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# The Impact of the Cold War on Textbook Treatments of American Constitutionalism

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THE IMPACT OF THE COLD WAR ON TEXTBOOK  
TREATMENTS OF AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of Political Science

and the

Faculty of the Graduate College

University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Masters of Science

University of Nebraska — Omaha

by

Matthew Heys

May 2003

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## THESIS ACCEPTANCE

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THE IMPACT OF THE COLD WAR ON TEXTBOOK  
TREATMENTS OF AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM

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University of Nebraska, 2003

Advisor: Dr. Loree Bykerk, Ph. D.

This study attempts to explore the impact, if any, of the surrounding social and political context on the high school civics curriculum, specifically its coverage of the Constitution and Bill of Rights. The research focuses specifically on the relationship between changes in *Magruder's American Government* and the onset of Cold War tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States. A historical survey of the evolution of American civics curriculum concludes with an analysis of the current position of the textbook both as a classroom tool of instruction and as a product of an increasingly consolidated educational publishing industry. After examining the 1939 and 1946 volumes to establish a baseline of expected continuity and change, the research considers both alongside the 1957 edition utilizing the methodological tools of qualitative textual discourse analysis. In five specific topic areas, the study hypothesized the appearance in 1957 of a chilling effect on the textbook treatment of Anti-Federalism, checks and balances, socialist criticism of the Constitution, free speech rights, and race — either reducing the overall size of the topic area or reparsing its treatment in narrower terms. Findings indicated that Cold War tensions exerted their greatest force on passages in the text detailing the role of

the President, as well as those that ten years earlier had described socialist and communist critiques of American constitutionalism. A more significant transformation appeared in the form of a vast expansion of religious content in the Cold War volume. As the twin trends of corporate consolidation in the educational publishing industry and universal textbook adoption standardization in state governments continue, additional research into the forces behind textbook content can play a vital role in improving the quality of civics education.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION — THE U.S. CONSTITUTION AND THE TEXTBOOK: A BRIEF HISTORY

**Q:** *What are the defects of democracy?*

**A:** In a democracy, where the people all meet for the purpose of making laws, there are commonly tumults and disorders. A small city may sometimes be governed in this manner; but if the citizens are numerous, their assemblies make a crowd or mob, where debates cannot be carried on with coolness and candor, nor can arguments be heard: Therefore a pure democracy is generally a very bad government. It is often the most tyrannical government on earth for a multitude is often rash, and will not hear reason.

**Q:** *Is there another and better form of government than any of these?*

**A:** There is. A representative republic, in which the people freely choose deputies to make laws for them, is much the best form of government hitherto invented.

— Noah Webster's *A Federal Catechism: A Short Explanation of the Constitution of the United States of America, and the Principles of Government for the Use of Schools* (1798)

The concerns teachers and administrators seem to share in regard to the issue of student rights are reflected in the comment one teacher made to me: "Can't I just teach them about their responsibilities? Do I have to also teach them their rights?"

— Barbara McEwan, "Assaulting the Last Bastions of Authoritarianism: Democratic Education Meets Classroom Discipline" (1996)

The arrival of the Constitution's Congressionally mandated bicentennial period between 1987 and 1991 stirred many university academics and secondary school



educators to re-examine both it and the Bill of Rights as objects of study within the high school and university curriculum. Although the very chairperson of the bicentennial commission, former Chief Justice Warren Burger, confessed that Americans' ignorance of the structure and content of the Constitution might serve as "evidence of its success" (Burger, 1987, p. 7), he and other observers nevertheless found more alarm than comfort in the educational system's apparent failure to graduate young people fluent in the documents undergirding the country's founding principles.

The call was identical outside the domain of political science and civic education. The very year Burger's commission published its findings, the prestigious Bradley Commission on History in the Schools began work on the umbrella concern of history and civic education in general. Its 1989 report listed the Constitution first among eight recommendations for curricular themes that teachers and textbooks should approach as "central to the history of the United States" (Gagnon, 1990, p. 28).

Textbook treatments of the Constitution and Bill of Rights often sat at the heart of this controversy in civic education, in part because the decade leading up to the bicentennial produced a body of scholarship indicating textbooks dominated the taught and tested curriculum of American public schools (Wernersbach, 1987; Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991). At the same time use of state adoption standards in 22 states raised the political and economic stakes associated with the textbook selection process for educators and publishers alike (Mortorella, 1991). American history textbooks quickly found their way under the microscope as a result of these forces. For example, building on the work of Fitzgerald (1979) in *America Revised*, in 1989 the Education for

Democracy Project brought the collective weight of the College Board, American Federation of Teachers, University of California Graduate School of Education, Columbia Teachers College, and Harvard University Department of History behind a study entitled “Democracy’s Half-Told Story,” which itself borrowed the services of Bradley Commission investigator Paul Gagnon of the University of Massachusetts. Although not limited to civics and government education (and charged with the analysis of just five textbooks), Gagnon concluded that American students walked no more desolate an academic landscape than when immersed in the history of their own democratic institutions as laid out before them on the pages of the typical textbook. Questions fundamental to American traditions, arguably thought provoking even when confronted without an extensive knowledge of their historical context, simply never appeared:

All of the texts mention the critical role of *The Federalist* in the campaign for ratification. Todd applauds the “brilliant essays.” Bragdon finds in them “much political wisdom.” Boorstin describes them as the “classic statement of why freedom-loving people need a strong central government.” But none of the texts reprint [sic] anything of their content and political philosophy, their views of human nature and the resulting political necessities (Gagnon, 1989, p. 50).

Textbook publishers might have argued at the time that high school students possess an innate curiosity about their own emerging freedom as young people, an interest that quickly propels them past the structural and philosophical elements of the Constitution described by *The Federalist* and into the Bill of Rights. Yet here too Gagnon found textbooks reluctant to swim the deeper waters:

If not exactly born liberal or conservative, as the Gilbert and Sullivan song had it, they soon lean to one side or the other on at least some issues that can be related to constitution-making. Or, perhaps more easily, to questions raised by the Bill of Rights. Here the texts do not always make clear that some of the amendments were designed to let people say and do things that the majority, and its elected officials, might well deplore. How, then, is the Bill of Rights consistent with majority rule? To argue this question alone would elucidate several of the basic needs — and apparent paradox — of liberal democracy (Gagnon, 1989, p. 50).

### *Literature Review*

In spite of these parallel concerns about American history textbooks, few comprehensive studies of the relationship between American *government* textbook content and the political, social, and economic forces outside education and publishing — those variables that might account for the shortcomings Gagnon and others cite — exist in the literature today (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991). Adams's 1973 study entitled "Introductory American Government Textbooks: An Anatomical Analysis" sought to frame 17 different college titles en route to something approximating a general theory of the politics behind their contents, but apparently the project never gathered sufficient momentum to find its way into the literature. Fitzgerald's (1979) work in the politics of secondary-level American history textbooks remained the norm, closing in prophetic tones for the bicentennial that awaited the country a decade later:

Yet since the Progressive era, those responsible for the majority of American history texts have been paying mere lip service to the truism that one must know history in order to understand the present and the future. To teach history with the assumption that students have the psychology of laboratory pigeons is not only to close off the avenues for thinking about the future; it is to deprive American children of their birthright (Fitzgerald, 1979, p. 218).

Each of these studies imbedded historians and political scientists more deeply in the ranks of a much longer march toward a perhaps unattainable goal — consensus as to the ideal American civics curriculum. In a way that perhaps inflates their actual role in the classroom, textbooks have served as the color guard of this advance, drawing fire at every step.

*A Brief History of the Civics Textbook*

The debate over how best to teach the Constitution and Bill of Rights is an old one. In 18<sup>th</sup> century, post-revolutionary America the very definitions of sovereignty and citizenship were as much the products of fluid compromise as anything else. The generation that framed the new government soon found itself menaced by the obvious want of a fully articulated, uniquely American literature of citizenship education, a project whose very undertaking — ironically enough — might only animate the very discord it intended to subdue. Yet the alternative, resort to European models and manuals of citizenship education, was unthinkable to the likes of Noah Webster. The ideological drift in the trans-Atlantic world notwithstanding, he and the other members of his generation had already rejected European sources as irredeemably corrupt (Tyack, 1967).

Thus as heirs to this curious dilemma one generation removed from the founding, Horace Mann and the other advocates of the common schools movement in the 1830s would see the birth of the educational publishing industry and with it the first nationally manifest effort to produce effective textbooks in civics education. Those who might speculate today about the consolidated erosion of choice in textbook selection would do well to revisit the infancy of the educational publishing industry in the antebellum period.

In an era of passionate sectarian division characterized by the evangelical reform movements of the Second Great Awakening and the anti-Catholic prejudice that accompanied the arrival of Irish immigrants, coupled with the increasingly geographic divide over the question of state's rights and nationalism, textbook authors celebrated their capacity to stand mutely against a divided chorus of opinion as to the proper education of the country's young people. For example, *McGuffey's Eclectic Fourth Reader* of 1844 lauded the absence in its citizenship sections of any "SECTARIAN or SECTIONAL matter, reflecting upon the local institutions, customs, or habits of any portion of the United States," concluding in the spirit of self promotion that this philosophy in part explained why the book was "extensively used at the South and at the North, in the East as well as the West" (as cited in Tyack, 1967, p. 178). Thus even at a time when market forces had not yet rallied behind the cause of consolidation, the range of acceptable content had already begun to collapse inward.

In the years following the Civil War, an almost messianic American devotion to standardization imprinted itself upon everything from shoe sizes to railroad tracks, as if the collective memory of the country's former divisions could be dispatched forever if only a new, uniform nationalism could survive its awkward birth during Reconstruction. Public education enjoyed no exemption from these changes. During the period the number of high schools rose dramatically while any narrative license in the textbooks they purchased, particularly in history and government, fell into disfavor (Fitzgerald, 1979). By the 1890s the "telegraphic style" governed the educational publishing industry. Biographical details of the framers, for example, largely disappeared. Unlike the "federal

catechism” of a generation earlier, which at least assumed the shape of a dialogue about the principles of American government, the telegraphic style confronted the student with a laundry list of factual data for later memorization. One Kansas school boy from the period — resident of a state whose violent internal struggle before the Civil War lingered on in the form of sporadic guerrilla campaigns, criminal gangs, and at times barbaric clashes between cattle and farming interests — remembered his civics education as “largely taught from a single textbook,” remarking that “Our teachers did not stray far from the book; perhaps some of them feared to get into politics, which would hardly do for a public school. But the teacher ran little risk. It was generally assumed by our community that the Union and the Republican Party were right; the Prohibition and Populist parties had not come in prominence at this time, so there was little of a political nature for us to quarrel about” (as cited in Tyack, 1967, p. 223).

*The Politics of the Civics Textbook in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*

Civics education sparked renewed debate at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as educators, lawmakers, and teachers responded to a second, more ethnically diverse pattern of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. At the same time, Progressive era reformers like John Dewey argued for liberation of the classroom experience from a curriculum they saw as dangerously pedestrian in the machine age, at odds with the needs of an industrial, increasingly urban nation. The alliance between middle class professionalism and the social sciences stood poised to transform the quiet classrooms of the Gilded Age. A telling educational research monograph (*The Selection of Textbooks*) from 1921, for example, decries in decidedly Progressive era overtones the “interference”

of school boards in the curricular responsibilities of professional superintendents, likening an urban school district to a corporation — and in the process paying no unsubtle homage to the scientific management trends of the period:

The head of a household is responsible for the well being of those under his charge. When they become ill, if he does not possess the requisite skill to heal them, he employs a trained physician who possesses the requisite technical knowledge ... the directors of a railroad sanction the acts of their manager, but they do not handicap him in the execution of his policy (Maxwell, 1921, p. 26).

This desire to insulate curriculum from political pressures appears alongside the progressive educators' hope, inspired by Dewey and others, that daily classroom instruction and behaviors common to good citizenship might be “correlated with school life in all phases of associations that the pupils enjoy” (Maxwell, 1921, p. 112). American civics education had arrived at a crossroads. For the first time an entire generation of educators, those trained in the Progressive school, would bring to their civics lessons a standing invitation to students to debate the inherent political quarrels between liberty and equality or popular sovereignty and minority rights standing at the center of the Constitution and Bill of Rights; students were to be charged with learning the nuances and implications of both in the service of practical leadership experience.

Yet while high school students cast ballots in mock elections or formed the first student representative councils, other critics of civic education cried foul, particularly after the First World War, over the ease with which Second Wave immigrants could pass naturalization exams described as “hardly sufficient to warrant confidence in the system or in the value of citizenship” (Aronovici, 1919, p. 40). Because of their efforts, the

legacy of the Progressive era in education — like the legacy of countless other Progressive era institutions — appears to us today as a curious mix of both the radical and reactionary.

For civics education in the 1920s, the controversy quickly circled its own footsteps when academics like Emory Bogardus, editor of *Applied Sociology*, concluded that few ‘native Americans’ understood the “full meaning of Americanism” and that therefore the Bureau of Americanization (a sub-department of the then-Bureau of Education) might soon rival all its sister agencies in importance (Bogardus, 1923, p. 342). Each reform interest had thus stalemated the other on the eve of the Crash.

#### *Civics Education and the Great Depression*

The path progressive models had charted for civic education turned in a decidedly conservative direction in the 1930s during which the “youth problem,” Depression Era policy shorthand for the social impact of millions of unemployed young males, pushed the progressives’ reform agenda from the spotlight. High schools could now best contribute to the civic life of the United States by adequately preparing their graduates for gainful employment (Tanner and Tanner, 1990). Yet ironically, America’s 1941 entry into the war that ultimately solved the employment problem for old and young alike left little in its wake to stimulate a fresh examination of what students learned about the basic principles of their government. After 1945 a brief Progressive revivalism quickly accommodated itself to the emerging and far more rigid contours of the Cold War and its domestic loyalty agenda. Tanner and Tanner (1990) note that the McCarthyism of the early 1950s censored entire sections of professionally recommended curriculum. Even



the so-called 'Eight Year Study' of the Progressive Education Association, which had pooled the research archives of some three hundred cooperating universities in an attempt to construct a core curriculum for a selected group of thirty high schools, withered into policy artifact against the backdrop of the Second Red Scare.

### *Beyond the Cold War*

In the aftermath of the Cold War, academics writing for a popular audience have sought to reanimate public interest in American history and civics education, as well as the textbooks that for good or ill drive both subjects. Among the most commercially successful of these efforts, Loewen's *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (1995), brought a sociologist's insight to the puzzle of the American high school history textbook. Although *Lies* devotes at most a few passages to the Constitution and Bill of Rights, its penchant for analysis of content structure in addition to content alone invested the textbook debate with a new sophistication:

The federal government they picture is still the people's servant, manageable and tractable. Paradoxically, textbooks then underplay the role of nongovernmental institutions or private citizens in bringing about improvements in the environment, race relations, education, and other social issues (Loewen, 1995, p. 216).

Critics who charged Loewen and others with tilting their conclusions in the service of the left did not do so in defense of the textbook industry. They instead supplied their own, more conservative condemnation of history and government textbooks in responses like *Molding the Good Citizen: The Politics of High School History Texts* (1995), asserting that popular textbooks like Boorstin and Kelley's venerable *A History of*

*the United States* bear the scars of liberal interest group tampering in their expanded coverage of “slavery, the civil rights movement, and the feminist movement” while simultaneously adding allegedly prejudicial sections about the budget and foreign trade deficits of the 1980s (Lerner, Nagai, and Rothman, 1995, p. 50). Paradoxically, of course, it is just these sorts of partisan confrontations over history textbook content that may have made authors and publishers so reluctant to skirt the margins of controversy in the first place on the grounds that it would be better to be seen as bland than biased.

#### *Civics Education and American History*

In any case, the literature still leaves something of a void in the case of civics and American government textbooks, although it does provide insights into government textbook treatments of the Constitution *as a historical period*. For example, Eksterowicz and Cline (1991) subjected twelve government textbooks to a content analysis aimed at revealing their treatment of Federalist and Anti-Federalist arguments during the late Critical Period. They concluded that the majority of textbooks present the outcome of the ratification struggle as a foregone conclusion, transforming “debate into mere dogma” and denying students the chance to develop a cohesive, organic understanding of the questions central to the American experience, those that would define future periods in American history (Jacksonian Democracy and Populism, for example).

Although not directly addressed in their study, Eksterowicz and Cline also exposed an apparent disconnect between the evolution of the American government textbook on the one hand and developments in historical and political science research on the other. Jensen’s re-evaluation of the Anti-Federalist legacy, for example, credits the

movement with far more prescience and utility in the face of contemporary political problems than any American government or history textbook cited in the literature, and yet Jensen's first attempt to rouse his fellow scholars to a more balanced analysis of the Articles of Confederation in *The New Nation: a History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781-1789* is now over a half century old. Why has it not on some level found its way into the high school civics textbook?

### *Statement of Purpose*

In the broadest of terms, then, the existing body of scholarship addressing the forces behind the American government or civics textbook presents a jagged, at times unpredictable blend of breadth and depth with sobering implications for those who might seek to add to it. Yet evidence suggests this is precisely the time when we must try. The first decade of the new century will bring with it forces that simultaneously aid and frustrate efforts to decipher the connection between the political climate and the content of the secondary school civics textbook. Already consolidation within the educational textbook industry, combined with the parallel increase in the number of interlocking subsidiary publishing houses, has substantially narrowed the field of textbook choice. Some scholars pointed nervously to the trend as early as the 1960s (Clark, Schmid, and Cohen, 1961), but today the term ‘trend’ would hardly do the phenomenon justice. Textbook publishing is not what it once was.

Based on our interviews and historical research, publishers described a shift that occurred in the organizational identity of higher education publishing sometime during the 1970s — a shift from publishing as profession to publishing as a business (Thornton and Ocasio, 1999, p. 810).

While the contemporary presence of the publishing conglomerate may make the textbook researcher’s task quantitatively easier by supplying fewer works to analyze, it simultaneously bolsters the fear that, alongside adoption requirements in states like Texas and California, civics teachers will soon enter their classrooms every fall surrounded by stacks of the 21<sup>st</sup> century’s hopelessly homogenized version of *McGuffey’s Reader* or

Noah Webster's *Federal Catechism*, a government textbook that in its desire to speak to all the political and social forces behind its creation leaves little space in the margins for critical thinking on the part of the student.

Secondary educators cannot reverse the consolidation trend in the publishing industry (nor conclude if they could that doing so would secure their textbooks from non-academic influences), but they can endeavor to approach their textbooks with a commitment to skepticism sturdy enough to slacken the tether between the textbook and the classroom lesson. Exploring how the political and social climate of the United States has impacted civics textbooks in the past can provide a working, albeit crude blueprint for informing that skepticism and generating a model of how to evaluate and use high school American government textbooks in the future.

### *Research Questions*

To further these ends, this study seeks to examine the impact, if any, of the arrival of the Cold War on the treatment of the Constitution and Bill of Rights in high school American government (civics) textbooks. Specifically:

1. Did secondary level American government textbooks reduce or eliminate coverage of content that alleged the existence of shortcomings within the Constitutional framework of government during the Cold War?
2. If so, how did this sensitivity to the political climate specifically manifest itself in their content?

Formulated as specific hypotheses, the study postulates that, as compared with pre-Cold War editions, Cold War era civics textbook treatments of the Constitution will:

- a) reduce coverage of Anti-Federalist criticisms of the Constitution
- b) refrain from making any assertion that the system of checks and balances holds the potential to weaken the federal government's ability to respond to pressing national concerns — or conversely that the scheme of checks and balances cannot effectively insulate the federal government from the monopolization of power by one branch

- c) reduce coverage of radical socialist and communist appraisals of the Constitutional framework of American government
- d) narrow the presentation of free speech and press rights, emphasizing the necessity of restrictions on both
- e) reduce or eliminate the discussion of racial inequality and conflict in the United States.

### *Methodological Challenges and Considerations*

Four specific challenges appeared in attempting to locate source material that might answer these questions — that is, historically representative American government textbooks.

#### I. Representative Sampling

Early attempts to assemble a cross-section of widely used secondary-level government textbooks across different time periods produced mixed results. Textbooks inhabit a strange archival purgatory. Produced in large numbers and lacking in original research content, they hold modest quantitative value for private collectors of rare documents while simultaneously offering little in qualitative terms to public or university libraries. Only one university in the United States has endeavored to assemble the nation's historic textbooks under one collection (the University of Pittsburgh); its catalog focuses chiefly on the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Nietz, 1968), before the full flowering of the more systematic civics curriculum advocated by the likes of Dewey in *The School and Society* during the Progressive Era.

#### II. Longitudinal Sampling

How many textbooks have survived in print long enough to demonstrate the influence of the political climate on their content? The trend toward conglomerated publishing places a serious obstacle before the answer. Many textbooks widely used in



the fifties and sixties vanished in subsequent decades as the publishing houses behind them fell prey to consolidation. As this ever-shrinking pool of companies entered the nineties, the trend found its second wind in the .com technology boom. Traditional print firms sought to expand their educational media offerings through software sales and Internet-based training. According to one industry newsletter, the sixteen corporate mergers in the education market that took place in the first six months of 1999 exceeded the dollar value of every merger from 1998 alone (*Electronic Education Report*, 1999). By the fall of 2000, *The New York Times* financial desk wryly noted that the highest bid for Harcourt General, a \$4.4 billion offer by Reed Elsevier and Thomas Corporation, fell \$2 billion below the company's true market value:

The main reason for the low price, analysts said, is that consolidation in the educational and professional publishing businesses — Harcourt's core — has progressed so far that there are almost no bidders left. Each of Harcourt's main businesses is dominated by just three or four companies, like McGraw-Hill or Pearson. Almost all potential bidders faced antitrust problems or had balance sheets full from recent acquisitions (Kirkpatrick, 2000, p. 1).

As the once-independent education publishing houses have disappeared, so too have many of their textbook offerings.

### III. Authorship over Time

Can research reasonably separate the influence of authors' backgrounds on their textbooks from the political context of the year or range of years in which they wrote? Here the presence of multiple authors per textbook over time presents a problem. Although Glencoe, a division of McGraw Hill, breaks the pattern somewhat by offering

several textbooks by single authors, increasingly multiple authorship aided by advisory committee is the norm in the textbook publishing industry. For example, currently, of Prentice-Hall's three American government texts, only one has a single author while McDougal-Little offers just one text in the subject area — with three authors. When considered alongside the rapid pace of consolidation within the industry, the resulting turnover in authorship over time makes it difficult to isolate the potential influence of particular writers' backgrounds on the projects in which they are employed. The revolving door of mergers and acquisitions multiplies the number of variables beyond manageable limits. This study will not attempt to account for authors' biographies as potentially manifest in their writing, a serious limitation on its value.

#### IV. Scope

Which textbooks merit examination by virtue of their popularity? Efforts to assemble sales figures by year or geographic region stalled when it became apparent that many of the companies who may have archived such records no longer existed. The numbers themselves, when available, often looked statistically preposterous — at times implying when considered in aggregate that nearly two-thirds of all Americans were in high school. The American Textbook League provided a welcome (albeit sobering) confirmation of these suspicions:

Dear Mr. Heys:

I regret to say that we can offer no help at all. We have no such information, and we don't have any idea of how you can find it. Even before the frenzy of mergers and consolidations during the 1990s, publishers didn't disclose figures about the

sales of particular titles. They did (and still do) put forth unsupported claims about sales — with each publisher claiming to have the best-selling biology book, or the world-history book used in half of all the high schools in the United States, or whatever — but such claims have always been worthless ...

Good luck.

William J. Bennetta  
President  
The Textbook League

## CHAPTER 2

### METHODOLOGY

*To what extent are what we say and how we understand determined by forces outside us that speak through us, and to what extent are individuals responsible agents?*

— Barbara Johnstone, *Qualitative Methods in Sociolinguistics* (2000)

#### **Final Source Material Rationale**

The analytical hurdles described informed the selection of the target textbook for this study: *Magruder's American Government*. Although no easy mechanism exists by which we might subject to scrutiny Prentice-Hall's assertion that nearly three out of every four high school American government classes have used *Magruder's* every year since its appearance in 1917 (Walker, 2002), the book's longevity and stability of authorship make it an ideal candidate for the study, which utilizes the 1939, 1946, 1957, and 1996 editions — the first three years for research questions one and two, all in a more general sense.

#### **Content versus Discourse Analysis: Considerations**

This study initially attempted to replicate the content analysis work of Eksterowicz and Cline (1991), who examined government textbook descriptions of the Anti-Federalists and their arguments during the ratification debate. Unfortunately the question of the Cold War's influence on textbooks fits somewhat awkwardly into the domain of traditional content analysis. Eksterowicz and Cline could code for specific

figures from the Anti-Federalist movement (Robert Yates,<sup>1</sup> Richard Henry Lee, etc.), as well as a historically discrete body of letters, essays, and the records of state ratifying conventions. The manifest content of their study appeared in sharper relief.

How the Cold War did or did not impact textbooks — admittedly a more ambiguous inquiry — throws open the door to nuances of meaning in latent content that are difficult to frame within a codebook. For example, if a textbook asserts that, “Under the new Constitution, government responded more slowly to popular opinion,” should the content analyst code the statement as a compliment or criticism of the Constitutional order?

The problem knows no novelty here. Many researchers in the social sciences have noted that content analysis alone cannot always fully account for the context in which a particular message appears (Weber, 1990), a problematic concern in the search for criterion validity, the “established standard or important behavior external to the measure” (Neudendorf, 2002, p.115). The textual examination of primary historical documents often stumbles in search of just such an established standard (Berg, 2001). As Davidson and Lyttle assert (2000, p. 57), often the researcher finds it necessary to establish a document’s context by what it “might have said but did not.”

This question of what a particular textbook ‘might have said but did not’ resurfaced periodically during the initial content analysis investigation of *Magruder’s*, finally informing the decision to employ a different and hopefully more suitable

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<sup>1</sup> Storing (1981, p. 103) notes that the precise identity of Brutus remains in doubt, but Yates remains the consensus choice.

methodology — the emerging textual research tool of discourse analysis. According to Johnstone (2000, p. 126), discourse analysis represents the “close, systematic analysis of written texts” but with a view toward the relationship between language and social institutions (Potter, 1996).

Discourse analysis uniquely empowers the discovery of meaning in primary source documents. Struever (1985) finds three specific benefits to the marriage of historical inquiry and discourse analysis:

1. Discourse analysis deeply imbeds a document’s audience and the social forces surrounding its creation into the conclusions drawn from its content.
2. The application of discourse analysis to historical texts avoids the “chore of attempting to describe private intentions or states of mind” while still maintaining a rigorous standard of inquiry.
3. Discourse analysis reminds the researcher of the “time-specific nature of his own discourse” (p. 260).

The appeal of discourse analysis is obvious. Given the essential role the textbook can and often does play in the curriculum, civics textbooks are in a very real sense citizenship discourses within our schools; their chapters closing (as *Magruder’s* do) with

discussion questions intended to foster student-instructor dialogue. The following specific investigative tools common to discourse analysis as described by Brown and Yule (1983) are employed frequently in this study:

*Topic Boundaries, Presupposition Pools, and Linearization*

The temptation to see a topic boundary as a paragraph or chapter transition ignores subtler boundaries authors may enforce within a discourse without realizing they have done so. For example, U.S. history textbooks often approach the Gilded Age topically: one chapter addresses conflicts between Native Americans and miners, railroad interests, homesteaders and ultimately various army commands stationed on the Great Plains. Another chapter may speak to the labor movement, a third to the politics of Populism, and finally at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the student will likely encounter “The Birth of American Imperialism” in a chapter emphasizing the debate over the future of Hawaii or the Pan-American trade movement, culminating of course in the Spanish-American War of 1898. In this hypothetical case, discourse analysis would ask us to consider the messages established by the boundaries within the text in addition to the text itself, messages that may depart entirely from the author’s intentions. In this example the topic boundaries discourage comparisons between, say — Sitting Bull and the Second Sioux War (1875 – 1890) on the one hand — and Emilio Aguinaldo or the Filipino insurrections (1900 – 1901) on the other. Thus simply through the textbook’s structure it implies that Sitting Bull waged war against “westward expansion,” not “imperial occupation” (as did Aguinaldo in the Philippines).

Any audience experience with either term, expansion or imperialism, then transfers what discourse analysis describes as a presupposition pool to each figure. Whatever we associate with imperialism we do *not* apply to Sitting Bull, although the manifest content of the discourse has not *explicitly* led us to organize its messages in this way, and in fact were we to revisit the content verbatim under some new sequence, we might well see why a high school student on the Pine Ridge reservation ponders over the apparent birth of American imperialism so long after Sand Creek or Wounded Knee.

The organizational choices about information sequence authors must inevitably make produce what discourse analysis describes as a linearization structure. Linearization structure refers to how the ordering of statements may impact overall meaning. As we have already seen, the methodology demands a close examination of linearization across several topic boundaries within a given discourse, but the principle can operate at the level of individual clauses for the purposes of demonstration. For example, “Reconstruction governments incurred enormous debts but attempted to expand public education services throughout the South” — versus — “Reconstruction governments attempted to expand public education services throughout the South but incurred enormous debts.” The second ordering of clauses implies that school expenditures alone created the debt burden and perhaps that the reformist ambitions of Reconstruction governments were not realistic, the first that the benefit of increased educational opportunities might justify the year-after-year deficits of the period or that school expansion succeeded in spite of fiscal constraints from other departments. This is just the



sort of subtle, nuanced communication that a content analysis code sheet may be too clumsy to grasp.

### *Limitations*

A fine tool is also a sharp one. Discourse analysis techniques merit serious risk assessment. None requires much effort to bend in the service of sophistry. Streuver, though optimistic about the benefits of applying discourse analysis methodology to historical documents, warns that “the analyst who discloses similarity and difference in the formal structure of accounts can disclose a false revisionism” (Streuver, 1985, p. 260), in part because the methodology offers the researcher “no direct access to a speaker’s intended meaning” (Brown and Yule, 1985, p. 94). As a consequence, in its willingness to embrace the study of forces outside a document’s actual content (both manifest and latent), discourse analysis can inspire dizzying leaps of logic.

A second but larger concern standing uncomfortably at the margins of discourse analysis — and armed with a certain irony for good measure — is its implicit assumption that language alone drives discourse. Students during the Cold War did not simply read about the Constitution and Bill of Rights against the backdrop of global superpower competition. At times they scurried under their desks in response to civil defense drill sirens or gazed with unease through backyard telescopes for a glimpse of *Sputnik*. Nor did their American government teachers necessarily rely on their trusted, personally annotated copy of *Magruder’s* in the construction of every lesson plan. In the findings

that follow, a close guard must be drawn against the temptation to connect changes in a textbook to potential changes in the overall climate of the classroom.

## CHAPTER 3

## TWO AMERICAS: 1939 VERSUS 1946



"The Signing of the Mayflower Compact"

© 1939 A.S. Burbank

FIGURE 1 — 1939'S *AMERICAN GOVERNMENT* (page 1)



"Where the Atomic Bomb Struck"

© 1946 Allyn and Bacon

FIGURE 2 — 1946'S *AMERICAN GOVERNMENT* (page 1)

All editions of *Magruder's* considered in this study begin, “*American Government* is revised at least once a year, to bring it thoroughly up to date.” However, while Frank Magruder’s final edition of *American Government* before the Second World War and his first in peacetime do reveal the author’s desire to adapt the work to contemporary concerns, in 1946 the conflict that loomed between the superpowers still slumbered, at least outside diplomatic circles, in the allied triumphalism of the initial post-war honeymoon. An analysis of the two editions, however, does establish a necessary ‘qualitative baseline’ for comparisons between the pre-Cold War editions of *Magruder's* considered here and the 1957 *Magruder's*.

TABLE 1 — CHAPTER AND SECTION TITLES: 1939, 1946  
(original typesetting)

1939 Order	1946 Order
CHAPTER I: IMPORTANCE OF GOVERNMENT	CHAPTER I: WINNING THE PEACE AMERICA’S GOAL: PEACE WITH JUSTICE, SECURITY, AND ABUNDANCE
Why Government Is Important	The Atomic Bomb
The Benefits of Government	Federal Union Is America’s Contribution to Nation Building
Government Enables Us to Be Independent of Foreign Countries	TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION: In Union There Is Strength
Government Protects Our Property from Criminals	The Union Has Given Us a Land of Abundance

## Economic Themes: Continuity and Departure

Domestic economic themes dominate the opening pages of 1939's *American Government*, which offered students four discrete topic boundaries in its first chapter identifying various public works projects, among them the Tennessee Valley Authority and efforts at Mississippi flood control [39:14-25]. Students paging through the first chapter of their civics textbook in 1939 encountered eight photographs, maps, or diagrams of federal irrigation projects (four of the Grand Coulee Dam and power generation facilities alone) combining images of the construction progress itself (caption: "A Jackhammer Crew at Grand Coulee") with more panoramic depictions of the projects' breathtaking scale (caption: "The World's Largest Single-Lift Lock at Bonneville.")

By contrast Table 1 presents the first four Chapter One section headings of the 1939 edition alongside 1946's *Magruder's*. The international focus of the post-war content appears in vivid contrast but does not necessarily indicate a *complete* departure from the domestic economic themes one might expect to find in its Depression-era predecessors. Of the 68 sections and subsections in the first chapter of the two editions that collectively bookend the war, 15 from 1939 and 12 from 1938 would predictably code as economic subjects — but seen as a discourse between a scholar of American institutions and young people, they clearly draw upon very different assumptions. Nothing analogous to the 1946 passages entitled "Full Employment Essential to General Welfare" [46:21] or "Cooperation of Capital and Labor" [46:25] populates the 1939 edition, apparently *Magruder's* attempt to confront directly the anxious climate of demobilization and potential economic dislocation accompanied by it.

Perhaps of greater significance, as the diplomatic machinery of European peace-keeping collapses under the weight of appeasement's failure in 1939, *Magruder's* details the first benefit of government as follows:

**Government Enables Us to Be Independent of Foreign Countries.** As soon as the thirteen American colonies declared themselves independent of England they established State governments in order to gain their independence. When the separation was acknowledged by the mother country, each State was so small that it was in great danger of being seized by one of the European powers, and in order to secure their independence and have the European countries treat them as equals they were obliged to form a strong United States [1939:3].

In Chapter Three, however ("Origin of the Federal Constitution"), *American Government* sees suspected economic defects in the Articles as the chief summons for a new central government, not the designs of European aggressors. In fact the fear of foreign encroachment does not even appear in the chapter. The only reference to international relations, "Want of power by the central government to regulate commerce with foreign countries" [1939:52], concerns trade and finance. Magruder passes up the opportunity to use Hamilton's arguments in Federalist No. 24 or 25 — nor does he raise any matter beyond the domestic sphere of the Critical Period that might frame the text's earlier assertion that ratification gathered its momentum from the fear of "being seized by one of the European powers." That said, it bears consideration that the two sections of the text may be incomparable. The origin of the independent American union in 1776 does precede the attempt to perfect it just over ten years later, of course.

Here 'what the document might have said but did not' — manifest in its refusal to cross the topic boundary between the advantages of the American system of government

and the history of its establishment — may of course mean nothing. What form of government ignores the preservation of its own sovereignty? The question nevertheless arises: in an atmosphere of global anxiety and the advocacy of fierce isolationism from groups like America First in the late 1930s, to what degree might the political climate surrounding the text explain its content?

The contrast between domestic and foreign policy content in the 1939 and 1946 editions asks for much less speculation. 1946's edition introduces its readers to the subject of American government not by explaining its benefits in abstract and anecdotal form, as had been done before, but rather through the skeletal application of the Constitution's Preamble as an outline for discussion, a new linearization structure (see Table 2).

TABLE 2 — CHAPTER 1 "PREAMBLE CONTENT" (1946)

<b>WE THE PEOPLE</b>	<b>MAGRUDER</b>
TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION	In Union There Is Strength, The Union Has Given Us a Land of Abundance, A Closer Union Through Transportation and Communication
TO ESTABLISH JUSTICE	Federal Courts Provided, Bill of Rights, Our Idea of Justice Becoming More Humane
TO ENSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY	The Government Guarantees Order
TO PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE	"Millions for Defense but Not One Cent for Tribute," Billions to Defeat Imperialism — First World War, Second World War, Defense Lines of the Future, Do We Need

WE THE PEOPLE	<i>MAGRUDER</i>
	Peacetime Compulsory Military Training for Defense?, Is There a Better Approach to Defense?, Better Physical Training Is Needed from Childhood to Middle Age, Industrial Preparation Is Needed for Defense, Practice the Good Neighbor Policy towards All Nations, Promote Peace by Cooperation with the United Nations, Increasing Cost of Wars, Government Provision for War Veterans
TO PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE	Welfare of the People from the Cradle to the Grave, Full Employment Essential to General Welfare, Ending Poverty in the Midst of Plenty, Maximum Productivity, Not Scarcity, Cooperation of Labor and Capital
TO SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY	What is Liberty?, Our Task

In terms of total manifest content, *Magruder's* exploration of America's place in the world after VJ Day, diplomatically and militarily, consumes nine pages — more than any other clause in the Preamble and 49% of the section as a whole. The graduating class of 1939 completed the first chapter of *Magruder's* with a reassuring ten-page montage of vast industrial and public works projects, as if to foreshadow in the service of hopeful optimism an end to the double-digit unemployment still plaguing some states. Its closing section on government-sponsored transportation improvements reminded readers that progress could also assume smaller, more intimate dimensions: "Postage on a four-page



letter from Boston to Charleston was once \$1; but now one is carried 10,000 miles for 3 cents” [39:28].

Something so trivial would not do in the aftermath of the Second World War. The first senior class of post-war America read nothing of postage stamps: “So you, your teachers, and all of us who have America’s welfare at heart must study to know our government that we may protect and improve its service to democracy and to the welfare of the world” [46:26].

### *Historical Treatment of Ratification*

Both the 1939 and 1946 editions of *Magruder’s* are press-plate identical in their treatments of the Articles of Confederation, Philadelphia convention, and ratification debate in Chapter Three. This is also true of Chapter Four (“The Federal System of Government.”) Any “closing ranks” hypothesis that the size or sting of the Anti-Federalist treatment might have shrunk from 1939 to 1946 finds no support. While neither edition identifies possible Confederation period successes, such as the Treaty of Paris in 1783 or the Land and Northwest Ordinances that taken together resolved western territorial disputes, the criticism of the Articles remained the same, syllable for syllable. In the case of this historical content, then, World War Two appears to have had no impact.

These sections do put down some roots in the context of the period, however. When Magruder wrote discussion questions for “Origin of the Federal Constitution” in 1938 or 1939, Congress’s rejection of FDR’s so-called “court packing” proposal in March of 1937 and the high court’s sudden conversion that April in upholding the

Wagner-Connery Act were both recent headlines. 1939's *Magruder's* asks, "Do you think our country would be better off if by Constitutional amendment we denied the Court the power to declare Acts of Congress unconstitutional" [39:61]? This question does not appear in 1946. At first glance the 1946 *American Government* also discards a 30-page unit section entitled "Suffrage," but though no longer its own unique section, the same material (and associated discussion questions) now occupy Unit Six, "Political Rights and Practices." Continuity holds in discussions of gender and race, as well. The post-war *American Government* reveals no readily detectable desire to reassert traditional boundaries between the sexes blurred by female participation in the wartime labor force. The three-page narrative history of the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment is identical in both editions. Magruder also condemns the poll tax in both years' *American Government*, accusing it of disenfranchising not just Southern blacks but poor whites, as well.

#### *Sections Addressing Theories of Government*

Finally, other than the disappearance of fascism from the chapter on theories of government in the 1946 edition, both the pre- and post-war *Magruder's* approach alternatives to representative democracy using much the same language. Soviet communism, however, enjoys a post-war makeover. For example, in 1939 a regime depicted as so maniacally totalitarian it tracks all its citizens' college mid-term grades becomes in 1946 a fluid, transitional state inching closer to the full embrace of traditional Western values with each passing year:

1939

[closing paragraph of section]

In spite of the new constitution Stalin and the Party leaders still dictate policy in one way or another. To-day practically every workman in Russia is paid on the piecework basis — factory workers, farm hands on the Collectives; and even college students are paid according to the grades they make [39:44].

1946

[closing paragraph of section]

... opposition to religion is gradually dying out and church attendance is on the increase. Morals struck an all-time low during the Revolution, marriage was easy, and anyone could get a divorce at once. They believed in trial marriages. To-day divorces are more expensive and not so easy to get; and an excessive number of trial marriages is made criminal. A conventional, stable family life is now encouraged [46:44].

1949

In 1949, the Soviet Union would detonate its first atomic bomb, Mao would eject Chiang Kai Shek to Taiwan, and the City of Houston would ban Dr. Frank Magruder's *American Government* because one of its paragraphs citing socialistic trends within American capitalism "might have had a bad effect on a child's mind" (Sahr 1998). Magruder's death that same year at the age of 67 transferred responsibility for *American Government* to Dr. William McClenaghan, one of Magruder's colleagues in political science at Oregon State. To him would fall the task of navigating the textbook through the 1950s and the first full decade of the Cold War.

## CHAPTER 4

### 1957: FINDINGS

Having analyzed the general stability of Constitutional content between the 1939 and 1946 editions of *Magruder's American Government*, we now turn to 1957. Unlike 1946, post-war euphoria no longer veiled tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. Did *American Government* reduce or eliminate its coverage of content that alleged the existence of shortcomings within America's Constitutional framework of government as a result?

#### **Evidence**

##### *1. Treatment of the Federalist Opposition (HYPOTHESIS A)*

The 1939 and 1946 editions of *Magruder's American Government* devote 197 words to the Anti-Federalists, framing three specific objections to the Constitution by ratification opponents. Specifically: (1) fear of infringement upon state's rights and association of any new central political authority with the detached rule of Parliament, (2) absence of a formal bill of rights in the proposed constitution, and (3) suspicion that the executive branch in conjunction with the army might assume dictatorial powers consistent with the traditions of European absolutist monarchy:

1946

The Anti-Federalists, such as Patrick Henry and George Clinton, favored strong state governments and a comparatively weak National government. They felt that too much power was given to the central government and that State liberty would

be crushed out. Patriotism at that time was devotion to the State. A citizen of Virginia abroad called himself a “Virginian” and not an “American.” The Anti-Federalists compared a strong National government to the English government, by which they had so recently felt oppressed, and they declared it would be a government founded upon the destruction of the governments of the several states.

A further objection was that the Constitution contained no definite “bill of rights” guaranteeing to individuals such fundamental liberties as freedom of speech, liberty of the press, assurance against unjust arrest, and trial by jury. The Federalists practically agreed to add these guarantees, which promise was fulfilled by the adoption of the first ten constitutional amendments in 1791. It was feared that a President might become so popular as to obtain life tenure of office, and thus the government might degenerate into a monarchy. Patrick Henry cried, “We shall have a King; the army will salute him monarch” [39:59-60; 46:58-59].

The 1957 edition of *American Government's* Anti-Federalist section is a little over half its predecessor's length at 100 words. Although Patrick Henry reappears, his fears of consolidated militarism under the direction of an ambitious president apparently no longer merit mention in the midst of the Eisenhower years and America's Cold War military build-up. 1957 also sees the withdrawal of *Magruder's* former hospitality to the Anti-Federalist suspicion of centralized, remote power. Now the passage associates state's rights entirely with inflationary economic interests:<sup>2</sup>

#### 1957

Many of the Anti-Federalists, including men like Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and John Hancock, thought it too undemocratic. Henry said: “I look on that paper as the most fatal plan that could possibly be conceived to enslave a free people.”

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<sup>2</sup> The 1957 edition describes the economic policies of states during the 1780s as follows: “They stamped their names on paper and called it money. Prices soared sky-high. Debts, public and private, went unpaid” [57:43].

Many small farmers and debtors opposed it because it prohibited the States from printing paper money. Others objected to the lack of a bill of rights listing such fundamental liberties as freedom of speech, press, and religion and trial by jury — an objection that was satisfied almost at once with the addition of the Bill of Rights in 1791 [57:48-49].

*Anti-Federalism: Presuppositions from Historical Context*

The data does not speak with one voice regarding the Anti-Federalists, in part because they receive short shrift in all three editions examined in this study. In fact, if Cold War Americanism muzzled the record of the often perceptive indictments of the Constitution made by the Anti-Federalists in the 1780s, even the collapse of the Soviet Union did not open the door for the scholarly work of Jensen and his students to put down roots within *Magruder's* during the 1990s, at a time when their work was no longer perceived by so many historians as outside the boundaries of mainstream research. In 1996 *Magruder's* would recycle the entire section from past treatments of the ratification process:

Two of the major features of the proposed Constitution drew the heaviest fire, however: (1) the greatly increased powers of the central government and (2) the lack of a bill of rights. The proposed document did not provide for such basic liberties as freedom of speech, press, and religion, nor for the rights of fair trial. Patrick Henry said of the proposed Constitution:

“I look upon that paper as the most fatal plan that could possibly be conceived to enslave a free people” [96:47].

The line drawn between American government and American history in curriculum development, however arbitrary it perhaps sometimes appears, may explain the abbreviated coverage of the Anti-Federalists as much as anything else, but while more

evidence might be necessary to prove the hypothesis conclusively, *Magruder's* discussion of Anti-Federalism does seem to respond to the rise of the Cold War military-industrial complex by cloaking Anti-Federalist fears of centralized military power.

## 2. *Checks and Balances (HYPOTHESIS B)* *Legislative*

Neither *American Government* hesitates to share with readers structural criticism of the legislative branch. In 1946 Magruder produces a laundry list of proposed reforms, from salary increases in the House to the retirement of the filibuster in the Senate [46:168-169]. McCleneghan does not recycle the entire list [57:164-165] in 1957, but the fact that many of the proposals described after World War Two became law under the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946 likely indicates that no inference should be drawn from his silence. In fact a number of passages in this section parallel one another across editions syllable for syllable:

1946

Men like George Washington and Alexander Hamilton, and in fact most Presidents and Secretaries of State, have always disliked the two-thirds rule, because it makes it difficult for our government to put through any treaty which might promote friendly and constructive relations [46:185-186].

1957

Turn the two-thirds rule around and it becomes a one-third rule. In other words, one third of all the members plus one is all that is necessary to defeat a treaty — no matter how popular it might be with the people generally. Because of this, many have criticized the rule and suggested change to a simple majority [57:184].

1946 and 1957

John Hay, one of our greatest Secretaries of State, said: “The irreparable mistake of our Constitution puts it into the power of one-third plus one of the Senate to meet with a categorical veto any treaty negotiated by the President, even though it might have the hearty approval of nine-tenths of the people of the nation” [46:186; 57:184].

In this same spirit both the 1939 and 1946 editions of *American Government* contain a section entitled “Criticism of the Checks and Balance System” describing the potential for gridlock within the scheme of separation of powers, the passage resigning itself to the fact that in such instances the presidency may provide the only alternative to prolonged stalemate:

1939 and 1946

There are times when our government comes to a standstill because the departments cannot agree upon a certain policy. The ideas of any one department might work well if vigorously pushed forward; but when there is a difference of opinion between the legislative and executive departments, a political “boss,” good or bad, must mount the vehicle of state and keep it moving. Since it has become necessary to have a boss it would seem well to be bossed by the President [39:77; 46:78].

### *Executive*

However, unlike Congressional subjects, Cold War revisions alter the discussion of the executive branch in significant ways. In 1957, *American Government* provides students with a recent, specific example of checks and balances in operation against the White House (*Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer*) and, like earlier versions of the section, warns that “while mistakes or evil designs of one department may be checked by another, so also can well-planned, honest policies of one be checked by another for



political reasons” [57:69]. However, unlike pre-Cold War discussions of the subject, the 1957 edition does not actually label the passage ‘criticism of checks and balances’ and carefully elides any opportunity for readers to conclude that a president might read too much into the title of ‘boss:’

1957

When both houses of Congress are controlled by the President’s supporters the system works well. But when one or both houses are in the hands of the opposing party it is exceedingly difficult for the National Government to operate smoothly. In such instances the national Government does not fail completely, of course. But it is often stalled over vital policy decisions.

The check and balance system makes compromise necessary, and compromise is of the essence in a democratic system. Dictatorships are based upon the usurping of power by one man or a small group. Thus the check and balance system prevents the rise of an all-powerful dictator in the National Government [57:69-70].

This new structural device, the deliberate contrast of the Constitution with dictatorship, weaves itself throughout the 1957 edition — both in its manifest content and in ‘what it once said, but now does not.’ In 1957 *American Government* introduces the executive branch much as its predecessor did. For example, controversial presidential election outcomes in history, which delivered the candidate with fewer popular votes than his opponent into the Presidency, appear in both texts [46:173; 57:175]. The two editions then continue to parallel one another — for a time:

1946

**Compensation of the President.** The President’s salary is determined by Congress, but the amount may be neither increased nor diminished during the period for which he is elected. It is now \$75,000 a year plus traveling and official entertainment expenses of \$30,000 a year, and the use of the Executive Mansion, commonly called “The White House” [46:179].

1957

**Compensation of the President.** The President's salary is set by Congress, and it cannot be changed during his term of office. He receives a salary of \$100,000 a year, plus a \$50,000 "expense account," both of which are taxable ...

On the question of presidential powers, however, a candor governs the subject in 1946 that clearly abandons the text nine years later:

1946

**Duties and Powers of the President.** — In order that the President may perform the various duties which the Constitution, Acts of Congress, treaties, and customs place upon him, he has to have corresponding powers. As the head of the executive branch of government it is his duty to see that the Constitution, law, and treaties, and decisions of the Federal courts are enforced. To perform this duty he has been given power to appoint and dismiss thousands of officers; command the army and navy; call extra sessions of Congress, recommend proper legislation, and veto improper bills. To assist the President in his strenuous duties, he appoints three Secretaries, and six Administrative Assistants at \$10,000 a year each.

An aggressive President who becomes party leader or a national hero can greatly increase his powers by a loose construction of the Constitution. During the Civil War Congress permitted Lincoln to become practically a dictator. He issued a proclamation suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, which Congress subsequently legalized. He also issued the emancipation proclamations of 1862 and 1863, declaring all slaves in insurgent States to be thenceforth free [46:180].

1957

**The President's Powers.** Article II of the Constitution begins with the statement: "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." And then it lists specific powers; for example, to execute the law, make treaties, approve or veto acts of Congress, convene and adjourn Congress, and command the armed forces.

As in so many of its provisions, the Constitution provides only an outline of presidential power. Nearly 170 years of history have added much to that outline. Several factors have contributed to the growth of the office. The manner in which

strong Presidents like Washington, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, and the two Roosevelts used their powers has helped shape the presidency [57:180].

### *Judicial*

The hypothesis suggests that the attention paid the greatest power within the federal court system, the Supreme Court's exercise of judicial review, would diminish in 1957. Arguably it stands as the most unrepresentative feature of the Constitutional order, ignoring for the moment the equally controversial question of the Constitution's failure to specifically articulate the principle of judicial review in Article III. Yet far from being ignored, in 1957 *Marbury v. Madison* — only a large footnote in 1946 — wins a promotion to the body text and closes with the mathematically blunt conclusion that since William Marbury's famous *mandamus* suit the high court has “invalidated parts or all of more than 500 state laws” [57:60].

Greater continuity connects the two periods' treatment of the Constitution's other structural features. For example, in 1957 *American Government* reproduces Magruder's analysis of the Constitutional amendment process from 1946 verbatim. Both editions ask students to consider the wisdom of the Framers' demanding mathematical standard for altering the Constitution:

#### 1946 and 1957

Congress defeated a proposed Constitutional amendment which would have allowed the Constitution to be amended by a bare majority vote of Congress and a bare majority of popular votes at an election. The makers of the Constitution were unwilling to trust every Tom, Dick, and Harry voter with the amendment of the Constitution. Were they right or wrong [46:85; 57:77]?

### *Checks and Balances: Presuppositions from Historical Context*

On the subject of checks and balances then, the presidency appears to have undergone the greatest revision when considered alongside the 1946 edition — and perhaps not surprisingly. In late 1945 Americans sat anxiously in darkened movie theaters before newsreel footage of demobilization, relieved by the war's end but fearful that the pre-war recession might return in response to the pressures returning veterans would inevitably bring to bear on the job market. Yet the 1950s would see the United States complete the post-WWII transition successfully in part because to some degree the wartime economy never fully disappeared into the mothballs. The perceived need to maintain an equal conventional and nuclear force posture with the USSR left the country with its first peacetime, large-scale military establishment. As commander-in-chief during a time of nuclear tension, unprecedented power flowed both to and from the Presidency. Of course, depression and war had arguably done much the same for Franklin Roosevelt, yet *Magruder's* in both 1939 and 1946 explores the implications of presidential power far more openly than would be the case in 1957.

### *3. Socialist Criticism (HYPOTHESIS C)*

In all three editions of *American Government* considered here, the textbooks' chapters conclude with classroom discussion questions. For example, in 1939 and 1946, the textbook confronts students with this challenge after they have read brief descriptions of various theories of government in Chapter Two, "Development of the State," among them the neo-classical democratic theory of Madison's generation and the socialist and communist ideological movements that followed it in history:

## 1939 and 1946

13. Which of the following quotations impresses you the more favorably, bearing in mind the power of the Supreme Court to declare Acts of legislative bodies unconstitutional?

“Those who zealously preach the religion of the Constitution want us to do the worshipping while they take up the collection.” —Norman Thomas

“The combat between communism and fascism on the one hand, and democracy on the other, comes down to the simple question: What, if any, place shall be given to the average man and woman in government. Both communism and fascism would rob them of every right, every privilege, every guarantee given them in our Constitution. The first line of defense against a dictatorial government is the Constitution of the United States.” —Senator Borah [39:361; 46:389].

In 1957 six of the thirteen discussion questions used in 1946 reappear, verbatim — but not number 13. The removal of the former Socialist Party presidential candidate Norman Thomas’s critique is emblematic of a new approach to the treatment of the Soviet Union in the textbook (and socialism in general). The ancestry of the 1957 passage excerpted below is clear, but the discourse now presumes the necessity of opposition to Soviet ideology rather than the late-New Deal period speculation that domestic and internal pressures common to both nations might draw them toward future rapprochement:

## 1946

The United States is called a capitalistic country, but it does not have pure capitalism. It has capitalism subject to increasing government control as our manner of living becomes more complex. The country is capitalistic with strong socialistic, and even communistic, trends. The postal system, power projects, and progressive taxes are bits of socialism; and public free education and old age assistance are examples of communism — “to each according to his need” [46:37].

1957

We have discovered that some activities are better carried on by society as a whole through the government. Free public education, the postal system, and help for the aged are familiar examples of long standing in the United States. As Abraham Lincoln expressed it, "The legitimate object of government is to do for the community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do so well for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities."

One needs only to look at the great achievements and the standard of living in the United States to see the advantages of the free enterprise system. Freedom of choice is inherent in a democracy — and in our economic system. We view trends toward nationalization and socialism in other countries with misgivings [57:25].

The 1957 edition's failure to retain the following two 1946 discussion questions may also testify to the advent of Cold War tensions and the pressures they exerted on the discourse:

1946

Should the government relieve unemployment by entering upon one big project after another and interfere with private business as little as possible, become entirely socialistic, or keep out of business altogether [46:46]?

1946

A patent gives a person a monopoly. Socialists claim that anybody should be permitted to manufacture a patented article who will pay the patentee a uniform royalty determined by the government. Advance arguments for and against this claim [46:119].

### *Socialist Criticism: Presuppositions from Historical Context*

Finally, in both 1939 and 1946, *Magruder's* brings closure to its analysis of communism with some attempt to describe current conditions in the Soviet Union. Here too 1957 dramatically alters the former post-WWII tone of the section. In 1946 a palpable optimism resonates within the text regarding the USSR that predictably fades from the

discourse in the aftermath of the Berlin Crisis, Soviet atomic bomb, Mao's ascendancy, and Korea:

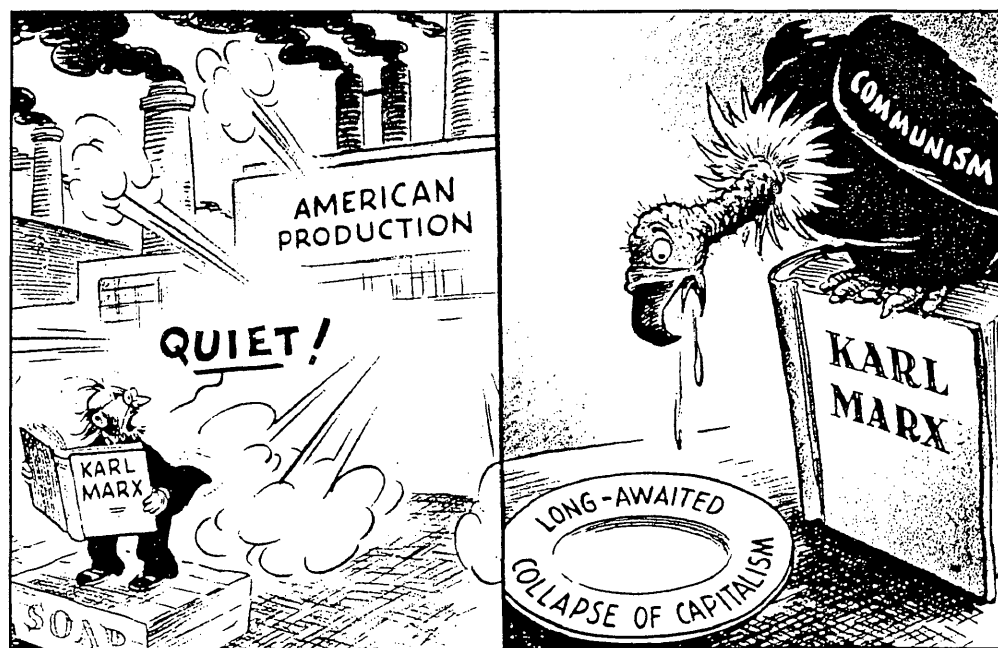
1946

... opposition to religion is gradually dying out and church attendance is on the increase. Morals struck an all-time low during the Revolution, marriage was easy, and anyone could get a divorce at once. They believed in trial marriages. To-day divorces are more expensive and not so easy to get; and an excessive number of trial marriages is made criminal. A conventional, stable family life is now encouraged [46: 44].

1957

We are an individualistic people. We do not have sharp division of classes, and our standard of living is the highest the world has ever seen. In effect, the American way of life has made socialism obsolete and has shown communism to be a stagnant pool of violence and reaction.

Man is independent and creative by nature. By suppressing these traits communism is surely signing its death warrant [57:28].



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FIGURE 3 — 1957'S AMERICAN GOVERNMENT  
GOVERNMENT IN THE ECONOMY (page 691)

#### 4. *The Bill of Rights: Freedom of Speech (HYPOTHESIS D)*

In light of America's recent experiences with the investigations of Senator Joseph McCarthy and the HUAC hearings of the early 1950s, the study hypothesizes that the desire to articulate new post-war boundaries of acceptable comparisons between socialism and capitalism should have narrowed the presentation of free speech rights within *Magruder's American Government*.

Intriguingly, none of the three textbook editions considered here locates its discussion of the Bill of Rights within or immediately after the Constitution's articles.<sup>3</sup> For example, in 1946 Chapter Three describes the ratification of the Constitution and Chapter Four the "Federal System of Government," but another 200 pages separate these topics from the Bill of Rights in Chapter Twenty-Two. In 1957 this structure survives. Students encounter everything from territorial administration policy to the National Forestry Service before their first exposure to the Bill of Rights.

Both editions also assert that free speech rights cannot draw their own, absolute sphere of protection. Neither raises by historical anecdote any practical benefit to free speech (or a free press), such as the "muckraking" investigative journalism during the late Gilded Age, but both do so in hypothetical terms (in 1946 *Magruder's* argues that while a bicameral legislature sometimes grinds to a halt when the chambers deadlock, the

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<sup>3</sup> This parallels a structural feature of the Constitution itself. According to the Report of the House Select Committee (28 July 1789), Madison hoped to maintain the Constitution as an essentially organic document, extracting and inserting clauses as dictated by the language of proposed amendments. Defending the proposal in August, he argued that "there is a neatness and propriety in incorporating the amendments into the Constitution itself; in that case the system will remain uniform and entire ..." (Lloyd and Lloyd, 1990).



impasse does give the press time to more fully cover the issues surrounding bills under consideration [57:82]).

Each *Magruder's* likewise makes reference to national security policy as a means through which the state may legitimately limit free speech:

1946

**The Freedom of Speech and of the Press.** Congress can make no law abridging the freedom of speech and of the press (First Amendment); and the Constitution of Virginia provides that “any citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the use of that right.” (Art I., Sec. 12.)

A person has the right to speak or publish what he chooses so long as he does not violate a statute law, injure someone’s reputation or business, violate public morality, or create a disturbance calculated to result in bodily injury ...

The freedom of petition, however, is apparently limited to requests for things lawful under espionage and sedition legislation. For instance, during World War I, “Twenty-seven South Dakota farmers were opposed to the draft and believed that an unduly high quota was extracted from their county. They petitioned various state officers, asking for a new era, a referendum on war, payment of war expenses from taxation, and repudiation of war debts. As an alternative they threatened to defeat the officers, their party, and the nation ... The twenty-seven were sentenced to more than a year in prison.” (Chafee, *Freedom of Speech*, page 64) [39:373; 46:401].

1957

**The Freedom of Speech and of the Press.** The 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment goes on to provide for freedom of speech and of the press. But what is meant by freedom of speech and press? This is one of the most difficult and delicate questions in the entire field of civil rights.

Nowhere is the fact that civil rights are *relative and not absolute* better demonstrated. No one can have the right to say or to publish anything he pleases ...

**The Clear and Present Danger Rule.** It is very difficult to draw a reasonable line between the power of government to protect the public safety and the right of

the individual to express himself. In cases of this sort the Court applies what is known as the “clear and present danger rule” ...

The recent cases involving the clear and present danger rule have concerned communists and their activities. The most important one was decided by the Court in 1951.

In 1949, after a long and hectic trial, eleven top leaders of the Communist Party in the United States were convicted of violating the Smith Act of 1940. This makes it unlawful for anyone to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of ordered government in the United States. It also makes it a crime to “conspire to commit” these acts ...

In 1951 the Supreme Court upheld the convictions and the act. The Court said:

*We reject any principle of governmental helplessness in the face of preparation for revolution, which principle, carried to its logical conclusion, must lead to anarchy.*

By 1957 some ninety Red leaders had been convicted under the act [57:393-394].

In another illustration of content stability, McCleneghan retains several of Magruder’s 1946 civil rights discussion questions in their original wording. In 1957, however, students receive no summons to discuss as a classroom the possibility that wartime speech restrictions might endanger First Amendment rights. Two discussion questions are missing, one involving the imprisoned editor of the socialist periodical *Revolutionary Age*, the other this inquiry into the Espionage and Sedition Acts:

1946

The Espionage Act of 1917 and the Amending Sedition Act forbade speaking or printing anything that interfered with the success of our armed forces or intended to bring our military forces, flag, or form of government into contempt. These Acts were upheld by the courts, and many were imprisoned for such indirect threats as calling the war capitalistic, insisting that a referendum should have preceded war, and declaring conscription to be unconstitutional. Do you consider these restrictions justifiable? Give your reason for your answer [46:409].

*Free Speech: Presuppositions from Historical Context*

1957's *American Government* chooses to raise the subject of McCarthy era speech restrictions outside the civil rights chapter within the safer confines of Chapter 9, "Congress in Action." This Spartan 31-word excerpt comprises *American Government's* entire 1957 treatment of the subject.

1957

The most widely known investigating committees today are those which have been investigating communist activities, like the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Investigations Subcommittee of the Senate Government Operations Committee [57:154].

On the other hand, the 1957 edition does put the controversy of Cold War dissent before students in more abstract terms:

2. President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights puts the argument for freedom as we know it in these words: "In a free society there is faith in the ability of the people to make sound, rational judgments. But such judgments are possible only where the people have access to all relevant facts and to all prevailing interpretations of the facts. How can such judgments be formed on a sound basis if arguments, viewpoints, or opinions are arbitrarily suppressed? How can the concept of the market place of thought in which truth ultimately prevails retain its validity if the thought of certain individuals is denied the right of circulation?" How would you apply this statement in the current problems of communism and loyalty [57:650]?

Thus in a manner consistent with its approach to the presidency, the 1957 text does not deny the possibility of structural shortcomings within the Constitutional order (the treaty ratification or amendment process, for example), but in 1957 *American*

*Government* does not deem it wise to actually provide examples of elected *leaders* overstepping their bounds. This may well reflect the transitional nature of the late 1950s. The decade had begun with war in Korea and the development of the hydrogen bomb, but the blacklisting and fear of secret communist agents had ebbed by the start of the school year in 1957 (at least for a time), particularly with the Korean armistice in 1953, Stalin's death that same year, and McCarthy's downfall in the face of his 1954 censure. As students returned to classrooms in August or September of 1957, even *Sputnik* had not yet made its entrance into the popular lexicon and would remain on the launch pad through October. In other words, perhaps enough anxiety lingered in the air to censor Magruder's blunter inquiries into the justice of speech restrictions in time of war from 1946, but the subject did not occupy the realm of taboo, either.

##### 5. *The Twilight of Plessy: Separate but Equal in 1946 and 1957 (HYPOTHESIS E)*

If the term "civil rights" in the early 1950s connoted Alger Hiss or the Rosenbergs, by 1957 it occupied a new position beneath headlines of boycotts and marches in the service of integration. Thus as the United States endeavored to build strong ties in Latin America, Africa, and Asia it frequently found events at home, particularly those involving race relations, menacing the country's carefully cultivated image as the standard bearer of liberal and egalitarian democratic values. The hypothesis therefore imagines a greater openness to these subjects before the Cold War than during it, when a frank consideration of their implications might have raised unsettling questions.

Magruder's 1939 and 1946 "Equality before the Law" sections do not address race or gender, focusing instead on economic forces that may deny due process rights to the poor. Magruder weaves policy recommendations into his analysis, as well:

1946

**Equality before the Law.** — Our legislators and judges endeavor to make all equal before the law, though there are instances where the ideal is not easy to realize.

- (1) A poor man accused of a crime cannot afford able lawyers to plead his case most advantageously; but he does usually have a sympathetic jury.
- (2) When a poor man gets a final judgment against a man of means, the judgment must be paid, whereas a judgment against a poor man cannot be enforced unless within a limited period he acquires property. In America one cannot be imprisoned for a debt honestly contracted.
- (3) When a fine is imposed, the rich man pays the fine — perhaps with no inconvenience; the poor man serves his time in jail. If the offense is petty, why not give the poor man credit, release him, and allow him to pay the fine in installments?
- (4) A rich man may appeal to the higher courts if the lower court decides against him and thus may drag out the case until the poor man is obliged to abandon his right for lack of lawyers' fees and court fees. The demand is for speedier justice.

This is a challenge to you — rich and poor — to remove the few remaining inequalities. In no other country are inequalities so few. The rich pay high progressive income and inheritance taxes; and the poor have various social security laws, free education, equal suffrage, and can vote taxes upon the rich because they outnumber them. With free education a poor boy can become a Lincoln as readily as a rich boy [39:377-378; 46:405-406].

Magruder's statements on race, however, are few and far between — and far more cryptic:

A poll tax is not very just because the poor man must pay as much as the millionaire. In the South its purpose was to discourage from voting the Negroes who had passed the educational test. In practice it keeps a great many whites from voting, some worthy and many worthless ones [39:578; 46:434].

Thus while *American Government* attacks the potential for wealth to compromise due process or the poll tax to deny the franchise to poor whites, the text supplies no judgment one way or the other in discussing race-bias, a message consistent across topic boundaries visible in Magruder's treatment of the Southern primary system:

(10) Party membership is determined (a) by an intention to support generally at the next election the nominees of such party; or (b) by the party the voter supported at the last election; or (c) by answering any questions the party prescribes, as is done in parts of the South in order to keep Negroes from participating in Democratic primaries [39:585; 46:441].

#### *Race Relations in the 1950s: Presuppositions from Historical Context*

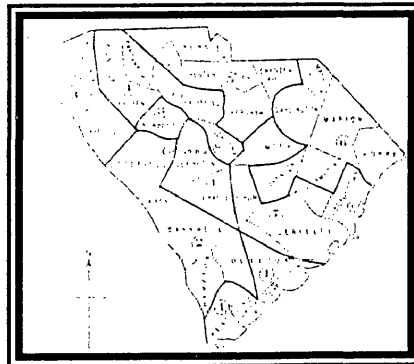
This matter-of-fact response to black political marginalization stands awkwardly against the backdrop of Magruder's earlier plea that barriers to political equality rooted in economic class be toppled. It appears all the more remarkable when considered alongside the author's stated desire to accompany the body passages of the textbook with a treatment of current issues that might impact their content (for example, the 1946 edition contains a dozen pages discussing the United Nations). The early Forties exerted enormous pressure on the post-Reconstruction gestalt of American race relations. A short list of relevant events would include A. Philip Randolph's abortive March on Washington and subsequent creation of the Fair Employment Practices Commission, the Detroit race riots of June, 1943, and the election of Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. to the House of

Representatives in 1944. Magruder provides no discussion questions at the end of any of *American Government's* chapters with which students might seek to unravel the enigmatic relationship between these events and the Constitutional guarantee of equal protection.

Yet, paradoxically, 1957's *American Government* both continued and broke with this tradition. In footnote form [57:433] the Cold War volume acknowledges that, "So-called 'grandfather clauses' were also inserted in the constitutions of most of the Southern States after the War Between the States." As for literacy tests, the now reparsed section explains to readers that, "Since then, most of the Southern States have adopted literacy tests, usually with an 'understanding clause'"[57:433]. No mention is made of the potential for such examinations to disenfranchise large numbers of black voters, however, and in both the 1946 and 1957 editions the discussion of racial gerrymandering appears without adjacent commentary or chapter discussion questions.

#### 1946 and 1957

The map below shows how the districts of South Carolina were skillfully arranged in 1890 so as to throw large blocks of the Republican Negro vote together, the populations varying from 134,000 in the first district to 217,000 in the seventh [46:93; 57:85-86].

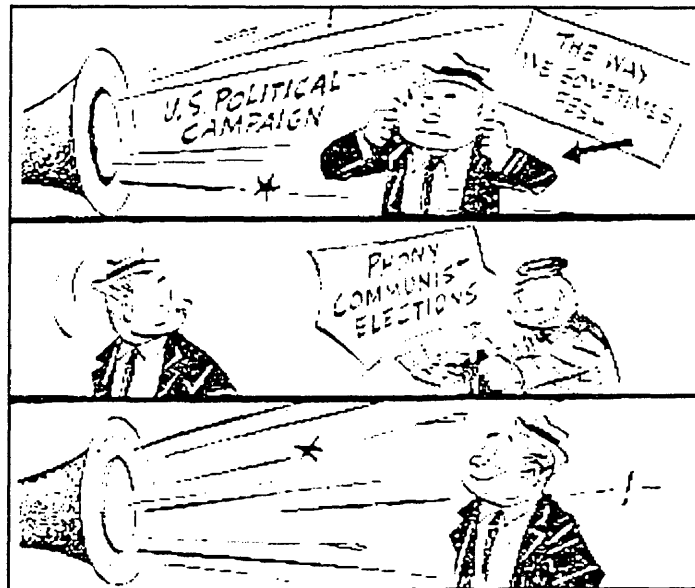


SOUTH CAROLINA GERRYMANDER, 1890

In concluding its analysis of suffrage in the United States, the 1957 edition reconsiders the poll tax absent the populist zeal visited upon the subject in earlier formulations of the section, now flanking it with an anti-Soviet political cartoon instead:

1957

The purpose of the poll tax originally was to discourage voting by Negroes who could pass the education test, but in recent years most of the Southern States have done away with it [57:435-436].



"The Way We Sometimes Feel"  
© 1957 Bimrose Portland Oregonian

FIGURE 4 — SUFFRAGE CONCLUSION IN 1957 (page 436)

The text's glacial posture toward the question of the color line does warm somewhat in 1957. For example, too mammoth in its implications to ignore and three years old by 1957, *American Government* does speak to *Brown v. Board* at the end of the chapter:



Most “equal protection” cases have involved Negroes. In 1896 the Supreme Court established the so-called “separate but equal” doctrine when it upheld a Louisiana law requiring the segregation of Negroes in rail coaches. Under this rule, segregation of the races was held not to violate the Equal Protection Clause *if* the separate facilities provided for Negroes were equal to those provided for others.

This rule was later extended to other fields, especially education. In the last several years, however, the Court has been chipping away at the separate-but-equal rule. In an historic 1954 decision, segregation in education was outlawed. Said the unanimous Court: “Separate education is inherently unequal” [57:401].

In addition, it recommends that students “Obtain a copy of the Report of the President’s Committee on Civil Rights, ‘To Secure These Rights,’ from a library or some other source. Class reports and debates could be built around it” [57:403] and submits for consideration the controversy of Japanese-American internment during the Second World War (a subject avoided in 1946), but refrains from asking students if such wartime measures broke with the Bill of Rights in letter or spirit:

In 1942, just after the beginning of World War II, all persons of Japanese ancestry — aliens and citizens — were compelled to leave their homes along the West Coast. Those not leaving voluntarily were taken to relocation internment camps. The federal courts declared this action to be constitutional during the war period of great national emergency. In what federal court did a Japanese bring his case? Appealed how high [57:378]?

A few pages later McClenaghan resurrects the subject in tones that convey an implicit condemnation of the government’s actions:

In 1942, shortly after the beginning of World War II, all Japanese living on the West Coast were evacuated inland. Some 112,000 persons, at least two-thirds of whom were *native-born American citizens*, were involved. Those people were interned in “war relocation camps” operated by the Government.

The relocation program caused severe economic and personal hardship for many. In 1944, however, the Supreme Court held that the program was legal as a wartime emergency measure.

The action has been criticized ever since. Japanese-Americans fought heroically in the armed forces in World War II, and no single case of *Nisei* (American-born Japanese) disloyalty in the course of the war has ever been found [57:382].

## CHAPTER 5

## DISCUSSION

**Evidence in Challenge to the Hypothesis:***Anti-Federalism, Free Speech, and Race Relations*

Of the five major topic boundaries examined within the discourse, two — the exploration of checks and balances and the socialist critique of the Constitution — lend weight to the hypothesis that social and political forces associated with the Cold War did super impose themselves upon the content of *Magruder's American Government* in 1957. The remaining three, however, most certainly do not. The treatment of Anti-Federalism, free speech rights, and race relations all challenge the hypothesis on some level.

*Hypothesis A: Do Cold War treatments of Anti-Federalism shrink?*

1957's *American Government* does essentially halve its treatment of Anti-Federalism, recasting the opponents of ratification solely within the domain of what it describes in earlier passages as misguided inflationary state economic interests, but Anti-Federalism as a whole receives minimal attention in both editions. The passages say less about the Cold War than they do, as Jensen and others might assert, about a larger reluctance to consider the documentary record of Anti-Federalism on its own terms within academia. The 1996 edition of *Magruder's* presents the Anti-Federalists no differently than its forerunners.

*Hypothesis D: Does the discussion of free speech rights narrow during the Cold War?*

Perhaps more surprisingly, free speech rights receive much the same treatment in both the 1946 and 1957 editions. The hypothesis would suggest that latent McCarthyism and widespread debate over the relationship between dissent and disloyalty might bring a certain chill to those passages describing First Amendment speech and press rights in the 1957 edition of *American Government*. In 1957 a palpable Cold War atmosphere *does* hang over the text's introduction to free speech:

It is in the area of civil rights — the individual liberties of the American people — that government is most severely limited in the United States. In a democracy such as ours, the state exists for the people, not the people for the state. Government is only a means to an end. That end is the good life for all.

Contrast this with the underlying principle of dictatorships where the people exist for the state, not the state for the people. Thus in the Soviet Union no opposition to the dictatorship is tolerated. Even art, music, and literature must glorify the state [57:380].

Yet the analysis generally indicates as much openness on the subject in 1957 as could be seen in 1946. While controversial wartime acts of Congress like the sedition legislation of the First World War discussed in the 1939 edition are in fact absent in 1957, McCleneghan does directly ask students deeper in the text to consider for themselves where the line between free speech and national security might best be drawn. That said, the fact that the 1957 edition refuses to even mention Joseph McCarthy fits comfortably within the textbook's general reluctance to present the government as overreaching its powers, a theme visibly manifest in its approach to topics involving economic policy and the conduct of the executive branch.

*Hypothesis E: Does the treatment of racial conflict diminish during the Cold War?*

As for race relations, 1957 cannot help but expand upon 1946's muted, at times puzzling message on the subject, in part because recent events throughout the American South as well as the decisions of federal courts had begun to crescendo on the side of integration. However, even questions of racial justice outside the sphere of Jim Crow demonstrate a greater openness in 1957. For example, McCleneghan's willingness to place before student scrutiny the wisdom of Japanese internment or the Constitutionality of the 1944 *Korematsu* decision that upheld it finds no parallel in the earlier edition of the textbook, although the language of the section does refrain from couching internment in terms of executive abuse of power.

**Evidence in Support of the Hypothesis**

*Checks and Balances: The Cold War Presidency*

*Hypothesis B: Does the Cold War discourse avoid the possibility that the Constitutional framework of checks and balances might fail to function as intended?*

The hypothesis fares far better when we consider *Magruder's* 1957 approach to the executive branch within the context of checks and balances. In the relevant passages the text maintains a safe distance from the possibility that the Presidency might grow too powerful, purposefully contrasting representative democracy and communist dictatorship. Thus while the 1946 edition proclaims in the bluntest of terms that crises in national security combined with a loose executive interpretation of the Constitution can make a President "practically a dictator" [46:180], the examples used to back that assertion vanish in 1957 — tactfully displaced by the neutral contention that, "The manner in

which strong Presidents like Washington, Jackson, Lincoln, Cleveland, and the two Roosevelts used their powers has helped shape the presidency” [57:180].

This transformation within the discourse — noted at the risk of speculation — dovetails with *American Government*’s removal of content indicating that Anti-Federalists feared the President might use a standing federal army to sponsor the creation of monarchical dictatorship in the infant republic. In the same spirit the 1957 edition amends the 1946 passages describing the executive branch with a closing section that assures readers no American President could realistically contemplate the acquisition of genuine dictatorial powers without running afoul of the machinery of checks and balances: “Dictatorships are based upon the usurping of power by one man or a small group. Thus the check and balance system prevents the rise of an all-powerful dictator in the National Government” [57:69-70].

### **Evidence Outside the Hypothesis:**

#### *Religious Themes within Civic Discourse*

Given this level of consistency among the 1939, 1946 and 1957 editions of *Magruder’s* in terms of material relevant to the hypothesis’ focus on Constitutional subjects, what if anything did change significantly in the Cold War version of the text? The answer, surprising in scale if not substance, does speak indirectly to the Constitution and Bill of Rights — more precisely to the very opening clause of the First Amendment.

No scrutiny is required to see the enormous emphasis on religious topics that characterizes the 1957 edition of *American Government* in contrast with its predecessors. In fact the discourse seizes upon Christianity as the core of the nation’s identity almost

immediately, doing so in the first chapter (“Strength through Union”) through the proxy of a third party witness to the American experiment (allegedly de Tocqueville<sup>4</sup>):

**Religion as a Foundation of Strength.** Over a century ago, a visitor from Europe is said to have remarked that he sought for the greatness and genius of America in her harbors and her ample rivers; in her fertile fields and boundless forests; in her rich mines and her vast world commerce; in her public schools and institutions of learning; in her democratic Congress and her matchless Constitution; and it was in none of these. Not until he went to the churches of America and heard her pulpits flame with righteousness did he understand the secret of her genius and power. He concluded:

America is great because America is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great [57:11].

In 1957 de Tocqueville’s famous observation appears between two sections in the first chapter that seek to present in capsule form America’s domestic and international challenges. If in union there is strength, religion stands as the basis of that strength for problem solving at home and abroad:

**All Types of Defense Depend upon High Moral Standards.** The shocking report of the Senate Crime (Kefauver) Committee indicates that organized crime operates on a large scale in the United States today. Illegal gambling, narcotics, political bribery, labor and business racketeering, and gangsterism in all forms can undermine the moral strength of the nation. Yet, according to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, most crime could be eliminated in two days by vigorous action at the local level all over the country.

### Religion as a Foundation of Strength ...

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<sup>4</sup> Although numerous politicians and speech writers since the 1950s have repeated these words, no scholarly research has ever authenticated their connection to the famous French author. See Pitney, John J. Jr. “The Tocqueville Fraud” from *The Weekly Standard* (13 November 1995) or <http://academic.mckenna.edu/jpitney/tocqfraud.html>

**The Good-Neighbor Policy as a Source of Strength.** The greatest law in the world is the Golden Rule; and if a government adopts this rule in its foreign policy most countries will respond and be neighborly. The United States applied the good-neighbor policy to Canada and Latin America, and when we became involved in war they became our Allies.

A very similar passage can be found in 1996 — but read without reference to the shift in the topic boundaries of the discourse it would reveal a baseless continuity. In 1996 *Magruder's* welcomes Citizen de Tocqueville on page 490 in its 19<sup>th</sup> chapter, his words bracketed above by an introduction to the establishment and free exercise clauses; below by the words, “In this section, you will read about the important — and often controversial — guarantees of religious freedom found in the Constitution” [96:490]. Four pages of case law history follow. The two periods call upon the same words to address religious freedom, but the stakes return to manageable dimensions in 1996, having settled to earth from the dizzying heights they occupied in the 1950s when ‘pulpits of righteousness’ served as moral sentinels guarding against the erosion of the principles essential to victory in the Cold War.

The insertion of manifestly Christian content can also be seen in the contrasting graphic representations of both the 1946 and 1957 editions of *Magruder's*. For example, in 1946 *American Government* selected Norman Rockwell's *Freedom from Want*, one of the paintings Rockwell created to dramatically represent the Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter, to open the first chapter, entitled “Winning the Peace:”





© Curtis Publishing Company  
“FREEDOM FROM WANT”

FIGURE 5 — 1946: HOPE FOR PROSPERITY (page 3)

In 1957 the same section of the first chapter (“Strength through Union”) brings a new guest to Rockwell’s table:

***THE PROTECTION  
OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE***

From the beginning, America’s greatness has been based on an enduring belief in God. In the words of our new Pledge of Allegiance, we firmly face the future as “one nation under God.”

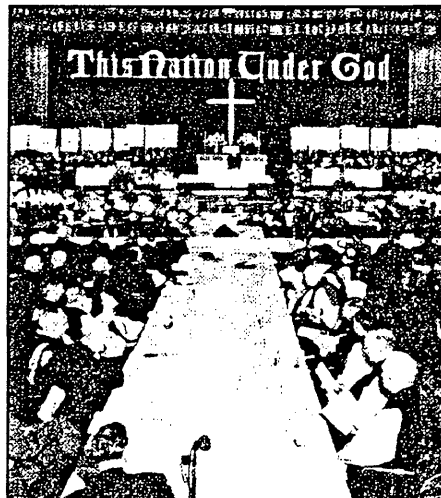


FIGURE 6 — 1957: UNDER GOD (page 11)

A third illustration of this new, overtly religious orientation within the discourse surfaces in the discussion of federal intervention at the state level involving education. In 1957 *Magruder's* explains that under the governing interpretation of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment no state's mandatory education statute can require that students attend public, secular schools rather than their parochial, religiously based equivalents. Few Constitutional scholars would argue the landmark status of the ruling itself (*Pierce v. Society of Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary*), but it was 32 years old by 1957. All told in 1957 *Magruder's* devotes approximately 600 words (four pages)<sup>5</sup> to the intricacies of the establishment clause, among them a reminder to students that recent court decisions prohibiting religious instruction in public schools under "released time"<sup>6</sup> legislation should not inform the conclusion that the United States no longer conducts its affairs 'under God.'

There is a close relationship between education and religion — each is directed toward the betterment of man. This relationship can be illustrated with a brief reference to Thomas Jefferson and Horace Mann. Jefferson was directly responsible for the 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment, and he had previously written the Statute for Religious Freedom in Virginia by which the Church of England was disestablished, thus separating church and state. However, Jefferson was not

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<sup>5</sup> In a similar vein the two examples of substantive due process provided in the 1957 edition of *Magruder's* again relate to religion and morality: *Pierce* appears once more (as an example of a ruling against state's rights), this time alongside the counter example of a Kansas bootlegging dispute from 1881 in which the Court overturned the brewer's argument that he had invested in the business before Kansas became a dry state, determining "that prohibition fell within the State's right to regulate in order to promote the public health, safety, morals, and welfare" [57:387].

<sup>6</sup> In *Zorach v. Clauson*, 343 U.S. 306 (1952), the court upheld a New York statute that permitted public school students to attend religious instruction outside the physical confines of the public school, with the written permission of their parents, during the school day. Four years earlier, in *McCullom v. Board of Education*, the court saw the opposite logistical scenario — the entry onto public school grounds of religious educators for the purposes of faith instruction — as a violation of the Establishment Clause.

disinterested in religion and once compiled the sayings of Christ from the Bible. He thought that they should be taught in every school in the land. This compilation was later published as a congressional document popularly known as the Jefferson Bible.

Practically all church-owned property and contributions to churches are exempt from taxation. Most public officials take an oath of office in the name of God. Sessions of Congress and most State legislatures are opened with prayer [57:631-632].

It should be noted that the very existence of a more vigorous jurisprudence of church-state separation in the federal court system might serve as the origin of the new emphasis on religion and public education within the 1957 discourse. However, looking back on the period now it seems almost inconceivable that a civics textbook would not see school desegregation as at least an equally revealing example of the complex, historic interplay between the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment and state governments in the 1950s. White Citizens councils throughout the South challenged *Brown* the moment Earl Warren announced the court's decision, yet the subject receives only 108 words (see "5. Twilight of Plessy" in Chapter 3). As for the historic forces of social change and challenge to prejudice that in the eyes of the high court compelled it to abandon *Plessy* in the first place, the text never touches upon the matter. The one somewhat related reference provided implies that the path to a colorblind America runs through church social halls more than those of Congress, the White House, or the courts:

The work of the early Christian missionaries from the United States is one of the reasons why there is less racial prejudice in Hawaii than in most places where Orientals and Occidentals mingle. What does the Bible teach regarding the brotherhood of man? What other reasons for the fact that racial prejudice has been a very minor problem in Hawaii can you suggest [57:364]?

Entirely new chapter sections in the 1957 edition of *Magruder's* also emphasize religious and moral themes in government leadership that cannot be found in earlier treatments of the same subjects. For example, in 1946 *American Government* records its most intimate insight into the lives of Representatives and Senators somewhat accidentally in a footnote to the procedural discussion of Congress's power to act as judge of its own elections and member qualifications:

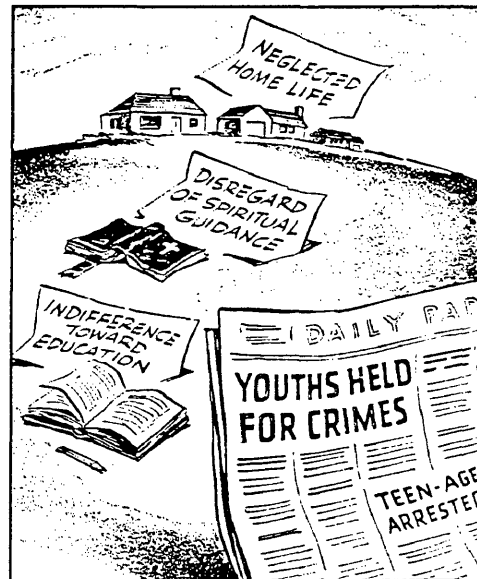
<sup>1</sup>Ruth Bryan, daughter of William Jennings Bryan, married a British subject named Owen in 1910 and resided in England until 1919, when she and her husband returned to the United States and resided in Florida. In 1925 Ruth Owen became a naturalized citizen of the United States. In 1928 she was elected to Congress from Florida. Her election was contested on the grounds that she had not been seven years a citizen just before her election. In 1930 the House Committee on Elections decided that she had been seven years a citizen, including her citizenship before marriage. Hence she was allowed to retain her seat in the House [46:94].

In 1957 an entirely new section ('The Personnel of Congress') informs students that their Representatives and Senators are for the most part married and Christian:

Nearly all Congressmen are married, few are divorced, and they have, on the average, two children. Few of them claim no church membership. In short, Congress is made up of typical upper middle-class Americans. And, on the whole, Congressmen are able and hard-working people [57:89].

As for the lingering, post-McCarthy dialogue about loyalty and dissent within the State Department or the nation as a whole, an essentially religious framework surrounds it, one that both celebrates the sound moral center the country enjoys because of its Christian foundations and laments contemporary failures to live up to its standards:

“The law of loyalty is simpler than the law of ingratiating. It is this: We love not those who do most for us, but those for whom we do most. Not gratitude but sacrifice begets loyalty. God never did a better thing for the children of men than when he threw Adam and Eve out of the Garden of Eden and told them to hustle for themselves.” — Dr. George Barton Cutten. Do you agree that loyalty comes from sacrifice rather than gratitude? Explain your answers [57:650].



*Bimrose, Portland Oregonian*

### ***THE STORY BEHIND THE HEADLINES***

A proper understanding of the background of youthful lawbreakers is one of the first steps in the fight to remedy a frightening situation.

FIGURE 7 — 1957:  
DISREGARD OF SPIRITUAL GUIDANCE (page 643)

When *Magruder's* does enter into the subject of the post-McCarthy<sup>7</sup> State Department in its eleventh chapter, it tries to connect the 1950s military build-up with both the Revolutionary generation's attitudes and religious faith:

We hope that our military and economic might will make the Soviet Union, or any other potential aggressor, realize that it would be sheer suicide to attack us. As the President has said: "Our economic and our military strength are our nation's shields — without which peace could never be preserved, nor freedom defended." In effect, we have taken a leaf from the pages of our own Revolutionary history: "Put your trust in God, my boys, and keep your powder dry" [57:209].

Even the seemingly pedestrian operations of the Treasury Department take place against a backdrop of righteous confrontation with communism: "Red China is the world's largest producer of opium and most of it peddled here comes from there. The communists use it to get American dollars and to weaken our moral fiber" [57: 227].

### **Drawing Inferences:**

#### *The Church of Cold War Americanism*

Why did the Cold War era *Magruder's* change in this fashion? The predictably obvious answer in the case of its *presidential* content— that trumpeting the Constitutional checks containing the President's sphere of influence would illustrate the fundamental difference between socialist dictatorship and capitalist democracy — does not explain the

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<sup>7</sup> In "The Problem of Loyalty" [57:662-663], *Magruder's* discusses the loyalty review program initiated under Truman in 1947, renamed the 'security-risk system' under Eisenhower. No mention is made of Hiss, the Rosenbergs, HUAC, or the Army-McCarthy hearings, but the section does state that many Americans "are genuinely concerned about the problem and seek an adequate program that will protect the government and at the same time protect the civil rights of federal employees" [57:663]. That said, nothing connects these subjects organically to Truman's loyalty program insofar as its administrative arm operated separately from, for example, the Congress.

explosive growth of its *religious* content. *We must also consider what the text might have said, but did not.* In other words, why did *Magruder's American Government* in 1957 choose to compare and contrast the Soviet and American systems the way it did? Answering this question demands at least a survey examination of the context, the “presupposition pool” within which the book appeared.

*Ike's America: Conservatism in an Age of Consensus Big Government*

In the 1950s McCleneghan inherited not only *Magruder's American Government* but with it the tradition of annual revision that set the text apart. If the momentous changes of depression and world war had rendered the task challenging in the past, the project's complexity would only grow in the 1950s. The decade eludes easy classification. Under Eisenhower, a conservative, the federal government continued to fund large public works projects reminiscent of the New Deal (e.g., the St. Lawrence Seaway Project, to which the administration committed itself in 1954 — and the interstate highway system), raised the minimum wage from 75¢ to \$1, and brought 14,000,000 new Americans under the benefits structure of unemployment insurance and Social Security payments. Thus much of the New Deal framework, particularly its regulatory legacy (the SEC, FDIC, agricultural price supports, etc.) remained politically viable in a time of renaissance conservatism that also saw the largest peace-time expansion of American armed forces in the nation's history, so much so that Eisenhower himself would retire to Pennsylvania in 1961 warning of its potentially corrupting influence. This was not the Republicanism of Harding, Coolidge, or Hoover.

For 1957's *Magruder's*, two long-standing symbols of U.S. exceptionalism — the presence of a free market (or at least the widespread perception of its infallibility) and the absence of a standing army in peacetime — had lost some of their imagined luster as a consequence, placing *American Government's* 1957 discourse in an uneasy position: many of the avenues down which it might travel to contrast the United States and the Soviet Union are blocked — not by manifest factual content but rather out of the fear that the target audience of the discourse might *interpret* that content unfavorably. Simply put, civil liberties, equal opportunity, and economic freedom all posed problems. For example, while only the thinnest of parallels in *scale* connects McCarthyist red baiting with Stalin's show trials, could a 1950s high school survey text risk drawing the *substantive* comparison between the two in so charged a political climate? *American Government's* silence may answer no. In a similar vein, few would contend that, for all its pervasive inhumanity, Jim Crow rivaled in its violence the cyclical purges of ethnic, religious, and racial minorities so common to the Soviet system, again particularly after Stalin's ascendancy. However, once more the Cold War edition of *American Government* thinks the better of placing the issue under the microscope at all. Students could have learned far more about Stalin's crimes against Soviet national or racial minorities from a transcript of Krushchev's "Secret Speech" delivered a year earlier.

Finally, the passion with which Magruder challenged students in 1946 to establish economic justice at home and abroad in the aftermath of the Great Depression and Second World War does not appear to recast itself along the lines of civil liberties or



racial equality in 1957 — or even in a perhaps “safer” discussion of poverty and homelessness.

As we have said, our capitalistic system is often referred to as the free enterprise or private enterprise system. Competition is its lifeblood. Those who are most successful under it are usually those who are able to provide the best possible product or service at the lowest possible cost.

The fact that ours is a system of *private* enterprise does *not* mean, however, that government has no part to play in it . . . . As we discuss the activities of government under these two main headings bear one thought in mind constantly. Remember that most Americans agree that government’s place in the economy should be strictly limited to those matters which it is felt are best handled by society acting as a whole rather than through the efforts of each of us acting individually [57:688].

Would emphasizing these themes — although doing so would have required a more sophisticated analysis of the issues and a greater willingness to ask controversial questions — have made it possible for *American Government* to more clearly contrast Soviet and American society?

The answer may lie elsewhere, of course. The landscape of suburban harmony with which 1950s television re-runs may color our thinking today disguises deeper levels of fragmentation in 1950s American society. Americans were moving in numbers without precedent in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a process that divided families — ironically — by an ever-expanding web of interstate highway and its offspring, tract suburban housing. Some regions of the country, like the sunbelt states, would see astounding population growth. California’s population alone would grow from 9 to 19 million between 1945 and 1964. Traditional sources of support and information, like the extended family, now operated

under strained lines of communication. Thus the rise of religious content in the civics curriculum may have as much to do with a desire to strengthen traditional values in the face of social change as it does with anti-communism. Youth delinquency and the fear of immoral radio and television programming appeared as major subjects of Congressional inquiry during this time, as well. In 1950, Senator Ed Johnson of Colorado went so far as to raise the subject of Ingrid Bergman's adulterous affair with screenwriter and director Roberto Rossellini on the Senate floor (Hoerrner, 1999), at the same time requesting that a *Washington Times-Herald* article on violence in radio programs be added to the Congressional Record, the first spark in a series of speeches and hearings throughout the decade exploring the possible relationship between youth delinquency and immoral mass entertainment. Perhaps in response, Dial-a-prayer and the first Billy Graham crusades date from this period, and films like *Ben Hur* and *The Ten Commandments* scored major box office successes — with an audience whose members would claim membership in an organized church or synagogue 70% of the time by 1959. Only 49% had done so in 1940.

## Conclusions

The hypothesis that the Cold War transformed coverage of the Constitution and Bill of Rights is thus turned on its head. Students read much the same material in 1957 that their older brothers and sisters encountered in 1946, but the *text* approached questions of economic inequality and free speech guarantees somewhat more gingerly than it had in the past. More significantly the findings clearly indicate that in their absence *American Government* summoned the aid of a Christian *subtext* to articulate its

message. Doing so drew a far more elegant contrast with Soviet communism than any secular theme could have hoped to establish, but at the cost of denying students and teachers textbook support for a meaningful dialogue about the newly won powers of the Presidency, the paradox of free market capitalism in an age of vastly expanded government regulation, and perhaps America's continuing struggle to fully disown its historical inheritance of institutionalized racial prejudice. Many of the difficult questions posed by pre-Cold War editions of *Magruder's* survived, of course, but the country's newfound place in the struggle against communism wove them inside an overtly religious identification of Cold War Americanism with Christianity.

Determining why this took place is no easy task, but it seems plausible that the explosive growth of Christian references within the text may indicate a fear that reliance on pre-Cold War secular themes— if presented in detail — would have encrypted the patriotic message of the discourse and invited awkward student questions that in some cases, like civil rights, had gnawed at the margins of the American democratic experiment since at least Reconstruction. Thus if the United States intended to shine as the polestar of resistance to international communism, it needed God not only on “America's side” but also *inside* its civic discourse with young people.

## CHAPTER 6

### FUTURE RESEARCH

Having established the potential plasticity of the civics curriculum over the three decades of *Magruder's* considered here, the next project looming before scholars may well be a wider casting of the net, one that captures not only other textbooks and a greater range of editions, but also geographic influences on civics content. All of these tasks will require that we wade through the statistical morass of sales statistics, when available, for vanished publishing houses. Some of the historical implications of the findings presented here may yield valuable insights, but not all the questions raised speak only to the past.

#### *Religion in the Civics Curriculum*

The struggle of large-scale religious movements to assimilate new ideas has characterized entire periods in American history. The First Great Awakening of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, which in part gave voice to concerns over the arrival of Enlightenment science and rationalism in colonial North America, arguably inaugurated a pattern of cyclical religious revivalism that has accompanied the United States throughout its history. Given the obvious desire of publishers to sell textbooks in both the public and parochial school markets, their approach to religious issues might reveal in more precise terms — as *Magruder's American Government* apparently does — the forces behind these pendulum shifts in popular religious attitudes.

### *Considering 1996*

The 1996 edition of *Magruder's* predictably bears little resemblance to its predecessors (although its discussion of Anti-Federalism remains much the same). The most noticeable additions involve civil rights content (an entire 26-page chapter now addresses the subject), but the debate over presidential powers or free speech rights during wartime all undergo a dramatic expansion, as well. Gone is the Cold War thematic device of connecting America's mission to explicitly Christian themes. The chapter describing religious freedom now features a photograph of a Jewish *bar mitzvah* and a Hindu vaishnavite. A new structural device, "Debating Key Issues," presents students with an historic Supreme Court decision at the close of each chapter. These include an impressive battery of controversial opinions:

- *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier*
- *Gregg v. Georgia*
- *South Dakota v. Elizabeth H. Dole*
- *Feiner v. New York*
- *New York Times v. U.S.*
- *Tennessee Valley Authority v. Hill*
- *Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. U.S.*
- *Rostker v. Goldberg*
- *United States v. Nixon*
- *Korematsu v. U.S.*
- *Mueller v. Allen*
- *New Jersey v. TLO*
- *Tinker v. Des Moines*
- *Gideon v. Wainwright*
- *University of California v. Bakke*
- *Board v. Barnette*

Appropriately enough, these invitations to “debate key issues” pay homage to Frank Magruder’s original discussion questions from 1917, but they employ a device whose actual impact on the exchange of ideas in the classroom may be negative; each case’s narrative description concludes with three arguments for each side of the classroom debate. For example, in the case of *Korematsu* and Japanese internment,

1996

**Arguments for Korematsu**

1. Executive Order 9066 denied Korematsu his liberty without due process, in violation of the 5<sup>th</sup> Amendment.
2. Martial law had not been declared in the area; therefore, the President could not give the military power to regulate civilian conduct.
3. The exclusion order provided for a race-based classification; the Constitution forbids such arbitrary classifications.

**Arguments for the United States**

1. The potential for espionage and sabotage justified this denial of liberty to American citizens.
2. War had been declared. The President, as commander in chief, had the authority to issue such orders to the military.
3. The United States had been attacked by Japan, and it was logical that people of Japanese ancestry were suspect. Race-based prejudice was not involved here [96:369].

The presence of these arguments likely adds historical depth to the classroom dialogue they describe, but their very appearance in the text also denies students the opportunity to formulate these and other arguments on their own, as if the text were governed by the implicit assumption that students do not possess the ability to apply their understanding of the Constitution and Bill of Rights to real world dilemmas. A caption beneath Ernest Chrichlow’s *White Fence* in the civil rights chapter explains that the painting “symbolizes the barriers of prejudice that separate African-American children

from opportunities that are available to white children. The flowers surrounding the children symbolize those opportunities” [96:552]. Once again, the text assumes that students cannot draw these inferences on their own, or would not ask their teacher if presented with the image absent the explanation of its symbolic meaning.

Thus somewhat paradoxically the manifest content of *Magruder’s American Government* in 1996 supplies students with a far more robust dialogue on the central questions of American constitutionalism while simultaneously structuring its presentation of that content in a way that may not foster the spirited classroom interchanges among students the book’s authors likely intend. Classroom teachers and textbook authors would benefit enormously from a sustained research inquiry into this question of the proper balance between textbook content and student classroom participation.

*“Please click below to select a desired curriculum for your son or daughter ...”*

A related and perhaps more pressing inquiry involves the future of the textbook itself. As voucher initiatives, home-based instruction, and charter schools gather momentum, a new desire for social studies texts that cater to specific interest groups, religious or otherwise, may mature alongside a technological and media revolution that will perfectly accommodate its demands. Combined with CD-ROMs or some other interactive media — already seductively more affordable than textbooks — one could easily imagine state legislatures, school boards, parents or teachers “configuring” desired curricula with a computer mouse-click in the same way that cable television consumers select the most politically palatable 24-hour news source. The state education standards movement already articulates for publishers the desires of the institutional textbook

consumer. (See FIGURE 8 for a demonstration of the movement in this direction thus far; Prentice Hall's textbook companion web site already queries for the visiting teacher's state). One need look no further than the page v of Prentice Hall's 1996 *Magruder's American Government* to see the trend at work. Texas and California alone account for nine of the book's eleven advisers (see FIGURE 9).

If *Magruder's American Government* seems overly welcoming to Texas and California in its advisory decisions, it does not apparently open the door as wide to influences from academia. Most of its consultants work at the high school level. Yet in a hopeful collision of trends, recently political scientists have once again awakened an old argument about contributions they might make at the secondary level. Bennett (1999), for example, argues for much greater involvement on the part of political science professors at high schools, but he does so in challenge to the criticism that the demand to

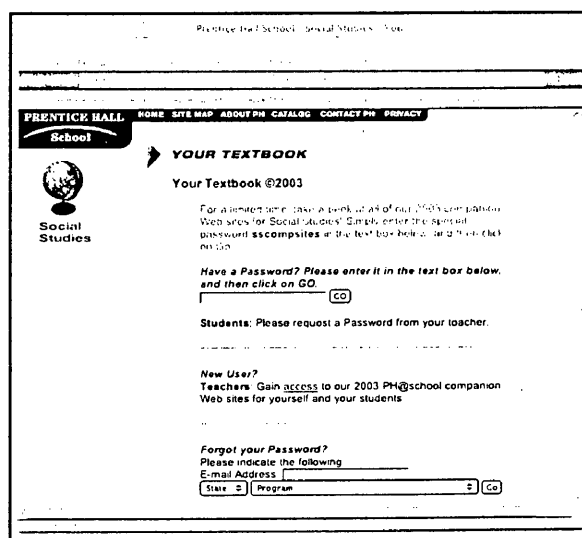


FIGURE 8 —  
PRENTICE HALL'S TEXTBOOK  
COMPANION WEB SITE



<b>PROGRAM REVIEWERS AND ADVISORS</b>	
<b>Barbara C. Adams</b>	Government Teacher Coronado High School Lubbock, Texas
<b>Thomas Bass</b>	Chairman, Political Science Department University of St. Thomas Houston, Texas
<b>William J. Bialobrzeski</b>	Political Science Instructor Southgate Anderson High School Southgate, Michigan
<b>Connie Hankins</b>	Government Teacher Miami Carol City High School Miami, Florida
<b>Melva Ruth Jones</b>	Teacher / Social Studies Department Chair Lincoln High School Dallas, Texas
<b>William E. Law</b>	AP Government Teacher Morse High School San Diego, California
<b>James I. Malone</b>	Government Teacher Rancho Buena Vista High School Vista, California
<b>Dick Parsons</b>	Government Teacher El Dorado High School Placerville, California
<b>Ninfa Anita Sepulveda</b>	Social Studies Department Chairperson S.F. Austin Senior High School Houston, Texas
<b>Dr. Shelly K. Singer</b>	Divisional Chair, Social Studies / Foreign Language Larkin High School Elgin, Illinois
<b>Ellen Stone</b>	Government Teacher McAllen High School McAllen, Texas

FIGURE 9 —  
THE IMPACT OF STATE ADOPTION STANDARDS  
ON TEXTBOOK DEVELOPMENT?

“publish or perish” (or at least “research and remain”) will always thwart attempts to develop effective systems of collaboration between high schools and colleges or universities. Comprehensive research into the social, economic, and political forces that drive civics textbook and curriculum development may provide a mechanism for both the secondary and post-secondary communities to benefit.

## APPENDIX A: STUDENT DISCOURSE

Because all of the texts considered in this study were purchased from various used book collections in the United States, it quickly became apparent that the students who once used them had left behind a unique archival pleasure — the notes they furtively wrote one another during lecture — buried between the pages of the textbooks they dutifully carried to and from school. The following yellowed piece of paper emerged from the center of the 1939 *Magruder's*. Its reference to the “hearings” seems to indicate that one of its student authors was hearing-impaired. The commentary with which the note concludes reveals with unwitting elegance and sophistication the complex task with which representative democracy confronts civics educators (see FIGURE 10).

What is your nationality?

German - I was born in Germany (Germany).  
My nationality is to Swedish, & German and  
I speak Swedish.

I bet you glad your graduations - I graduate  
next summer.

I am going to Wayne State University. Are  
you going to college?

No, I am going to go to the British Business  
School. (I hope)

Your name is [redacted]  
came from German name, [redacted]

How do you like our ~~country~~ teacher?

I don't know because I don't listen to all  
teachers. I don't have much attitude toward  
teachers as his hearings have. I study in  
the book all by myself without teaching.  
Because I can't understand or I read the teacher.

He is also German, and I guess he used to be  
in Congress. Really, I don't know that. He is  
more likely a Republican or a Democrat?  
I hate hard to say, he never favors either side, but  
this being a teacher I guess he can't.

FIGURE 10 —

STUDENT DISCOURSE

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