THE IMAGE OF AFRICA
AS PRESENTED IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS 1800 TO 1965

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

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Angene Wilson

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

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by Angene Wilson

This study attempts to delineate the image of Africa as it has been presented in the American schools. The classroom picture of Africa is reconstructed with analyses of a sample of geography and history textbooks and encyclopedias published between 1800 and 1965 as a basis.

Chapter I explains what schoolbooks wrote about African character and culture. The image of the violent yet indolent black savage is traced from the lively description of the cannibal Giages in the first American geography through the environmental determinists' explanations for the lazy Negro to the twentieth century textbook journeys up the Congo River to see the Pgymies. Special attention is given to the contribution of pictures in the formation of an American image of the African.

Chapter II describes the image of physical geography by concentrating on the myths propagated about unhealthy climate, jungle, fertile soil, and animals. Recent texts, however, are shown to have more accurate geographical information.

In Chapter III the image of the history of Africa is considered. Analyses of history texts show a bias of omission with information limited to North Africa and, in subsaharan Africa, to European

exploration and colonization and perhaps new nations.

Finally, Chapter IV looks at the current image of Africa by discussing attitudes toward Africa of present-day secondary school pupils and by studying new trade books and new curricula concerning Africa. The treatment of Africa in a century and a half of American schoolbooks is summarized and suggestions are offered for the road to a new and more objective image of Africa.

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By

Angene Wilson

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PREFACE

The image of Africa as presented in American schools first became a concern to me when I was teaching world history in Liberia with a text published in the United States, the same text I had studied in the tenth grade. Only the story of Livingstone and Stanley exploring the Dark Continent was available to show Liberian students how Africa fit into the history of the world. They had learned about the Pygmies, as strange to them as to Americans, in the elementary geography. Their secondary geography book, also published in the United States, devoted several pages to Africa under the British Commonwealth.

When I returned to the states and began talking to elementary and secondary pupils and teachers, I realized anew that Livingstone and Stanley, the Pygmies, and the British Commonwealth plus Tarzan and Dr. Schweitzer were the major components of the American image of Africa. I also became aware of the effect which this traditional image of Africa and Africans has had on Negro Americans and on white Americans' attitudes about Negro Americans. Thus the idea for this thesis was born: to expose the image by searching for its origins.

Obviously, the classroom is only one place where attitudes are molded. The home is another: one student of mine had learned about South Africa from her father who was stationed there during the war while another student had relatives in Africa. For children who attend Sunday School, the missionary talks have helped shape the

image of Africa. The communications media, particularly movies and television, have also helped to form attitudes. The experiences with and impact of the home, church, and communications media differ among individuals, however. For this reason, I chose to stick rather closely to material about Africa which was and is presented in the classroom.

For locating textbooks, encyclopedias, and trade books, I wish to acknowledge the help of librarians at Cleveland Public Library. The specific titles for the sample came from books on old texts for those before 1900 and from catalogues published by the National Council for Social Studies for those after 1900. The discovery of present-day attitudes of some students toward Africa was possible because of cooperation from fellow ex-Peace Corps volunteers Rich and Julie Bringleson in Lincoln, Nebraska and Bill Mygdahl in Houston, Texas. I am grateful to Lakewood High School, Lakewood, Ohio for allowing me to give a test on attitudes toward Africa to all the tenth grade world history classes. A summer school class which I taught at Lakewood and classes to whom I spoke in Cleveland and Willowick, Ohio provided more student comments. The Greater Cleveland Educational Research Council was kind enough to give me names of social studies teachers at their member schools so I might send out a questionnaire on curricula. The Council also gave me samples of their new materials.

Finally, I want to recognize my husband who encouraged me to finish my master's degree and my small daughter who slept enough so I could.

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CHAPTER I

ARE THE PEOPLE STILL SO VIOLENT?

The American Image of African Character and Culture

The most curious animals are the human animals -
the black people.

A Child's Geography of the World, 1929

"Are the people still so violent?" Mr. Goldberg asked. The retired plumber next door had last read about Africa in the newspapers in 1964 during the dramatic airlift of whites from the eastern Congo. His question came not only from the headline "Congo Massacre" but also from a more deeply rooted image of Africans.

Harold Isaacs suggests in The New World of Negro Americans "that the systematic debasement and self-debasement of the Negro in this white world has begun with or been underpinned by the image the Negro child has gotten of the naked, savage, uncivilized African."[1] Equally tragic is the fact that white child's feeling of superiority to the Negro child has also begun with the image of the savage black.

The idea of the violent African is one part of the image of Africa taught in American schools from 1800 to very recent years. The word "savage" alone conjures up clubs and spears and thus primitive battle. It does not seem to have occurred to textbook writers that an African could perform little violence with his spear, even when organized into regiments by Chaka, compared to the violence of an atomic bomb dropped by Americans on Hiroshima or even to the violence of earlier European, white wars.

Goodrich, author of the Pictorial Geography of the World, published in 1842, emphasized the petty wars which constantly engulfed

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[1]Harold Isaacs, The New World of Negro Americans, (New York: Viking Press, 1963), p. 161.

the tribes.[2] A century later, textbook writers still wrote about Africans fighting among themselves and about hostile tribes who blocked the way of explorers and colonists.[3] The 1929 edition of Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia has a picture of a "fierce Zulu who is now a policeman keeping law and order instead of stirring up trouble." The Zulus were the greatest obstacle to settlement, says Compton's, because the characteristic of intelligence, rather than the "usual child-like simplicity of the Negro, was allied with the characteristic of ferocity."[4]

The Mau Mau provide the current example of African violence and savagery, although Kenya is often covered in recent texts without reference to the Mau Mau. A 1957 geography discusses the "armed uprising of the Mau Mau whose object is the expulsion of the white man". The authors admit the whites behaved badly but declare that expulsion is not the answer.[5] Another textbook team (1959) writes: "The natives, faced again with starvation and accustomed to getting what they wanted by force, have attempted to push out the European settlers." They say that the only solution is increased use of modern farming methods, for even if the Europeans left, there would not be enough land for the Africans.[6] A 1961 text states that the Mau Mau burned many homes and killed many

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[2]Samuel Goodrich, A Pictorial Geography of the World, (Boston: Otis, Broaders and Co., 1840), p. 826.

[3]Frederick K. Branom and Helen M. Ganey, Geography of our World, (New York: William H. Sadler, 1939), p. 165.

[4]"Africa", Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia, (Chicago: 1929), Vol. I, p. 37.

[5]Norman Pounds and Edward Cooper, World Geography, (Cincinnati: Southwestern, 1957), p. 578.

[6]Preston E. James and Nelda Davis, The Wide World, (New York: Macmillan, 1959), p. 458.

Europeans.[7] One hesitates to predict how the Congo war, particularly the 1964 "massacre" will be interpreted in future texts. Is it too much to hope that the deaths of Congolese as well as of Europeans will be mentioned?

Paradoxically, some authors offered the fact that Africans fought among themselves as a reason for the backwardness of Africa[8] and for the scramble for Africa[9] while other authors lauded boldness and bravery in fighting as qualities in some African peoples. One encyclopedia (1929) mentioned the Sudanic Negroes' warlike character as an obstacle to the white man; these Negroes were also described as being more civilized than other Africans.[10] The most powerful and warlike Africans were the Ashanti, wrote Goodrich (1840).[11] Mitchell, whose geographies were popular in the second half of the nineteenth century, also singled out the Ashanti. He admired the Dahomeans and the successors to the Monomotapa empire, describing them as "warlike and ferocious". Kanem rated the bravest soldiers.[12]

Wars, however, are not the only proof textbooks offer of the African's violent nature. Certain customs enhance the image, of which cannibalism is the most reviled. Jedidiah Morse's geography, first published in 1784, described the Giages, said to inhabit the

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[7]Harold D. Drummond, The Eastern Hemisphere, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1961), p. 299.

[8]Branom, p. 165.

[9]Walter Wallbank, Man's Story, (Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1956), p. 512.

[10]Compton's, p. 37.

[11]Goodrich, p. 826.

[12]S. Augustus Mitchell, A System of Modern Geography, (Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait and Co., 1853), p. 319.

Congo coast. They were cannibals who killed and ate their first-born children. Persons who died were eaten by their relatives.[13] The International Cyclopedia of 1892 stated that cannibalism was prevalent from the west coast to the great lakes.[14] By 1911 the area was confined to the Congo.[15] The cannibal image appears again in a child's geography published in 1929, 1935 and 1951 editions. The author says that the black people are cannibals who would kill and eat any white man they caught.[16]

The inhabitants of Guinea showed their violent nature in a custom of getting rid of their king. Morse wrote:

> In Eyo (Oyo) where the people are governed by a king who is not absolute, when they are tired of him a deputation waits on him and informs him that it is fatiguing for him to bear the burdens of government any longer, advising him to take a little rest. He thanks them and retires to his apartment as if to sleep and directs his women to strangle him; and after he expires, they destroy all things which belonged to him or to themselves and then kill one another. His son succeeds to the government on the same terms.[17]

In the 1812 edition of his geography, Morse described the capital punishments of the Abyssinians: crucifixion, flaying alive, stoning, and plucking out eyes.[18] Olney, in his 1831 geography, stated that the Abyssinians are "extremely barbarous and brutal and fond of

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[13]Clifton Johnson, Old Time Schools and School Books, (New York: Macmillan, 1904), p. 340.

[14]"Africa", International Cyclopedia, (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1892), Vol. I, p. 139.

[15]"Africa", Everybody's Cyclopedia, Charles Leonard-Stuart and George J. Hager, ed., (New York: Syndicate Publishing, 1911), Vol. I, no page numbers.

[16]V. M. Hillyer, A Child's Geography of the World, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1929), p. 418.

[17]Johnson, p. 340.

[18]Jedidiah Morse, Geography Made Easy, (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1812), p. 345.

eating raw flesh cut from the living animal". But in his text, the characteristic of violence was not limited to black Africans. The Arabs are "treacherous and ferocious" and the people of the Barbary states are "rapacious and cruel".[19]

The words "savage", "cannibal", and "barbarian" have denoted a violent African, but another, completely opposite image of the African has also been taught to American school children. On the one hand, a black savage with ring in his nose and loincloth hanging from his waist danced around the missionary boiling in the pot. On the other, the black African has been depicted as so lazy, indolent, and unintelligent that his very backwardness allowed the Europeans to do as they liked on the continent. The African "native" has been labeled the Caliban, the European colonist the Prospero.

In the section of geographical definitions and questions at the beginning of Mitchell's geography (1853), number 203 asks: " What are the complexion and habits of the people of the torrid zone?" The answer is: "Dark or black, indolent and effeminate." Number 204 asks: "What is their character?" The answer: "Seldom distinguished for industry, enterprise or learning."[20] Although Goodrich used the word "warlike" to describe several specific peoples, he generalized about the African in his introduction. "They are indolent, harmless, easy and friendly in their disposition."[21] In his Common School History (1838), Goodrich labeled the Negro a cheerful race which spends much

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[19]J. A. Olney, A Practical System of Modern Geography, (Hartford: D. F. Robinson, 1831), pp. 239,240,228.

[20]Mitchell, p. 39.

[21]Goodrich, p. 826.

time in amusements.[22]

American textbooks, from the period just before the Civil War until World War I, tried to explain why the African was so unintelligent and lazy. Frye (1895) simply said that African peoples differed in intelligence as well as in language and custom. He believed the Sudanese man was more intelligent than other Africans.[23] Guyot (1873) thought that the Sudanese, although he had black skin and coarse features, still had a face which indicated a lively intelligence.[24]

Various authors believed that the torrid zone was not favorable to mental development. Maury (1890) stated that "the moral and intellectual status of the Negro in his native land is low. When brought into contact, however, with the Caucasian race, he shows himself capable of no inconsiderable elevation."[25] Tarr (1904) explained that in the tropical zone needs were met with only a slight effort so there was little cause for work. Further, the climate was unfavorable to work. Under such conditions, he said, man resembled animals in being content with bare necessities. Being so easily satisfied, he could not advance far in civilization. That is why the most uncivilized people were found in the tropics. Although these people lived in the most primitive way as lazy, unintelligent, superstitious animals practicing such customs as cannibalism, they could advance under the influence of civilization.

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[22]Samuel Goodrich, Peter Parley's Common School History, (Philadelphia: William Marshall and Co., 1838), p. 80.

[23]Alexis Everett Frye, Grammar School Geography, (Boston: Ginn, 1895), p. 182

[24]Arnold Guyot, Physical Geography, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1873), p. 116.

[25]M. F. Maury, Physical Geography, (New York: University Publishing Co., 1890), p. 117.

Thus, Tarr sought to show that only the tropical conditions kept the African so primitive.[26] In another geography book, Tarr (1901) summed up his case briefly: "Amid the tropics, the savage is master, but his mastery cost so little effort and his livelihood was so secure, that he did not advance as rapidly as those who were placed amid the greater difficulties of the temperate zone."[27]

This view continued after World War I, partly as an argument for colonialism. A world history text published in 1927 explained that Africa lacked strong government and intelligent labor because the native Negroes were indolent and lazy as a result of the hot climate. Thus because the Africans were backward, the Europeans set out to develop the abundant natural resources.[28] Another author (1943) wrote: "The Negroes were for the most part backward and lazy, as well as being frequently quarrelsome and so nearly the whole of Africa has come under the rule of European nations."[29] Goodrich (1840) had stated much earlier that the Africans' "timidity and gentleness were part of the reason for slavery."[30]

Frye's New Geography, published in 1917, described the Negro in central Africa. He makes a garden but it doesn't need much care. To get food, he simply has to gather fruit, or hunt, or fish. He doesn't

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[26]Ralph S. Tarr, New Physical Geography, (New York: Macmillan, 1904), p. 385.

[27]Ralph S. Tarr, First Book of Physical Geography, (New York: Macmillan, 1901), p. 180.

[28]J. Lynn Barnard and Agnew O. Roorbach, Epochs of World Progress, (New York: Henry Holt, 1927), p. 611.

[29]L. Dudley Stamp, The World, (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1943), p. 552.

[30]Goodrich, Geography, p. 826.

need much clothing. His hut is made of poles and grass. He cooks outdoors and eats and sleeps on a mat. He makes some pottery and iron tools. He wears rings on his arms and ankles. (The African thinks they are pretty, said Frye.) The people get all they need without much work. "But," wrote Frye, "it is by working that we learn to think. The black savage leads a lazy life because the sun is hot and the air is very damp. The earth furnishes him too much."[31]

Chamberlain's explanation (1921) for the lazy Negro was similar:

> In humid parts of the tropical zone, Nature is so lavish that man does not need to struggle to secure a living. Wild and cultivated products of the soil furnish an abundance of food. Requirements for clothing and shelter are limited. Vegetation grows at all seasons. Therefore there is no period for which provision must be made in advance. Conditions do not develop thrift but foster indolence.[32]

This description of the lazy African was applied more frequently to the men than to the women. A 1944 geography stated that "enough cotton could be grown for Britain's needs if the natives could be induced to apply themselves to regular work. Like so many primitive peoples the men are content to leave the routine drudgery of providing a living to their womenfolk."[33] The 1929 Compton's Encyclopedia had a picture of two women with head loads. The caption read: "Most heavy work is done by the women." The suggestion is made that the more muscular wife can then rule her house by might over her idle husband.[34]

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[31]Alexis Everett Frye, New Geography, (Boston: Ginn, 1917), p. 13.

[32]James F. Chamberlain, Geography, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1921), p. 4.

[33]Leonard O. Packard and Bruce Overton and Ben Wood, Our Air Age World, (New York: Macmillan, 1944), p. 720.

[34]Compton's, p. 38.

Becker (1931) suggested that the "natives found it easier to serve in the army than to work."[35] The women are less important than the men and so do more work in the half-civilized African tribes, wrote the author of Children of Our World (1949).[36]

That the characteristics of violence and indolence have been so important in the American image of the African can be partially explained by the kind of questions people asked and still ask about Africa. Philip Curtin, in the conclusion of his book, The Image of Africa, says that Europeans and Americans did not ask "What is Africa like and what manner of men live there?" but rather "How does Africa and how do Africans fit into what we already know about the world?" The image of Africa was created in Europe and America to suit European and American needs.[37] Thus when traders and explorers and missionaries wrote about Africa and when textbook writers wrote about Africa, they usually picked out the unusual, the strange, the queer. When they described the different customs of African peoples they often adopted a patronizing or amused tone.

African religion was perhaps least understood. Goodrich (1840) stated that "many negro tribes live in the most degraded state, without government, without any religion but the most absurd superstitions, without the decencies and proprieties of life, naked and without habitations." The Ashanti seem to be an exception since he explained that some

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[35]Carl L. Becker, Modern History, (New York: Silver Burdett, 1931), p. 597.

[36]Frances Carpenter, Children of Our World, (New York: American Book, 1949), p. 167.

[37]Philip Curtin, The Image of Africa, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), pp. 479-80.

know the Koran and some have a notion of a Supreme Being. The Ashanti also throw drink on the ground as an offering to the dead.[38]

Ordinarily, not that much space was devoted to explaining African religion. Goodrich simply wrote that the Africans worshipped idols in his history book.[39] Morse (1812) reported that the Congolese worshipped the sun, moon, stars and animals, but that the Portuguese had made many converts.[40] Another nineteenth century writer (1853) called Africans "pagans" and described fetishism as "the worship of snakes, lizards and other disgusting things".[41] The Encyclopedia Americana in its 1836 edition spoke of the "most disgusting fetichism and human sacrifices".[42] The 1875 Encyclopedia Britannica called Africans "heathens" but explained that missionaries were "turning the people from their idols to the living God".[43] A paragraph in the 1892 International Cyclopedia on religion commended Islam's beneficial influence in suppressing cannibalism and shaking the faith of the natives in the medicine man. Elsewhere, however, stated the Cyclopedia, "progress is barred by all-prevailing fetishism and the baneful practice of witchcraft".[44] Everybody's Cyclopedia, published in 1911, reported that the great proportion of Africans are "heathens of the lowest type".[45] The Americana of 1914 used the same words, but added

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[38]Goodrich, Geography, p. 826.
[39]Goodrich, History, p. 15.
[40]Morse, p. 347.
[41]Mitchell, p. 316.
[42]"Africa", Encyclopedia Americana, 1836, Vol. I, p. 90.
[43]"Africa", Encyclopedia Britannica, 1875, Vol. I, p. 265.
[44]International Cyclopedia, p. 139.
[45]Everybody's Cyclopedia, no page number.

that Islam was spreading rapidly and that the labor of missionaries was promising.[46]

Missionaries, especially David Livingstone, usually found a place in the history books. A 1953 geography called Albert Schweitzer the "greatest man in the world".[47] Biographies of Schweitzer appeared on the reading lists in many textbooks. But understanding of the traditional African religion was still lacking. A history published in 1940 spoke of the backward African belief in nature and ancestor worship.[48] A 1961 text describes the old African religion as having many gods and spirits.[49] In 1962, however, the description of African religion came full circle with Stavrianos' Global History of Man. The extensive unit on Africa explains that Africans were highly developed in politics, human relations, and religion and describes the African concept of the wholeness of life.

> Working life was not separated from leisure in hard-and-fast hours. Art was not a separate activity but a way of making more lovely the things one would do anyway. Religion did not happen in church but rather was in the land and all the mysterious forces that made things happen in the world about. Land was not a thing which could be mapped or sold. Like the air a man breathed, land was part of the universe to be used by the group for the good of all its people.[50]

Abyssinian religion was mentioned separately by the American schoolbooks. The first geography book by Morse described the religion as "a mixture of Christianity, Judaism and paganism, the two latter

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[46]"Africa", Encyclopedia Americana, 1914, Vol. I, no page numbers.

[47]Packard, p. 464.

[48]Louise I. Capen, Across the Ages, (New York: American Book, 1940), p. 64.

[49]Cooper, The Changing Old World, p. 395.

[50]Leften S. Stavrianos, ed. A Global History of Man, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1962), p. 49.

of which are by far the most predominant". He continued:

> There are here more churches than in any other country and though it is very mountainous and consequently the view much obstructed, it is very seldom you see less than five or six churches. Every great man when he dies, thinks he has atoned for all his wickedness if he leaves a fund to build a church or has one built in his lifetime. The churches are full of pictures slovenly painted on parchment and nailed upon the walls. There is no choice in their saints, they are of the Old and New Testament, and those that might be dispensed with from both. There is St. Pontius Pilate and his wife; there is St. Balaam and his ass; Samson and his jaw bone and so of the rest.[51]

Goodrich's geography (1840) classified the Abyssinians as members of the Greek Christian church.[52] Olney (1831) stated that the Abyssinians professed Christianity but more in name than reality.[53] According to A System of Modern Geography (1853), the Abyssinians practiced a corrupt kind of Christianity intermixed with Jewish rites and ceremonies.[54] Half a century later, however, one textbook writer (1911) gave the Abyssinians credit for being not only Christian but Caucasian as well.[55] The Encyclopedia Britannica of 1875 called Abyssinian Christianity debased and degraded.[56] A 1934 edition of the National Encyclopedia decided the Abyssinian form of Christianity was semi-civilized but corrupt.[57]

Religion was not the only thing that puzzled those who looked

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[51]Johnson, p. 335.
[52]Goodrich, Geography, p. 859.
[53]Olney, p. 239.
[54]Mitchell, p. 315.
[55]Charles Redway Dryer, High School Geography, (New York: American Book Co., 1911), p. 499.
[56]Encyclopedia Britannica, p. 260.
[57]"Africa", National Encyclopedia, Henry Suzzallo, ed., (New York: P. F. Collier, 1934), p. 22.

at Africa through their own spectacles. The nineteenth century writers had a great interest in manners and customs and were not afraid to attach descriptive adjectives in their evaluation of the various African peoples.

Olney (1831) described the Hottentots as ignorant, stupid and filthy people who build their houses in a circular form to make a court for their cattle. The same author said that Benin is inhabited by industrious and humane people. (His text was obviously published long before the so-called Benin Massacre.) His descriptions do not seem racially biased. He called the Barbary state inhabitants ignorant, rapacious, and cruel and long noted for piracy and political debasement. The Arabs are treacherous, intemperate, and ferocious, but the Hausa are intelligent and the Ashanti are the most powerful, civilized and commercial kingdom in West Africa.[58]

Goodrich (1840) did not limit his critical remarks to black Africans either. He wrote about peculiar dances and fat women as strange Arab customs which would seem ridiculous in polished nations. His description of the Dutch in South Africa was a little kinder: they are more ignorant than depraved. The Hottentots are filthy, indolent and make good slaves, and the Bushmen are the lowest grade of human nature.[59] Morse (1812) had earlier described the Hottentots in greater detail.

> They are the most abject of the human race. They besmear their bodies with soot and grease, live upon

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[58]Olney, pp. 236, 234, 228, 240, 233.
[59]Goodrich, Geography, pp. 856, 830.

> carrion, old leather, shoes and everything of the most loathsome kind; dress themselves in sheep's skins, untanned, turning the wool to their flesh in the winter and the other side in the summer. Their dress serves them for a bed at night, a covering by day and for a winding sheet when they die.[60]

West Africans received a higher rating from Goodrich than South Africans. The palace of the Ashanti was described with emphasis on the chairs and stools embossed with gold. The king was reported to have 3,333 wives. The art of smelting iron was known although there was no metal manufacture. Goodrich tried to explain the meaning of palavers and noted that the people bathed daily. The Bornu cavalrymen were described, using Denham as a source of information: they wore loose robes covered with mail and iron plate; the belly protruded and the head was mishapen by the wadding wound around it. Goodrich thought the people ugly, simple, and good-natured with no intellectual culture. He noted interesting facts about other Sudanese areas. There were seven markets in Eyeo (probably Oyo). Soccatoo (Sokoto) had regular, well-built streets and many mosques. In Loggun, an iron coin was used and an indigo cloth was woven.[61]

Customs interested another geography textbook writer of the nineteenth century, too. Mitchell (1853) agreed with Goodrich that the Ashanti were the most important native state in west Africa and that they possessed some of the comforts of civilization, including a well-built capital, but the "horrid" custom of sacrificing human beings

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[60]Johnson, p. 341.
[61]Goodrich, Geography, pp. 847-48, 838-41.

at the king's death concerned him. In Dahomey, he reported, there were women in the army. In Benin, the king was considered a god. Mitchell allowed that the capital, "for a Negro town, was remarkably clean". Also in West Africa, the Yoruba were called the most improved and industrious of all Negroes. Although the Hottentots were described as dirty and ugly and ignorant and the Bushmen as naked and residents of holes in the ground, other South Africans received more favorable descriptions. The Zulu had fine herds of cattle, the Kaffirs were athletic and vigorous, and the Bechuanas dwelled in towns and had made some progress in the arts and in agriculture. Monomotapa was reported to have once been an important empire though it was now occupied by the Maravis who were warlike plunderers.[62]

History, particularly world history, was a rarely taught subject in American schools until the twentieth century, but the few existing nineteenth century histories had little to say about Africa, except for ancient Egypt. Goodrich stated the reason in his Common School History, a reason which is still accepted by most people today. "Most of the other regions of Africa can hardly be said to have any history."[63] But Goodrich did wish to say something about the black Africans and so he picked a fable, "the prettiest of all fables", he said, about the Pgymies.

> These little people were said to be about a foot high and were believed to dwell near the source of the river Nile. Their houses were built something like birds' nests and their building materials were clay,

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[62]Mitchell, pp. 319, 21-23.
[63]Goodrich, History, p. 94.

> feathers and egg shells. These Pygmies used to wage terrible wars with the cranes. An immense army of them would set out on an expedition, some mounted on rams and goats and others on foot. When an army of the Pygmies encountered an army of the cranes, great valor was displayed on both sides. The cranes would rush forward to the charge flapping their wings and sometimes one of them would snatch up a Pygmy in his beak and carry him away captive. But the Pygmies brandished their little swords and spears and generally succeeded in putting the army to flight. Whenever they had a chance, they would break the eggs of the cranes and kill the unfledged young ones without mercy.[64]

From 1860 until after the first world war, most geographies turned to considerations of physical features of the continent and rarely discussed the customs of Africans unless they were proving the influence of environment on man. Thus, Dryer (1911) explained that "clothing was at an irreducible minimum, a scanty skin or cotton cloth". He said that the general prevalence of cannibalism was the result of the craving for meat and its scarcity.[65]

Encyclopedias did continue the practice of describing the various peoples. As in the early geographies, the Mandingo, Foulah and Ashanti were singled out as having some civilization. The Encyclopedia Britannica (1875) was kinder to the Hottentots. They were lively and cheerful and not wanting in intellect but they had received harsh treatment from the Europeans.[66]

After the conquest of Africa by Europe, the image of Africans held by Americans degenerated into one vague blob. The reason is obvious. The "civilized" world began to think in terms of what the

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[64] Ibid.
[65] Dryer, p. 498.
[66] Encyclopedia Britannica, p. 260.

white man could do in Africa rather than how the black man lived in Africa. Henry Stanley published his volumes In Darkest Africa and Leopold of Belgium said that the aim of European nations must be to "open to civilization the only part of the globe where it has not penetrated, to pierce the darkness which envelops whole populations. . . a crusade worthy of this century of progress".[67] Explorer and missionary David Livingstone had already proclaimed that Christianity and commerce were the methods by which Africa could be opened to civilization. The missions invaded the "dark continent" first, and American children began to give money in Sunday School so that light might be brought to the heathen. An American missionary cried:

> Your blessings of Salvation,
> Of knowledge, peace and love;
> The gracious proclamation
> Of pardon from above;
> We ask them for our people,
> Who, in their darkness now
> Before their foolish Gregree
> And numerous idols bow.
>
> How many generations
> Must sink to endless night,
> Before the Christian nations
> Will send the Heavenly light?
> One thing, pray, well remember -
> That, while you yet delay,
> And in your efforts linger,
> The heathen pass away.[68]

Commercial interests also invaded Africa, yet the excitement generated by the scramble for Africa quickly died down. The ideal colony became one which was economically self-supporting. "Early

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[67]Becker, p. 595.

[68]George Thompson, Africa in a Nutshell, (Oberlin: 1883), pp. 61-62.

twentieth century Europe was in no need of an increase in African products, and African markets accounted for a negligible proportion of European exports. One day the position might be different. Till then, the less heard of the African colonies the better."[69]

"The less heard the better" seemed to apply to the textbooks which, as already mentioned, concentrated on physical features of the continent or bypassed it altogether except in an explanation of races. After World War I, interest in Africa picked up, but it remained the interest of a civilizing mentality. The names Ashanti, Mandingo and Yoruba no longer appeared in the textbooks. They were replaced by Pygmy and Bantu. For the most part, the question answered was "How uncivilized are these people?" The Ashanti, with their well-built capital and king who sat on a golden stool, were not an appropriate example.

A description of the Pygmies in Modern Geography, published in 1919, was scarcely more accurate than the fable which Goodrich included in his 1838 history. The authors stated that there was little need for clothing and shelter. The Pygmies, "perhaps the lowest type of human beings, hunt and fish. They have no arts and no family ties."[70]

Branom and Ganey's Geography of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and the Polar Regions (1928) concentrated on North Africa. In the generalizations about tropical Africa, the authors wrote about the

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[69]Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, (Baltimore: Penguin, 1962), p. 196.

[70]Rollin D. Salisbury , Harlan H. Barrows, and Walter S. Tower, Modern Geography for High School, (New York: Henry Holt, 1919), p. 339.

black natives, some very tall and some small, who were not very far advanced in civilization. They lived in dried mud and thatch houses and fought among themselves.[71] A geography entitled How Countries Differ (1932) took children on an imaginary trip through Africa. South Africa, said the author, reminds one of the U.S. South with its red-roofed bungalows and Negroes tending the lawns and caring for the children. The section on the Congo was entitled "How civilized has central Africa become?" This question was not directly answered but the American child, looking at the pictures of the naked children and mud huts, would certainly have replied, "not very civilized".[72] Another elementary geography in the same series, Why Countries Differ, (1932), tried to explain how people's characters are influenced by geographic conditions. The text used the active Zulus, the backward and poor Bushmen, the strong nomads, and the uncivilized Pygmies as examples. Uganda received praise because the cattlemen there had fine huts with furnishings inside. "They were so civilized that the men felt obliged to be well-dressed when they went to discuss public affairs."[73]

In an elementary geography published in 1945, the ways of life led by the Bedouin and by the Congolese were considered. The native village of the latter is inhabited by gay, dark-skinned people who sing as they work, rest, and eat and almost as they sleep. The mothers carry naked, happy babies. The natives have no use for money so white

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[71]Frederick K. Branom and Helen M. Ganey, Geography of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia and the Polar Regions, (New York: William Sadler, 1928), p. 165.

[72]Ellsworth Huntington, C Beverley Benson, and Frank McMurry, How Countries Differ, (New York: Macmillan, 1932), p. 315.

[73]Ellsworth Huntington, C. Beverley Benson, and Frank McMurry, Why Countries Differ, (New York: Macmillan, 1932), p. 419.

men are the traders. The "queer" songs which the natives sing, the "strangely decorated" canoes, Sako's "not very comfortable" home, and a day spent hunting in the jungle were described.[74]

Carpenter's Children of Our World (1949) included a chapter "Yoso and Lomba in Wildest Africa". The chapter began with the boom-boom of drums and an explanation of the African tom-tom which sends messages. In primitive central Africa people wear few clothes though they are fond of ornaments and raised scars. They travel by dugout and hammock. An elephant hunt is an important event. The witchdoctor pretends to drive sickness away but now there are hospitals where people can be better cured. The savage Pygmies are mentioned; they were cannibals before the missionaries came to civilize them.[75]

In Our Big World (1951), the visitor to Wemba's village in the Congo learns how Wemba's house is made, how gardens are made in the forest and what hard work it is to make a garden. (The last is a significant departure from the usual picture of easy living in the tropics.) This text shows a river steamer, a bicycle on a forest path, and modern Leopoldville as well as village scenes.[76]

Two other geographies published in the 1950's also have trips up the Congo, both to visit the Pygmies. One team of authors says that the small people are at first afraid of the white man, but after he gives them beads and knives they do strange dances for him and share

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[74]W. R. McConnell, Geography Around the World, (New York: Rand McNally, 1945), pp. 129-140.

[75]Carpenter, p. 167.

[76]Harlan H. Barrows, Edith Putnam Parker, and Clarence Woodrow Sorenson, Our Big World, (New York: Silver Burdett, 1951), pp. 113-125.

their strange food.[77] The other text includes a lion-killing adventure with the Masai, a trip to Zululand, and a visit to the Gold Coast Parliament, as well as a trip to see the Pygmies.[78]

In a 1961 text, the story of a Congo village emphasizes the new things such as the school. The other African peoples described are the Masai, a European farmer, and a desert nomad.[79]

The Congo is also described by encyclopedias. The 1929 Compton's writes of a tangle of trees only crossed by narrow footpaths beaten by the naked feet of savages and a vast woods of numberless tribes, usually at war. The Bantus, it states, have cattle, live in round huts, wear skin and leather clothing, worship their ancestors, and hold rain-making superstitions. The Sudanese Negroes are more civilized, states the encyclopedia. They are mostly farmers who live in rectangular huts, wear bark or palm fiber clothing, and use bows and arrows and wooden shields. Often cannibals, they believe in scar tattooing and teeth filing. Their heathen religion of witchcraft and fetishism is practiced through secret societies.[80]

The 1947 edition of the World Book is more general. Africans wear few clothes made of grass or animal skins but they have a strong love of color and ornament. They make simple huts and are mostly farmers.[81] Two years later, however, Colliers has an extensive

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[77]De Forest Stull and Roy W. Hatch, Journeys Through Many Lands, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1952), p. 78.

[78]O. Stuart Hamer, Exploring the Old World, (Chicago: Follett, 1955), pp. 396-402.

[79]Kenneth S. Cooper, Clarence W. Sorenson, and Lewis Paul Todd, Learning to Look at our World, (Morristown, N. J.: Silver, Burdett,1961).

[80]Compton's, p. 37.

[81]"Africa", World Book, 1947, Vol. I. p. 77.

article on African peoples using an anthropological approach and describing the family, politics, and economics in various tribes.[82]

Although the post-World War II trend in geographies was to include something on the way of life of the people, some texts made only brief mention of the "natives". "Most of the people are in primitive stages of cultural development," states one text (1945).[83] In a discussion of Southern Rhodesia in a schoolbook published in 1960, the authors write that the greatest need is to open up more land for European settlement.[84] Another textbook writer (1950) says that Africa is not thickly populated so there is plenty of room for the white man.[85]

The choice of pictures correlated with the written texts; Congo village scenes, South African farms and mines and cities, and the Nile River and Sahara scenes predominated. Pictures in one text (1945), for example, included a diamond mine, Africans picking cotton in South Africa, an oasis in North Africa, and a photograph of the port of Algiers.[86] Another geography (1953) showed the same picture of Algiers, a picture of an oil well in the shadow of the pyramids and pictures of South Africa - a wool market, a diamond mine, and a gold mine.[87] The Drakensburg Mountains, the Cape of Good Hope, a gold mine, and the Sennar Dam illustrated a third geography (1950).[88]

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[82]"African Peoples", Colliers Encyclopedia, 1949, Vol. I.

[83]John Hodgdon Bradley, World Geography, (Boston: Ginn, 1945), p. 332.

[84]Wallace W. Atwood and Helen Goss Thomas, Nations Overseas, (Boston: Ginn, 1960), p. 73.

[85]Stamp, p. 539.

[86]Bradley.

[87]Packard, Geography of the World.

[88]Stamp.

The thrust of "emerging Africa" induced some changes in the textbooks of the sixties. A country-by-country treatment covering some history, geography, and culture became one form of organization. The customs of people receive the least consideration. Often brief, interesting facts are vaguely stated. One text says that by 1960 many Negroes held important industrial jobs in the Congo. African natives have very few rights in South Africa, states the same author, but they are gradually being provided better jobs, health and education.[89] Texts point out that Negro people differ among themselves, but they do not elaborate beyond using the "primitive" Bushmen or Pgymies and "relatively advanced" Sudanese as examples. A recent text (1959) presents the problem of the gulf between Liberians of American descent and the indigenous Liberians but offers no explanation. The same book presents the problem of different groups in Nigeria, but the reasons why are never explored.[90]

Schoolbooks continue to avoid the perplexing questions, to Americans, of bridewealth, polygamy, and traditional religion. Perhaps the omission is better than the out of hand condemnation of the nineteenth century writers, but it does nothing to clear up the confusion. The transition to modern, technological society has been recognized, however. An excellent section in one book (1961) tells the story of Tom Ngasa, a South African who moved to the city.[91] But best is the beginning of the chapter on culture change in Global History of Man

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[89]Drummond, p. 284.
[90]James and Davis, p. 459.
[91]Cooper, The Changing Old World, pp. 410-412.

(1962) which consists of quotations from Africans. One reaction to the West comes from an old woman in Central Africa:

> You Europeans think you have everything to teach us. You tell us we eat the wrong food, treat our babies the wrong way, give our sick people the wrong medicine; you are always telling us we are wrong. Yet, if we had always done the wrong things, we should be dead. And you see we are not.[92]

Another response comes from an educated Congolese:

> Economic development, improvement of the material conditions of existence, the real possibility for an individual to get along without the help of the clan ought to make the house evolve toward a real home.[93]

Transition problems are also dealt with in encyclopedia articles in Colliers (1965) and Encyclopedia Britannica (1962).

But the image of the African living a very strange kind of life seems destined to die slowly. A new curriculum in the social studies includes the story of the Pygmies in a kindergarten book, The Child Begins to Know His World (1965). Though the bibliography is impressive and the presentation is sympathetic, the strange African remains. Alia is a happy little black boy in loincloth. He lives in a hut of leaves and sticks. He sees crocodiles and monkeys and sends messages on big jungle drums.[94]

As a kindergarten book, the pictures are the story and pictures have been so important in the formation of the image of the African by

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[92]Quoted in Stavrianos, p. 43 from a quotation in Margaret Read, Education and Social Change in Tropical Areas, (London and New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1955), p. 7.

[93]Quoted in Stavrianos, p. 43 from L. Ilonga, "La Femme et la menage indigene," Voix du Congolaise, IV, 30 (Septembre, 1948), p. 373.

[94]The Child Begins to Know His World, Greater Cleveland Social Science Program, 1965, pp. 48-58.

American schoolchildren. One hundred and fifty years ago, photographs were not part of a textbook, though engravings were used occasionally. Therefore, writers resorted to word descriptions. "The inhabitants of the Torrid Zone are distinguished for the blackness of their skins," said Olney in his 1831 geography.[95] "The negroes are physically characterized by wooly hair, black skin, projecting lips, flattened nose, low and retreating forehead and the form of legs," stated Goodrich (1840).[96] The 1836 Encyclopedia Americana described the African race as distinguished by a black complexion and curly hair, as well as peculiarities in bone and nerve construction.[97] An 1873 geography said of the African: "He has black skin, an ungainly figure, awkward gait, a narrow head elongated backward, a low and retreating forehead, a broad flat nose and prominent cheek bones, a projecting jaw, thick lips and wooly hair."[98]

Pictures upheld the word descriptions. In the frontispiece of Mitchell's geography (1853), an African, clad only in loincloth, leaned on a stick (was it a hoe or a spear?) under a palm tree and beneath was the caption "savage". A man wearing leg bands and shorts and sitting on a stool represented the African or Ethiopian race in another geography (1911).[99] Drawings could easily exaggerate the nose and mouth and curly hair of the African, and did. Photographs could not lie as much, but the fact that the Pygmies and Masai were most popular as subjects gave

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[95]Olney, p. 17.
[96]Goodrich, Geography, p. 826.
[97]Encyclopedia Americana, p. 90.
[98]Guyot, p. 115.
[99]Dryer, p. 257.

precedence to the almost naked African. Frye's New Geography (1917) had a picture captioned "savage Negro with spear" and another of "savages dancing". All are naked. But not only textbooks and encyclopedias tended to show the African at his most primitive. The frontispiece of Carter Woodson's African Myths has two pictures of naked Africans gathering at a market. The engravings in the book emphasize the animals, the jungle, and naked men. The Child's Story of the Negro, used to teach Negro history in elementary school, has one drawing of a boy wearing a loincloth and carrying a spear. The other drawings show a village of huts and African animals. However, Woodson's book African Heroes and Heroines which has drawings of people such as Samory Toure and Chaka shows no naked Africans.

Comparative pictures of the race types were most damning to Africans. The ideal Apollo of the Greeks represented the white race while a vacant-faced tribesman represented the Negro, or an Emersonian white man in his library appeared in contrast to a naked black man with club and shield. The texts beneath the pictures were variations on a theme. Wrote Mitchell in 1840: "The European or Caucasian is the most noble of the five races of men. It excels all others in learning and the arts and includes the most powerful nations of ancient and modern times. The most valuable institutions of society and the most important and useful inventions have originated with the people of this race." In contrast, the Negro was "ignorant and degraded".[100] An 1873 geography

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[100]John A. Nietz, Old Textbooks, (University of Pittsburgh Press: 1961), p. 216.

stated that deviations from the typical white man's harmonies of proportion indicate degradation of the type.[101] Under the pictures of the races in a 1904 geography, the author wrote that the aggressive, civilized Caucasians were not taking possession of the earth. Looking at the picture of the Negro with a gold ring in his nose and no clothes, one would expect the description underneath of the unintellectual, unprogressive African who worshipped nature and engaged in human sacrifice.[102]

Did the pictures have an impact? A Negro American remembered: "In the fourth grade, those pictures of the races of man. . . with a handsome guy to represent the whites, an Indian with a feathered hat, a Chinese and an East Indian, and then a black, kinky-haired specimen - that was me, a savage, a cannibal, he was just the tail end of the human race, he was at the bottom." A white American recalled the line-up of races in an encyclopedia. Here the African Negro was a "vacant-faced villager and the white man was represented by a picture of Benjamin Franklin."[103]

Pictures in the textbooks and encyclopedias published in the last ten years have improved. A striking picture in color of the Sultan of Bornu's court appears in one encyclopedia. An elementary geography opens its section on Africa with a photograph, also in color, of a boy in a bright, striped robe, standing in front of his decorated home. Though portraits of tribal Africans continue to be

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[101]Guyot, p. 115.
[102]Tarr, p. 383.
[103]Isaacs, pp. 162, 165.

popular, there also appear pictures of African women in supermarkets and at voting booths. The black people in the photographs look handsome, but the word "black" still connotes more than a skin color.

The quality of blackness is the most important characteristic of the African's physical appearance. Philip Curtin explains that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was an almost universal assumption that African skin color, hair texture and facial features were in some way connected with the African way of life and the status of slavery. Thus culture and color prejudice blended.[104] The blending of these two prejudices is still a large problem today. When the white school board candidates of a large city are asked by Negro citizens what steps they will take to see that Negro history is taught in the school, the white men and women can only say that of course they are in favor of human relations courses. They know nothing about Negro history. Is there one? The PTA president asks a returned Peace Corps volunteer at the coffee hour after the program. "Were they all colored? Were they very backward?" At another meeting, of a church women's group, one person asks, "Weren't you uncomfortable with all those black people?" The color is emphasized. "That African student is so black. Why he is almost blue," exclaims an aunt.

These are white people talking about the color black suspiciously. Harold Isaacs has explored what the word "black" and the phrase "black African" mean to Negro Americans. To the Negro, he says, the word "black became the key word of rejection, an insult, a fighting word."

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[104]Curtin, p. 30.

He continues:

> I suggest that every time black was used or perceived this way the word African came after it, whether it was actually spoken or not, whether it was there or remained an echo in the mind. For the Africans were blacks, the source of all the blackness, the depths from which all had come and from which all wanted to rise. Africa was the "darkness" they wanted to leave behind in order to rise to the light of the white man's world.[105]

There was the difficulty. A world history, published in 1950, stated the image concisely. "The Dark Continent is an unexplored wilderness, with an unbearable climate, a Negro population largely barbarous, and deserts and jungle quite impenetrable. . . The people are dark of skin; many of them are even darker of mind."[106] The blackness of skin seeped into the mind and thus the whole continent became black.

The image of the black African savage, whether noble or degraded, violent or timid, wearing no clothes and having a ring through his nose or sitting on a golden stool and owning three thousand wives - the image included the premise of savagery or barbarism or primitivism. It shaped the views of Mr. Goldberg, his parents and grandparents and his children, toward Africa and toward the descendants of that continent in America. Why this image of the African character was plausible becomes even clearer after one has looked at the geography and history of Africa which has been presented in American schoolbooks for the past one hundred and fifty years.

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[105]Isaacs, p. 171.

[106]Carlton Hayes, Parker Thomas Moon, and John W. Wayland, World History, (New York: Macmillan, 1950), pp. 435 and 722.

CHAPTER II

DID YOU SEE LIONS IN THE JUNGLE?

The American Image of African Geography

Geographers in Afric maps
With savage pictures fill their gaps
And o'er uninhabited downs
Place elephants for want of towns.

Swift

Of the many myths that Americans hold about Africa, the title of this chapter is one of the most universal. Only about five per cent of Africa can be called jungle and the few lions there are live in the grasslands. But, as Swift's verse from the eighteenth century indicates, accurate geographical knowledge about Africa is of fairly recent origin and the myths have died hard.

Portuguese sailors, in the fifteenth century, dispelled the myth of tropical boiling seas, but tales about the interior of Africa had to await confirmation or disproof by explorers of the nineteenth century. Other myths, more cultural than geographic, grew up from the travels of these explorers. One problem, which the third chapter will attack, was that the history of interior Africa seemed to begin with the so-called "years of African discovery" by men such as Mungo Park, David Livingstone, and Henry Stanley. These men and others, however, did settle geographical puzzles of centuries. Which way did the Niger flow? What was the source of the Nile?

The earliest geographies published in the United States drew on the information which Mungo Park brought back about the Niger River. Centuries of acceptance of Leo Africanus' mistaken notion that the Niger flowed west ended when Mungo Park wrote, as he stood at Segu, that the Niger flowed east. Yet the mouth had not been discovered.

In A Practical System of Modern Geography (1831), Olney listed the various theories concerning the mouth of the Niger: the river might be a branch of the Nile, it might lose itself in the marshes of the interior, it might empty into Lake Chad, it might be the same as the Congo River, or it might empty into the Gulf of Guinea.[1]

The locations of mountains on African maps in early nineteenth century atlases were not listed as speculative, but they were. The maps showed an immense line of mountains, called Jibbel Kumra or Mountains of the Moon in an east-west chain straight across the broadest part of the continent.[2] Jedidiah Morse's geography (1812) stated that the Mountains of the Moon ran from Abyssinia to Monomatapa while the Mountains of Lions stretched from Sierra Leone across the continent to Abyssinia.[3] According to the 1836 edition of the Encyclopedia Americana, Africa possessed immense chains of mountains, called the Atlas, the Moon, the Kong, the Lupata and the Cape, but on the whole the continent was quite level. The courses of the rivers have not been explored, said the encyclopedia, although it noted that the Niger flowed east. Large lakes, including the Dembea, the Wangara, the Tschad and the Aquilunda, were listed.[4] Goodrich (1840) enumerated only the Kong, Abyssinian and Moon mountains.[5] Mitchell (1853) left out the Kong and added the Atlas and the Snow.[6] Both mentioned the

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[1]Olney, p. 241.
[2]Johnson, p. 338.
[3]Morse, p. 346.
[4]Encyclopedia Americana, p. 80.
[5]Goodrich, Geography, p. 812.
[6]Mitchell, p. 303.

Nile and the Niger, but noted that the source of the Nile was not known.

By 1873 statements were more tentative. The American Cyclopedia said it was believed there were extensive high ranges back of the west coast, though most of the continent was tableland.[7] Maury's Physical Geography, published in 1890, had a map showing Mt. Kenia and Mt. Kilimanjaro as well as the Atlas Mountains and the Kong Mountains of West Africa. The Nile, Niger, Congo, Zambezi, and Orange Rivers were shown.[8] Frye's Complete Geography (1901) referred to Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Kenia and stated that one branch of the Kongo River had Lake Tanganyika as an outlet.[9] Most geographies published between 1850 and 1914 mentioned Africa under relief forms and drainage or made no reference to Africa but used American examples entirely.

Encyclopedias and texts after World War I dealt with the major topographical features of the continent, but rarely was their origin mentioned. Chambers Encyclopedia (1923) stated that the great lakes are rift valleys but did not explain what a rift valley was.[10] Students learned that Africa had a straight, regular coast and that the continent was almost totally a great plateau with very little lowland. The names of the chief rivers and lakes and mountains were always part of the textbook treatment, unless the elementary geography was following the approach of a visit to a Congolese village. Then usually only the

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[7]"Africa", American Cyclopedia, George Ripley and Charles A. Dana, ed., (New York: D. Appleton, 1873), p. 164.

[8]Maury, p. 115.

[9]Frye, p. 85.

[10]"Africa", Chambers Encyclopedia, David Patrick and William Geddie, ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1923), p. 81.

Congo River with its waterfalls and rapids was described. In one text (1950), the escarpment was explained.[11] In a speciality book on Africa in the Fideler series, rift valleys were described.[12]

The popular approach to geography in history texts enumerated the continental barriers to penetration by the white man. According to a 1956 history text, for example, barren desert, dense jungle, few good harbors or navigable rivers, climate and disease were Africa's barriers to exploration.[13]

Geographies of the sixties generally give the student a better understanding of the "why" behind the topographical features. The basins within the plateau, the rift valleys, and the phenomenon of river capture may be explained. A discussion of the large rivers may be linked to information concerning potential hydroelectric power. Two new editions of encyclopedias describe the theory of Gondwanaland.

While school pupils have generally learned the basic facts about Africa's physiography, myths have been perpetuated in the area of climate. The "unhealthy" climate of the continent, which gave West Africa the name "white man's grave", has been written about in the very earliest texts and in some of the most recent. More than a century ago, the Guinea coast climate was considered notoriously fatal to Europeans. In 1960, a geography stated that the coastal lowland's hot moist climate was unhealthful for white people.[14]

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[11]Stamp, p. 532.

[12]William D. Allen, Africa, (Grand Rapids, Mich: Fideler, 1956), p. 18.

[13]Wallbank, p. 512.

[14]Atwood, p. 73.

The early schoolbooks and encyclopedias contained more exotic descriptions. The climate was so hot that eggs would roast in the Guinea sand, said one (1836).[15] Olney (1831) explained why the Guinea coast was unhealthy for foreigners: the Simoon or poisonous blast from the desert (did he mean the harmattan?) blew on the coast; if received into the lungs it caused instant death.[16] Goodrich (1840) blamed exhalations of the swampy soil for generating fatal diseases.[17]

Some texts were content merely to state that Africa had the hottest climate on the globe without being specific, but most said a word about the relationship between climate and Europeans. "The climate is extremely fatal (sic) to white men," stated Dryer in 1911.[18] In 1914 the Americana reported that the west coast had a deadly climate for foreigners.[19] History books also mentioned the unhealthy climate, usually in the discussion of barriers to the white man. Chambers Encyclopedia (1923) called the coastal climate malarial.[20] Hillyer's Child's Geography of the World (1929) spoke of the unhealthful Congo whose marshes and jungles gave white men the fever.[21] After noting that the Congo was the white man's grave, another elementary geography (1928) gave a list of precautions for the white man in Africa: he should wear a helmet, boil his water, take mosquito boots and net, and exercise.[22] More sophisticated texts said

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[15]Encyclopedia Americana, p. 88.
[16]Olney, p. 239.
[17]Goodrich, Geography, p. 813.
[18]Dryer, p. 497.
[19]Encyclopedia Americana, 1914, no page numbers.
[20]Chambers Encyclopedia, p. 83.
[21]Hillyer, p. 395.
[22]Branom, p. 179.

that the climate was not adapted to or suited for white people or was more or less hostile to Europeans.[23] The Encyclopedia Britannica (1955) stated that the continual moist heat was very enervating to Europeans.[24]

For a century and a half, textbooks perpetuated the myth of an unhealthy climate. The mortality rates were high. "Between 1819 and 1836 the annual average death rate per thousand mean strength of European troops on the West African coast was 483 for enlisted men and 209 for officers."[25] But disease, mostly insect-carried, not climate, was the real reason Sierra Leone received the name "white man's grave". Actually Sierra Leone was everyman's grave. From 1787 to 1826, approximately 22,000 non-European settlers, with no environmental immunity as indigenous Africans come to possess, entered the colony, but in 1826 the population was only 13,000.[26] Medical reforms, including quinine prophylaxis and the abolition of dangerous treatments, reduced European mortality by at least half by 1850.[27]

Today, these tropical diseases, malaria being the best known, are suppressible. The healthy European or American who takes his two tiny chloroquin pills every Sunday can stay healthy. Yet the climate continues to have an unfavorable image. A common question put to returnees from West Africa is: "But wasn't the weather terribly hot and humid all the time?" One must then explain the cool nights in the

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[23]Packard, Becker, Bradley.
[24]Encyclopedia Britannica, p. 295.
[25]Curtin, p. 362.
[26]Ibid., p. 180.
[27]Ibid., p. 362.

bush, the effect of the harmattan, and the relative chill of the rainy season. Further, it is an important point that the west coast and the Congo region are only a small part of Africa. A more comfortable climate prevails not only in East and South Africa but also in West Africa behind the coast.

Studies to classify the climates of the world as to suitability for human settlement were popular during the period when environmental determinism was being studied. A map based upon temperature and humidity would show as suitable areas in the highlands where white settlements do occur. "But," asks Harm de Blij, "have these Europeans come to those suitable areas because the climate there is attractive or because there is economic opportunity? Would Johannesburg not have attracted a great influx of whites whether its climate was dry-winter subtropical or rainforest, as long as it proved to lie on the world's greatest gold field?"[28]

The most important facts about Africa's climate, now showing up on maps and in the texts of schoolbooks and encyclopedias, are that there are different climatic regions and that rainfall variability is the greatest climatic problem. But to say that scarcity of rain rather than too much rain is the problem of most of Africa contradicts another myth. Just as schoolbooks have tended to generalize about the unhealthful climate, so they have generalized about the lush vegetation. Although most Americans are familiar with the Sahara in North Africa,

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[28]Harm J. de Blij, A Geography of Subsaharan Africa, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), p. 41.

subsaharan Africa is one huge jungle to many. A high school student wrote in 1965: "Thick dense jungles cover most of Africa." Perhaps Tarzan helped to create the image, but one perceptive seventeen-year-old wrote on the same assignment: "Swinging across a deep ravine filled with lions, Tarzan managed to capture the interest of the world for a brief moment. The world Tarzan knew - or was supposed to know - is fast changing. To begin with, there were few places in Africa which answered Burrough's description. Now there are even fewer."

The student found another authority for his picture of the vegetation of Africa. Conrad wrote in Heart of Darkness:

> Going up that river was like traveling back to the earliest beginnings of the world, when vegetation rioted on the earth and the big trees were kings. An empty stream, a great silence, an impenetrable forest . . .The great wall of vegetation, an exuberant and entangled mass of trunks, leaves, boughs, festoons, motionless in the moonlight, was like a rioting invasion of soundless life, a rolling wave of plants, piled up, crested, ready to topple over the creek, to sweep every little man of us out of his little existence.[29]

Tarzan and Conrad only confirmed what the child saw and read in his schoolbooks. The encyclopedias of the sixties point out that Africa is not to be equated with lush tropical jungle and some recent textbooks show the student the life of a boy in Nigeria or South Africa instead of in the Congo. But a history text published in 1947 stated that the African continent consisted of tropical jungles and sandy deserts.[30] This impression of two zones of vegetation was also given

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[29]Joseph Conrad, Youth: A Narrative and Two Other Stories, (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1959), pp. 106, 101.

[30]Arthur Boak, Preston Slosson, and Howard R. Anderson, World History, (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1942, 47), p. 429.

by the elementary geographies which told stories of Ali the Bedouin and Wemba the Congolese or Pygmy. Some geographies did note that savanna or grassland was more typical than forest. The questions at the end of a story describing a trip to East Africa to see the Masai and the lions might ask the student to consider the advantages of the plateau country. The 1947 World Book recognized three natural regions - jungle, desert, and savanna, figuring about one-fourth of the continent was forest.[31] The number of natural regions later increased to at least five to differentiate vegetation more particularly. Usually the vegetational zones were allied with climatic divisions, though separate maps might appear.

In his unit on subsaharan Africa in Global History of Man (1962), Stavrianos describes five vegetation and climate types. His first concern is to point out the vast differences in climate in Africa, that some areas have less annual rainfall than Arizona while one area gets at least 400 inches of annual rainfall. He also explains that the heat is balanced by the effects of the elevation of the plateau. Equatorial rainforests, he says, are often incorrectly called jungles. "Within the rain forest, the trees rise to well over 100 feet and form a canopy that shuts out the sunlight. When the layers of vegetation are dense, they prevent the growth of bushes and weeds and one can walk at ease in open ground between the great pillars of the leafy canopy. Jungles, on the other hand, occur only at the edges, along river banks, or in locations that have been cleared, that is, in

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[31] World Book, p. 74.

areas which may be reached by the sun."[32] Savanna, semiarid, arid, and mediterranean are the other types of climate and vegetation named. Two pictures, one of the rain forest and one of the savanna, called "most typical of Africa", are included to "dispel the popular, but erroneous, idea that Africa is virtually covered with steaming jungles and steaming vines."[33]

The jungle has ordinarily been allied with animals in the image of Africa. The story of Lion Boy, on the World Book 1947 reading list, uses phrases like "jungle gloom" though the setting is undoubtedly East Africa. In this book, the boy himself is often compared to an animal: "ate noisily and greedily like an animal", "nostrils flaring wide like those of an animal", and "as wild and untamed as a young lion."[34] Kintu tells a tale of adventure with animals in the jungle.[35] Though the map in Agossou, Boy of Africa clearly shows the boy's home to be in the savanna of northern Dahomey, the text talks about and the pictures show forest. The impression is given that the walls around the village keep out all the animals mentioned, including lions, tigers (not found in Africa), elephants, buffaloes, zebras, and giraffes.[36]

Safari books are some of the most popular and numerous story books about Africa, but others also combine the jungle and animals to create exciting tales. Two books by Norman Davis are Picken's Great

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[32]Stavrianos, p. 12.

[33]Ibid., pp. 10-13.

[34]Alden G. Stevens, Lion Boy, (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1938).

[35]Elizabeth Enright, Kintu: A Congo Adventure, (Eau Claire, Wisconsin: E. M. Hale, 1935).

[36]Dominique Dabeis, Agossou, Boy of Africa, (Chicago: Follett, 1962).

Adventure and Picken's Treasure Hunt; the first tells about a little Gambian boy who kills a bushcat in the jungle and finds the gold bracelet of the great Safu, while in the second Picken narrowly escapes a crocodile and brings home a golden throne.[37] Rene Guillot's Sirga, Queen of the African Bush has as its purpose to show the dignity and magnificence of the beasts and primitive people who inhabit the jungle, according to the introduction.[38]

The wild animals of Africa fascinated textbook writers from the beginning. Morse's geography (1812) described elephants, tigers, leopards, monkeys, and monstrous serpents. In Goodrich's Pictorial Geography (1840), out of forty-seven pictures dealing with subsaharan Africa, thirty-four are animal pictures. Besides including individual engravings of twenty-seven different animals, the book used a picture of a lion attacking a Boer wagon, Mungo Park meeting a lion, and several other meetings between man and beast. Twelve pages are devoted solely to animal life. Three of the six pictures in Mitchell's geography (1853) which pertain to subsaharan Africa are of animals: a lion, an alligator, and a rhinoceros. In the text, he discussed the chimp, elephant, hippo, giraffe, rhinoceros, lion, leopard, zebra, antelope, camel, ostrich, crocodile and white ants.

Animal maps came before people maps. Frye's geography (1917) had one and World Book still features an animal map. Elementary

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[37]Norman Davis, Picken's Great Adventure and Picken's Treasure Hunt, (New York: Oxford, 1950 and 1955).

[38]Rene Guillot, Sirga, Queen of the African Bush, (New York: Criterion Books, 1959).

geographies of the twentieth century particularly emphasized animals. One suggested a project on circus animals. Another told stories of the "zoo land". Others included elephant hunts in their stories about Congolese life or told about a visit to the wild animals in East Africa. The Child's Story of the Negro, written for elementary Negro history classes, described the darkest part of the jungle where many strange animals live, including the lion, leopard, panther, hyena, elephant, ostrich, rhinoceros, and giraffe. One chapter told about insect life, including the driver ants. Another told about the lungfish and a third about the elephant.[39]

Pictures were included in the elementary geographies, too, sometimes in color. A 1945 geography had eight pictures of subsaharan Africa - four were animals.[40] In contrast, out of forty pictures in a 1961 text, only four show animals. One of those shows cattle on the grasslands, another a dairy farm in South Africa, and a third a pack animal. This text points out that the best chance to see wild animals is to go to a game park. The importance of cattle to African herdsmen is stressed, again in contrast to older texts which emphasized the wild animals.[41]

"What animals did you see?" the schoolchildren always ask. "Only snakes and a few pet monkeys" is the reply of an American who spent two years in the "jungle". American children are even more

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[39]Jane D. Shackelford, The Child's Story of the Negro, (Washington: Associated Press, 1955).
[40]McConnel, Geography Around the World.
[41]Cooper, The Changing Old World.

disappointed to learn that out of three hundred African students at one school only two had ever seen an elephant in the bush. The rest had to go to the zoo to see their first wild animals. Of course, Africa has changed and when the books of fifty or even twenty-five years were written, monkeys did swing from tree to tree in this west African bush.

A new television series, Daktari, has updated the animal scene in Africa. Safaris and safari hats are absent. A benevolent American doctor and his assistants, one apparently an educated African, save animal lives at a research center on a reserve. They also redeem people, white and black, who are poachers by acquainting them with a lovable lion and a mischievous monkey. Unfortunately, the programs do live up to their advertising and show a continent "where man is the constant stranger, where animals have the sense of humor". Unfortunately, Africa is again associated with animals rather than with Africans.

Not only lions got tangled in the jungle. The luxuriant growth of the rainforest propagated another myth. Three periods can be distinguished in the handling of this myth. The period from 1800 to 1850 was so impressed by the exuberant vegetation of central Africa that there was a general belief in the extreme fertility of the jungle soil. The age of environmental determinism, lasting until 1930 in the textbooks, did not reject this belief but tied it to the way of life of the "native". Finally, in the last twenty years there has been a recognition that Africa's soils are more frequently poor than excellent and there has been a greater understanding of the African's methods of land use.

Morse (1812) stated that the coastal land was exceedingly fertile.[42] Said the Encyclopedia Americana in 1836: "The earth renders back seed to the cultivator increased hundredfold."[43] Mitchell (1853) claimed that the soil in West Africa was highly productive.[44] These statements reflected the ecstatic reports of early travelers to West Africa. Henry Smeathman, for example, reported concerning Sierra Leone:

> The woods and plains produce spontaneously great quantities of the most pleasant fruits and spices, from which may be made oils, marmalades, wines, perfumes and other valuable articles, to supply the markets of Great Britain and Ireland. Such are the mildness and fertility of the climate and country that a man possessed of a change of cloathing, a wood axe, a hoe, and a pocket knife, may soon place himself in an easy and comfortable situation. All the cloathing wanted is what decency requires; and it is not necessary to turn up the earth more than two or three inches, with a light hoe, in order to cultivate any kind of grain.[45]

This legend of tropical exuberance was first allied with the noble savage concept, but by the nineteenth century the Protestant work ethic gave rise to a new interpretation. Tropical exuberance became a curse.

A geography published in 1919 stated that the natives rarely practiced agriculture but just planted crops and left them to grow. Although the author admitted that clearing the land was difficult, he concluded that the abundance of plant life was an obstacle to progress

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[42]Morse, p. 347.
[43]Encyclopedia Americana, p. 88.
[44]Mitchell, p. 316.
[45]Quoted in Curtin, p. 61.

since life was too easy.[46] Frye (1917) explained in his text that gardens in central Africa needed little care. To get food, the African simply had to gather some fruit or hunt or fish.[47] Another text, published in 1921, said that in the tropics nature was so lavish that man did not need to struggle for a living. Wild and cultivated products of the soil furnished plenty of food. Because vegetation grew at all seasons, there was no time for which provision had to be made in advance. This author also concluded that such conditions fostered indolence.[48] A world history published in 1927 spoke of the fertile soil and abundance natural resources but the lazy and indolent Negroes.[49]

By the nineteen forties, the picture of the lazy African in a tropical paradise was shattered. The story of the village in the Congo began to emphasize the hard work of making a garden instead of the happy singing. Colliers Encyclopedia (1949) explained the problems of erosion and leaching and described shifting cultivation.[50] A 1957 world geography states that the luxuriance of central Africa's vegetation is deceptive; the soil is poor and its best future is probably tree plantations.[51] Another geography (1959) discusses agricultural problems at some length. The reasons that the South African reserves cannot provide subsistence for the Africans are listed: poor operation, soil erosion, men off working in the mines. There is no mention, however, of the percentage of land in reserves for Africans in comparison

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[46]Salisbury, p. 337.
[47]Frye, New Geography, p. 13.
[48]Chamberlain, p. 4.
[49]Barnard and Roorbach, p. 611.
[50]Colliers Encyclopedia, p. 160.
[51]Pounds, p. 583.

to the percentage of land held by Europeans. In discussions under the individual countries, the peanut fiasco in Tanganyika, the cocoa success in Ghana, and the food producing possibilities of Ethiopia are explored.[52] A 1961 geography suggests how burning to make a farm may help to save the land.[53] Under the heading "land use" the Encyclopedia Americana (1962) explains that shifting cultivation is adequate if there is plentiful land but few people.[54] The 1965 Colliers talks about the chemical weathering and leaching of the soil and its general unfertility.[55]

In presenting a picture of agriculture in Africa, a consistently better job has been done in describing farming in the Nile valley. The various methods of irrigation have been and are now well covered by text and illustrations. The contributions of ancient Egypt to agriculture as well as the role of the modern Aswan Dam are clear. However, in only one book, published in 1961, was there mention of the crops which subsaharan Africa gave to the world as well as those she borrowed.[56]

Information on the natural resources of Africa is another area in which northern and southern Africa, too, are given fuller treatment than tropical Africa. In almost every geography a page or two and several pictures are devoted to the gold and diamond mines of South Africa. Facts on minerals in Africa were not known in the nineteenth

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[52]James, pp. 442, 457, 460, 326.
[53]Cooper, The Changing Old World, p. 391.
[54]Encyclopedia Americana, p. 222.
[55]Colliers Encyclopedia, p. 201.
[56]Cooper, p. 417.

century and, for other than South Africa, minerals are discoveries of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, a Liberian iron miner or a Zambian copper miner would be an addition to the usual picture of a South African mining gold. The organization of many recent texts in a country-by-country treatment does allow the enumeration of resources and products of each country. The possibilities of hydroelectric power are also mentioned and occasionally pictures of the Kariba Dam appear.

To most Americans, natural resources in Africa are connected with the development of Africa by the white man. Because the school-books ignored the history of Africa preceding the "discoveries" of the explorers, Americans never learned about the medieval trade in gold and salt or the iron-smelting culture of African peoples.

CHAPTER III

ARE THE NATIVES READY FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT?

The American Image of

African History and Future Prospects

> Africa with the exception of the lower Nile Valley and what is known as Roman Africa, so far as its native inhabitants are concerned, is a continent practically without a history and possessing no records from which such a history might be constructed.
>
> Encyclopedia Britannica, 1911

Charles H. Wesley, in an article in the Journal of Negro History in 1935, quoted this statement from the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica and then proposed that "history should be reconstructed so that Africa, home of the darker races, shall have its proper place." We know about African kingdoms such as Benin, Yoruba, Nupe, Melle, Songhai and Mossi, he continued. We know about men such as Askia the Great. Africa must take its place in history as Japan, China, and India have done.[1]

Almost thirty years later, Wesley wrote another article in which he singled out the writing and teaching of history as the challenge of the future.[2] Sadly, little progress has been made in the intervening years since his first article. The names of those African kingdoms are still not familiar to schoolchildren. World history texts, published in the sixties, still speak of the "Dark Continent". It was Henry Stanley's phrase and his well-publicized books imprinted the two words on the minds of generations of Americans. Almost every high school student learns the story of the meeting between Stanley

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[1]Charles H. Wesley, "The Reconstruction of History", Journal of Negro History, (October, 1935), pp. 422-23.

[2]Charles H. Wesley, "Creating and Maintaining an Historical Tradition", Journal of Negro History, (January, 1964), p. 32.

and Livingstone and the famous greeting: "Dr. Livingstone, I presume." So did his parents and grandparents.

In truth, as Paul Bohannan points out, the phrase "Dark Continent" is a subject-object confusion. The continent was dark to Europeans and Americans because they knew very little or nothing about Africa. One of the reasons for Europe's ignorance about civilized Africa was that during the middle ages the northern continent was isolated. In contrast, Islam was invading and influencing not only North Africa but also West Africa. As Europe awakened in the fifteenth century, the Moors were conquering Songhay, the greatest Sudanic state. The Europeans, then, when they did "discover" Africa, discovered a declining civilization.[3]

Although the scientific humanitarianism of the early nineteenth century balanced in some ways the contempt for Africans bred by the brutal slave trade, the latter attitude proved stronger and contributed to the image of a dark Africa without a past. The public did not read Dr. Winterbottom who concluded in the late eighteenth century that cannibalism was non-existent in Sierra Leone and "for many hundred leagues to the northward and southward".[4] Obviously, neither did the textbook writers, as references to cannibalism appeared frequently even in the twentieth century. But the public did fit the contempt for Africans into the colonial doctrine which saw Africans as inferiors. The missionaries enlarged the idea of a

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[3]Paul Bohannan, Africa and Africans, (Garden City, New York: Natural History Press, 1964), p. 4.

[4]Basil Davidson, The African Past, (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1964), p. 31.

Dark Continent by preaching about a moral darkness and heathen evil in Africa.

These attitudes, which matured during the imperialistic age and linger today, may be called the "colonial stereotype".[5] Thus the Encyclopedia Britannica spoke in 1911 of a continent without a history. Thus Sir Reginald Coupland, writing about thirty years ago of the British penetration up the Zambezi valley, could say that "the main body of Africans" had no history, but had "stayed, for untold centuries, sunk in barbarism. . . the heart of Africa was scarcely beating."[6] Thus Margery Perham, writing in Foreign Affairs in 1951, could observe: "Until the very recent penetration by Europe the greater part of the continent was without the wheel, the plough or the transport-animal; almost without stone houses or clothes, except skins; without writing and so without history."[7] Finally, as recently as 1963, Regius Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper could say on BBC-Television that there was no African history before the Europeans came, only "the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe."[8]

The "colonial stereotype" influenced American textbooks. So-called world histories, published in the twentieth century, spend several pages or a chapter on ancient Egypt, then tell the story of Livingstone and Stanley followed by a brief account of the scramble

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[5]Ibid., p. 4.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Africa: A Foreign Affairs Reader, Philip W. Quigg, ed., (New York: Praeger, 1964), p. 132.

[8]Basil Davidson, "Wanted - A Library of African Classics", Africa Report, (November, 1965), 25, 26.

for and the partition of Africa. Only in a few very recently published texts and encyclopedias is there any recognition of an African kingdom or an African culture. African history is not yet recognized as an entity worth studying in the way Far Eastern History is recognized.

Exploring what Americans learned about African history in the past century and a half is fairly easy for two reasons. First, even world history has been a rarely taught subject. Second, the percentage of space devoted to Africa in those world history texts has never been over 4.5 per cent.

Before 1890, school curriculums might include occasional courses in United States history, civics and political economy but they seldom included world history. Recommendations by the American Historical Assocation Committee of Seven in 1899 suggested the following high school curriculum: ancient and medieval history to 800 for the first year, later medieval and modern European history for the second year, English history for the third year and American history and civil government for the fourth year. A committee appointed by the National Education Association in 1916 made a new set of suggestions which are still the basis of current offerings in the United States. Their recommendations included: Grade 7 - geography, European history, civics; Grade 8 - geography, American history, civics; Grade 9 - political, economic, vocational studies, economic history and civics; Grade 10 - European history since 1700; Grade 11 - United States history; Grade 12 - Problems of American Democracy. World history, never accorded national sanction by the historians, has tended to

replace European history at the tenth grade level.[9]

The average percentage of pages allotted to Africa in twenty-eight world histories, most published in the twentieth century, is two per cent. Of those pages dealing with Africa, more than half are concerned with North Africa, primarily ancient Egypt. In most books, sixty to eighty per cent of the space attributed to Africa deals with North Africa. Tropical Africa, therefore, has remained to the students the mysterious dark continent about which the text writes.

Students have learned and still learn a great deal about the early civilization on the Nile. Ancient Egypt's government, classes of society, religion, pyramid construction, hieroglyphics, and irrigation techniques as well as history are explained in detail. The tenth grader in world history class has already studied life on the Nile at least once in geography classes so he is informed about this part of Africa. In all cases, however, the contributions of Egypt to western civilization are stressed. That Egypt influenced the lands to the south was not and is not now recognized in the texts. In fact, according to the schoolbooks, ancient Egypt seems to have had no connection with Africa at all.

North Africa is generally mentioned in connection with two other periods of history. A discussion of Carthage, usually limited to Hannibal, comes under the Punic Wars. Herman Dreer, in an article entitled "What does the Innocent Teacher Impart as History?", used one world history text to show bias against the Negro in the discussion

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[9]James High, Teaching Secondary School Social Studies, (New York: John Wiley, 1962), pp. 31-35.

of Carthage. The world history describes Carthage as having a variety of races while Rome was ruled by Italians alone. That the ancient peoples were a free mixture and that the war captives made slaves were of all races are two omissions which Dreer also feels show bias.[10] In most world history texts, the chapter which covers Islam usually notes the invasion of North Africa by the Muslims. Islam's influence on subsaharan Africa is not considered.

The pattern of coverage has been rather similar for one hundred and fifty years. Olney summed up the reasons in his 1831 geography: "Ancient north Africa was enlightened; now Africa is the least known, least civilized and least important."[11] Only in the last ten years has that image changed.

The geographies and histories published between 1800 and 1850 discussed the culture and manners of various African peoples but actual history was not a concern. Morse's 1812 geography did acknowledge Ethiopia as well as Egypt and Carthage as kingdoms known for their arts, wealth and power. Negro educators, however, were the first to write about African history for schoolchildren.

Carter G. Woodson wrote The Negro in Our History and Story of the Negro Retold, both history books essentially about the Negro in America. Eleven per cent of the first is devoted to Africa and seven per cent of the second. After discussing the basis of superiority myths, Woodson asks what is African civilization? He answers his

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[10]Herman Dreer, "What does the Innocent Teacher Impart as History?" Journal of Negro History, (October, 1940), 475.

[11]Olney, p. 227.

question negatively; it is not nothing. Then he explains African institutions, including the kingship, human sacrifice, marriage, and religion.[12] The second book is written at an easier reading level. The rulers Sonni Ali and Askia Mohammed are mentioned, but some of Woodson's generalizations are disturbing. Concerning making a living, he writes, "Nature supplies much food in abundance and there is not much struggle for life."[13] After describing the social order as a "kind of communism", he states: "His background in well-organized African social order has tended to make the American Negro the most golden-hearted, most generous, most sanguine and most law-abiding element in the United States."[14]

Woodson also wrote two supplementary readers on Africa for elementary children: African Myths and African Heroes and Heroines. The list of prominent Africans in the second is impressive. The past is represented by Gongo Musa, Sonni Ali, Askia, Chaka, and Samory. The heroes during the colonization period include Jabavu, Hayford, Plaatje, H. Macauley, Azikiwe, Chilembwe, Kimbangu, and Kadalie. The Maji-Maji and Herero uprisings are described. Moffat and Livingstone have a place as missionaries who served the empire.[15]

Woodson wrote one other book totally concerned with Africa which teachers were encouraged to use as an aid in teaching Negro

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[12]C. G. Woodson, The Negro in Our History, (Washington: Associated Publishers, 1922, 41).

[13]C. G. Woodson, The Story of the Negro Retold, (Washington: Associated Publishers, 1935, 42), p. 8.

[14]Ibid., p. 13.

[15]C. G. Woodson, African Heroes and Heroines, (Washington: Associated Publishers, 1939).

history. In The African Background Outlined, he lists African contributions to civilization including smelting iron, bronze work, and cultivation of land as well as social institutions such as representative democracy, trial by jury, and monotheism. He describes the kingdoms of Kumbi and of the Mandingo, Songhay, and Mossi. Although Woodson uses the research of Delafosse and Monod, he criticizes their tendency to think that all advances were importations from Caucasian centers. A chapter on culture uses Edward Blyden as an authority. African collectivism, herb medicine, polygamy, age grades, and proverbs are explained.[16]

Besides Woodson's books, The Child's Story of the Negro by Jane D. Shackelford is used in Negro education. In a chapter on famous kings, Miss Shackelford describes Mansa Musa's pilgrimage to Mecca and discusses the just laws, trade, and schools of the empire under Askia the Great. She includes pictures of Benin and Bakuba masks. Although she writes about the queer sight of an African village, "like a group of haystacks", and about the little yellow dwarfs in South Africa who, like camels, can go for many days without food, her treatment of the people is generally sympathetic. "African Negroes are very interesting people," she says. "They are brave, strong, proud and industrious. Their skin is smooth and brown and their teeth are white as pearls." Later she adds, "The primitive African is very intelligent and his ideas about right and wrong are just like ours." She also credits the African as the "most skillful blacksmith

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[16]C. G. Woodson, The African Background Outlined, (Washington: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1936).

among primitive people."[17]

Two studies, done in the nineteen thirties, have shown that despite the availability of such books as those by Woodson and Miss Shackelford, even Negro Americans have learned very little about Africa. Dreer gave 516 Negro high school seniors an identification test in 1934. The results showed that 432 students knew Edison and George Washington, but only half recognized Booker T. Washington. No African names appeared on the list.[18] Certainly Negro American leaders would be more readily recognized by both Negro and white students today, but identification of African leaders, past and present, has improved only a little.[19] Another survey, run by Williams in 1935, showed that only five schools in Texas taught Negro history. Williams figured that eighty-one per cent of the Negro students in Texas graduated from high school without studying anything about their racial background.[20] The percentage of white students throught the country who graduated without any knowledge of the Negro past in the United States and the African past probably was and still is close to one hundred per cent.

Several recent texts do take note rather briefly of Africa's history preceding the European arrival. Two mention the Sudanic kingdom of Ghana, though one confuses the facts by referring to the king "of what is now Ghana". This text (1960) credits old Ghana with

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[17]Shackelford, pp. 22, 47, 30.

[18]Herman Dreer, "The Education of the Negro with Respect to his Background," Journal of Negro History, (January, 1934), 49.

[19]See Chapter IV.

[20]L. V. Williams, "Teaching Negro Life and History in Texas High Schools," Journal of Negro History, (January, 1935), p. 13.

effective government, a code of laws, learning, and luxurious living.[21] The other (1961) quotes from an unnamed Muslim traveler's visit to Timbuctu.[22] A third text, published in 1962, describes the Nok culture and the Zimbabwe ruins. Quotations from Ibn Battuta and Leo Africanus report on the economy of the Sudanic cities. The variety of traditional policial systems is emphasized with quotations describing the Bailundu democratic government, the Zanj method of choosing kings, and the Lozi and Shona judicial processes.[23]

Children's trade books have both perpetuated the "no African history" myth and helped to destroy it. In Buchan's Prester John, the legend of Prester John is treated as fact.[24] In Stevens' Lion Boy, the god of the Assyrians is found in the jungle. Waldeck's On Safari has several chapters on Makala (another Zimbabwe?) whose founders were supposed to have been a light-skinned race.[25] Busoni describes kingdoms with barbaric tyrants in Stanley's Africa. The Ashanti savage king used a skull for a drinking cup. Mutesa of Uganda was half-civilized, writes Busoni, but his ruling class was descended from the Egyptians.[26] The last three books reflect the Hamitic myth.

Bomba Lives in Africa represents another attitude. The author states that white people who believe Africans didn't ever weave cloth don't know much about African history. She then tells about Kano and

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[21]Lester B. Rogers, Fay Adams and Walker Brown, Story of Nations, (New York: Henry Holt, 1960):, p. 660.

[22]Cooper, p. 397.

[23]Stavrianos, pp. 28-30, 61-62.

[24]John Buchan, Prester John, (New York: George Doran, 1910).

[25]Theodore Waldeck, On Safari, (New York: Viking, 1940).

[26]Rapaello Busoni, Stanley's Africa, (New York: Viking, 1944).

other African towns which existed before the white man came to Africa.[27] One of the best children's books on Africa is Colin Turnbull's Peoples of Africa. He maintains that the definition of civilization includes Africans. African societies have kept law and order with justice and equality, have resolved human conflicts with a minimum of violence, and have a moral code; thus they are civilized. His explanations of the land conflict between the Kikuyu and the Europeans and of the misunderstanding between the British and the Ashanti concerning the golden stool bring a new degree of objectivity to African history.[28]

A third period of African history, not so fully ignored as the African past before the European arrival nor so well described as ancient North Africa, is the slave trade. When the earliest American textbooks came out, the slave trade still existed legally. In the 1800 edition of his geography, Jedidiah Morse described the trade on the Guinea coast: "The English exchange their woolen and linen manufactures, their hard and spirituous liquors for the persons of the natives. Among the Negroes, a man's wealth consists in the number of his family, which he sells like so many cattle and at an inferior price."[29]

By 1838, Goodrich could say that the slave trade had nearly ceased. He credited the Portuguese with beginning the "horrid" traffic and the English with continuing it. He explained that vessels went to West Africa and purchased from African princes prisoners which

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[27]Caroline Singer and Cyrus LeRoy Baldridge, Bomba Lives in Africa, (Holiday House, 1935).

[28]Colin Turnbull, Peoples of Africa, (Cleveland: World, 1962).

[29]Johnson, p. 336.

they had for sale. Sometimes the captains would go ashore and raid towns for slaves. During the middle passage, the slaves were half-starved and suffered from disease and unkind treatment. "Such was their distress," says Goodrich, "that they would beat their brains out or jump overboard." Perhaps half perished.[30]

Out of twenty-eight history books published in the twentieth century, seventeen do not even mention the slave trade. Nine texts mention the slave trade; typically, the trade is called "horrible" and a paragraph is devoted to its abolition. Two other histories devote a page or more to the slave trade. One textbook team (1950) points out the positive and negative results of the trade ~~it~~ as it sees them: the descendants were freed, civilized and Christianized in the course of time, but race problems caused trouble.[31] After describing how the demand for slaves by the Europeans increased raiding and wars among the Africans, another text (1961) singles out an unexpected result of the slave trade: the introduction of new crops.[32] Only Stavrianos in the Global History of Man (1962) explains the effects of the slave trade on Africa. He also explores the meaning of domestic slavery in Africa.[33]

The slave trade is one area of African history which became a part of American history. An analysis of American history textbook treatment of the Negro by M. E. Carpenter in 1941 showed a disproportionate amount of space devoted to slavery. While the slave trade

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[30]Goodrich, History, p. 96.
[31]Hayes, Moon and Wayland, p. 436.
[32]Cooper, The Changing Old World, p. 417.
[33]Stavrianos, pp. 31-32.

seems to have been an unpleasant subject to be avoided, slavery itself had to be justified. Here the image of the African and the image of the Negro American slave merged. An 1852 American history stated that the slaves of the United States were better off than the peasants of Europe or the wild tribes of Africa. Other schoolbooks published between 1831 and the Civil War used the phrases "ignorant", "far inferior" and "well-suited to a hot climate" to describe the slaves. The accounts of the slaves in books published between 1866 and 1900 described them as "docile", "better able to work in the fields than white men", "brave on the battlefield", "faithful", "black", "humble", and "heathen practicing wild African customs." Histories by Evans (1909) and Guitteau (1919) stated that Negroes originated in Africa where they were savages. Texts published between 1920 and 1930 continued to use unfavorable characteristics while admitting that the Negro had made great progress from the primitive stage in half a century.[34]

Miss Carpenter's analysis stopped at the year 1939, but complaints about the treatment of the Negro in American history texts did not end. A 1961 article by L. D. Reddick in the Journal of Negro History calls for the rewriting of the reconstruction period. Earlier, in 1934, he had related the picture of Negro American history as presented in Southern textbooks: the Negroes, who had been lifted from barbarism in Africa, were contented and docile.[35]

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[34]Marie Elizabeth Carpenter, The Treatment of the Negro in American History School Textbooks, (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta, 1941), pp. 67,69,74,84,91.

[35]L. D. Reddick, "Racial Attitudes in American History Books of the South", Journal of Negro History, (July, 1934), 225-265.

Thus the textbook treatment of slavery in the United States as well as of the slave trade helped to mold the image of the savage and inferior black. Most of the explorers, whose adventures still make exciting reading for students, also advanced the theme of the savage African. In this period of African history, the exploration of the continent by Europeans, the textbooks outdid themselves. The story of Livingstone and Stanley was told in nineteen out of twenty-eight world histories printed after the event; nine out of twenty-six geographies also told the story. Sometimes there was a picture of Stanley meeting Livingstone and uttering the famous phrase. Sometimes other explorers and their achievements were mentioned, including Mungo Park, Speke, Baker, de Caille, Landers, Denham, Clapperton, and Laing. In one schoolbook (1924), Livingstone is credited with making people Christians and stopping them from eating one another.[36] In another account of his adventures (1932), a story is told about a lion crushing Livingstone's foot. Often the worst enemies of these explorers were the natives, says the author.[37] A 1961 text uses quotations from the diaries of Livingstone and Stanley to make the story more realistic.[38] A world history writer (1952) says that the explorers' adventures are as exciting as any Tarzan thriller.[39]

Although encyclopedias concentrated on nineteenth century exploration, they also recognized earlier explorers. Herodotus'

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[36]Hillyer, History, p. 412.
[37]Huntington, How Countries Differ, p. 308.
[38]Cooper, Learning to Look at our World, pp. 134-139.
[39]R. O. Hughes, The Making of Today's World, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1952, 56), p. 600.

comments on Africa, Hanno's voyage, Arab travelers, and Portuguese explorers were mentioned in nine of the nineteen encyclopedias analyzed. Only occasionally were the Arabs distinguished by name or places visited. Several encyclopedias described Portuguese relations with the Congo and Monomatapa. The Encyclopedia Britannica (1955) states that Christianity was adopted in the Kingdom of the Congo through Portuguese efforts.[40] After reading letters from Affonso, king of Congo, to Manuel, king of Portugal, one wonders if the former wasn't more concerned with Christianity and the latter with slaves.[41]

The story of the explorers usually follows an explanation of the Dark Continent and its barriers to exploration. The list of barriers may include the straight coast with few harbors, the rapids in the rivers, the climate, disease, desert, and hostile tribes. Sometimes the language was more picturesque. According to Wallbank (1956), the "barren desert" and "dense jungle" made Africa a "land of mystery".[42] An earlier text (1927) described the dark forests and jungle lands inhabited by fierce and wonderful animal life and hostile native tribes.[43] A 1917 geography worried about the Arab tribes who killed travelers and the black savages who held the fertile lands to the south.[44] A 1929 encyclopedia described the "silent wilderness

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[40]"Africa", Encyclopedia Britannica, 1955, Vol. I., p. 320.
[41]Basil Davidson, Black Mother, (London: Gollancz, 1961), pp. 118-125.
[42]Wallbank, p. 537.
[43]Barnard and Roorbach, p. 633.
[44]Frye, New Geography, p. 13.

of jungle or desert which watched day and night ready to swallow up the work of the Mediterranean fringe".[45] At any rate, there was no question that Livingstone and Stanley were opening up the continent to civilization and a method of bringing civilization to the Dark Continent - imperialism or colonialism - soon developed.

This fifth period of African history was discussed to the exclusion of all other periods in six histories and four geographies published in the twentieth century. Generally, this was true because the texts dealt with Africa under the European powers. If this arrangement was not followed, then part of the chapter on nineteenth century imperialism would be devoted to Africa. More space was allotted to the history of South Africa than to the history of any other area. Fourteen history texts included information on Cecil Rhodes and on the Boer War. In explaining the sudden scramble for colonies in the eighteen-eighties, nine world histories described the founding of the Congo Association, its high-sounding motives, and its atrocities. The words "scandals", "outrages", and "atrocities" were used to describe Leopold's rule. One text (1946) rationalized that although Leopold forgot his humanitarian motives of stopping the slave trade, cannibalism, and other native barbarities, it would still take years of work and patience to bring the natives civilized ways.[46]

Backwardness was usually the reason given for the comparatively

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[45]Compton's, p. 32.

[46]Arthur C. Bining, Richard H. Shryock, and Morris Wolf, This Our World, (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1946), p. 468.

bloodless takeover of Africa by the Europeans. Explained one textbook team (1950): "Carving out empires in Africa was easy. For a few bottles of gin, some guns and a lot of gaudy trinkets a native chieftain could be bribed to sign a treaty (which he could not read) placing his lands under a European power."[47] Another textbook (1954) wrote that there was no serious resistance. The chiefs simply signed their X, but it was hard to get the natives to work.[48] Perhaps it mattered little that heroes of African resistance such as Samory Touré were not mentioned as they would have been villains in the texts. But the generalization that the backward natives were not well enough organized to put up any strong resistance[49] is far from fact.

The motives for imperialism in Africa were variously explained. Trade was an important one. As business interests increased, the Europeans found it necessary to take over the task of governing, explained one book (1960).[50] A desire to secure and develop the natural resources of Africa was the reason for the scramble, stated another text (1927).[51] Humanitarianism and a belief that western culture was best were other motives. Sometimes this was expressed as the "white man's burden". The contribution of missionaries "who

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[47]Hayes, Moon and Wayland, p. 723.

[48]Frederic C. Lane, Eric F. Goldman, and Erling M. Hunt, The World's History, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1954), p. 546.

[49]Atwood, p. 57.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Barnard and Roorbach, p. 611.

tried to humanize and civilize native custom" as well as to convert[52] falls into this category.

Textbook analyses of imperialism as a system leaned toward the benefits. Bradley wrote (1945): "Such a system of governing the weaker and more backward peoples of the earth contains both good and bad elements." He maintained that social rights and wrongs of the system were outside the study of geography, but noted that regions which would otherwise be beyond the margins of world civilization were brought into that civilization by such exploitation.[53] Since the "primitive life of thatched huts was not relieved by civilization of any sort", Wallbank (1956) saw important benefits from imperialism including the abolition of slavery, the stopping of lawlessness, the ending of tribal wars and the introduction of modern hygiene. On the negative side, he pointed out that the Africans lost land and did not enjoy the riches.[54]

Individual European countries differed in colonial policy, but these differences were rarely noted. A 1926 geography gave credit to the French for introducing new systems of agriculture. The text commented:

> The French are also helping to give their colonies in Africa a more stable form of government. This makes it safe for Europeans to settle in the more desirable parts of the country. With the coming of settlers from France and other countries of Europe progress in industries and government is sure to be rapid... . As the

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[52] Colliers Encyclopedia, 1949, p. 165.
[53] Bradley, p. 332.
[54] Wallbank, p. 512.

> African possessions are developed they will supply France with still larger quantities of food and raw materials. As the people advance in civilization they will need more of the manufactured goods of the mother country. At the same time through French influence the people are becoming accustomed to higher standards of living and the region is being made more useful to the whole world.[55]

The author of a 1921 history commended the French for a wise and humane colonial policy which allowed the uncivilized inhabitants as much self-government as they were capable of handling.[56] A 1945 text also praised France for doing so much for the people of her colonial possessions.

> Roads and railroads have been built, arid lands have been reclaimed, improved methods of agriculture have been introduced and forest and mineral resources developed. Even more important are the advances made in sanitation and education. French language, traditions and customs have been taught and respect for law established.[57]

The same text commended the British for adopting the wise policy of permitting the natives to own land and for creating individual responsibility through the levying of taxes.[58] A 1949 elementary geography did not pass judgment on the Belgians in the Congo, but concluded that the Belgians are proud of the improvement they have made because they are sure that the savage tribes, working by themselves, would never have attained such benefits.[59] In only one text

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[55]Leonard O. Packard and Charles P. Sinnott, Nations as Neighbors, (New York: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 387-88.

[56]Henry W. Elson, Modern Times and the Living Past, (New York: American Book Co., 1921, 25), p. 570.

[57]Chamberlain, p. 385.

[58]Ibid., pp. 418, 420.

[59]Carpenter, p. 175.

was the Italian defeat by the Ethiopians at Adowa mentioned. The German colonial effort was labeled "frightful" in another text.

Some schoolbooks found it difficult to see a cheerful side to colonialism. Becker, who wrote Modern History (1931), was condescending. "The African took on European civilization to the extent of learning a few French words and acquiring a taste for gin."[60] More recent texts are more objectively critical. A 1961 geography admits natives were treated unfairly in the past.[61] Some schoolbooks explain a shift from exploitation to development. To Pounds and Cooper (1957), development means the development of resources for African good as well as European and encouragement of native institutions.[62] Another team of writers (1953) points out that it will take years to bring about this progress which is expected to benefit both the native and the governing peoples.[63]

Only two texts, both published in the sixties, seem interested in what the African thought about all this. "Did the Africans wish their lands to be colonies?" asks one geography. "The answer seems to be no." This book states that the Europeans did not build enough schools and hospitals and did not give the Africans a share in the government.[64] The Global History of Man looks carefully at the effects of colonialism on Africa. Colonial rule is evaluated from an economic

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[60]Becker, p. 597.
[61]Atwood, p. 57.
[62]Pounds and Cooper, p. 588.
[63]Leonard Packard, Bruce Overton, and Ben Wood, Geography of the World, (New York: Macmillan, 1953), p. 464.
[64]Cooper, p. 407.

standpoint and then the influence of traders, missionaries, European government and the white settlers is considered.[65]

Earlier, the only challenge to European imperialism had come from Woodson in his book for teachers on Africa. He interpreted the partition of Africa as in keeping with the European policy of satisfying its greed for material things. Even education was arranged to produce wealth for the Europeans, said Woodson. He questioned how Europeans could say they stopped wars - what about their own wars?[66]

The last period of African history - independence - is obviously covered by only the most recent texts. The future of Africa had been considered, however, for fifty years. In 1911 a geography text speculated: "The civilization of races sunk for centuries in savagery cannot be accomplished in a few generations, but prospects for improvement in central Africa are better than anywhere else in the tropics."[67] Improvement at this time did not suggest self-government. Certainly the author of an elementary text published in 1928 was not thinking of self-rule for Africans when he wrote, "It may be that white people will live in the highlands of Africa and direct the work of the natives in the lowlands".[68]

The picture of Africa's future which Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia painted in 1929 was positively rosy. The natives were being trained to civilized life. The land was growing more fertile under

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[65]Stavrianos, pp. 51-54.

[66]Woodson, African Background, p. 146.

[67]Dryer, p. 499.

[68]Branom, Geography of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and Polar Regions, p. 166.

the plow, mineral products were being exploited, transportation facilities were developing, schools and factories were springing up side by side. Tribal wars were a thing of the past. In fact, natives were even winning the right to vote in some sections. Summed up the encyclopedia article: "The day of the savage is indeed ended in Africa."[69] Yet, of what "man" were the authors of a 1944 geography thinking when they concluded that "in the age of flight no part of Africa will be beyond the reach of man to explore, to develop and to possess."[70]

But are the natives ready for self-government? The question was debated often in the years following World War II. The Europeans were not very optimistic. Such an informed British Africanist as Margery Perham estimated in 1951 that British colonies in Africa might be self-governing by the end of the century.[71] When a Belgian drew up a plan in the early nineteen fifties for an independent Congo within thirty years, the government was horrified. As usual, the European looked at Africa from his European eye. He did not listen to Kwame Nkrumah who wrote in 1944: "Britain may claim that she holds the colonies under trusteeship until they are capable of self-government, but it is not in her interest to relinquish the stranglehold. The African, however, was perfectly capable of governing himself before the advent of the white man and should be allowed to do so again."[72]

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[69]Compton's, p. 40.
[70]Packard, Overton, and Wood, p. 731.
[71]Foreign Affairs, p. 131.
[72]Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana, An Autobiography, (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1959), p. 38.

The second sentence of Nkrumah's statement is the key. What the European and the American do not know or remember is that Africa did govern herself except for perhaps seventy-five years. Thus they use the terms "emerging" and "awakening" to describe Africa. Like the phrase "Dark Continent" these words reflect the way Americans look at Africa. The thrust of the continent into the newspapers and magazines has awakened Americans to Africa. Between March 1953 and February 1959, they could have read only thirty-nine magazine articles on the Belgian Congo. Between March 1959 and February 1965, 363 articles were printed concerning the Congo (Leopoldville). The violent civil war captured the headlines. During the same two periods, twenty-six and then sixty-two articles appeared on Nigeria.[73]

Americans are surprised by what they read. Story of Nations (1960) says it this way: "The ferment is all the more remarkable because Africans are largely illiterate and until a few years ago had had practically no experience in self-government."[74] Again, in reporting on Ghana, the same text states that where a century ago there were primitive tribes untouched by modern civilization, now there is a state advancing toward democracy and proving native Africans can govern themselves.[75] "The future is no longer dark," says another text (1961). "The people are learning to take their places as citizens of the modern world."[76]

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[73]Numbers of articles figured from Readers Guide.
[74]Rogers, Adams, Brown, p. 635.
[75]Ibid., p. 650.
[76]Drummond, p. 273.

Perhaps worry and dismay have been more prevalent reactions. Magazine headlines showed concern: "Can Africa Come of Age?; Ready or Not; Ahead for Africa: Dictators, Tribal Wars, Red Influence; Africa: World's Biggest Trouble Spot; At the Edge of Anarchy; Out of the Jungles: New Nations and New Problems; Is Democracy Possible?; Africa, a Continent Afire; Don't Decry Colonialism; End of Era with the Threat of Jungle Taking Over; Turmoil All Through Africa."[77] A textbook (1956) worries about an emerging Africa where most have no schooling and little knowledge of democratic ways.[78] An encyclopedia article (1961) states: "Complicating the difficulties is the impatience of the African Negro peoples in their struggle to improve their place in life."[79] Another encyclopedia (1964) says: "It remains to be seen how the rest of the world will react to help Africa shape genuine political and social stability out of chaos and conflict."[80]

The rest of the world, specifically the Communist part of the world, is the newest worry to appear in textbooks and even more so in student and adult thinking. Making of Today's World (1962) includes two paragraphs on the Soviet Union in Africa. This challenge to America, says the author, is made difficult by the political immaturity of African nations.[81] Past to Present (1963) is the only text analyzed which deals somewhat extensively with the Congo problem through 1961.

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[77]Readers Guide, March 1959 to February 1961.
[78]Wallbank, p. 725.
[79]"Africa", World Book, 1961, Vol. 1, p. 104.
[80]"Africa", Encyclopedia International, 1964, Vol. I, p. 112.
[81]James H. McCrocklin, The Making of Today's World, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1962), pp. 713-14.

The authors state that Lumumba blamed the West for Congo difficulties and so called on the Soviet Union for help. The Communist threat faded, the text continues, when Lumumba was deposed and killed.[82]

Recent events in Burindi, Congo Brazzaville and Zanzibar, as well as Congo Leopoldville, have prompted "studies" of Communism in Africa in newsmagazines and newspapers. These have inspired questions such as: "Did you ever meet any Communists? Are the Communists going to take over in Africa? Isn't Nkrumah (or Touré or Nyerere) a Communist?" High school students write:[83]

> In Ghana the president is Nkrumah who tends to like the Communist line.
>
> Red China has been successful in appealing to the people. They claim that the colored people should unite against white oppressors, including Russia.
>
> Africa has become a vast field for communist propaganda. The prime interloper seems to be the Chinese. They try, by playing up U.S. race prejudice, to win over the countries.
>
> Africa is a rising continent of new nations having difficulties establishing themselves and keeping clear of the cold war.

Textbooks also show concern over events in South Africa, and here, too, the menace of communism raises its head. "Communism, nationalism and colonialism meet head on in South Africa," states a 1959 geography.[84] Says a recent world history (1960): The Afrikaners are determined to maintain apartheid and risk possible future penetration by Communists besides violent racial explosions.[85] Two texts

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[82]Sydney H. Zebel and Sidney Schwartz, Past to Present, (New York: Macmillan, 1963), p. 687.

[83]From themes written by students at Lakewood High School, Ohio.

[84]James and Davis, p. 439.

[85]Zebel and Schwartz, p. 688.

explain the system of apartheid.[86] After describing the situation in South Africa, Wallbank (1956) says that "naturally, the Africans are rebellious."[87] The Wide World (1959) describes the problems in South Africa by taking each group separately. The British, says this text, want equal rights for all the educated, the Afrikaners are extreme nationalists and want strict separation, the coloured used to be an appendage to the white race, and the Indians are disliked by all. The native has not been rebellious because he is used to accepting authority of the chief, states the text. The authors conclude:

> The course of history cannot be reversed. Primitive or simple cultures the world over have proved unable to survive in the face of the dynamic changing European culture, with its revolutionary new ideas and its enormous productivity given by the new technology. So it is impossible now either to return Negroes from different parts of the world to Africa, or to withdraw the European settler from Africa.
>
> Ways must be found so that newcomer and native can live together. Yet in few other places is it so difficult to apply the Christian ideal that all men are brothers, especially where there is such a wide gulf between the well-educated and prosperous European colonist and poor, illiterate native, inexperienced in the complexities of modern life.
>
> As the native African finds opportunities to get an education and to gain experience, he finds his position intolerable. Where he used to work patiently for the strange foreigners, he now begins to understand the ideas of democratic revolution and to insist that they should be applied to people of all races. The stage is set for disaster - a disaster which would engulf European colonists and native Africans alike.[88]

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[86]Rogers, Adams and Brown, p. 650 and Zebel and Schwartz, p. 688.
[87]Wallbank, p. 226.
[88]James and Davis, pp. 438,39.

Here is the poor, illiterate native who used to work patiently for the well-educated and prosperous white man but now has learned something about democracy and wants his rights. The student never learns that Roy Welensky, prime minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland until its demise, was a railroad engineer, while J. Tengo Jabavu, a "native", was a college professor half a century ago. The Nobel Peace Prize did go to a black South African. Still, Albert Luthuli pointed out in his acceptance speech in Norway the tradition of African resistance in men such as Shaka, Moshoeshoe, and Hintsa.[89]

Africa has joined the world history being made in the nineteen sixties. Her ministers speak in the United Nations. A "native" has been president of the General Assembly. Her problems, if not her achievements, reach the newspapers. The Congo is a familiar name in the headlines. An article about tiny Burindi can be found on an inside page of the local city paper, not only in the New York Times.

African current events have made high school students somewhat more knowledgeable about Africa than students of even five years ago. Their parents are at least concerned about communism in Africa. The fact that Africa had a history before it was submerged in and then emerged from colonialism is not known, however. The African past is still a closed book in American schools and in American minds. A Benin bronze evokes the same response from teachers and students: "Is that what they worshipped?" An identification quiz of African

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[89]Albert Luthuli, "Africa and Freedom" in Africa's Freedom, (London: Unwin Books, 1964), p. 17.

names includes Mansa Musa but not one student to whom the test is given recognizes the name.

Is there any hope? That is the subject of the final chapter.

CHAPTER IV

IS THERE ANY HOPE?

"Out of Africa comes something always new."
Ancient Greek saying quoted by Pliny

The question "Is there any hope?" is often posed by Americans about the Congo or Rhodesia. If they add "for democracy", they may be wondering about Ghana or Guinea. As a chapter title here, however, this question refers not to Africa's problems but to America's problem of understanding Africa.

"I don't want to write anybody with a bone in his nose," replied a ninth grade girl to a suggestion that she might enjoy writing an African pen pal. Another girl in the group saved African men from "savagery". "I know you're all gonna laugh," she said bashfully, "but I have cousins who live in Africa and the boys are cute." These two statements reflect the dichotomy of the present American image of Africa. Probably the typical American attitude falls in between. The image of the "primitive" Africans remains, but on the other hand, more and more Americans are learning about "modern" Africans through personal contact with African students in the United States and by talking with fellow citizens who have worked with Peace Corps or the Agency for International Development or an American company in Africa.

To discover whether there is a possibility of a new, more objective image of Africa, one might look first at the attitudes of present day secondary school pupils. Second, one might look at the new curricula in social studies and the new library or trade books. Third, one might suggest how the educational establishment could help Americans conceive of Africa in a new way.

First, then, how does an American high school student perceive Africa? When asked to describe an African what does he say? What does he think an African looks like?[1] Few of the comments are flattering. Some students do recognize that Africans may differ.

> Short, kinky hair, dark skin, small height, loincloth, feathers, no shoes, dirty hands, unwashed face.
>
> Dark-skinned, thick lips, broad nose, no overhang of skull, dark eyes, backward, primitive. (This comment was accompanied by a drawing of a savage-looking man with a bone through his nose.)
>
> Dark black skin coloring, longer jaw than we have which is characteristic of primitive man, mostly long-legged and uneducated.
>
> Dark skin to protect him from the sun; not very intelligent because hasn't had a chance to learn.
>
> Dark skin, curly hair, not much clothing, large feet.
>
> Large, dark, black curly hair, brown eyes, flat nose, big lips.
>
> Dark-skinned, tall, rather uneducated, athletic, close-cropped hair, slender, muscular.
>
> A person who is black, usually small and often has malnutrition.
>
> Colored man who lives in Africa.
>
> An African depends on who you mean. There are the natives with dark skins and men from Europe and America with white skins.
>
> There are four different Africans, the Arabic, the colonist white, the educated British Negro, the members of African tribes.

Although the words "uncivilized" and "primitive" are often used,

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[1]The following comments come from the Houston-Lincoln test (see Appendix E) and from themes by students at Lakewood High Summer School and Willowick Junior High in Ohio.

a few students recognize that some Africans live in modern houses in cities or shacks in the city slums and work as professional people or in factories or mines.

> Ignorant, primitive but progressive in many areas.
>
> Basically simple character but desire for European progress.
>
> In some cases still relatively primitive in customs but others are modern, well-educated men.
>
> Usually illiterate or barely literate, dresses in shirts, pants, wants modernization.
>
> Africans work as servants, field hands, and gun carriers on safari; they also serve as ministers, doctors, etc.
>
> Used to be hunters and craftsmen, now more work on plantations and in industries.
>
> Africans living in tribes work for survival. Others work on plantations in fields, others manual labor. Others go to college and get higher wage jobs. They live in grass huts in the jungle, shacks in "shanty-towns" and nicer homes.

Perhaps the most encouraging sign is the questioning attitude. From one student comes the question: "Are Africans just like ordinary people?" and another says, "I think that most of the people were uncivilized. I guess maybe this is still correct, but I'm not sure."

Yet the stereotypes and the implied racial inferiority are very much alive. Sophomores at Lakewood High School took a true-false test which used some of the statements other high school students had made about Africa.[2] Of the 390 students who took the test, 53% agreed that "an African has a larger jaw than we do; this is a characteristic of primitive man". "Africans have a basically simple character, but desire

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[2]See Appendix F.

European progress," said 52%. More than a third, 37%, marked true the statement "an African has black skin to protect him from the sun". Statements which allowed for diversity among Africans elicited more positive responses. "In some cases," agreed 88%, "Africans are primitive in customs, but others are modern, well-educated men." "Africans live in grass huts in the jungle, shacks in shantytowns and nicer homes" received a "yes" response from 74%.

The conception of geography of Africa also suffers from stereotypes. When Lakewood students were asked to agree or disagree with the statement "Africa's climate is generally hot and humid," 87% agreed. The statement "Africa is a jungle-ridden continent where wild animals roam" was marked true by 56%. The answers to the open-ended question on climate on the Houston-Lincoln test show that some students realize there are at least two kinds of climate on the continent: hot and wet and hot and dry. A few students also recognize a Mediterranean-type climate at the extreme ends of the continent. Vegetation is identified as jungle and desert by most students. Some specific comments include:

> The climate is hot and humid. . . Thick dense jungles line most of Africa where mountains and deserts flourish, too.
>
> Africa is a primitive jungle-ridden continent and contains more rich natural resources than most any other.
>
> Africa is rich in natural resources, coal, iron, diamonds and beautiful jungle areas. Many types of wild animals are to be found roaming the jungle. In the jungle the age-old law of kill or be killed still survives.
>
> I see the northern deserts, the central forest and the southern and western plains. I see the Nile, the Congo, the beautiful new buildings in Capetown and the miserable hovels in the jungle. . . and of course, I see lions and elephants.

When asked about animals of Africa, students name elephants, lions, monkeys and tigers most frequently. One student did write that "African game, long believed to be inexhaustible, now must be protected on large game reserves."

Knowledge of specific places and people is limited. The identification section of the test given to two eleventh grade history classes in Houston, Texas and Lincoln, Nebraska included seven place names. Of the 47 students taking the quiz, 30 knew Kilimanjaro was a mountain; two connected it with Hemingway's famous short story. The Niger was recognized as a river and/or a country in West Africa by 35, but only 10 had ever heard of the Zambezi River. Cairo was identified by 41 students, while 31 knew Johannesburg and 19 Timbuctu. No one recognized Ibadan.

Also on the quiz were ten people related to Africa. Tarzan topped all; only five students did not know who he was. Seven knew that Edgar Rice Bourroughs was responsible for the character and stories. Albert Schweitzer was recognized by 36 students. He was claimed as an American doctor by 73% of the students who took the Lakewood test. On the Houston-Lincoln test, 31 knew David Livingstone and 28 Henry Stanley. No one knew Mansa Musa whose pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324 put him on a European map of the time. Of modern African leaders, Nasser was recognized by 29 students. Haile Selassie was identified by 12 students, Jomo Kenyatta by 11, Lumumba by 10, and Kwame Nkrumah by 3. The Lakewood test showed that 70% of the students did not know Kenyatta and 60% did not know Lumumba.

When students were asked about African governments and religions

before the Europeans came, they used the words "tribal" and "primitive" to describe them. Several saw the African governments and religions as different, but all right, perhaps better for them. "Africans, like Europeans, were held together by a code of morals and governments," wrote one student. When that statement was included on the Lakewood test, 84% of the students agreed with it. One student noted in her theme on Africa that the pagan religions had some belief in a supreme being. Other comments on African religions included: "voodoo; Africans worship many gods; pagan and unconverted; and superstitious." On the Lakewood test, 55% marked true the statement "Africans are pagans who worship many gods."

Trying to evaluate colonialism, most of the Houston and Lincoln students talked about "civilizing" - meaning the help Europeans gave in advancing medicine and education, agriculture and industry. The Lakewood test showed 65% believed the "Europeans civilized the Africans by building hospitals and schools", while 58% agreed that "the whites also exploited the land and tried to keep down the blacks." The Houston and Lincoln students described the bad side of colonialism. Eight students wrote about exploitation, specifically of natural resources. Fifteen mentioned the psychological problems of whites ruling as masters and the resulting racial discrimination. One put the problem this way: "The whites tended to overcivilize yet underprivilege the African." Another concluded that the "whites have exploited the land and tried to keep down the blacks but on the other hand have introduced new machinery, increased education and medical concern." A third student listed as the beneficial aspects of

colonialism: "medicine, religion, schooling, help in organization." The harmful effect was "trying to force Africans into an American mold they aren't designed for and destroying the individuality of the African race." From a fourth student came this list: "Beneficial - commerce, development of natural resources, and European culture. Harmful - idea of success with work and loss of tribe idea and loss of identity."

In thinking about the future of Africa, American high school students look from western eyes and see the continent becoming "more civilized", "more progressive", and "more like us". For example:

> It will probably develop to be more like us in education, industry, etc.
>
> I think it will be more civilized but not to the extent that it becomes a leading nation of the world.
>
> Africa will improve slowly over the years.
>
> Africa will become more industrialized somewhat in the next fifty years but will take perhaps 200 years to become as industrialized as America is today.
>
> Fairly modernized but not like the U.S.
>
> Africa will eventually become relatively unified and will develop its industries.
>
> It will develop greatly, will become industrialized and will almost become a modern country.
>
> It will in due time become a more civilized and prosperous country.
>
> Africa will become more advanced in industry and the people will be more educated, but I think on the whole the primitive natives will never be completely won over to civilized society.
>
> Africa will become partially agrarian and industrial. The governments will become centralized and stabilized

> eventually and as they do so Africans will become educated and prosperous.
>
> The continent might eventually become awakened but it will take centuries for all to be fully civilized and cast away old ways of life. Asking negroes to evolve from primitive to highly civilized in a few short years - took us thousands of years.

Lakewood students reacted to two of the above statements on their test. "In the future, Africa will probably develop to be more like us in education and industry and other ways," agreed 76%. But 48% said that "Africa's primitive natives will never be completely won over to civilized society."

The cold war and revolution are themes in some students' comments about Africa. Yet some recognize that there is more to be considered in an understanding of current African problems, that there is another side.

> Africa today is largely underdeveloped and will play and is playing a large part in the East and West Cold War as it has not declared itself to be either pro west or pro east but has been playing both sides of the fence.
>
> There are revolutions all over Africa caused by the U.S. and the Communists.
>
> The people are groping steadily for world position and independence; they will get themselves into trouble this way.
>
> I feel Communist or other outside forces have influenced some of these countries, but on the whole I don't think they have had a serious effect upon the majority of these countries. (69% of the Lakewood students agreed with that statement.)
>
> These colonies' fight for independence is the result of colonization and the cause of many riots and coups, for example the rebellion in the Congo and the Patrice Lumumba incident.
>
> Africa has become a major trouble spot in the world

> today because basically of its backwardness. Other nations or political ideas have tried and are still trying to influence the illiterates to change their way of life for a utopia which is bound to come. This has caused revolution after revolution, bloody battle after bloody battle until the movement for a Free Africa has become blood-stained. In twenty short years it has risen from a colony continent into a circle with the leaders of the world.
>
> In Africa as in most countries people are split over issues and ideas. Most of the news that reaches the U.S. though is about the revolutions or other traces of the violent side of Africa. I feel there is clearly another side to this great continent.

Just as the violent side of American city life appears so frequently in the newspapers and newsmagazines, so the violent side of Africa most often draws headlines. How can high school students or adults be expected to gain a new image of Africa when the lead sentence in a front page newspaper story on a zookeeper's trip to Africa begins "In today's 'darkest Africa'. . ."[3] How can another side of Africa be understood when Time and Life concentrate on violence, when coverage of an historic event such as the founding of the Organization of African Unity consists of "a few supercilious paragraphs devoted mostly to the dancing girls in Ethiopian night clubs".[4]

Scanning Readers Guide for the period March 1961 through May 1965, one finds the following colorful headlines listed for Time: "Farewell to Arms: Scandal in Uganda; Three's a Crowd; East Africa; Power of Juju; Revolutionaries Adrift; Anti-American Week; Who is Safe?; Ouster and Death; Forward and Backward; Strain of Being Moderate."

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[3]Cleveland Plain Dealer, October 26, 1965, p. 1.

[4]William A. Payne, "American Press Coverage of Africa", Africa Report, (January, 1966), p. 45.

Descriptive titles also head the many articles on Congo Leopoldville: "Heart of Darkness; One More Try; Rebellion and Reunion; Sound of Chaos; Time Runs Out in the Congo; Across the River and Into the Mess; Again, the Savages; Hoodlum Rebels; Is Anyone in Control?; Massacre Season; Needed: a Divine Force; With Magic Juice and Lucky Grass." While forty-five articles described the Congo troubles in that four-year period, four articles in Time dealt with Nigeria, often called the "brightest hope of Africa". The January 1966 coup elicited weekly articles for a month.

If a picture is worth a thousand words, then perhaps the picture newsmagazine influenced students and adults more. Looking at Life for one year, 1961, one could have read a long article about black magic in Africa, a story about the "mad Baluba stampeding for food", two articles about the Congo - one a fair piece of historical background, and a story about young African students in the United States. Most spectacular, however, was a picture essay billed on the cover as "Africa's savage beauty" with a wild Warega warrior as the cover man. Inside an introduction explained that the photographs were accompanied by quotations from "literature on the Dark Continent". The photographs were superb and, except for Johannesburg miners trudging to work, they fitted the title admirably. Elephants, zebra, a lion, a gnarled almost naked tribesman, Liberian dancing girls, and Masai herders were included. The quotations, picked from Joseph Conrad, Theodore Roosevelt, Ernest Hemingway, and Joyce Cary among others, also fitted with the backward look.[5] Savagery did worry the Life editors. In an editorial in

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[5]"Storied World of Africa", Life, October 13, 1961, pp. 66-87.

February 1964 entitled "Africa - more than teething troubles", Life commented that ". . . newly independent Africans might have reverted instantly to savage anarchy. They still may. The darkness beckons ceaselessly."[6]

Although the newsmagazines keep alive the image of a violent Africa, new curricular materials for the schools offer some hope. Various publishers are putting together background books on Africa, but most of the new information is put up in paperbacks which would have to be purchased by the school system or the student.[7] For the teacher, the American Historical Association has published a pamphlet on African history. Written by Philip Curtin, it summarizes publications reflecting recent research and new interpretations.[8]

The availability of such books has encouraged individual school systems and teachers to initiate special units on Africa. A questionnaire asking about the place of Africa in the secondary social studies curriculum was sent out to nineteen members of the Greater Cleveland Educational Research Council. Twelve replies came back from schools in Ohio, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, and New York. Half of-

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[6]"Africa - more than teeth troubles", Life, February 14, 1964, p. 4.

[7]For example: Africa South of the Sahara, Macmillan; West Africa: the French-Speaking Nations Yesterday and Today, Holt-Rinehart, Winston Contemporary Civilizations Series; Africa and the World Today, Laidlaw's Foreign Relations Series; Africa, Ginn's Studies in Depth; Subsaharan Africa (also a unit in Stavrianos' Global History of Man), Allyn and Bacon; Emerging Africa, Scholastic.

[8]Philip Curtin, African History, (New York: Macmillan, 1964), a publication of the American Historical Association's Service Center for Teachers of History.

these schools have developed units on Africa, most lasting about a month and being a part of a course that emphasizes both western and non-western civilizations. One twelfth grade course uses parallel readings in paperbacks, lectures, and small discussion groups led by graduate students from a nearby university. Another tenth grade course uses the "postholing" method and spends six weeks on Nigeria with the theme of "emerging nation politics". The sophomores read primary source excerpts from the Kano Chronicle, the History of Benin and Azikiwe's speeches among others. Films and plays are presented at the large group meetings, while visits from African college students highlight the small discussion groups.

As members of this research group, these schools should benefit from the Social Science program now being developed by the council. Under the present plan, Africa will appear three times. Only one part has been completed, the kindergarten book, The Child Begins to Know His World. Unit VI is entitled "Children in Central Africa"; "Pgymies" is the subtitle. The kindergartners meet a happy little black boy wearing a loincloth and carrying a bow and arrow. Other drawings show Akia's hut of leaves and sticks and the talking drum by which he can send a message. A giraffe, a snake, and a bird appear under the heading "Jungle Animals" and the picture surprise - draw lines to connect the dots - is an elephant. There are also drawings of a crocodile and a monkey.[9] The tentative outline of the remaining new curricula shows an area study of Africa with the theme "contemporary

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[9]The Child Begins to Know His World, pp. 48-55.

Africa" following the intermediate geography section in the seventh grade. Three nations, possibly Nigeria, South Africa and Ethiopia, will be studied in some detail. The ninth grade will spend the year on comparative political and economic systems and a correlative study of comparative geography and anthropology. One of the eleven countries proposed for study is Nigeria.[10]

Social studies curricula are in the planning stage in many other parts of the country. Since one concern is to give more emphasis to the non-western cultures, Africa, particularly contemporary Africa, will undoubtedly receive more attention.

Will visual aids be of help in the new courses? A perusual of current film catalogues and a comparison with a 1947 list of visual aids shows some progress in this area, too. In 1947 the movies listed, most put out by Encyclopedia Britannica, dealt with tribal life of the Pygmies, Watussi, Masai and Zulu. One movie "How an African tribe is ruled" showed trial by ordeal and the changes brought by colonization. Another, "Ngongo and her People", showed the mission influence while a third, "Father and Son in Gold Coast", showed culture conflict.[11] Films available in 1965, the best often charging a rental fee, usually have an individual country as the subject or view Africa generally. Murrow's "See It Now Report" from Africa (1957) and Congressman Bolton's " Report" (1959) are listed in the three catalogues used by one school system, though certainly movies made before 1960 must generally be considered

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[10]Discussion with director of Greater Cleveland Social Science Program at Educational Research Council.

[11]Wilfred D. Hambly, "Visual Aids to Teaching African Ethnology", Journal of Negro History, (July, 1947), pp. 354-63.

out-of-date. Since 1960, some excellent films have been produced on the new nations, including Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Tanganyika. For example, an Encyclopedia Britannica movie about Nigeria shows Ife art, Kano pageantry, independence celebrations, and using a map, focuses on the then three regions.

The swift pace of events in Africa makes it almost impossible for films to be up-to-date. The Parma School System near Cleveland, Ohio has found a visual way to keep up-to-date. Via the system's television station, about 1700 sixth graders saw sixteen programs on Africa in the spring semester of 1966. Citizens of Nigeria, Kenya, Egypt, Liberia, Rhodesia and Tanzania were interviewed by a teacher. Two programs were devoted to the animals of Africa.[12]

If the outlook is somewhat hopeful in regard to social studies curricula, it seems less hopeful in the field of trade books. Nancy Larrick looked at "The All-White World of Children's Books" in a Saturday Review article in September 1965. Her survey of 5,206 trade books published in 1962, 1963, and 1964 found that only 349 books included one or more Negroes. This figure included faces in a crowd, some so delicately shaded that a reader might wonder if the faces were sunburned. Almost 60% of these 349 books described Negroes outside the United States or before World War II in books of African folk tales and reports on emerging nations or biographies of Lincoln and stories about the underground railroad. Among the few Miss Larrick recommends as having outstanding literary merit are The Peoples of Africa by Colin

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[12]Ann Skinner, "Parma Updates African Studies", Cleveland Plain Dealer, March 3, 1966, p. 41.

Turnbull and Nemo Meets the Emperor by Laura Bannon. Negro librarians who rated books for Miss Larrick labeled thirteen books as objectionable, among them Little Black Sambo and The Lazy Little Zulu. Miss Larrick concludes that "white supremacy in children's literature will be abolished when authors, editors, publishers and booksellers decide that they need not submit to bigots."[13]

As Miss Larrick notes, Africa tales and reports on individual nations have been the most common subjects of trade books on Africa. African folks tales can be read in Shirley Goulden's Stories from Africa, Harold Courlander's The King's Drum and other African Stories, Kathleen Arnott's African Myths and Legends, and the Peter Pauper Press' African Folk Tales, among many others. For information on individual countries, elementary students can read the Coward-McCann series which usually has "Getting to Know" as the first part of the title or the Laidlaw "Understanding" series. The first series uses drawings, the second photographs, but both are fairly well done.

Secondary students, particularly those who are paperback buyers, may have a more difficult time. A catalog of 300 basic school paperbacks, for example, lists only one book on Africa, Conrad's Heart of Darkness. Dell Laurel high school series lists only Haggard's King Solomon's Mines, but their regular series includes Moorehead's The Blue Nile and The White Nile, Susan Feldman's African Myths and Tales and Peter Judd's African Independence. The fourteenth annual exhibit of

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[13]Nancy Larrick, "The All-White World of Children's Books", Saturday Review, September 11, 1965, pp. 63-65, 84-85.

new library books for the year 1965 is not too promising.[14] New biographies of Albert Schweitzer, Cecil Rhodes, and David Livingstone are included. However, A Crown for Thomas Peters is a novel about "an African boy who was sold into slavery in America, escaped and ultimately returned to Sierra Leone as a leader of his people". The other two books set in Africa are Red Ivory which tells about a "young service volunteer who encounters danger and adventure in the wastelands of Uganda" and Exploits in Africa which has stories ranging from gorilla hunts to a Cairo-to-Cape air race.

The books on exhibit in the elementary school category included two books of tales, one called Adventures of Spider and the other King's Contest and other North African Tales. Boy of the Masai, Children of Africa and Taiwo and her Twin are three other books on the list. The last, which tells "how the twin sister of a West African boy achieves her desire to attend school with her brother" suggests that American children may now have an opportunity to find out about Nigerian youngsters who go to school as well as Masai tribesmen who live on blood and meat. The history, customs and daily life of the Tuareg are described in another book, while the Congo River is the setting for an "exciting tale of adventure and discovery". A last book on the elementary list is The Takula Tree in which a "missionary family is caught between rebellious natives and embittered white settlers in present-day Africa".

But what of the future - beyond 1965? Is there any hope? How

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[14]Fourteenth Annual Exhibit of the New Library Books of the Year, Books on Exhibit, Mount Kisco, New York. Pamphlet.

can the negative or, just as bad, the omitted image of the black man which has prevailed in American schools for more than a century and a half be changed into an objective image? How can textbook writers, children's book authors, film makers, teachers, and educators contribute to a new image of Africans and Africa?

First, one may sum up briefly the treatment of Africa in American schoolbooks from 1800 to 1965.

1. There has been far too little taught about Africa. World histories have been the worst offenders, devoting an average of 2.8% to Africa. Elementary geographies have had the largest percentage with 9.7%. These figures include North Africa.

2. The little that has been taught has been unbalanced. In world histories, more than 50% of the space allotted to Africa has been spent on North Africa, particularly Egypt. The Stanley and Livingstone story has been overused, but facts about African kingdoms have almost never been included. Until recently, geographies have emphasized the Congo with side trips to East and South Africa.

3. The little that has been taught has been treated in an episodic manner. Except for several recent histories, world history texts generally have scattered information about Africa under exploration, imperialism and perhaps new nations. Geographies at the secondary level have divided Africa under the European powers who ruled them.

4. There has generally been an imperialistic bias, a looking at Africa through western eyes, a use of the "colonial stereotype" in the words "barbarians" and "natives".

5. African civilization has almost never been presented

independently for its own worth, although a few books have recognized African music or art.

6. Sins of omission have contributed to the one-sided image of Africa. African history before the Europeans came to the continent, effects of the slave trade on Africa, and resistance to colonialism by Africans are topics which are almost never mentioned. In this regard, texts have not kept up with modern scholarship on Africa. Although the physical geography of Africa is probably the most accurately presented information on the continent in schoolbooks today, the failure in the past to denote carefully climate and vegetation regions caused still existing confusion.

7. Until very recently, illustrations in books and encyclopedias emphasized the backwardness of Africa rather than its achievements. Pictures of naked Africans before grass huts or paddling in dugout canoes appeared, but not pictures of Shaka and his warriors or of Kwame Nkrumah. Pictures of Stanley greeting Livingstone or a statue honoring Cecil Rhodes appeared, but not pictures of a Benin mask or the stone ruins at Zimbabwe.

Now what can be done? The image of African character and culture is probably the most difficult area. One improvement would be the abolition of the Pgymy as the representative of Africa about which elementary children learn. Why not a textbook visit to a Nigerian schoolboy? Why not a pen pal exchange between an American class and an African class? Why not an invitation to an African student studying in the United States so American children can see that Africans are "ordinary people"? Culture suggests literature and art. Here there

is a host of possibilities. The high school student studying about the impact of colonialism on the West African could read Chinua Achebe's novels. In studying about South Africa's racial tensions, the student could read more than the popular Alan Paton's Cry the Beloved Country. Perhaps Richard Rive's short stories, Dennis Brutus' poems or Lewis Nkosi's play would add another dimension. The politics of Ghana and Zambia might be better understood after reading the biographies of Kwame Nkrumah and Kenneth Kuanda. Because much African art has been functional, a study of masks might lead to a study of secret societies and a study of Benin sculpture might lead to a study of Benin kings.

As stated earlier, African geography is now the most accurately presented area. Here students need the opportunity to learn about the "whys" behind the rift valley, the wet and dry seasons, and the enlarging desert. A research problem for a high school student might involve the Gondwanaland theory or the problems in creating change in agricultural methods.

The image of African history needs the most refurbishing. Because most teachers do not have the time nor the interest to create their own special units on Africa and because, realistically speaking, most teachers will continue to use textbooks rather than specially published paperback materials, it is imperative that textbooks include African history in world histories. The medieval Sudanic empires could be fitted into a chapter on the expansion of Islam. Some of the excellent material in A Glorious Age in Africa: The Story of Three Great African Empires by Daniel Chu and Elliott Skinner might be incorporated. Another point at which Africa's past might be introduced in the standard

world history is following Egypt, for that ancient civilization made contributions to African history as well as to western civilization. An objective history text would emphasize the effects of the slave trade on both the Americas and Africa and not be satisfied with a paragraph on the abolition of the slave trade. A complaint that there is not enough room in the text for the additions will be forthcoming, but the space devoted to the exploration and colonial periods could be cut down.

Including African history in world history texts is only a stopgap measure, however. Obviously, new social studies curricula are going to have to consider new methods of organization and probably more time for what has come to be the traditional world history class. Treating African geography, economics, culture, and politics as an entity and using the flashback method to present history as Stavrianos' text does is one possibility. Methods of organization which do not rely on the omnipotent text would allow the use of primary source readings. (Stavrianos' text is meant to be accompanied by his Readings in World History) For Africa, this means a student can read not only excerpts from explorers' diaries (why not Barth instead of Stanley?) but also King Affonso of the Congo's letters and Usman don Fodio's writings. Large lecture sections might draw an African ambassador or might perform an African drama. Small discussion groups could become acquainted with African students.

The image of Africans held by Americans is bound to change. The simple fact that Africa has "made the papers" forces Americans to notice the huge continent and to ask questions. But it is essential, especially

for white Americans, that they throw away the myths and learn the facts now. Then, and only then, will they be free to accept the black man in Africa and in America as an equal. Then, and only then, will they be able to participate in a resolution of the crisis in black and white at home and abroad.

All men hold images of other men. During slave trade years, Africans believed the white man was a cannibal. Two years ago at a Mali customs station, a gendarme asked eagerly, "Please tell me, you have seen the cowboys and Indians fighting in America?" Modern African authors have drawn some devastating portraits of white men in Africa. But an African pastor writing half a century ago put his finger on the white man's "heart of darkness".

> Poor resident, he thinks too much of his skin and not of his heart. What is the difference between a white man and a black man? Are we not of the same blood and all from Adam? This startles me much - is Europe still Christian or Heathen?. . . If we had power enough to communicate ourselves to Europe we would advise them not to call themselves "Christiandom" but Europeandom. Therefore the life of the three combined bodies (missionaries, government, companies) is altogether too cheaty, too thefty, too mockery. Instead of "Give" they say "Take away from".[15]

A white man cannot swallow that analysis easily. A black man cannot accept the epitaph "savage" easily. Is it possible each can recognize the other as an individual unmarred by the darkness of colonialism or the darkness of the Congo massacres? Can the images give way and two men meet as equals?

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[15]Basil Davidson, Which Way Africa? (Baltimore: Penguin African Library, 1964), p. 50.

Appendix A

Percentage of Pages Devoted to Africa in 40 Geography Texts of Sample

Books by author and publication date	Percentage of pages devoted to Africa
Morse (1812)	5.0
Olney (1831)	9.0
Goodrich (1842)	6.4
Mitchell (1853)	8.6
Guyot (1875)	*
Maury (1890)	*
Frye (1895)	*
Frye (1901)	5.0
Tarr (1901)	*
Tarr (1904)	*
Dryer (1911)	0.8
Frye (1917)	1.0
Salisbury (1919)	1.0
Chamberlain (1921)	2.0
Packard (1926)	1.0
Branom (1928)	13.5
Hillyer (1929)	7.0
Huntington (1932) How	5.5
Huntington (1932) Why	5.5
Chamberlain (1938)	2.0
Branom (1939)	0.8
Barrows (1941)	18.0
Stamp (1943)	6.0
Packard (1944)	3.0
Bradley (1945)	1.5
McConnell (1945)	10.0
Carpenter (1949)	7.0
Stull (1952)	15.0
Packard (1953)	2.7
Hamer (1955)	12.0
Thralls (1956)	9.4
Pounds (1957)	5.4
Cutright (1959)	8.0
James (1959)	8.0
Atwood (1960)	9.0
Cooper (1961) Learning	13.0
Cooper (1961) The Changing	12.0
Cutright (1961)	11.0
Drummond (1961)	9.6
ERC (1965)	14.0

*Percentage unmeasurable because Africa only mentioned briefly under explanation of races.

Appendix B

Percentage of Pages Devoted to Africa in 30 History Texts of Sample

Books by author and publication date	Percentage of pages devoted to Africa
Goodrich (1838)	4.4
Goodrich (1850)	4.4
Worchester (1852)	0.9
Botsford (1921)	3.0
Elson (1921)	3.0
Van Loon (1921)	2.0
Webster (1921)	3.0
West (1922)	4.3
Beard (1924)	1.2
Hillyer (1924)	3.0
Barnard (1927)	4.0
Becker (1931)	2.5
Wrench (1931)	2.2
Rugg (1932)	0.4
Perkins (1934)	2.5
Webster (1934)	2.6
Capen (1940)	0.8
Boak (1942)	4.2
Kelty (1942)	8.5
Close (1945)	0.8
Bining (1946)	3.0
Hayes (1950)	0.3
Hughes (1952)	2.0
Lane (1954)	1.5
Wallbank (1956)	2.3
Estrin (1957)	3.0
Rogers (1960)	7.6
Zebel (1960)	3.0
McCrocklin (1962)	3.0
Stavrianos (1962)	8.0 + North Africa in Middle East Culture Area

Appendix C

Percentage of Pages Devoted to Areas of Africa in 40 Geography Texts

Books by author and publication date	General Comments	North Africa	Tropical Africa	South Africa
Morse (1812)	18	53	25	4
Olney (1831)	10	40	40	10
Goodrich (1842)	24	34	33	9
Mitchell (1853)	14	49	29	8
Guyot (1875)	*	*	*	*
Maury (1890)	*	*	*	*
Frye (1895)	*	*	*	*
Frye (1901)	28	50	14	8
Tarr (1901)	*	*	*	*
Tarr (1904)	*	*	*	*
Dryer (1911)	**	**	**	**
Frye (1917)	46	31	23	0
Salisbury (1919)	0	25	50	25
Chamberlain (1921)	**	**	**	**
Packard (1926)	0	40	40	20
Branom (1928)	23	35	23	19
Hillyer (1929)	0	33	50	17
Huntington (1932) How	0	35	47	18
Huntington (1932) Why	0	29	54	17
Chamberlain (1938)	6	12	24	58
Branom (1939)	0	96	4	0
Barrows (1941)	0	50	50	0
Stamp (1943)	29	25	21	25
Packard (1944)	4	33	33	30
Bradley (1945)	0	38	38	24
McConnell (1945)	0	46	54	0
Carpenter (1949)	0	0	100	0
Stull (1952)	0	50	50	0
Packard (1953)	25	25	25	25
Hamer (1955)	23	58	11	8
Thralls (1956)	0	33	55	12
Pounds (1957)	22	18	30	30
Cutright (1959)	40	27	18	15
James (1959)	11	27	37	25
Atwood (1960)	0	28	47	25
Cooper (1961) Learning	0	52	48	0
Cooper (1961) The Changing	74	26	0	0
Cutright (1961)	0	94	3	3
Drummond (1961)	18	37	35	10
ERC (1965)	0	0	100	0

*Percentage unmeasurable because Africa only mentioned briefly under explanation or races.

**Percentage unmeasurable because Africa only mentioned under climate.

Appendix D

Percentage of Pages Devoted to Areas of Africa in 30 History Texts

Books by author and publication date	North Africa including ancient Egypt	Tropical Africa including European colonization	South Africa, Republic of
Goodrich (1838)	72	28	0
Goodrich (1850)	72	28	0
Worchester (1852)	100	0	0
Botsford (1921)	75	25	0
Elson (1921)	82	9	9
Van Loon (1921)	93	7	0
Webster (1921)	61	34	5
West (1922)	98	2	0
Beard (1924)	16	68	16
Hillyer (1924)	95	5	0
Barnard (1927)	63	27	10
Becker (1931)	80	10	10
Wrench (1931)	24	43	33
Rugg (1932)	0	100	0
Perkins (1934)	62	19	19
Webster (1934)	66	29	5
Capen (1940)	71	25	4
Boak (1942)	76	12	12
Kelty (1942)	97	3	0
Close (1945)	80	15	5
Bining (1946)	66	17	17
Hayes (1950)	60	31	9
Hughes (1952)	66	20	14
Lane (1954)	62	34	4
Wallbank (1956)	41	53	6
Estrin (1957)	80	20	0
Rogers (1960)	55	41	4
Zebel (1960)	52	34	14
McCrocklin (1962)	30	35	35
Stavrianos (1962)	*	*	*

*This text has general discussion of whole culture area so cannot be divided.

Appendix E

Test Taken by 47 High School Juniors in Houston, Texas and Lincoln, Nebraska

The number of students who could identify correctly the names and places in part I of the following test is given. The answers to the ten questions in part II are incorporated in Chapter IV. Some of the answers provided the statements used in the test given in Lakewood which appears in Appendix F.

I. Identify the following:	25 Houston	22 Lincoln
1. David Livingstone	17	14
2. Patrice Lumumba	7	3
3. Kilimanjaro	19	11
4. Haile Selassie	10	2
5. Niger	16	19
6. Albert Schweitzer	20	16
7. Johannesburg	20	11
8. Kwame Nkrumah	2	1
9. Timbuctu	13	6
10. Henry Stanley	16	12
11. Mansa Musa	0	0
12. Ibadan	0	0
13. Zambezi	3	7
14. Cairo	24	17
15. Jomo Kenyatta	9	2
16. Watussi	18	12
17. Gamel Nasser	18	11
18. Zambia	3	6
19. Zulu	18	19
20. Tarzan	22	20

II. Answer briefly.

1. What kinds of climate does Africa have?
2. What kinds of vegetation does Africa have?
3. What kinds of animals does Africa have?
4. Describe an African.
5. What kinds of occupations do Africans follow?
6. What kinds of homes do Africans live in?
7. Explain some good things and some bad things which white men have done in Africa.
8. Did Africans have governments and religions before the white man came? What were they like?
9. What do you think Africa will be like in the future?
10. What have been your sources of learning about Africa?

Appendix F

Test Taken by 390 High School Sophomores in Lakewood, Ohio

These world history students were given the following test on March 10 and 11, 1966. In May and June 1966 these students had a six-weeks unit on Africa written by the author of this thesis. The results of the following test are given in percentages.

Directions: The following statements about Africa and Africans were made by high school students. If you agree with the statement, write "yes". If you disagree, write "no". On numbers 17 and 18, write "do not know" if you are not familiar with the names.

	Percent Yes	Percent No
1. An African has black skin to protect him from the sun.	37	63
2. An African has a larger jaw than we do; this is a characteristic of primitive man.	53	47
3. Africans have a basically simple character but desire European progress.	52	48
4. In some cases, Africans are primitive in custom, but in others are modern, well-educated men.	88	12
5. Africans live in grass huts in the jungle, shacks in shantytowns and nicer homes.	74	26
6. Africa is a jungle-ridden continent where wild animals roam.	56	44
7. Africans are pagans who worship many gods.	55	45
8. Africans had their own code of morals and systems of government before the white man arrived.	84	16
9. Europeans civilized the Africans by building hospitals and schools.	65	35
10. The whites also exploited the land and tried to keep down the blacks.	58	42
11. In the future, Africa will probably develop to be more like us in education and industry and other ways.	76	24
12. Africa's primitive natives will never be completely won over to civilized society.	48	52
13. Africa is groping for independence and world position and will get into trouble this way.	44	56
14. Communism has influenced some of these countries but has not had a serious effect on most.	69	31
15. Africans who live in cities have jobs, while those in the interior are primitive.	56	44

	Yes	No
16. Africa's climate is generally hot and humid.	87	13
*17. Jomo Kenyatta started a revolution and went to prison.	21	9
*18. Lumumba was a pro-Communist leader.	26	14
19. The Watussi was an African dance.	66	34
20. Albert Schweitzer was a famous American doctor in Africa.	73	27

*70% wrote "do not know" for 17. and 60% for 18.

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This study is based upon an examination of seventy elementary and secondary geography and history texts and nineteen encyclopedias whose dates of publication range from 1812 to 1965. These are listed in chronological order, according to earliest publication date, in the bibliography. Several histories of American schoolbooks were also consulted. Special consideration was given to books about Africa written by Negro Americans. A perusal of children's library books about Africa, most published in the last thirty years, provided another source for American attitudes toward that continent. References which do not fall into any of the above categories are classified under "General".

The sources for present-day attitudes of students toward Africa were a test given to 47 students in two high school history classes in Houston, Texas and Lincoln, Nebraska (Appendix E), a test given to 390 students at Lakewood High School in Ohio (Appendix F), and themes written by 18 students at Lakewood High Summer School and by 58 students at Willowick Junior High in Ohio.

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