the generation after 1830, that history actually entered the schools as an independent subject" (p. 105). This is apparent not only from the changing content of textbook publications, and the adoption of the subject by our academies and high schools but also by organization resolutions, state laws, and opinions of educators (Reorbach, 1937, p. 117).

The majority of information provided by early textbooks, then, centered upon wars and their execution (Cartwright, 1950). Though the American Revolution and the War of 1812 received the most coverage, geographies and histories also embodied political and social concepts while they evaluated the civilization of the United States in relation to other countries.

Historians generally agree that American history's early purposes include: to provide moral training; to interest, to entertain, and to gratify the curiosity of youth as to provide for leisure time; to inculcate religious training; to inspire patriotism; to prevent the spread of international prejudices; to train for citizenship; and to discipline the mind (Johnson, 1904; Russell, 1915; Tryon, 1934; Roorbach, 1937; Cartwright, 1950). Since one of the stated purposes of the study of American history is to prevent the spread of international, or in modern parlance, ethnocentric prejudices, it seems fitting to discover if this goal then, is fulfilled in America's early textbooks. Analysis of what is contained in early textbooks concerning minorities, particularly immigrants from Western and Eastern Europe, and Asia serves as a focus for commentary upon America's perception of these groups.

Textbooks are especially useful in selecting what parts of the American past is considered worthy to be included as part of the American tradition. Ruth Miller Elson (1964), interpreter of textbooks of the past, believes that schoolbook authors of the nineteenth century may not only be considered as guardians of liberty but also shapers of the American character. She believes that an image of what is an American will serve as a guide for the future (pp. 340-342). Hillel Black (1967), author of The American Schoolbook, comments that textbooks studied by previous generations have had an influence on the development of the

American people that is almost as profound as the achievements of Thomas Jefferson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Henry Ford (p. 73). School textbooks stamp an indelible imprint on the mind of students who consider that book a source of wisdom and authority. What is contained in these books must be carefully considered, if this, indeed, is true!

Reconsideration of Ethnicity Today

Education has been charged with the major responsibility for reconciling cultural diversity and for acculturating the children of our society (Johnson, 1940, pp. 108, 113-114). The state of Virginia has addressed this concern when formulating its educational goals as contained in the Social Studies Standards of Learning for Virginia Public Schools (1989). The democratic belief in diversity is addressed in two Standards of Learning that state:

The student will recognize the values, traditions, and/or attitudes of various cultural/ethnic groups in America. Student will identify and analyze the impact of contributions made by ethnic and other groups in the development of American society (p. 22, 31).

Free public education has been successful in assimilating a society of diverse peoples in the past, according to the standard interpretation. The argument is that the common or public schools acculturated the immigrants, training them for roles in an industrial society while also serving as mechanism of social mobility for ethnic groups (Cremin, 1965). The revisionist school of

educational historians has provided a different picture. They argue that textbooks and the day-to-day operations of the school were designed to depict the immigrants as different and inferior (Greer, 1972). This study is partially planned to address this argument by using textbooks as a source of information for evaluating these arguments. Of course, the difference between ideology and practice is basically like that described by Gunnar Myrdal (1944) in his seminal book, An American Dilemma. He contends that while American society advertised the ideology of individual freedom and equal opportunity, social practices were designed to retard and restrain the advancement of America's minorities.

It appears that the last decade of the twentieth century seems to be searching for a new sense of direction to enable it to cope with the problems of modern society. The rapid population growth, fueled by people of diverse origins from Latin America and Southeast Asia, has produced mixed feelings and uncertain reactions. It would be entirely inconsistent for a society which believes in the individual's worth to condone an educational system that excludes or rejects the ethnic origins of one-fourth of its members. It is also not likely that a majority culture will truly value minority individuals when the majority are ignorant of the cultural tradition and life-styles of those who are different. It cannot be expected that representatives of the many ethnic groups will feel they are

individuals having worth and dignity if schools and textbooks provide no recognition of the positive contributions made by members of these groups. For all of these reasons, a push to incorporate multicultural education into the curriculum is necessary. As Chester Finn and Diane Ravitch (1988) state:

. . . American history is multicultural and pluralistic. It is the story of many races, religions, and ethnic groups striving to become one society under one government. It is a story filled with conflict and compromise, achievement and disappointment in the continuing effort to redefine what it means to be an American (p. 563).

Textbooks Today

Educators have recognized the shortcomings of textbooks. Until this time, minorities were ". . . non-persons as far as writers and publishers of textbooks were concerned," (Jackson, 1976, p.4). The Council on Interracial Books for Children (1979) states that school textbooks ". . . have had the result (and perhaps the purpose) of rationalizing and perpetuating interracial injustice." The Council comments further that children cannot change their race or sex so they must never be forced to read distortions of history that denigrate or even deny their contributions and existence to society (p. 46).

Some authors believe that the situation seems to have reversed itself. What textbooks include or exclude and how subject matter is slanted become matters of intense interest to educators and other adults (Sewall, 1988). Gilbert

Sewall, textbook analyst and editor of Social Studies Review whose goal is to advance the quality of social studies textbooks and all instructional materials, continues with the comment that while

trying to scrub texts clean and make them universally acceptable, such books will always contain points of view. American history textbooks cannot be neutral . . . and this poses a grave problem in an age of ideological gridlock (p. 554).

Steven O'Brien (1989), teacher and commentator on textbook publications, points out the labyrinth of hurdles that must be negotiated in producing a textbook: the need to avoid insulting special-interest groups; the need to produce middle-of-the-road materials salable in all part of the country to earn enough profit to warrant the initial capital involved; and the often bizarre selection criteria of the state adoption committee (p. 98). These obstacles further erode textbook creativity.

Students in school learn about their nation and the world in the classroom mainly through textbooks. Traditionally, the textbook has been an important vehicle in the curriculum for social studies education. Though teachers do not rely solely on the textbook today, it may be used as the central core of knowledge around which the whole course is structured (Metcalf, 1980). Rather than presenting various peoples in an accurate setting, textbooks tend to be intrinsically reflective of the nationalistic directives of the nation (Nelson, 1976; Billington, 1966;

Robinson, 1969). Since our educational system lays amid the legal, social and political boundaries of their nation, schools are perceived as major channels for conveying national allegiance and beliefs to young people. Nelson (1976) maintains that nationalism is an important hallmark fixture in the schools of our country if not all countries. School texts are used to further our nationalistic policies by inculcating the attitudes, beliefs, and opinions of the state. Giving negative depictions of the characteristics and cultures considered undesirable to the state becomes the mission of the textbook (Nelson, 1976; Robinson, 1969; Billington, 1966). Frisch (1989) makes the point well when he suggests:

Beneath the huffing and puffing about historical studies lies a fear not dissimilar to that propelling the 'Americanization' efforts that so dominated education and politics in the United States in the early years of the twentieth century, fueled by a terror of immigrant cultures and concern for the future of the Anglo-Saxon race and heritage . . . The point of education is not individual but national . . . education and indoctrination--cultural and political--seem almost indistinguishable (p. 1,153).

Therefore, an analysis of what is in textbooks seems an obvious outgrowth of these statements.

Not everyone paints a gloomy picture of our textbooks since Jenness (1990) believes that textbooks have become "more analytical, better organized, more cognitively demanding, better sequenced, less ideological in tone" as a

result of the New Social Studies era. He gives further suggestions on how to improve the quality of texts by urging teachers to play an active part in selecting texts. Monitoring textbooks and serving as a type of quality control through review of their scholarly resources will maintain a high professional standard (pp. 383-384).

Multicultural Education Today

Increasing pressure to use schools as vehicles for promoting the virtue of ethnic diversity is apparent in education today. This viewpoint has been called a "new pluralism." Bayles (1960) summarizes this concept succinctly by saying, "American education ought seemingly to promote development of more adequate and harmonious student outlooks on the life of which they are a part, and heightened capacity to reconstruct outlooks independently" (p. 208).

Florence Makita Yoshiwara (1977) feels that the basic premise of multicultural education today is "I'm okay, you're okay, and furthermore, your ways are okay and so are mine" (p. 75). By accepting diversity, a student develops the ability to look at his/her world and the world of others in a more objective manner. Seymour Ferish (1974) writes that "Today, more people throughout the world are trying to understand each other, but a willingness is not enough. It takes careful attention and concern" (p. 119).

Multicultural education is after all a basic undertaking through which we call for the recognition of the

common humanity of all people, not only in the culturally pluralistic nation in which we live, but the culturally pluralistic world. Pluralism is a necessary part of democratic education and David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot (1982) feel that our schools have accomplished a great deal toward promoting multicultural education in our society. They state it concisely when they write:

It is useful to compare schooling not only with its own high ideals but with the performance of other social agencies. And in that light, there is much room for pride. What other major social institution displays less bias with respect to race, sex, or class than do public schools? What other institution does more to promote equal dignity among groups or equal opportunity for all (p. 515)?

Statement of the Problem

Oscar Handlin (1951), Professor of History at Harvard and lifetime scholar of immigration wrote, "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrant in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American History" (p. 3). At each stage of America's development from the colonial period to the present, immigrants have left their imprint upon American life; hardly any aspect of the total culture have remained unaffected by their presence. Therefore, immigration is a compelling topic. Students should learn that all who came from foreign shores through the years were like our founding fathers, of varied ethnic strains, with much to bequeath to our country. Immigrants made contributions that can not be trivialized.

Immigration is a significant topic. Walter C. Parker (1991) emphasizes the need to establish essential learnings that provide students with a sustained examination of a limited number of topics. He identifies five subjects that should spiral upward through the K-12 social studies curriculum to help students develop a deep, rich network of understandings. One of these essential learnings is cultural diversity (pp. 1-3). Paul Gagnon (1989) in Democracy's Half Told Story which is tellingly subtitled What American History Textbooks Should Add believes that the five eleventh grade U.S. history books he reviewed do not address the crucial problem of unity versus diversity. He believes that this is an increasingly critical and daily pressing issue for so many students and their parents. He concurs with Parker that the gathering of the many and diverse groups of people through the successive waves of immigration is one of America's "big stories" that should be addressed as a major theme in U.S. history (p. 27). He writes:

Is it possible for a more and more diverse people, of many racial, ethnic, linguistic and cultural heritages, to live together in mutual respect under a single political heritage that has sprung mainly from Western civilization (p. 25)?

Immigration is a provocative topic. As Commager and Muessig (1965) state: "The facts of history turn out to be not hard and objective but impalpable and subjective" (p. 47). Since they believe factual accuracy about the past,

even the recent past, is rarely achieved, then an analysis of this subjectivity linked with a subject of shifting interpretations such as immigration becomes an interesting study to initiate.

Textbook analysis coupled with ethnic studies is a timely study. A person can not open a newspaper or magazine without being confronted by an article lauding or questioning multiculturalism or fairness in textbook presentations. During the past year, The New York Review of Books, The Atlantic, The New Republic, Time, Newsweek, and The New Yorker magazine have all focused upon these topics in some manner. In USA Today for February 20, 1991, Paula Schwed's story highlighted the furor building over Columbus in 1992. Did he discover America and was he one of the biggest mass murderers in history? As the feature states:

Columbus . . . represents one facet of the fierce debate going on in school districts all over the country over what textbooks should say about many ethnic groups that make up America (p. 9).

Time magazine's cover story for July 8, 1991 questions whether the growing emphasis on the nation's multicultural heritage exalts racial and ethnic pride at the expense of social cohesion (p. 12-17). Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (1991) in an editorial for The Wall Street Journal believes that "The bonds of national cohesion in the republic are sufficiently fragile already. Public education should aim to strengthen, not weaken, them" (p. A22). The debate

continues with increased vigor as daily commentaries flood the media.

The most recently published analysis of this subject in book form has been compiled by the National Society for the Study of Education entitled Textbooks and Schooling in the United States, edited by Arthur Woodward and David L. Elliot (1990). They have grave doubts about the textbook industry's ability to function as a national curriculum authority and call for increased local development of instructional materials (pp. 8-15). Diane Ravitch (Autumn 1990) believes that adherence to the principle of "E Pluribus Unum"

will maintain a balance between the demands of the one--the nation of which we are common citizens--and the many--the varied histories of the American people (p. 4).

Regardless of one's particular stand on the issues, the debate concerning textbooks and multiculturalism continues and according to the Social Studies Review for Winter 1991 "no issue in social studies is more prominent or explosive" at the present time (p. 1).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the treatment of immigrants who came voluntarily to the New World after 1607 in secondary U.S. history textbooks from the earliest texts to 1939. By limiting the topic to voluntary immigrants, African Americans have been excluded. Their history is in many respects too unique to be considered

under the heading of immigrants and requires separate treatment beyond the scope of this study. Instead, the immigrant groups from Western and Eastern Europe as well as those immigrants from Asia will be given emphasis. Specific immigrant groups included in this study are: Scotch-Irish, Germans, Scots, Irish, French, Dutch, Italians, Russians, Poles, Scandinavians, Greeks, Chinese, Japanese, and Jewish.

The broad themes of the immigrant experience will be analyzed for inclusion in past textbooks: why the immigrants came; the problems of the newcomers; their struggles and conflicts; their patterns of mobility and assimilation; and their contributions. These topics will be considered only in secondary American history textbooks published from 1789 to 1939. The date, 1939, was chosen to end the study in order to include reaction in textbooks to the Johnson-Reed Act which was passed in 1924. Extending this study fifteen years beyond this act's enactment will allow for inclusion of reaction to this critical legislation. This Act reduced each country's annual immigration quota to two percent of its emigrants already in the United States in 1890. The xenophobic reaction against all immigrants reached its zenith with this act whose purpose was avowedly to maintain the "racial preponderance [of] the basic strain on our people," and, thereby, to stabilize the ethnic composition of the population (Jones, 1960).

Identifying leading secondary textbooks used in 1789 to 1939 is critical to this study. The textbooks chosen were cited in a study of secondary textbooks conducted by William H. Cartwright, Jr. in 1950. A leader in social studies education and professor of history and education at Duke University, Cartwright's scholarly dissertation identified textbooks that were used most often in academies and upper elementary schools and latter in secondary schools across the nation from 1789 to 1947. He based his textbook list upon other historians' identifications, number of printed editions of a particular text, a textbook's appearance in secondary school catalogs, interest shown in a textbook by teachers and persons outside the profession, and legislation that adopted a particular text for a city or state.

Another textbook historian is Frances FitzGerald (1979). All textbooks used in this study are included in her text America Revised which considered history schoolbooks of the past and present and became a popular book that pointed out the problems of our history texts.

Research Questions

To guide the development and implementation of this study, the following research questions will be used:

1. Do the textbooks accurately emphasize the classic questions of immigration, namely, why did the immigrants come, how did they react to America, and how did America react to them?

2. Does the quantity of pages devoted to the immigrant experience increase, decrease, or remain the same over the 1789 to 1939 period?

3. Do certain immigrant groups receive more coverage than others?

4. Are these immigrant groups described in terms that would indicate bias or foster stereotypes?

5. If pictures are used in the textbooks, how do they portray the immigrant?

6. Does the topic of immigration in the textbooks from 1789 to 1939 serve as an instrument of nationalistic fervor either for or against the immigrant experience?

7. Is immigration history revised during the period from 1789 to 1939?

Summary

Historically, as British colonies and then as the United States, this land has always been a haven for refugees and a beacon for those seeking a new life. These immigrant groups have formed the weave of American history and, as such, their part in America's history must be recognized. One of the most difficult and demanding tasks for teachers is to break through the sense of parochialism that our children seem to possess and introduce students to the world beyond their borders. The insight that great civilizations such as ours learn from other ethnic groups helps students understand how American culture has been transformed by the contribution of its many different ethnic

groups. Our textbooks must reflect this understanding. This study is designed to see if textbooks of the past have included the immigrant experience in its entirety. This study will fill a void in scholarly studies concerning textbooks and immigrants that has so far not been attempted. Though immigration as a topic has been present for approximately two hundred years in U.S. history textbooks, no detailed study has been initiated that analyzes how immigration has been treated in the early texts. William H. Cartwright and Richard L. Watson, Jr. (1973) summarize the role of history's incorporation with multicultural education when they write:

The study of history can support both group loyalty and human unity. Some members of various groups will continue to pervert history in the interest of misguided loyalty, but we can strive toward an ideal history. And we can try to make local, state, parochial, ethnic and national history part of that ideal history rather than subversive of it (p.8).

Finally, the role of the history textbook matters since even if the textbook is despised, boring, or not read in full, or later forgotten in almost every detail, it "stamps an indelible imprint on the minds of students" (Horne, 1988, p. 3). To say that the school history book is important to the lives and thoughts of future adults is to say that it is important to the future history of the country; these same future adults will begin to make decisions, elect leaders,

and struggle to right wrongs. Textbooks, in a way, are an embodiment of our nation.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This review of the literature focuses on four closely intertwined themes: the treatment of immigration by various historians over a four decade period; the various viewpoints concerning multiculturalism in education and its historical roots; the historical background of American history and its interrelationship with textbooks; and a review of social studies textbook criticism as related to multiculturalism. These four strands must be interwoven into this study to adequately understand immigration and its characterization in both old and new textbooks. Grant Clothier (1978) expresses the need for an historical perspective when considering our pluralistic society.

Clearly, our national welfare depends upon our ability not only to perceive clearly and sensitively our origins, our traditions and our common experiences; but also upon a willingness to define a sense of common purpose for which we strive (p. 1).

Immigration Studies

One of the great dramas of American history is the peopling of America. Over 45 million people have crossed every ocean and continent to reach the United States. This massive stream of humanity has come speaking every language and representing every nationality, race, and religion. Thomas Sowell (1981) points out that today, there are more

Irish in the United States than in Ireland and more Jews than in Israel (p. 1).

The sheer magnitude of numbers who reached our shore has evoked deep, ambivalent, and mythic images within most Americans. Oscar Handlin's 1951 classic study, entitled The Uprooted, unleashed the beginnings of an unprecedented number of books and articles about immigrant culture. When he wrote "immigrants were American History," he had no idea that the subsequent four decades of immigration scholarship would attempt to explain this statement.

The Uprooted dramatically describes the immigrant as terminating his membership in a stable community and being cast upon his own resources as an individual (p. 38). The result of the immigrant's experiences left him disoriented but still able to be absorbed into the democratic structure of American society (p. 266). Earlier historians of immigrants, Carl Wittke (1939) and Marcus Lee Hansen (1948), also believed in the strength of America's economic and social structure to provide opportunities for the vast majority of newcomers. Updating these standard interpretations by using quantitative techniques, Thomas Kessner (1977) in The Golden Door analyzes the mobility rate of Jews and Italians in New York City. He discovers a marked higher upward mobility rate among these two groups than had been previously believed (pp. 120-126). But these viewpoints of upward mobility have become eroded by the methods employed by the social historians of the 1960's.

Historians made further challenges to the accepted picture of immigration studies and focused primarily on the immigrant as depicted by Oscar Handlin in the 1950's.

Challenging Handlin's Study

Karen Larsen's review of The Uprooted (1952) helped to usher in the new thought concerning immigration. With Handlin's moving portrayal of exploitation and his ideal of the "melting pot" explained to the fullest, he completed a study of such wide scope that his book did not fulfill its promise. Larsen wrote that

Instead of showing the effects of immigration on the 35,000,000 people who came to our shores in the nineteenth century, his book is actually a study of those immigrants only who came from the village background of central and southern Europe and were stranded in our eastern cities, notably New York (p. 704).

Handlin tried to include immigrant groups that did not fit that description and, thus, did very little to show the true diversity in the life of the immigrants. As a result, numerous historians responded to that need by studying particular institutions or communities of immigrants with emphasis upon the distinctive cultural character of each ethnic groups and the manner in which this influenced its adjustments in the New World.

Rudolph J. Vecoli's 1964 study of the contadini or peasant of southern Italy in late nineteenth century who emigrated to Chicago breaks the image molded by Handlin in every instance. The contadini huddled in hill towns that contained the remnants of feudal organizations where they

despised the soil and wanted some means to advancement, therefore, immigration served as an answer. While not only in Italy but also in America, the contadini acted on the "principle of economic individualism, pursuing family and self-interest" (p. 407). They knew little of and cared less for the Catholic Church and instead looked to magic as the explanation and power over the vagaries of life (p. 417). With Vecoli's depiction of the southern Italian peasants whose origins were not idyllic nor was their adjustment to Chicago so great an ordeal, Vecoli refutes many of Handlin's conclusions.

Using Vecoli's study as a springboard, other historians initiated studies that investigated immigrant groups in new time periods, in previously unexamined locations, and in unexplored intergroup relations among ethnic groups. Bodnar, Simon, and Weber (1983) examine Italians, Poles, and African Americans in urban Pittsburgh to ascertain how class and economic organizations interact to affect discriminatory practices against these groups. Ronald Takaki (1979) in Iron Cages believes that America's response to every minority group from the American Revolution to the Spanish American War is rooted in racist ideology. The more conservative economist, Thomas Sowell (1981), links social mobility to the customs, traditions, and values that the various ethnic groups brought with them. Theodore Saloutos (1964) points out that if America needed what the immigrant had to offer then progress occurred; if a correlation was

not present then serious privation resulted, with the immigrant either going home or being shipped back by a disgruntled employer. The situation of unemployment in Pittsburgh frustrated the immigrant's aim as seen in David Brody's (1960) Steelworkers in America: The Nonunion Era. The newcomer's stay depended directly on his employment. "The effects of trade fluctuations were, if anything exaggerated in the unstable steel industry. And the immigrants were the first to be let go" (pp. 105-106). Mark Stolarik (1985) writes about this same group of Slovaks but concentrates on their experiences in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Success was not defined merely as money in this city, but also included an immigrant's position in the Catholic Church or the ethnic community's social club or political party. Roy Rosenzweig (1983) undertook his study in the city of Worcester, Massachusetts, from 1870-1920. As a labor historian, he explored the workers' leisure time activities of the saloon and holiday picnic. These autonomous spheres offer one of the few areas protected from outside encroachment by the city's power structure; instead, they are assailed by new recreational patterns brought on by progress, such as the movie theater.

Immigration historians have initiated new linkages with immigrant groups never before studied, in small cities never before considered, and for socioeconomic reasons never before investigated. Their use of new materials has added a new dimension to immigration studies.

Women and Immigration

The growth of feminism affected immigration history by introducing as a major topic for analysis several books on gender's influence. Pocahontas's Daughter (1986) by Mary Dearborn studies novels written by Scandinavian, native-American, African American, and Jewish women to uncover ideas concerning intermarriage and acculturation. Maxine Seller (1981) concentrates on immigrant women of the nineteenth and twentieth century by combining oral history, diaries, and memoirs in anthology form. Her book, entitled Immigrant Women, explains how women's adjustment to immigration was different from men's. Contrary to the popular stereotype, many immigrants women had interests and commitments beyond the traditional sphere of home and family. Using the same techniques as Seller, Elizabeth Ewen (1985) in Immigrant Women in The Land of Dollars examines Jewish and Italian working-class women of the Lower East Side of New York City. Hasia Diner (1983) features Irish women's contributions to the labor struggle in nineteenth century America in Erin's Daughters. Maxine Tax (1980) investigates labor activism at the turn of the century in her book called The Rising of the Women.

The widening of the immigration sphere to include a group never before studied, namely women, has added a new depth and scope to the immigration agenda. The ever expanding range of immigration topics has introduced several new topics as seen in the next section.

New Paradigms in Immigration History

Dirk Hoerder (1986) explores immigrant workers' radicalism and direct action along with everyday life in the community. Coupled with these ideas is an analysis of the cultural background of the migrants. Hoerder views immigration as movement over the Atlantic in response to labor markets and economies. Using statistics, he notes that over one-third of all migrants returned to their homeland or to other industrializing areas.

From Sicily to Elizabeth Street (1984) chronicles the changes immigrant families experience in both material lifestyle and values. Folklore and proverbs are used to explore the transformation of the western Sicilian who enjoyed a unified and strong tradition of occupational identification and voluntary association to the labor activist of New York.

Victor Greene (1987) in American Immigrant Leaders studies ethnic associations by concentrating on their leaders. These individuals are easily identified by their group members and by professional historians but have been overlooked for study since many "view immigrant life as totally proletarian, virtually leaderless, or subject entirely to the external, powerful forces of secular change" (pp. 4-5). Greene refers to these immigrant leaders as "traditional progressives" who were trying to synthesize the past and future through new group organizations in the United States (p. 16).

Education and Immigration

The need to provide a common experience for children of diverse backgrounds so that they could become responsible citizens was perceived by Ellwood P. Cubberley who wrote in 1909 that the first task of education was to

assimilate and amalgamate these people [the immigrants] as a part of our American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government (pp. 15-16).

Bernard Bailyn (1960) initially made the point that education should be thought of "not only as formal pedagogy but as the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations" in his Education in the Forming of American Society (p. 14). Revisionists like Michael Katz (1968) envision schools as a way to inculcate values equated with social control rather than social progress and mobility. Colin Greer (1972) in The Great School Legend points out that looking closely at the homeland preparation explains school success. Cultural background and economic status is reflected and reinforced in the school, not caused by it. Greer used census data and Immigration Commission reports to show that when immigrants become American, neither schools nor society offered the mobility imagined in the American Dream (p. 100). Moses Rischin (1962) confirmed this when he made it clear that the outstanding rate of Jewish mobility in the cities of the Northeastern United States depended on the urban and small-

town entrepreneurial experience in Eastern Europe. Vecoli (1964) showed this to be true for Italians, while Thomas and Znaniecki (1927) proved that for Poles occupational experience in the homeland was a significant factor in adapting to the United States. David Cohen (1970) argues that educational attainment for ethnics followed social mobility rather than caused it. Bernard Weiss (1982) in a collection of essays entitled American Education and the European Immigrant believes that public schools were less important in the Americanization of immigrants than neighborhoods, labor unions, and ethnic communities. In one of these essays, Dinnerstein makes the point that without universal public education the social mobility via the professions achieved by the Jews, or any other immigrant group, would have been impossible in our credential-oriented society (p. 54).

In this historiographic review of immigration writings, immigration historians have addressed not only new topics such as pre-immigration background, popular culture, family, and women, but also sensitive issues such as politics, education, social mobility, and religion.

Multiculturalism

History of Multiculturalism

The typical twentieth-century sociological investigation, from early in the second decade until the fifties, concluded that most of the foreign-born in the United States were totally assimilated within a generation

or two. There the process terminated. According to this so-called straight-line theory, the "melting pot" did its work effectively, homogenizing our highly diverse society. This was the dominant view of sociologists William Thomas, Florian Znaniecki (1927) and early historian Marcus Hansen (1940). Handlin (1951) believed little group community persisted beyond the children of newcomers, only a feeling of nostalgia, a later generation's yearning to recall the lives of its ancestors (p. 230).

Gunnar Myrdal's (1944) classic study of African Americans and other minorities in American society entitled An American Dilemma, observed that "Americans of all origins have something in common, a social ethos, a political creed, the American creed cements the structure" (p. 8). This American creed is the equality principle that conflicts with the "anti-amalgamation doctrine that believes that minorities--African Americans and Asians especially--were unmeltable into American, white society due to genetic and cultural inferiority. Myrdal noted that

This attitude of refusing to consider amalgamation--felt and expressed in the entire country--constitutes the center in the complex of attitudes, which can be described as the 'common denominator' in the problem (p. 58).

The attitude of racial superiority among the older German and English immigration stock over the darker, eastern European immigrants was expressed in 1909 by

education historian Ellwood Cubberley who wrote in Changing Conception of Education:

These southern and eastern European are of a different type from the northern Europeans who preceded them. Illiterate, docile, lacking in self-reliance and initiative, and not possessing Anglo-Teutonic conception of law, order, and government, their coming has served to dilute tremendously our national stock, and to corrupt our civic life (p. 15).

This massive influx of humanity was accompanied by urbanization, industrialization and the rise of large corporations. These developments created severe social problems. Asian immigrants who had settled in the still developing Western states failed to escape these problems (Daniels, 1990, pp. 238-258).

Fueled by the evident strains on social stability, the flood of immigrants was viewed with great alarm by the dominant, native-born White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant (WASPs) and triggered the reactionary Nativist Movement. Starting in the late 1800's, this movement reached its zenith during and after World War I; it was directed primarily at white ethnic groups of Eastern and Southern European origins and resulted in widespread violence against these groups (Higham, 1969, pp. 264-299). In a related fashion, the "Yellow Peril" Movement on the west coast produced devastating consequences for Asians (Jones, 1960, pp. 264-265; Curran, 1975, pp. 87-92).

Nativism was aided and abetted by the so-called Americanization Movement, whose adherents wished to quickly

and forcibly assimilate the millions of new immigrants into the mainstream of American society. The public schools played a major role in this movement through their intensive efforts to "Americanize" children of immigrants. They imposed a strongly Anglocentric curriculum on these children, punished them for using their mother tongue, and often denigrated the cultural traditions and values of their parents (Jones, 1960, p.273).

During this era, almost 2 million military draftees were subjected to IQ tests during World War I. Since the IQ scores of immigrants were 10 to 15 points below those of native-born WASPs, the claim was advanced that persons of Eastern and Southern European origins were genetically inferior in intelligence (Higham, 1969, pp. 272-277). These findings were later used to argue for the passage of the National Origins Quota Act of 1924, which restricted further immigration from the countries of Eastern and Southern Europe. Inasmuch as Asians were considered not only racially inferior but also unassimilable, the law also halted further immigration from Asia. Therefore, as a result of the Nativist and Americanization movements, millions of minorities were traumatically acculturated into the American mainstream. The severe disruption of the cultural identities of many of these groups, testifies to the brutal effectiveness of these movements (Novak, 1971).

The "melting pot" metaphor was perpetuated by the 1963 work of social scientists Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick

Moynihan, who studied New York City's population, and the 1964 work of sociologist Milton Gordon, who looked at racial minorities as simply the last of the ethnic groups to migrate to the cities. They believed that these groups would conform to the White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant ethic. This dominant ideology has strongly influenced the shaping of our social institutions, particularly schools, to this day (Gordon, 1964).

The philosophy of cultural pluralism experienced a strong revival when urban disorders exploded nationwide in the 1960's. African Americans incinerated their slum tenement houses with the rallying cry of "Burn, baby, burn,"; urban native Americans protested police harassment; Chicanos rioted against barrio conditions. With this resurgence of ethnic unrest nationwide, Americans questioned the conventional notion of a complete assimilation in the United States.

Multiculturalism Today

Many minorities became aware of the pervasiveness of the WASP bias in the schools and were increasingly concerned about the damage this bias was inflicting on the minds of their children. Such concerns led to demands by various minority groups for ethnic studies as an alternative to the existing curriculum in the schools (Banks, 1977, p. 4). Multicultural education received further impetus with the rising ethnic consciousness of white and black groups, predominantly from working-class background, that had been

subjected to the Americanization process described earlier (Novak, 1971). These groups, along with the growing women's movement, reacted against the condescending attitudes of many middle-class WASPs by calling for the establishment of white and black ethnic studies and women's studies as a way of reinstilling pride (Rose, 1972, p. ix). As Nicholas Appleton (1983) states in Cultural Pluralism in Education:

Moreover, these movements must be credited with calling attention to the many components of American schools that reflect class bias and sexism and for adding their voices to the growing demand for alternative and pluralistic approaches to education (p. 6).

As Pusch (1979) maintains in her introduction we must "prepare them [people] to cope with a culturally diverse nation" (p. vii), while Nixon (1985) believes that

multicultural education ought to be the expression of a heuristic urge to probe behind that dichotomy [them and us]; to discover that variousness in others and ourselves that is the strength of any multicultural society (pp. 11-12).

In practical terms, Carl Grant and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (1977) and Christine E. Sleeter (1991) call for an examination of educational content and processes. Some of the suggestions include: textbooks be examined for realistic treatments of cultural pluralism in American society; curricula enhance and promote cultural diversity; inservice programs for staff be developed to implement multicultural education (pp. 4-5; pp. 10-12). Banks (1981) believes that the key goal of multiethnic education is to help individuals gain greater

self-understanding by viewing themselves from the perspectives of other cultures (p. 25).

Multiculturalism, then, in this age of cultural relativism has become an important issue, a rallying cry that has served politicians, immigrants, ethnics, indeed, all constituents. It has had serious repercussions for the textbook industry too as the next section will explain.

American History Textbooks

Beginnings of American history in Texts

American history as a school subject is of comparatively recent origin. Nietz (1961) believes that before the American Revolution "there was no unity among the colonies, and hence no common American government. The interest of most early settlers was mostly only in their own colony" (p. 234). A shortage of significant historical events to compose a common body of knowledge known as American history also limited it as a school subject. Therefore, most students studied the subject in conjunction with reading and geography (Nietz, 1961, p. 234; Russell 1915, p. 7).

After the American Revolution, Jedidiah Morse in 1784 composed the first geography book to be published in the United States. He revised the original volume five years later to include American history. A total of 156 pages or thirty per cent of the book were labeled "History" (Cartwright, 1950, p. 7). Through many revised editions, Morse's geography books give more than incidental treatment

to American history. It can be concluded then, that in many schools during the last decade of the eighteenth century, American history constituted an important part of the curriculum (Cartwright, 1950, p. 13). Noah Webster's 1787 edition of his reader, A Grammatical Institute of the English language, Part III, made American history the most important part of the book. Forty-seven per cent or approximately 133 pages contained historical selections (Cartwright, 1950, p. 14).

The first textbook in American history to be used to teach United States history was published in 1795 by John M'Culloch, an immigrant Scotsman who lived in Philadelphia. Entitled A Concise History of the U.S. from the Discovery of America till 1795, it served as a compilation of varied sources pieced together to produce a treatment of American history. Alice Spieseke's (1938) thorough study of the compiler and his history concludes that

Considering M'Culloch's lack of training, it is remarkable that he used as good sources of information as he did. The writer [Spieseke] is inclined to believe that this was a matter of chance, rather than the result of research (p. 104).

M'Culloch's text initiated the publication of textbooks devoted entirely to American history. Now, using textbook titles alone, a researcher may prove that the subject was taught. For the early national period, the existence of textbooks offers almost the only such proof. Cartwright (1950) states that

during the twenty-nine years after 1788 there were published at least nine different textbooks, totalling at least thirty-five editions. These books represented the efforts of seven authors and were printed in at least ten different cities in six separate states (p. 34).

American History in the High School Curricula

Henry Johnson (1940), educational and intellectual historian from Columbia University Teachers College, ranked the United States as a backward country in the teaching of history, not only in comparison with Germany and France, but in comparison with other European countries (p. 52). The reason for this was suggested by Frances FitzGerald (1979) in America Revised when she wrote:

. . . until the eighteen-nineties Americans thought of themselves as belonging to a particular culture and holding certain values; they defined themselves by that culture much more than by the fact of the nation-state (p. 48).

Early nineteenth century findings seem to bear this out since Elmer E. Brown (1926) found American history listed in a school catalog for the first time by the Phillips Academy at Exeter in 1818 (pp. 298-301). Three years later at the new English Classical High School founded in Boston, one of the subjects listed was "History, particularly that of the United States" which was taught in the third year (Brown, 1926, pp. 298-301). Roorback (1937) scrutinized the catalogs of 235 academies, seminaries, and high schools, published between 1820-1860. Representing 23 states, the per cent offering American history was 58.3 or 175 institutions (pp. 119-120). By the law of 1827 the history

of the United States had assumed an important enough position in the field of secondary education to be required in Massachusetts by towns containing five hundred families or more. Inglis (1911) compiled a list of schools from the Abstracts of School Returns of Massachusetts from 1837 to 1841. Though the reliability is questionable, nevertheless, the general trend is evident that U.S. history was on the increase. In 1834, Inglis (1911) found that of 261 towns reporting, 64 claimed to offer U.S. history; in 1837, 209 of 294 towns stated the subject was taught; in 1838-39, 177 of 298 towns; in 1839-40, 178 of 301 towns; and in 1840-41, 167 of 304 towns (p. 75). Russell (1915) studied the Reports of the Regents of the University of New York from 1825-1860. He concluded that although there was no State law to compel adoption of American history, the development of the subject was simultaneous with that of Massachusetts and grew from only 12 offerings in 1827 to 164 in 1860 (p. 9).

American history was gaining importance as may also be evidenced by textbook production. If a widespread interest in U.S. history existed, therefore, textbooks were needed for instruction. Russell (1915) listed one hundred American history textbooks published before 1860 (pp. 32-35). This list was derived from Barnard's Journal and contains all the textbooks which Henry Barnard could account for that were published prior to 1860.

Since the introduction of M'Culloch's textbook, authors of American history made no attempt to prepare materials for

different age groups. In Cartwright's dissertation study, he analyzed for whom the various books were designed and came to the conclusion that American history textbooks during the first century of production were intended to be used either in the elementary schools, where their difficulty was so great as to make it necessary that they be used at the upper levels, or in the academies. The phrase "academies and schools" appear frequently on the title page of textbooks until almost the end of the nineteenth century. This was necessarily true, for there were no books written exclusively for one or the other. (Cartwright, 1950, pp. 56-58). Inglis (1911) believes that by 1860-61, United States history had consistently assumed a position in the first year of the high school course (p. 140).

Teaching from Textbooks

Textbooks writers did not initially incorporate teaching techniques into their books. Whether they felt teachers to be adequately trained in the teaching of history is difficult to ascertain from early textbook prefaces. Progress in teaching methods is found in some of the texts that teachers used. Russell (1915) traced the educational changes found in the six editions of Charles A. Goodrich's History of the United States from 1822 to 1867. Goodrich's 1824 edition gave no direction to teacher or student. Important points were in heavy-faced type and only a few illustrations were present. Five years later a second edition appeared where memoriter or strict questions and

answer memory work was demanded and review questions were found at the end of the chapter. In 1833, a chronological list was placed in the appendix and several illustrations were added. One year later the review questions were omitted and a few more illustrations inserted. Eighteen years later seventy-five pages of review questions were included in the back of the book with an index of topics, six maps and two documents, namely the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. The sixth edition in 1867 included all of the above refinements as well as a pronouncing index, a table of the states of the union, and large and small type as guides to study. The most important new feature was a chapter in the appendix written by A. P. Stone entitled "Hints on the Method of Teaching History." He advises topical outlines, diversity in the assignment, and collateral readings. He warns against too frequent use of printed questions and advises the student to read over the lesson one or more times to grasp its general scope (p. 28). The exact effect of such textbook innovations upon the actual classroom can not be determined but a definite shift from sheer memorization to more comprehension and skill acquisition is noteworthy.

Roorbach (1937) states that another textbook suggestion included the laboratory method. "Students were required to complete charts dealing with various topics" (p. 232). He cites the lecture method in addition to the textbook method of question and answer recitations. Also, objective aids

such as globes, maps, charts, pictures, outlines, and reference libraries were making their appearance.

The previous discussion is predicated upon the fact that there are textbooks for use. Many students had no books. In some cases a textbook was handed down within a family. Some students were compelled to share copies with a group of two or three classmates. Attempts to standardize textbooks met with opposition so many communities followed the traditional practice of letting parents provide their children's schoolbooks. By the end of the nineteenth century, some school committees still complained about the variety of texts in the classroom (Kaestle & Vinovskis, 1980, p. 147, 153). The reason for the ill-assorted textbooks may have been because parents wanted direct control over what subject matter their children were taught, favoring familiar texts; more decidedly, they appreciated the savings that giving their children old editions did for their pocketbook.

The provision for free textbooks was assumed gradually by cities and states. The earliest city to provide free textbooks was probably Philadelphia, in 1818. New Hampshire ordered free textbooks for indigent children in 1827. Massachusetts gave permission to furnish free textbooks in 1873, and made them obligatory in 1884 (Cubberley, 1919, pp. 151-152).

American History's Progress 1860-1924

Rolla M. Tryon (1934) believes that to say that the textbook was "king of kings" and "lord of lords" summarizes the textbook situation during the forty years following 1860 (p. 97). He also contends that American history textbooks for the secondary schools probably reached a lower level of desirability during this time frame than they had ever reached before or after (p. 97). Part of the reason for this criticism revolves around the large emphasis devoted to government and war. The four leading texts of this time, Quackenbos, Anderson, Barnes and Lossing, devote a minimum of forty per cent of their books on these aspects of the nation's life (Tryon, 1934, p. 97). Tryon (1935) introduces another aspect to the argument that few advances were made in history as a school subject following the Civil War. He states: "The two values on which most emphasis was placed between 1870 and 1900 were the disciplinary and moral" (p. 80). The disciplinary aim held absolute sway, thereby reducing history to a memory subject pure and simple, even more so than it had been prior to 1860. The American Herbartians felt United States history was a subject par excellence for moral educative purposes and greatly increased the interest of school people in this field as a result (Tryon, 1935, pp. 81-82).

Thomas Peet (1984) contends that by 1890 many states required American history especially because universities and colleges expected their incoming students to have had it

(p. 111). An additional assistance to American history came from the 1893 report of the National Education Association along with the concurring vote of the 1899 Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association. Their reports led to uniformity in secondary school history. A solid sequence of history was initiated in high school with the number of courses in American history showing a marked increase (Tryon, 1934, p. 98; Jenness, 1990, p. 69). Peet (1984) states that textbook publishers adopted the patterns from the two commissions which indicates that real change had occurred in the schools (p. 126). The 1916 Report of the Committee on Social Studies looked even more closely at social studies on the secondary level. Evaluators agree that when the proposals of the 1916 social studies committee were implemented in the schools, American history became firmly entrenched as an eleventh grade subject (Jenness, 1990, p. 79). Also this committee stressed that history was not just events but an interpretation of change. More influential was its comprehensive report, issued in 1918, which published the Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education. Jenness asserts that though curriculum changes were substantial the restatement of the purpose of public education was revolutionary since it dealt more with personal welfare and preparation for life. "Worthy home membership" speaks directly to the changing complexion of schools as a result of immigration (pp. 80-81).

A market for new textbooks with more social and economic material resulted from these meetings. The new textbooks, though, were labeled a "disappointment" by Tryon (1934). He believed that since many of these books were written by the same authors who had written books previously, it gave the appearance of "pouring old wine into new bottles" and still showed a propensity to stress political and military history (pp. 101-102).

Textbooks could not be everything to everybody. They were a disappointment to many people, for a variety of reasons, as will be shown in the final section of this study.

American History Textbook Analysis Efforts

Attempts to Control Textbooks

In the southern United States during the ante-bellum days, the content of history textbooks tended to paint a sympathetic picture of slave-holding interests. Bessie Pierce (1926) relates that there was "frequent agitation against the use of Northern textbooks" (p. 137). S. G. Goodrich's History, extensively used at this time, came in for much adverse criticism because, in the opinion of Southerners, it "insulted" and "misrepresented" the South (Pierce, 1926, pp. 141-142). After the Civil War, one of the most active exponents of pro-Southern history were veterans' associations such as the United Confederate Veterans who established an Historical Committee who reviewed United States history texts. Their Committee felt

the books written in the first ten or fifteen years after the Civil War were "dictated by prejudice and prompted by the evil passion that time had not then softened" (Pierce, 1926, p. 147). Agitation concerning the presentation of the Civil War in textbooks continued, fueled by other patriotic organizations, until the 1930's. D. S. Muzzey's An American History was condemned for its depiction of the Reconstruction period (Pierce, 1926, pp. 160-161). These criticisms resulted in specific textbook changes. Of more importance was the practice for the states which formed the Confederacy to prescribe specific textbooks for use in American history.

Analysis of content on a worldwide scale, began in 1899 with a study developed by the International Peace Conference to eliminate erroneous ideas about the reasons for war (UNESCO, 1946, p.2). While in the United States after World War I, ardent patriotism resulted in the launching of a vendetta by Hearst newspapers against school textbooks that had revised their view of the Revolutionary War. William B. Guitteau's Our United States was "Anglicized" and "must be cast out if America is to remain America," stated Charles Grant Miller, the journalist who led the crusade for fair books (Pierce, 1926, p. 209). Mr. Miller also criticizes Guitteau for omitting the role of Irish patriots in the Revolution (Pierce, 1926, P. 214). The repercussions of this debate were more revisions and an end to the production of some books (McDiarmid & Pratt, 1971, p. 12).

Studies of Bias against Minorities

Until recently, most studies of textbooks focused upon the information contained in textbooks. Almost without exception, studies of this kind criticize books for omissions and call for more of what these partisans consider important for students to learn. Over the last few decades, ethnic minorities along with the elderly, the handicapped, and women's groups, have criticized textbooks either for ignoring their constituencies or for presenting them as stereotypes.

An early study conducted by Dr. Pierce (1930), in Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks, examined 389 texts in common use to ascertain significant attitudes in American life. She found that readers and histories are most guilty of painting the American as superior to other peoples and are the most ethnocentric (p. 255). Though the book was concerned mainly with civics, there was some comment upon immigration in a chapter named "The racial elements in the United States." Pierce concludes that in early textbooks

Immigrants from Northern Europe, or those coming before 1880, are usually described as desirable. In some instances, the immigrant of recent years is said to be undesirable (p. 86).

Not everyone was concerned or even aware of the bias issue in textbooks. In 1931, The National Society for the Study of Education prepared a report concerning textbooks in education and not one mention was made about bias or unequal treatment of minorities. Even when listing other areas that

were important and yet not present in their report, bias was not one of the six areas that the committee felt would add to the completeness of textbook treatment (p. 6).

The American Council of Education studied the treatment of minorities in secondary school textbooks in 1949. It was concluded that the historical contributions of these minorities were minuscule. European immigrants after 1880 were treated as problems from abroad; Asian-Americans were regarded as agitators on the west coast; African Americans were portrayed exclusively as slaves; Native Americans were savages. These findings seem to parallel those of Pierce in 1930.

In 1970, Michael Kane states that in social studies, some of the worst abuses of inaccuracies, omission, and half-truth is the treatment of minorities (preface). In his study of junior and senior high textbooks published in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, he finds mainly a white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon view of history with "virtually no improvement in the treatment of the Chinese American or the Japanese American" (p. 141). He notes only one area of advancement, and that is in the role of the African American who has made recognizable progress but is still receiving inadequate coverage (p. 142).

The Council on Interracial Books for Children and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith have published other studies that have pointed out the need to "more truthfully represent this [United States] nation's history" To

clarify this point, twenty-six "stereotypes, distortions and omissions are reported with their analysis. (Council on Interracial Books for Children, Inc., 1977, p. 11). As Frances FitzGerald (1979) states:

Conceivably, the publisher could make a book that would include all these perspectives--or, more realistically, they could produce different texts for the different sections of society. But in either case the message of the texts would be that Americans have no common history, no common culture, and no common values, and that membership in a racial or cultural group constitutes the most fundamental experience of each individual (p. 104).

A look at textbooks by Glazer and Ueda (1983) chronicles the accommodating stance feared by FitzGerald. They see a Balkanization of American history where every group gets their 'proper' share and U.S. history is turned into a record of oppression in which racial and ethnic minorities are victimized and exploited (pp. 63-64).

In 1986, People for the American Way, a nonpartisan constitutional liberties organization, sponsored a review by distinguished historians and school teachers of U.S. history texts. It reported that texts were bigger, broader, more attractive, and did a particularly good job of encouraging students to think critically and creatively. But it also reported that they were bland, uninteresting, lifeless, and less readable because of their short, choppy sentences. Concerning equal treatment of various ethnic group, the study concluded that

Overall, treatment of Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians perpetuates their invisible roles in building this nation. Hispanics, whose ancestors were the first European explorers and settlers within this nation's current boundaries, have long been ignored or casually mentioned in conventional U.S. history textbooks. This crop of textbooks is no exception. (p. 10)

Thinking and Rethinking U.S. History, a study conducted in 1988 by the Council on Interracial Books for children, was initiated to find out why young people displayed so little knowledge of, or interest in, peace and social justice issues. Schoolbooks provided the clues since The Council believes that

How students learn to judge these issues and to evaluate their importance from what they read in their textbooks is bound to influence their social attitude in childhood and adulthood alike (p. 7).

Twelve texts were selected for analysis and were related to one of the social justice issues identified: racism; colonialism; sexism; militarism; classism; and social change movements. Research was then carried out so that additional alternative information in the form of lesson plans could be provided.

In Teaching Prejudice (1971), the statement is made that "as long as there are separate groups with distinct cultural identities, some bias is perhaps inevitable, conditioned as we all are by differing points of view" (p. 2). There must be a balance and the solution has lead to the inclusion of more, not less, material in textbooks. If John M'Culloch's main problem in the eighteenth century was

to cut down the amount of information so as to fit it into a schoolbook (Spieseke, 1938, p. 105), then how can the modern textbook publisher cope? Harriet Tyson-Bernstein in A Conspiracy of Good Intentions (1988) observed that "However worthy the causes, textbook writers have been forced to compress material already in the book in order to make room for more" (p. 18). Textbooks have become compendiums of topics, none of which are treated in much depth (Tyson and Woodward, 1989, p. 15).

Summary

Immigration as an important topic in American history can be verified by the unprecedented number of books and articles that have poured off the press dealing with the subject (Seller, 1987, p. 195). But the meaning of the immigrant experience may be interpreted in many ways as shown by this overview of literature pertaining to immigration historiography. The recent emphasis on multiculturalism and ethnicity in our pluralist society that dates back to the foundation work done in the 1960's and 70's seems to have expanded the agenda of immigrant historians and forced new paradigms upon them. But most people do not read the specialized books of historians. What everyone does read and has read since the days of the one room school house is his or her American history textbook.

Textbooks help to shape our thinking; if this were not true, why would organizations, journal articles, books, and

newspaper articles report with clockwork regularity the flaws that textbooks possess? These groups know that textbooks are still a pervasive feature in American classrooms. The textbook, structuring from 75 to 90 percent of classroom instruction (Woodward and Elliot, 1990) and providing, too often, the teacher's lesson plan (English, 1980, p. 275), should be analyzed for content and emphasis. A textbook functions to summarize and synthesize a body of knowledge and provides a survey, based on original scholarship (Doyle, 1984, p. 10). This is the ideal; the reality may differ.

No study has analyzed U.S. history texts of the past concerning the immigrant experience. Two dissertations exist that have begun the study. One, by Collins J. Reynolds (1950), gives a cursory look at texts since 1861 concentrating on the now obsolete terms of "old" and "new" immigration. His study emphasizes books after 1930 until 1947 which is not the scope of this study. The other dissertation, written by Sister Marie Leonore Fell (1941), looks at the foundations of nativism as expressed in textbooks from 1783-1860. She concentrates on discriminating terms and specific stereotypes that appear in textbooks. The majority of the textbooks cited were used by younger school children in reading and geography rather than history. Contents studied were "confined to excerpts from history or historical selections which were controversial and which represented the attitude of the writer or compiler

as far as the Catholic Church and the foreigner were concerned" (p. vi). As expressed in her conclusion, Sister Fell's 1941 study "reveals not so much an anti-foreign slant as an anti-Catholic attitude on the part of the compilers of the texts" (p. 224). Her dissertation concentrates more on how the wide variety of textbooks used from 1783-1860 treat the Catholic and the Catholic foreigner with intentional condescension and as less than full citizens.

No study has concentrated solely on the earliest American history texts for students in high school. Nor has any study examined the subject of immigration in early textbooks without concern for bias or prejudice but only for coverage. Therefore, this study constitutes new scholarship in immigration studies when it studies the content of American history texts from 1783-1939 that were written for secondary students.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

This study concentrated upon the treatment in social studies textbooks of immigrants who came voluntarily to the United States after 1607. The immigrant experience, as contained in secondary social studies textbooks, was the focus of this study. Specific immigrant groups from Europe and Asia were considered for analysis in the context of their role in immigration history.

The research was completed in five parts. First, a check-list of important ideas was utilized to determine how written and visual textbook content handles major topics of immigration history. Second, the pages in the text used to describe the immigrant experience were counted to include a breakdown by specific immigrant groups. Third, the evaluative terms used to describe immigrants were investigated through the use of the Evaluation Coefficient Analysis (ECO). Fourth, a picture analysis system similar to the one developed by McDiarmid and Pratt (1971) was used to scrutinize the treatment of immigrants in pictures. Lastly, immigration was analyzed to see if the topic was used as a nationalistic tool to either favor or disparage newcomers including specific immigrant groups. The result of this final analysis determined if immigration history had been revised at various points in our early textbooks, and if so how. This last inquiry also made use of the Evaluation Coefficient Analysis (ECO) from which conclusions

were drawn. Using these four measurements, some conclusions were extracted regarding the presentation of the immigrant experience in early secondary social studies textbooks.

Textbook Selection

Early textbooks in American history may not be described in terms as exclusively "elementary" or "secondary." The terms "academies and schools" appear frequently on the title page of textbooks until almost the end of the nineteenth century. This designation indicates that throughout most of the century the same American history books were used in the upper elementary grades and in the high schools and academies with no books written solely for one or the other.

The subject of American history was typically taught in the academies and seminaries after 1820 with no specially designed text. As J. F. Stout (1921) writes when he summarizes the period from 1860 to 1900 in the development of the high school curriculum:

This subject, like arithmetic, grammar, and physiology, was taught in the upper grades and rural schools as well as in the high schools. It was in fact primarily a grade subject, and textbooks of this type, as shown in the published lists of texts, were used almost exclusively in the high schools (p. 59).

As William H. Cartwright (1950) concludes from the evidence he compiled, American history, for the first century of its existence, was taught from the same kind of textbooks at both the upper elementary and high school

levels (p. 58). Also, Cartwright believes that American history as a school subject received a great deal more attention during the first century of the nation's existence than has previously been believed. He believes that the publication of many textbooks that resulted in a great many editions implies the existence of a large market (p. 53).

The selected textbooks written between 1789 to 1939 are based on William Cartwright's learned thesis which employs multiple methods to pinpoint "most used" texts. Cartwright began by studying earlier historians' identification of textbooks. Relying heavily upon Agnew O. Roorbach (1937) and William F. Russell (1915) for guidance, Cartwright himself located editions not cited by either Roorbach or Russell and used this information to cite additional popular texts (pp. 35-36).

A second method used by Cartwright involved noting a textbook's listing in various secondary schools' catalogs. He again used Roorbach's 1937 study to commence his search, but then found forty additional catalogs accessioned in the Library of the Office of Education (p. 44).

Thirdly, Cartwright noted interest shown in American history textbooks by organizations such as the American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres of New York. They offered, in 1820, a prize of four hundred dollars and a fifty dollar gold medal for the best textbook in American history for schools and colleges that had been produced in the ensuing two years. The New Jersey Society of Teachers

and Friends of Education appointed a committee of twenty-three members in 1844 to consider the problem of schoolbooks. Marcius Willson prepared the report which Cartwright considers "a mine of information about the teaching of American history in the 1840's . . . and consisted principally of criticisms of eight 'of the most prominent school histories'" (p. 40).

Lastly, Cartwright considered legislation that required the study of American history. He studied the work done by Bessie L. Pierce (1926) which identified Virginia as the first state to require United States history before the Civil War with five other states following suit. Four other states had passed laws relating to "history" which may have been American history with California requiring the teaching of the state and federal constitutions (pp. 6-8). From this information, Cartwright then noted Russell's and Roorbach's citation of the textbooks recommended by various School Commissions and Superintendents of Public Instruction throughout the United States to identify additional popular texts (pp. 55-57).

Using all of these methods, a total of thirty-nine textbooks were compiled for consideration as the samples for this study. The complete list of titles and editions appears in the appendix as Appendix A.

Textbook Analysis as Research

As a research tool, content analysis that concerned itself with minorities has been generally used in the social

sciences for about eighty years. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Americans tended to discover flagrant bias in textbooks, but used no consistent tool other than careful perusal of books. In this formative period of textbook analysis, Taft (1925) noted that European diplomacy was described as "a maze of trickery, double dealing, wickedness and folly." Reddick (1934) investigated racial attitudes in American history textbooks and ascertained that they presented African Americans as "shiftless and sometimes vicious, and easily led into corruption." Saveth (1949) found that before the Second World War some textbooks stated that Irish Americans were "wicked and worthless immigrants." Janis (1949) found a productive kind of analysis for detection and description of attitudinal content to be assertion analysis of statements such as "Orientals are wise." Seven years later, Osgood, Saporta & Nunnally developed an instrument known as Evaluation Assertion Analysis which was later used by McDiarmid & Pratt (1971). Pratt (1972) further modified the instrument into an Evaluative Assertion Rating System which overcame some of the deficiencies apparent in the Evaluation Assertion Analysis which was used by him in an earlier textbook study (Pratt, 1969).

Major Topics in Immigration History

The major thrust of immigration history for many years centered around the portrayal of white newcomers to the United States with little emphasis upon any other immigrant

groups such as Asian Americans and Latin Americans. Little is written about what topics should be included when describing the immigrant experience. Historians must have felt that U.S. history textbooks presented a complete picture of immigration as it was written. With no authoritative information on this subject, the author has had to construct an immigration checklist with topics pulled from high school textbooks and from leading immigration historians.

Some information has been written about content analysis pertaining to minorities. One publication, containing some salient points, came from the The Council on Interracial Books for Children. Published in 1977, Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks included a criteria checklist of major topics for evaluation of secondary-level history textbooks as related to Asian Americans and Latin Americans (pp. 53-54, 65). Ten of these criteria, closely associated to this study, are listed and have been considered when developing the topical outline:

1. Multiple reasons caused the Chinese to come to the U.S.
2. The Chinese experienced both suffering and exploitation in building the railroad.
3. Chinese worked at many occupations and were instrumental in developing some industries.

4. Racism systematically excluded Chinese from entering into, or remaining in, some field of work.
5. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act had extensive ramifications.
6. Chinese have a long history of struggle against oppression.
7. U.S. sugar interests in Hawaii recruited and exploited Japanese laborers.
8. Japanese undertook a variety of occupations in the U.S.
9. There was extensive legal, social, and economic persecution of Japanese in this country.
10. The U.S. broke the Gentlemen's Agreement, in 1924, by excluding Japanese.

In order to develop the following topical checklist, several sources were utilized in the research. Though many sources were examined, three particular references should be noted. Firstly, Oscar Handlin's work (1951) was reviewed for content. The researcher paid careful attention to the sections related to reasons for immigration. Secondly, Maldwyn Allen Jones' work American Immigration (1960) was evaluated in all areas but especially in the sphere of restrictionist policy and the impact immigration had on society. Lastly, the article on immigration in the Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups (1974) added the dimension of explaining not only how the immigrant lived but

also the impact immigration has had on the immigrant as a person. This article also served as a general resource.

After the topical checklist was developed, a logical extension seemed to be the concept mapping technique which appears as Figure 1. This concept mapping expeditiously informs the reader of the major topics related to immigration and allows the uninformed to digest an entire topic quickly. Those individuals who learn better visually were also accommodated by the use of another learning dimension.

The developed topic checklist follows and is listed again in Appendix B with subtopics:

- I. What immigrant groups came to America and how many?
- II. Why did immigrant groups come to America?
- III. Where did these immigrants settle?
- IV. How did the immigrants live?
- V. What was the impact or results of immigration?

Each textbook containing information about the immigrant experience was examined to determine the extent that each topic is treated. All accounts of these topics in either text or picture, regardless of length, were considered as included and were recorded as such. Moreover, inaccurate information was checked as having been reported. For instance, an erroneous statement that the Chinese came to the United States only to work on the railroad would be checked as a subtopic inclusion under the major topic of "Why did they come?". Such inaccuracies also were

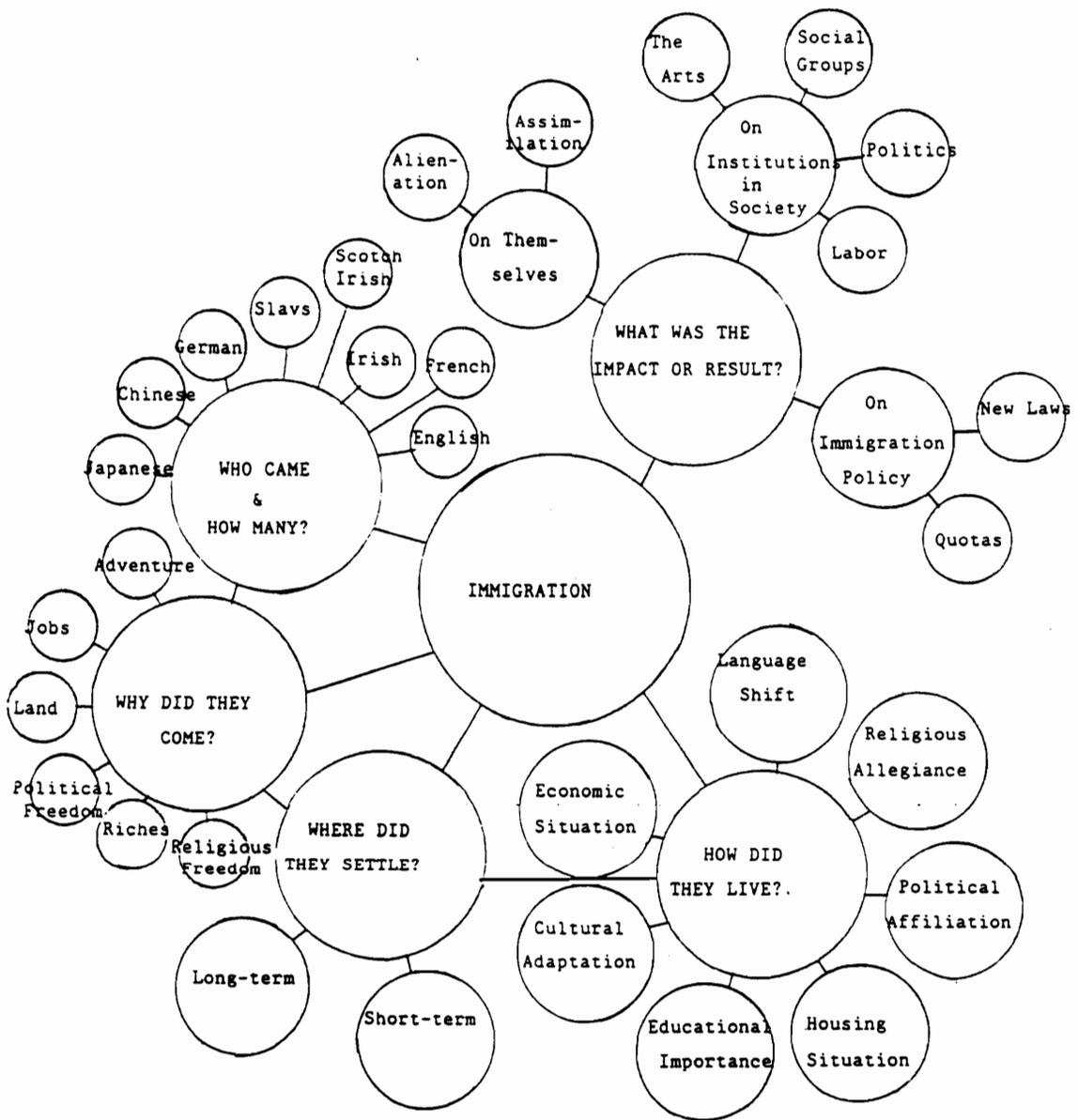


Figure 1

Conceptual Mapping of the Immigrant Experience in the United States

analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively and discussed in the summary of the checklist data.

Evaluation Coefficient Analysis (ECO) Procedures

ECO Analysis is designed to provide a valid and reliable quantitative measurement of value judgments in books. According to Pratt (1972),

The instrument is constructed on the assumption that attitudes are communicated in textbooks to a large extent through the value judgments which are expressed (p. 13).

These value judgments are found in the evaluative term. In the statement "Mexicans murdered Americans," the author uses an evaluative term "murdered" which would be listed along with all other such terms used throughout the book to describe Americans. This procedure would give a picture of the expressed attitude. Then, by calculating the percentage of these terms that were favorable as against those that were unfavorable, a person arrives at a score between 0.0 (totally unfavorable) and 100.00 (totally favorable) which locates the author on this favorable-unfavorable continuum.

Most evaluative terms are adjectives, but nouns, verbs, and adverbs were also used. Appendix C contains the complete procedure for ECO Analysis; Appendix D contains the ECO word list. To begin the study, all evaluative words were listed on a score sheet (Appendix E). Subsequently, the evaluative words will be assessed as favorable (+), unfavorable (-), or neutral (0). Pratt's word list was used as a standard against which other evaluative terms were

judged. Words not on the list were paired with synonyms that are. Personal judgment was used when words were not found using either procedure. Words that were merely descriptive were not considered. Appendix F contains a model exercise that has been scored using the method just described (Pratt, 1972, pp. 45-46).

Deciding whether a word is evaluative or not forms the crux of the problem in completing ECO Analysis. Pratt (1972) clarified this point when he developed a "congruency test." In this test, words are to be applied to "saints or heroes" or "sinners or villains." If the analyst is unsure whether a word such as "cooperative" is evaluative, the analyst must decide if the word can be applied to one category such as "saints or heroes" more appropriately than "sinners or villains." If this test proves true, as it does in the case of "cooperative," then the word is evaluative. If a word such as "tall" may be applied to either category with equal suitability, then the word is not evaluative but merely descriptive or neutral (p. 18). Bias by omission, factual inaccuracies, and biased illustrations are not analyzed by ECO analysis. In order to fill this void, the topic checklist was developed and the picture analysis components were added to this study.

After all evaluative terms referring to immigrants are listed from each text and assessed, the Coefficient of Evaluation (ECO Analysis Evaluation Coefficient Analysis) is calculated using the formula:

100 F

F + U

with F indicating the favorable terms and U designating the unfavorable terms. The calculation is completed using three steps in the following order:

- a. Count the number of "+" signs in the direction column.
- b. Multiply this figure by 100.
- c. Divide this product by the total number of "+" and "-" signs (p. 22).

In order to guarantee a degree of reliability, the Coefficient must be based on at least ten evaluative terms. With a minimum sample size of ten, the Coefficient of Evaluation is subject to a maximum standard error one-third of a standard deviation (p. 23).

The evaluation was completed by two analysts, one analyst trained by this researcher and the researcher herself. Procedures explained in How to Find and Measure Bias in Textbooks were utilized to train and evaluate both the researcher and the analyst. When both had been tested with sample paragraphs and agreement was 75 per cent or better, reading and coding began. Discussion of research results will be contained in Chapters 4 and 5.

Procedure for Pictorial Analysis

Several studies had considered textbook illustrations as confirming stereotypes (American Council on Education, 1949; UNESCO, 1949; Marcus, 1961) but none presented a

systematic study. Criteria for evaluating the pictures in a text were not stated and comments were subjective. The sole example of quantitative techniques can be found in the study completed by Shuey, King and Griffith (1953) who classified magazine pictures of African-Americans and whites by their employment status. A more recent study, completed in 1979, measured pictures by deciding whether they were positive or negative when judged if they portrayed bias (Sigler, p. 45). No objective criteria was used. Protinsky (1979) used the instrument developed by McDiarmid and Pratt (1971) for assessing the treatment of Arabs in elementary social studies textbooks. Ferguson (1983) also used this technique to analyze pictures of Native-Americans in elementary social studies textbooks.

McDiarmid and Pratt focused on the characteristics of appearance and attitude which might differentiate one group from another. They decided upon the following seven headings: Clothing, Aggression, Activity, Authority, Disposition, Women and children, and Decoration. The headings were placed on tally sheets, and under each heading directions for classifying groups were given (p. 49). The use of this checklist determines if the culture of a group was correctly depicted in textbook illustrations.

Adapting these categories to this study resulted in a seven point checklist. It was loosely based upon the tally sheet used by McDiarmid and Pratt (1971) as well as the one utilized by Protinsky (1979) which included the additional

category of "Environment". Ferguson (1983) added another heading "Housing" which was also used in this study. (See also Appendix G):

1. Clothing: native or ethnic costume such as Chinese padded jacket, kerchief as woman's head covering etc.
2. Activity: manual, farming, crafts includes housework, large-boat fishing, shoemaking, hand-weaving, portering (note that standing in a field does not necessarily constitute manual labor); exotic includes dancing or any other ritual; skilled, professional includes any work involving power machinery and any primarily intellectual work such as making speeches; leisure, idle includes standing staring sitting sleeping, reading, traveling for pleasure; other includes posing for pictures, attending school, marching, commercial work, traveling apparently related to livelihood, being interviewed, holding a conference, etc.
3. Authority: classify as subordinate if there is some positive indication of authority. Positions of people in relation to one another, posture, activity, and expressions may indicate direction of authority.
4. Disposition: laughing, smiling, scowling, frowning or indeterminate.
5. Women and Children: a single woman or child is sufficient.
6. Environment: urban, rural, or other.
7. Housing: single family dwelling, apartment or other.

All illustrations were from the early textbooks cited and were in reference to the immigrant experience. Pictures that meet these standards were coded on the Picture Analysis Checklist (see Appendix G).

Summary

This study utilized two types of content analysis, conceptual and attitudinal, to determine the precise ways in which immigrants were portrayed in early textbooks. To measure the conceptual analysis, a topical outline was

developed as well as a conceptual mapping system. The topic outline check list was used to determine which ideas central to immigrant history have been included in early textbooks. To gauge the attitudinal extent of selected texts, ECO Analysis coupled with pictorial analysis was used. Each selected history book was read for textual content and reviewed to find illustrations related to the immigrant experience. Individual tally sheets were used for each textbook; whereupon, all textbook tally sheet were then combined. A percentage was derived that indicated how individual texts treated topics in immigration, and then how all the textbooks combined considered each topic and subtopic. The same was true for ECO Analysis. Individual tally sheets were used and then an average score was obtained for all American history books. Pictorial analysis followed in the same manner.

When each textbook was considered individually, special notations were made concerning factual omissions and inaccuracies concerning immigrants and their history. Some conclusions were drawn concerning individual texts as well as the general topical content coverage of the immigrant in early social studies textbooks.

Each textbook was also investigated from the standpoint of immigrant group coverage. Pages were counted to see which immigrant groups received the most space and to perceive if there emerged any discernable pattern concerning certain immigrant groups in history texts.

Evaluation Coefficient (ECO) analyses scores were used to ascertain the attitudinal nature of content analysis. Textbooks that contained ten or more evaluative words concerning the immigrant experience were considered for study. A collective ECO score for all textbooks was also tabulated. Examining this score will immediately register whether the immigrant experience has been characterized as a positive or negative portrayal in history textbooks.

Pictorial analysis was coupled with the attitudinal research. Photographs and illustrations that interpret immigration history were measured in regard to appearance, attitude, environment, and behavior. An analysis was made for each characteristic and a percentage score ascertained. A composite score for all textbooks was also determined as well as for individual texts. Using this method, scores may be used to judge if early textbooks utilized pictures that presented stereotypes of immigrants. When a consideration of the ECO score is coupled with the pictorial analysis score, an attitude analysis of early social studies textbook may be ascertained.

With this attitude analysis in place, conclusions and generalizations were drawn that may indicate trends in the treatment of immigration history that span various historical time frames. The topic of immigration in early textbooks may serve as a litmus test that gauges the nationalistic spirit of our country.

Chapter 4

RESULTS

Introduction

The list of 39 textbooks contained in Appendix A were reviewed for information concerning the immigrant experience in United States history secondary texts from 1789 to 1939. All of the 39 textbooks contained some type of information found on the outline of major topics found in Appendix B. Each of the 39 textbooks were arranged in order by year of publication as shown in Table 1. The books on the list were arranged in order by publication date to allow the researcher to see if there were any changes over the years as far as page coverage and topic emphasis. This arrangement was an advantageous decision since the sequencing by chronology also permitted the researcher to see if the various historians changed their perspective upon immigration.

Seven research questions were chosen to guide and implement this study on immigration in early history textbooks from 1789 to 1939. This chapter will describe the research results based on the seven questions. After presenting and analyzing the results, the conclusions that were reached will be discussed in the next chapter though some initial conclusions will also be integrated into this chapter.

The major emphasis of this study focuses on Question 1 which is concerned with the degree to which the various textbooks cover the topics of immigration as contained on the topical outline in Appendix B. All the other questions unfold from the first. Therefore, the treatment of Question 1 dominates this study and as such it is much more detailed and lengthy than the other six questions.

It was beneficial to the researcher to arrange the textbooks in chronological order (see Table 1). It seemed a logical beginning to the study and yielded some generalizations about immigration history, namely, that textbooks of a certain period were similar in topic coverage.

Is there Accurate Coverage of Immigration Topics?

The first research question assessed in this study is: Do the textbooks accurately treat the classic topics of immigration, namely, why did the immigrants come, how did they react to America, and how did America react to them?

Question 1 was an examination of each early history book using the topic outline that contained the main ideas concerning the immigrant experience. The entire outline, as contained in Appendix B, was used to measure the detail in which each idea was presented. The data in Table 2 was compiled to reflect general conclusions that could be made about how all of the textbooks covered the outline. The outline merely indicates whether or not the idea was included in that particular text.

Table 1

Selected Textbooks Arranged in Chronological Order

Author	Book Title	Copyright Date
Morse, J.	American Geography	1789
M'Culloch, J.	A Concise History	1807
Webster, N.	Elements of Useful Knowledge	1813
Morse, J.	American Universal Geography	1819
Goodrich, C.	History of the United States	1823
Hale, S.	History of the United States	1826
Olney, J.	History of the United States	1836
Hall & Baker	School History of the U.S.	1839
Willard, E.	History of the United States	1843
Hale, S.	History of the United States	1848
Whelpley, S.	A Compend of History	1856
Willard, E.	Late American History	1856
Willson, M.	History of the United States	1865
McDonald, W.	A Southern School History	1869
Stephens, A.	A Compendium of History	1872
Lossing, B.	Outline History of the U.S.	1875
Anderson, J.	A Popular School History	1880
Blackburn, J.	New School History of the U.S.	1880
Quackenbos, G.	Illustrated School History	1884
Eggleston, E.	History of the United States	1888
Montgomery, D.	Leading Facts of American History	1890
Lee, S.	School History of the U.S.	1895
Cooper, Estill	History of Our Country	1896
McMaster, J.	School History of the U.S.	1897
Hart, A.	Essentials in American History	1905
McLaughlin, A.	History of the American Nation	1912
West, W.	American History and Government	1913
Beard & Bagley	History of the American People	1918
McMaster, J.	A Brief History of the U.S.	1918
Mace, W.	A School History of the U.S.	1918
Latane, J.	History of the U.S.	1921
Guitteau, W.	Our United States: A History	1923
Leonard & Jacobs	The Nation's History	1924
Gordy, W.	History of the United States	1925
Beard & Beard	History of the United States	1927
Vannest & Smith	Socialized History of the U.S.	1931
Barker & Dodd	Our Nation's Development	1934
Faulkner & Tyler	America: Its History & People	1934
Muzzey, D.	History of Our Country	1939

Table 2 uses the word "yes" to indicate that some phase of the topic or subtopic is present in that particular book. A "no" reveals that no part of the topic or subtopic appears in the book cited. This is a superficial treatment and does nothing to explain what type of information is in each book. But clearly one can perceive that textbooks written in the twentieth century contain more topical immigration information than previous texts.

After the general table of conclusions found in Table 2, each selected textbook was reported individually as to the detail in which each idea was treated. These results will be found on Table 3 through Table 8. The extent of the treatment is indicated by the use of "1" to indicate a one sentence treatment, "2" to indicate a two sentence treatment, and "3" to indicate three or more sentences. Where sections of a page or more in a book are devoted to a topic, this will be indicated on the table with a "4." Also, the discussion of results and the drawing of conclusions will reflect upon the reasons for the detail.

In regards to the earliest textbooks, it seems unfair to use the entire outline to assess inclusion. Looking at the chart containing the general results, it should be noticed that if the event had not occurred at the time the textbooks was written, there is a "N/A" under that particular heading. The "N/A" indicates that the textbook can not be judged under that particular heading.

Table 2

Treatment of Major Topics About the Immigrant Experience
in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

Author	Copyright	I	II	III	IV	V
Morse, J.	1789	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
M'Culloch, J.	1807	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Webster, N.	1813	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Morse, J.	1819	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Goodrich, C.	1823	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Hale, S.	1826	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Olney, J.	1836	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Hall & Baker	1839	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Willard, E.	1843	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Hale, S.	1848	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Whelpley, S.	1856	Yes	No	No	No	No
Willard, E.	1856	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Willson, M.	1865	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
McDonald, W.	1869	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Stephens, A.	1872	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Lossing, B.	1875	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Anderson, J.	1880	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Blackburn, J.	1880	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Quackenbos, G.	1884	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Eggleston, E.	1888	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Montgomery, D.	1890	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Lee, S.	1895	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cooper, Estill	1896	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
McMaster, J.	1897	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Hart, A.	1905	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
McLaughlin, A.	1912	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
West, W.	1913	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Beard & Bagley	1918	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
McMaster, J.	1918	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Mace, W.	1918	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Latane, J.	1921	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Guitteau, W.	1923	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Leonard & Jacobs	1924	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Gordy, W.	1925	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Beard & Beard	1927	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
West	1928	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Vannest & Smith	1931	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Barker & Dodd	1934	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Faulkner & Tyler	1934	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Muzzey, D.	1939	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

I = What immigrant groups came to America?

II = Why did the various immigrant groups come?

III = Where did the immigrant settle in America?

IV = How did the immigrant live in America?

V = What was the impact of results of immigration?

There will be "0's" on the charts. A "0" indicates no coverage of that topic in the particular textbook. The "0" should not be interpreted as a "N/A." The former indicates no coverage, while the latter shows that the topic had not occurred at the time of publication and can not be evaluated. This also justifies the lack of "scores" in this disseration. There will appear a general statement about how textbooks dealt with the subject, but scoring would be meaningless unless one compared information from the same publication date or if that particular topic appeared in all textbooks, regardless of copyright.

These tables serve as only a partial analysis of what is contained in early history textbooks about the immigrant experience. The discussion that follows includes excerpts from the textbooks that various authors made about the immigrant in their interpretations of the newcomer's role in history as contained in the outline of major topics and subtopics. It should also be noted that all the quotations contained in this study are typical statements made by the authors, and are not taken out of context or twisted to affect meaning.

What Groups Came to America and Why Did They Come?

When discussing the major topics and subtopics contained on the outline, the researcher will begin by combining the topic heading "What immigrant groups came to America?" (see Table 3) with "Why did the various immigrant groups come?" (see Table 4). Most textbooks, with the

Table 3*

Treatment of "What Immigrant Groups Came to America?"
in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

- A = At the close of the seventeenth century there were people mainly of English descent.
 B = Scattered among the English were Swedes who had settled in Delaware, Dutch who had arrived in New York.
 C = In the 1700's, a large number of immigrants from Western Europe came to America such as Germans, Scotch-Irish, French, etc.
 D = In the 1840's and 1850's, three million people left Ireland to emigrate to the United States.
 E = In the latter part of the nineteenth century, newcomers came from Italy, Turkey etc.
 F = By the 1860's, over 35,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in California. Japanese immigrants also came.

Author	Copyright	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.
Morse, J.	1789	4	2	4	N/A	N/A	N/A
M'Culloch, J.	1807	4	3	3	N/A	N/A	N/A
Webster, N.	1813	4	3	3	N/A	N/A	N/A
Morse, J.	1819	4	2	4	N/A	N/A	N/A
Goodrich, C.	1823	4	3	3	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hale, S.	1826	4	2	3	N/A	N/A	N/A
Olney, J.	1836	4	3	3	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hall & Baker	1839	4	3	3	N/A	N/A	N/A
Willard, E.	1843	4	2	3	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hale, S.	1848	4	2	3	N/A	N/A	N/A
Whelpley, S.	1856	1	0	0	0	N/A	N/A
Willard, E.	1856	Continuation '43			4	N/A	N/A
Willson, M.	1865	4	3	4	4	N/A	N/A
McDonald, W.	1869	4	3	0	0	N/A	N/A
Stephens, A.	1872	4	3	3	3	N/A	N/A
Lossing, B.	1875	4	3	0	0	N/A	N/A
Anderson, J.	1880	4	3	0	0	N/A	N/A
Blackburn, J.	1880	4	2	0	0	N/A	N/A
Quackenbos, G.	1884	4	4	0	0	N/A	N/A
Eggleston, E.	1888	4	3	3	0	N/A	N/A
Montgomery, D.	1890	4	3	2	0	0	3
Lee, S.	1895	4	3	3	3	3	1
Cooper, Estill	1896	3	3	3	2	3	1
McMaster, J.	1897	4	2	2	2	3	2
Hart, A.	1905	4	2	2	3	3	1
McLaughlin, A.	1912	4	0	1	2	3	0
West, W.	1913	4	3	4	3	3	0

- * 1 = one sentence treatment
 2 = two sentence treatment
 3 = three or more sentences, but not one page
 4 = page or more treatment

Table 3 (continued)*

Treatment of "What Immigrant Groups Came to America?"
in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

- A = At the close of the seventeenth century there were people mainly of English descent.
 B = Scattered among the English were Swedes who had settled in Delaware, Dutch who had arrived in New York.
 C = In the 1700's, a large number of immigrants from Western Europe came to America. Germans, Scotch-Irish, French, etc.
 D = In the 1840's and 1850's, three million people left Ireland to emigrate to the United States.
 E = In the latter part of the nineteenth century, newcomers, numbering over eight million, came from Italy, Turkey etc.
 F = By the 1860's, over 35,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in California. Japanese immigrants also came.

Author	Copyright	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.
Beard & Bagley	1918	3	3	3	3	4	4
McMaster, J.	1918	4	3	1	1	2	1
Mace, W.	1918	3	3	4	4	3	1
Guitteau, W.	1923	3	3	3	1	4	2
Latane, J.	1921	4	3	3	2	3	1
Leonard & Jacobs	1924	4	3	3	4	4	0
Gordy, W.	1925	3	3	3	4	4	4
Beard & Beard	1927	3	2	3	2	3	3
West	1928	4	3	4	1	3	4
Vannest & Smith	1931	4	4	4	4	4	4
Barker & Dodd	1934	4	3	3	3	4	4
Faulkner & Tyler	1934	3	2	3	3	3	3
Muzzey, D.	1939	4	3	3	3	4	3

- * 1 = one sentence treatment
 2 = two sentence treatment
 3 = three or more sentences, but not one page
 4 = page or more treatment

Table 4

Treatment of "Why Did the Various Immigrant Groups Come?"
in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

- A. = Search for a route to Cathay led Hudson to New York.
B. = Many reasons brought English to America.
C. = Religious and political persecution drove many to U.S.
D. = Huguenots were expelled from France.
E. = Scotch supporters of Stuarts came in 1715 and 1745.
F. = Germans fled devastation of Rhinelands.
G. = Scotch-Irish came to the frontier regions.
H. = Failure of potato crop in Ireland brought Irish.

Author	Copyright	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	
Morse, J.	1789	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A	
M'Culloch, J.	1807	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	N/A	
Webster, N.	1813	1	0	4	2	2	1	3	N/A	
Morse, J.	1819	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A	
Goodrich, C.	1823	3	4	3	0	0	0	0	N/A	
Hale, S.	1826	3	4	3	0	0	0	0	N/A	
Olney, J.	1836	3	4	3	0	0	0	0	N/A	
Hall & Baker	1839	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	N/A	
Willard, E.	1843	3	4	3	2	2	1	1	N/A	
Hale, S.	1848	3	4	3	0	0	0	0	N/A	
Whelpley, S.	1856	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Willard, E.	1856	Continuation of 1843 volume								4
Willson, M.	1865	3	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	
McDonald, W.	1869	3	3	1	0	3	0	2	0	
Stephens, A.	1872	1	4	4	3	3	3	3	0	
Lossing, B.	1875	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Anderson, J.	1880	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Blackburn, J.	1880	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Quackenbos, G.	1884	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Eggleston, E.	1888	3	3	1	1	0	1	2	0	
Montgomery, D.	1890	2	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	
Lee, S.	1895	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	3	
Cooper, Estill	1896	3	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	
McMaster, J.	1897	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Hart, A.	1905	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
McLaughlin, A.	1912	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	0	
West, W.	1913	3	3	1	1	3	3	3	1	
Beard & Bagley	1918	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	
McMaster, J.	1918	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	
Mace, W.	1918	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	2	
Latane, J.	1921	2	3	1	0	0	0	1	1	
Guitteau, W.	1923	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Leonard & Jacobs	1924	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	
Gordy, W.	1925	3	3	2	2	2	0	3	4	
Beard & Beard	1927	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	
West	1928	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	1	
Vannest & Smith	1931	3	3	1	1	3	3	3	1	
Barker & Dodd	1934	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Faulkner & Tyler	1934	4	4	1	2	3	3	3	3	
Muzzey, D.	1939	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	

Table 4 (continued)

Treatment of "Why Did the Various Immigrant Groups Come?"
in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

I. = Political revolutions of 1848 brought many Germans.
J. = Chinese immigrants left China to make a fortune.
K. = Unemployment, overpopulation, brought many Italians.
L. = Eastern European Jews arrived to escape pogroms.
M. = Slavs suffered economic or political hardships.
N. = Crowded conditions in Japan caused economic distress.

Author	Copyright	I.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.
Morse, J.	1789	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
M'Culloch, J.	1807	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Webster, N.	1813	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Morse, J.	1819	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Goodrich, C.	1823	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hale, S.	1826	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Olney, J.	1836	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hall & Baker	1839	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Willard, E.	1843	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hale, S.	1848	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Whelpley, S.	1856	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Willard, E.	1856	4	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Willson, M.	1865	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
McDonald, W.	1869	1	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Stephens, A.	1872	4	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Lossing, B.	1875	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anderson, J.	1880	0	3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Blackburn, J.	1880	3	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Quackenbos, G.	1884	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eggleston, E.	1888	0	0	0	0	0	0
Montgomery, D.	1890	2	0	0	0	0	0
Lee, S.	1895	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cooper, Estill	1896	0	0	0	0	0	0
McMaster, J.	1897	0	2	0	0	0	0
Hart, A.	1905	1	0	0	0	0	0
McLaughlin, A.	1912	0	0	0	0	0	0
West, W.	1913	2	0	0	0	0	0
Beard & Bagley	1918	0	3	0	1	0	0
McMaster, J.	1918	2	0	0	0	0	0
Mace, W.	1918	2	0	0	0	0	0
Latane, J.	1921	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guitteau, W.	1923	1	0	0	0	0	1
Leonard & Jacobs	1924	4	0	2	2	0	0
Gordy, W.	1925	3	3	0	0	0	0
Beard & Beard	1927	4	0	0	3	0	0
West	1928	1	3	0	2	0	0
Vannest & Smith	1931	4	4	2	4	2	3
Barker & Dodd	1934	0	3	0	0	0	0
Faulkner & Tyler	1934	1	2	0	2	0	1
Muzzey, D.	1939	1	1	0	0	0	3

exception of Morse and Webster, combined the two topics in their discourse, so to report findings and aid discussion of results, the researcher will follow the same format.

The English Founding Fathers Dominate

Of all the subtopics, the one covered the most completely in all the histories, whether it be Morse, M'Culloch, Webster, Hale, Goodrich or even the modern Beard and Beard, Vannest, or Muzzey, was the almost sacrosanct commentary upon the early English founding fathers. The virtues of Captain John Smith of Virginia and the importance of Puritanism in Massachusetts were proclaimed as the true heritage of the United States and a bequest of the early settlers of Virginia and New England.

Though The American Geography (1789) by Morse might seem, by title, to be out of place, the book was conceived to provide an American geography and history written by an American using "authentic information." In his Preface he stated:

Europeans have been the sole writers of American Geography, and have too often suffered fancy to supply the place of facts, and thus have led their readers into errors, while they professed to aim at removing their ignorance (p. V).

His large volume, over five hundred pages, contained information almost solely dedicated to the United States. Only one-eighth of his book was concerned with other areas of the world. His geography, which was also a complete

American history text, became an immediate success and was adopted at Yale University as a textbook (Kraus, 1937).

Morse (1819) was concerned with the adventurous nature of the early founders of Virginia and related the entire story of Captain John Smith and his rescue by Pocahontas using the Richmond Compiler as his source (pp. 468-469). No mention was made by Morse (1789; 1819) of the gentlemen's search for gold dust and riches which resulted in the "Starving Time" and the various other calamities that befell Virginia.

Noah Webster's textbook (1813) was a combination of M'Culloch's American history and Morse's geographies--just as the title proclaimed. When each state's characteristics were discussed, the section headed either "Of the Inhabitants" or "Of the Original Settlers" contained the ethnic origins of the people. The English people dominated in his narrative but all the other groups were included under the appropriate state or territory.

Whelpley (1856) described general reasons for coming to America. Adventure did not enter into his discussion.

The first settlers in this country, while it was yet a mighty wilderness, considered themselves as in a kind of voluntary exile . . . They felt the want of people on all accounts; to clear off the woods; to cultivate the land; to carry on the manual arts; to promote the liberal sciences; and, in short, for all the grand objects of peace and war (p. 200).

Charles A. Goodrich in A History of the United States (1824), was a Massachusetts minister who believed firmly

that "In New England the severe puritanical manners of the people produce a rigid, energetic (sic) government" (p. 61). Emma Willard, Jesse Olney and Marcius Willson also gave a leading role to New England. The principles of English colonization set the standard for patriotism and what was sought after in responsible immigrants. Morse (1789) said:

New England may, with propriety, be called a nursery of men, whence are annually transplanted, into other parts of the United States, thousands of its natives. . . They glory, and perhaps with justice, in possessing that spirit of freedom, which induced their ancestors to leave their native country, and to brave the dangers of the ocean and the hardships of settling a wilderness (p. 144, 145).

Albert Bushnell Hart, writing in 1905, also summarized succinctly the great lesson of early English colonization when he wrote that

. . . men of the English race were able to adapt themselves to new and unforeseen conditions. The colonists made local governments for themselves, founded representative colonial governments, and even set up a remarkable federation, during the confusion caused by the civil war in England (p. 63).

The Pilgrims received an interesting summation by Lossing (1875) that indicated not all the settlers were of the same high calibre.

Prosperity and happiness followed industry and thrift, until society was disturbed by the arrival of some emigrants who had been sent by a discontented member of the Company to plant a new settlement. Many of the newcomers were idle and vicious (p. 82).

Olney (1836) and all of the other textbook historians stressed the difficulties that the early colonists faced when founding a new home for themselves so that they could have freedom of religion. All the textbooks except Whelpley (1814) also indicated in some manner this important observation about the Puritans:

The Puritan themselves had been driven from home, on account of their religious peculiarities; yet we soon find them cruelly persecuting others who differed from them in matters of religion (Olney, 1836, p. 62).

One particular instance of this was recorded in several of the early texts. A number of Quakers had arrived in Massachusetts in 1656. Since their ideas did not agree with the Puritans, they were persecuted and banished from the colony. Four returned, at which time they were condemned and executed for their beliefs.

The puritans at length discovered their errors, and repealed their cruel laws. In that age of bigotry, the wisest of men had not discovered, that ALL MEN HAVE A RIGHT TO WORSHIP GOD AS THEY PLEASE [sic] (Olney, 1836, p. 62).

Conditions in the colonies before the American Revolution were evaluated optimistically by John J. Anderson (1880) who summarized the character of the people from the Old World: "In general, they were intelligent and industrious, and of good moral and religious character (p. 112). Lossing (1875) also looked in retrospect at the founding of the thirteen colonies who were "distinguished by differences in language, tastes, habits, and religious

faith." But the colonies came to be known as Anglo-American colonies, governed by English laws (p. 127). Olney (1836) evaluated the character of the first settlers of this country as strongly marking the best features of liberty which is representation (p. 249).

Several textbook writers commented upon the royalist gentry of England's flight to America. After Cromwell captured the government of England during the years 1649-1660, many supporters of the king turned to the New World to make their fortune. West (1928) states that "nearly all this emigration went to Virginia. This migration made Virginia 'the Land of the Cavaliers.'" He continues:

It brought the Harrisons, Lees, Masons, Madisons, Pendletons, Randolphs, Wythes, Washingtons, and other gentry families, soon to become famous in the 'Old Dominion.' . . . but it was this Cavalier migration which, a century later, flowered into her splendid galaxy of Revolutionary patriots, and, a little later still, justified her in her proud title 'Mother of Presidents' (p. 86).

West (1928) could not say enough complimentary about these Cavaliers. He described most of them as high-minded gentlemen, who loved liberty only a degree less than they had feared anarchy--robust, dauntless, chivalrous, devout (p. 86).

The Quakers were also a significant part of the English immigration to America around the year 1700. The Friends or Quakers in England were subject to numerous disabilities and annoyances, so Penn, weary of the persecution, became

determined to seek at asylum in the New World (Stephens, 1899, p. 78). The Quakers are spoken of highly in every textbook. Lossing (1875) wrote this summary of their characteristics:

Quakers were marked by a refined simplicity and equanimity which won the esteem of all. Their lives were governed by a religious sentiment without fanaticism, which formed a powerful safeguard against vice and immortality (p. 128).

West (1928) pointed out that half of the Quaker population were an industrious English group but that the population was at least half non-English from the first--Welsh, German, Swedes, Dutch, French, Danes, and Finns (p. 93). Vannest and Smith (1931) pointed out that Penn advertised his land far and wide in England and on the continent of Europe since he wanted industrious husbandmen, shoemakers, weavers, carpenters, and masons to come to his colony (p. 24). This would account for the wide variety of inhabitants.

Maryland was settled by mainly "emigrants from the British dominions," according to Noah Webster (1813). He was the only author that indicated that "a large part from Ireland" also settled Maryland (p. 155). Later in his text under the heading "Religious Denominations" he explained why he drew the wrong conclusion. "Maryland was originally settled by catholics from Ireland; and these are a numerous denomination" (p. 157). No other text made any similar statement. Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, who actually colonized Maryland after his father died, brought

with him "two hundred emigrants, mostly Roman Catholic gentlemen from England" (Stephens, 1889, p. 67). This account was typical of the 1633 Maryland founding.

Therefore, it can be concluded that in the outline developed for this study, I A. & II B. received a great deal of emphasis, almost to the exclusion of other sections in the outline.

The Swedes

There was little mention of the Swedes as an ethnic group with unique characteristics. Their colony was discussed in every textbook, but the narrative was concerned with their short history in the colony of Delaware which was settled under the patronage of King Gustavus Adolphus. Only one text commented upon "the industry, thrift, honest, and aversion to change peculiar to the Swedes (Lossing, 1875, p. 128).

The Dutch

All of the texts except Whelpley (1856) recorded the settlement of New Netherlands by the English explorer Henry Hudson in 1609. He was in the service of the Dutch East India Company and from the start was considered an intruder by the English (Olney, 1836, p. 46).

The American Universal Geography, also by Jedidiah Morse (1819), was similar to the older volume except that the new states and territories were included in this expanded edition of 883 pages. Along with the improvements

made in various cultural areas, both volumes contained similar information about the Dutch.

They are industrious, neat and economical in the management of their farms and their families. Whatever business they pursue, they generally follow the old track of their forefathers, and seldom invent any new improvements in agriculture, manufactures, or mechanics (p. 389).

Vannest and Smith (1931) spoke more positively about the Dutch. The authors stated that the Dutch came to America for economic reasons. They decided to do intensive farming or produce market gardens. The Dutch were evaluated as being sturdy, prosperous and conservative (p. 43). Benson Lossing (1875) evaluated the people in his book as "desirable" or "undesirable," and the settlement of families in New Netherlands were described with the former term (p. 52).

The Germans

Slightly more than half the texts discussed the Germans who settled in America before the American Revolution. The Germans were judged highly for their improvements in agriculture in Pennsylvania, but were chided for their "imperfect knowledge of the English language [that] makes them deficient in literature and political knowledge" (Morse, 1819, p. 430). Edward Eggleston (1888) devoted an entire three pages to a discussion of the various groups that came to America in the 1700's. He wrote that there were many little sects in Germany that were fleeing persecution from military service. Also approximately

thirteen thousand poor people from the Palatinate of Germany came to Virginia, the Carolinas, and some to Maryland. Some were sent to New York to make tar and pitch but "so wretchedly were they cared for that seventeen hundred of the four thousand died at sea or soon after landing." The account continued that some went west while others "were well received in Pennsylvania . . . and thronged more than ever into Pennsylvania" (pp. 65-66).

Mace (1918) commented further that the Germans in Pennsylvania were nicknamed "Pennsylvania Dutch" and that "some of their quaint ways may be seen in the nooks and corners of that state" (p. 97). Beard and Beard (1927) further explained:

They kept to themselves, built their own schools, founded their own newspapers, and published their own books. Their clannish habits often irritated their neighbors and led to occasional agitations against 'foreigners' (p. 10).

The Scotch-Irish

Slightly more than half of the texts discussed the Scotch-Irish in America. Emma Willard (1843) referred specifically to the Cameronian Scots who came to East Jersey in 1683. She stated that ". . . there, bringing their industrious and frugal habits, they were blessed with security, abundance, and content" (p. 74). The Scotch-Irish were given a glowing account by John Latane (1918). He stated that at the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century as many as 500,000 had come to America by

the beginning of the Revolution. When they found the Tidewater and Piedmont sections of the South already occupied, most were forced to seek lands in mountainous regions of the West. Latane believed:

They were a brave, sturdy, frugal, and energetic race, well suited to the hardships and dangers of frontier life. They not only played a most important part in the later French and Indian wars and in the Revolution, but in the gradual conquest of the continent by the forces of civilization the Scotch-Irish have always been found on the frontier. In fact, the history of the American frontier is largely the history of the Scotch-Irish in America (p. 63).

Edward Eggleston (1888), mistakenly called this group Irish, when in reality they are the Scotch-Irish whose forefathers originally lived in Scotland, but who afterward moved to the northern part of Ireland to escape persecution. The English tried to force them into the Church of England and away from their Presbyterian beliefs. Some of them came to New England in about 1718 where they introduced the spinning of flax and the planting of potatoes. Eggleston (1888) continued:

. . . but "the greatest tide of Irish immigration poured into Pennsylvania. Five thousand Irish immigrants arrived in the city of Philadelphia in the year 1729. Many of them were bold and enterprising pioneers, opening the way into unknown regions, and showing great courage in fighting with the Indians (p. 66).

Mace (1918) wrote that they "lived plainly in their log houses on little farms. They were the 'backwoodsmen' of

later colonial days" (p. 97-98). Of course he too commented that

These Scotch-Irish settlers were the greatest Indian fighters and the best marksmen in America. The sore oppression which drove them from Ireland made them among the first to resist the king's tyranny in America (p. 98).

Beard and Beard (1927) estimated that the Scotch-Irish were the second largest colonial group in order of importance after the English and composed one-sixth of the entire American population on the eve of the Revolution (p. 8).

The French Huguenots

Only one-fourth of the textbooks mentioned the French Protestants or Huguenots who fled the civil wars and persecutions of 1685 and came to the colonies in large numbers. They were described as "mild" and "peaceable" by J. Olney in 1836 (p. 96). Emma Willard (1843) commented that those who "settled in Virginia and Carolina . . . introduced the culture of the vine, and were among the most useful settlers of the province" (p. 96). Salma Hale (1826) stated: "Many of these exiles were rich; all were industrious, and by their exemplary demeanor gained the good will of the proprietors (p. 148). Quackenbos (1884) described the descendants of the Huguenots as "some of the bravest heroes of the Revolution" (p. 120).

"The Refuse of England"

Only ten texts discussed the role of the debtor immigrant in America. By providing an asylum for the poor

of England, James Oglethorpe and the trustees of Georgia granted an alternative to prison for many. But the trustees found "many of these emigrants idle and inefficient" (Olney, 1836, p. 102). Willard (1843) also described the emigrants as idle and adds that "many of them vicious" (p. 117).

Salma Hale (1829) recorded:

But it was soon found that these emigrants, who were the refuse of cities, had been rendered poor by idleness, and irresolute by poverty, were not fitted to fell the mighty groves of Georgia. A race more hardy and enterprising was necessary (p. 158).

McDonald and Blackburn (1869) evaluated the English paupers as the kind of population unfit to combat the difficulties and hardships of colonial life. "They wanted industry and emulation" which the authors felt were sadly lacking in this group of settlers (p. 108). Lossing (1875) indicated that the Germans and Swiss who came to the colony later were "industrious and thrifty" (p. 123).

Vannest and Smith (1931) was the only text that devoted more than one sentence on the poor who came to the New World. They explained why the poor came. Laws were severe on people who were unemployed. One law provided that men or women wandering on the highway be "stripped naked from the middle upwards and be openly whipped until his or her body be bloody." The English judges sent many of these beggars to Virginia. In London and in other cities poor children were gathered up off the streets and given over to the Virginia Company. The jails and prisons were often emptied

and the inmates sent to Virginia (p. 11). This practice continued throughout the entire colonial period but Georgia is remembered since it was the first colony founded with the humanitarian purpose of using prison labor.

Summary

Webster (1813) neatly condensed the information concerning the first immigrants to the United States when he wrote:

The original settlers of Virginia and New England were almost all natives of England--those of New York were natives of Holland and other parts of the Netherlands--a body of Swedes planted the first colony on the Delaware, where their descendants are still found, though few of them unmixed with the progeny of other settlers. Maryland was originally peopled by emigrants from Ireland; the Carolinas and Georgia, by emigrants from England, Scotland and Germany; and Pennsylvania, from England, Ireland and Germany (p. 204).

Immigrants of Pre-Civil War America

All the textbooks on the total list, with the exception of six authors, discussed the German or Irish immigration to America. In the 1840's, immigration began to assume larger proportions. Latane (1918) stated that over 100,000 foreigners came to our shores and in 1854 the number exceeded 400,000. He commented that this movement was due primarily to the famine in Ireland and the revolutions in Germany, but it was accelerated by the rapid extension of the American frontier.

Some of the immigrants remained in the Eastern States, where they took the place of the native-born Americans who

were moving to the West. This was especially true of the Irish. The Germans, on the other hand preferred going directly to the frontier and they played an important part in the development of some of the Western States (pp. 306-307).

Muzzey (1939) wrote that the Irish came in throngs because the "English rule was hated, religious persecution was common, and grinding poverty was almost universal." The terrible famine that followed the failure of the potato crop of Ireland in 1845, made America appear attractive. He further recorded that immigrants sent back reports of getting meat every day, and white bread and warm clothing which increased the amount of immigration so that over half the population of Ireland came to the United States (pp. 451-452).

The Germans in 1848 had hoped to unite their governments and win a greater degree of liberty. Their revolution to achieve this end was a failure so many Germans decided to seek freedom in America. Leonard & Jacobs (1924) noted that entire villages left to start a new life (p. 452). Mace (1918) wrote that the immigrants who came from 1830 to 1860 brought ways of living and worshipping that differed much from most Americans at that time. The majority of Irish were Catholics and the Germans brought with them strange customs. "For the first time in our history immigrants began to settle in the eastern cities and towns instead of going west to take up farms." The arrival of so many foreigners "frightened people into believing that

American institutions were in danger" (p. 281). Susan Pendleton Lee (1885) explained that the political strife in Europe "brought over hordes of hardy peasants and industrious citizens, and at the same time, an appalling crowd of the idle and vicious from the Old World" (p. 321). When writing about the Irish, she commented that "these wicked and worthless immigrants often sought a hiding-place in the large cities where they swelled the ranks of idleness and vice" (p. 322).

This idea that the German and Irish stayed in eastern cities was confirmed by Wilbur Gordy (1925). But Gordy further explains, which Mace (1918) neglected to, that

. . . by far the larger number of other immigrants from Europe joined the westward movement, thereby increasing the populations in the new states and territories. People from many nations sought homes here, attracted not only by the free government but by the abundance of cheap land, light taxes, and plenty of work. The discovery of gold in California was another magnet drawing people to our shores (p. 306).

Susan Lee (1885) drew the conclusion that the Irish remained generally near the Atlantic coast, "taking the places of the natives who had moved toward the setting sun." She further theorizes that "Wicked and worthless immigrants often sought a hiding-place in the large cities where they swelled the ranks of idleness and vice" (p. 322).

Beard and Beard (1927) credited the labor of the Irish with the building of the American canals and railway systems while the Germans "scattered, from the mills and shops of

the seacoast towns to the uttermost frontiers of Wisconsin and Minnesota" (p. 303).

Willard (1856) believed that Europe used the United States as a dumping ground since she stated in her textbook that Europe hoped that the United States would fall into anarchy and despotism having "disgorged upon us their convicts and their paupers" (p. 267). Willard believed that the United States had responded to this threat by increasing its penalties for crimes. She related the story that a riot occurred at the Astor-place theatre in New York. This riot was started by "several European foe" who lost their lives upon the spot (p. 258).

Willard (1856) wrote that some Irish citizens are distinguished professional men; but "generally, they labor, and are often the kind domestics on whom our family comforts depend" (p. 276). She continued that next to Ireland, Germany had furnished the greatest number of emigrants. "Many of them are persons of education, who come not empty handed" (p. 277).

Immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe

All of the texts with copyrights after 1890 made some reference to the arrival of immigrants from southeastern Europe, many of whom were Slavs, Poles, Bohemians, Ruthenians, Slovaks, Yugoslavians, Hungarians, Italians, Greeks, and Jews. Textbooks closer to the 1890 copyright date usually gave a limited amount of coverage; in those with later copyrights, the amount of space devoted to these

immigrants grew. Reporting was most complete by Vannest and Smith (1931) as they presented three pages on the subject. They also were the first history textbook to make use of the term "new immigration" to describe the arrival of the immigrants of "Latin and Slavic" stock that began around 1880.

Each group was classified, whenever possible, with a principal occupation. For instance, Ruthenians or Ukrainians were found principally in the mines and steel mills, while Yugoslavians worked in the mills and factories of large cities and in the coal mining districts in the eastern states. The Italians received a half page which explained that they worked as retail merchants of orchard and garden products and were industrial workers. They were described as "frugal, industrious, and saving, and have added in many ways to our growth and prosperity" (p. 46). The texts pointed out a darker side to the Italians. They, possibly more than any of the other nationalities, had shown a tendency to return to their native land and also when they lived in the cities, "they have usually lived in districts of their own people" (p. 46). Greeks kept restaurants, ice cream parlors, and similar retail businesses. They were exceptionally thrifty and were considered to be "one of the most prosperous of our racial groups" (p. 46).

The reasons for these groups' immigrations to America were centered around one need--employment. In Italy, taxes were high and the people, especially in southern Italy were

very poor and ignorant (Muzzey, 1939, p. 456). The Poles, the Slavs, all needed jobs. When the immigrants came to the cities, they filled the labor ranks of the unskilled and as a result were classified in the occupations that they worked. They looked for a better life. Barker, Dodd, and Commager (1934) wrote:

The eagerness of the immigrant to become an American . . . was often pathetic, and the readiness and cheerfulness with which he adjusted himself to the conditions of American life were encouraging (pp. 627-628).

Vannest and Smith (1931) believed that these immigrants "because of their natural desire to live in these communities with their own people, they have been slower to adopt our language and customs" (p. 44).

The Jews

The Jews were rarely mentioned as a distinctive group at any time in any of the researched textbooks. Beard and Beard (1927) made the observation:

The Jews, then as ever engaged in their age-long battle for religious and economic toleration, found in the American colonies, not complete liberty, but certainly more freedom than they enjoyed in England, France, Spain, or Portugal (p. 11).

West (1928) gave them but one sentence when he stated that the Jews were being persecuted cruelly in Russia (p. 482). Vannest and Smith (1931) dedicated five sentences, the largest coverage by any one author. The Jewish migrations prior to 1840 came chiefly from Germany but later, after 1880, they came from Russia and Poland. The

authors noted that many Jewish immigrants pursued jobs in retail and wholesale merchandising, banking, and garment making. They also had been "conspicuously successful in the various forms of theatrical enterprise, and have been financially successful in most of the work they have undertaken" (pp. 46-47).

The Chinese

The discovery of gold in 1849 and the consequent demand for labor first brought the Chinese to California. This topic was discussed in 50 per cent of the books with copyrights after 1830 and Barker, Dodd and Commager (1934) gave the topic a one page coverage. They described how thousands of coolies were imported to work on the Central Pacific Railroad so that by the end of the 1870's there were over 100,00 in California. Muzzey (1929) related how the Chinese workers' "low standards of living and their strange oriental habits caused economic and social friction" (p. 296). Vannest and Smith (1931) allocated a page and one half to discussion of the Chinese. They stated that they did not bring their women-folk for they could cook and wash and sew,--in fact do the very work that was most needed to be done.

The Bureau of Immigration

One interesting side note to the immigration issue that was addressed by three text authors, was the creation of a bureau of immigration that made it legal for immigrants to pledge their wages in advance to pay their passage over.

The bill was soon repealed, but "the practice authorized by it was long continued" (Muzzey, 1929, p. 498; Muzzey, 1939, p. 367).

Where Did the Immigrant Settle?

Settlement Patterns Vary by Immigrant Group

When this topic was considered by the various history texts, no immigrant groups' settlements pattern made such a dynamic impression upon authors as that of the immigrant groups after 1880 (see Table 5). Prior to 1880, extended commentary appeared about the Scotch-Irish settlement on the frontier (West, 1928, pp. 97-98) and the German purchase of farm land (Beard and Bagley, 1918, pp. 497), but no other extensive discussion was given. Barker, Dodd and Commager (1934) made a summary that typified how the immigrants prior to 1880 were dismissed:

Earlier immigrants had distributed themselves widely through the North and West, the new immigrants quickly concentrated in the larger cities, particularly along the eastern seaboard (p. 625).

Immigrants after 1880 received major exposure. Though only five texts copyrighted after 1895 treated this subject, Beard and Beard (1927) dedicated two pages to the discussion of immigration in terms of "industrial centers." Cities in the east received "huge flows of the immigrant tide." The immigrants, after 1890, could not go to the frontier since the free land was gone. "They could not, therefore, be dispersed widely among the native Americans to assimilate

Table 5*

Treatment of "Where Did the Immigrant Settle in America?"
in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

- A. = Settlement occurred close to the landing point or at the port of entry.
 B. = They generally moved into communities made up of people from the same area of origin.
 C. = Clustering together was voluntary since they sought to recreate some of the life they had left behind.
 D. = Communities in large cities were established with Old World traditions.
 E. = The Homestead Act of 1862 attracted many immigrants from Germany, Norway, Sweden, etc. to Middle West.
 F. = Many immigrants moved to where work was available such as the coal mines of the Middle Atlantic States.

Author	Copyright	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.
Morse, J.	1789	2	1	2	N/A	N/A	N/A
M'Culloch, J.	1807	3	1	2	N/A	N/A	N/A
Webster, N.	1813	2	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Morse, J.	1819	2	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Goodrich, C.	1823	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hale, S.	1826	2	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Olney, J.	1836	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hall & Baker	1839	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Willard, E.	1843	0	3	3	N//A	N/A	N/A
Hale, S.	1848	2	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Whelpley, S.	1856	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Willard, E.	1856	1	1	2	N/A	N/A	N/A
Willson, M.	1865	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
McDonald, W.	1869	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Stephens, A.	1872	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Lossing, B.	1875	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anderson, J.	1880	0	2	1	N/A	N/A	N/A
Blackburn, J.	1880	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Quackenbos, G.	1884	0	0	0	0	0	0
Eggleston, E.	1888	0	0	0	0	0	0
Montgomery, D.	1890	0	0	0	0	1	0
Lee, S.	1895	1	2	1	1	2	0
Cooper, Estill	1896	0	0	0	0	2	0
McMaster, J.	1897	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hart, A.	1905	0	2	0	0	0	0
McLaughlin, A.	1912	3	0	0	3	0	0
West, W.	1913	3	0	0	0	0	0

- * 1 = one sentence treatment
 2 = two sentence treatment
 3 = three or more sentences, but not a page
 4 = one page or more treatment

Table 5 (continued)*

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- A. = Settlement occurred close to the landing point or at the port of entry.
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 E. = The Homestead Act of 1862 attracted many immigrants from Germany, Norway, Sweden, etc. to Middle West.
 F. = Many immigrants moved to where work was available such as the coal mines of the Middle Atlantic States.

Author	Copyright	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.
Beard & Bagley	1918	3	2	3	3	3	1
McMaster, J.	1918	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mace, W.	1918	2	0	0	0	0	0
Latane, J.	1921	0	2	1	0	0	0
Guitteau, W.	1923	1	2	1	0	4	0
Leonard & Jacobs	1924	0	2	3	3	3	3
Gordy, W.	1925	0	0	0	0	4	0
Beard & Beard	1927	1	2	3	3	3	1
West	1928	1	0	0	3	2	0
Vannest & Smith	1931	3	3	3	0	0	3
Barker & Dodd	1934	3	3	3	3	3	3
Faulkner & Tyler	1934	3	4	4	3	0	0
Muzzey, D.	1939	0	0	0	0	0	0

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 4 = one page or more treatment

quickly and unconsciously the habit and ideas of American life" (p. 411). They stayed in the cities.

There they crowded--nay, overcrowded--into colonies of their own where they preserved their languages, their newspapers, and their old-world customs and views (p. 411).

Later in their text, they wrote more about the "alien invasion." People saw whole sections of great cities occupied by people "speaking foreign tongues, reading only foreign newspapers, and looking to the Old World alone for their ideas and their customs" (p. 583).

Muzzey (1939) reported that each large city had its own unique foreign quarters or sections "where one may travel for blocks and hear not a word of English spoken." He further emphasized this point when he wrote:

. . . there are more than half as many Italians in New York City as in Naples, more Irish than in Dublin, more Jews than ever lived in Jerusalem at one time (p. 456).

The usual treatment of this particular subject of immigrants clustering together to recreate some of the life that they left behind was a one sentence comment. West (1928) typified the handling of this subject when he wrote:

Instead he [the immigrant] has usually been forced to seek a home in some 'foreign quarter' of one of our large cities or factory towns, or in the coal mining districts, with little more contact with the wholesome sides of American life than he had in his European home" (pp. 482-483).

Sectional Preferences Dominate

The significance that the German and Irish immigrants during the 1840's through 60's sought the North rather than the South to live before the Civil War was discussed in three textbooks from the total list. Gordy (1925) believed that many immigrants liked the climate better and found a larger variety of work in the North. Also, labor for the white man in the South was considered servile and degrading as well as causing possible discontent and insurrection among the slaves (p. 305). McLaughlin (1912) concurred with Gordy when he wrote:

To the South they would not go, because they came to work, while beyond Mason and Dixon's line work was left to slaves and labor was considered degrading. They came, too, without local or sectional prejudices, and thus added to the nationalizing forces and stimulated the national spirit (p. 383).

Lee (1895) believed that the divergence of interest between the two sections of the Republic before the Civil War was emphasized by the immigrants. She believed that the South did not want the immigrants because the whites "shrank from bringing into their midst the uncongenial elements from over the sea. . . Thus the heterogeneous mass of foreign thought and feeling took possession of the Northwest" (p. 322).

West (1928) commented that Southern railroads were built largely by the sturdy, laboring men who were Irish

immigrants, and that some of these men finally settled in southern cities (p. 396).

The Homestead Act

Beard and Bagley (1918) was the only source that succinctly and clearly linked the Homestead Act of 1862 with the immigration issue. They wrote that there was a lull in immigration during the Civil War since no one would "relish the idea of going to a country engaged in a desperate war." Therefore, the federal government decided to make special efforts to encourage able-bodied foreigners to come to our shore. Beard and Bagley (1918) further explained that the Homestead Act provided that aliens who declared their intention of becoming citizens could secure free homes in the West (p. 497). Since the Homestead Act made it easy for immigrants to get farms, the best advertisers, according to West (1928), were the immigrants themselves who wrote back to their old homes about the splendid surroundings--so that whole villages would migrate. "The world had never seen such a tremendous movement of populations as that migration to this Western "Land of Opportunity" (p. 482).

The Homestead Act drew "thrifty peasants to our shores" like a powerful magnet. Guitteau (1923) credited this Act with our agricultural development which became the marvel of the world (p. 405). The Scandinavians took advantage of the offer of free land in the West and settled in Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. Beard and Bagley (1918) commented:

They developed prosperous farms, built schools and churches, and founded colleges. No immigrants to these shores proved to be more worthy of their heritage than the newcomers from Northern Europe (p. 498).

Vannest and Smith (1931) stated that the Scandinavians were an honest, hard-working, God-fearing people who took pride in the fact that they are American citizens. The population of immigrants who settled on farm land from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark numbered well over two million. Vannest and Smith (1931) also mentioned that Charles Lindbergh was from Scandinavian ancestry as were the sailors on the Great Lakes or in our merchant marine (pp. 42-43). They, too, distinguished between those Scandinavians who settled the land prior to the turn of the century, and the immigrants of the twentieth century who labored as seamen.

How Did The Immigrants Live?

The section on the outline entitled "How did the immigrant live in America?" (see Table 6) received the least emphasis of any category. There was only one mention of living customs in the colonial period that related to immigration and that appeared in Mace (1918) under the heading "Social Classes." He stated that:

The American colonists did not quickly get rid of all their old-world customs. People everywhere were more separated into social classes than now. Although few persons who emigrated to America had titles and belonged to aristocratic society, yet in all colonies there were great social differences (p. 98).

Table 6*

Treatment of "How Did the Immigrant Live in America?"
in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

- A. = Housing for many consisted of substandard apartments.
B. = Language of homeland served first generation but sons and daughter adopted English.
C. = Politically, immigrants were part of machines run by party bosses that helped immigrants find work.
D. = Immigrant children after the Civil War sometimes attended school.
E. = Employment was usually in unskilled jobs.
F. = Recreational activity was limited to stickball etc.
G. = Culturally, immigrants founded schools and churches that used their native languages while they started and supported newspapers, periodicals etc.

Author	Copyright	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.
Morse, J.	1789	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
M'Culloch, J.	1807	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Webster, N.	1813	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Morse, J.	1819	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Goodrich, C.	1823	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hale, S.	1826	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Olney, J.	1836	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hall & Baker	1839	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Willard, E.	1843	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hale, S.	1848	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Whelpley, S.	1856	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Willard, E.	1856	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Willson, M.	1865	N/A	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
McDonald, W.	1869	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Stephens, A.	1872	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Lossing, B.	1875	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Anderson, J.	1880	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Blackburn, J.	1880	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Quackenbos, G.	1884	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Eggleston, E.	1888	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Montgomery, D.	1890	N/A	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Lee, S.	1895	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Cooper, Estill	1896	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
McMaster, J.	1897	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hart, A.	1905	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
McLaughlin, A.	1912	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
West, W.	1913	2	0	0	0	0	0	0

- * 1 = one sentence treatment
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Table 6 (continued)*

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Author	Copyright	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.
Beard & Bagley	1918	3	0	0	1	3	0	0
McMaster, J.	1918	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mace, W.	1918	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Latane, J.	1921	0	0	0	0	3	0	1
Guitteau, W.	1923	3	0	0	1	0	0	0
Leonard & Jacobs	1924	3	0	1	2	3	1	0
Gordy, W.	1925	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Beard & Beard	1927	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
West	1928	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Vannest & Smith	1931	0	3	0	0	3	0	3
Barker & Dodd	1934	3	0	0	0	3	0	0
Faulkner & Tyler	1934	3	0	0	0	3	3	3
Muzzey, D.	1939	3	0	3	0	0	0	0

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A discussion followed that explained the four major classes in America but only once was a particular immigrant group mentioned. The "patroons" of New Netherlands who were the highest social class due to their great land holdings received special mention (p. 99).

One might expect that a discussion of the living conditions of the immigrants after 1880 would receive more coverage. Only three texts discussed these immigrants and it was in relation to tenement living. Two authors linked tenements with immigration. Barker, Dodd and Commager (1934) stated:

From this over-rapid concentration of the foreign born in the already crowded cities of the North arose many and perplexing problems of housing, sanitation, health, transportation, and politics. Soon every large city came to have its slums, and its teeming tenement houses, breeding places of disease, crime, and vice (p. 625).

Faulkner and Kepner (1934) placed the immigrant at the bottom of the economic scale as tenement dwellers. They expressed the belief that "millions of Americans were living under conditions unfit for human life, conditions often worse than they had left behind in Europe" (pp. 594, 596).

Beard and Beard (1927) stated that an inquiry in New York City in 1902 "revealed poverty, misery, slums, dirt, and disease almost beyond imagination." A tenement house law was enacted that prescribed in detail the size of the rooms, the air space, the light and the sanitary arrangement for all new building which resulted in an immense

improvement in living conditions (p. 549). McLaughlin (1912) did not use the term tenement but alluded to the problem when he described the immigrant crowding into the cities, with many newcomers "ignorant of the simplest facts and conditions of the new world or of what we have been wont to consider normal American life" (p. 546). Guitteau (1923) discussed the congestion of the population living in the tenements. He stated that they invited disease and were a constant menace to the health and morals of the entire city. He urged for the regulation of the tenements and felt that the problem of protecting the city's health became a matter of vital public concern (p. 563).

Language, Education and the Immigrant

There was no discussion of the language of the homeland changing when the second generation adopted English. There were references in many texts to not hearing a word of English spoken in the crowded foreign quarters but the eventual change to English was not addressed.

Likewise, the need for education of the immigrants was rarely discussed in any of the texts. Guitteau (1923) wrote about the issue when he commented:

The problem of education in the large industrial cities is made more difficult by the annual arrival of thousands of immigrants, when children must be transformed through the public school system into intelligent and loyal citizens (pp. 562-563).

Under the heading "Schools for adults," Vannest and Smith (1931) asserted that "Our country is especially

interested in the education of the foreigners; so citizenship schools are organized for them." Further along in the same paragraph, the authors declared that "No other nation in the world pays as much attention to the education of its people as does the United States" (p. 469). No history text with a copyright prior to 1918 had even mentioned the influence that our public or private school system had upon the immigrant. For the first time in a secondary history text, Vannest and Smith (1931) used the term 'melting pot' which would be commonly used for the next fifty years. Its purpose was to describe the immigrants' ability to combine their culture into America's and emerge a combination of two cultures. The term, taken from Israel Zangwill's 1909 play by the same name, expressed the hope that the ideal of the brotherhood of all men could be realized in America (Adams, 1971, p. 24). The term was used in reference to America's schools of various types that give all children an equal chance to advance as rapidly as they are able (p. 493).

When it was discovered during World War I, that over twenty per cent of the men drafted into the army could not read a newspaper or write a letter home, a call for the "Americanization" of the alien began. It was also found that many of the leaders among the extreme radicals, whomever they may be, were foreign in birth and citizenship. Beard and Beard (1927) never explained if the foreigners were radicals in the army or in labor or just in American

life. Regardless, innumerable programs were drawn up, and in 1919 a national conference on the subject of making immigrants more "like us" was held in Washington under the Department of the Interior. All agreed that the foreigner should be taught to speak and write the language and understand the government of our country. Congress was urged to aid in this "vast undertaking." America, as ex-President Roosevelt had said, was to find out "whether it was a nation or a boarding-house" (pp. 585-586).

He too explained that there had been efforts to Americanize the immigrants but "the public school is almost the only agency which is making any real progress toward accomplishing this end." He credited the teachers in the public schools for continuing "to uphold the ideals of its founders" (p. 456-457). Barker, Dodd and Commager (1934) addressed this same issue when they asked:

Would it be possible to absorb the millions of olive-skinned Italians and swarthy black-skinned Slavs and dark-eyed Hebrews into the body of the American people? Would they adjust themselves to their New World environment and understand and contribute to American institutions? (p. 627)

Immigrants in Politics

The role of the immigrant in politics is considered by only three history textbook writers. Immigrants, both before and after 1880, receive coverage. Muzzey (1939) devoted a page, the largest amount, to the immigrant's political role. He stated that the Irish "love for politics

won for them the control of the government in many of our cities" (p. 452). He further described the political role of immigrants when he recounted the profession of Carl Schurz who served as a senator and Secretary of the Interior. "As a statesman and writer Carl Schurz ranks as one of the most distinguished sons of his adopted country" (Muzzey, 1939, p. 453).

Earlier contributors included Frances Wright, a gifted Scotch woman who in 1827, boldly discussed temperance, slavery, prison reform, care of the insane, and the rights of women (Muzzey, 1939, p. 290). Willis Mason West (1913) described how George Henry Evans and Frederick W. Evans (recent English immigrants) began at New York, in 1825, the first labor paper in America entitled Workingman's Advocate; and in 1827 appeared the Mechanics' Free Press at Philadelphia (p. 481). Whelpley (1856) did not give any specific instances of how immigrants aided the political history of America, but commented that

Several of them [foreigners], in various parts, were promoted to offices of considerable trust and importance, and were allowed to share largely in the honors, power, and emoluments of government (p. 201).

West (1913), in a footnote concerning the border states at the dawn of the Civil War, credited the many thousands of recent German immigrants in St. Louis for swaying Missouri to the side of the Union despite the strong secession

sentiment (p. 597). This was an important political achievement of the immigrants, but only West reported it.

Concerning the immigrants who arrived after 1880, Leonard & Jacobs (1924) commented upon their political clout and were the only authors who did so. They reported:

Many abuses have crept into the process of naturalization, especially in the cities, where political bosses seem eager to get the votes of the foreigners. Recent laws have undertaken to safeguard the precious right of American citizenship, and to deny it to those who do not deserve the honor (p. 458).

Immigrant Employment

Prior to 1880, most employment for immigrants was agricultural except for the work done on internal improvements such as the canals and railroad. Mace (1918) and Leonard & Jacobs (1924) commented that the immigration of the 1840's brought the first city dwellers. All of the remaining discussion in texts related to employment in unskilled jobs. This information was cited in 100 per cent of the books with copyrights after 1880. Some used a one sentence summary while others such as Barker, Dodd, and Commager (1934) devoted one page to the topic. In 1907, of the 23,000 laborers in the Carnegie Steel Works, less than one-fourth were native-born Americans. Around the same year, over three-fourths of all the workers in the bituminous mines of Pennsylvania were foreign born. The same was true for the northern textile industry, the lumber industry, the stockyards, and the railroads (p. 626).

Beard and Bagley (1918) explained that the newcomers settled in cities and entered jobs, mostly of an unskilled nature. They then proceed to enumerate the ethnic groups followed by their occupation. The Russian Jews entered the ready-made garment trade in the larger cities.

Hungarians, Italians, Slovaks, and Poles took up heavy tasks like mining and iron working, which called for more physical strength. Immigrants . . . built the railroads, developed the mines, manned the coke ovens and blast furnaces, made clothing, and, in fact, furnished the labor for most of the manufacturing in the country (pp. 501-502).

Guitteau (1923) also communicated his concern over the large proportion of immigrants from southeastern Europe who were illiterate and nearly all of whom were unskilled workers (p. 515).

Immigrant Recreation

No concern was evident from the texts prior to the 1930's that there was any need to discuss special amusements at which only immigrants played. Faulkner and Kepner's America. Its History and People (1934) was the only textbook that mentioned the various inexpensive amusements that formed the recreational activities of the immigrant.

Entertainment for the early colonials around 1800's was discussed first in the context that New England banned religious holidays and festivities of merry England. Instead,

opportunities for games athletic contest, and social intercourse were found on 'training days,' at log rollings, house

raisings, corn huskings, or at a ship launching, when members of the community would come together to help a neighbor at the same time enjoy themselves (p. 563).

In the Middle and Southern colonies, horse racing, cockfighting, smoking, drinking and gambling were popular. Later, playacting or traveling theatres provided amusement much as they did in the Old Country.

For the immigrants after 1880, the street fairs, stickball, card games and other such activities that were included in the outline were not discussed as part of the textbook material. Instead, the authors list "the cheap show, the dance hall, the saloon, and the amusement park" as relief from the misery of being poor (p. 596).

Cultural Links to the Immigrant's Past

Interestingly, only two texts discussed the founding of schools, churches, fraternal organizations, and newspapers that used native languages and they were separated by over a century. Beard and Bagley (1918) referred to the immigrants during World I. Alluding to the fact that some leading foreign-language newspapers scarcely concealed their hopes for a German victory (p. 630). The other writer, John M'Culloch (1807), reported events of the post-American Revolutionary Period. He mentioned that many books and newspapers existed in different languages, and on a great variety of subjects and newspapers were daily published (p. 229). Also he commented that there were many national societies--St. Andrew's Society, German Society, St. George's Society, St. Patrick's Society, and the French

Benevolent Society. These were designed for their distressed countrymen (p. 228).

What Was the Impact or Results of Immigration?

Political Acts Against the Immigrant

Immigrants were impacted by the forces around them, namely, government regulations, political parties and machines, and labor's influence (see Table 7). The immigrant was first affected by restrictionist legislation in the summer of 1798. The Federalists passed the Alien and Sedition Acts to put an end to radical French influence in America and to silence Republican opposition. The Alien and Sedition Acts were recorded in all but nine texts. These Acts were usually explained as giving the President the authority

to order any foreigner whom he might believe to be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, to depart out of the country, under very heavy penalty for refusing to obey the order. By the Sedition Act it was made a crime, with a very heavy penalty, for any one to 'write, print, utter, or publish any scandalous, and malicious writing' against either House of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States (Stephens, 1889, p. 272).

Stephens further explained that these acts created great "discontent and indignation." He gave several pages, which was the fullest account found in any of the texts, to Matthew Lyon, an Irishman by birth and the first victim, Thomas Cooper, Jonathan Robbins, James T. Callender, and

Table 7*

Treatment of "What Was the Impact/Results of Immigration?"
in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

- A. = Federalists passed the Naturalization Act which was part of the Alien Act.
- B. = Two Sedition Acts gave the President power to send out aliens and, in time of war, to deport or arrest at will aliens.
- C. = Know-Nothing or American Party adhered to an anti-immigration platform.
- D. = Political machines serve immigrants while appealing to them for their vote.
- E. = American labor resented Chinese for low wages which resulted in the Chinese Exclusion Act.
- F. = American industrialist welcomed labor for industries.
- G. = Many union leaders were of foreign birth.
- H. = Immigrant workers took part in strikes for fair wages.

Author	Copyright	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
Morse, J.	1789	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
M'Culloch, J.	1807	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Webster, N.	1813	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Morse, J.	1819	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Goodrich, C.	1823	3	3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hale, S.	1826	3	3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Olney, J.	1836	3	3	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hall & Baker	1839	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Willard, E.	1843	4	4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hale, S.	1848	4	4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Whelpley, S.	1856	0	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Willard, E.	1856	'43	Cont.	4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Willson, M.	1865	2	2	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
McDonald, W.	1869	3	3	0	0	N/A	0	0	0
Stephens, A.	1872	4	4	4	0	N/A	0	0	0
Lossing, B.	1875	0	0	0	0	N/A	0	0	0
Anderson, J.	1880	2	2	2	0	N/A	0	0	0
Blackburn, J.	1880	1	1	2	0	N/A	0	0	0
Quackenbos, G.	1884	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
Eggleston, E.	1888	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
Montgomery, D.	1890	2	2	3	0	3	0	0	0
Lee, S.	1895	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	3
Cooper, Estill	1896	2	1	3	1	0	0	0	0
McMaster, J.	1897	3	3	3	0	3	3	0	0
Hart, A.	1905	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
McLaughlin, A.	1912	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0
West, W.	1913	3	3	3	0	0	0	3	0

- * 1 = one sentence treatment
- 2 = two sentence treatment
- 3 = three or more sentences, but not a page
- 4 = one page or more

Table 7 (continued)*

Treatment of "What Was the Impact/Results of Immigration?"
in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

- A. = Federalists passed the Naturalization Act which was part of the Alien Act.
- B. = Two Sedition Acts gave the President power to send out aliens and, in time of war, to deport or arrest at will aliens.
- C. = Know-Nothing or American Party adhered to an anti-immigration platform.
- D. = Political machines serve immigrants while appealing to them for their vote.
- E. = American labor resented Chinese for low wages which resulted in the Chinese Exclusion Act.
- F. = American industrialist welcomed labor for industries.
- G. = Many union leaders were of foreign birth.
- H. = Immigrant workers took part in strikes for fair wages.

Author	Copyright	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
Beard & Bagley	1918	4	4	3	0	0	0	0	0
McMaster, J.	1918	3	3	3	0	3	3	0	0
Mace, W.	1918	1	1	3	0	2	0	0	0
Latane, J.	1921	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Guitteau, W.	1923	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0
Leonard & Jacobs	1924	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	0
Gordy, W.	1925	1	3	0	0	3	2	0	0
Beard & Beard	1927	4	4	0	4	4	0	0	0
West	1928	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0
Vannest & Smith	1931	3	3	0	0	3	0	0	0
Barker & Dodd	1934	3	3	3	0	3	3	3	0
Faulkner & Tyler	1934	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	0
Muzzey, D.	1939	2	2	3	1	3	0	0	0

- * 1 = one sentence treatment
- 2 = two sentence treatment
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- 4 = one page or more

Jared Peck, all of whom were convicted under these laws.

Stephens concluded:

During the Administration of Mr. Adams the progress of the prosperity of the States was considerably retarded. . . . Discontent prevailed everywhere, and the country was brought to the verge of civil war by the tyrannical execution of those measures of the party in power, calling itself Federal, which were looked upon by a majority of the people as unconstitutional and tending to centralism and despotism (p. 280).

The Alien law was not enforced; but it gave great offense to the Irish and French whose activities against the American government's policy respecting Great Britain put them in danger of prison. Another provision of the law checked immigration since it extended the period for naturalization from five to fourteen years.

Anti-Immigrant Activities

The Know-Nothing or American party was described in all of the textbooks written after 1880. Most texts described it as growing in strength between 1852 and 1854 based primarily on its opposition to foreigners, who were now coming to America in increasingly large numbers. McMaster (1897) stated that the native population was startled by the appearance of men who often could not speak our language.

He continued:

The cry was now raised that our institutions, our liberties, our system of government, were at the mercy of men from the monarchical countries of Europe (p. 353).

The object of the new party was to lengthen the period necessary for naturalization to twenty-one years and to exclude foreigners and Roman Catholics from office.

McLaughlin (1912) explained that some men were persuaded that the Roman Catholic Church was secretly plotting for political influence (p. 393). West (1913) stated that members below the highest grade of officials were pledged to passive obedience to orders, and were instructed when questioned as to party secrets to reply, "I know nothing."

Latane (1918) described the party thus:

The organization was a secret one with lodges, countersigns and symbols, and for a time it made rapid progress and gained control of several States. A great many Southern Whigs went into this movement rather than into the Democratic party (p. 329).

Hart (1905) stated that it was backed by the Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner and that they "secured the state government of Massachusetts . . . and they soon claimed more than a million votes" (p. 388). Muzzey (1929) interpreted the party as a footnote in his textbook with the comment "that queer secret society . . . gained a momentary political significance far beyond its real importance" (p. 307), which is an appropriate summative statement.

"It could have no lasting vigor," explained McLaughlin (1912). "Its secret methods were out of place in a free country, where as it was well said, 'every man ought to have his principles written on his forehead.'" He further interpreted the organization's appeal to lie in the fact

that members longed for another issue other than the "dreadful slavery question" (p. 393).

A little recorded event occurred in Emma Willard's Late American History of 1856 when she reported the three day riots that occurred in the spring of 1844 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Precipitated by an attempt of the Native American party to hold a debate in Kensington, a suburb of Philadelphia, where many Irish Catholics lived, Willard described a scene where firearms were used, field-pieces were stationed in the streets and "confusion and anarchy prevailed." She explained that the riots

. . . grew out of a jealousy on the part of native American Protestants, that the foreign Roman Catholic population intended to gain the control of the common schools, and change the established order of instruction, especially in regard to the use of the Scripture (p. 14).

The aftermath included thirty dwelling-houses, a convent, and three churches burned. A total of fifty persons were either killed or wounded when the governor was forced to call out 5,000 of the military to restore order. Quackenbos (1884) also records this event in a one paragraph summary. It contains little of the detail found in Willard's 1856 account and states that "over a hundred persons were killed or wounded" (p. 419).

A lone commentary concerning the possible role of Italian immigrants and the Mafia was noted in Cooper, Estill & Lemmon's 1896 textbook. They remarked that during

President Benjamin Harrison's administration an unusual number of disputes involved foreign powers. One of these disputes was with Italy. They continued:

It resulted from a lynching in New Orleans. The chief of police in that city was assassinated, and the evidence pointed pretty conclusively to some resident Italians who were members of a dangerous secret society called the Mafia. As the courts failed to convict the murderers, the indignant citizens broke into the jail where they were still confined, and put them to death (p. 431).

Of course, the Italian government protested on the grounds that some of the men killed were Italian subjects, while our secretary of state disclaimed responsibility. Finally the United States government agreed to pay a money compensation to the families of some of the victims (p. 431).

Three textbooks commented upon the dilemma that World War I presented to those of foreign birth. Mace (1918) stated:

April 6 brought a test for many Americans of foreign birth and parentage. The land of their adoption was going to war against the old country. But they saw the right as true Americans and gave their loyalty and support to the government (p. 476).

On the other hand, many Americans of German descent, remembering their ties with the Fatherland, openly sympathized with the Central Powers. Several professors in American universities, who had received their training in Germany, defended Germany too.

The German language press, without exception it seems, the National German

Alliance, minor German societies, and some German churches came to the support of the German cause (Beard and Beard, 1927, pp. 597-598).

Beard and Bagley (1918) expressed opposite sentiments when they pointed out that thousands of Germans, particularly the descendants of immigrants who had fled the tyranny of Prussia over sixty years ago, rejoiced that the Hohenzollern military power might be overthrown. They stated: "Those who feared serious internal disturbances from Americans of German birth were happily disappointed" (p. 631).

Only one mention was made of pro-German sentiment expressed by those of Irish descent. They recalled their long and bitter struggle for home rule in Ireland and would have regarded British defeat as a "merited redress of ancient grievances" (Beard and Beard, 1927, p. 597).

Only one textbook mentioned that those of English descent favored England. If anything, textbooks seemed to go out of their way to explain that the United States attempted to remain neutral in every way.

"English language papers, though generally favorable to the Entente Allies, opened their columns in the interest of equal justice to the spokesmen for all the contending powers of Europe (Beard and Beard, 1927, p. 598).

Immigration and Labor

Immigration and labor did not receive the emphasis that one might expect considering the extensive role that the immigrant worker assumed in American life. Only five texts commented upon the role of labor and only two books mentioned immigrants as leaders in labor organizations.

Muzzey (1939) was one of the two authors who extolled their contributions when he wrote that "their [the Irish] genius for organization made them leaders in labor movements" (p. 452). Barker, Dodd and Commager (1934) were the only authors who mentioned that the founder of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, was foreign born (p. 612).

Not all historians wrote in this vein. Susan Lee (1885) described 1886 as a year especially known for strikes. In Chicago, the strike assumed an alarming aspect. She wrote that the reason for this was because the northwest states had a large proportion of foreign immigrants, some of whom had the "most objectionable character--and these now exerted a baleful influence" (p. 569). The immigrant group to whom she was referring were the Irish whom she considered violent (p. 569). The Haymarket Square riots undermined the role of labor because of the ferocity that they engendered. The labor riots were linked to the foreign element in several textbooks. Montgomery (1890) stated that on the evening of May 4, 1886, six or seven hundred persons gathered in Chicago, where they "were addressed by different speakers, one of whom--an Englishman--urged the most violent measures" (p. 366). After the explosion of a dynamite bomb and the creation of a general riot where a large number of people were killed and wounded, it was discovered, according to Montgomery's Leading Facts of American History (1890):

The ringleaders of the mob were arrested,

and brought to trial. All but one were of foreign birth. They belonged to a small but dangerous class calling themselves Anarchists (p. 366).

Susan Lee's (1885) account was identical in information but she added a personal judgment to her statement. "Four of them were hanged, as they deserved to be, and others imprisoned for life" (p. 569).

West (1928) pointed out that mine owners and large manufacturers had long been sending agents to Europe to hire cheap workers and paying their passage to America after requiring them to sign contracts to work for low wages (p. 483). The managers of big business were seeking another supply of labor for their new industries since American workmen were forming unions and demanding higher wages and better working conditions. "Among the more ignorant classes of southern and eastern Europe," big business found immigrants who came for "the prospect of a job at a rate of pay far higher than was possible in the home country." (Muzzey, 1939, pp. 454-455). In 1885, the labor unions persuaded Congress to forbid all importation of contract labor since wages were being forced down to the point that it was difficult "to keep up decent homes" (West, 1928, p. 483).

Muzzey (1929) discussed a sinister element in the labor situation to be the presence of a number of radical agitators in the period from 1904 and into the 1920's. These "apostles of direct action" were the IWW or the Industrial Workers of the World. According to Muzzey, they

preached discontent, wrecked property, and destroyed life and "many of them were aliens from the desperate classes in Europe" (p. 532).

Social Organizations and Immigrants

There was no mention in any of the texts of any social organizations, including settlement homes, that provided help to the immigrant so that they could adjust more easily to the new environment of America. Whelpley (1856) commented generally that there were provisions "for the encouragement of emigration. The warm benevolence of individuals, prompted them to institute societies for the aid of emigrants" (p. 200). No further mention was made of particular organizations that benefited the immigrant.

Cultural Contributions of Immigrants

No textbook before the twentieth century recorded any specific cultural achievements of the immigrants who arrived before 1880. Faulkner and Kepner (1934) were most thorough when they wrote:

From Europe the settlers brought with them that they knew of religion, of government, of art and of ways of living; and for many years their intellectual stimulus came from the homeland as new immigrants sought our shore and as the learning of Europe found its way to America (pp. 630-631).

They continued that the political philosophy in the Declaration of Independence came from English political writers, while theology, science and art takes no account of

territorial limits so that American thought merged with that of the Europeans.

The cultural achievements of the immigrants after 1880 were also rarely mentioned, but there was an acknowledgement of a few contributors. Barker, Dodd and Commager (1934) recorded the contribution of Danish immigrant, Jacob Riis, who described and photographed in 1893, the tenements of New York City in his book How the Other Half Lives. His research shocked civic leaders into action against this evil of substandard housing (p. 625). The same authors also cited the contribution of Ole Rolvaag, a Norwegian-American author, who wrote, in their opinion, "the greatest novel of American farming." Entitled Giants in the Earth, the story chronicled Scandinavian farmers on the wheat fields of the Dakotas. It dealt with the two great themes of American history--the Westward Movement and immigration, combined with man's inability to cope with nature on the Great Plains (p. 725).

In the field of sculpture, the greatest American sculptor, Saint Gaudens, was born in Ireland of Irish and French parentage (Barker, Dodd and Commager, 1934, p. 740). Composers Fritz Kreisler and Ignace Jan Paderewski were also mentioned along with Ole Bull and Jenny Lind with the statement: "We have imported most of our musical talent." When opera is discussed, the same historians commented: "The opera, too, is dominated by foreign-born impressarios and artists" (Barker, Dodd and Commager, 1934, p. 742). No

other mention was made in the texts of any other contributions to the culture of America.

Immigration Policy: Closing the Door

The shift in immigration policy from an open door promise to one of control and regulation was emphasized by all of the texts with copyrights of 1890 and after (see Table 8). The concern that immigrants were neglecting to become naturalized American citizens, retaining their real allegiance to the land from which they had come, appeared in many later texts. Beard and Bagley (1918) explained fully how the low rates charged by the steamship companies made it possible for workers to come in the busy season and return in the slack season. This had a real effect upon citizenship since

Thousands of men, leaving their wives and children behind them, came with no thought of giving up their allegiance to their former countries or of making homes in the United States. Their sole interest in this country was to get a job for a few months or a few years, and go back home when they had accumulated a little money (p. 504).

Faulkner and Kepner (1934) also believed that these steamship companies looking for passengers, the railroads seeking to sell land, and the American employers searching for cheap labor brought more immigrants to America than the hard conditions of Europe, Asia, and Africa have contributed (p. 455).

Table 8*

Treatment of "Immigration Policy Shifts From Open Door Promise to One of Control and Regulation." in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

- A. = Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 suspended Chinese immigration to the United States for ten years and forbade the naturalization of all Chinese and imposed fines on anyone bringing Chinese to the U.S.
 B. = Emergency Quota Act of 1921 signed to limit a country to 3 percent based on census of 1910.
 C. = National Origins Act of 1924 fixed quota at 2 percent of nationals in country by 1890.
 D. = Japanese forbidden to come to U.S. by 1924 law.

Author	Copyright	A.	B.	C.	D.
Quackenbos, G.	1884	2	N/A	N/A	N/A
Eggleston, E.	1888	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Montgomery, D.	1890	3	N/A	N/A	N/A
Lee, S.	1895	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Cooper, Estill	1896	1	N/A	N/A	N/A
McMaster, J.	1897	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Hart, A.	1905	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
McLaughlin, A.	1912	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
West, W.	1913	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Beard & Bagley	1918	4	N/A	N/A	N/A
McMaster, J.	1918	4	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mace, W.	1918	0	N/A	N/A	N/A
Latane, J.	1921	0	0	0	0
Guitteau, W.	1923	3	3	0	3
Leonard & Jacobs	1924	0	0	0	2
Gordy, W.	1925	1	2	2	3
Beard & Beard	1927	3	1	1	3
West	1928	4	0	0	3
Vannest & Smith	1931	3	3	3	3
Barker & Dodd	1934	3	3	3	3
Faulkner & Tyler	1934	0	0	0	0
Muzzey, D.	1939	3	3	3	3

- * 1 = one sentence treatment
 2 = two sentence treatment
 3 = three sentences or more, but not a page treatment
 4 = one page or more treatment

Authors from Morse (1789) to Blackburn (1880) were not included on this chart since these textbooks were copyrighted before this information occurred.

Beard and Bagley (1918) contended that immigrants would endure slums, long hours of work, and conditions bad for their health and morals for a limited amount of time until they could go back home after making a little money. They scathingly stated that the immigrant, "Having no permanent interest in this county, they did not care whether it was well or poorly governed" (pp. 504-505). The Chinese and Italians were pinpointed in several texts as being most guilty of withholding their allegiance to the United States. The Chinese were accused of "not being assimilated and still remain in every respect 'foreigners'." While the Italians had a "disposition to return to their home country after accumulating wealth here" (Vannest and Smith, 1931, p. 46).

The protest against unrestricted immigration steadily grew. During the administration of President Cleveland in 1888, a law was passed that forbade any Chinese laborer to land on our shores. Most of the Chinese remained in California where their cheap labor was believed to harm, rather than help, our country so restriction seemed to be necessary. West (1928) stated that a Chinaman lived and saved wages "on which no Irish or German immigrant could possibly keep up a home in the fashion of his class by American or even by European standards" (p. 483).

Montgomery (1890) expressed the opinion that

The reason for this measure was that upwards of a hundred thousand Chinaman . . . comes simply to get what he can out of the country; he then leaves it forever. He can live on a few cents' worth of

rice a day, he has no family to support, and so he can afford to work for wages on which an ordinary laborer would starve. On this account, Congress considered itself justified in shutting out such a class from a land whose doors have hitherto stood wide open to all the world (p. 370).

Gordy (1925) added that the number of Chinese in the Pacific states could in time be so "vast in numbers as to become a danger to our institutions" (p. 394).

Despite the Exclusion Act, some Chinese found ways of entering the United States, although numbers were greatly reduced. At the same time, equal numbers of Japanese had come and were living in the Pacific coastal states.

The feeling against them as laborers . . . became so intense that in 1907 a treaty with Japan was agreed upon, including a clause which declared our right to exclude Japanese laborers (Gordy, 1925, p. 394).

Guitteau (1923) added some additional information concerning the Japanese and Chinese problem when he discussed the attitude of California and the Far West toward the Japanese. In 1906, the Board of Education of San Francisco passed a resolution requiring Japanese and Chinese children to attend separate schools, instead of being educated with the white children of that city. Japan protested this action as a violation of her treaty rights with the United States and as an affront to her as a nation.

Events had definitely changed in the fifty years since Lossing (1875) wrote these optimistic lines in his textbook, ". . . the most friendly relations now exist between the governments of the United States and Japan. Many Japanese

youths are educated in the schools of the United States" (pp. 309-310).

President Theodore Roosevelt persuaded the California authorities to compromise the matter; but in 1913, California brought on a new crisis by passing a law which forbade the Japanese to own land for agricultural purposes. Japan made a strong protest, as did Washington, D.C. which was also against this measure. Guitteau (1923) made it quite clear in his detailed account, which contains more information than any text on the Oriental issue, that California's action was the result of her natural opposition to Far East immigration (pp. 545-546).

Vannest and Smith (1931) further explained that the Chinese could not become citizens; they had to pay a tax or license fee in order to engage in business; and they could not be employed on any public work. The authors stated:

They have retained their native language, dress and customs. They have not been assimilated and still remain in every respect 'foreigners.' Today the Pacific Coast states have a 'Chinese question' as the Southern states have a 'Negro question' (p. 49).

The Immigration Bill of 1917, according to Barker, Dodd and Commager (1934), inaugurated the modern period of restriction (p. 630). This bill, sometimes called the Literacy Act, was passed just after our entry into the World War, and required that every immigrant be able to read some language, but in addition extended the list of undesirables and excluded all Asiatics.

The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 was justified by a variety of reasons in various texts. Gordy (1925) stated:

After the war it was feared that the hard industrial conditions in many European countries might lead to an overwhelming increase in immigration that would seriously interfere with labor conditions here (p. 539).

Guitteau's (1923) account of this important immigration law included the specific details of the bill and gave an actual number of immigrants who are allowed into the United States as a result. No foreign country was permitted to send a number larger than three per cent of the number of people of that nationality already in the United States. The result of this measure was to restrict annual immigration to about 355,000 persons, as compared with an annual average of 1 million immigrants during the decade of 1905-1914 (p. 638).

The final immigration law considered was the Act of 1924 which brought to an end the "gentleman's agreement" between Japan and the United States, which had controlled Japanese immigration since 1907. Gordy (1925) recorded that President Coolidge opposed the Japanese exclusion clause and asked for delay while the Japanese Government also made a vigorous protest. Charles E. Hughes, the secretary of state, "insisted upon the right of the United States to determine its own immigration policy" (p. 539).

With the passage of these quota laws of 1921 and 1924, Barker, Dodd and Commager (1934) believed that what was

heralded in was "the end of an epoch." They stated: "The Promised Land, with its beacon light held out hopefully to the poor and oppressed of all nations, had closed and locked its gates" (p. 631).

Effects Upon the Immigrant

When considering how immigration impacted the immigrant, it was also necessary to consider how the United States felt about the immigrant which was best reflected in the laws that were passed. Whether the immigrant felt alienated or assimilated depended, to a large extent, on how we welcomed the newcomers to our shore. This feeling is definitely reflected in the textbooks that were reviewed.

McLaughlin (1912) marveled that the United States had developed peaceably when people of different races, with differing social customs and ideas had so speedily been transformed into American citizens. He summarized:

Doubtless this ceaseless immigration has had its dangers and still presents its difficulties; but if all foreign elements can be assimilated into our life, the composite nation that results is not likely to be feeble or lacking in force, but an energetic, delicately constituted, vigorous, and forcible race (p. 560).

Muzzey (1929) preached under the heading "The Problems of American Democracy" that we in America could no longer heartlessly exploit human lives for profits. The hundreds of thousands of aliens will not become citizens by merely taking out naturalization papers. He stated:

Herded in the slums of our cities or

driven in gangs of laborers to the mills and mines, these people can escape the evil influence of the preachers of disloyalty, lawlessness, and class hatred only by being taught the basal principles of American democracy (p. 559).

Since Vannest and Smith (1931) were the first authors to use the term "melting pot" in their text, their contention was that there was no other nation in the world that had been so successful in assimilating immigrants up to 1880. They further claimed that there was now a serious problem. To validate this statement, they pointed to citizenship classes that had been organized to teach our foreigners the English language and to do for them those things that will help them to become good American citizens (pp. 51-52). Whelpley (1856) certainly had negative feelings about the ability of immigrants to assimilate into our country when he wrote:

It is not unlikely, however, that the future historian will be compelled to say, that our government, in relation to foreigners, erred through excess of benevolence and urbanity. . . . The rapid increase of any nation, by means of an influx of foreigners, is dangerous to the repose of that nation; . . . Even if that proportion is very small, the tendance of the thing is injurious, unless the new comers are more civilized and more virtuous, and have at the same time, the same ideas and feeling about government (p. 201).

Does the Quantity of Immigration Coverage Change Over Time?

The second research question investigated in this study is: Does the quantity of pages devoted to the immigrant

experience increase, decrease, or remain the same over the 1789 to 1939 period?

After each text was examined for topic coverage, the researcher counted the number of pages that concerned the immigrant. If only one-quarter of a page dealt with the immigrant, then a page with three-quarters of coverage was found to total one. If the total count was 125 and 1/4, then the number was rounded down to 125 pages. If the total count was 1/2 or greater, then the number was rounded up. In order to get a percentage of coverage, only the written text was considered in the final count of total pages of the book. The documents contained at the end of most of the books, the index and any other supplemental information were not included in the text count. The results are contained on Table 9.

Immigration: A "Historiographic Hangnail?"

Generally, immigration was not considered as an important topic for page coverage. The earliest texts were interested in fighting the French and Indian Wars, the American Revolution, and the War of 1812. After the Civil War, textbooks were even more devoted to military history. Interest in immigration really did not increase until the twentieth century.

In three cases, the one or two lines devoted to immigration after 1740 were contained in the "Conclusion" of

Table 9

Quantity of Pages in Early American History Textbooks
1789-1939 Devoted to Immigration

Author	Copyright	Total Pages	Immigration Pages	Percent
Morse, J.	1789	473*	51	1.1
M'Culloch, J.	1807	244	27	1.1
Webster, N.	1813	206	15	.7
Morse, J.	1819	675*	37	.5
Goodrich, C.	1823	379	28	.7
Hale, S.	1826	437	30	.7
Olney, J.	1836	266	58	2.2
Hall & Baker	1839	368	39	1.1
Willard, E.	1843	393	79	2.0
Hale, S.	1848	486	34	.7
Whelpley, S.	1856	213	12	.6
Willard, E.	1856	277	15	.5
Willson, M.	1865	434	92	2.1
McDonald, W.	1869	442	36	.8
Stephens, A.	1872	492	49	1.0
Lossing, B.	1875	401	20	.5
Anderson, J.	1880	309	52	1.7
Blackburn, J.	1880	432	38	.9
Quackenbos, G.	1884	532	58	1.1
Eggleston, E.	1888	384	53	1.4
Montgomery, D.	1890	415	67	1.6
Lee, S.	1895	587	15	.03
Cooper, Estill	1896	441	50	1.1
McMaster, J.	1897	491	43	.9
Hart, A.	1905	586	34	.6
McLaughlin, A.	1912	608	91	.8
West, W.	1913	680	50	.7
Beard & Bagley	1918	636	53	.8
McMaster, J.	1918	467	46	1.0
Mace, W.	1918	481	61	1.3
Latane, J.	1921	525	54	1.0
Guitteau, W.	1923	645	65	1.0
Leonard & Jacobs	1924	548	58	1.1
Gordy, W.	1925	566	52	.9
Beard & Beard	1927	667	56	.8
West	1928	680	50	.7
Vannest & Smith	1931	644	47	.7
Barker & Dodd	1934	784	67	.8
Faulkner & Tyler	1934	695	41	.6
Muzzey, D.	1939	662	46	.7

*These pages discussed the United States.

the books. One such example was Baker and Hall's 1836 text. Their dismissal of late eighteenth century immigration without any discussion of immigrant groups would lead one to believe that the topic was not important. Yet the statement that appeared at the end of their text seemed quite the opposite.

The great increase of uneducated foreigners, is also a most serious cause of alarm. Men allowed to appear at the polls before they are familiar with our laws, our government, institutions or our civil polity, are fit tools for the designing demagogue. An oath of allegiance, taken by a man whose home is in another land, is as powerless in making him a true patriot, as are the rays of the moon to cherish vegetation amidst the snows of Greenland or Nova Zembla (p. 365).

One writer, Edward N. Saveth (1965) referred to the American historian's interest in immigration as a "historiographic hangnail--a side issue to which little attention need to be paid" (p. 9). After conducting this study, this researcher would agree, but would apply the statement to selected writers of the early American history period prior to 1890, rather than the attitudes of all the various American historians studied. Of course, it could be interpreted, and it is this researcher's convictions that it is not the page allotment that is important, though it is an interesting consideration. Of more significance is the textbook writer's convictions that are expressed in those pages. To give but one example, Susan Pendleton Lee (1895) does more damage to the image of the immigrant in the fifteen pages of her 587 page book than does Marcius Willson

(1865) who casts both a disparaging viewpoint on certain immigration and an approving perspective on others with the 92 pages out of 434 in his book. It is what the authors do with their words rather than the number of words they actually write.

Introductions to Texts: Keys to Understanding?

When picking up a text, the researcher read the introduction to decide how much detail the author had placed on the topic of immigration. The researcher could not tell what emphasis the author had assumed from reading the introductions to the texts. An example was this statement in the preface of A School History of the United States, written in 1897 by John Bach McMaster which stated:

. . . for beyond all question, the event of the world's history during the nineteenth century is the growth of the United States. Nothing like it has ever before taken place (p. 9).

This researcher began to believe that the author might devote more space to the immigrant's role in this growth. Instead, McMaster, like all American history textbook writers of the late nineteenth century, choose to concentrate upon the growing industrialization of the United States and the concomitant rise of labor. Even though immigration was a key factor in the rise of labor, few pages were afforded the topic.

Overall Coverage

Little variation existed in the overall coverage of immigration as is reflected in the figures of Table 9. In

every case, but two, the percentage of coverage hovered around the one percent mark. A few such as Morse (1819), Willard (1856), and Lossing (1875) were at the .5 percent, while only Susan Pendleton Lee (1895) was well below the average with .03 percent of her book devoted to immigration. The largest percent of any textbook dedicated to immigration was Marcius Willson (1865) and Hall and Baker (1839) with slightly over two percent and D. H. Montgomery (1890) and J. Blackburn with slightly over one and one-half percent. The period when the text was written had nothing to do with the amount of space that the immigration text received. All of these historians concentrated upon the earliest immigrants up to the founding of Georgia.

Does Coverage Vary Among Different Immigrant Groups?

The third research question answered in this study is: Do certain immigrant groups receive more coverage than others?

It was first necessary to list the various immigrant groups and again look at the basic outline of topics. Many groups are included under the "English" heading. The early English settlers of Virginia, the early Pilgrims or Puritans of Massachusetts who settled in 1620 and 1630, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the debtors of Georgia, and settlers in each of the other colonies of Maryland, the Carolinas, New Jersey, New Hampshire, and Connecticut fit under the English heading. When looking at all of these groups that fit under the English heading, the researcher decided to divide each

of these groups under its individual heading. Also listed are Swedes, Dutch, Germans before 1848, Scotch-Irish, French Huguenots, Scottish Cavaliers, Irish, Germans after 1848, Eastern European Jews, Slavs, Japanese, Chinese, and Scandinavians. The results appear in Table 10. Without a doubt, the Pilgrims or Separatists and Puritans of Massachusetts received the largest amount of coverage whether the text was written in 1789 by Jedidiah Morse or in 1939 by David Muzzey.

Is Bias Evident When Describing Immigrant Groups?

The fourth research question considered in this study is: Are these immigrant groups described in terms that would indicate bias or foster stereotypes?

This section of the study examined evaluative terms that are used to describe immigrants in the United States. Each evaluative term used in the textbooks that described immigrants was listed on a score sheet as shown in Appendix E. Each term was judged favorable or unfavorable based upon a word list developed by Pratt (1972) which is contained in Appendix F. The "congruency" test was used for words not on the list. To calculate the Coefficient of Evaluation (ECO), only those textbooks that had a minimum of ten evaluative terms were used. This eliminated only one book in the study which was John Bach McMaster's (1897) School History. Since the vast majority of the early textbooks contained many more than ten evaluative terms, it was very obvious to the

Table 10*

Treatment in Pages of Various Immigrant Groups in the United States in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

A = English settlers of Virginia
 B = Puritans or Pilgrims of Massachusetts of 1620
 C = Puritans of Massachusetts Bay Colony of 1630
 D = Quakers of Pennsylvania
 E = debtors of Georgia
 F = settlers in colonies Maryland
 G = settlers in colony of Carolinas
 H = settlers in colony of New Jersey

Author	Copyright	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Morse, J.	1789	2	1						
M'Culloch, J.	1807	5	5	3					
Webster, N.	1813	2	3	4					
Morse, J.	1819	2	1						
Goodrich, C.	1823	15	2	1	2			2	
Hale, S.	1826	3	3	3	3	1	2	3	
Olney, J.	1836	15	6	10	8	5	7		
Hall & Baker	1839	6	8	8	6	1	2		
Willard, E.	1843	4	6	3					
Hale, S.	1848	3	3	3	3	1	2	3	
Whelpley, S.	1856								
Willard, E.	1856	continued 1843 book							
Willson, M.	1865	7	7	5		3			
McDonald, W.	1869	6	3	2					
Stephens, A.	1872	6	11	10	4				
Lossing, B.	1875	4	5	5					
Anderson, J.	1880	6	4	3	2				
Blackburn, J.	1880	7	3	3	2				
Quackenbos, G.	1884	4	4	2	3	1	2		
Eggleston, E.	1888	9	6	6	5	3	4	3	
Montgomery, D.	1890	4	7	3					
Lee, S.	1895	8	2	2					
Cooper, Estill	1896	4	6	3	3				
McMaster, J.	1897	3	3	2	1				
Hart, A.	1905	4	5	7	1				
McLaughlin, A.	1912	5	7	3	2				
West, W.	1913	4	1	3	2				

* Only one page or more treatment will be indicated.

Table 10*

Treatment in Pages of Various Immigrant Groups in the United States in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

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- C = Puritans of Massachusetts Bay of 1630
- D = Quakers of Pennsylvania
- E = debtors of Georgia
- F = settlers in colonies Maryland
- G = settlers in colony of Carolinas
- H = settlers in colony of New Jersey

Author	Copyright	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Beard & Bagley	1918	3	3	3	1				
McMaster, J.	1918	5	4	3	2				
Mace, W.	1918	3	4	3					
Guitteau, W.	1922	3	4	2	1				
Latane, J.	1921	4	3	2	1				
Leonard & Jacobs	1924	3	2	1					
Gordy, W.	1925	2							
Beard & Beard	1927								
West	1928	4	1	3	2				
Vannest & Smith	1931								
Barker & Dodd	1934	3	3	2					
Faulkner & Tyler	1934	1	1	1					
Muzzey, D.	1939								

*Only one page or more treatment will be indicated.

Table 10*

Treatment in Pages of Various Immigrant Groups in the United States in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

I = settlers in colonies of New Hampshire and Connecticut
 J = Swedish
 K = Dutch
 L = Germans before 1848
 M = Scotch-Irish
 N = French Huguenots
 O = Scottish Cavaliers
 P = Germans after 1848

Author	Copyright	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
Morse, J.	1789								
M'Culloch, J.	1807			2					
Webster, N.	1813								
Morse, J.	1819								
Goodrich, C.	1823								
Hale, S.	1826								
Olney, J.	1836								
Hall & Baker	1839	3		1					
Willard, E.	1843			1					
Hale, S.	1848								
Whelpley, S.	1856								
Willard, E.	1856								5
Willson, M.	1865						2		
McDonald, W.	1869								
Stephens, A.	1872								
Lossing, B.	1875		1						1
Anderson, J.	1880								
Blackburn, J.	1880								
Quackenbos, G.	1884								
Eggleston, E.	1888								
Montgomery, D.	1890								
Lee, S.	1895								
Cooper, Estill	1896								
McMaster, J.	1897								
Hart, A.	1905								
McLaughlin, A.	1912								
West, W.	1913					2			

*Only one page or more treatment will be indicated.

Table 10*

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 M = Scotch-Irish
 N = French Huguenots
 O = Scottish Cavaliers
 P = Germans after 1848

Author	Copyright	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
Beard & Bagley	1918								
McMaster, J.	1918								
Mace, W.	1918					1			
Guitteau, W.	1922								
Latane, J.	1921					1			
Leonard & Jacobs	1924							1	2
Gordy, W.	1925								
Beard & Beard	1927				2	1			1
West	1928				1	1			
Vannest & Smith	1931								1
Barker & Dodd	1934								
Faulkner & Tyler	1934								
Muzzey, D.	1939								

* Only one page or more treatment will be indicated.

Table 10*

Treatment in Pages of Various Immigrant Groups in the United States in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

Q = Irish after 1848
 R = Scandinavians
 S = Eastern European Jews
 T = Southern and Eastern European
 U = Japanese
 V = Chinese

Author	Copyright	Q	R	S	T	U	V
Morse, J.	1789						
M'Culloch, J.	1807						
Webster, N.	1813						
Morse, J.	1819						
Goodrich, C.	1823						
Hale, S.	1826						
Olney, J.	1836						
Hall & Baker	1839						
Willard, E.	1843	6					
Hale, S.	1848						
Whelpley, S.	1856						
Willard, E.	1856						
Willson, M.	1865						
McDonald, W.	1869						
Stephens, A.	1872						
Lossing, B.	1875						
Anderson, J.	1880						
Blackburn, J.	1880						
Quackenbos, G.	1884						
Eggleston, E.	1888						
Montgomery, D.	1890						
Lee, S.	1895	3					
Cooper, Estill	1896						
McMaster, J.	1897						
Hart, A.	1905						
McLaughlin, A.	1912						
West, W.	1913						

* Only one page or more treatment will be indicated.

Table 10*

Treatment in Pages of Various Immigrant Groups in the United States in Early American History Textbooks 1789-1939

Q = Irish after 1848
 R = Scandinavians
 S = Eastern European Jews
 T = Southern and Eastern European
 U = Japanese
 V = Chinese

Author	Copyright	Q	R	S	T	U	V
Beard & Bagley	1918				3		1
McMaster, J.	1918						
Mace, W.	1918						
Guitteau, W.	1922					1	
Latane, J.	1921						
Leonard & Jacobs	1924				5		
Gordy, W.	1925						
Beard & Beard	1927	1			3	1	3
West	1928						1
Vannest & Smith	1931		1		4		1
Barker & Dodd	1934					2	
Faulkner & Tyler	1934						
Muzzey, D.	1939						

* Only one page or more treatment will be indicated.

researcher that immigrants are one subject where authors tend to use biased words when writing their history.

The average text contained twenty-three evaluative terms. In Table 11, data is presented that lists these 39 textbooks and their evaluation coefficient. The average score for these textbooks is 68%, a positive treatment. An individual examination of these scores show that they relate almost entirely to the early English settlement period. Whelpley (1856), with the lowest score of 5%, tends to make negative statements concerning all immigrants. His presentation is in a more generalized form than any of the historical texts examined. The author designed his text more as a sermon written in a biblical manner rather than as a straight historical text. The arrangement of his Compendium included Part I which is a world history and Part II which is a United States history text. Both sections contain much personal commentary and a small percentage of actual fact. The information concerning immigrants is entitled "The Spirit of our Government as it Relates to Foreigners."

Looking now at the other extreme of being very positive about immigration, Cooper, Estill, and Lemmon (1896) were rated 94%. They gave high marks to each of the immigrant groups from the earliest English settlers, even to the Japanese who they reflect are making "rapid progress" (p. 326) in their advancement. Of course it must be commented that the period of true restriction had only begun by 1896

Table 11

Evaluation Coefficient Score of Textbooks Dealing with
the Immigrant Experience in Early American History 1789-1939

Author	Copyright	Evaluation Coefficient
Morse, J.	1789	69%
M'Culloch, J.	1807	62%
Webster, N.	1813	61%
Morse, J.	1819	67%
Goodrich, C.	1823	62%
Hale, S.	1826	70%
Olney, J.	1836	44%
Hall & Baker	1839	53%
Willard, E.	1843	53%
Hale, S.	1848	64%
Whelpley, S.	1856	5%
Willard, E.	1856	61%
Willson, M.	1865	53%
McDonald, W.	1869	65%
Stephens, A.	1872	68%
Lossing, B.	1875	60%
Anderson, J.	1880	46%
Blackburn, J.	1880	63%
Quackenbos, G.	1884	59%
Eggleston, E.	1888	100%
Montgomery, D.	1890	86%
Lee, S.	1895	63%
Cooper, Estill	1896	94%
McMaster, J.	1897	*
Hart, A.	1905	75%
McLaughlin, A.	1912	75%
West, W.	1913	57%
Beard & Bagley	1918	91%
McMaster, J.	1918	61%
Mace, W.	1918	89%
Latane, J.	1921	69%
Guitteau, W.	1923	75%
Leonard & Jacobs	1924	77%
Gordy, W.	1925	62%
Beard & Beard	1927	55%
West	1928	62%
Vannest & Smith	1931	66%
Barker & Dodd	1934	17%
Faulkner & Tyler	1934	83%
Muzzey, D.	1939	67%
Average Score		64%

*There were only 7 evaluative terms in this text.

with the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. This is not a complete explanation, however, since later textbooks scored positively even with much more emphasis upon the immigrants of southern and eastern Europe. What also needs to be investigated is upon which immigrant groups was there the most concentration. In every text with a positively skewed score, the emphasis was upon the early Virginia, Puritan, Pilgrim, and Quaker immigrants to the almost total exclusion of the later groups.

Types of Descriptions Used

Earliest English Immigrants

To understand which evaluative words were used for each immigrant period, it would be best to summarize some of the words that were used as descriptors for each period. When the early Virginia settlers of 1607 were analyzed, the most common positive word was "industrious" (Montgomery, 1890, p. 57; McLaughlin, 1912, p. 33; Vannest and Smith, 1931, p. 10), while "adventurous" (M'Culloch, 1807, p. 9; West, 1928, p. 19), and "bold" and "enterprising" (McDonald & Blackburn, 1869, p. 31) were also used. But these particular words are very debatable, since looking at the other texts, some words that were used to describe the immigrants that settled in Virginia were in direct opposition to this. Other words used were "dissipated" and "profligate" (M'Culloch, 1807, p. 20), as well as "disorderly" and again "profligate" (Willson, 1865, p. 53). "Indolent" or similar synonyms such as "idle" or "unwilling to work" were most reflective of the

early Virginia colonists (Quackenbos, 1884, p. 74; Mace, 1918, p. 27; Gordy, 1925, p. 41). "Worthless" (McMaster, 1897, p. 31) was also a common expression. The later words were used during the initial founding period while the former adjectives were used after order was restored to the Virginia colonies. This was a favorite period for the use of evaluative terms as was the founding of Massachusetts.

The Pilgrims were "robust" and "worthy", while the Puritans were "dauntless" and "remarkable" (West, 1928, p. 40). The Puritans showed characteristics of being "sober," "industrious," and "preserving people" (McCulloch, 1807, p. 30) who were "pious" and "intelligent" while also displaying "fortitude, enterprise and resolution" (Willson, 1865, p. 76). McDonald & Blackburn (1869) viewed the Puritans as "extremists" who "defied all authority" as well as being "peculiar" and having "unsocial notions" (pp. 48-49). Susan Lee (1895) viewed the Puritans as "strong, brave and persevering" (p. 33). The Massachusetts colonists were generally considered superior to the settlers of Plymouth because of their wealth and education (Olney, 1836, p. 58) and this is reflected in all of the accounts.

The Dutch

The Dutch received almost unanimous positive comments. They were portrayed as "industrious, frugal, and religious" (Eggleston, 1888, p. 48). Susan Lee's (1895) descriptors were "prosperous, upright, honest, and sturdy" (p. 41). Leonard & Jacobs (1924) wrote that the Dutch were "frugal,

industrious, and parsimonious" while the women were "handsome and agreeable" (pp. 119-120). The only negative comments came from Anderson (1880) who believed the Dutch were "unfriendly and hostile" (pp. 70, 74). These characteristics were more in regard to their relationships with the English.

Other Immigrant Groups Before 1840

The French Huguenots, Quakers, Scotch-Irish, Germans before 1840, and Welsh, all received positive comments in all textbooks. Certain texts (Vannest and Smith, 1931; West, 1928) use the word "different" or "quaint" to describe the Quakers and Germans but while using those terms, they also praised the contributions made by these groups.

The Irish and German

The Irish and Germans after 1840 were not even considered by several of the textbooks such as McDonald & Blackburn (1869), Lossing (1875), Anderson (1880), Quackenbos (1884), Eggleston (1888), and Montgomery (1890). The other textbook writers made general comments such as "the immigrants before 1880 were "thrifty, industrious, and intelligent" (Gordy, 1925, p. 387) without specifically referring to any particular group. West (1928) described those immigrants from Northern Europe as being "sturdy, strong, laboring men" (p. 396). Susan Lee (1895), on the other hand, would be accused of Irish bashing. Not a kind word was written about the Irish who were "idle, vicious, wicked, worthless, uncongenial, and ignorant" (pp. 321-322).

Southern and Eastern Europeans

When the latter part of the nineteenth century introduced over eight million immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, there were few positive comments made in the various history textbooks. Gordy (1925) contrasted the early immigrants, previous to 1880, most of which came from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. These immigrants were described as "thrifty, industrious, and intelligent people who built up prosperous farming communities and organized schools, colleges, and churches" (p. 387). Since 1880 the great majority of immigrants, almost 90 per cent, had come from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. "Most of them could not read or write their own language and were unskilled workmen. These for the most part remained in the industrial centres of the East" (p. 388).

In 1880, they made up only one twentieth of the immigrants; in 1900, they comprised one fourth of the immigrant population; and the proportion was constantly increasing. The immigrants who came after 1880 from southern and eastern Europe were generally portrayed as coming from "among the more ignorant classes" in order to find a job. They could not read or write any language and came from countries that were despotic and arbitrary (Muzzey, 1939, pp. 455-456). Repeatedly the terms "illiterate and unskilled" (Guitteau, 1923, p. 515; West, 1928, p. 482) were used to describe these immigrants. The

term "alien invasion" appeared in Beard and Beard's history (1927, p. 411). Muzzey (1929) headed the section concerning the immigrants after 1880 as "The Invasion from Southern and Eastern Europe" which prejudiced the reader before he or she even encountered the material (p. 500).

Meanwhile, the rapid decrease in the birthrate of families of the old American stocks (especially of the New England stock) alarmed many observers, who raised the cry of 'race-suicide,' according to Willis West (1913, p. 653). Samuel Whelpley (1856) had the answer for this when he wrote: "No person should hereafter become a citizen, but by being born within the United States" (p. 204). He further warned:

Their [people of U.S.] progress in the path of corruption is rapid; and by holding the door to citizenship so wide, and making the elective franchise so cheap, they invite all strangers, and allure all the outcasts of fortune's children to hover upon our coasts, like a cloud of harpies; yea, to plunge into our public affairs, to put shoulder to the wheel and push us on to destruction (p. 209).

Conclusions

Without doubt, there was a real difference in the portrayal of the different immigrant groups. The reasons given were superficial at best. This study, in the conclusions of Chapter 5, will consider the reasons and how these rationalizations are reflected in the history texts.

Immigrants in Pictures

The fifth question presented in this study is: If pictures are used in the textbooks, how do they portray immigrants?

The focus of this section is to analyze pictures included in the selected textbooks. For this study, the word picture means any visual representation of a person or landscape, produced by painting, drawing, or photography. To be counted as an "immigrant picture," the text must identify the subject of the picture as being related to immigrants. In Table 12, it is shown that eight of the 40 textbooks contained pictures depicting the immigrant experience in the United States. An adapted McDiarmid and Pratt (1971) picture analysis was applied to each picture to classify its characteristics. Each picture was examined for the treatment of nine areas: (1) type of clothing, (2) type of aggression, (3) type of activity, (4) type of authority, (5) type of disposition, (6) presence of women and or children, (7) period of time, (8) type of environment, (9) type of housing. A total of 40 pictures were analyzed. Thirty-seven percent of the pictures portrayed women and children. Pictures used in these textbooks showed the immigrant either subordinate to authority or this characteristic was not present. No picture placed the immigrant "in charge." Eighty-two percent of the photographs or drawings displayed the clothing of the Old Country.

Table 12

Percentage of Pictures that Treat the Various Aspects
of the Immigrant Experience in Early American History
Textbooks 1789-1939

<u>Category or Aspect of Picture</u>	<u>Percentage</u> N=40
Clothing	
Native costume	82.5
Western dress	10
Native costume & Western dress	0
Other (picture with no people)	7.5
Aggression	
Offensive	0
Defensive	0
Nonaggressive	100
Activity	
Herder/Gatherer	0
Hunting/fishing	0
Manual/Crafts/Farming	15
Skilled/Professional	0
Education	0
Leisure/Idle	30
Religious/Exotic	0
Other	42.5
Pictures of Buildings or Rooms	12.5
Authority	
Immigrant subordinate to Authority	20
Authorities subordinate to Immigrant	0
Other	80
Disposition	
Laughing or smiling	5
Indeterminate, intermediate	67.5
Scowling, frowning	15
No people in picture	12.5

Eight textbooks contained all the pictures considered in this study. The eight textbooks were: Eggleston (1888); Beard and Bagley (1918); Mace (1918); Guitteau (1923); Leonard and Jacobs (1924); Gordy (1925); Vannest and Smith (1931); and Barker, Dodd, and Commager (1934).

Table 12

Percentage of Pictures that Treat the Various Aspects
of the Immigrant Experience in Early American History
Textbooks 1789-1939

<u>Category or Aspect of Picture</u>	<u>Percentage</u> N=40
Women and, or children	
Present	37.5
Not Present	62.5
Time	
Present	37.5
Past	62.5
Environment	
Urban	32.5
Rural	10
Other	57.5
Housing	
Single family dwelling	5
Apartment	10
Other	85

Eight textbooks contained all the pictures considered in this study. The eight textbooks were: Eggleston (1888); Beard and Bagley (1918); Mace (1918); Guitteau (1923); Leonard and Jacobs (1924); Gordy (1925); Vannest and Smith (1931); and Barker, Dodd, and Commager (1934).

Pre-1880 Immigrants

In discussing the various pictures, it was easier to group the pictures that depicted immigrants before 1880 and those after 1880. When considering the pictures of immigrants before 1880, only two textbooks really concentrated on portraying different immigrant groups and this was done in only eleven pictures. Mace (1918) and Eggleston (1888) provided pen and ink drawings of the various immigrant groups in their native costumes. The Scotch-Irish, a German man and woman, a French Huguenot, an Irish man and woman, all were featured in separate pictures in Eggleston's (1888) text, while Mace (1918) featured similar drawings of a Cavalier, a Highlander who settled in the Carolinas, a Huguenot gentleman, a Puritan minister and a typical Quaker. There were a few miscellaneous pictures such as a German dining room in Pennsylvania (Vannest and Smith, 1931), a Puritan house in Massachusetts (West, 1928), the landing of Cadillac's wife in Detroit (Barker, Dodd, Commager, 1934) and the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth (Mace, 1918). Portraits of the founding fathers of each of the major English colonial groups were featured in most of the texts from the 1830's and later. Portraits of John Smith, John Winthrop, William Penn and other similar personages were found in all of these texts but they were not considered as immigrants in this study and, therefore, were not included.

Post-1880 Immigrants

Twenty-five pictures in this study revolved around the immigrants who came after 1880. All but two of these pictures were photographs and were contained in nine textbooks. Some generalizations can be made about these pictures. If the photograph included people, they were usually pictured in their Old World clothing. Five showed immigrants arriving off the boat in New York City for the first time with their belongings clutched in their hands. Three other photographs depicted incoming immigrants waiting to be passed for entry into the United States at Ellis Island. Three others showed shots of the buildings at Ellis Island and two had drawings of the Statue of Liberty. Another generalization can be made. Most pictures of immigrants after 1880 found them in urban environments. Five depicted immigrants in street scenes, mainly in New York City, but one indicated that San Francisco was the locale. If the city were New York, the area presented would be New York's East Side around the turn of the century with a caption that said immigrants poured into the country and tended to live together in certain sections of our great cities (Barker, Dodd, Commager, 1934, p. 627). Another large category of pictures showed immigrants at work such as a Chinese merchant in his shop in California (Beard and Bagley, 1918, p. 499) or a Slovak miner in Pennsylvania (Vannest and Smith, 1931), p. 45) or immigrants such as the Chinese watching the joining of the Central and Union

Pacific Railroads at Ogden, Utah in 1869 (Gordy, 1925, p. 395). One picture showed Italian merchants at their vegetable stand (Vannest and Smith, 1931, p. 47). A miscellaneous category included a photograph of a sod house built by immigrants to the Great Plains (Vannest and Smith, 1931, p. 41) and a family of Scandinavians in a formal portrait dressed in their Old World costumes (Vannest and Smith, 1931, p. 42). It should also be noted that all the copyrights of these textbooks fall after 1890. The usual picture found in the pre-Civil War texts, as already indicated, were portraits of individuals and these were done with pen and ink.

Immigrants and Nationalism

The sixth question that guided this study is: Does the topic of immigration in the textbooks from 1789 to 1939 serve as an instrument of nationalistic fervor either for or against the immigrant experience?

This was probably the most difficult question to answer since it relies so heavily upon a knowledge of the history of immigration. But arranging the texts chronologically allowed for one major pattern to evolve. Looking at the progression of texts chronologically, one can see that historians rejoiced in the fact that we were English in tradition and descent. Every text uses terms such as sober, industrious, preserving, intelligent, religious, enterprising, resolute, honest, wise, thrifty, zealous people to describe the English. This was discussed in an

earlier section. Only once during the period before 1880 was there a thought to restricting immigration and it never went further than being just an idea among the people who were members of the Know-Nothing party.

The immigrants after 1880 were not discussed in glowing terms, nor was there the same degree of coverage. The earlier immigrants were still receiving a great deal of emphasis while the later immigrants were dismissed with, at the very most, three pages.

The topic of immigration is definitely used as a nationalistic tool. All textbooks after 1900 referred to "The Problem of Americanization" where there appeared a discussion of how America could assimilate these "olive-skinned" and "swarthy" newcomers. Many texts even ask rhetorical questions such as:

Would they adjust themselves to their New World environment and understand and contribute to American institutions? Would the presence of millions of Roman Catholics and Jews among a people traditionally Protestant in their religious faiths raise the unhappy issue of religious toleration? (Barker, Dodd, Commager, 1934, p. 627).

This final question is extremely interesting. These authors had not considered that many Catholic immigrants had come into America previously and that Jews had also continually emigrated into the United States throughout its history. They had blended into the fabric of America with no unhappy repercussions.

Oriental immigration, too, needed restriction since "the situation [was] rapidly getting beyond control" (Barker, Dodd, Commager, 1934, p. 628). The Pacific coast was being "flooded with Chinese coolies." For all of these reasons, our immigration policy of restriction was necessary since there were now some unwelcomed additions to our population which demanded selectivity.

Revisions in Immigrant History

The seventh and final question that steered this study is: Is immigration history revised during the period from 1789 to 1939?

Beard and Beard in their textbook preface in 1927, made the statement:

If the successive historical texts are only enlarged editions of the first text--more facts, more date, more words--then history deserves most of the sharp criticism which it is receiving . . . (V).

Looking at the texts, one discovered that there was little change in the history textbooks' narrative layout and composition. The later textbooks applied some changes such as: pictures were used, questions for study were incorporated into the text, and a neater and easier to read format was employed. But the texts were much the same as they had been at the time of M'Culloch in 1807. A run down of each colony's early history was found in the beginning of the book, then the chronological periods of history were introduced, the wars were fought in great detail, and the final wrap up, in the later books of 1920 and later, were

concerned with foreign policy and domestic issues such as politics or our socio-economic condition.

So is immigrant history revised? The answer would be a yes as to the information presented. All the texts, except for Vannest and Smith (1931) give similar information, in a parallel way. As has already been pointed out, their textbook made more affirmative comments about the immigrant after 1880 than any other text. These comments, though, have possibly led to stereotypical viewpoints about the immigrant. For instance, students reading these texts, might believe that "All Greeks own restaurants" or that "Italians run fresh fruit markets" or that "Most Jews are involved in the clothing industry." The most interesting thing is that no book before theirs had even said that the immigrant had made many positive contributions at all. One text praised the Hungarians, Italians, Slovaks, and Poles for being good miners and iron workers because these jobs called for more physical strength which they could provide at their jobs (Beard and Bagley, 1918, p. 502).

Americans have always enjoyed thinking of their country as a place where all people were treated equally and where tolerance was extended to everyone. In spite of this ideal, intolerance and prejudice appeared in the form of third parties and restrictionist legislation. Without doubt, the history of the United States after 1880 was one of restriction which in itself would be enough to say that immigration history had been revised. But this same

restrictionist viewpoint had spilled into the texts which also reflected this restraining persuasion.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

Every person who lives in the United States today is either an immigrant or the descendant of immigrants. Except for our Native Americans and descendants of former slaves, individuals and families, occasionally groups, sought homes in a foreign land where they could establish a better life. This was not a military invasion but a peaceful movement. For almost four hundred years, America has been a retreat for people from all over the world. But throughout the texts that were reviewed, a distinction was made concerning "the immigrants" and the "Americans." The idea that we were a nation of immigrants was never stated.

Migration to the United States is still taking place and has now become a topic in all secondary social studies textbooks. When looking at the history of immigration, using the basic outline that was developed for use in this study, it is obvious that immigration did not occupy center stage in classrooms before 1939. It was given a more prominent position in texts of the 1930's because most of the material related to immigration was placed together, rather than being spread out in the books copyrighted before 1930.

Topical Emphasis on Immigration

Conclusion Concerning "The Most and Least"

Vannest and Smith's A Socialized History of the United States (1931) had the most complete coverage of immigration, but the text also had one of the later copyright dates. Also, one of the stated aims and objectives of the textbook was:

To show why the different European, Asiatic, and African immigrants have come to us and to indicate the contributions they have made (p. 2).

The textbook which included the least topical reporting was Whelpley's Compendum (1856). Even though it has a copyright date of the mid-nineteenth century, that was not the reason for its minimal coverage since earlier authors included much more information. The Compendum was more interested in sermonizing about the "evils of foreigners" than incorporating factual information about immigration.

Another text lacking many details about immigration was Benson J. Lossing's Outline History of the United States (1875). Lossing's text included only five topics while Whelpley's only included one topic. Whelpley's text was explainable, but this researcher was interested in why the textbooks of the immediate post Civil War period contained a very minimalistic approach to history in general, not just immigration. Arranging the texts in chronological order helped in drawing these conclusions.

Why Puritanism was Emphasized

There were several reasons why immigrants from England, and particularly the Puritans of Massachusetts, were featured in all textbooks regardless of copyright date. The reason for this historical slant of the earliest writers and editors was that many of them were from New England and the earliest market for texts was found in the New England schools. Jedidiah Morse attended Yale, taught for a while, and then entered the ministry. As a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, New England Tract Society and American Bible Society, his work reflected his religious background. Charles Goodrich, another Congregationalist Massachusetts minister, also emphasized New England; Salma Hale, Jesse Olney, S. R. Hall, A. R. Baker, and Emma Willard were natives of New England who also highlighted their section of the country in their history texts. Again, Table 1's arrangement supported this conclusion.

Other Ethnic Groups

The other immigrant groups that came to America, including why the various immigrant groups came, were identified in all the textbooks written after 1900. Three texts, McLaughlin (1912), West (1913), and Leonard and Jacobs (1924) omitted the Chinese and Japanese. Two groups were regularly excluded from textbook discussions. The first group omitted in the discussion of "who or why" was the Eastern European Slavs who suffered widespread discrimination and economic or political hardships. Only

one text referred to them specifically, Vannest & Smith (1931). The other ethnic group was Italians. They were apparently disliked since many returned to their native country with no intention of settling in America.

Other Topics Considered--But with No Uniformity

Many texts included information about where the immigrant settled. This seemed to be the focus of contrast concerning the immigrants who came to America before 1880 and after 1880. Ten authors explained how the free land available in the west was gone so that the newcomers had to settle in urban areas where only unskilled jobs were feasible for individuals raised on farms. No author explained that the period of rapid urbanization was responsible for the shift to city living. Industrialization had disrupted the ways of living that had been customary for centuries. The new arrivals had to find employment where they could, and jobs were to be found only in the cities at the turn of the century.

Less Coverage Concerning Living Conditions of Immigrants

The least discussed topic was how the immigrant lived. This part of the outline usually received allusions that amounted to one sentence coverage. Since few texts were involved in the socio-economic history of the United States, it is not surprising that this topic received so little emphasis.

The impact or results of immigration received a great deal of emphasis as they related to political life and the

labor movement. Nine texts excluded the Alien and Sedition Acts with the identical same texts excluding the Know-Nothing Party as well. The rest gave extensive coverage to these topics and six did so in more than one half page. The influence of political machines in party life was considered by only three textbooks. No mention was made of significant immigrant voting power in any textbooks and that should have been an issue in explaining why Congress waited so long to enact strict regulations. Many politicians realized that the immigrant vote continued to outweigh the labor vote in major urban centers (Higham, 1963, p. 304). No textbook ever made a general statement about any political power that the newcomers had in America.

The growing resentment of labor in the United States, contrasted to the eager urging from industrialists to immigrate to the United States, was incorporated in six texts. Union leaders were given bad reviews in the two texts that included this topic. The major emphasis was devoted to anarchists of foreign birth rather than the positive contributions of immigrants. Only one text identified Samuel Gompers as an immigrant and that was West (1913). The portrayal of anarchists at Haymarket in Chicago and the role of the Irish in causing trouble was the only statement about immigrants taking part in strikes (Lee, 1895).

Minimal Emphasis: Social and Cultural Contributions

The social life and cultural contributions of the immigrant were only given a minor mention in two of the books reviewed. The settlement homes and Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society and YMCA and other organizations were never mentioned. As has already been discussed in Chapter 4, there were few contributions credited to the immigrants. Only two texts made any real effort to give recognition and those accolades involved singling immigrant groups out and making stereotypical comments.

More Prominence: Immigration Policy

The texts that did review the cultural contributions never told about the new food, clothing and vocabulary that immigrants added to our society. Not even the books of the late 1920's and 1930's described these positive aspects. Technology and scholarship were not the domain of the immigrants either--only literature and music. Frances FitzGerald (1979) discovered this fact to be true of the books of the 1950's. She wrote, "Still, it is fact that the textbooks had traditionally associated art with immigrants" (p. 81). This researcher found the phenomenon true as early as the 1930's and apparently the interpretation continued.

The immigration policy shifting from an open door policy to one of control and regulation received the most coverage after "who settled and where." Each author, after 1900, took great pains to explain how American workers at the end of the nineteenth century urged that immigration be

limited. When workers felt their jobs were endangered by the newer immigrants they insisted that immigration be restricted. Attention to these matters was great with usually a half page coverage or more. Justification for restriction seemed a necessity for each author. Later scholarship indicated that the immigrants after 1880 did not lower anyone's standard of living and that all immigrants, no matter where their origin, readily adapted to the American way of life.

After World War I, the textbooks no longer were concerned with how desirable immigration could be or the type of desirable immigrant. They simply were concerned with the numbers that were arriving daily at Ellis Island. The concern for "assimilation" emerged after World War I, too. No textbooks before this time, even mentioned that fear. It was assumed that American society could accomplish the "melting pot" ethic automatically.

Immigration in the 1920's was seen as a stressful process. The social ills of tenements, diseases, and poor working conditions were aggravated by excessive immigration.

There was not a great need in the eighteenth or nineteenth century for Americans to be a cohesive whole. This country was proud of its diversity and only toward the end of the nineteenth century did nationalism and the need for everyone to be assimilated into America become a true concern.

As a result of recognizing how each restriction law was found in every textbook written after 1900, one may easily deduce that the national government regulated immigration most persistently after the 1880's. This restriction marked the culmination and conclusion of an era of nationalistic legislation. The law of 1924 was considered an end--a permanent solution to the "immigration problem." No textbook stated this, but many texts explained the details of the new law and any thoughtful high school student could extract the result.

No justification was made in any book about why the 1921 law was necessary. The 1921 law, though adopted as a very temporary legislation, imposed the first sharp and absolute numerical limits on European immigration. It founded a nationality quota system based on the present composition of the American population. This equation has survived down through all subsequent immigration legislation until 1964 and ensured that the next generation would not have to contend with immigration being a major influence on American history.

Ending of Immigration from the Orient

The Chinese and Japanese were described, that is if they were described at all, as coming first to the gold rush in the 1850's in California. Later their numbers increased rapidly when their labor was needed to complete the transcontinental railroad. Most of those who came settled in California. All of this was fine until the immigrant

Europeans and native-born Americans reached the West coast and competed for jobs. The growing discrimination against the Chinese led to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which denied immigration for ten years to Chinese laborers. The Act was renewed ten years later and the number of Chinese in the United States shrank dramatically from 250,00 in 1882 to 60,000 in 1920. Eleven textbooks include these Acts as part of their narrative. These books do not describe the continual discrimination suffered by the Chinese in employment and legal situations. The researcher had heard the saying--"To have a Chinaman's chance" meaning no chance at all. A deeper understanding of the meaning can be seen when it is traced back to this period of the Exclusion Act.

Quantity of Pages Devoted to Immigration

One would think that the amount of pages devoted to the immigrant would increase from 1789 to 1939. There was more history to relate regarding the immigrant, so even if it were done in a cursory manner, the amount would naturally increase. Instead of increasing coverage, the period from 1875 to 1890 included the least information about the immigrant. The only major period of immigration that these texts dealt with was the earliest migrations of the English, along with the Alien and Sedition Acts, and the Know Nothing Party. The later period of the 1740's was not discussed, nor any events of the 1800's. This period from 1875 to 1890 in American history texts would be considered to be the 'arid' period of immigration history.

Van Tassell (1960), an expert in historiography, interpreted this phenomenon. He pointed out that Lossing (1875) became one of the first popular historians who wrote cheap and compact books for mass sales (pp. 92-93). There was an increased market due to the rising literacy rate. Publishers, therefore, were looking for men who would make history accessible to the whole population. To make texts understandable to all, much less information was included and immigration facts that had appeared in previous textbooks were deleted. Others followed in his footsteps to increase their textbooks' marketability. Anderson (1880), Blackburn (1880), Quackenbos (1884), Eggleston (1888), and Montgomery (1890) were imitators who also dropped immigration history from their textbooks.

Besides the content of the text, another interesting characteristic of this period was the very inexpensive paper upon which the texts were written. Due to the rise of cheap labor, the steam press, inexpensive paper and, in 1842, electrotyping, book publishers could turn out low-cost books in large editions. Paper previous to the Civil War was of durable texture and composed of rags. The paper after the Civil War easily ripped, was already disintegrating, and was yellowed with age. After handling these texts, the differences in paper quality was startling.

Post 1920's--More Pages But Same Percent of Coverage

The period after the 1920's contained the most amount of pages dedicated to immigration. But interestingly

enough, the percentage of coverage rarely varied. The textbooks merely grew in pages. This meant that there was a shift of emphasis in the one percent of coverage from discussing only the earlier immigrants to expanding the reporting to include the later immigrants in the textbooks after 1900. The immigrants prior to 1880 were no longer stressed.

Immigrant Groups Emphasized in Texts

As has already been stated in Chapter 4, no group of immigrants received the page coverage that the English received in the textbooks with special emphasis on the Virginia settlers and the Puritans of 1620. If one were to consider the next largest group it would be the southern and eastern Europeans, but this would be in books with copyrights after 1900. If we were to consider the books written before 1900, it would be the Scotch-Irish, followed by the Germans after 1848, then the Irish and Dutch would be tied.

Bias Concerning the Immigrant

Problems Encountered During the Study Concerning Bias

Before the researcher launches into conclusions concerning bias, a few comments must be made about the procedure that was used in the study. The Southern and Eastern European immigrant groups definitely were described in textbooks with words that indicate bias or foster stereotypes. But when researching the texts, McDiarmid and Pratt's ECO Analysis was limited in use. It seemed that one

was more interested in finding "words" than in meaning. Also, in old textbooks certain words would never be found in the ECO list due to their archaic meaning. Such a word was "profligate" which several texts used to describe the early Virginia settlers. This word is synonymous with the modern word "wasteful." The researcher had to be constantly alert to these outmoded vocabulary words. Other obsolete words were: "volubility of tongue," "baleful," "liberal," "stout," and "resolute." All of these words passed the "saint or sinner" test, but were not specified on the list and, thus, careful consideration had to be given that antiquated words were not ignored while reading the text. To answer this particular research question, one made use of the Evaluation Coefficient Analysis but the researcher could achieve the same end without listing words. The notes taken while scanning the chapter, in most cases, were more telling than any list of words out of context. As it was, all listed words had to have the immigrant group's name listed to the side for identification purposes. If this study had been dedicated to one group, such as the Chinese, it would be easier to record results. In this case, one had to consider what group was described and make notions so that the groups were not mixed.

When looking at other forms of evaluation assertion analysis such as the one described by Osgood, Saporta, & Nunnally (1954), the Pratt method was by far easier since it

gave a word list. But the Osgood et al. article made an excellent point:

that reasonably sophisticated users of English can make reliable and valid judgments as to when two alternative constructions are equivalent or non-equivalent in meaning (p.47).

For that reason, the researcher felt the use of an additional analyst became a time consuming validation check in the study. After the appropriate pages were marked for perusal, the additional researcher read out words that he believed should be on the list. These words were checked against the already compiled list and if there were any difference, the differences were discussed. This discussion only occurred initially in the study while both analysts were becoming familiar with the process. The process became monotonous as the research continued since there would be a rare time that there was disagreement. Both analysts became sensitized after the first several books to the kinds of decisions that had to be made. Little accuracy was gained and a large sacrifice of time was expended which could have been better spent at other activities in this study.

Repeatedly, comments as a whole had to be considered and not just the individual words used. In the texts written after 1900, the immigrant was praised, but often under a heading that would read "The Problem of Immigration" (Guitteau, 1919).

Many references occurred incidentally where immigrants were not the main focus of discussion. No index provided

the researcher a complete listing of immigrant references since much material appeared as footnotes to the history text and scattered among topics such as the Homestead Act, poor housing, and the Americanization problem. Also many of the texts prior to 1840 had no indexes or the indexes that existed were not extensive in their reporting of topics.

Pronounced Bias Discovered

After the topic was located, words of bias determined, then immigrant group noted, it became painfully obvious that, for the most part, the British could do no wrong. The settlers of Jamestown were lazy, but they resolutely transformed themselves and became model citizens with direction from a far wiser individual in the form of John Smith. The Puritans were intolerant but they too, after murdering a few Quakers, saw the error in their ways, and eventually accepted all religions in a spirit of toleration. Other groups, like the German and Scotch-Irish, had small character flaws, but they too were able to blend into the fabric of America.

The Dutch were treated with extremely favorable adjectives, as were the Scotch-Irish, and the Germans. Two authors, Lee (1895) and West (1913), did not favor the Irish but most gave positive marks to their character traits.

The Chinese, who in the 1850's were described as "thrifty, sober, and inoffensive," by the 1880's were becoming "dangerous, deceitful, and clannish." Obviously the immigrant group had not changed, rather the viewers

perception of them. One must also note that the chronological period of time had changed. This is the only example of one particular immigrant group that received two separate evaluations in American history texts based on a change in the historical time frame and especially the stress upon the job market. But this researcher wonders if what could be said about one immigrant group such as the Chinese is not true of every immigrant group. After 1880, no immigrant group received a favorable review. It could be concluded that it is not the immigrant group that really makes the difference in the evaluation but the time frame and specifically the economic conditions. This researcher feels strongly that if an influx of British had arrived in 1920, they, too, would have been turned away on a technicality since the majority of Americans felt that we had absorbed as many people as we could.

Time Frame Changes Many Things

To make this more relevant, one could parallel this study with our changing perception of the Japanese. During the post-World War II expansion, the ability of the Japanese to recover from total devastation through hard work and sacrifice was generally admired by the American people. With re-industrialization and later automation, the perception of low-quality Japanese goods gradually changed. Eventually, Americans regarded "Made in Japan" as synonymous with the best quality and workmanship. But later, beginning in the 1980's, a period of world-wide economic recession

occurred. The loss of high paying American manufacturing jobs to off-shore companies resulted in a backlash. Now the flood of Japanese goods was, and still is, perceived as a threat. There is a growing resentment in the United States against both the Japanese products and, by association, the people who produce them. It is a resentment which spills over and touches Japanese American citizens in a way which is strangely similar to what occurred after Pearl Harbor. Economic times change which in turn influences our ideas about people and events. When workers' jobs are lost or threatened in bad economic times, people react to the perceived cause, whether it is true or not. In this case, cheap foreign labor replaces the old threat of cheap immigrant labor.

Stereotypical Immigrants Portrayed in Pictures

Immigrants in textbooks written prior to 1939 were portrayed in their traditional clothing whether they were immigrants or 1740 or 1890. Their surroundings after 1890 were crowded cities or on boats or in lines at Ellis Island. Each picture emphasized the usual stereotypical ways that immigrants are pictured. A person who knew only a small amount about immigration would be able to compile a list of pictures that they might expect in these texts and be exactly correct. It was interesting to note that pictures did not become a regular part of texts until the late nineteenth century and most of these early pictures were pen and ink drawings rather than black and white photographs.

Few texts used colored pictures and none of these texts used color photography. The latter was true because the technology was not available, the former because of the high cost.

One textbook contained ten pen and ink drawings (Eggleston, 1888). These pictures were interesting because the author gave equal representation to immigrant men and women in a period when there was no concern for equal treatment of the sexes. The same can be said of Mace (1918). He did not use as many drawings as Eggleston (1888) did, but Mace still gave equal treatment to men and women.

One other telling comment concerns the picture of the Statue of Liberty. To most people, it represents freedom from oppression and would be linked in some manner to immigrants. In two texts, McMaster (1918) and Montgomery (1890), no connection is made at all with the pen and ink drawing of the Statue and the welcoming that it represents. These two texts were not concerned with immigrants at all, but with the majority, Americans.

Nationalistic Fervor Magnified

This particular question blended with the question of bias. This researcher believes that all of the American history books reviewed throughout our history stress how Americans are alike. Different immigrant groups appeared throughout our history. Some intermingled easily with those Americans already present because their customs and heritage did not mark them as "different." Without doubt, the

immigrants of yesterday, became the "Americans" of today. If the African Americans were a part of this study, a completely separate commentary would be necessary.

After 1880, the immigrants appeared "different" in color but they, too, would adjust, according to most of the historians, to their New World environment. Since no textbook contained more than slightly over two percent of its volume dedicated to immigration, and only the books of the 1930's placed the information on immigration together, the impact of immigration from the text would not be great. On the other hand, if the teacher concentrated on the information and made it a focus of the lesson or lessons than another result would occur depending on his or her personal beliefs about immigration. The impact of the latter might occur no matter what is in a text, but the influence of the text usually modified the personal opinion of the teacher (Beck, 1989).

Immigration History--Revised for the Period

Immigration history changed with the period. When nationalism was stressed, as in the period after World War I, immigrants after 1880 received a not too favorable review or were not mentioned. The early settlers of the colonial period exhibited Anglo-Saxon traits of ingenuity and long-suffering under the most difficult conditions. These traits were extolled. When people worried about jobs and their economic security, solutions to immigration involved restriction by the federal government.

After the Revolutionary War until 1880, immigrants were needed to people the frontier and arrive on the western margins of settlement. This sentiment supported immigration. Immigrants were also necessary as labor to undertake the back-breaking work involved in construction of transportation and public utilities. This construction, for the most part, occurred on the frontier or outside of the cities.

The immigrants after 1880 went to cities to work in each of the fundamental industries--textiles, mining, and iron and steel. These industries relied on the influx of labor from Europe. As long as their labor was needed, these immigrants were accepted. Thus, the attitude of the textbook author was influenced by the economic conditions of the times. Major changes in the business cycle again seemed to take precedence.

Immigration History--Part of a Whole

The immigrants were an integral part of an organic whole. Nothing that they accomplished in America had any meaning except in the larger context of the life of the nation. For this reason the immigrant impact upon American society and culture cannot be isolated, identified and labeled as though it were a chemical element. All that can be done in a study of this kind is to suggest in general terms, as contained in the outline of Appendix B, the scope and nature of immigrants and their experience.

Suggestions for Further Study

This study could be logically expanded to include the African American in textbooks. If this were done, then a further dimension of multiculturalism would be open for scholarly research. This researcher wanted to include this group from the inception of the study, but a cursory search through various texts indicated that the dimensions of the study were too large. African Americans in early texts could stand alone as a dissertation study.

Another study that could be undertaken as a logical consequence of this research would be to bring the immigration investigation up to the present textbooks. The 1940's through 1990's would provide more interesting perspectives on the immigrant experience and its evolution.

A study needs to be made to include elementary textbooks in the nineteenth and twentieth century and how their authors approached the immigrant experience when gearing their work for young children.

A similar study might include how parochial schools handle the immigration material when using their special texts. The focus of the study might be: Is there a marked difference between public school texts and private schools texts when considering the topic of immigration?

Final Comments

This study has implications for our understanding of history, our educational system, and especially for our textbook industry. Textbooks reveal our culture and

concerns. They serve as important sources for the particular period in which they were written. These texts have outlived their authors, and provide a window to the past just as the textbooks of today will chronicle our culture for scholars of the future.

The texts from 1789-1939 advanced western European, particularly English, values and conversely contained specific comments and pictures which stereotyped people who were not of western European ancestry. These texts reflected the prejudices held against people who were different.

An increasing number of ethnic, racial and linguistic minorities have demanded recognition in our contemporary textbooks. There has been a tremendous amount of ferment on the topic of multiculturalism and equal representation in our texts. Considerable attention has been paid to new immigrants to our shores such as Southeast Asians, while increased recognition has been given to Hispanics, Native Americans, and African Americans. These special interest groups have lobbied for inclusion in contemporary texts, and most have found a place. The dilemma is not only determining to what degree each group should share a slice of the textbook pie but also whether each group should share in it. Also we must satisfy the need for intellectual integrity by presenting a society that is both democratic and multicultural.

A textbook will never satisfy everyone's needs. Alternative supplemental material provided by the individual school division will be necessary. But the role of immigrants in a multicultural society must be included. It is a formidable challenge.

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APPENDIX B

Major Topics And Subtopics Concerning the Immigrant Experience in the U.S.

- I. What immigrant groups came to America and how many?
 - A. At the close of the seventeenth century there were about three hundred thousand people mainly of English descent.
 - B. Scattered among the English were Swedes who had settled in Delaware, Dutch who had arrived in New York.
 - C. In the 1700's, a large number of immigrants from Western Europe came to America. Germans, Scotch-Irish (actually lowland Scots who had settled in Ireland), Scots, French, Welsh, and Jews from Spain and Portugal along with the Scandinavians traveled to America.
 - D. In the 1840's and 1850's, three million people left Ireland to emigrate to the United States.
 - E. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, newcomers, numbering over eight million, came from Italy, Turkey, Greece, the Slavic, Hungarian, and Romanian parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. From Russia, which then included Poland, came Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Finns and Jews.
 - F. By the 1860's, over 35,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in California with immigrants from Japan also coming.

- II. Why did the various immigrant groups come?
 - A. Search for a route to Cathay led Henry Hudson to present day New York while in the service of the Dutch East India Company.
 - B. Many reasons brought the English to America. Love of adventure, freedom of religion, the lure of land and riches caused many to leave England.
 - C. Religious and political persecutions drove many nationalities to the New World in the eighteenth century.
 1. Huguenots (Protestants) were expelled from France.
 2. Scottish supporters of the Stuart cause in 1715 and 1745 sent many Highlanders to America.
 3. Germans fled the devastation of the Rhinelands by the French.
 4. Protestants from the north of Ireland (Scotch-Irish) oppressed by harsh English laws came to the frontier region.

- D. Failure of the potato crops in Ireland attracted the Irish to America.
- E. Political revolutions of 1848 in continental Europe brought many Germans.
- F. Chinese immigrants lured by stories of gold in California left China to make a fortune in America.
- G. Unemployment, overpopulation, coupled with backward agricultural techniques made Italians from Sicily and the southern part of Italy immigrate.
- H. Eastern European Jews arrived to escape religious discrimination. Pogroms or organized massacres were widespread against Jews.
- I. Slavs from eastern Europe, suffering economic or political hardship, left for a new life in America.
- J. Crowded conditions in Japan along with the economic distress caused by the war with Russia send many thousands of Japanese to California.

III. Where did the immigrant settle in America?

- A. Short term
 - 1. Settlement occurred at the port of entry.
 - 2. They generally moved into communities made up of people from the same area of origin.
 - 3. Clustering together was to a large extent voluntary since they sought to recreate some of the life they had left behind.
- B. Long term
 - 1. Communities in large cities, ghettos, were established that revolved around traditions left in the Old World.
 - 2. The Homestead Act of 1862 attracted immigrants from Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Finland and Russia to settle the Middle West.
 - 3. Many immigrants moved to areas where they knew work was available such as the coal mines of the Middle Atlantic States.

IV. How did the immigrant live in America?

- A. Housing for many immigrants who lived in the city consisted of substandard apartments called tenements.
- B. Language of the homeland served many first generation immigrants but the sons and daughters of immigrants adopted English.
- D. Immigrant children after the Civil War sometimes attended elementary school but rarely went to high school since they were forced to work at an early age.
- E. Employment was usually in unskilled jobs in factories or in sweatshops set up in homes.

- F. Recreational activity was limited for immigrants with little money and consisted of street fairs, stickball, card games.
 - G. Culturally, immigrants founded schools and churches that used their native languages while they started and supported newspaper, periodicals, and European-style fraternal organizations.
- V. What was the Impact or Results of Immigration?
- A. Institutions were effected.
 - 1. Political life was changed.
 - a. The Federalists, to crush Republican opposition and secure their own party in power, passed a Naturalization Act that increased from five to fourteen years the period of residence necessary for a foreigner to become a citizen.
 - b. Two Sedition Acts were passed which gave the President the power for two years to send out of the country any alien whom he thought dangerous to our security, and, in time of war, to deport or arrest at will aliens belonging to an enemy nation.
 - c. Know-Nothing Party or American Party grew in political strength to reach its apex in the 1854 election by adhering to an anti-immigration platform.
 - d. Political machines serve immigrants while also appealing to them for their vote.
 - 2. Labor movement felt repercussions.
 - a. American labor resented Chinese laborers who worked for low wages during the 1860's while building the Central Pacific Railroad.
 - b. American industrialists welcomed immigrants since they provided labor for new industries.
 - c. Many union leaders were of foreign birth.
 - d. Immigrant workers took part in strikes and/or demonstrations.
 - 3. Social organizations grow.
 - a. Settlement homes aid immigrants.
 - b. YMCA's, Salvation Army and various Immigrant Aid Society minister to the needs of those in cities.
 - 4. Cultural integration develops.
 - a. Musical works by American immigrants such as Victor Herbert and Sigmund Romberg are promoted.

- b. Literature by immigrant authors such as Ole Roolvag add new dimensions to writing.
 - c. New food, clothing, and vocabulary add variety to our customs and traditions.
 - d. Technology and scholarship are furthered by men such as Joseph Pulitzer, Enrico Fermi etc.
- B. Immigration policy shifts from an open door promise to one of control and regulation.
- 1. Congress enacted a law in 1888 prohibiting the admittance of Chinese laborers to the U.S. for ten years, a law that become permanent since the Chinese worked for less than U.S. workers.
 - 2. There was a concern that immigrants were neglecting to become naturalized American citizens, retaining their real allegiance to the land from which they had come.
 - 3. An Emergency Quota Act of 1921 was signed that limited any country to 3 per cent of its people who were here based on the census of 1910.
 - 4. In order to favor those countries from western Europe, a new law was passed in 1924 that fixed the quota at 2 per cent of the number of nationals of each country according to the census of 1890.
 - 5. The Japanese felt that since this act of 1924 forbade the entrance of aliens who were ineligible to citizenship, they felt excluded and that this had violated the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907. The law remained.
- C. Effect upon the immigrant.
- 1. Assimilation into our culture gave them the rights and privileges of citizenship.
 - 2. Alienation kept them from adjusting when discrimination in jobs, housing, education made them feel inferior.

APPENDIX C

Procedure for ECO Analysis

1. Define the sources that are to be analyzed. In this case it is: "Major secondary social studies texts' used in the United States from 1789 to 1939."
2. Next, define the subject of interest. For this study, immigrants from Europe and Asia with specific topics related to the immigrant that are defined in detail (Appendix B).
3. Prepare an adequate supply of score sheets (Appendix E) along with several copies of the ECO Word List (Appendix D).
4. Select and train at least one analyst in addition to the main researcher. Training time ranges from two to four hours during which time the analyst familiarizes himself or herself with the procedures for scoring.
5. Peruse each source carefully for references to the subject. Each time a word is used in the source which expresses a favorable or unfavorable value judgement about the subject, the word is listed on the score sheet in the "term" column. The analyst must work slowly since the major cause of inconsistency arises from omission of relevant terms, rather than disagreement as to scoring or interpretation. The use of indices to locate references to immigration is not sufficient. Evaluative references appear incidentally where immigrants is not the main focus of discussion.
6. Locating words which express favorable or unfavorable value judgments (i.e., evaluative terms) means finding mainly adjectives. These words may also be adverbs, nouns, or verbs.
7. Listed words include only evaluative words, not descriptive words. One way of deciding whether or not a word is evaluative is to apply a "congruency" test; that is, to ask whether the word would be most appropriately applied to "saints" and "heroes" or to "sinners" and villains."
8. Use of the ECO Word List allows the analyst to check whether or not a word expresses a value judgment. If the word is not listed, he/she will have to look for synonyms in the list, and use good judgment.
9. Locating evaluative words usually involves applying the evaluative term to subjects by use of the verb "to be."

But evaluative terms may also be used in other ways and they should not be overlooked.

10. List only evaluative terms and not descriptive terms which happen to be juxtaposed. These words serve as modifiers.
11. List on the score sheets evaluative terms as adjectives, nouns, and participles. List comparatives and superlatives as simple adjectives.
12. List on the score sheets evaluative terms that are negatively applied to the subject. When doing this, be sure that the assertion may be reversed without changing the meaning.
13. Never violate the original meaning. This is the cardinal rule in this kind of analysis.
14. Be alert for instances of irony and do not include them on the score sheet.
15. Treat direct and indirect quotations as ordinary statements unless explicitly rejected. A writer may convey an attitude by the quotations he selects as much as by the statements he/she makes.
16. List on the score sheet all evaluative terms. Each term is scored as favorable (+), unfavorable (-), or neutral (0), in the "direction" column. The analyst should keep a record of values assigned to words that are not on the list but used frequently in sources to ensure consistency.
17. Calculate the Coefficient of Evaluation (ECO) Analysis = Evaluation Coefficient Analysis. The formula used is

$$\frac{100 F}{F + U}$$

where F = favorable terms and U = unfavorable terms.

The calculation is performed as follows:

- a. Count the number of "+" signs in the direction column.
- b. Multiply this figure by 100.
- c. Divide this product by the total number of "+" and "-" signs.

The Coefficient will always be between 0.0 (totally unfavorable) and 100.0 (totally favorable), with 50.0 representing the point of neutrality or ambivalence. To ensure a necessary degree of reliability, the Coefficient must be based on a minimum of ten evaluative terms.

APPENDIX D

ECO Word List

able	+	crafty	0
achievement	+	criminal	-
admirable	+	cruel	-
advanced	+	cultured	+
adventurous	+	daring	+
afraid	-	dauntless	+
agile	+	dear	+
alert	+	dedicated	+
amazing	+	delicate	+
ambitious	+	delightful	+
angry	+	dependent	0
ardent	0	deserter	-
attractive	+	determined	+
audacious	0	devoted	+
backward	-	devout	+
bad	-	dictator	-
barbarian	-	dirty	-
beautiful	+	disgruntled	-
bickering	-	dishonest	-
bitter	-	disloyal	-
blind	-	distinguished	+
blood-thirsty	-	drunk	-
boastful	-	eager	+
bold	0	elegant	+
brave	+	eloquent	+
bright	+	enduring	+
brilliant	+	energetic	+
butcher	-	enthusiastic	+
calm	+	experienced	+
capable	+	expert	+
careful	+	extremist	-
charitable	+	failure	-
charming	+	fair	+
cheap	-	faithful	+
chivalrous	+	false	-
civilized	+	famous	+
clean	+	fat	-
clever	+	fearful	-
cold	-	fearless	+
colorful	+	feeble	-
common	0	ferocious	-
complex	0	fierce	-
conscientious	+	fiery	0
conspirator	-	fine	+
corrupt	-	foolish	-
courageous	+	foreign	0
courteous	+	free	+
coward	-		

friendly	+	kind	+
furious	-	late	-
genius	+	lazy	-
gentle	+	liar	-
gentleman	+	lively	+
gifted	+	lovely	+
glorious	+	loving	+
good	+	loyal	+
goodwill	+	lurking	-
gracious	+	magnificent	+
grave	0	martyr	0
great	+	massacre	-
greedy	-	mean	-
handsome	+	menacing	-
happy	+	merciless	-
hard	0	mistaken	0
hardworking	+	mob	-
hardy	+	moderate	0
haughty	-	modest	+
healthy	+	murderer	-
heathen	-	mutinous	-
helpful	+	outrage	-
hero	+	outstanding	+
honest	+	pagan	-
honorable	+	panic-stricken	-
horde	-	patient	+
horrible	-	patriotic	+
hospitable	+	peaceful	+
hostile	-	pillager	-
howling	-	pious	0
humble	+	pitiless	-
idealistic	+	pleasant	+
idle	-	pleasurable	+
ignorant	-	plotting	-
imaginative	+	plunderer	-
impatient	-	polite	+
important	+	poor	0
independent	+	popular	+
industrious	+	primitive	-
inferior	-	problem	-
infidel	-	promising	+
ingenious	+	proper	0
insane	-	proud	+
insolent	-	prowling	-
inspired	+	pure	+
inspiring	+	quality	+
intelligent	+	quarrelsome	-
interesting	+	quick	+
jealous	-	quiet	+
just	+		

raiding	-
reasonable	+
rebel	0
reckless	-
remarkable	+
renegade	-
renowned	+
resentful	-
resourceful	+
respected	+
respectful	+
revengeful	-
rich	0
right	+
rioter	-
robber	-
rough	-
ruthless	-
sacrificial	0
sad	-
savage	-
scheming	-
scholarly	+
selfish	-
sensitive	+
serious	+
shrewd	0
shrieking	-
simple	0
sincere	+
skillful	+
slaughter	-
slow	-
smelly	-
soft	+
splendid	+
stealing	-
strange	0
striking	+
strong	+
successful	+
sullen	-
superb	+
superior	+
suspicious	-
swarm	-
sweet	+
sympathetic	+
talented	+
tenacious	0

terrible	-
terrified	-
terrifying	-
terrorist	-
thief	-
threatening	-
thrifty	+
tireless	+
tolerant	+
tough	0
traitor	-
treacherous	-
trickery	-
troublesome	-
true	+
trustworthy	+
ugly	-
uncivilized	-
undisciplined	-
uneducated	-
unfriendly	-
unreliable	-
unselfish	+
unskilled	-
untrustworthy	-
useful	+
vain	-
valiant	+
valuable	+
venerable	0
vicious	-
victorious	+
vigorous	+
violent	-
warlike	-
warm	+
wasteful	-
weak	-
well-known	+
wild	-
wise	+
wonderful	+
worthy	+
wrong	-
zealous	0

APPENDIX E

ECO Analysis Score Sheet

Source Subject Score

	<i>page</i>	<i>term</i>	<i>direction</i>		<i>page</i>	<i>term</i>	<i>direction</i>
1.				26.			
2.				27.			
3.				28.			
4.				29.			
5.				30.			
6.				31.			
7.				32.			
8.				33.			
9.				34.			
10.				35.			
11.				36.			
12.				37.			
13.				38.			
14.				39.			
15.				40.			
16.				41.			
17.				42.			
18.				43.			
19.				44.			
20.				45.			
21.				46.			
22.				47.			
23.				48.			
24.				49.			
25.				50.			

$$\Sigma + = \Sigma - = \frac{\quad \times 100}{\quad} = \quad = \quad = \quad =$$

APPENDIX F

Practice Exercise Using ECO Analysis

Given the following passage, the term which should be listed on the score sheet are underlined below.

Immigrants in the South--Few of these foreigners came into the Southern States. The people of the South did not invite them. There was no public land there to be given to any who would occupy it. The negroes were sufficient for the cultivation of the soil and far better adapted to the climate, and the whites shrank from bringing into their midst the uncongenial elements from over the sea. Their ignorance of all things American, their inability to distinguish between one State and another, and their want of interest or sympathy for the traditions of the past made them undesirable neighbors to men who loved their own States with a passionate devotion, and were willing to risk everything to preserve and defend them.

The terms appearing on the score sheet should be as follows:

foreigners	0
uncongenial (unfriendly)	-
ignorance	-
inability (uneducated)	-
want of interest (disloyal)	-
want of sympathy (unpatriotic)	-
undesirable	-

The Coefficient of Evaluation is

$$\frac{0 \times 100}{0 + 6} = \frac{0}{6} = 0$$

The passage is taken from A School History of the United States by Susan Pendleton Lee. Richmond, VA: B. F. Johnson Publishing Company, 1895, p. 322.

APPENDIX G

Picture Analysis Checklist

Picture Identification No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Clothing Native costume Western dress Native costume & Western dress										
Aggression Offensive Defensive Nonaggressive										
Activity Herder/Gatherer Hunting/fishing Manual/Crafts/Farming Skilled/Professional Education Leisure/Idle Religious/Exotic Other										
Authority Immigrant subordinate to Authority Authorities subordinate to immigrant Other										
Disposition Laughing or smiling Indeterminate, intermediate Scowling, frowning										
Women and, or Children Present Not Present										
Time Present Past										
Environment Urban Rural Other										
Housing Single family dwelling Apartment Other										

VITA

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