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THE TREATMENT OF SELECTED ASPECTS OF UNITED STATES-CARIBBEAN
RELATIONS FROM 1895 AS FOUND IN UNITED STATES AND
COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN SECONDARY SCHOOL HISTORY
TEXTBOOKS PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1950 and 1979

presented by

Ruby Hope King

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Education


Major professor

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By

Ruby Hope King

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this study was to analyze, through content-analysis techniques, the treatment of selected aspects of United States-Caribbean relations from 1895 to 1961 in selected high school history textbooks of the United States and of the Commonwealth Caribbean. The treatment of these aspects in both sets of textbooks was compared, and the changes that occurred in this treatment over three time periods between 1950 and 1979 were identified and discussed. The expectation stated as hypotheses was that, over time, more attention would be given to the theme and that there would be changes in the direction of the content directly reflective of historiographical trends and of a wider global perspective.

Attention was determined by measuring the total amount of space allotted to United States-Caribbean relations in each textbook. The space allotted to each of five topical categories in the content was then determined in order to identify the emphases.

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In determining direction, the textbook treatment of the theme was analyzed historiographically from two main perspectives, the consensus and the revisionist. Direction was also determined by calculating the percentage of positive, negative, and neutral assertions made by United States books about the Caribbean and by Caribbean books about the United States over the three publishing periods. It was assumed that a high percentage of negative assertions would indicate a high degree of nationalistic bias.

The findings are summarized as follows:

1. In general, the amount of attention to the theme has not increased over time. United States and Caribbean books do not have the same topical emphases, and Caribbean books give a heavier relative emphasis to the theme.

2. There has been only a slight change in the historiographical interpretation of the theme, but this change is reflective of historiographical trends. The textbooks remain predominantly traditional in interpretation, with the United States books being more traditional than the Caribbean books.

3. There has been little variation between periods in the perspective (whether global or national) within which the theme was treated, and Caribbean books tend to be less nationalistic than United States books.

To my father.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction and Need for the Study

The purpose of this investigation was to determine how secondary school United States history textbooks widely used in the United States and secondary school Caribbean history textbooks widely used in the Caribbean have treated the subject of United States-Caribbean relations during the period 1895 to 1961. Both years are significant in the history of United States relations with the Caribbean, 1895 being the year when the United States forced Great Britain to submit the British Guiana-Venezuela boundary dispute to arbitration, thus beginning a new phase in United States-Caribbean relations, and 1961, the year of the Bay of Pigs invasion. It sought to identify the amount and in part the characteristics of this treatment, the changes that have occurred in the content over time, the relationship between the interpretation of the textbook authors and that of the research historians, and the differences and similarities in the content of United States and Caribbean history textbooks, specifically prepared for the secondary school level. Textbooks published in the post-World War II period between 1950 and 1979 were examined.

It is generally accepted that one purpose of history, particularly of recent history, is to illuminate the present and that an

understanding of the history of foreign relations is important for the formation of policy preferences and for the evaluation of the current foreign policies of governments.

Both the geographical location of events and the nationality of the people involved in them are taken into consideration in determining what constitutes the history of particular nations and regions. Events taking place in or affecting the Caribbean and involving interaction between the government and people of the United States and the governments and peoples of the Caribbean may be classified as both United States and Caribbean history.

In a sense, United States-Caribbean relations appear to be a microcosm of global relationships. For example, the issues involved in United States-Cuba relations are similar to those that dominate Soviet-United States or East-West relations, perhaps the dominant dimension in international relations since the Second World War, while the Caribbean area can be considered a part of the South in the North-South encounter. It would appear, therefore, that both the East-West and the North-South dichotomies in global macro-relationships can be distinguished in the Caribbean. The Caribbean area may then be a useful site of the study in depth of the processes, issues, and outcomes related to North-South and East-West rivalries as well as of the issues, processes, and outcomes that arise when these rivalries are manifested in the same theater.

Since the sixteenth century, the Caribbean has been a theater of international rivalry. Some people argue that the Caribbean of the

1980s promises to be "a devil's cauldron" (DeLevy, 1980, p. 37). A creeping, cancerlike "infection" is described as a "rot," which has set in (Crozier, 1980, p. 1068)--a rot that manifests itself to some observers as an "Anti-American tide" (Migdall, 1980, p. 37) and to others as "Marxist fever" (Marcoaldi, 1980, p. 40). What is clear is that, once more, events and circumstances in the Caribbean are exciting the attention of extraregional powers, and we hear of increased penetration in the form of military activity, foreign aid, and intelligence activity (Farrell, 1981). In the words of one Caribbean columnist, "the region now seems to be poised for a new era of confrontation politics, open ideological polarisation, increasing regional disunity, and a sharp contest for regional dominance by opposing political forces" (Stone, 1983).

A study of the history of United States-Caribbean relations, at this time, would appear to be both appropriate and timely. A study of textbook coverage of the topic both in the United States and in the Caribbean during the period 1950 to 1979 will indicate to a considerable extent what citizens of the United States and the Caribbean between the ages of 20 years and about 50 years have learned about that relationship.

Assumptions

The basic assumptions were that:

1. The development of international understanding is a desirable and important goal of education.

2. An understanding of contemporary international relations can be enhanced through a study of the history of international relations.

3. Textbooks constitute not the only but certainly one of the main media through which the student receives information about and impressions of international relations.

4. Social studies textbooks reflect domestic political events, forces, and circumstances as well as perceptions of the international environment of the times and of the nations (or regions) in which they are produced. Among the forces that social studies textbooks reflect are nationalism and globalism.

5. An examination of the treatment of a given topic in international relations in the textbooks of two nations will reveal differences that may be partially attributable to differences in the ideologies and perspectives of the two nations.

6. An examination of the treatment over time of a given topic in international relations in the textbooks of a single nation will reveal differences that may reflect changes in historiography and may be partially attributable to changes in the perceptions of the authors and of the public for which they write. These differences in treatment will follow discernible trends or patterns.

7. Persons belonging to different generations within a given country and persons belonging to different countries will have received different interpretations and will therefore have different attitudes toward a given problem in international relations.

8. Nationalism is the obverse of globalism. A nation becoming less nationalistic may also be in the process of adopting a more global viewpoint. The effect of the global education movement may be measured by determining the extent to which the content of the history textbooks of a given nation has become less nationalistic over time.

9. Analyses of the international content of history textbooks of different countries over time are crucial to the development of international understanding.

Theoretical Framework

The preceding assumptions were based on theories about the nature and function of written history from which the main research questions of this study were derived. Discussed in this section are the relevant theories with a view to providing a conceptual framework or rationale upon which the whole investigation may be firmly grounded.

Perception and Perspective in History

Historiographers appear to be in general agreement on the subjective nature of historical writing and to acknowledge the significance of perspective in historical scholarship. Each historian is regarded as "a mirror of his time" (Schmitt, 1963, p. 65), bringing to his task not only his own peculiar virtues and deficiencies, but "the enlightenment and prejudice, and the liberating and restricting experiences of his own life and his own time" (Donovan, 1973, p. 9). In writing accounts of the past, each historian selects and interprets data on the basis of what is of significance and of interest to him or

her; and the sense of what is significant and interesting derives largely from the "climate of opinion" in which he lives (Skotheim, 1969). Since climates vary over time and presumably across space, historical accounts and interpretations of past events and circumstances must also, by inference, vary as each historian "recreates the world anew" (FitzGerald, 1979, p. 16). Thus, the past is seen to be "in constant flux" (Degler, 1980, p. 22).

Skotheim (1969) defined climate of opinion as being "the fundamental assumptions and attitudes shared by most educated members of a given society" (p. 1), the group to which the historian obviously belongs. He also discussed the notion of analyzing the climate of opinion in generational periods of three or four decades and showed how changes in historiography have in general coincided with alterations in the climate of opinion over successive periods of time. In this sense, a history is not only a chronicle of the past, but also an indicator of the currents of the period in which it is written (Donovan, 1973). A study of history should, therefore, help us understand "how the past has become the present, and how the present has shaped our conception of the past" (Degler, 1980, p. 23; emphasis mine).

Skotheim (1969) suggested that the historian enjoys a reciprocal relationship with the intellectual temper of his society. He not only reflects it, he influences it. Schmitt (1963), however, felt that this influence will guide only one generation, also implying the changing nature of society and by inference the existence of parallel changes in historical interpretation.

The preceding analysis would seem to suggest, therefore, that the selection of facts by a historian and his interpretation of these facts are functions of his perspective, which is influenced by, and influences his perceptions of and attitudes toward, his own and other societies and the international environment--perceptions and attitudes that he shares with other members of the educated public within his own society. It follows that historians of each age or generation examine past events from different perspectives. These differences will be reflected in the histories they write. Similarly, contemporary historians belonging to different societies will have different perspectives, reflecting societal differences, which may result in differences in the questions they ask of the past, in the data they select, and in their interpretations of the same events and circumstances.

If the preceding assertions are accepted, it may further be argued that the analysis of the treatment over time in United States history textbooks, of whatever level, of an event such as the Spanish-American War will reveal changes in interpretation. Also, although the above event is at the same time an event in the history of the United States as well as in the history of the Caribbean, the treatment of the event by Caribbean historians may be similar but not identical to its treatment by historians who are United States' nationals.

Generational Phenomena and United States Foreign Policy Orientations

The study of generational phenomena in recent times by historians and political scientists is grounded in the dictum of Mannheim (1963) that a generation represents "a particular kind of identity location, embracing related age-groups embedded in a historical social process" (p. 292). The existence of age-linked differences and relationships (and the finding of close correlations between age and socio-political attitudes) has been well-documented in the literature of social science.

In a review of some of these studies and their findings, Spitzer (1973) concluded inter alia that "groups of coevals are stamped by some collective experience that permanently distinguishes them from other age-groups as they move through time" (p. 1385). By implication, significant events and circumstances in national and international affairs must tremendously influence those persons who experience them.

Roskin (1974) linked this theory of generational phenomena to the Kuhnian concepts of "paradigm" and "paradigm shift" to form the concept of "generational paradigm" and used this concept to explain the shifts in United States foreign policy orientations between isolationism and interventionism. He argued that "each elite American generation comes to favor one of these orientations by living through the catastrophe brought on by the application ad absurdum of the opposite paradigm at the hands of the previous elite generation" and suggested that the shifts take place at approximately generational intervals because it takes roughly a generation for "the bearers of one

orientation formed by the dramatic experiences of their young adulthood, to come to power and eventually misapply the lessons of their youth" (pp. 563-67).

These assertions were further supported by Deutsch and Merritt (1965), who found in their socio-psychological analysis of national and international images that adolescence and young adulthood were the stages at which human beings were most open to new socio-political images and impressions, that once formed, these images tended to persist with the result that the impact of events cannot take its full effect until one generation is replaced by another.

Shifting Generational Paradigms and United States-Caribbean Relations

Using Roskin's (1974) analysis (see Table 1), three distinct paradigms can be identified during the period in United States-Caribbean relations with which this study deals. The first, the imperial paradigm (1890s-1910s), was interventionist. For the history of United States-Caribbean relations, it is the period of the Venezuelan Boundary Dispute, the Spanish-American War, the Panama Canal Treaty, the Platt Amendment, the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, and the purchase of the Danish Virgin Islands by the United States. This was followed by the Versailles paradigm of the 1920s and 1930s, which in the history of United States foreign policy was a period of withdrawal and isolationism. In the history of United States-Caribbean relations, this is the period of the Good Neighbor policy when, for example, the United States Marines were withdrawn from Haiti. The

Table 1.--Paradigms in comparison.

	Imperial 1890s-1910s	Versailles 1920s, 1930s	Pearl Harbor 1940s-1960s
General view of foreign areas	"Matters"	"Doesn't matter"	"Matters"
View of Europe	Imitation (Anglophilia)	Irritation	Salvation
Losers	Anti-imperial- ists	Wilsonian Inter- nationalists	Isolationists
Troops overseas	Caribbean, Philippines, China, West Europe, Russia, Mexico	Few in Carib- bean, Philip- pines	Europe, Asia, Latin America, Africa
Congress	Cooperative	Obstructive	Cooperative
Funds for overseas	War loans	Begrudging of war debts, anti- cancellation- ists, Johnson Act	Marshall Plan, Point Four, AID, arms- sales credits
Commitments	Open Door, Caribbean protectorates, Associated Power in World War I, Philip- pine defense	Continued Open Door, reduction of Caribbean protectorates	U.N., NATO, SEATO, (CENTO) Congressional resolutions on Formosa, Middle East, Cuba, Berlin, Vietnam

Source: Michael Roskin, "From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam: Shifting Generational Paradigms and Foreign Policy," Political Science Quarterly 89 (Fall 1974): 581.

orientation then swings once more toward the interventionism of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s illustrated in the Caribbean arena by events such as the Anglo-United States Caribbean Commission, the destroyer-base agreement, the Bay of Pigs invasion, and the Cuban missile crisis.

Political scientists use indicators such as popular attitudes, the size of the military budget, number of American troops overseas, the amount and value of foreign aid, or volume of arms sales to illustrate these changes in mood or orientation. Data presented graphically in Russett (1975, pp. 3 and 13) illustrate this practice. (See Figures 1 and 2.) It is of interest in terms of this study to note the similarity of timing between the swings indicated in these figures and the swings described by Roskin in Table 1.

Shifting Generational Paradigms and United States Historiography

Historiographers and social philosophers have attempted to identify and describe similar trends in the history of ideas. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, scientific history was the dominant mode of historical writing. The early years of the twentieth century saw the beginning of a growing criticism of this mode by younger historians. They attacked the scientific emphasis in history, the lack of attention to the present, and the restrictions in scope of the writing of older historians. As the movement gained momentum, they proposed, instead, new emphases such as the deliberate subordination of the past to the present, thus making history pragmatically useful, and the widening of the scope of history to include all aspects of human

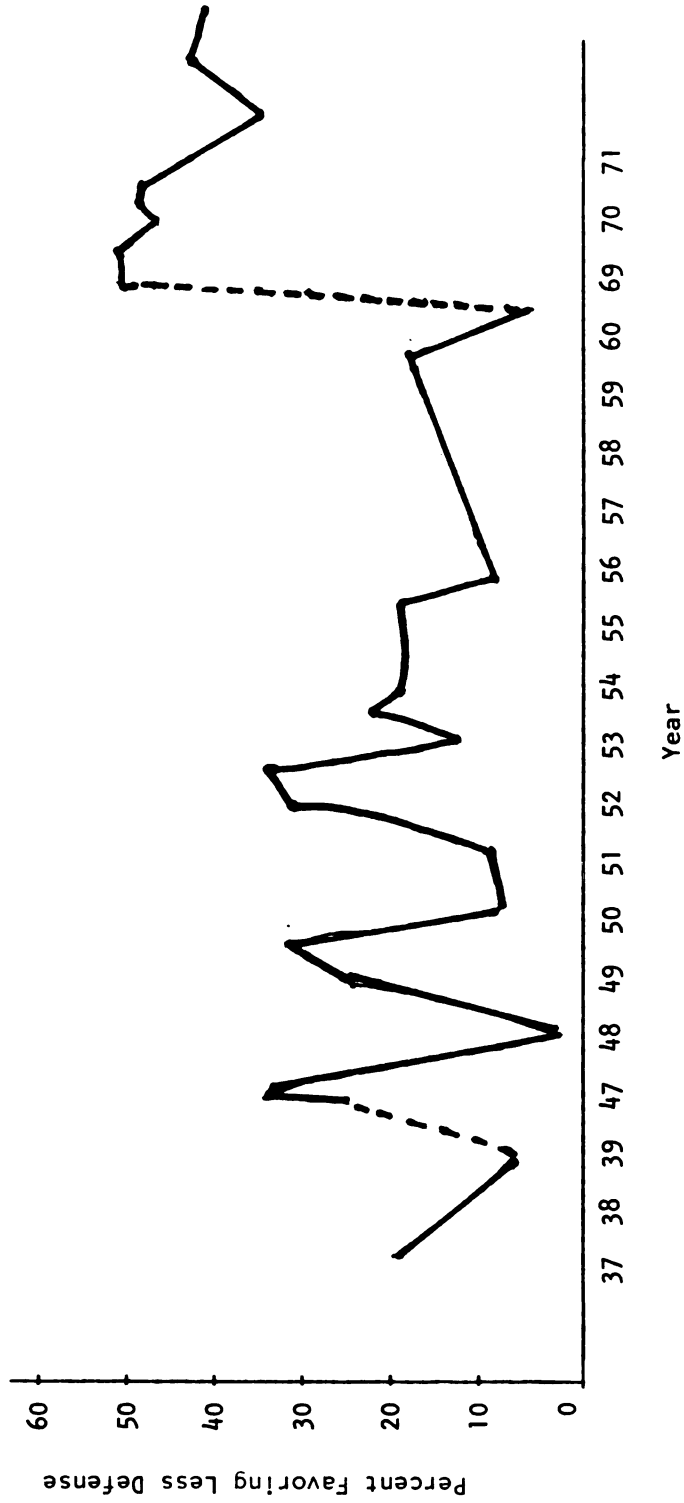


Figure 1: Percentage of population favoring less defense spending, 1937-1974. (From Bruce Russett, "The Americans' Retreat From World Power," Political Science Quarterly 90 [Spring 1975]: 3.)

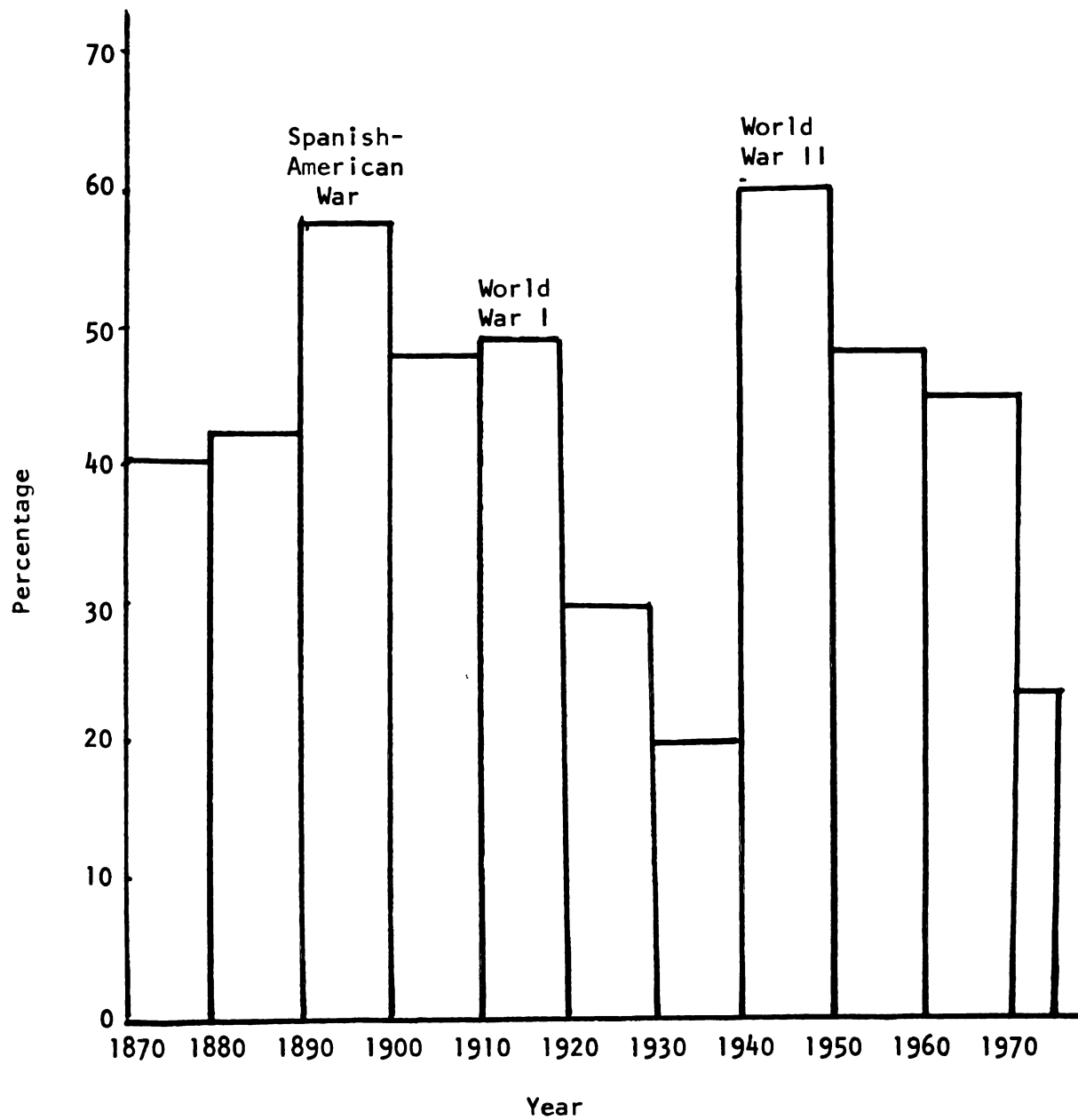


Figure 2: Percentage of presidents' annual messages devoted to foreign affairs, ten-year average, 1870-1974. (From Bruce Russett, "The Americans' Retreat From World Power," Political Science Quarterly 90 [Spring 1975].)

affairs (Higham, 1965). This progressive movement in historiography began in the first decades of the twentieth century, at the height of the imperial paradigm in foreign policy orientation, and was to last up to the mid-1940s--its decline coinciding with the start of the period of the Pearl Harbor paradigm. The progressive period in historiography therefore developed during a time of national self-confidence and assertiveness, when change was actively sought after rather than avoided since to most Americans change meant progress, with man himself being the agent of change. It was therefore acceptable and even necessary for the historian to identify and criticize societies' imperfections so that improvements could be made (Skotheim, 1969).

Crowe (1966) saw progressive history as largely the creation of Frederick Jackson Turner, Charles A. Beard, Vernon Parrington, and their associates and disciples. For these historians, according to Crowe, the "real" historical forces were economic and geographic, with politics being a mere mask for the interplay between conflicting interest groups. May (1969) further described bankers, businessmen, and munitions makers as the dominant interest groups, manipulating politics in their own interest for their own economic gain and at the expense of other groups. By implication, United States government postures both at home and abroad are mere reflections of the economic interests of this dominant group.

The progressive climate of opinion of the first decades of the twentieth century was challenged in the 1930s by world events such as the rise of Facism in Italy, Communism in the Soviet Union, and Nazism

in Germany, and gave place to the more conservative and pessimistic mood of the post-World War II years when stability came to be valued and emphasized rather than change and conflict, and achievements rather than imperfections were celebrated (Skotheim, 1969). Hollingsworth (1962) attributed this change of mood to the disillusionment of the American people with "utopias of the left and right" and the growing prosperity and homogeneity of the populace (p. 40).

The group of historians who emerged at this time belonged to the "consensus" school of United States historiography. Louis Hartz, Daniel Boorstin, Richard Hofstadter, Clinton Rossiter, John Higham, and Edmund Morgan are some of the historians generally identified as belonging to this school (e.g., see Hogeboom, 1968, p. 51; Hollingsworth, 1962, p. 42; May, 1969, pp. 12-13). These men, born during World War I, reached intellectual maturity in the 1930s and 1940s, when the effect of world events such as those identified above caused them to reject the more radical social thought of the progressive school.

As a result of their emphasis on consensus and continuity, the consensus historians "softened the outlines and flattened the crises of American history" (Higham, 1976, p. 146). Consensus historians have been at pains to show that a broad consensus is more characteristic of American history than conflict among interest groups.

In 1962, Hollingsworth prophesied that significant national events such as the Civil Rights movement could result in a new shift in historical interpretation. The consensus among historiographers seems to be that, while the older traditional historians of the consensus

school still dominate the scene, younger historians such as Gabriel Kolko, Staughton Lynd, and William A. Williams, born during and after the Great Depression and reaching intellectual maturity in the Cold War years, have increasingly since the mid-1960s approached intellectual history from a radical perspective--a perspective that, in the view of Skotheim (1969), is distinctly reminiscent of the progressives of the early twentieth century in their emphasis on conflict and their sympathy for social protest. Like the earlier progressives, this group, known as New Left or Revisionist historians, see contemporary conflict as being a result of the values and goals of the United States capitalist interests. They are therefore deeply suspicious and critical of all powerful institutions and ruling elites (Higham, 1970). They are also generally critical of United States government policies at home and abroad. Like the early progressives, they believe that the role of the historian is to provide a usable past, i.e., to use history for contemporary ends (Unger, 1967). They are far from being a homogeneous group in their approach to United States history, with some of them even emphasizing consensus. However, where this is so, they see consensus as a problem rather than a unifying principle, a variable rather than a framework (Higham, 1970).

On the basis of the preceding discussion, one might conclude that historical writing in the United States at whatever level will reflect a perspective that may be the traditional orthodoxy of the consensus school, the radical revisionism of the Old and New Left, or a blend of the two; that this perspective will have influenced or

determined the questions asked, the data selected, and the interpretation of the data; and that throughout the writing there will therefore be indicators of the perspective of the writer.

It may be argued further that the study of direction in historical writing can therefore be usefully and effectively grounded in historiographical theory as outlined above, that the theory provides the indicators or symbols of direction, and that these indicators or symbols are identifiable in any piece of historical writing.

Nationalism and Globalism and the Nation-State

Two of the forces affecting the nation-state and international politics are nationalism and globalism. In terms of the history of the world, these two forces are relatively modern phenomena. Hayes (1961) defined nationalism as "a modern emotional fusion and exaggeration of two very old phenomena--nationality and patriotism" (p. 7; emphasis mine). The term "nationality" is usually used to refer to a group of people speaking a common language, with a common historical heritage, forming a distinct cultural unit and occupying a certain defined unit of territory. Patriotism simply means love of country.

Nationalism may have positive as well as negative effects. While on the one hand it embodies and promotes love and esteem for fellow nationals and devotion to the entity called nation and pride in its achievements, it often also manifests itself as a disregard for or hostility toward other groups (see Shafer, 1961, p. 3). This view was further expounded by Doob (1964) in his exploration of the

psychological bases of patriotism and nationalism. Doob suggested that nationalism is facilitated when an outgroup is seen to pose a threat to, to be inferior to, or to be different from the ingroup. Doob felt that nationalism is strengthened when outgroups are cast in the role of enemies. Differences between peoples are emphasized, while basic similarities common to all mankind are denied, minimized, or de-emphasized. This practice enables patriots to conclude that their society is superior. Kohn (1961) took the discussion a stage further when he asserted that nationalism "unleashes forces which deepen antagonisms and harbors them by appeals to an idealized and over-sentimentalized past" (p. 21). Nationalism thus constitutes a serious threat to international peace.

Globalism, on the other hand, is "the view of the world as a global system in which all human groups and their activities are inter-related and interdependent" (Haniff, 1977, p. 52). Whereas nationalism has been a force in domestic and international politics for three centuries, globalism is a twentieth-century phenomenon. Unlike nationalism, globalism seems to have little emotional appeal or permanency but is instead rooted in expediency.

. . . We have become a single human community. Most of the energies of our society tend towards unity--the energy of science and technological change, the energy of curiosity and research, of self-interest and economics, the energy--in many ways the most violent of them all--the energy of potential aggression and destruction. We have become neighbors in terms of inescapable physical proximity and instant communication. We are neighbors in economic interest and technological direction. We are neighbors in facets of our industrialization and in the pattern of our urbanization. Above all, we are neighbors in the risk of total destruction. (Ward, 1966, p. 14)

As the traditional boundaries separating the nation-states have become obscured, we have become increasingly interdependent. Globalism derives its dynamics from this feeling of mutual interdependence.

Hanrieder (1978) described interdependence as a complex of "national-vertical, international-horizontal, transnational-lateral and supranational-integrative processes." He explained further that these processes form a system through which governments perform a variety of functions and that although interdependence "narrows the opportunities for national self-identification," nationalism continues to thrive because governments can still independently determine what structure and interactions they wish to employ in performing these functions" (p. 278). Nationalism is, therefore, alive and well.

Because globalism derives its dynamics from the feelings of mutual interdependence, it emphasizes the similarities between peoples rather than the differences between them, unity rather than disunity, and equality rather than inequality.

Nationalism and Globalism in Education

Both forces, nationalism and globalism, have an effect on the school. For two centuries schools as a major agency of socialization have been expected to foster national values and loyalties through curriculum content, rituals, and observances. Nationalistic education can be seen as a two-sided coin, having on one side the development of positive feelings toward one's country and on the other the development

of negative feelings toward other countries, ideologies, symbols, and persons considered contra-national.

Billington (1966) observed that nineteenth-century textbook authors in the United States and Britain "deliberately distorted the truth to magnify the virtues of their national heroes and discredit their enemies" (p. 1) and cited a number of studies of national bias in textbooks. He suggested that nationalistic bias persists in school-books but in a less overt form than formerly. Today's bias, he asserted, is less easy to detect.

During the last two or three decades, schools have been called upon to "prepare future citizens for their world responsibilities" (Tewksbury, 1959, p. 360), to "develop students' understanding of the global social system" (Becker & East, 1972, p. 44), to place their social studies programs "in a world setting" (Hamilton & Patterson, 1960, p. 253), and to "lead students of all ages to a global viewpoint" (Brodelt, 1981, p. 103). Globalism has begun to compete with nationalism as a force affecting the school curriculum.

The term "global education" originated in the United States, and the movement is at its strongest in that country. Several attempts have been made to implement global education in the schools' curriculum. New courses are being developed, for example, on "world civilizations," cultures," and old courses are being given new emphases (see Anderson, 1978, pp. 20-30).

Proponents of the global education movement have argued that although national issues and systems should be examined by the young

and school systems should foster national spirit, world economic, social, political, and cultural interdependencies necessitate an understanding of the world systems these interdependencies have created. They have argued further that the nation-state is perhaps best examined and understood within the wider global context and have held the school responsible for balancing and correcting the media and for providing "experiences for the young which demonstrate that there are substrata to the visible event and that culture affects the perception of human affairs" (Hanvey, 1979, pp. 2-3).

It would perhaps be inaccurate to suggest that there is a parallel global education movement in the Commonwealth Caribbean since the manifestations are spasmodic and uncoordinated. Nevertheless, during the last two decades there have been attempts at the secondary and tertiary levels to include in the curriculum a consideration of such global issues and problems as pollution, food, dependence, and population. (See, for example, King, 1974, and King & Robinson, 1971.)

One of the questions for which this investigation sought an answer was whether or not or the extent to which history textbooks of the Caribbean and the United States have become less nationalistic over time. The study also compared history textbooks of the United States and the Commonwealth Caribbean to determine which set of textbooks was less nationalistic.

Statement of the Problem and Research Hypotheses

This study sought to determine how United States and Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks published between 1950 and 1979 have

treated the subject of United States-Caribbean relations between 1895 and 1961. The first principal task was to determine the amount of attention given to the subject. The second principal task was to determine the direction of the content. This is the degree to which the treatment of the subject United States-Caribbean relations in secondary school history textbooks has been similar to the treatment afforded the subject by United States revisionist or traditional historians or whether they reflect a blend of the two schools. A third task was to determine whether there have been any changes in the context within which United States-Caribbean relations have been analyzed over time--whether global, purely national, regional, or hemispheric.

The main research questions were formulated directly from the theories and assumptions discussed above and are stated here as follows:

1. Is there a difference in the treatment over time of the subject "United States-Caribbean relations" in United States history textbooks used in high schools in the United States, and in Caribbean history textbooks used in high schools in the Commonwealth Caribbean?
2. Is there a difference in the way the subject is treated in United States textbooks as opposed to the way it is treated in Caribbean history textbooks?
3. If the answers to Questions 1 and 2 are in the affirmative, what is the nature of the difference in each case?

With the above considerations in mind, the following expectations were phrased as hypotheses:

1. There has been an increasing amount of attention given to the subject United States-Caribbean relations in the content of United States and Caribbean history textbooks published or revised between 1950 and 1979.

2. There have been changes in the direction of the content directly reflective of historiographical trends.

3. The analysis of U.S.-Caribbean relations in a wider global context (rather than in a purely national, regional, or hemispheric perspective) has received increasing attention over time.

The Setting of the Problem

This investigation followed in the tradition of studies carried out in this century and increasingly since the Second World War, which have analyzed the treatment of foreign peoples and international relations in school textbooks in use around the world. The main assumptions of these studies have been that textbooks reflect the values of their authors and publishers, that they are a major determinant of the subject-matter content of education, and that attitudes of people of one nation toward foreign peoples are to some extent a reflection of what they have learned in school.

Although textbook treatments of the relations of the United States with other countries such as the Soviet Union, Japan, and Mexico have been investigated, a search of the literature did not reveal any studies of the treatment of United States-Caribbean relations.

Existing studies of the treatment of Latin America and United States-Latin America relations did, however, include some of those countries that, for the purposes of this study, were designated a part of the Caribbean area. This study therefore fills the gap that has been identified.

Research Procedures

The investigation used content-analysis procedures and was based on textbooks newly published or revised between January 1, 1950, and December 30, 1979. Six major analytical steps were followed:

The first task was to measure the amount of space allotted to United States-Caribbean relations in relation to the total space of each textbook. Space allocation was determined by counting lines and converting the resulting amounts into percentages.

The second task was to determine topical emphases in the content by measuring the amount of space allotted to selected topics or themes in each book.

The third task was to analyze the treatment of the topic United States-Caribbean relations and the various subtopics in each textbook. The treatment was interpreted historiographically from two perspectives--traditional and revisionist.

The fourth task was to determine the context in which the topic (and subtopics) was viewed--whether national, regional, hemispheric, or global.

The fifth task was to compare the treatment of United States-Caribbean relations in United States history books with the treatment in Commonwealth Caribbean history books in terms of space, emphases, and perspective.

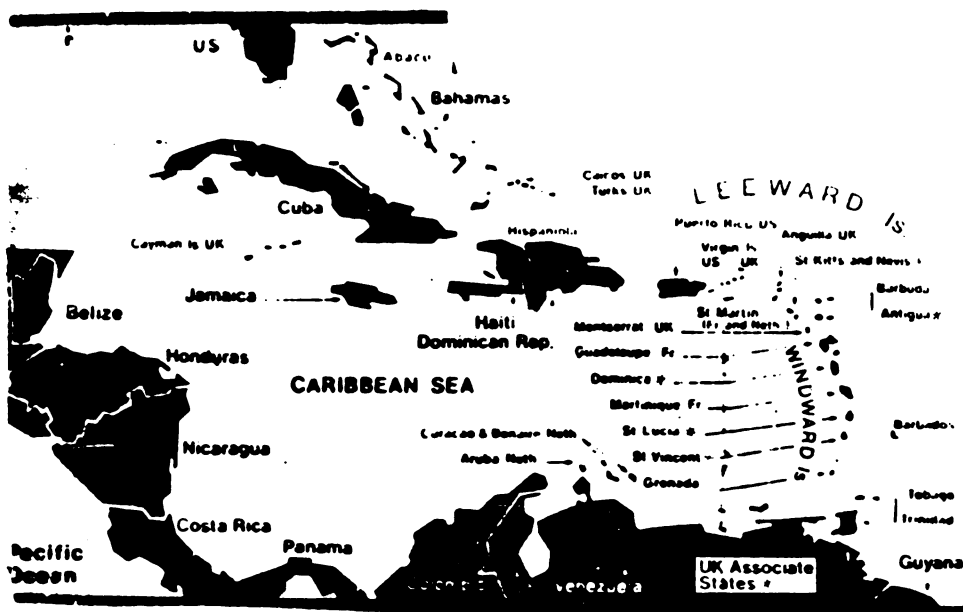
In a sixth procedure, changes in the treatment of United States-Caribbean relations in each period, in the textbooks of the United States and the Caribbean, were determined.

Data are presented in tabular as well as narrative form where appropriate.

Definition of Terms

In this investigation, the Caribbean area was regarded as including those territories in the Caribbean Sea and those territories in Central and South America (excluding Mexico) that border the Caribbean Sea. (See Map 1.)

United States-Caribbean relations was used to apply specifically to those actions, reactions, and interactions that took place between the government and people of the United States and the governments and peoples of the Caribbean region defined as above. Governments of the Caribbean region may refer to governments of independent Caribbean states or the governments of those European countries that had colonies in the region and whose relations with the United States had repercussions in the region. The term "United States-Caribbean relations" also includes identifiable trends, issues, and policies that are associated with or characterize the relationship.



Map 1: The Caribbean. (From Caribbean Contact, March 1981, p. 6.)

Delimitations

1. This investigation was limited to the analysis of United States and Caribbean history in high school textbooks published between 1950 and 1979, for use in the United States and Commonwealth Caribbean, respectively. This choice of national and regional history from among the various social studies courses in the high school curriculum of the United States and the Commonwealth Caribbean was based on several considerations.

The study of United States history is a common experience for senior high school students in the United States since it is normally required for graduation, and next to English, Caribbean history is the most popular subject taken by Commonwealth Caribbean students, in the

General Certificate of Education and Caribbean Examinations Council Ordinary Level examinations. History textbooks, therefore, reach a wider audience than other social studies textbooks that may also deal with United States-Caribbean relations. There is no Caribbean government course that could be compared with the United States government course, nor is world history taught at a similar level in the Commonwealth Caribbean to that at which it is taught in the United States. However, since in the United States, United States history is normally taken in grades 11 and 12, and in the Commonwealth Caribbean, Caribbean history is taught in Forms 4 and 5 (grades 10 and 11), the two courses are comparable from the point of view of grade level. In both cases, the period covered is that from pre-Columbian times to the present.

2. The content areas in the textbooks analyzed were those sections that dealt with United States-Caribbean relations between 1895 and 1961.

3. The study did not include an analysis or description of other teaching materials such as films and slides, nor was there any consideration of teaching method or the role of the teacher.

4. The study is primarily descriptive. No attempt was made to suggest what content should or should not be included in the textbooks, or what interpretation should be preferred.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized as follows. Chapter I introduced the problem. Chapter II contains a review of the relevant literature as a

framework within which the problem is perceived and treated. Chapter III discusses the attention given to the theme, Chapter IV the historiographical interpretation of the theme, and Chapter V deals with nationalistic bias in the content on the theme. In each of the Chapters III through V, there is a detailed description of the procedures followed, a presentation of the findings, and a concluding summary. In Chapter VI, a summary of the entire study, conclusions, and recommendations are presented.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter contains a review of significant literature on United States history textbooks--their preparation, purposes, and function--and on the treatment in United States textbooks of the foreign relations of the United States. The chapter further examines, in outline, the treatment of Caribbean-United States relations by research historians and by school textbook authors. Its main function is to place the present study within the context of past research and commentary, which will explain and justify the selection of the analytical categories as well as of the particular hypotheses with which the study was concerned.

History Textbooks--Characteristics, Preparation, and Functions

It would appear to be the consensus of the reviewers of United States history textbooks that the most striking characteristic of recent publications is their blandness. Writing in 1960, Alexander referred to a "gray flannel" that seemed to cover United States history textbooks and expressed concern that "a point of view by the author . . . is becoming more of a rarity as controversy is consciously avoided and the issues often artificially balanced" (p. 11). It seems

also to be generally agreed that this was not always the case, but resulted from the criticisms and subsequent revisions that characterized the 1960s. Carpenter (1963) referred to "propaganda elements, indecisive national attitudes, artificial coercions and restrictions" characteristic of that particular time, which he felt engendered suspicions that "wrought changes in the writing of school history," particularly in the treatment of United States foreign relations in the twentieth century (p. 210). Certainly private interest groups, which have been increasingly vociferous, state adoption committees, publishers, and marketing departments all exert a heavy influence on the content of history textbooks (Downey, 1980). Since a textbook requires a major investment on the part of publishers--it being estimated that "the development of an eleventh grade history can cost five hundred thousand dollars plus an extra hundred thousand in marketing costs" (Fitzgerald, 1979, p. 45)--and since textbook production is in reality a commercial venture with annual sales in 1960 of close to 300 million dollars (Alexander, 1960, p. 13), and in which maximization of profit is perhaps the main objective, the biases, distortions, and inaccuracies that used to occur in older textbooks have largely been removed (Janis, 1970). Krug (1970) commented that those who are familiar with the textbook publishing business know that if textbooks are to be successfully marketed to the large states with adoption boards or "approved lists"--Michigan, Ohio, Texas, Louisiana, New York, California, and Georgia--they must be "bland, neutral and noncontroversial" (p. 300). Black (1967) cited Bill Jovanovich, President of Harcourt,

Brace and World (now Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich) as saying that "keeping in mind we must be bland in language to please everyone," the editorial policy was to "look for key words or phrases that might be offensive" and delete them (p. 150). This trend was further documented in the findings of recent studies of the treatment of domestic and international history. It was decided therefore not to include an examination of textual content with the object of detecting inaccuracy, but to concentrate instead on the intellectual and ideological content of the textbooks.

Although history textbooks are frequently revised, Alexander (1970) felt that the date "is no guarantee that the book is really up-to-date" (p. 12). FitzGerald (1979) felt that the academic community does not "bother the publishers," with the result that new scholarship is extremely slow in finding its way into school texts, proceeding as it does from the academic journals via college texts, with the result that the time lag between the time when an idea or approach gains currency in academic circles and the moment it reaches the school may be 15 years or more. She also felt that there is no real check on the intellectual quality or even accuracy of the textbooks. Deconde (1969) also estimated that it takes as long as 20 years for new interpretations in American history to reach the schoolbooks.

If the above is the case, it should be expected that the historiographical trends this study attempted to reveal in the textbooks will run parallel to the trends (described in Chapter I) of academic historiography and that there will be a time lag of 10 to 20

years between the appearance of major interpretations in academic history and their appearance in the schoolbooks.

Another characteristic of United States history textbooks, which the literature seemed to suggest, is that they are essentially "nationalistic histories" (FitzGerald, 1979, p. 47), invested with, in Black's (1967) view, an "inflated sense of patriotism" (p. 99). Authors such as Graff and Krout have claimed that their aim is to inspire as well as to instruct (Palmer, 1967), while as far back as 1930, Pierce felt that most books are pro-American. This view seems to be somewhat in conflict with findings discussed above--that there has been increasingly less bias and distortion in textbooks since the desire to inspire probably encourages bias and distortion.

This study therefore attempted to examine the extent to which high school history textbooks treat the subject of United States-Caribbean relations from a purely national viewpoint and in a purely national context, and to determine whether or not there is a trend toward treating the subject in a wider hemispheric or international context.

Caribbean history textbooks are perhaps less bland than their United States counterparts. Since only comparatively few textbooks exist, and since pressure groups are fewer, weaker, and less organized and politicized, there has been less demand for revisions. Only one of the texts in the sample (the Parry and Sherlock) has been revised, and those revisions have been more for the purpose of extending the

coverage to include more recent history than to carry out changes in interpretation.

A search of the literature did not uncover any scholarly review of Caribbean history textbooks. This writer hoped, through comparative analysis using procedures developed with respect to the analysis of United States textbooks, to lay the groundwork for further research on Caribbean textbooks.

The Treatment of United States Foreign Relations in Textbooks

Reviewers of early United States schoolbooks generally have concluded that they tended to emphasize internal matters to the virtual exclusion of foreign countries and peoples and were little concerned with the relations of the United States with the rest of the world. Nietz (1961), for example, cited an earlier study of 54 United States history textbooks published before 1886, which found that the subject matter of the books did not include any consideration of the relations of the United States with the rest of the world. Nietz also reported the results of a study by Reid that analyzed 64 books published between 1882 and 1942. This study found that world relations represented only 1.1 percent of the subject matter of the ten books published between 1886 and 1905, but that the percentage had increased significantly to 5.6 percent in the 41 books published between 1926 and 1942.

These findings were further supported in Fitzgerald (1979), where the viewpoint was advanced that United States history textbooks give the impression that foreign policy did not become important to the

United States until the 1950s, with the pre-1950s texts giving a maximum of only 1 unit in 12 to United States foreign relations. The coverage of foreign relations increased in the post-World War II era, with mid-1950s texts giving from 15 to 20 percent of their pages to American relations with the rest of the world.

Other researchers have had similar findings. West (1951), in a study of the treatment of international relations in twelfth-grade social studies textbooks published or revised from January 1, 1942, to June 1, 1951, found that the space allocated to international relations was greater than in similar texts of the mid-1920s.

Gilbert (1955), in a study of changes of the twentieth century in the treatment of foreign affairs since 1865 by 12 widely used United States history textbooks for the seventh and eighth grades, found that foreign affairs text material increased sharply in the 1920s and again after World War II, in both total number of lines and proportion of text. In the first instance the increase in space was 205 percent, and in the second, 168 percent.

These trends have also been seen in more recent studies of the treatment of foreign countries and foreign relations with regions or individual countries. For example, Berman (1976) found that the space allotted to the Soviet Union and Communism in the content of world history textbooks rose from 1.3 percent in the period 1920 to 1933 and 5.2 percent in the period 1959 to 1970.

This study was designed to determine whether the trends in attention indicated here are true of the treatment of United States-Caribbean relations.

In addition to looking at the attention given to foreign relations, studies have also examined the nature of the content on foreign peoples and foreign relations in United States schoolbooks, i.e., the direction of the content. FitzGerald (1979) gave a general survey of changes in the content on foreign affairs. For example, with respect to nineteenth-century schoolbooks, she made the comment that textbook authors tended to dislike foreigners and to force opinions on the reader. The Spanish are supposed to have fared particularly badly in the textbooks. She also provided information about history-textbook authors and history teachers. She noted that nineteenth-century authors of history textbooks were usually not professional historians but children's writers, and added that it was not until the twentieth century that professional historians came to be selected for writing children's history textbooks. Many authors as well as school teachers in the first decades of the twentieth century belonged to the progressive movement, and books tended to be ideologically diverse. If some authors were indeed progressive, and we have already noted that the dominant mode in interpretation among professional historians was the progressive, one can anticipate that some books at least at this time will reflect a treatment of foreign affairs similar to that which appeared in academic monographs and textbooks.

According to FitzGerald, the 1940s saw both a narrowing of the ideological spectrum of the textbooks and a new interest in foreign affairs. She described them as showing "a belated concern for Europe" and manifesting "a sudden rush of enthusiasm for Latin America" (p. 53). This enthusiasm lasted apparently only as long as Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy. Whereas earlier textbooks had used the word "imperialism" rather freely in describing United States actions in the Caribbean and the Pacific, authors now prefer to treat imperialism as a European phenomenon, and in dealing with the United States they prefer to emphasize the Good Neighbor Policy and the Monroe Doctrine.

Of the 1950s texts, FitzGerald wrote that the emphasis in foreign affairs was on "how the United States became a world power" and displayed a morbid fear of Communism. They extolled the wealth, strength, and power of the United States but warned readers of the need for them to consciously and actively defend the freedoms and liberties they inherited from the founding fathers. The period was described as most challenging. Concerning the 1960s texts, FitzGerald described dramatic changes beginning with the assassination of President Kennedy. For example, late-1960s editions showed that foreign policy had been a problem for years.

Other textbook reviewers corroborated some of these findings and provided additional information. Elson (1964), for example, included in her analysis of United States schoolbooks of the nineteenth century a critique of their coverage of Latin America and commented on

the possible effect of that coverage on the attitudes of American children. She regretted that those children "were hardly prepared by their schoolbooks to accept their southern neighbors as equals and charged that the books tended to stereotype South Americans as "gay and indolent, a feckless people who spend most of their time on fiestas and siestas" (p. vii).

Another reviewer, Pierce (1930), examined textbooks in use in the late-1920s. She also was concerned about their chauvinistic nature. She wrote, "The attitudes engendered toward other peoples, through a reading of these books must, in many cases, redound to their ignominy in contrast with the glory of America. . . . The Spaniard is treated as harsh and cruel" (p. 254). Pierce found that histories described the United States as being "always willing to help the distressed, and as being of service in innumerable ways to the whole world" (p. 110). The forces of the United States are seen as invincible. The United States is never the aggressor but must constantly defend the peace.

West (1951) examined the treatment of international relations in texts published or revised from January 1, 1947, to June 1, 1951. She found in some books misleading language, omission of important data, and the presentation of only one side of a controversial issue. She concluded that books are likely to do little to develop attitudes favorable to a world community.

A reviewer of later textbooks, Perrone (1965) found textbooks not as chauvinistic as Pierce did, but felt that they had "not entirely

broken the barriers of imbalance, inconsistency, insensitivity and superficiality" (p. 118).

A number of empirical studies shed further light on the treatment of foreign affairs and foreign peoples in twentieth-century United States history textbooks. Gilbert (1955) examined the emotional qualities of foreign affairs material in junior high school history textbooks by measuring the proportion of emotional lines to total lines. He found that this proportion had decreased from 42 to 38 percent over the century, though the absolute number of emotional lines had increased.

There have also been empirical studies of the treatment of United States relations with individual countries. Meredith (1968) reported favorably on the treatment of United States-Mexican relations in secondary United States history textbooks published since 1956--that only 12 instances were identified where both sides of controversial questions were not included in the textbook accounts and that content was generally accurate.

With respect to Caribbean history textbooks, this study is a pioneering effort. It is therefore not possible to offer in this review any indication of how Caribbean history textbooks have treated foreign affairs.

The Treatment of United States-Caribbean Relations by Research Historians

This section attempts to describe in outline the historiography of United States-Caribbean relations. Trends in the historiography of

the above theme can be well illustrated by an examination of the treatment of subtopics of that theme. For example, historians of the major modes of United States historiography have offered interpretations of the political and military intervention of the United States in the Caribbean, which began with the Spanish-American War of 1898.

Generally speaking, progressive historians gave an economic interpretation to United States imperialism (Healy, 1967). To illustrate his argument, Healy cited the work of Nearing and Freeman, Dollar Diplomacy: A Study of American Imperialism, published in 1925, in which these writers claimed that the political intervention in Panama; armed intervention as took place in Santo Domingo, Haiti, and Nicaragua; and the "acquisition without annexation," as in Cuba, were all direct results of economic penetration (Healy, 1967, p. 10). Healy also cited other progressive historians of the 1920s who found in the economics of the sugar industry an explanation for the nature of Cuban-American relations after the turn of the century.

Generally speaking, consensus historians have rejected this interpretation by the progressives of the activities of the United States in the Caribbean. For Richard Hofstadter, a leading historian of the consensus school, the Spanish-American War is part and parcel of what he called "the psychic crisis of the 1890s," brought on by the depression of 1893 and compounded by such events in the 1890s as the Populist movement, the free-silver agitation, and the heated campaign of 1896. Other contributing factors were the bureaucratization of American business and the disappearance of the frontier. Politicians

sought to distract the public by jingoism. Hofstadter therefore analyzed the war within the context of domestic social history and dismissed markets and investments as being merely "features of a situation that they do not explain at all" (p. 275).

Munro (1964), another consensus historian, denied that the intervention by the United States in the Caribbean was intended to benefit its financial interests. He felt that the chief motives were political. Conditions in some Caribbean countries were such as invited interference by European powers. This could pose a threat to national security. It was to improve these conditions that the United States intervened. Munro continued, "The Platt amendment was an effort to achieve these purposes in Cuba, and the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine meant that the United States would seek to achieve them in other Caribbean states" (p. 348).

For other consensus historians, the actions of the United States in the Caribbean were dictated by the domestic political situation. Some, for example, have thought that McKinley in going to war with Spain in 1898 was thinking mainly of his own political survival (Healy, 1967).

Others like Julius Pratt felt that the United States intervention in the Caribbean was primarily benevolent (Deconde, 1969). Deconde reviewed the work of other consensus historians. He cited Samuel Bemis as contending that the policy of the United States in the region "was determined primarily by considerations of the continental republic, first in North America and then in the western hemisphere as

a whole" (p. 31) and mentioned that both Arthur Whitaker and J. Fred Rippy stressed the hemisphere idea.

Historians of the consensus school therefore have varied in their interpretation of the reasons for and the nature of United States involvement in the Caribbean. What they have in common is their rejection of the use of economic considerations in explaining or accounting for the phenomena.

The New Left historians, like the progressives of the early twentieth century, have emphasized economic factors in their interpretation of United States involvement in the Caribbean. Maddox (1972) distinguished between two groups of revisionists: the "hard" revisionists, who stress "the expansive nature of American capitalism," and the "soft" revisionists, who emphasize "the role of individuals . . . rather than institutions" (p. 3). This study does not make such a distinction but relates to the common premise uniting both groups, i.e., America as a capitalist-imperialist nation seeking hegemony over the resource-rich Third World. Of William A. Williams, the senior historian of the New Left, Unger (1967) wrote: "For him the United States has always been an expansionist nation preying on its weaker neighbors. Of the Spanish-American War Williams's anti-thesis is that the war resulted from the desire of United States business interests to expand the market place" (Williams, 1969, p. 452). Williams felt that there was in the United States in that period "an overpowering imperial consensus" (p. 450), which espoused imperialism in the name of the freedom and prosperity of the country.

Foner (1973) saw the Spanish-American War as clearly imperialist and concluded that "the Cuban policy of the United States culminating in the use of force against Spain had its roots in the rise of monopoly capitalism and its desire for markets." Other contributing factors such as the role of the press, humanitarian sentiments, and the influence of the ideologists of expansionism merely reinforced the economic factors. Gardner (1978) and LaFeber (1978) also saw the quest for markets and investments as the dominant theme in the United States foreign policy.

The Treatment of United States-Caribbean Relations
in School Textbooks Published Before 1950

Elson (1964) made mention of the treatment of the Caribbean and Latin America in United States schoolbooks of the nineteenth century. She wrote, "In these books the United States is shown to deal with its southern neighbors like a benevolent godmother rather than a sibling" (p. 160) and went on to comment that "our war with Spain in 1898 is visualized largely as a humanitarian crusade to save the suffering Cubans from Spanish cruelty." Elson noted that "several books observe our loss of trade and investments in Cuba through Spanish devastation of the island," and that after the war the establishment of American protectorate over Cuba "is not a subject for question or dissent." She cited one textbook published in 1900 as saying that the people of Cuba are "very poor and densely ignorant; but they are capable of advancement under guidance, and this, it is hoped, they will receive from the United States." From Elson's study, it is possible to con-

clude that late-nineteenth-century United States textbooks followed the traditional orthodox line in interpreting United States relations with the Caribbean.

Pierce (1930) offered the most comprehensive review of the treatment of the above topic in United States schoolbooks of the early twentieth century. Of the Venezuelan boundary dispute she noted that books tended to play up the effectiveness of arbitration and the success of the United States in this particular example.

According to Pierce, the approach generally taken by textbooks of the period with regard to the Spanish-American War was that the tyranny and selfishness of Spanish colonial policy compelled the American government to intervene in Cuba in 1898, in the interests of national security and humanity. As illustration she cited A History of the People of the United States by Waddy Thompson, published in 1919, which expressed the view that

The peoples of the United States could not be indifferent to the conditions in Cuba. The island lies but a little more than a hundred miles from Florida. So long as it was held by a foreign power, it might in time of war, become a source of danger as a base for the enemy's operations.

But over and above these considerations, the American people had a genuine sympathy for the Cubans in their struggle for liberty and an abhorrence for the Spanish mode of warfare.

Pierce found a few authors who discussed the influence of economic contacts as a contributing factor in the United States interest in Cuba and quoted as an example from Charles McCarthy's History of the United States for Catholic Schools, published in 1919 by the American Book Company: "Our country was interested in Cuba because of its situation just off our shores and later because our people had

invested their money in its mines, railroads and plantations" (p. 435). It would appear from Pierce's findings, therefore, that although the traditional orthodox interpretations predominated, the progressive influence was observable in a minority of textbooks.

Pierce found that the Platt amendment was treated as being of benefit to the Cubans, preserving them not only from rebellion at home but from their enemies abroad, and the author of one textbook she examined went so far as to exhort Americans to feel proud of the treatment of Cuba, which he described as being most generous. Pierce felt that textbooks in their treatment of the United States involvement in the Panama Canal were not usually open enough. Some books made no mention of United States interests in the Panama revolution. Some discussions, however, brought out the unwillingness of Colombia to sell the canal strip, the annoyance of Roosevelt because of Colombia's refusal, the desire of the people of Panama for a canal, the Panama revolt, and the presence of the United States naval forces. The value of the canal from a financial point of view was given much attention, but Pierce could only find one book that said the revolt in Panama had been directly manipulated from Washington.

According to Pierce, the treatment of the protectorates (such as Cuba) by the United States was not given much attention. The establishment of protectorates in the Caribbean was explained on the basis that such action prevented hostile European powers from becoming threats to American interests. Pierce mentioned that a number of writers described the benefits that these protectorates derived from

their new relationship with the United States, such as good roads, the intensive production of sugar, and education. Only one book was found in which the author admitted that United States military officers had sometimes misused their powers in their management of these protectorates. Some textbooks, however, noted that in the protectorates there was some resentment toward the United States, in some textbooks attributable to the very protection they received from the United States.

The Virgin Islands purchase also received some attention. In these cases, the strategic advantages of owning the islands was discussed. The frequent Pan American Congresses were favorably mentioned, and the growing trade between the United States and other nations was considered an advantage to both.

FitzGerald (1971) corroborated Pierce when she concluded that there were some early twentieth-century textbooks that were critical of United States foreign policy and that regarded the ventures of the United States in the Caribbean as imperialistic. Of the 1940s texts, FitzGerald found that they explained that "Latin American nations had certain legitimate grievances against the United States" (p. 131), while in the 1950s texts, America always appeared altruistic and to have "saved Cuba from the Spanish, protected Puerto Rico and separated Panama from Columbia in order to wipe out yellow fever" (p. 128). She concluded that the texts of the first five decades of the present century did not propose any radical line of dissent, but at the same time did not call "every military venture an unqualified success," nor did they suppress information about domestic opposition to the various

government initiatives (p. 131). However, she did take issue with textbook authors for treating the other nations in the region only as objects of the foreign policy of the United States. In the immediate post-World War II period, therefore, the progressive element seemed to have lost influence, while the orthodox mode seemed once more almost entirely dominant. The treatment was predominantly national in perspective, rather than hemispheric or global.

This study, therefore, tried to identify the main trends in direction in textbooks published after 1950 and before 1979 in order to see how the interpretation of United States-Caribbean relations compared with the interpretation in earlier textbooks and to detect historiographical influences. It was expected that there would be changes in the direction of the content reflecting historiographical trends and that, over time, the analysis of United States-Caribbean relations in a wider global context would receive increasing attention.

Summary

This chapter examined significant literature and research on history textbooks, on the treatment of United States foreign relations in textbooks, and on the treatment of United States-Caribbean relations by both research historians and school-textbook authors.

The most characteristic feature of contemporary United States history textbooks seems to be their blandness, as reviewers have seemed to agree that many of the biases and inaccuracies that characterized earlier textbooks have been removed. The main function of the history

textbook in the United States seems to be to instill patriotism. Some authors reviewed seemed uneasy about this feature, as they were about the fact that school history textbooks usually fail to keep up with scholarly research in the field.

The second area reviewed was the treatment of United States foreign relations in textbooks. Whereas early United States schoolbooks gave little attention to foreign relations, the coverage on foreign peoples and foreign and international relations has increased significantly in the last three decades.

The treatment of United States-Caribbean relations was the third area reviewed. The historiography of United States-Caribbean relations was presented in outline, and the literature on the treatment of the theme in textbooks published before 1960 was discussed against this background. The feeling seemed to be that traditional interpretations tend to predominate.

CHAPTER III

ATTENTION TO THE THEME "UNITED STATES-CARIBBEAN RELATIONS"

This chapter explains the procedure used in selecting the textbooks used in this investigation, describes the procedures for determining attention, and answers the first research question--the amount of attention given to the topic of United States-Caribbean relations in the textbooks. The textbooks selected were published during three designated periods.

Designation of the Publishing Periods

For purposes of structuring the analysis, the textbooks were categorized by date of publication in three periods: Period 1, 1950-1959; Period 2, 1960-1969; and Period 3, 1970-1979. Each period is designated by selected highlights of the international scene as follows:

- Period 1: The Cold War, Sputnik, the growth of international agencies
- Period 2: Cuban crisis, test-ban treaty, Vietnam, creation of new nations
- Period 3: Nonaligned movement, OPEC, Canal Zone Treaty, increased global awareness, pressures for a New International Economic Order

Procedure for Selection of the United States History Textbooks

Content analysts who have tried to identify the most widely used United States history textbooks have experienced difficulty because publishing firms are reluctant to reveal sales figures (Herz, 1978). Early reviewers of senior high school United States history textbooks generally selected their sample for analysis by first identifying the population of textbooks available during the period to be studied and then submitting those lists to juries of teachers or prominent social studies educators, who then selected from the population those books that, in their opinion, were most popular. Billington (1966), for example, used three experts in the field of secondary school history teaching, whereas Weischadle (1967) chose instead to base his selection on interviews with experienced social studies teachers. Other reviewers such as Anyon (1979) have made their selection from lists prepared by state selection boards.

These procedures, though imprecise, have nevertheless yielded remarkably similar results as the same textbooks tend to recur in study after study. This study relied mainly on these earlier studies for the identification of the sample of textbooks that were reviewed.

Criteria for Selection

Textbooks selected for review in this study had to meet two main criteria: (1) their popularity had to have been previously established by earlier textbook studies, and (2) they had to have revised editions in each of the three publishing periods. The latter

criterion was taken to indicate further the success and therefore the popularity of the books, and had the additional advantage of facilitating the between-period comparison.

The texts selected were those that appeared most frequently in the samples studied in ten textbook studies published between 1959 and 1979, and that also met the second criterion. (See Appendix A for list of studies.) Of the seven most frequently appearing textbooks, two appeared on all ten lists, one appeared on nine lists, one on eight, one on seven, and the other two on five and four lists, respectively.

When the second criterion was applied, two textbooks were eliminated, one because the earliest edition was in 1967, and the other because there have apparently been no revised editions since 1966. Following is a list in chronological order, by period, of the books and editions selected:

Period 1: 1950-1959

Todd, Lewis P., and Curti, Merle. Rise of the American Nation.

New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1950.

Canfield, Leon H., and Wilder, Howard B. The Making of Modern America.

Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1952.

Bragdon, Henry W., and McCutchen, Samuel P. History of a Free People.

New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954.

Graff, Henry F., and Krout, John A. Adventure of the American People.

Chicago: Rand McNally Company, 1959.

Period II: 1960-1969

Bragdon, Henry, and McCutchen, Samuel. History of a Free People.

New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961.

Todd, Lewis P., and Curti, Merle. Rise of the American Nation.

New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966.

Wade, Richard; Wilder, Howard; and Wade, Louise. A History of the United States. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.¹

Graff, Henry F., and Krout, John A. Adventure of the American People.

Chicago: Rand McNally Company, 1968.

Period III: 1970-1979

Wade, Richard; Wilder, Howard; and Wade, Louise. A History of the United States. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972.

Graff, Henry F., and Krout, John A. Adventure of the American People.

Chicago: Rand McNally Company, 1973.

Bragdon, Henry, and McCutchen, Samuel. History of a Free People.

New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973.

Todd, Lewis P., and Curti, Merle. Rise of the American Nation.

New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1977.

Various editions of the Todd and Curti book were examined in all ten textbook studies, and its popularity is well documented.

Downey (1980) remarked that it is "one of the best selling secondary school history textbooks," and one of its editors is reported to have

¹This book replaced The Making of Modern America by Canfield and Wilder and incorporated much material from that book.

said that sales of the book were exceeding 200,000 copies in the 1960s (Black, 1967). The second most frequently appearing book, History of a Free People by Bragdon and McCutchen, is reported to have sold more than two and a half million copies since 1954 (Herz, 1978), and a survey of history teaching by Baxter, Ferrell, and Wiltz (1964) found 18 percent of history teachers in Indiana using that text. The same survey found 19 percent of the teachers in Indiana using the Canfield and Wilder.

Procedure for the Selection of the Caribbean History Textbooks

For the textbooks in use in the Commonwealth Caribbean, it was decided to select comprehensive one-volume histories of the Caribbean area as a whole and to exclude history textbook series of the Caribbean as well as histories of individual territories. Textbooks in series form published up to 1979 were written to be used in lower grades of high school, and national school histories are not used extensively outside of the territories about which they were written. The five Caribbean history texts that met the above-mentioned criteria and that also appeared on the suggested reading lists published by the Caribbean Examinations Council in 1972 for Ordinary Level (Grade II) students were selected. They are, in chronological order and by period:

Period I: 1950-1959

Parry, J., and Sherlock, P. A Short History of the West Indies.

London: Macmillan, 1956.

Period II: 1960-1969

Augier, F. R.; Gordon, S. C.; Hall, D. G.; and Reckord, M. The Making of the West Indies. Longman Caribbean, 1960.

García, A. A History of the West Indies. London: Harrap, 1965.

Period III: 1970-1979

Murray, R. N. Nelson's West Indian History. London: Nelson, 1971.

Parry, J. H., and Sherlock, P. M. A Short-History of the West Indies. London: Macmillan, 1971.

Sherlock, P. M. West Indian Nations. Kingston: Jamaica Publishing House, 1973.

The Procedure for Determining Attention

The remaining portion of this chapter contains a discussion of the amount of attention given to United States-Caribbean relations in the selected textbooks. Attention was determined quantitatively by measuring first the amount of space allotted to United States-Caribbean relations. Second, to identify topical emphases, the amount of space given to selected subtopics or topical categories in the content about United States-Caribbean relations was determined. Lines were used as the measure of space.

Measuring the Space Allotted to United States-Caribbean Relations

Attention was determined by measuring the amount of content space allotted to United States-Caribbean relations in relation to the total content space of the textbooks. To do this, it was first

necessary to establish the total content pages in each textbook. Content pages were taken to include all pages that contained text material and to exclude all other types of material as follows: all introductory material such as tables of contents, title pages, forewords, prefaces, and unit and chapter overviews; all illustrative materials such as maps, photographs, pictures, charts, graphs, and tables; biographies; documentary material; all headings and titles; and all culminating material such as summaries, study guides, activities, bibliographies, indexes, and appendices.

After the number of content pages in each book was determined, a 20 percent sample of the pages was identified using a table of random numbers. A line count was then made of each of the pages in the sample. For ease of counting, a page-line counting guide was constructed for each textbook.¹ (See Appendix B.) The average number of lines per page in the sample was determined by dividing the total number of lines in the sample by the number of pages in the sample.

The next step was to estimate the amount of content space in the book by multiplying the average number of lines by the total number of content pages.

The amount of space devoted to United States-Caribbean relations was determined by counting the number of lines devoted to the subject. These figures were then converted to percentages in relation to the total number of lines in each book. By way of illustration, the

¹I am indebted to Berman (1976) for this device.

results of this procedure in respect of one textbook is attached as Appendix C.

Intracoder reliability (i.e., the consistency through time of the coding of a single researcher or group of researchers) was checked by repeating the procedure for determining the amount of space devoted to United States-Caribbean relations several months later. Pearson product-moment, a correlation technique, was used to compare the old and new totals for 27 subtopics on the theme of United States-Caribbean relations. The book used was the 1961 edition of the Bradgon and McCutchen. A coefficient of .966 indicated that the results were consistent.

To determine the topical emphases and balance within the content, the content was first divided into five topical categories as follows:¹

The Spanish-American War (Span. Am. War)

United States intervention in the Caribbean (U.S. Interven.)

The Good Neighbor Policy (Good N. Pol.)

United States colonial government (U.S. col. govt.)

Pan-Americanism and hemispheric defense (Pan.Am.hem.def.)

The total number of lines on each category was then determined, and the percentages of the total coverage on United States-Caribbean relations that these totals represented was calculated.

¹For a further breakdown of content included within these categories, see Appendix D.

The Results

Space Allocated in United States History Textbooks to United States- Caribbean Relations

Tables 2, 3, and 4 summarize the findings of this investigation. Perhaps the most significant finding is that there was very little variation among United States history textbooks both within periods and between periods in the amount of space allotted to United States-Caribbean relations (see Table 2).

Table 2.--Total percentage of space in United States history textbooks allotted to United States-Caribbean relations, by textbook and period.

Period	Textbook	Space Allotted	
		No. of Lines	Percent
1 1950-59	Todd & Curti 1950	1,393.3	3.3
	Canfield & Wilder 1952	1,335.5	3.5
	Bragdon & McCutchen 1954	979.5	3.1
	Graff & Krout 1959	1,209.8	3.7
	Period total	4,920.1	3.4
2 1960-69	Bragdon & McCutchen 1961	985.3	3.4
	Todd & Curti 1966	1,247.8	3.3
	Wade, Wilder & Wade 1966	1,239.8	2.9
	Graff & Krout 1967	1,415.0	4.1
	Period total	4,887.9	3.5
3 1970-79	Wade, Wilder & Wade 1972	1,228.8	2.9
	Graff & Krout 1973	1,411.8	4.1
	Bragdon & McCutchen 1973	1,167.8	3.4
	Todd & Curti 1977	1,031.0	2.5
	Period total	4,839.4	3.1
Total for all periods		14,647.4	3.3

The range from least to most attention within each period was very small (see Table 3), even though it became wider over time. An examination of the coverage of the topic in each textbook over the three periods revealed that in the case of two, the Todd and Curti and the Canfield and Wilder/Wade, Wilder, Wade, the coverage became less over time, whereas the coverage in the other two became greater (see Table 4).

Table 3.--Range in amount of space given to United States-Caribbean relations, by period.^a

Period	Range (in Percent)
1	.6
2	1.2
3	1.6

^aRange--the largest amount of space in a textbook minus the least amount of space in a textbook within each period.

Table 4.--Difference between Period 3 and Period 1 in the percentage of space allotted to United States-Caribbean relations, by textbook.

Textbook	Difference (in Percent)
Todd and Curti	-.8
Canfield and Wilder/Wade, Wilder, Wade	-.6
Bragdon and McCutchen	+.3
Graff and Krout	+.4

Since the average percentage for all periods was as low as 3.3, such increases and declines as are shown in Table 3 are of some significance. The decrease in coverage was greatest in the case of the Todd and Curti, with the percentage declining from 3.3 percent in the 1950 and 1966 editions to 2.5 percent in the 1977 edition. A detailed examination of the coverage in these editions revealed that although the 1966 edition added a total of 110.5 lines on recent events--the Bay of Pigs, the Missile Crisis, and the Alliance for Progress--it reduced the coverage on all of the topics that had appeared in the 1950 edition. The result was a reduction in the total number of lines on United States-Caribbean relations even though new content had been added and even though the percentage of space allotted to the themes remained the same. Even more severe pruning took place with respect to the 1977 edition, resulting in a more drastic reduction in the number of lines and a decided lowering of the percentage figure.

A similar trend was found when the coverage in the Canfield and Wilder/Wade, Wilder, and Wade was analyzed except that the most severe pruning took place with the 1968 edition. As with the Todd and Curti, both the total number of lines and the percentage allotted to United States-Caribbean relations declined.

With the two texts that showed an increase over time, both the total number of lines and the percentage figure increased over time.

Space Allotted in Commonwealth
Caribbean History Textbooks to
United States-Caribbean Relations

Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks were similarly analyzed. Table 5 summarizes the findings.

Table 5.--Total percentage of space in Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks allotted to United States-Caribbean relations, by textbook and period.

Period	Textbook	Space Allotted	
		No. of Lines	Percent
1 1950-59	Parry & Sherlock 1956	991.3	9.0
	Period total	991.3	9.0
2 1962-69	Augier, Gordon, Hall & Reckord 1960	504.0	5.5
	García 1965	251.3	2.6
	Period total	755.3	3.9
3 1973-79	Murray 1971	259.0	6.3
	Parry & Sherlock 1971	1,048.8	8.9
	Sherlock 1973	386.0	3.8
	Period total	1,693.8	6.5
Total for all periods		3,440.4	6.1

A between-period comparison of the coverage in Caribbean history textbooks was less reliable than a similar comparison of United States history textbooks. This is because the number of books in each period varied, and only one textbook occurred in more than one edition. It was, therefore, decided not to construct tables to show the

between-period range and difference in the amount of space allotted to United States-Caribbean relations.

The most interesting finding here was that Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks tended to devote a higher percentage of space to United States-Caribbean relations than did United States history textbooks. It seems safe to conclude, therefore, that the theme of United States-Caribbean relations loomed larger in Caribbean history textbooks than in United States history textbooks (see Table 6).

Table 6.--Percentage of space allotted to United States-Caribbean relations in United States and Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks, by period.

Period	Space Allotted	
	United States Textbooks	Caribbean Textbooks
1	3.4	9.0
2	3.5	3.9
3	3.1	6.5
Average for all periods	3.3	6.1

Space Allotted in United States
History Textbooks to Topical Categories
in the Content on United
States-Caribbean Relations

The amount of space allotted to topical categories in the content on United States-Caribbean relations was determined by counting the number of lines allotted to each of the five categories. Table 7 shows the results in percentages for each book and for the periods.

Table 7.--Percentage of space in United States history textbooks allotted to categories in the content on United States-Caribbean relations, by textbook and period.

Period	Textbook	Category							Total No. of Lines
		Sp. Am. War	U.S. Interven.	Good N. Policy	Col. Govt.	Pan. Am.	Unclass. ^a	Total %	
1	1950 Todd & Curti	23.6	39.3	7.2	11.2	10.4	8.2	100.0	1,395.25
	1952 Canfield & Wilder	23.9	40.5	3.9	23.2	7.4	1.1	100.0	1,335.50
	1954 Bragdon & McCutchen	18.2	35.6	6.3	13.4	23.6	2.9	100.0	979.50
	Graff & Krout	35.2	39.6	11.4	9.3	1.7	2.8	100.0	1,209.75
	Period total	25.5	38.9	7.2	14.4	11.1	2.9	100.0	4,920.00
2	1961 Bragdon & McCutchen	15.7	32.3	5.4	16.3	24.9	5.4	100.0	985.25
	1966 Todd & Curti	22.5	43.2	6.9	10.0	15.0	2.4	100.0	1,247.75
	1966 Wade, Wilder & Wade	27.4	41.7	5.4	14.0	10.4	1.1	100.0	1,239.75
	1968 Graff & Krout	33.5	40.1	10.2	8.3	3.0	4.9	100.0	1,415.00
	Period total	25.6	39.7	7.2	11.8	12.4	3.3	100.0	4,887.75

Table 7.--Continued.

Period	Textbook	Category						Total No. of Lines
		Sp. Am. War	U.S. Interven.	Good N. Policy	Col. Govt.	Pan. Am.	Unclass. ^a	Total %
3	1972 Wade, Wilder & Wade	23.2	41.9	5.5	14.1	10.4	4.9	100.0
	1973 Graff & Krout	33.5	40.4	10.2	8.3	3.0	4.6	100.0
	1973 Bragdon & McCutchen	13.6	38.5	5.4	13.1	23.6	3.8	100.0
	1977 Todd & Curti	25.9	36.5	7.1	10.7	13.1	6.7	100.0
	Period total	24.5	39.5	7.2	11.5	12.5	4.8	100.0
	Total for all periods	25.2	39.4	7.2	12.6	12.4	3.2	100.0

^aTopics not counted as part of the five categories and therefore unclassified are the purchase of the Virgin Islands, the Cuban Revolution of 1959, and the Panama Tolls Controversy.

Table 8 summarizes the results from Table 7 by period totals only, and Table 9 gives the ranking of the categories based on these results.

Table 8.--Percentage of space in United States history textbooks allotted to categories in the content on United States-Caribbean relations, by period.

Period	Category							Total No. of Lines
	Sp. Am. War	U.S. Inter- vention	Good N. Policy	Col. Govt.	Pan. Am.	Un- class.	Total %	
1	25.5	38.9	7.2	14.4	11.1	2.9	100.0	4,920.00
2	25.6	39.7	7.2	11.8	12.4	3.3	100.0	4,887.75
3	24.5	39.5	7.2	11.5	12.5	4.8	100.0	4,839.25
All periods	25.2	39.4	7.2	12.6	12.4	3.2	100.0	14,647.00

Table 9.--Ranking of categories in United States textbooks according to amount of space allotted, by period.

Rank	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	All Periods
1	U.S. Interven.	U.S. Interven.	U.S. Interven.	U.S. Interven.
2	Sp. Am. War	Sp. Am. War	Sp. Am. War	Sp. Am. War
3	Col. Govt.	Pan Am.	Pan Am.	Col. Govt.
4	Pan Am.	Col. Govt.	Col. Govt.	Pan Am.
5	Good N. Pol.	Good N. Pol.	Good N. Pol.	Good N. Pol.

The most significant finding that emerged was perhaps that the first two categories, the Spanish-American War and United States Intervention, were the dominant ones and accounted for over 60 percent of

the content on United States-Caribbean relations throughout all periods. (See Tables 9 and 10.) The Good Neighbor Policy received least attention in all periods. The similarity in coverage between periods and even between textbooks was remarkable. The Bragdon and McCutchen was the only textbook that departed significantly from the general pattern in that consistently throughout the three periods it devoted less attention to the Spanish-American War than did the others and rather more to Pan Americanism. There have, therefore, been no significant changes of emphasis in the content on United States-Caribbean relations over time.

Table 10.--Percentage of space in United States history books allotted to two categories--the Spanish-American War and United States Intervention, in the content on United States-Caribbean relations, by period.

Period	Percent of Space to Two Categories
1	64.4
2	65.3
3	64.0
All periods	64.6

Space Allotted in Caribbean History
Textbooks to Topical Categories in
the Content on United States-
Caribbean Relations

Table 11 shows the results of this research, while Table 12 summarizes the content from Table 11, by period totals. Table 13 gives

Table 11.--Percentage of space in Caribbean history textbooks allotted to categories in the content on United States-Caribbean relations, by textbook and period.

Period	Textbook	Category						Total No. of Lines
		Sp. Am. War	U.S. Interven.	Good N. Policy	Col. Govt.	Pan Am.	Unclass. a	Total %
1	1956 Parry & Sherlock	15.4	24.4	2.5	43.5	10.1	4.3	100.0
	Period total	15.4	24.2	2.5	43.5	10.1	4.3	100.0
2	1960 Augier, Gordon et al.	11.3	25.9	10.2	29.1	1.6	21.9	100.0
	1965 Garcia	35.0	16.1	0.0	45.7	0.7	2.5	100.0
	Period total	19.2	22.6	6.8	34.6	1.3	15.5	100.0
3	1971 Murray Parry & Sherlock	39.4 14.6	2.7 28.0	0.0 2.4	31.5 42.1	10.3 1.0	16.1 11.9	100.0 100.0
	1973 Sherlock	1.0	20.5	0.0	60.0	0.0	18.5	100.0
	Period total	15.3	22.4	1.5	44.5	2.2	14.1	100.0
	Total for all periods	16.2	23.0	3.0	42.1	4.3	11.4	100.0

the ranking of the categories based on these results. The most striking finding here was that the Colonial Government category was predominant, receiving 41.8 percent of space when the average for all periods was calculated (see Tables 12 and 13). The Good Neighbor Policy and Pan Americanism received very little attention, while the other three categories taken together accounted for more than three-quarters of the space (see Table 14).

Table 12.--Percentage of space in Caribbean history textbooks allotted to categories in the content on United States-Caribbean relations, by period.

Period	Category							Total No. of Lines
	Sp. Am. War	U.S. Inter- vention	Good N. Policy	Col. Govt.	Pan. Am.	Un- class. ^a	Total %	
1	15.4	24.2	2.5	43.5	10.1	4.3	100.0	991.25
2	19.2	22.6	6.8	34.6	1.3	15.5	100.0	755.25
3	15.3	22.4	1.5	44.5	2.2	14.1	100.0	1,693.75
All periods	16.2	23.0	3.0	42.1	4.3	11.4	100.0	3,440.25

^aTopics not included under the five categories include Garveyism, tourism and the banana trade, farm labor, communication, and the Chaguaramas dispute.

Table 13.--Ranking of categories in Caribbean textbooks according to amount of space allotted, by period.

Rank	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	All Periods
1	Col. Govt.	Col. Govt.	Col. Govt.	Col. Govt.
2	U.S. Interven.	Sp. Am. War	Sp. Am. War	U.S. Interven.
3	Sp. Am. War	U.S. Interven.	U.S. Interven.	Sp. Am. War
4	Pan Am.	Good N. Pol.	Pan Am.	Pan Am.
5	Good N. Pol.	Pan Am.	Good N. Pol.	Good N. Pol.

Table 14.--Percentage of space in Caribbean history textbooks allotted to three categories, Colonial Government, the Spanish-American War, and U.S. Intervention, in the content on United States-Caribbean relations.

Period	Percent of Space to Three Categories
1	83.1
2	76.4
3	82.2
All periods	81.3

The balance in coverage between categories over the three periods was not as even as was the case with the United States history textbooks. Table 13 shows more changes in rank between the categories than does Table 9, but these are not very significant, and the Colonial Government category was consistently number one. The ranking in Period 3 was the same as in Period 1 except that the Spanish-American War and the United States Intervention categories changed places. There has, therefore, been little change in emphasis over time.

Tables 15 and 16 were constructed to facilitate comparison between United States and Caribbean textbooks. They show that emphases differed. The Caribbean texts emphasized United States relations with its colonies and protectorates (the Colonial Government category), while United States textbooks emphasized United States Intervention and the Spanish-American War. The Good Neighbor Policy received least emphasis in both sets of books.

Table 15.--Percentage of space in United States and Caribbean textbooks allotted to categories in the content on United States-Caribbean relations, by period and category.

Period	Category	Space Allotted	
		United States Books	Caribbean Books
1	Sp. Am. War	25.5	15.4
	U.S. Interven.	38.9	24.2
	Good N. Pol.	7.2	2.5
	Col. Govt.	14.4	43.5
	Pan Am.	11.1	10.1
	Unclass.	2.9	4.3
2	Sp. Am. War	25.6	19.2
	U.S. Interven.	39.7	22.6
	Good N. Pol.	7.2	6.8
	Col. Govt.	11.8	34.6
	Pan Am.	12.4	1.3
	Unclass.	3.3	15.5
3	Sp. Am. War	24.5	15.3
	U.S. Interven.	39.5	22.4
	Good N. Pol.	7.2	1.5
	Col. Govt.	11.5	44.5
	Pan Am.	12.5	2.2
	Unclass.	4.8	14.1

Table 16.--Percentage of space in United States and Caribbean history textbooks allotted to topical categories in the content on United States-Caribbean relations, by category.

Textbook	Sp. Am. War	U.S. Interven.	Good N. Pol.	Col. Govt.	Pan Am.	Unclass.
U.S.	25.2	39.4	7.2	12.6	12.4	3.2
Caribbean	16.2	23.0	3.0	42.1	4.3	11.4

Summary

The main objective in this chapter was to investigate the amount of attention given to the theme and also the nature of that attention over time. In carrying out the investigation, three publishing periods were established: 1950-59, 1960-69, and 1970-79. Four history books of the United States were analyzed in each of the three periods. Of the six Caribbean books, there was one in Period 1, two in Period 2, and three in Period 3.

Attention was determined by first measuring the amount of space allotted to United States-Caribbean relations, in relation to the total space in each book. Lines were used as the measure of space. The total space of each textbook was determined by counting the lines in a random sample of content pages, establishing the average number of lines per page, then multiplying this figure by the total number of content pages. The result was an estimated total number of lines. Five categories were then identified in order to determine topical emphases in the content. The lines allotted to each category were

counted and converted to percentages of the total space on United States-Caribbean relations.

One of the hypotheses of this study was that an increasing amount of attention has been given to the theme of United States-Caribbean relations in the content of United States and Caribbean history textbooks over time. The findings were not very conclusive. With respect to the United States books, although the period total for the third period was lower than that for the first period, when individual texts were examined, two showed a decrease in coverage of the theme over time, while two showed an increase. No between-period comparison of the Caribbean books was attempted as the number of books in each period varied and only one book occurred in more than one edition. It was found, however, that Caribbean books tended to devote a higher percentage of space to United States-Caribbean relations than did United States textbooks. When the categories were examined, it was found that there has been no appreciable change of emphasis in the content on United States-Caribbean relations in either United States or Caribbean books over time. However, United States textbooks and Caribbean textbooks differed in the categories they emphasized.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL INTERPRETATION OF UNITED STATES- CARIBBEAN RELATIONS

This chapter is concerned with determining the direction of the content on United States-Caribbean relations in United States and Commonwealth Caribbean high school history textbooks published between 1950 and 1979.¹ The approach adopted is based on the premise that the direction of the content of historical writing may be determined by analysis of the interpretation of historical data.

The Historiography of United States-Caribbean Relations

In carrying out this investigation, only one portion of the historiography of United States-Caribbean relations was included and consulted--that was the historiography in English--and from that portion has included the work of both United States and Caribbean historians.

With respect to content on United States-Caribbean relations in United States historiography, the interpretation may be classified under two main historiographical modes--the traditional/orthodox

¹Generally speaking, direction in content analysis refers to the attitude toward any symbol by the user, whether pro, con, or neutral. Direction as used in this chapter refers to the historiographical interpretation of selected issues in high school textbooks, whether traditional or revisionist, or a blend of the two.

consensus mode--the dominant mode in United States historiography, and the revisionist mode--whether of the progressive historians of the early twentieth century or of the more recent New Left historians. A third mode may be identified, the eclectic, which presents a synthesis of the two main modes.

The same modes may be identified in Caribbean historiography, the dominant mode being the traditional. There has been a tendency for Caribbean historians particularly in the early twentieth century to follow the lead of scholars from the United States and other developed countries. As in other things, there is wide variation between the territories of the Caribbean in the relative strength of the different modes. For example, revisionism seems to be strongest and to have existed for a longer time in those territories that have experienced a United States military occupation, whereas in those territories that have not shared this experience, revisionism is relatively new and weaker.

Methodology

Three main procedural steps were followed:

1. The first step was to identify and select a number of controversial topics/themes in the history of United States-Caribbean relations with respect to the period from 1895 to the Second World War. A study of the historiography of United States-Caribbean relations identified the major research historians belonging to the various modes. It was also possible to select from the same sources those topics/themes in United States-Caribbean relations during the period 1895 to

1939 that appear to have stimulated the greatest amount of controversy.

They are as follows:

The Spanish-American War

Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy

The Good Neighbor Policy

Following is a brief summary of each of the above themes:

The Spanish-American War

This war marked the culmination of Cuba's 30-year struggle against Spain. The United States came into the war on the side of Cuba against Spain following the destruction of the battleship USS Maine in 1898. In less than four months the United States had destroyed the Spanish fleet and occupied Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean as well as Guam and the Philippines in the Pacific Ocean. By the Treaty of Paris, which ended the war, Spain ceded Puerto Rico to the United States and evacuated Cuba, which became a protectorate of the United States.

United States Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy in the Caribbean, 1900-1921

During this period, Marines and dollars became the main instruments of United States foreign policy in the Caribbean. Between 1906 and 1917, the United States intervened in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, and Nicaragua. (The Platt Amendment of 1901 declared that it was the right of the United States to intervene militarily in Cuba.) Military interventions were usually justified by

reference to the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine announced by Theodore Roosevelt in 1904. According to this Corollary, the United States would, if necessary, exercise police power in Latin America and the Caribbean. The first occasion for police action occurred when the Dominican Republic was threatened with foreclosure by her European creditors. The United States set up a customs receivership to collect the revenues and discharge the debts.

Taft, Roosevelt's successor, extended his policy and advocated a variation known as Dollar Diplomacy. This involved obtaining financial controls to ensure that debts were paid and that United States business interests were promoted.

The Good Neighbor Policy

Beginning in the 1930s, there was a noticeable shift in United States policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean. A series of acts implemented this policy. In 1930, the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine was officially repudiated by the State Department. In December 1933, Secretary Hull signed a treaty at Montevideo to the effect that "no state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another." In keeping with this treaty, the Platt Amendment was abrogated in the following year. The Marines were withdrawn from Haiti, and the customs receivership in the Dominican Republic was ended. A new treaty with Panama gave that country a larger annuity for the Canal Zone. Then, at the Buenos Aires Peace Conference of 1936, Roosevelt promised to consult with Latin American

nations "for mutual safety." This policy had the desired effect of increasing Pan American solidarity.

2. The second procedural step was to analyze the treatment of the selected topics/themes by research historians of the United States and the Caribbean to determine the most common interpretations (with respect to each of the above topics) that may be attributable to each mode. These interpretations are summarized in Tables 17 through 19.

Table 17.--The historiography of the Spanish-American War.

Research Question	Interpretation	
	Consensus	Revisionist
1. Who was most responsible for the United States involvement in the war?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -not big business -big business was opposed -public opinion was responsible -an imperialist clique was responsible 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -elite businessmen and government officials -government, military and business
2. How did the United States come to be involved in the war?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -by accident--the U.S. stumbled into the war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -the involvement was rationally and deliberately planned
3. Why did the United States become involved in the war?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -manifest destiny -missionary zeal -Social Darwinism -hunger for foreign ventures -racism and nationalism -defense of projected canal -protective imperialism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -to secure foreign markets, outlets for surplus production and sources of raw materials

Table 18.--The historiography of United States Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy, 1900-1921.

Research Question	Interpretation	
	Consensus	Revisionist
1. Who was mainly responsible for the policy?	-not private interests -government officials	-U.S. business interests
2. What was the purpose of the policy?	-secure approaches to the canal -safeguard strategic interests of the U.S. -to help the people of the area -not to profit private interests -promote peace and good government in the Caribbean	-not to protect the canal -desire for order -expand trade and cultural influence -to gain access to markets, raw materials -promote investment -support big business
3. What was the nature of the policy?	-assistance, not exploitation	-extension of U.S. economic and political hegemony
4. What were the main effects of the policy on the Caribbean?	-Caribbean enjoyed a variety of social and economic benefits, e.g., improved infrastructure	-negative economic, social and political effects, e.g., increasing dependency

Table 19.--The historiography of the Good Neighbor Policy.

Research Question	Interpretation	
	Consensus	Revisionist
1. How did the policy originate?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -post-Versailles feeling of security -altruism of U.S. -inherent anti-imperialism of the U.S. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -creation of local armed forces by the U.S. and the emergence of pro-U.S. dictatorships made military intervention unnecessary
2. What purpose did the policy serve?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -promotion of U.S. security interests -advancement of civilization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -solution of domestic economic problems -promotion of stability in order to bring U.S. capital into the region -promotion of U.S. hegemony
3. What was the nature of the policy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -increased economic and social well-being of the nations of the new world 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -support for authoritarian regimes and elites favorable to the U.S. -emphasis on preventing disorder -political intervention, e.g., through use of diplomatic recognition -interference with electoral system -reciprocal trade agreements

Table 19.--Continued.

Research Question	Interpretation	
	Consensus	Revisionist
4. What were the main effects of the policy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -peace, stability, prosperity to new world nations -social and economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -increased U.S. investment with negative effects on economy and society of client states -the leadership in many states became mere extensions of U.S. power -increased U.S. hegemony

3. The third procedural step was to analyze the treatment of the selected topics/themes in United States and Commonwealth Caribbean high school history textbooks. The aim at this stage was to discover whether there had been changes in interpretation of the topics/themes over time and whether these changes were directly reflective of or comparable to historiographical trends, and to identify possible similarities and differences between interpretative trends identified in the United States high school history textbooks with those identified in Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks.

The Historiography of the Spanish-American War

Paterson (1973) identified three questions on the Spanish-American War that appeared in his view to have aroused the greatest controversy among United States historians. The first problem is a

problem of political process, and the question that arises from this is whether the impulse toward imperialism came from "an aroused popular will" that "compelled reluctant leaders toward empire," or whether it came from an elite holding decision-making authority and/or an influential pressure group that shaped public opinion. In other words, who was responsible? The second question identified by Paterson is whether the U.S. became an imperial power by design or by accident--whether the impetus toward imperialism arose merely as an "ill-considered spur of the moment response to explosive events and popular ideas," or whether it came about as a result of "a careful assessment of the American national interest." A third problem centers on motivation. Paterson listed a number of possible motives that have been advanced to explain United States imperialism: "nationalism, with its components of pride, duty, superiority, and prestige; humanitarianism; economic necessity and ambition; domestic unrest, Social Darwinism; Manifest Destiny; the restlessness of an adventuresome generation that had not participated in a war; international competition; or the perceived need for naval and strategic stations," and asked, "which of these motives, or combination of motives, were most significant?" (p. 2).

United States historians of the consensus school and those associated with the revisionist school have differed in their answers to these and other questions. Although it is not possible to classify their various answers into rigid classes, a fairly general classification of the various responses can be made.

Consensus historians have usually been united in the view that United States business was not responsible for the Spanish-American War (e.g., see Bemis, 1943, p. 137). Pratt (1936) went as far as saying that United States businessmen were either "opposed or indifferent to the expansion philosophy which had arisen since 1890" and for many, "the threat of war was like a spectre at a feast" (pp. 233-39). Pratt blamed the American public for the war, while another consensus historian concluded that the war was "a people's war not an administration war, not the work of politicians" (Bemis, 1943, p. 36). Leuchtenburg (1957) and Hofstadter (1967) ascribed the same role to public opinion as did Pratt. According to Leuchtenburg, America was driven to a declaration of war by the pressure of feverish public opinion influenced by unscrupulous journalism and conspicuous episodes such as the sinking of the Maine, while for Hofstadter the main influence on public opinion was what he referred to as a "psychic crisis," which arose from the economic depression and domestic social disorders that the United States was then experiencing. Beale (1956) also saw public opinion as playing a dominant role in United States foreign policy at the time, but for him the main shaping force was the imperialist clique clustered around Roosevelt, which influenced a weak president.¹

For consensus historians the war was almost an accident. for example, both Kennan (1951) and Osgood (1953) attested to the

¹Some historians have perceived McKinley as having been a weak president.

mindlessness of the war, and Leuchtenburg explained how America stumbled headlong into a war in which no vital American interest was involved, and with little regard for the consequences.

Consensus historians have differed among themselves in their analysis of the motives that, in their view, led the United States into war with Spain. Leuchtenburg (1957) described the United States of the 1890s as being "aggressive, expansionist and jingoistic" and identified the Protestant and democratic forces of the South and West as the main warmongers. For Beale (1956), the underlying motives of the clique that in his view was mainly responsible for the war were nationalism and racism, while for Pratt (1936), missionary zeal was an additional factor to be considered. Bemis (1943) referred to what he described as "protective imperialism" when analyzing United States-Caribbean policy at the turn of the century and opined that the focus of this protective imperialism was "on the defense of an Isthmian canal in a passageway between the two seacoasts of the Continental Republic, vital to its naval communications and to its security" (p. 140). For consensus historians, therefore, the motives seemed to center on national interest and benevolence.

The revisionists have differed from consensus historians in ascribing the main responsibility for America's involvement in the war to business interests in the United States. La Feber (1963), McCormick (1961), and W. A. Williams (1962) all saw elite business interests as sharing this responsibility with government officials and popularizers such as Admiral Mahan. According to revisionist historians, these

groups deliberately, consciously, and rationally formulated the American imperialist position because they felt that foreign markets were needed to absorb the surplus domestic production of the United States.

La Feber (1963) strongly denied the consensus assertion that the United States set out on "an expansionist path in the late 1890s in a sudden spur-of-the-moment fashion" or that they acquired an empire "during a temporary absence of mind" or had "the empire forced upon them" (p. viii). On the contrary, suggested another revisionist, with the development of monopoly capitalism, the United States "consciously initiated a broad program of sophisticated imperialism" based on the premise that "overseas economic expansion provided the sine qua non of domestic prosperity and social peace" (W. A. Williams, 1966, p. 355). This view was further supported in Nearing and Freeman (1925), where the authors described the three lines of expansion followed by the United States since it reached the stage of financial imperialism. One direction was the search for raw materials and supplies for the domestic industry, another was the search for markets for surplus products, and a third was the search for business opportunities overseas. According to Lane (1972), revisionist scholarship has seemed to regard the acquisition of "colonies" or protectorates by the United States at the turn of the century as means to an end rather than an end in itself--the end being the establishment of markets to absorb the surplus produce of United States farms and factories and the safeguarding of American markets and trade routes.

A study of the work of traditional academic historians of the Caribbean revealed that they were largely indistinguishable from their United States counterparts in the questions they asked, the sources they used, the answers they found, and even surprisingly enough in perspective. This finding was supported by Cobbitt (1963), who found that as late as 1927, Cuban school texts and academic histories treated the 1898 war in much the same way as United States textbooks, and he even cited a Cuban historian, Cosme de la Torriente, who had expressed doubts about the ability of the Cuban army to defeat the Spanish forces without the assistance of the United States Navy. At this time apparently Cuban historiography was dominated by the conservative Academy of History (Smith, 1964).

Caribbean revisionist interpretations of United States-Caribbean relations predate United States revisionism, and Caribbean revisionists have had a uniquely Caribbean perspective. Apparently as early as the 1930s, Cuban scholars had taken issue with traditional American historiography on key elements such as the nature of American objectives, Cuba's role in the defeat of Spain, and the accomplishments of the military occupation (see Perez, 1982, pp. 176-77).

Smith (1964) described Cuban revisionism as being a tendency among intellectuals to "explain Cuba's troubles in terms of capitalism and Yankee imperialism" and noted that as a result "economic factors and the policies of the United States government emerged as important themes in Cuban historical writing" (p. 48). In Smith's view a number of factors created Cuban revisionism--the United States occupation in

1906-08, the landing of United States Marines in 1912, the intervention of 1917, the growing control of the Cuban economy by United States businessmen, the role of the United States in the Machado dictatorship, and the failure of the 1933 revolution. Smith cited a number of Cuban historians to support his claims. One was Herminio Portell Vila, who asserted that the United States would have lost the war without Cuban help, and documented the annexationist sympathies of General Wood linking these to the establishment of the protectorate under the Platt Amendment. Another was Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, who further developed the theme that the Cubans won their own independence. Apparently Roig has insisted that the struggle for independence was not a series of wars but one continuous struggle of 30 years duration, that the United States government had consistently opposed Cuban independence though some Americans favored it, that when the United States entered the war Spain had already been defeated by the Cuban patriots, that after the United States entered the war they used Cuban forces and strategy to win the Santiago campaign, and that the Spanish defeat did not bring Cuban freedom but simply turned the struggle into a new phase with the United States as the opponent (Corbitt, 1963).

Cuban revisionists adopted the name Guerra Hispana Cubano-americana as the name for the war. They condemned Root, McKinley, Wood, and Roosevelt as imperialists seeking to annex the island and praised General John R. Brooke for his efforts on behalf of Cuban independence and Senator Teller for insisting that the United States announce to the world that it did not intend to annex Cuba (Corbitt, 1966).

Revisionists from other Caribbean territories have posed a similar challenge to the dominant orthodox position. For example, Lopez and Petras (1974) from Puerto Rico argued that the United States invasion of Puerto Rico was a deliberate, well-planned act, whose genesis anteceded the official declaration of war against Spain in 1898. They explained that a number of strategic considerations such as the need for coaling stations and naval bases influenced the growing United States interest in Puerto Rico, but the dominant motivating force was economic. The United States had become an "expansionist capitalist country" and was in need of markets and raw materials. Puerto Rico was seen as an important potential market and a supplier of sugar to the United States.

Denis (1972), too, rejected the traditional Puerto Rican writers who, in his words, "portrayed the United States at the time of the Spanish-American War as a forgetful kindly giant who by a trick of fate found itself unexpectedly with an empire on its hands" (pp. 65-66). On the contrary, Denis felt that "the expansion of the United States must be seen in its proper perspective as a movement destined to gain commercial, industrial and financial hegemony in the Western Hemisphere, and as a necessary corollary to that, naval and military bases indispensable to maintaining this hegemony" (p. 67).

Williams (1966), the Trinidadian historian, saw Theodore Roosevelt as the American counterpart of Bismarck, Chamberlain, Rhodes, and Ferry and suggested that only the long European rivalry over the future of Cuba throughout the nineteenth century prevented him from

annexing Cuba. Instead, he contented himself with a call for the independence of Cuba. Williams went on to hint darkly that "all American politicians and businessmen know the type of independence he had in mind" (p. 159).

The Historiography of United States Intervention
in the Caribbean, 1920-1921

The various interpretations of this theme relate closely to interpretations of the Spanish-American War, which were examined previously. With respect to the present theme, the controversy appears to revolve around four main questions:

Why did the United States intervene in the Caribbean--
security? humanitarian mission? economic profit?

Who were the initiators of the policy of intervention?

What was the nature of the interventions?

What were the effects of the interventions?

As in the case of the key questions on the Spanish-American War, historians have differed in their answers to these questions, disagreeing mainly on whether economic or political factors were the most important.

The first of these questions has stimulated rather fierce controversy. Bemis (1943), the grandfather of United States diplomatic history and a consensus historian, suggested a number of motives that in his view guided the policy of intervention. Among them were the desire to "safeguard the strategic interests of the United States" (p. 164) and to "secure the approaches to the Isthmus against a lodgment of non-American power" (p. 143), "to support the Roosevelt

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Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine" and "to help the people themselves willy-nilly, by stabilizing their governments and economies" (p. 161). According to Bemis, if the United States was to be charged with imperialism, it was "an imperialism against imperialism," designed to "protect first the security of the Continental Republic, next the security of the entire world, against intervention by the imperialistic powers of the Old World" (pp. 385-86).

Munro (1964), one of the foremost consensus authorities on this subject and a former state department official with responsibility for the area, dismissed the notion of United States imperialism as a "myth" (p. 348). He insisted that the establishment of customs receiverships in places like the Dominican Republic at the time was intended to "promote peace and better government," and that Americans had "little thought of establishing any permanent political control" (1959, p. 233). The Platt Amendment, the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine and the military occupation of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, was carried out with the intention of ending conditions that posed a threat to United States security. For Munro, United States policy toward the Caribbean was "purely political" (p. 531).

Perkins (1947), another consensus historian, stressed the selflessness and benevolence of the United States. He felt that it was the construction of the Panama Canal that had the greatest effect on United States policy at this time. In his view, "the increasing sensitivity of the American government with regard to the situation in the Caribbean and the increasing stress it laid on noninterference by

European powers in the area" were related to the problem of the security of the waterway.

With regard to the second question, Perkins felt that the initiative for United States policy in the Caribbean at this time came from "government officials" who were concerned mainly with strategic and political issues and that it was the United States government that was primarily interested "in the process of converting the Caribbean into an American lake" (p. 134).

In discussing the nature of United States interventions, consensus historians have seemed to regard the interventions as the means to an end rather than as an end in itself; the end being to discourage revolutions, to reform the "bad financial practices that weakened the governments," to foster economic and political stability, and to "improve the general economic and social conditions in the Caribbean" (Munro, 1978, pp. 348-49). This should be seen as helping, not exploiting, its neighbors.

Consensus historians have seldom challenged or tested United States policy assumptions. The United States intervention in Panama in 1903 has generally been regarded in consensus scholarship as the only flaw in United States Caribbean policy (Bemis, 1943). The feeling seems to have been, however, that this should be overlooked since it resulted in the construction of the canal and its opening to "traffic for the commerce of the whole world" in 1914 (Perkins, 1947, p. 124). The suggestion was that the end justified the means.

While the Caribbean states have been presented generally as passive objects of United States foreign policy and have received consistently negative treatment, consensus scholarship has stressed the positive effects of United States interventions on the Caribbean. Bemis (1943), for example, writing about the occupation of the Dominican Republic in 1916, stated that

The long occupation, the educational and economic improvement flowing from it without any exploitation of the island by the United States and its nationals, has had a certain proven therapeutic effect on political stability. In recent years, after this timely tutelage, the Dominican Republic has been running on its own very successfully. (p. 191)

Other positive effects of the intervention on the people of Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti have been emphasized: the building of roads, the improvements in the sanitary conditions, and the promulgation of new constitutions (Munro, 1978).

Consensus historians have perceived the Caribbean as a "sphere of influence" of the United States, and the people of the Caribbean as "chronic wrong-doers" given to bribery and corruption, whose behavior has forced the United States to deviate from time to time from its traditional anti-imperialist and noninterventionist policy in order to put things right. For these writers, intervention means military intervention, which lasts only as long as it takes to solve the particular problems.

Much of this interpretation has been rejected by the revisionists. They have accused the consensus writers of casuistry and hypocrisy (Williams, 1962). Intervention has been redefined to include economic, social, and cultural penetration, and United States-Caribbean

relations have been reanalyzed within the framework of dependency theory and hegemonial relations (see Perez, 1982, pp. 170-80).

Revisionist writers have been united in the emphasis they have placed on economic factors in their analysis of United States motivation. Gardner (1978), for example, suggested that United States motives lay in the need to find outlets for surplus capital and foreign markets for manufactured goods. Green (1971) charged, too, that "every President from Roosevelt to Coolidge encouraged an influx of private capital into Latin American railroads and agriculture" (pp. 4-7). Nearing and Freeman (1925) explained that "economic activities are reflected sooner or later in the realm of politics" and that sooner or later "foreign investments will modify foreign policy" (p. 17). This was supported in Gardner (1978) where he concluded that "banker involvement in American foreign policy was greater in the Caribbean and Central America" (p. 337). Nearing and Freeman also claimed that the United States government had often acted as solicitor for American investors abroad as naval intelligence missions, in addition to reporting on naval matters, also reported on opportunities for investment. Underlying all this, according to Kolko (1976), was the desire to achieve hegemony--to establish an exclusive sphere of influence in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Alongside a vastly different view of United States intervention, revisionists also have held different perspectives on the nature of United States interventions. They have felt that United States domination of the region followed naturally from United States

investment in the region. The terms "hegemony," "colonialism," and "exploitation" feature prominently in the literature. Panama has been regarded as "a virtual colony of the United States" (La Feber, 1963), while the hegemonial system developed by the United States has been said to have permitted Cuba "a purely rhetorical independence" (Kolko, 1976, p. 46) since it had used its troops, ships, and economic weapons "to enforce limits on Cuba's economic, political and social affairs" (Williams, 1962, p. 2). We read further that, in Panama, the United States supervised elections, controlled the foreign policy, and dominated the economy of that country. The defense of the Canal became just one of many factors influencing United States policy, not a "primary or sole reason" (La Feber, 1963, p. 70).

Revisionist literature has centered on the effects of American intervention on the Caribbean, and the negative social, economic, and political effects have been emphasized--the stagnation of agriculture, the chronic unemployment and underemployment, absentee monopoly land-ownership, decapitalization, overdependence on one or two export crops, and the decay of peasant farming (Morley, 1974). The responses of the Caribbean peoples to the United States presence have also received some attention.

Caribbean revisionist scholars have been highly critical of United States policy toward the Caribbean in the early decades of the present century. One wrote of Roosevelt: "What could not be achieved by dollars, was achieved by the bullets of the marines. What he or

America wanted he just took as he took the Panama Canal" (Williams, 1966, p. 161). Another claimed with respect to Haiti that

The North Americans created their loyal, local police force and recruited their political lackeys, but they made no serious attempt to strengthen the social and political institutions. . . . Moreover, they accentuated racial prejudice, segregation and prostitution. (Knight, 1978, p. 183)

The same writer dismissed the construction of infrastructure that followed United States occupations in this period. He commented that "behind the marines went the usual brigade of capitalists dispensing North American techniques in just about everything from agriculture to morality" (p. 185).

Caribbean revisionists have highlighted the negative effects of United States intervention on the Caribbean during this period. For example, Silen (1971) wrote that in Puerto Rico "agriculture was sacrificed to obtain rapid economic growth rates in a few years," with the result that the rural population was forced to migrate to the towns where they "were driven into economic dependence merely to survive" (p. 87). This was supported in Denis (1972), who claimed that as a result of United States policy Puerto Rico became "a typical colonial economy that consumes what it does not produce and produces what it does not consume" (p. 76). Denis was at pains to describe United States colonialism with respect to Puerto Rico. He suggested that

all of the elements indicating the exploitation of a colony occurred here. . . : the captive market; an increase in the value of goods due to an abundant work force and the payment of subsistence level salaries; the exploitation of native natural resources by a handful of foreign investors; the predominance of finance capital from the colonial power; latifundism and monoculture; the

military occupation of the territory; the superimposition of an administrative structure responsible only to the colonial power. (p. 72)

The Historiography of the Good Neighbor Policy

As was the case with the two themes previously discussed, it was possible to identify a number of issues related to the Good Neighbor Policy that have aroused controversy among historians. On these issues also, the interpretations of consensus and revisionist historians have differed.

First, there are divergent interpretations as to the origins of the Good Neighbor Policy. According to the consensus school, the policy was in keeping with the traditional United States policy of anti-imperialism and arose from a post-Versailles feeling of security that made military intervention seem unnecessary (see Bemis, 1943, p. 389). The United States wished to help her neighbors. Bemis further explained that this inherent altruism was best illustrated by the "incredible self-denial" of the abrogation of the Platt Amendment (p. 232).

Revisionist historians have traced the origins of the policy to other factors. They have claimed that the creation of local armed forces by the United States and the emergence of pro-American dictatorships in the Caribbean republics made armed intervention unnecessary (Perez, 1982). For revisionist authors, the abrogation of the Platt Amendment was "an inexpensive gesture to Cuban nationalism" (Smith, 1960, p. 157).

While consensus writers have regarded the purpose of the Good Neighbor policy as being primarily social and political, the promotion of United States security interests (Wood, 1961), and the advancement of civilization (Bemis, 1943), the revisionists have seemed to share the opinion that the policy was largely economic and to a lesser extent political in its intentions--to promote stability in order to bring American capital into the region, to solve domestic economic problems, to secure client states, and to promote United States political hegemony in the region (see Perez, 1982, p. 168).

For consensus historians, the main function of the Good Neighbor Policy seems to have been to increase the economic and social well-being of the nations of the New World (Bemis, 1943). Revisionists have called attention to other aspects of the policy--the reciprocal trade agreements, the support for authoritarian regimes sympathetic to the United States, the replacement of military intervention by political intervention, for example, through the use of diplomatic recognition, the interference with electoral systems, and the giving and withholding of support (La Feber, 1978). Consequently, while consensus historians have identified effects favorable to both the United States and the Caribbean, the revisionists have seemed to suggest that only the United States benefited as the leadership of many Caribbean states became extensions of United States power and the creation of stability facilitated economic penetration (Perez, 1982).

From a Caribbean revisionist perspective, the Good Neighbor Policy arose from the desire of Roosevelt to "still the insistent

criticism of Yankee Imperialism and remove the persistent apprehension of dollar diplomacy" (Williams, 1966, p. 192). Another Caribbean revisionist historian argued that the policy was "enunciated to put a soft glove on the heavy-handed efforts of the early decades" (Knight, 1978, p. 180) and was really designed not to foster political independence but to control it.

The Spanish-American War in United States High School History Textbooks

In Chapter III a number of high school history textbooks were examined for the purpose of identifying trends of a quantitative nature. These same textbooks will now be analyzed to determine whether or not, or the extent to which, the textbooks differ in their interpretation of the three themes selected for analysis, whether or not there have been changes in interpretation over time, and the extent to which these changes correspond to the main historiographical trends that have been identified and discussed. With respect to each textbook, one edition in each of the three periods 1950-59, 1960-69, and 1970-79 will be examined. They are identified by author(s).

Canfield and Wilder/ Wade, Wilder, and Wade

High school students who used Canfield and Wilder's The Making of Modern America in the 1950s would have learned that the United States went to war against Spain at the end of the nineteenth century for economic reasons--new markets for export, new sources of raw material, and new opportunities for investment seemed necessary. There was also

the need to protect United States trade with Cuba. This view is supported by statistics. We read that by the end of the century "Americans had invested about fifty million dollars in Cuban sugar plantations, tobacco fields and mines" and that "our annual trade with the island exceeded 100 million dollars."

This edition ascribed the responsibility for the United States involvement in the war mainly to public opinion aroused by the "yellow press," the de Lôme letter, and the sinking of the Maine. "Pressure of public opinion forced the government's hand. President McKinley, his cabinet and most of the nation's business interests sincerely hoped to maintain peaceful relations with Spain."

The revised editions of the late 1960s and 1970s (Wade, Wilder, & Wade) were somewhat similar in their treatment of the theme. These editions, too, explained the economic motives that led the United States to become involved in the war with Spain, but, unlike the 1952 edition, these later editions examined factors other than the economic as well. Two of these were Manifest Destiny and Social Darwinism. The new expansionism was described as "a natural continuation of the drive to achieve 'manifest destiny' half a century before," and the belief in the superiority of the white race and its responsibility to spread its culture to less "civilized" peoples also played a part.

A new political factor was introduced in the 1966 edition and carried in the 1972 edition. This was that President McKinley wanted war because he "feared that a peaceful solution would divide the Republicans, bring losses to them in the congressional elections that year,

and give the Democrats a campaign issue in 1900." Consequently, unlike the 1952 edition, these editions ascribed the responsibility for the war to the President, who was said to have delivered a war message to Congress two days after Spain had met the American demands to arrange an armistice and disband the concentration camps. Other parties also said to favor United States involvement in the war were the expansionists, who "favored immediate action by United States in Cuba." These editions also claimed that business leaders were against the war because they feared its possible effects on trade.

Whereas the 1952 edition took the consensus position that the President was pressured into war by public opinion, the two later editions explained that the war was the result of the President's rational decision. On the question of motives, all editions, like the revisionists, emphasized economic motives, though surprisingly, the two later editions introduced Manifest Destiny and Social Darwinism, motives usually claimed by the consensus school. The treatment in each edition was, therefore, neither purely consensus nor purely revisionist and is perhaps more appropriately described as eclectic.

Graff and Krout

There were no changes in interpretation in the three editions of the Graff and Krout examined. This textbook seemed to take the position that the expansionists Fiske, Burgess, Lodge, Mahan, and Roosevelt were mainly responsible for the war. They put pressure on a reluctant President.

In all editions, under the subheading "The Voices of Expansion," a number of voices associated with a variety of motives were identified and described. These voices included the Social Darwinists, who felt that English-speaking peoples were superior and were destined and duty bound to spread their superior culture to "every land on the earth's surface that is not already the seat of an old civilization." A number of powerful men were identified as advocating expansionism. These men felt that the United States should follow the example of Western European nations and acquire colonies. The Graff and Krout textbooks suggested that a generation of Americans had not seen war, were unaware of its horrors, and that many became jingoists as a reaction to boredom. Some expansionists focused on United States investment in Cuba, while humanitarians were aroused by Weyler's reconcentration.¹ The role of the United States press in exploiting situations such as the plight of Evangeline Eisneros, the de Lôme letter, and the Maine incident were discussed. The texts strongly disclaimed any notion that businessmen supported these activities. They were said to have been "very eager to avoid war."

The Graff and Krout texts fell mainly in the consensus tradition in their interpretation, and that interpretation had not changed up to the 1973 edition. The only revisionist input seemed to lie in

¹In an effort to suppress the revolution, General Weyler, the leader of the Spaniards, ordered all people living in territory controlled by the revolutionists into concentration camps where thousands died of disease and privation.

the recognition of the existence of United States investment in and trade with Cuba.

Bragdon and McCutchen

The interpretation in Bragdon and McCutchen's 1954 and 1961 editions was similar to that in Graff and Krout. According to the 1954 edition, the United States was not governed by economic motives in the same ways as Europeans because there was in the United States "an abundance of raw materials, an immense home market, and little surplus capital available for foreign investment." Consequently, "when the American people finally acquired an overseas empire, they did so without knowing in advance what was coming." This idea was repeated in the 1961 edition. In both the 1954 and the 1961 editions, it was public opinion spurred on by the "yellow press" that was most responsible for the war. Big business was said to be "reluctant to go to war," as were American property holders in Cuba. American public opinion, however, favored war because the American people were "overwhelmingly on the side of the right of the islanders to independence." These two editions seemed, therefore, to be fully in the consensus tradition.

Although the 1973 edition also contained the idea that the United States had ventured into imperialism "almost by chance," a number of "voices" that had been raised in favor of expansion were identified. They included Mahan, with his dream of a great fleet and coaling stations in the Pacific and the Caribbean; Strong, the proponent of Social Darwinism; as well as Lodge and Roosevelt, who were said to have shared Strong's "pseudo-Darwinian notions." In this edition,

the business community was said to be generally "opposed to foreign adventure" but "some American corporations were actively seeking foreign markets," and during the war itself some businessmen became "converted to imperialism." This edition retained the notion that American business was reluctant to go to war, but the statement that American property owners in Cuba were also reluctant was dropped, and in its place the statement that "war rumors depressed the stock market" was inserted. Whereas earlier editions were fairly moderate in their descriptions of popular opinion, the 1973 edition described it as a "torrential wave." It seems that the 1973 edition was still basically in the consensus mode, though here and there, traces of revisionism can be found. For example, whereas in the 1954 edition the chapter heading was "Emerging from Isolation," in the 1973 edition the heading was "Imperialism."

Todd and Curti

Three editions of Todd and Curti were examined, the 1950, the 1966, and the 1977 editions. Looking at the headings under which the Spanish-American War was discussed, it was possible to conclude that, if anything, the various editions of this textbook became increasingly traditional. Whereas the chapter heading under which the war fell in the 1950 and 1966 editions was "The Spanish-American War makes the United States a colonial power," in the 1977 edition the term "colonial power" was avoided. The new heading was "Deepening American involvement overseas after the war with Spain." There was no major revision

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of this section of the text. The 1977 edition dropped a few terms and phrases or added new phrases here and there, but there was no real change in interpretation. In all three editions we read that the United States entered the war with the argument that it was fighting merely to free the oppressed Cubans. It ended the war with "an empire on its hands."

In the first two editions we read that American business was "mildly interested in having the United States enter the race for colonies." This changed in the 1977 edition to "by 1890 a growing number of American business groups as well as the nation's agricultural interests were pleased to have the United States pursue an active race for overseas economic opportunities, if not for actual colonies." In all editions Strong and Mahan were described as expansionists and credited with influence on United States thought in this respect.

All editions described how gradually the United States became involved in the war--the growing sympathy for the rebels, encouraged by Cuban exiles in the United States and the "yellow press," the fact that Americans had investments in Cuba to the value of 50 million dollars, that trade between Cuba and the United States was being crippled by the war. All editions described the public clamor for war, which eventually "proved too much for the President to resist."

The preceding analysis seemed to suggest that in all three editions the interpretation was mostly in the consensus mode.

The Spanish-American War in Commonwealth Caribbean
High School History Textbooks

All high school history textbooks used in the Commonwealth Caribbean devoted at least one chapter to the theme "the United States in the Caribbean." We have seen (Chapter III) that the emphasis on this theme was greater in these textbooks than was the case with United States high school history textbooks.

Parry and Sherlock

Two editions of this textbook were examined, the 1956 edition and the 1971 edition. There was no change in the text between the 1956 and the more recent 1971 edition. The role of Jose Marti in rallying American support for the Cuban cause was described. President McKinley was said to have "allowed himself to be pushed into the war" by public opinion, which had "vociferated" against Weyler's camps and was aroused by the sinking of the Maine. The damage being done to American property was mentioned as one factor to be considered. This text was strongly in the consensus mode, with just one element of revisionism.

Augier, Gordon, Hall, and Reckord

This is one of the older textbooks currently in use. It has never been revised, though it has been reprinted several times. The coverage on the Spanish-American War included only the factors that led the United States to enter the war. The first factor discussed was the threat that the "Cuban-Spanish War posed to American lives and property." There were, it stated, "\$50,000,000 of American capital invested in Cuba and trade with America amounted to \$100,000,000 a

year." The role of the American newspapers in arousing public opinion and the effects of Spanish "outrages" and the destruction of the Maine were discussed. As far as it goes, the treatment of the theme can, therefore, be said to be eclectic since it combined both consensus and revisionist positions.

Garcia

This textbook seemed to have an un-American perspective. The chapter in which the Spanish-American War was discussed was entitled "Ferment in the Spanish North." The war was referred to as "The War of Independence." The perspective seemed to be more Spanish than either American or, indeed, Caribbean. For example, we are told that it was unfortunate that Spain's political blunders drove many conservative Cubans into the hands of the rebels. Much emphasis was laid on the "Cuban propagandist bureau in the United States" in arousing sympathy and support for their cause. The text claimed that these Cuban patriots were only interested in getting American arms and ammunition to wage war. They did not want direct intervention by the United States, but the destruction of the Maine threw the United States "into the arms of Spain's opponents." We are told that a "hesitant President" was persuaded by "sympathy for the rebels and concern for America's interest" to declare war on Spain. America's interest had been described in the chapter in largely economic terms. The treatment of the theme in this text can, therefore, be said to be eclectic.

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Murray

In this text the American role in the war was downplayed. The chapter heading, "Spain sees the last of her New World colonies," seemed to set the tone and suggested that the perspective was different from that of the United States history textbooks. The name Spanish-American War was not used; the emphasis was on the Cubans and their fortunes. We are simply told that America declared war on Spain following the destruction of the Maine and that feelings in America had been aroused by an "immoderate press." Although the general approach to the topic was not traditional, the actual treatment of the reasons why and how the United States became involved seemed to be in the consensus mode.

Sherlock

In this text the war was described as the Cuban-American war against Spain or the Cuban-Spanish-American War--a Caribbean revisionist title. The war itself was not discussed.

United States Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy
in United States History Textbooks

The treatment of the above theme by the selected history textbooks was then analyzed using the same system developed for the analysis of the first theme.

Canfield and Wilder/
Wade, Wilder, and Wade

We have seen that the treatment of the Spanish-American War in this textbook contained both traditional and revisionist

interpretations. This trend continued in its treatment of Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy. For example, in discussing the United States motives for intervention, Canfield and Wilder said that the United States wanted to protect the Panama Canal and keep the peace. These are consensus positions. Canfield and Wilder, however, introduced revisionist thinking when it also included as a United States motive the desire to protect United States investments. This text, in discussing the nature of the intervention, avoided the consensus view that assistance, not exploitation, best described the nature of United States involvement in the Caribbean at that time. On the contrary, we read that "Dollar diplomacy 'meant' the use of American diplomatic influence to promote our financial and commercial interests abroad."

In this text government officials, particularly the President of the United States, were presented as the initiators of this policy. There was no suggestion of their being even influenced by business interests, although economic and commercial motives were ascribed to them. This interpretation was in the consensus mode.

Canfield and Wilder was eclectic in its treatment of the effects of the policy on the Caribbean. The authors suggested that the American occupation had its good and bad features. As in consensus histories, improvements such as the construction of railroads and bridges and freedom from wars, revolutions, and financial chaos were put forward as positive effects of United States intervention. But Canfield and Wilder also included negative effects. For example, they say that Americans were accused of cruelty to Haitians and that the

United States aroused the "hostility and suspicion" of Latin America by its control of the civil and economic affairs of Caribbean countries and by the use of force. We read also that during the occupation of the Dominican Republic, the Dominicans were deprived of their freedom, the press was censored, and there were complaints of unreasonable imprisonment and cruel punishments.

Although the 1966 edition of this text by Wade, Wilder, and Wade was extensively revised and used different wording, the interpretation remained substantially the same. The United States government intervened in the Caribbean to safeguard the Canal and United States investments and to keep order in the Caribbean. This intervention had good and bad effects, which were described. There were no significant changes in the 1972 edition.

Graff and Krout

This text dealt with intervention and dollar diplomacy under the heading "Uncle Sam makes himself policeman of the Americas." This suggested that a largely traditional treatment would follow. In all three editions examined, the following motives for the United States policy of intervention were given: to keep out foreign governments, to restore and maintain order and peace, to strengthen national security, and to protect the Canal. Referring specifically to dollar diplomacy, the earliest edition examined suggested that its purpose was "to create favorable conditions for investments by United States businessmen in foreign countries," and that this took the form of loans. Loans were

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made to Nicaragua, for example, to help that country "to straighten out its financial difficulties."

Apart from reducing the size of the print of the section heading, there was only one significant revision of this portion of the text in the 1968 and 1973 editions. A New York Herald cartoon of Roosevelt with shoes off tramping across the Caribbean wielding a big club in his hand was replaced by a map of Middle America showing the United States and its possessions. It is to be noted that in the comment accompanying the map, it was suggested that, after 1898, the United States interest in the region became political and strategic as well as commercial.

Bragdon and McCutchen

In this text, the interpretation was the same in the 1954 and 1961 editions. According to these editions, the motives behind United States-Caribbean policy at this time were the desire to preserve order, to set up stable governments, and to protect the interests of United States investors and businessmen. This interpretation seemed to combine both traditional and revisionist elements. However, in their interpretation of the other issues, these editions remained firmly in the consensus mode. They used the United States government as the initiator of the policy, and only "good" effects of the policy were mentioned. Better electoral systems were set up, and order was restored and established.

The 1973 edition made more concessions to the revisionists. It went further than the earlier editions in describing the economic

motives for the policy. Whereas in the earlier editions the motive was to "protect" the interests of the United States investors, in the 1973 edition it was to "promote United States business interests abroad." In this edition, too, there was a comment on the nature of the policy, which was described as "economic imperialism." The edition was, therefore, more eclectic in its treatment of the topic.

Todd and Curti

There were no major changes in interpretation in the three editions of this text that were examined. Very little new material was added to each new edition, and the most significant difference in coverage was that the 1977 edition was less expansive than the two earlier editions, and many explanations and elaborations were dropped.

The topic was dealt with under the heading "The United States modifies and strengthens the Monroe Doctrine" in the first two editions, whereas in the third the heading was "Intervention in Latin America under a modified Monroe Doctrine."

In all editions a variety of reasons were given for the United States policy of intervention--to maintain law and order, to protect the lives and property of United States citizens living in other countries, to prevent European countries from intervening in the Western Hemisphere, to protect its weaker neighbors. These were all within the consensus mode, and referring specifically to dollar diplomacy we were told that that policy was designed to protect United

States investments. Self-defense and self-interest were the dominant motives.

The United States government was said to be the initiator of the policy, which was described as protective or supervisory. In describing results, emphasis was on the positive effects. The policy was said to benefit "all of the American countries." Referring to the Dominican Republic, the texts told that "customs duties doubled under American supervision and the financial position improved." We are also told of the benefits of United States occupation of Haiti--the improvement in health, sanitation, and education. Mention was made of the resentment the policy aroused in Latin America. All editions of this text were heavily in the consensus mode in their interpretation of this topic.

United States Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy in
Commonwealth Caribbean History Textbooks

Parry and Sherlock

The treatment of this topic, too, was identical in the two editions. A number of reasons were given for United States intervention in the Caribbean--the defense of the Canal, protection of American property. With respect to the Cuban intervention of 1906-09, the conclusion was that intervention was the only "alternative to anarchy," while the interventions in Haiti and the Dominican Republic were "not made at the behest of American investors." The motives were principally political and strategic. The interventions were "not made at the

behest of American investors, but by the United States government acting on its own initiative."

The occupations were said to have brought "great advantages" to Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Among the advantages listed were the maintenance of order, the reorganization of finances, the construction of roads, the organization of health services, water supply and sewage disposal, and the provision of schools. Also included as an advantage was the training and arming of a local police force. At the same time, negative effects of the Cuban occupation were discussed--the increased dependence of the economy on sugar and on the United States market and the destruction of the peasantry.

Augier, Gordon, Hall, and Reckord

The treatment of the topic in this text was less traditional than was the case with the Parry and Sherlock. A revisionist response was given to the question of United States motives. It was stated unequivocally that the United States government intervened to protect American investors and that interventions occurred only in "those places where United States businesses were already established." Benefits to the occupied territories were listed, such as greater job security and improvements in sanitation and transportation. This text also mentioned the reintroduction of the *corvee*¹ in Haiti and the hatred which that aroused.

¹A system of forced labor originally introduced by the French.

Garcia

This textbook was perhaps the most traditional of them all in its treatment of this topic. The United States government was seen as the sole initiator of the policy of intervention, which was to be regarded as a policy of assistance, not exploitation, carried out for the protection of life and property. The benefits of the occupations were discussed--the building of railways and the raising of living standards of the peasantry. Garcia, however, pointed out some negative effects such as the growth of monoculture, absenteeism, economic dependence, and more corrupt and dictatorial governments.

Murray

This text dealt only with the intervention in the Dominican Republic. According to this text, the reason for the intervention was that the United States government was wary and suspicious of French and German interests in that country. Apparently, however, the intervention did not result in good government, and the corruption of Trujillo was described.

Sherlock

According to this text, the United States' motives for intervention were strategic and political--fear of intervention by European powers, the need to restore order in the republic, and the defense of the Canal.

Both negative and positive effects of the United States occupations were discussed. The usual public works were listed, but we were also told of the negative economic effects.

The Good Neighbor Policy in United States
History Textbooks

Canfield and Wilder/
Wade, Wilder, and Wade

The first edition examined devoted only eight lines to the Good Neighbor Policy, in which we were told when the policy developed and that, in keeping with the policy, the United States "gradually surrendered its control over the Caribbean areas."

The second and third editions paid much more attention to the policy than did the first. In these editions, the claim was made that the policy arose from President Hoover's attempt to win the good will of Latin America because at the time of his inauguration, United States relations with the countries of Latin America were strained by years of "big stick" and "dollar diplomacy." As the world situation grew more threatening, it became necessary to plan for the collective security of the hemisphere. Various applications of the policy were mentioned--the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, the formulation of new trade agreements. According to this text, billions of dollars were given by the United States to governments in Latin America for projects such as the construction of roads and bridges designed to raise the standard of living of the people of the region. All editions of this text, therefore, seemed to follow the consensus tradition in dealing with this topic in United States-Caribbean history.

Graff and Krout

The 1959 edition of this text described in some detail the origins of the development of the Good Neighbor Policy. According to this text, after the First World War, relations between the United States and a number of Latin American nations were "strained" due to the various applications of the Roosevelt Corollary before the First World War. The United States now made several "conciliatory steps," which were described in some detail--the withdrawal from Nicaragua, the treaty with Columbia, the withdrawal from the Dominican Republic, the Clark Memorandum. These steps were said to have paved the way for the new policy. The formal statement of the policy was then given. This was followed by descriptions of actions that "showed our sincerity." The United States was said to have refrained from sending troops to Cuba in 1934 "despite grave provocation" and "to have gone so far as to abrogate the Platt Amendment." As a result of this policy, the United States gained both social and economic benefits.

Bragdon and McCutchen

This text placed rather more emphasis on the Good Neighbor Policy than the Canfield and Wilder. In the 1954 and 1961 editions, the heading of the chapter in which it was discussed appeared as "The Good Neighbor and the Rise of the Dictators." This became "The Good Neighbor and the Axis threat" in the 1973 edition.

In all three editions, the following quotation from Franklin Roosevelt was cited: "Because the people of this nation have come to a

realization that time and distance no longer exist in the older sense, they understand that what harms one segment of humanity harms the rest." This served as the rationale for the policy, the main purpose of which was said to be the desire on the part of the United States to make friends with her southern neighbors and to "correct wrong impressions" that Latin Americans had of the United States. Mention was made of the applications of this policy in the Caribbean--the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, the withdrawal of the Marines from Haiti, and the abandonment by the United States of the right to oversee the government of Panama. The 1973 edition added, "the abandonment of control of the finances of the Dominican Republic." All editions described the various attempts by the United States to strengthen cultural ties between the two cultures and to organize the Western Hemisphere against the Axis powers. The Monroe Doctrine was said to have become multilateral rather than unilateral.

All three editions emphasized the benefits of the Good Neighbor Policy to the United States. They claimed that the policy "created new friendliness and respect for the United States in the countries south of the border" and "paid dividends when the United States attempted to organize the Americas against the threat of German and Italian aggression." Whereas the earlier editions concluded that the Good Neighbor Policy had "greatly reduced distrust of the 'colossus of the North,'" the 1973 edition was more cautious and warned that there was no machinery to enforce Pan American cooperation, the United States was still free to act as it pleased in defense of its own self-interest,

and that it was still a "colossus" although a more friendly one than formerly.

This text, too, seemed to be quite squarely within the consensus mode in describing and discussing the Good Neighbor Policy.

Todd and Curti

This text stated frankly that "self-interest as well as genuine desire for friendship and understanding motivated the Good Neighbor Policy." The United States needed to trade with South America, and the rise of the Axis powers made it expedient that the United States seek to improve relations with Latin America. Roosevelt's comment, that the "national defense has now become a problem of continental defense," was cited to explain United States policy of hemispheric defense. The background given to this change of policy was the anti-American feeling in Latin America and the growing feeling in the United States that friendship between the peoples of the two continents was desirable.

The text explained and illustrated the Good Neighbor Policy by referring to the withdrawal from Haiti, the handing over of the customs houses of the Dominican Republic, the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, and the 1936 treaty with Panama. The attempts to improve political, economic, and cultural relations among the nations of the New World were mentioned, with some emphasis being placed on trade agreements. In this text, too, we were told that the Declaration of

Lima¹ made the Monroe Doctrine a multilateral policy. The texts identified the improved relations between Latin America and the United States as the main results of the policy.

It seems fair to conclude, therefore, that there was no significant change in any of the four texts over three decades in the way they treated the Good Neighbor Policy. All four texts were decidedly traditional in their treatment of the topic.

The Good Neighbor Policy in Commonwealth Caribbean History Textbooks

It has been noted that high school history textbooks used in the Commonwealth Caribbean do not devote much attention to the Good Neighbor Policy. In fact, three textbooks, the Murray, the Garcia, and the Sherlock, did not discuss it at all, although aspects of the policy such as the abrogation of the Platt Amendment were mentioned.

Parry and Sherlock

According to this text, the Good Neighbor Policy came about because "the strategic necessity" for a policy of intervention was past and that policy had been unpopular not only in the occupied countries, but also in the United States. The United States, therefore, withdrew its occupying forces from the Dominican Republic, and the Roosevelt Corollary was disavowed. We were told that United States troops were not withdrawn from Haiti until "after the Havana Conference of 1929

¹A collective security pact adopted by the eighth Pan American Conference held at Lima, Peru, in 1935. By this pact all American nations agreed to defend themselves and one another against any threat to their peace, institutions, or territorial integrity.

had revealed the almost universal unpopularity of the United States." By inference, the United States now wished to win friends in the region. The effects of the policy were not discussed.

Augier, Gordon, Hall, and Reckord

This text discussed the Good Neighbor Policy within the context of Roosevelt's New Deal policy. The withdrawal from Haiti and the relinquishing of the "rights" of the Platt Amendment in 1934 were mentioned. It was stated that the agreements between the United States and Latin America for collective protection in the event of hostilities in the Second World War came about as a direct result of this change in policy. The text also mentioned aid given by the United States to its Caribbean colonies.

An Objective Assessment of the Direction of the
Content in United States and Commonwealth
Caribbean High School History Textbooks

To add a further and perhaps more objective dimension to the analysis, and for greater ease of comparison, it was decided to identify once again the main research questions arising from the three themes and the main consensus and revisionist answers with respect to each of them.

For the Spanish-American War three main questions were selected, for United States Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy four questions, and for the Good Neighbor Policy four questions. In all, 11 questions were identified. Table 20 was prepared, indicating the main consensus and revisionist answers with respect to those questions.

Table 20.--Consensus and revisionist perspectives on selected themes from United States-Caribbean relations.

Theme	Issue	Consensus Perspective	Revisionist Perspective
1. The Spanish-American War	1. Who was responsible for the U.S. involvement in the war?	Public opinion	Business and commercial interests
	2. How did this involvement come about?	It was an accident/unplanned	It was planned
	3. Why did the U.S. become involved?	For social/political motives	For economic motives
2. United States intervention and dollar diplomacy	1. Why did the U.S. intervene?	For strategic, political motives	For economic motives
	2. What was the nature of that intervention?	Assistance/supervision	Exploitation
	3. Who were the initiators of the policy?	Government officials	United States business interests
	4. What were the effects of the intervention on the Caribbean?	Positive effects	Negative effects
3. The Good Neighbor Policy	1. What were the origins of the policy?	Anti-imperialism/anti-United States policy in Latin America and the Caribbean	Intervention was no longer necessary
	2. What was the purpose of the policy?	Make friends/promote United States security interests	Economic and political hegemony
	3. What were the main applications of the policy?	Withdrawal of troops, e.g., from Haiti; cultural, economic, and political programs	Interference in Caribbean affairs
	4. What were the main effects of the policy?	Positive for the U.S. and the Caribbean	Negative for the Caribbean

The items in the Consensus and Revisionist columns were used as indicators of the direction of content. Each consensus position on each of the 11 questions was allocated 1 point, while each revisionist position on each of the same 11 questions was allocated a score of -1. The textbooks were again analyzed. It was possible for a textbook to score a total of 11 or of -11. It was expected that each textbook would fall somewhere in between those two extremes. A continuum was therefore prepared as follows:

-11	-10	-9	-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Revisionist												Consensus											

The view was that it was possible to picture each textbook analyzed as falling on the above continuum, which ranged from extreme revisionism to extreme orthodoxy.

The treatment of the Spanish-American War in the textbooks was first subjected to this analysis. For the Spanish-American War, which had three main questions, it was possible to score between -3 and 3. For example, in the 1954 and 1961 editions of the Bragdon and McCutchen, public opinion was given the main responsibility for the war, the war was said to be unplanned, and a number of social and political factors that were said to have influenced the United States were listed. These three positions earned a total score of 3. These two editions of the Bragdon and McCutchen adopted none of the revisionist positions on this theme. Many textbooks, however, took their

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interpretations from both sides. For example, the 1973 edition of the Bragdon and McCutchen, while maintaining the three positions listed above, also introduced the notion that some American corporations were seeking foreign markets, and this was allocated a score of -1, making a total score for this edition of 2. This bears out the conclusion arrived at from the qualitative analysis that the 1973 edition of this text was marginally less orthodox than the other two editions examined.

The Todd and Curti took the same positions as the 1973 edition of the Bragdon and McCutchen in all three editions and was also allocated a total score of 2.

The scores on this theme for each of the textbooks examined are given in Table 21. All texts examined, therefore, fell to the right of the continuum. The range was between 0 and 3, the United States textbooks being further right than the Caribbean textbooks. None of the textbooks could be said to be revisionist.¹

The treatment of the other two themes was similarly analyzed. Results are shown in Tables 22 and 23.

With respect to the treatment of United States Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy (Table 22), the range seemed wider than for the theme previously analyzed. The range was -1 to 4 from a possible range of -4 to 4. The Todd and Curti was the most orthodox, while the Augier, Gordon, Hall, and Reckord was the least orthodox.

¹Textbooks with scores between -1 and 1 can be described as eclectic in their treatment of the theme.

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Table 21.--Textbook treatment of the Spanish-American War.

Textbook	Edition	Score
Canfield and Wilder/ Wade, Wilder, and Wade	1952	0
	1966	0
	1972	0
Graff and Krout	1959	2
	1968	2
	1973	2
Bragdon and McCutchen	1954	3
	1961	3
	1973	2
Todd and Curti	1950	2
	1966	2
	1977	2
Parry and Sherlock	1956	1
	1971	1
Augier, Gordon, Hall, and Reckord	1960	0
Garcia	1965	0
Murray	1971	1
Sherlock	1973	-

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Table 22.--Textbook treatment of United States Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy, 1900-1921.

Textbook	Edition	Score
Canfield and Wilder/ Wade, Wilder, and Wade	1952 1966 1972	0 0 0
Graff and Krout	1959 1968 1973	2 2 2
Bragdon and McCutchen	1954 1961 1973	2 1 1
Todd and Curti	1950 1966 1977	4 4 4
Parry and Sherlock	1956 1971	1 1
Augier, Gordon, Hall, and Reckord	1960	-1
Garcia	1965	2
Murray	1971	1
Sherlock	1973	2

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Table 23.--Textbook treatment of the Good Neighbor Policy.

Textbook	Edition	Score
Canfield and Wilder/ Wade, Wilder, and Wade	1952	4
	1966	4
	1972	4
Graff and Krout	1959	4
	1968	4
	1973	4
Bragdon and McCutchen	1954	4
	1961	4
	1973	4
Todd and Curti	1950	3
	1966	3
	1977	3
Parry and Sherlock	1956	3
	1971	3
Augier, Gordon, Hall, and Reckord	1961	2
Garcia	1965	-
Murray	1971	-
Sherlock	1973	-

For the treatment of the Good Neighbor Policy, the possible range was also -4 to 4. The actual range for this theme was 2 to 4. This is smaller than the range for the two themes analyzed above. The texts fell heavily to the right of the continuum. Only the Augier, Gordon, Hall, and Reckord came near being considered eclectic in its treatment of the topic. As was the case with the other two themes, the American texts fell further to the right than did the Caribbean texts.

All texts were more traditional in their treatment of this theme than of the other two. The scores on all three themes are combined in Table 24.

Table 24.--Textbook treatment of three selected themes.

Textbook	Edition	Score			Total
		1st Theme	2nd Theme	3rd Theme	
Canfield & Wilder/ Wade, Wilder & Wade	1952	0	0	4	4
	1966	0	0	4	4
	1972	0	0	4	4
Graff & Krout	1959	2	2	4	8
	1968	2	2	4	8
	1973	2	2	4	8
Bragdon & McCutchen	1954	3	2	4	9
	1961	3	1	4	8
	1973	2	1	4	8
Todd & Curti	1950	2	4	3	9
	1966	2	4	3	9
	1977	2	4	3	9
Parry & Sherlock	1956	1	1	3	5
	1971	1	1	3	5
Augier, Gordon, Hall & Reckord	1961	0	-1	2	1
Garcia	1965	0	2	-	2
Murray	1971	1	1	-	2
Sherlock	1973	-	2	-	2

The average score for each textbook was then computed (see Table 25).

Table 25.--Average scores of textbooks on a measure of direction.

Textbook	Score
Canfield and Wilder/ Wade, Wilder, and Wade	4
Graff and Krout	8
Bragdon and McCutchen	8.3
Todd and Curti	9
Parry and Sherlock	5
Augier, Gordon, Hall and Reckord	1
Garcia	2
Murray	2
Sherlock	2

On a continuum of -11 to 11, the Todd and Curti fell the furthest to the right. The Augier, Gordon, Hall, and Reckord was also on the right but was closest to the center. The average score of all United States textbooks examined was 7.3, while that of the Caribbean textbooks was 2.8. Both as a group and as individual textbooks, the United States textbooks were further to the right on the continuum than were the Caribbean textbooks.

To discover whether there had been changes in the treatment of direction over time, the average scores for the textbooks published in each of the three decades were computed (see Table 26). Table 26 shows

that although there was a slight shift to the left over time, this shift was marginal and occurred between the 1950s and 1960s.

Table 26.--Average scores of textbooks on a measure of direction, by decade.

Decade	Score
1950-59	7.0
1960-69	5.3
1970-79	5.4

Conclusion

This quantitative, objective analysis bore out the findings of the more subjective qualitative analysis carried out at the beginning of the chapter--that high school history textbooks are largely traditional in their interpretations and that very few of the revisionist interpretations have been adopted by textbook authors/publishers. United States high school history textbooks are more traditional than their counterparts in the Commonwealth Caribbean, and there has been little change in interpretation over time.

Summary

In this chapter the objective was to describe and analyze the historiographical interpretation of United States-Caribbean relations in United States and Caribbean history textbooks. It was assumed that

the direction of the content of historical writing may be determined by this process.

The first step was to select three controversial topics in the history of United States-Caribbean relations during the period 1895 to 1939. The treatment of these topics by research historians was analyzed to determine the most common interpretation of each of the three topics which may be attributable to the consensus and revisionist modes. The treatment of the three topics in United States and Caribbean textbooks was then examined to discover whether or not there had been changes in interpretation over time, to compare these changes to historiographical trends, and to compare the interpretative trends in the two sets of books.

The hypothesis being tested in this chapter was that there have been changes in the direction of the content of history textbooks, directly reflective of historiographical trends. The finding of this investigation was that although, generally speaking, there have been changes in interpretation over time, these changes have not been great. The changes, however, do reflect historiographical trends. This finding was confirmed and therefore validated by a more objective procedure, which involved assigning weights to various interpretations and calculating the scores for each textbook. Both procedures also revealed that the consensus mode has remained the dominant one. This is more true of United States books than of Caribbean books.

CHAPTER V

NATIONALISTIC BIAS IN THE CONTENT ON UNITED STATES- CARIBBEAN RELATIONS

One assumption of this investigation was that the direction of content can also be measured in terms of whether or not or the extent to which a given textbook reflects a national or a global perspective. It was not the intention to examine the relative desirability of either perspective. The intention was rather to determine whether or not or the extent to which high school history textbooks of the United States and of the Commonwealth Caribbean have become less nationalistic over time and to discover which of the two samples of textbooks (United States and Commonwealth Caribbean) was less nationalistic.

The following subquestions informed the selection and adaptation of the instruments used in the investigation:

1. Does the text present one country as superior and others as inferior?
2. Is one country presented in positive terms while other countries are treated negatively?
3. Does the text treat one country as active and other countries as passive?

A textbook may be deemed to be nationalistic if the investigation results in an affirmative answer to the questions. Textbooks may be found to be more or less nationalistic over time, and as they become less nationalistic they will begin to treat other countries in a less negative manner.

Methodology

To carry out a systematic examination of the content, it was first necessary to identify and define categories into which the material could be grouped. The Garcia-Armstrong matrix system¹ was adapted for this purpose. (See Figure 3.)

The next step was to select the target countries. It was decided that in analyzing United States history textbooks, individual Caribbean countries or the Caribbean area in general would be targeted,² and in analyzing Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks, the United States would be targeted.

In carrying out the investigation, all assertions about the targeted countries that appeared in the text on United States-Caribbean relations between 1895 and 1939 were identified. Specific assertions about the target country, the government and people of the target country, or about a pronoun whose antecedent was the country or its

¹See Garcia and Armstrong (1979). In this system the sentence is the unit of analysis. The instrument used is a nine-category matrix on which the status (superior/equal or inferior) and role (active or passive) assigned to the selected group in a given text may be coded. There is a neutral category to be used when neither status nor role is clearly referred to.

²See definition of Caribbean in Chapter I.

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government or people was included in the analysis.¹ Not included in the analysis were chapters and other headings, illustrations, learning activities, and excerpts from primary sources such as speeches and agreements.

Each assertion was then carefully examined to determine which category best described it. It was then assigned to that category. When all the assertions about the target country/area in a textbook were assigned, the percentage of assertions in each category was calculated in relation to the total content space on United States-Caribbean relations from 1895 to 1939.

The Matrix System

The system used in this study differed slightly from the Garcia-Armstrong system. Whereas the Garcia-Armstrong system suggested that the sentence should be the unit of analysis, this study used the assertion. The revised matrix referred to target country rather than target group as in the case of the Garcia-Armstrong system. This study also further classified each of the nine categories as neutral, negative, or positive. This was done by first assigning a 0 rating for no reference to either status or role. Passivity of role or indication of lower status was each assigned -1, while indication of equal or higher status or activity of role was assigned a +1. Each cell combined two characteristics, status and role. For example, Cell 1A qualified for

¹"Assertion" was used in this study as in Yu (1951) to mean a statement or "idea-unit" extracted from the text in such a way as to provide a single item of information or thought. An assertion could be a sentence or a part of a sentence.

a double 0, which made it a neutral cell; 1B a 0 and a -1, which made it a negative cell; and 1C a 0 and a +1, which made it a positive cell. This procedure was carried out in respect to all cells. The result was that three cells fell in each of the categories neutral, negative, or positive as follows:

1A neutral	2A negative	3A positive
1B negative	2B negative	3B neutral
1C positive	2C neutral	3C positive

The percentage of assertions in the neutral, negative, and positive cells was also calculated by adding the percentage scores of the neutral, positive, and negative cells.

Assigning Individual Assertions to Categories

Category 1A. This is a neutral category. All assertions that made no clear reference to the status or role of the target country/area were assigned to this category. Following is an example of a Category 1A assertion:

"The Virgin Islands were an independent link in the defense of the Panama Canal." (The Virgin Islands is targeted.)

Category 1B. Assertions were assigned to this category when there was no reference to the status of the target country and when passivity characterized the target country. This is a negative category.

Following is an example of a Category 1B assertion:

"It was obvious that certain preliminary steps had to be taken before Cuba could stand on her own feet." (Cuba is targeted.)

Category 1C. This category was intended for assertions that made no reference to status but that suggested that activity characterized the target country. This is a positive category. An example of such an assertion is:

"The Colombian government rejected it" (the treaty).
(Colombia is targeted.)

Category 2A. This category was used for assertions that made no reference to activity or passivity of the target country and assigned an inferior status to the target country. This is a negative category. An example of a Category 2A assertion is:

"Hardly a Caribbean country escaped United States supervision at one time or another between 1900 and 1930." (Caribbean countries are targeted.)

Category 2B. This was the most negative category. It was used for assertions that both assigned inferior status to the target country and treated it as passive. An example of a Category 2B assertion follows:

"As the islanders advanced in civilization, more powers were granted to them." (The islanders are targeted.)

Category 2C. This category combined both a positive and a negative element and was, therefore, treated as neutral. It was intended for assertions that assigned inferior status to the target country but portrayed it as working to control events. An example of such assertions is:

"Cubans objected to the idea of intervention in their affairs, but there was little they could do about it." (Cubans are targeted.)

Category 3A. Assertions that belonged to this category made no reference to the role of the target country but assigned to it a status equal to or higher than other named groups. It is a positive category. Following is an example of a Category 3A assertion:

"The Act made Puerto Ricans citizens of the United States." (Puerto Ricans are targeted.)

Category 3B. No assertions were found that fit this category, perhaps because it implied a relationship between the status and the role of target countries that rarely occurs in historical writing. It was intended for assertions that assigned equal or higher status to the target country while portraying it in a passive role. It is a neutral category.

Category 3C. This is a very positive category to which were assigned assertions that gave equal or higher status to the target country and portrayed it as playing an active role. Following is an example of a Category 3C assertion:

"For three years the U.S.A. governed Cuba." The U.S.A. is targeted.)

Each assertion in the content on United States-Caribbean relations between 1895 and 1939 in all of the United States and Commonwealth Caribbean textbooks was assigned to one of the nine categories described above. The writer attempted to maintain consistency in assigning assertions to categories by using Category 1A when there was no clear reference to role or status and by adhering strictly to the category definitions. Intracoder reliability was tested by repeating the analysis several weeks later using the 1952 edition of the Canfield

and Wilder and using Spearman's rho to compare the results of the two applications. The result of the reliability test ($r_s = .73$) indicated that the analysis was only fairly consistent.

North et al. (1963) and other specialists in content analysis have suggested that one way to improve reliability is to reduce the number of categories, thus lessening the number of decisions the coder has to make in assigning a unit to a category. It was decided to repeat the analysis, this time using only three categories--neutral, negative, and positive. Neutral was defined as making no clear reference to status or role of the target country, negative as suggesting lower status or passivity of role with respect to the target country, and positive as indicating equal or higher status and activity of role with respect to the target country. All assertions in the content on United States-Caribbean relations (1895-1939) in the United States and Caribbean textbooks were again identified and this time placed from the beginning in one of the three categories described above. This use of a second method/instrument to measure the same variable was also done as a method of assessing the validity of this aspect of the research.¹ The closer the results from the two procedures, the higher the validity. The results of both procedures are presented below.

¹This method of assessing validity is known as convergent validity.

The Results

The results of the nine-category procedure are presented in Tables 27 through 32. Tables 27 and 28 give the percentage of assertions assigned to each of the nine categories by textbook and period. Tables 29 and 30 summarize the results from Tables 27 and 28, respectively, by period totals only. Table 31 summarizes the results from all United States and Commonwealth Caribbean textbooks for ease of comparison. Table 32 also provides comparative data on the two samples of textbooks. In this table, percentages from the neutral, negative, and positive cells presented in Table 31 are combined, thus reducing the number of categories to three. This was done so that the general trend of the content in the two samples could be easily observed. Any errors due to inconsistency reflected in Table 31 would also be reflected in Table 32 since both tables were constructed from data yielded by the same procedure.

The results of the three-category procedure are presented in Tables 33 through 37. Tables 33 and 34 give the percentage of assertions assigned to each of the three categories by textbook and period. Tables 35 and 36 summarize the results from Tables 33 and 34, respectively, by period totals only. Table 37 summarizes the results from all United States and Commonwealth Caribbean textbooks for ease of comparison. Table 38 compares the results from Tables 32 and 37.

Table 27.--Percentage of assertions in the content on United States-Caribbean relations (1895-1939) in United States history textbooks falling in each of nine categories, by period and textbook.

Period	Textbook	Category									Total %
		1A	1B	1C	2A	2B	2C	3A	3B	3C	
1	Todd & Curti 1950	47.8	0	11.1	14.1	9.3	16.8	0	0	0.9	100.0
	Canfield & Wilder 1952	34.3	0.9	7.6	15.6	29.7	7.0	0.3	0	4.6	100.0
	Bragdon & McCutchen 1954	42.6	2.7	7.4	28.3	3.4	8.1	1.4	0	6.1	100.0
	Graff & Krout 1959	49.6	0	12.1	32.0	2.8	3.5	0	0	0	100.0
	Period total	42.9	0.0	9.6	21.6	13.6	8.3	0.3	0	2.7	100.0
2	Bragdon & McCutchen 1961	42.6	2.7	7.4	28.3	3.4	8.1	1.4	0	6.1	100.0
	Wade, Wilder, Wade 1966	57.8	0	4.4	12.0	18.4	6.1	0	0	1.3	100.0
	Todd & Curti 1966	47.8	0	11.1	14.1	9.3	16.8	0	0	0.9	100.0
	Graff & Krout 1968	48.1	0	13.2	32.7	2.6	3.4	0	0	0	100.0
	Period total	50.9	0.4	8.5	20.2	10.2	8.0	0.2	0	1.6	100.0
3	Wade, Wilder, Wade 1972	57.8	0	4.4	12.0	18.4	6.1	0	0	1.3	100.0
	Bragdon & McCutchen 1973	42.9	3.4	7.3	24.9	6.8	8.5	1.1	0	5.1	100.0
	Graff & Krout 1973	48.1	0	13.2	32.7	2.6	3.4	0	0	0	100.0
	Todd & Curti 1977	44.3	0	11.4	15.1	11.0	17.8	0	0	0.4	100.0
	Period total	50.0	0.6	8.5	20.0	11.0	8.3	0.2	0	1.4	100.0
Total for all periods		48.1	0.5	8.9	20.6	11.6	8.3	0.2	0	1.7	100.0

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Table 28.--Percentage of assertions in the content on United States-Caribbean relations (1895-1939) in Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks falling in each of nine categories, by period and textbook.

Period	Textbook	Category									Total %
		1A	1B	1C	2A	2B	2C	3A	3B	3C	
1	Parry & Sherlock 1956	22.3	2.8	64.6	0	0	0	1.7	0	8.6	100.0
	Period total	22.3	2.8	64.6	0	0	0	1.7	0	8.6	100.0
2	Augier, Gordon et al. 1960	11.0	3.4	79.7	0	0	0	0.8	0	5.1	100.0
	Garcia 1965	17.0	4.2	41.5	0	0	0	1.1	0	36.2	100.0
	Period total	13.7	3.8	62.7	0	0	0	0.9	0	18.9	100.0
3	Murray 1971	13.6	4.5	54.6	0	0	0	0	0	27.3	100.0
	Parry & Sherlock 1971	22.3	2.8	64.6	0	0	0	1.7	0	8.6	100.0
	Sherlock 1973	16.4	1.6	72.2	0	0	0	8.2	0	1.6	100.0
	Period total	20.2	2.7	65.6	0	0	0	3.1	0	8.5	100.0
Total for all periods		18.6	3.1	64.6	0	0	0	2.0	0	11.9	100.0

Table 29.--Percentage of assertions in the content on United States-Caribbean relations (1895-1939) in United States history textbooks falling in each of nine categories, by period.

Period	Category									Total %
	1A	1B	1C	2A	2B	2C	3A	3B	3C	
1	42.9	0.7	9.6	21.6	13.6	8.6	0.3	0	2.7	100.0
2	50.9	0.4	8.5	20.2	10.2	8.0	0.2	0	1.6	100.0
3	50.0	0.6	8.5	20.0	11.0	8.3	0.2	0	1.4	100.0
Total for all periods	48.1	0.5	8.9	20.6	11.5	8.3	0.2	0	1.7	100.0

Table 30.--Percentage of assertions in the content on United States-Caribbean relations (1895-1939) in Caribbean history textbooks falling in each of nine categories, by period.

Period	Category									Total %
	1A	1B	1C	2A	2B	2C	3A	3B	3C	
1	22.3	2.8	64.6	0	0	0	1.7	0	8.6	100.0
2	13.7	3.8	62.7	0	0	0	0.9	0	18.9	100.0
3	20.2	2.7	65.5	0	0	0	3.1	0	8.5	100.0
Total for all periods	18.6	3.1	64.4	0	0	0	2.0	0	11.9	100.0

Table 31.--Total percentage of assertions in the content on United States-Caribbean relations in United States and Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks falling in each of nine categories.

	Category									Total %
	1A	1B	1C	2A	2B	2C	3A	3B	3C	
United States	48.1	0.5	8.9	20.6	11.5	8.3	0.2	0	1.9	100.0
Caribbean	18.6	3.1	64.4	0	0	0	2.0	0	11.9	100.0

Table 32.--General direction of the content on United States-Caribbean relations (1895-1939) in United States and Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks.^a

	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Total
United States	56.4	32.6	11.0	100.0
Caribbean	18.6	3.1	78.3	100.0

^aThese percentages were derived by combining percentages for the three negative categories, the three neutral categories, and the three positive categories.

Table 33.--Percentage of neutral, negative, and positive assertions in the content on United States-Caribbean relations (1895-1939) in United States history textbooks, by textbook and period.

Period	Textbook	Category			Total %
		Neutral	Negative	Positive	
1	Todd & Curti 1950	47.6	27.7	24.7	100.0
	Canfield & Wilder 1952	43.2	43.9	12.9	100.0
	Bragdon & McCutchen 1954	49.7	38.2	12.1	100.0
	Graff & Krout 1959	52.8	35.6	11.6	100.0
	Period total	47.8	36.9	15.3	100.0
2	Bragdon & McCutchen 1961	49.7	38.2	12.1	100.0
	Wade, Wilder, Wade 1966	53.4	31.9	14.7	100.0
	Todd & Curti 1966	47.6	27.7	24.7	100.0
	Graff & Krout 1968	52.5	36.1	11.4	100.0
	Period total	51.0	33.1	15.9	100.0
3	Wade, Wilder, Wade 1972	53.4	31.9	14.7	100.0
	Bragdon & McCutchen 1973	50.3	37.8	11.9	100.0
	Graff & Krout 1973	52.5	36.1	11.4	100.0
	Todd & Curti 1977	46.2	29.6	24.2	100.0
	Period total	50.7	33.6	15.7	100.0
Total for all periods		49.8	34.6	15.6	100.0

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Table 34.--Percentage of neutral, negative, and positive assertions in the content on United States-Caribbean relations (1895-1939) in Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks, by textbook and period.

Period	Textbook	Category			Total %
		Neutral	Negative	Positive	
1	Parry & Sherlock 1956	22.6	6.5	70.9	100.0
	Period total	22.6	6.5	70.9	100.0
3	Augier, Gordon et al. 1960	18.2	5.6	76.2	100.0
	Garcia 1965	23.0	8.0	69.0	100.0
	Period total	20.4	6.6	73.0	100.0
3	Murray 1971	16.6	4.2	79.2	100.0
	Parry & Sherlock 1971	22.6	6.5	70.9	100.0
	Sherlock 1973	26.5	4.4	69.1	100.0
	Period total	23.0	5.9	71.1	100.0
Total for all periods		22.0	6.3	71.7	100.0

Table 35.--Percentage of neutral, negative, and positive assertions in the content on United States-Caribbean relations (1895-1939) in United States history textbooks, by period.

Period	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Total %
1	47.8	36.9	15.3	100.0
2	51.0	33.1	15.9	100.0
3	50.7	33.6	15.7	100.0
Total for all periods	49.8	34.6	15.6	100.0

Table 36.--Percentage of neutral, negative, and positive assertions in the content on United States-Caribbean relations (1895-1939) in Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks, by period.

Period	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Total %
1	22.6	6.5	70.9	100.0
2	20.4	6.6	73.0	100.0
3	23.0	5.9	71.1	100.0
Total for all periods	22.0	6.3	71.7	100.0

Table 37.--Total percentage of neutral, negative, and positive assertions in the content on United States-Caribbean relations (1895-1939) in United States and Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks.

	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Total %
United States	49.8	34.6	15.6	100.0
Caribbean	22.0	6.3	71.7	100.0

Table 38.--Comparison of results from the nine-category and three-category analyses.

	Neutral		Negative		Positive	
	Nine-Category	Three-Category	Nine-Category	Three-Category	Nine-Category	Three-Category
United States	56.4	49.8	32.6	34.6	11.6	15.6
Caribbean	18.6	22.0	3.1	6.3	78.3	71.7

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The Direction of the Content in
United States History Textbooks

The findings from the nine-category analysis showed some broad general characteristics in the direction of the content on United States-Caribbean relations in United States history textbooks. The most striking perhaps was that there was very little variation between periods (see Table 29) in the percentages of assertions in each category. Indeed, the variation was so slight that it could mainly have been a function of the relatively low reliability of the instrument, which the rho figure suggested. The small amount of variation could also have been due to the fact that different editions of the same texts were examined in each of the three periods and that these texts had not been extensively revised. The findings discussed in Chapters III and IV supported this explanation.

Table 27 shows that for all the United States texts, the highest percentage of assertions fell in the neutral Category 1A. The general trend was for each textbook to have a similar percentage of assertions in Category 1A from period to period. The Canfield and Wilder/Wade, Wilder & Wade was an exception to this as the percentage of assertions in Category 1A increased steeply from 34.3 to 57.8 Percent between Periods 1 and 2. This text, therefore, became more neutral over time. For all the texts, the next largest categories were the negative Categories 2A and 2B. This suggests a high percentage of negative assertions about the Caribbean. Conversely, the percentages for the positive categories were low. This was particularly true of Categories 3A and 3C, suggesting that few assertions treated the

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Caribbean countries as equal to or higher in status than other named countries. These findings suggest that the United States textbooks were nationalistic and that they did not become less nationalistic over time. The global education movement had little effect on them up to 1979.

These findings were supported by the findings of the three-category procedure (see Tables 33 and 35). These tables also show the lack of variation over time, the preponderance of the neutral category, and the increasing blandness of the Canfield and Wilder/Wade, Wilder, and Wade over time. Table 35 shows that for each period the percentage of negative assertions about the Caribbean was more than twice the percentage of positive statements.

The Direction of the Content in Commonwealth Caribbean History Textbooks

Even though only one of the Caribbean texts had revised editions between 1950 and 1979, the consistency of the results from one period to the other that was apparent with respect to the United States texts was also manifested in the Caribbean books (see Tables 28 and 30). There were, however, a number of striking differences. Whereas when the United States texts were analyzed only one category, Category 3B, remained blank, when the Caribbean texts were analyzed, four categories were not used: 2A, 2B, 2C, and 3B. This can be explained by the fact that in the case of the Caribbean countries, the United States was the target country, and no Caribbean text contained a single assertion that portrayed the United States as being lower in status

than other countries. The high percentages in Categories 1A, 1B, and 1C suggest that they tended not to make clear references to status. The highest percentages of assertions were assigned to Category 1C, which suggests that the United States was treated positively. The findings, therefore, suggest that Caribbean textbooks were biased favorably toward the United States, and this did not change over time. They cannot, therefore, be said to be nationalistic and are a good example of reverse nationalistic bias.

United States and Commonwealth
Caribbean History Textbooks Compared

Tables 31, 32, and 37 show this comparison. Table 31 shows the striking differences between United States and Caribbean textbooks in the percentages of assertions in Categories 1A, 1C, 2A, 2B, and 3C. Table 31 shows clearly that the United States textbooks were more neutral than the Caribbean textbooks. Other researchers have attested to the blandness of United States history textbooks (see, for example, FitzGerald, 1979). Table 32 also shows that the United States textbooks made a much higher percentage of negative assertions about the Caribbean than did Caribbean textbooks about the United States, and that more than three-quarters of the assertions that the Caribbean textbooks made about the United States were positive, while 11 percent of the assertions in United States textbooks about the Caribbean were positive. Table 37, which summarizes the results of the three-category analysis, also illustrates this finding.

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It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the Caribbean textbooks were less nationalistic than the United States textbooks.

Comparison of the Results
From the Nine-Category and
Three Category Analyses

These results are summarized in Table 38. Although the figures were not identical, there were no contradictions in the findings from the two procedures (the first using nine categories and the second using three). The results were sufficiently close to validate the use of both procedures. The use of the three-category analysis in this investigation can, therefore, be taken as a test of the reliability of the revised Garcia-Armstrong matrix system.

Summary

In this chapter an attempt was made to test the hypothesis that the analysis of United States-Caribbean relations in a wider global context would receive increasing attention over time. It was assumed that the direction of content might be determined in terms of whether or not or the extent to which textbooks reflected a national or a global perspective. Nationalistic textbooks would tend to treat other countries in a negative manner, whereas the obverse would be true where the perspective of the textbook was more global.

The investigation began with the classification of all assertions (made by United States books about the Caribbean and Caribbean books about the United States) which appeared in the text on United States-Caribbean relations between 1895 and 1939. Each assertion was

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thereby assigned to a cell in the Garcia-Armstrong nine-cell matrix. These cells represented the status (equal and higher or lower) and role (active or passive) attributed to the targeted countries by the assertions. Neutral cells were used when neither status nor role was referred to.

The hypothesis was nullified as neither United States textbooks nor Caribbean books showed any change in perspective over time; there was little change between periods in the percentage of assertions assigned to each cell. It was found also that the Caribbean books had a much higher percentage of positive assertions about the United States than did the United States books about the Caribbean and could therefore be said to be less nationalistic than the United States books. These findings were confirmed and validated when the same content was reanalyzed using three categories instead of nine.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Purpose of the Study

The literature on school history textbooks seems strongly to suggest that for most people these textbooks are their major source of information concerning the history of their country and that of others. The literature also suggests that school history textbooks help to shape not only the historical perspectives of those who read them, but also their perceptions of and attitudes toward nations and peoples. The importance of the high school history textbook becomes even more apparent when it is realized that most people do not study history beyond this level. School history textbooks can, therefore, affect international understanding.

The purpose of this study was to determine how high school history textbooks of the United States and of the Commonwealth Caribbean published between 1950 and 1979 have treated the subject of United States-Caribbean relations between 1895 and 1961. It attempted to identify generally the differences that occurred over time in the treatment of the theme of United States-Caribbean relations in high school history textbooks of both the United States and the Commonwealth Caribbean. It attempted also to determine whether there were

differences between United States and Commonwealth Caribbean history textbooks in the way they treated the theme and to describe these differences.

The content of the textbooks selected was analyzed from two standpoints--that of attention and that of direction. With regard to the former, the amount and proportion of space given to the theme as well as to topics within the theme were determined. In determining direction, the textbook treatment of United States-Caribbean relations was analyzed historiographically to identify historiographical trends and to compare the trends identified in the United States texts with those of the Caribbean texts. The direction of the content was examined from a second standpoint, as the study also analyzed the context within which the theme was treated in the textbooks, whether global or national.

A search of the literature did not reveal any studies of the treatment of United States-Caribbean relations, although there have been similar studies of the treatment of the relations of the United States with other countries or areas such as the Soviet Union, Japan, Mexico, and Latin America. In focusing on the treatment of United States-Caribbean relations, this study has dealt with an increasingly important content area that has not been previously examined in the present context.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses about the content of the textbooks were therefore formulated:

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1. There has been an increasing amount of attention given to the subject of United States-Caribbean relations in the content of United States and Caribbean history textbooks published or revised between 1950 and 1979. (Attention)

2. There have been changes in the direction of the content directly reflective of historiographical trends. (Direction)

3. The analysis of United States-Caribbean relations in a wider global context (rather than in a purely national, regional, or hemispheric perspective) would receive increasing attention over time. (Direction)

Procedures and Findings

Three periods were established within which to analyze the content of the textbooks:

Period 1	1950-1959
Period 2	1960-1969
Period 3	1970-1979

A total of 18 textbooks were analyzed, 12 from the United States and 6 from the Caribbean. There were four United States textbooks in each of the three periods. Of the six Caribbean textbooks, there was one in Period 1, two in Period 2, and three in Period 3. The Caribbean textbooks represented the total population of history textbooks published during the three periods that met the established criteria. For the United States a small sample of the most widely used textbooks was selected. This was done by identifying those texts that appeared most frequently in samples studied in ten textbook studies

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published between 1959 and 1979 and that had revised editions in each of the three publishing periods.

Attention

Attention was determined quantitatively by first measuring the amount of space allotted to United States-Caribbean relations in relation to the total space of each book. Lines were used as the measure of space. Five categories were then identified for the purpose of determining topical emphases. The lines allotted to each category were counted and converted into percentages of the total space on United States-Caribbean relations.

With respect to attention, this study hypothesized that increasing attention has been given to United States-Caribbean relations in high school history textbooks of each successive period. The results were inconclusive since in some books attention increased over time, while in others the obverse was true. The period totals, however, showed a decrease over time. There were only small differences within the periods between the different United States books, whereas differences between Caribbean textbooks were somewhat more significant. It was found, too, that the Caribbean textbooks devoted a higher percentage of space to the theme than did the United States textbooks.

With respect to topical emphases, two categories, the Spanish-American War and United States Intervention, accounted for over 60 percent of the content on United States-Caribbean relations in United States history textbooks throughout all three periods. The Caribbean textbooks differed from the United States textbooks in that they

emphasized the United States Colonial Government category, which received 41.8 percent of space when the average for all periods was calculated. The United States and Caribbean textbooks, therefore, differed in the categories they emphasized. In neither case was there any significant change of emphasis in the content over the three periods.

Direction 1

Direction was measured qualitatively by first selecting three controversial topics in the history of United States-Caribbean relations with respect to the period 1895 to 1939. The treatment of these topics by research historians was analyzed to determine the most common interpretations with respect to the consensus and revisionist modes. The treatment of the three topics in United States and Caribbean high school textbooks was then analyzed to discover whether there had been any changes in interpretation of the topics over time and whether these changes were comparable to historiographical trends. It was also the intention to compare the interpretative trends in the two sets of books.

An attempt was made to add an objective dimension to this analysis by identifying 11 major research questions arising from the three topics, as well as the main consensus and revisionist answers to those questions. These answers were used as indicators of the direction of the content. Each revisionist answer was worth a score of -1 and each consensus answer a score of 1. A continuum of -11 to 11

was prepared. Textbooks received scores according to the answers they gave to the questions and fell at different points on the continuum.

It was found that all textbooks fell on the right--the consensus side--of the continuum. The United States textbooks were further to the right than the Caribbean textbooks, which were closer to center. All the textbooks were more traditional in their treatment of the Good Neighbor Policy than they were in their treatment of the Spanish-American War and United States Intervention and Dollar Diplomacy. The textbooks became slightly less traditional between the first and second periods, but the change between the second and third periods was not significant. There were, therefore, only slight changes in direction over time in the United States and Commonwealth Caribbean textbooks, although there were differences in direction between the two sets of books. These differences and changes were reflective of major historiographical trends.

Direction 2

This study also attempted to discover whether or not or the extent to which the theme was treated within a wider global context over time. This was done in the first instance by classifying into nine categories all assertions (made by United States textbooks about the Caribbean and by Caribbean textbooks about the United States) that appeared in the text on United States-Caribbean relations between 1895 and 1939. The percentage of assertions in each category was calculated in relation to the total content space on United States-Caribbean relations, 1895-1939. The categories represented the status (equal or

higher or lower) and role (active or passive) assigned to the targeted countries by the textbooks. Neutral categories were used when neither status nor role was referred to. It was assumed that as textbooks became less nationalistic, they would treat other countries in a more positive manner, and that following the procedure outlined above would result in an understanding of the direction of the content.

The procedure was repeated using three categories instead of nine. It was found that the Caribbean textbooks were less nationalistic than the United States textbooks in the sense that they had a much higher percentage of positive assertions about the United States than did United States textbooks about the Caribbean. Neither the Caribbean textbooks nor the United States textbooks showed any change in direction over time as there was little variation between periods in the percentages of assertions in each category.

Conclusions

Based on the above findings, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. Textbooks published between 1950 and 1979 have not changed significantly in their treatment of United States-Caribbean relations. This suggests that the history that children of the United States and of the Commonwealth Caribbean learned from their textbooks in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s had not changed appreciably.

2. In many ways the history that Caribbean children learn is different from the history that children learn in the United States.

The emphases in content are different. Caribbean children learn more about the United States as a colonial power than do children in the United States. At the same time, children in the United States spend most of the time allotted to United States-Caribbean relations, reading about the rise of their country as a world power and the related exploits. Since neither the United States nor Caribbean textbooks present the more negative aspects of colonialism/imperialism in any detail, both United States and Caribbean children are presented with a positive picture of the United States as a colonial power.

3. Although the amount of space devoted to United States-Caribbean relations is small, this amount of coverage compares favorably with the treatment of the relations between the United States and countries like Japan and the Soviet Union during the same period.

4. Although the percentage coverage on United States-Caribbean relations is greater in the Caribbean books, the coverage in the United States books is more detailed. This is related to the fact that the United States books are so much bigger that even though the percentage of space on the theme is smaller, the actual number of lines is greater.

5. Although the Caribbean books had a much higher percentage of positive assertions about the United States than did the United States books about the Caribbean, this difference cannot be attributed to the effect of the global education movement. The causes may perhaps be found in the history of the Commonwealth Caribbean.

6. There was agreement between textbooks (particularly in the case of the United States books) in the way the theme was treated. This was true of all three measures of treatment. The textbooks were more like one another in content than they were different.

7. In all the textbooks, emphasis is given overwhelmingly to political relations and to a considerably less extent economic relations, while little consideration is given to social and cultural relations.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are related to high school history curriculum.

1. The school textbook version of history does not necessarily bear a close relationship to academic history. Textbook authors and developers need to bring the history in school textbooks more closely in line with historical research and interpretation, and develop textbooks that present more than one interpretation of significant events, issues, and policies in history. There is a need for academic historians to take a keener interest in history as it is presented in school textbooks.

2. The findings of this investigation also have implications bearing on the selection of textbooks. A superficial study of less popular textbooks and of more recently published textbooks has shown that many are less traditional in their interpretations than those analyzed in this study, but particularly in the United States, the more traditional textbooks still dominate the scene. Instead of a single

textbook, a variety of textbooks and other learning resources should be used. Textbooks are to be preferred that present a variety of interpretations or primary source material on the basis of which students may make their own interpretations. Students should be encouraged to reflect on these interpretations. This goes beyond mere mastery of facts to the examination of underlying factors.

3. The textbooks examined seemed to reflect heavily one interpretation or answer to significant historical questions where the review of academic historians carried out for this study showed there is more than one. Teachers need to become cognizant of these interpretations in order to supplement the textbook. Teachers need to become knowledgeable about the prevailing climate of opinion and influences that give rise to the various interpretations. This could well form part of the agenda for the continuing education of history teachers.

4. Senior students in high school should be introduced to historiography so that they can better understand the tentative nature of history. History is not fixed. It is constantly changing as it reflects the climate of opinion in which it is written. A number of benefits should accrue from such a course of action. History will become more meaningful and school history and academic history of the college and university will be brought closer together. The study of historiography will be particularly stimulating to the good student and should promote reflective thought and intellectual alertness. At the same time, students will develop the ability to deal with historical materials and form reasoned judgments. The theme on which this study

focused, because of its controversial nature, is a suitable one for introducing students to history through its interpretations.

5. The preceding recommendation has implications for teacher preparation as it follows that if historiography is to be introduced at the high school level it must first form an important part of the preparation of history teachers.

6. The theme of United States-Caribbean relations deals with highly complex concepts in history such as isolationism, imperialism, Social Darwinism, and Manifest Destiny. Teachers should have, as part of their aims for teaching this theme, that students should grow in their understanding of these concepts. This can only come as a result of historical investigation of related ideas, events, and circumstances.

7. Journal editors should encourage regular reviews of school textbooks.

Finally, the following recommendations are offered for future study.

1. Bearing in mind that most people do not read history textbooks beyond the high school level, it might be useful to examine the effects of other influences such as the mass media on the formation of attitudes toward foreign cultures. At the same time, additional work needs to be done on developing instruments to measure bias in textbooks.

2. The Caribbean textbooks have been shown to be very positive in their assertions about the United States and have been deemed to be

less nationalistic than the United States books. It would be interesting to see what the results would have been if the nationalistic bias toward the French- or Spanish-speaking Caribbean had been analyzed. This could form the basis for a future study.

3. This study did not examine other types of instructional materials used in teaching about United States-Caribbean relations. These other materials should also be analyzed.

4. Last, the analysis of textbook content is a relatively new area of research for the Caribbean. More recently published history textbooks should now be analyzed, and there is a need for the examination of the treatment of other themes/topics in history textbooks as well as in other types of social studies textbooks. The possibilities appear to be almost limitless.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

**TEN HISTORY TEXTBOOK STUDIES PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1959 AND
1979, USED IN THE SELECTION OF TEXTBOOKS**

- Root, E. Merrill. Brainwashing in the High Schools: An Examination of American History Textbooks. New York: The Devin-Adair Co., 1959.
- Perrone, Vito. Image of Latin America: A Study of American School Textbooks and School Children, Grades Two Through Twelve. Northern Michigan University, 1965.
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APPENDIX B

PAGE-LINE COUNTING GUIDE

LENGTH OF LINE

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Bragdon and McCutchen,
History of a Free People
1961, ed.

APPENDIX C

FORM FOR TABULATING RESULTS OF DETERMINING ATTENTION

Results sheetATTENTION

TEXTBOOK: Canfield, Leon H and Howard B. Wilder

The Making of Modern America

Cambridge, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Co.,
1952

TOTAL CONTENT PAGES	573
SAMPLING FRACTION	1/5
NO. OF PAGES IN THE SAMPLE	114
NO. OF LINES IN THE SAMPLE	7548.5
AVERAGE NO. OF LINES PER PAGE	66.2
TOTAL ESTIMATED NO. OF LINES IN THE BOOK	37941.1
LINES ALLOTTED TO UNITED STATES/CARIBBEAN RELATIONS	1294.5
PERCENT OF SPACE ALLOTTED TO UNITED STATES/CARIBBEAN RELATIONS	3.41

Space allotted to categories in the
content on United States/Caribbean Relations

Category	Lines	Percent
1 Sp. Am. War	319.75	23.9
2 U.S. intervention	541.25	40.5
3 Good Neighbor Policy	51.75	3.9
4 Colonial Government	309.50	23.2
5 Pan Americanism	98.25	7.4

APPENDIX D

CATEGORY DEFINITIONS

CATEGORY DEFINITIONS

1. The Spanish-American War Category

Hostilities in the Caribbean beginning in 1895 with the outbreak of the Spanish-Cuban War.

The incidents and circumstances which led to the involvement of the United States.

The involvement of the United States.

The War in the Caribbean.

The Treaty of Paris.

2. The United States Intervention Category

Diplomatic and Military Intervention particularly with respect to the following:

The Venezuelan incidents 1895-6, 1902

The Roosevelt Corollary

Dollar Diplomacy

The Acquisition of the Canal

The Interventions in Cuba, Nicaragua, Haiti, The Dominican Republic

Guatemala

The Bay of Pigs

The Cuban Missile Crisis

3. The Good Neighbor Policy Category

The origins and development of the policy

Manifestations of the policy e.g

the Clark Memorandum

the Montevideo Conference

the Withdrawal of Marines

the Abrogation of the Platt Amendment

Treaties e.g with Columbia

the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act

4. The United States Colonial Government Category

The acquisition of colonies and protectorates

Government of colonies and protectorates particularly
Cuba and Puerto Rico

5. The Pan-Americanism and Hemispheric Defense Category

The Destroyer/base deal

The Declaration of Panama

The Act of Havana

The Alliance for Progress

The Caribbean Commission

The Organization of American States

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