

IMAGINING THE AMERICAN PAGEANT
THOMAS A. BAILEY AND THE CREATION OF THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY
HISTORY TEXTBOOK

A dissertation submitted to the Caspersen School of Graduate Studies
Drew University in partial fulfillment of
The requirements for the degree,
Doctor of Philosophy

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Madison, New Jersey
September 2019

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ABSTRACT

Imagining *The American Pageant*: Thomas A. Bailey and the Creation of the Mid-Twentieth

Century History Textbook

PhD Dissertation by

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September 2019

This dissertation explores how the carefully cultivated style of Thomas A. Bailey's textbook authorship ultimately made his texts successful. It begins exploring his foundations as textbook author and how his stylistic tendencies started to form in his childhood, college education, and early career as historian and education. The dissertation then examines Bailey's first textbook, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, and how it successfully supplanted Samuel Flagg Bemis's more traditional textbook in the field and gained a large number of enthusiastic readers. After, it examines how the traditional college textbook market was upended during World War II. The resulting market became one that was ideally suited for Bailey's style of authorship. During the 1940s and 1950s, Bailey's own historical work became more oriented towards the problems of the postwar world and his mission to educate citizens grew more apparent in his writing. This, when combined with his style of writing and presentation, resulted in a philosophy of textbook style and presentation ideally suited for the 1950s textbook market. Because of this, he was pursued by many publishers to write a general survey text in American history. This text became *The American Pageant* and it was deliberately developed by Bailey and his publisher to place his style of authorship and illustration front-and-center. The resulting

book was widely adopted and Bailey quickly became the leader in the college American history survey textbook market, earning him a number of fans--students, historians, and educators. Of course, through all of this Bailey's stylized approach to textbook authorship remained controversial among readers. With this tension, and the feedback provided to Bailey, his writing was deliberately molded for the textbook market. Bailey's legacy in textbook authorship is long and extends to the twenty-first century and the recent seventeenth edition of *The American Pageant*.

To my students—past, present, and future

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I need to express my gratitude to Jonathan Rose, Robert Townsend, and Patrick McGuinn, who served on the committee for this dissertation. Each and every page of this project was improved by their collective knowledge of the history of education, the historical profession, and publishing.

The Margaret and Marshall Bartlett Fund for History & Culture made so much of my research travel possible as did the Drew University Graduate Student Association's conference travel grants. During this research travel, the staff at Yale University Library Manuscripts and Archives, The Bancroft Library at the University of California-Berkeley, Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library, the Wisconsin Historical Society, Amherst College's Archives and Special Collections, and the Smith College Archives have made my archival research go as smoothly as possible with their professionalism and collegiality. Most importantly, the staff at Stanford University's Special Collections and University Archives made my trips there memorable and extraordinarily productive. Also at Stanford, David M. Kennedy has been kind enough to speak with me on a number of occasions and provide me with perspective on Thomas A. Bailey's career and valuable source material.

Feedback I have received from colleagues at the annual meetings of the American Historical Association, the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading, and Publishing made me rethink many details of my interpretations throughout this dissertation and improved the final product. My colleagues at Drew University have made much of this project bearable with their support and suggestions. Most of all,

Leanne Horinko has been a source of support throughout the entirety of this project. Indeed, it is likely that much of my sanity remains intact because of her support.

Lastly, in the Preface to his memoir, *The American Pageant Revisited: Recollections of a Stanford Historian*, Thomas A. Bailey indicated that he wrote the manuscript for the book to be placed within the Stanford University Library and its boxes of his personal and professional papers. He hoped that “perhaps they would prove useful to some Ph.D candidate making critical appraisal of run-of-the-mill American historians in the midyears of the twentieth century.” Surely, I owe a debt of gratitude to Bailey for leaving behind so rich a collection of materials. Without it, this dissertation would not be possible. Over the past five years, it has been a pleasure to be the Ph.D student Bailey imagined using his papers years ago.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Thomas A. Bailey's textbook, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, is perhaps the longest-lived history textbook of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. To date, it has been in continuous revisions for sixty-three years, for a total of seventeen editions. This is exceptional longevity for a textbook. David Saville Muzzey's classic textbook, *American History*, a staple of early twentieth-century American history classrooms, survived a total of sixty-five years until it was discontinued.¹ This comparison may not completely capture Bailey's achievement in creating a lasting American history textbook. Far from being toward the end of its life, *The American Pageant* is now revised by David M. Kennedy and Lizabeth Cohen and continues to be a force on the textbook market and in the imagination of its readers. Currently published by Cengage Learning, it still holds a prominent place on the publisher's list of college-level textbooks and is widely used in two-year and four-year colleges, as well as in Advanced Placement classrooms in high schools throughout the United States.

Without question, the book's longevity rests on the success of Bailey's early years as the sole author of the book. Kennedy, who joined Bailey as a co-author of *The American Pageant* in the 1970s, recalled that by the 1980s Bailey already attracted a wide readership, estimated at "upwards of two million students" between the original 1956 edition and eighth edition in 1983.² Since then, that number has multiplied

¹ Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1979), 59.

² David M. Kennedy, "Thomas A. Bailey as Textbook Author," (Paper, Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, Seattle, WA, August 17, 1984), 1.

significantly, though there is no certain estimate for how many millions of students more recent editions of *The American Pageant* reached.

The specific reasons for Bailey's success as a textbook author can be found in his student-centered approach to constructing a readable textbook. Without question, Bailey's writing style was the defining feature of his textbook writing and the primary reason for its enduring success. Even during the research and writing of this dissertation, friends and colleagues have offered their own memories reading *The American Pageant* and Bailey's particular style in college or high school classrooms. One colleague who read the book in high school nearly two decades ago had a visceral reaction. "That book is seared into my mind," she said, because of "all the weird turns of phrase and jokes." That style was specifically cultivated by Bailey, and after him by Kennedy and Cohen, to appeal to readers and fix American history in their minds. It also was a standout feature of a textbook in a market with a reputation for books with an onerous amount of detail and filled with dull, stale prose.

Kennedy recalled that Bailey's style came from his focus on mastering engaging methods of teaching—both in his lectures and in his writing. Perhaps most important was Bailey's "practice of gathering...telling anecdotes, punchy quotes, or memorable visual material with which to enliven his lectures."³ Bailey's approach to the lectures was student-centered, focused on lively engagement, and would eventually become the foundation of his textbooks.⁴ Through this approach, Bailey deliberately "achieved" the

³ Kennedy, "Thomas A. Bailey as Textbook Author," 3.

⁴ As Kennedy recalled, Bailey said his writing was "primarily for the learners who used the book, not for the professors who adopted books." See Kennedy, "Thomas A. Bailey as Textbook Author," 4. Additional colleagues of Bailey's recalled the effect of his student-centered approach to teaching. See Alexander

“liveliness” of his prose. When Kennedy was selected as the new co-author of *The Pageant*, Bailey passed on a document titled “*The American Pageant and Its Secrets*,” which included rules to govern the book’s distinct style. An excerpt of the document, provided in Kennedy’s recollections, outlined rules for use of “clichés” in the textbook’s content. Bailey wrote that “students like them” because it was “like seeing an old friend in a dull paragraph.” For the purposes of the authors of the *Pageant* it was “better to pervert” the standard clichés. A cliché like “the pen is mightier than the sword” would become “the Pen is more penetrating than the sword.”⁵

The use of clichés was not Bailey’s only stylistic characteristic. He shunned “encycopedic detail” of the textbook in an effort to slim down the narrative and make it more readable. He intended to “use strong verbs, adjectives, and nouns in preference to colorless parts of speech.” To make the prose accessible for students, he vowed to “never use eight-cylinder words if two-cylinder words would do just as well.” This was accompanied by the belief that “those who think that the average student can be forced to the dictionary, and thus be made to enlarge a vocabulary, are naïve.” Names of historical figures he deemed unimportant would be eliminated so as to not overload student readers with too much information and take away from the “readable, even exciting, epic story.” Each paragraph would start with a topic sentence. These sentences would form the outline of the book if lined up sequentially. All of this added up to what Bailey deemed to be the book’s appeal. He wrote: “Perhaps the most attractive feature of *The American Pageant* was the introduction of a lighter touch and the attempt to give history, often a

DeConde, “Thomas A. Bailey: Teacher, Scholar, Popularizer,” *Pacific Historical Review* Vol. 56, No 2 (May 1987), p. 164-166 for more information on the response to Bailey’s lecture style.

⁵ Kennedy, “Thomas A. Bailey as Textbook Author,” 5.

grim subject, another dimension, namely an overtone of good humor and sparkle.”⁶ Later, Kennedy would recall Bailey’s frequent refrain that history did not have “to be grim to be great.”⁷ Here, the intention of Bailey’s textbook writing was made abundantly clear. It was deliberately crafted for readability to trigger student enthusiasm for the subject. This approach also defied the conventions of traditional textbook authorship and the persistent perception that textbooks are inherently dull.

Despite his prominence as a textbook author, especially for the millions of readers he reached in the latter half of the twentieth century, Bailey has all but disappeared from memory in published scholarship. He appears in a few scattered mentions within the context of historiographical and political trends within the historical profession.⁸ Some works reference his textbook authorship, though these mentions are largely fleeting and fall far short of anything resembling a systematic study of his career as textbook author. Ian Tyrrell noted that Bailey was “extraordinarily successful” as a textbook author, but his analysis ceased at that point.⁹ Perhaps the most extensive study of Bailey to date came in a pair of articles authored by his former graduate students shortly after his death and another pair of essays written by colleagues. These articles are, however, dated at this point with the most recent having a publication date of 1987 and only represent an

⁶ Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited: Recollections of a Stanford Historian* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1982), 181-183.

⁷ Kennedy, “Thomas A. Bailey as Textbook Author,” 6.

⁸ See Richard Drake, *Charles Austin Beard: The Return of the Master Historian of Imperialism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), 189-190, 199-200, 206 for evidence of Charles Beard’s disagreement with Bailey’s interpretations; Peter Novick, *The Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 202, 290-291, 305-306, 308, 330; Ian Tyrrell, *Historians in Public: The Practice of American History, 1890-1970* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 102, 193, 198, 205, 244.

⁹ See Tyrrell, *Historians in Public*, 36, 145, 138, 205,

overview of his career rather than a comprehensive scholarly study.¹⁰ One book-length study by Larry Cuban, included as part of a broader book on faculty culture at Stanford, includes a lengthy analysis of Bailey's philosophy as an educator within the context of the Stanford University Department of History, but it does not provide a detailed analysis of his authorship of textbooks.¹¹

Perhaps most surprisingly, Bailey is almost absent from scholarship directly related to the development of history textbooks. Frances Fitzgerald's landmark study included no reference to Bailey or *The American Pageant*, even though her study was published in the early, wildly successful years of the book's existence.¹² Joseph Moreau's equally significant study of American history texts also made no mention of Bailey or his landmark text.¹³ It is possible that Bailey was excluded because each study focused primarily on textbooks for K-12 students, rather than the books Bailey authored, which were primarily intended for college audiences. No matter, Bailey still achieved a wide range of adoptions at the secondary school level. Surely, his writing deserves significant attention given its longevity in the field.

Whatever Bailey's absence from scholarship, or the reasons for it, it is clear that today's historians have a keen interest in the style of textbook authorship. Historians and

¹⁰ See DeConde, "Thomas A. Bailey: Teacher, Scholar, Popularizer"; Raymond G. O'Connor, "Thomas A. Bailey: His Impact," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 9, Iss. 4 (1985); David M. Kennedy, "Thomas A. Bailey as Textbook Author"; Lester D. Langley, "The Diplomatic Historians: Bailey and Bemis," *The History Teachers*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (November 1972).

¹¹ See Larry Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers: Change Without Reform in University Curriculum, Teaching, and Research, 1890-1990* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1999), 101, 107-108, 109, 122-128, 131, 181.

¹² See Fitzgerald, *America Revised*, 230-231 for *The American Pageant*'s conspicuous absence from the list of books she studies for her work.

¹³ See Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2003).

educators have a long history of complaining about dull and dreary history textbooks. Much of this prose likely dampened interest in the study of history in students' minds. There is no disputing that some type of "textbook prose" existed in many, if not most, history texts available to teachers and students in the twentieth century. Bailey's style defied these trends with an intentionality that would be familiar to today's textbook authors. Textbook authors trying to reverse the trend towards dullness have wrestled with questions of style and narrative and its effect on readability up to the present day. Recently, Scott Casper remarked that "well-wrought, interpretive writing remains the bedrock of the successful textbook."¹⁴ He came to this conclusion in an edition of *The Journal of American History's* "Textbooks and Teaching" section after facilitating a roundtable of textbook authors. Randell M. Miller, co-author of *Unto a Good Land: A History of the American People*, noted the persistent need for "more manageable material" for students.¹⁵ Perhaps most notably, Eric Foner, author of *Give Me Liberty! An American History*, defended the value of well-crafted textbook narrative for students. Foner believed that "for a student with little or no background in U.S. History there is no substitute for a well-written, coherent narrative that makes sense of the nation's past." It is the author's "writing" which "makes a textbook good or bad." Continuing on, Foner argued that narrative "enables writers and teachers to help students understand the essence of historical inquiry." It also encourages students to "interrogate the narrative" and find its limited perspective and shortcomings as one of a litany of possible historical

¹⁴ Scott E. Casper, et.al, "Textbooks Today and Tomorrow: A Conversation about History, Pedagogy, and Economics," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 100, Iss. 4 (March 2014), p. 1139.

¹⁵ Casper, et.al, "Textbooks Today and Tomorrow," 1143.

interpretations. In Foner's sentiment we can see the central logic of why Bailey wrote a narrative deliberately styled to be provocative for students.¹⁶

Narrative style seems to be a persistent concern for textbook authors. Miller observed that an effective narrative also "draws readers in...and it can hold them." He saw the use of "anecdotal stories of 'common' people" as one of the most effective means to "make the past more personal and approachable." Indeed, students tend to appreciate the "stories" included in textbooks.¹⁷ Alan Brinkley, who assumed the authorship of *American History: A Survey* from Frank Friedel, believed the literary quality of textbooks has always been varied and of concern to authors. He wrote:

It is common to criticize today's textbooks for the absence of a strong narrative and to claim that this is why they are not as easy to read as older books, which did have a clear, coherent narrative structure. And this criticism is often used by those who also believe that textbooks now lack a literary merit that many used to have. In my occasional reading of older textbooks, I find that some were indeed beautifully written, but on the whole I don't see any significant decline in the literary quality of the books over the past forty years. I think the narrative structure of recent books has perhaps become less cohesive. But that's the necessary price we pay for the different and much larger view of history that we have embraced over the last generation.¹⁸

In Brinkley's estimation, the literary quality of textbooks had not declined, though the historical narrative had, out of necessity, become more expansive. His observations hit on one basic reality of the textbook market throughout history. To find success, authors had to consciously craft books that were readable for both the teachers assigning the books and the students tasked with reading them. Brinkley noted this himself, saying students

¹⁶ Casper, et.al, "Textbooks Today and Tomorrow," 1147, 1152-1153. Foner's sentiments met wide agreement among other participants in the *Journal of American History* roundtable.

¹⁷ Casper, et.al, "Textbooks Today and Tomorrow," 1157, 1159.

¹⁸ Alan Brinkley, "The Challenges and Rewards of Textbook Writing: An Interview with Alan Brinkley," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 91, No. 4 (March 2005), 1393.

“read a text because they are told to” a dynamic that “works against an entirely good reading experience.” To counteract this, much like Bailey, Brinkley consciously tried to cultivate “as engaging a reading experience” as possible for his student readers.¹⁹

The most remarkable recollections of authoring a textbook come from Mary Beth Norton, co-author of *A People and A Nation* since the 1980s. Norton remembered how she and her co-authors then “planned to begin each chapter with an opening vignette focusing on a person or a group of people, using their story to introduce subsequent themes” and building their core narrative. In addition, the second tactic Norton recalled would sound remarkably familiar to Bailey. Norton wrote:

We insisted that illustrations be contemporary and appropriate to the time period, a decision especially important for me because textbooks at the time often used misleading nineteenth-century pictorial reconstructions to illustrate colonial or revolutionary scenes. We would help select the illustrations, and we would write the captions ourselves rather than having them drafted by in-house editors; thus the pictures and captions too would become part of our comprehensive narrative.²⁰

Norton is not the first textbook author to note the vitality cartoons and illustrations could bring to the pages of textbook narrative. Bailey had earlier discovered this stylistic device, first in the 1930s as he drafted *A Diplomatic History of the American People* and again in the 1950s as he constructed *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*. Thus, the questions textbook authors ponder today as they write are persistent throughout the history of textbook authorship. The same can be said of readers who continue to have a love-hate relationship with the text they are required to read, both dull and stylized

¹⁹ Brinkley, “The Challenges and Rewards of Textbook Writing,” 1395.

²⁰ Mary Beth Norton, “Reflections of a Longtime Textbook Author; or, History Revised, Revised—and Revised Again,” *Journal of American History*, Vol. 91, No. 4 (March 2005), 1381.

narratives. Bailey's career, and his textbook authorship, serves as the ideal perspective to further investigate the development of textbook style throughout the twentieth century.

Literature Review and Methodology

This dissertation exists somewhere on the continuum between an intellectual biography of a notable historian and a book history-centric examination of the history of textbooks. To date, little effort has been made to join these two fields together in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the process of textbook authorship and the reception of these books in the marketplace. Biographies were written about esteemed historians in the past, just as interest in the history of textbooks had garnered interest throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This dissertation is one answer to the need for a serious consideration of how these fields can be intertwined into meaningful scholarship.

Intellectual biographies of professional historians share many of the same methodological approaches to studying historians. Typically, this involves examining the full career of a given historian, assessing their contributions to their field and the historical profession. David S. Brown's *Richard Hofstadter: An Intellectual Biography* cast Hofstadter as a cosmopolitan intellectual, whose writing reached wide audiences of both historians and the educated public. Gregory Pfitzer's *Samuel Eliot Morison's Historical World* explored the New England roots that shaped Morison's career and how his professional life built upon his background in comparison to his contemporaries in academic history. Most recently, Richard Drake's book, *Charles Austin Beard: The Return of the Master Historian of American Imperialism* dissected Beard's intellectual foundations and the impact they had on his scholarship and professional life. This approach is nothing out of the ordinary for intellectual biographies of historians. Decades

ago, Richard Hofstadter employed the recognizable method in his seminal work *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington*.²¹ In each of these selected works, there is a discernible focus on how an individual historian's personal and professional life informed his research and writing. This focus also made the scope of each book far reaching and focused on issues of concern specific to professional historians rather than any other reader. Each study also exhibited specific methodological limitations that informed the approach found in this dissertation.

In some instances, this collection of work faced severe limitations of available sources. Brown's portrait of Hofstadter was limited by his inability to quote directly from Hofstadter's personal papers, though reading the materials did inform the arguments of the published book.²² Drake's examination of Beard's career was handcuffed by Charles and Mary Beard's decision "to burn all of their papers." As Drake observed, this reality "severely restricted the scope of an archive-based systematic study of how they had lived and worked." This resulted in Drake piecing together his analysis based off Beard letters that survive in collections around the world, but by no means was this a full reconstruction of the life and work of the historian.²³ Of course, these limitations were not universal. Pfitzer's published study of Morison was not limited by a lack of access to Morison's papers.²⁴ Certainly, archival limitations rendered none of these books useless, but they did perhaps limit the scope or depth of the study of their subject.

²¹ David S. Brown, *Richard Hofstadter: An Intellectual Biography* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2006); Gregory M. Pfitzer, *Samuel Eliot Morison's Historical World* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1991); Drake, *Charles Austin Beard*; Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968).

²² Brown, *Richard Hofstadter*, xii.

²³ Drake, *Charles Austin Beard*, xiii.

²⁴ Pfitzer, *Samuel Eliot Morison's Historical World*, xi.

In addition, these intellectual biographies avoided delving too deeply into how these historians attempted to connect with audiences, especially with writing style. Brown wrote, “historical circumstances aside, any formal evaluation of Richard Hofstadter must come to terms with his rare gift for literary expression.” He attributed this to Hofstadter’s ability to reach audiences beyond academics, and Hofstadter’s own expectation that his books would “ripple through the culture.”²⁵ Throughout the book, however, Brown’s attention to Hofstadter’s style of writing is limited. He acknowledged that Hofstadter was never a “popularizer” and noted the ability to bring together “analytical genius and clever, even playful, prose. This was, in Brown’s estimation, one component that made “the release of a Hofstadter book a major literary event.” Hofstadter was compared to popularizers, Allan Nevins and Henry Steele Commager, but Brown’s analysis quickly returned to the overall portrait of Hofstadter as a public intellectual coming from a group of distinguished public intellectuals at Columbia. There was consideration of how this public intellectualism interacted with the post-war academy and college students, but only in the broadest sense. Further, in this specific example Brown’s consideration of Hofstadter’s style barely filled one page.²⁶

This is not to say the books do not delve into any other impact of these historians’ work. Their efforts were, however, limited because of a scope that did not fully examine *how* historians sought to craft their works for public consumption. Brown’s biography of Hofstadter dedicates considerable space to Hofstadter’s efforts to reach a wider audience for his work, particularly with the publication of trade books. This was especially evident

²⁵ Brown, *Richard Hofstadter*, xxiii.

²⁶ Brown, *Richard Hofstadter*, 167.

when Hofstadter used “his lucid, playful writing” to write reviews and criticism for outlets such as the *New York Times* and the *New Republic*.²⁷ My point is not that this approach to the topic is invalid or fails to provide insight into Hofstadter’s, or any other historians’ style. However, it is a call for new, expanded approaches. Perhaps more studies are needed to fully examine how public intellectuals and popularizers of the time conceived of their writing style—whether consciously or unconsciously—rather than simply looking at where it appeared in print. This dissertation aims to provide one lengthy examination of this topic, through Bailey’s career.

Throughout these intellectual biographies, there is also limited consideration of how historians’ relationships with their publishers and editors shaped their writing. Squarely focused on the impact of Hofstadter’s work on his life, Brown’s assessment of Hofstadter’s relationship with Knopf references consideration for awards, the proposal of new projects, sales numbers, and international editions of *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* in England. In one section, Brown referenced the debate over the title and promotional strategy for *The American Political* tradition, but this was the most extensive consideration of the publishing history of Hofstadter’s work.²⁸ In total, Hofstadter’s relationship with Knopf, the publisher with which he had the closest relationship throughout his career, was covered in fewer than ten pages scattered throughout the entirety of his analysis.

Pfizer’s *Samuel Eliot Morison’s Historical World* was still limited. Morison’s relationship with Oxford University Press, the publisher of his textbook, *The Growth of*

²⁷ Brown, *Richard Hofstadter*, 48-49.

²⁸ Brown, *Richard Hofstadter*, 47-48, 51-52, 158, 189.

the American Republic, was subjected to a few scattered references throughout the book. Most notably, it was referenced in relation to Morison's desire to bolster the sales of the book after his royalty earnings started to sag in the 1940s as new textbooks flooded the market and his work became outdated with no new revision. The anecdote also included a brief discussion of Morison's efforts to collaborate with Henry Steele Commager on a revision and the frustration caused by the time required to produce readable prose. A comparable depth of treatment is given to Morison's interactions with Houghton Mifflin and Little, Brown and Company.²⁹ Like Brown's examination of Hofstadter's publishing history with Knopf, Pfitzer's assessment of Morison's with Oxford, Houghton Mifflin, and Little, Brown and Company spans approximately twenty total pages of the book.

By and large intellectual biographies utilize a limited perspective regarding the reception of history writing. Much of the analysis focuses on how historians were read and interpreted by other academic historians rather than any general reader. Drake's examination of Beard provides a lengthy analysis of Richard Hofstadter's critiques of Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization*. It also details the backlash against Beard's later books critiquing Franklin Roosevelt, but that backlash is only shown to come from the mouths of fellow historians and social scientists.³⁰ Of course, it is likely that this is easily explained away by the fact that Beard's writings at the time were mostly read and vehemently critiqued by fellow academics. Drake was not the only scholar to take this approach. Hofstadter reached a staggering number of readers as a public intellectual, but

²⁹ See Pfitzer, *Samuel Eliot Morison's Historical World*, 94, 99, 257, 258, 283, 254-255 for the relationship with Oxford University Press. See 44, 54, 82, 259 for Houghton Mifflin 254-255 for Alfred A. Knopf, and 185, 199-200, 292 for Little, Brown and Company.

³⁰ Drake, *Charles Austin Beard*, 138, 207-209.

Brown's research led him to look at the reception of Hofstadter's *The Age of Reform* from the perspectives of historians reviewing his work. There are, of course, many reasons for this focus. Archival repositories have limited material to shed light on how any reader beyond a historians' immediate professional network responded to a given book. If any general reader sent in feedback it may be hidden in a publisher's reader file or, more likely, long ago disposed of and rendered irrelevant to future studies. When they do exist in historians' and publishers' archives, these materials shed light on how the public reacted to historians' writing. However, this may be why it is important to formulate this dissertation as a call for more focus on general readers who may not have consumed the high-brow writings of leading public intellectuals. No matter the ability of historians to recover the reader response from dusty archives of history publishing, this body of literature does not pay due attention to perhaps the most widely purchased and distributed, if not enthusiastically read, type of historical literature—the history textbook.

These intellectual biographies largely subordinate the efforts each historian went through to write textbooks in favor of examining their monographic work. Their approach is much more focused on historiographical trends, and the textbook has a limited role to play in this approach compared to monographic works or trade books. When the textbook was considered in Pfitzer's work, Morison's *The Growth of the American Republic* was presented within the context of Morison's desire for enhanced royalties and his disagreements with Commager about the speed of the revision process rather than an extensive analysis of how the book was conceived and authored.³¹ Beard's work revising *The History of the American People* was fleetingly mentioned in Drake's

³¹ Pfitzer, *Samuel Eliot Morison's Historical World*, 256-257.

book and only within the context of the revision of the book's content related to World War I and its appearance in poet Robinson Jeffers's personal library.³² Brown was somewhat more generous in his mentions of Hofstadter's relationship with textbooks. He referenced Hofstadter's appreciation for Merle Curti's textbook. He also mentioned the fact that Knopf allowed the publication of Hofstadter's textbook, *The United States: The History of a Republic*, with Prentice-Hall after the success of *The American Political Tradition* and *The Age of Reform*.³³ These were just about the extent of consideration given to the textbooks. The rest of the book focused on monographic output. The textbook does, however, deserve much more consideration.

The limited scope of these intellectual biographies is also evident in much of the scholarship examining the historical profession and historiography. Perhaps surprisingly, textbooks were absent from the discussion in Ellen Fitzpatrick's *History's Memory: Writing America's Past, 1880-1980*, though textbooks may be the most prevalent documentation of historical memory students read.³⁴ *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*, Peter Novick's classic, dedicated a few pages to assessing historian's response to complaints about textbook content in the early twentieth century.³⁵ Ian Tyrrell's *Historians in Public: The Practice of American History, 1890-1970* noted the "inertia" in history textbook content and the ensuing political controversies throughout much of the twentieth century.³⁶ In the context

³² Drake, *Charles Austin Beard*, 56, 175.

³³ Brown, *Richard Hofstadter*, 22, 145-146.

³⁴ Ellen Fitzpatrick, *History's Memory: Writing America's Past: 1880-1980* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

³⁵ Novick, *The Noble Dream*, 198-200, 497.

³⁶ See Tyrrell, *Historians in Public*, 140-141, 115, 131-132, 218 for examples.

of historians' relationships with schools, Tyrell did briefly mention the writing of college textbooks and historians' approach to the task, but not at length.³⁷ Robert Townsend's extensive study of the development of the historical profession in *History's Babel: Scholarship, Professionalization, and the Historical Enterprise in the United States, 1880-1940* offers some perspective on the place of the textbook in the historical profession. He noted the familiar complaint that textbooks were presented as dull, "old and out-of-date" in the context of discussions about history and Social Studies curriculum in schools.³⁸ Of course, textbooks were not the central focus of any of these studies, which were much more concerned with the broad development of the historical profession and historical writing. This makes sense. By their nature, textbooks are a distillation of the broader trends in historical writing covered in each of these books. No matter, there is a need to study the books in and of themselves and the historians who wrote them as textbook authors beyond current textbook scholarship, which tends to focus on censorship and national identity.

A large amount of scholarship is already written about history textbooks. There are, however, significant gaps in this research that need to be filled. In a 2004 issue of the journal *History of Education*, John Issitt expressed dismay concerning the lack of enthusiasm for the study of textbooks. He wrote, "the negativity surrounding textbooks in terms of use and status as both literary objects and vehicles for pedagogy is profound." The sentiment was, and remains, prevalent throughout the academy despite the fact that the wide use of the books in classrooms is "easily confirmed by examination of school

³⁷ Tyrell, *Historians in Public*, 144-145.

³⁸ Robert Townsend, *History's Babel: Scholarship, Professionalization, and the Historical Enterprise in the United States, 1880-1940* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 57, 60, 70.

budgets as well as by cursory observations of school and university life.” Textbooks, Issitt said, are particularly hated by academics “who feel that they reflect no creative input” and authoring the books is “the last thing that leading-edge intellectuals engaged in research ought to be doing.”³⁹ Issitt dedicated his essay in *History of Education* and much of his earlier career to moving his fellow scholars to think beyond this anti-textbook sentiment. For a brief time, he also edited the now-defunct *Paradigm: The Journal of the Textbook Colloquium*.⁴⁰ Yet, years after the journal ceased publication and Issitt shifted into different areas of investigation, his call to action still resonates. He asserted that “textbooks offer an empirical ground on which to base investigation and...some intriguing lines of analysis to be mined and traced across disciplines.”⁴¹

Perhaps the most prevalent form of scholarship on history textbooks deals with content. In the past generation, there has been one book that has driven public discourse on the textbook—James W. Loewen’s *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*. The book is unavoidable. High school teachers and college professors assign it as a means to get students doubting their established historical knowledge. The book has also found its way onto the shelves at the souvenir shops at national parks, historic sites, and museums across the United States. As the title of the book suggests, Loewen’s work tends to veer into polemics—albeit popular polemics. To Loewen, textbooks are filled with lies that dubious publishers, editors and

³⁹ John Issitt, “Reflections on the study of textbooks,” *History of Education*, 33, No 6 (November 2004): 683.

⁴⁰ The online home of *Paradigm: The Journal of the Textbook Colloquium* is still available at <http://faculty.education.illinois.edu/westbury/paradigm/>. Issues from 1999 to 2007, the journal’s last year of operation, are located at this website. In this essay, I have not dedicated significant space to *Paradigm*, instead opting to focus on more recent monographs and published journal articles.

⁴¹ Issitt, “Reflections on the study of textbooks,” 684.

authors have put into the books in order to placate adoption boards and special interest groups in the pursuit of maximizing profits. Loewen maintains that the purpose of the textbook surely is to help create “good citizens,” but it is essential to also ask “what do we mean by a ‘good citizen’?”⁴² The structure and methodological approach of Loewen’s work is not dissimilar to the remainder of the literature related to textbook content.⁴³

Outside of Loewen’s widely cited and popular book, there are select scholarly articles published dealing with specific segments of textbook content. Patricia Nelson Limerick’s article “The Case of the Premature Departure: The Trans-Mississippi West and American History Textbooks” from the *Journal of American History* provided an example of focused scholarship on a particular oversight in textbooks.⁴⁴ Leo J. Alilunas’s article for *History of Education Quarterly*, “The Image of Public Schools in Roman Catholic

⁴² James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: Touchstone, 2007), xvii. For more examples of Loewen’s polemical takes on American history textbooks see James W. Loewen, *Teaching What Really Happened: How to Avoid the Tyranny of Textbooks & Get Students Excited About Doing History* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2010).

⁴³ See to following works for more context regarding scholarship on textbook content: Gary A. Tobin and Dennis R. Ybarra, *The Trouble with Textbooks: Distorting History and Religion* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008); Kyle Roy Ward, *History Lessons: How Textbooks from Around the World Portray U.S. History* (The New Press, 2006) and Kyle Roy Ward, *History in the Making: An Absorbing Look at How American History Has Changed in the Telling Over the Last 200 years* (The New Press, 2006); Kyle Roy Ward, *History in the Making: An Absorbing Look at How American History Has Changed in the Telling Over the Last 200 years* (The New Press, 2006); Michael Apple and Linda Christian-Smith, *The Politics of the Textbook* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1991); Eugene F. Provenzo, *The Textbook as Discourse: Sociocultural Dimensions of American Schoolbooks* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010). There are also a number of dissertations dealing with textbook content. See James Gregory Goodwin. "Evidence of Bias and Censorship in College History Survey Textbooks." Order No. 9929273, University of Houston, 1999; Gregory J. Cramer, "A Critical Investigation of Advanced Placement U.S. History Textbooks," Order No. 3520629, The University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee, 2012; Misty D. Rodeheaver. "An Analysis of U.S. History Textbooks: The Treatment of Primary Sources." Order No. 3395064, West Virginia University, 2009; Richard Domenic Petruso. "Reform in Social Studies Education as Reflected in High School American History Textbooks Published From 1880 to 1983," Order No. 8503343, Syracuse University, 1984;

⁴⁴ Patricia Nelson Limerick, “The Case of the Premature Departure: The Trans-Mississippi West and American History Textbooks,” *Journal of American History* 78, No. 4 (1992): 1385. For a similar style of argument, see David Landes, “The Treatment of Population in History Textbooks,” *Daedalus* 97, No. 2 (1968): 363-384. I have not gone in depth into Landes’s work in this essay since his argument for more inclusion of discussion on population in textbooks was published in 1968 and is not as contemporary at Limerick’s argument for the Trans-Mississippi West.

History Textbooks” provided a brief analysis to debunk the idea that “secular subjects are taught in the same way in Catholic schools as in the public schools.”⁴⁵

In the search for an explanation for problematic textbook content, there have been few answers offered and little-to-no analysis of how authors and publishers created textbooks. Scholars of the textbook have found censoring forces to be the primary influence on textbook content. Some books have pointed a critical lens toward special interest groups, which flex their political muscle to control textbook content. In *What Johnny Shouldn't Read: Textbook Censorship in America*, Joan DelFattore makes use of “court documents, textbook adoption records, and interviews” in an attempt to understand how “lawsuits combined with the textbook process” shaped textbooks sold across the United States.⁴⁶ Ultimately, DelFattore’s work represents some of the best aspects of scholarship regarding textbook censorship alongside some of the most limited. She provided textured accounts of lengthy and bombastic court battles between conservative activists and textbook adopters. On the other hand there are instances where she attempted to illustrate the editorial process that falls victim to censorship, but she falls short of providing a convincing account due to methodological limitations. She detailed the process of the public review of textbooks in the United States, particularly in Texas and California, stating that citizens and adopters would go to specifically designated public institutions where textbooks were available for review and hand-mark the contents of the books with suggestions for revision. DelFattore claimed that at times, publishers

⁴⁵ Leo J. Alilunas, “The Image of Public Schools in Roman Catholic American History Textbooks,” *History of Education Quarterly* Vol. 3, No. 3 (September, 1963), 159.

⁴⁶ Joan Del Fattore, *What Johnny Shouldn't Read: Textbook Censorship in America* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1992), 2.

would “make all corrections from the hand-edited copies.”⁴⁷ Despite this claim, there is no indication of the particulars of the revision process in the publishing house. No publisher archives were cited, nor did she analyze content in subsequent editions. Instead she relies on an assumed relationship between adoption process and revision.

Other scholarship supplements DelFattore’s work, examining the cultural forces at play in the United States and how it shaped textbook content. Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn’s book, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* also deals with the same censoring forces DelFattore’s work highlights. However, instead of strictly dealing with battles over textbook content, the trio of authors put the textbook into the context of the American culture wars that were fought from time to time throughout the twentieth century. The authors showed how David Saville Muzzey, Charles Beard, and their colleagues navigated public backlash when they incorporated new scholarship into their textbooks that was deemed treasonous.⁴⁸ In *Molding the Good Citizen: The Politics of High School History Textbooks*, Robert Lerner, Althea K. Nagai, and Stanley Rothman argued that the books “now serve as prayer-books for the United States’s civic religion,” serving to create an American nationalistic identity.⁴⁹ Joseph Moreau’s *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* also took a similar approach to *Molding the Good Citizen*. The stated goal of the book was to “explore shifts in understandings of our nation and its history as the ‘official knowledge’ in textbooks responded to market forces,

⁴⁷ DelFattore, *What Johnny Shouldn’t Read*, 144-145.

⁴⁸ Nash, Gary, Crabtree, Charlotte and Ross Dunn. *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past*. (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1998), 26-32.

⁴⁹ Robert Lerner, Althea K. Nagai, and Stanley Rothman, *Molding the Good Citizen: The Politics of High School History Texts* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1995), 1.

political pressures, and intellectual movements among historians and educators” and it details the social, political, and cultural forces that played a part in shaping textbook content throughout United States history.⁵⁰

Frances Fitzgerald’s *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* provided another similar view of the textbook industry, but also gave a valuable insight for future scholars. Throughout the book, Fitzgerald lamented the “great unity” of textbook content that was lost by the time *America Revised* had been published in 1979.⁵¹ There was no longer a common national narrative present in all books, rather textbooks had become fractured and viewed on a continuum. Beyond her lamentations about the narrative direction the texts took after the 1950s, Fitzgerald started to hint at one of the great mysteries of textbooks, caused by “a great deal of secrecy in the textbook business.”⁵² She contended that “[n]ot even a book in print is free from editorial intervention, for if it is successful it will be revised and reissued every three or four years, in time to be presented anew to the school systems.”⁵³ Fitzgerald noted that through this process, secretive publishers altered textbooks and content in order to sell the maximum number of book to the greatest number of school systems. The publishers caved to the demands of adoption committees and special interest groups in pursuit of the almighty dollar. All of these approaches, however, left something to be desired in scholarship assessing history textbooks, their authors, publishers, and readers. Fitzgerald hinted at the great mystery of the publishing industry, but was not able to provide a thoroughly

⁵⁰ Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation*, 23.

⁵¹ Fitzgerald, *America Revised*, 12.

⁵² Fitzgerald, *America Revised*, 22.

⁵³ Fitzgerald, *America Revised*, 26.

researched account of the process of creating a history textbook based in primary sources. In the future, scholarly accounts focused on the particular process of publishing and writing can provide fresh insights into the textbook industry, placing authors, their publishers and editors at the forefront of the narrative rather than abstract cultural forces.

This approach characterized Barry Joyce's work in *The First U.S. History Textbooks: Constructing and Disseminating the American Tale in the Nineteenth Century*. For Joyce, mythmaking in textbooks was the process by which "the storyteller who is compelled by the inordinate urge of the brain" distilled historical events into a coherent, engaging narrative for students. The historians—or textbook authors—were "the organizers and interpreters, the conservators, and the disseminators of a selectively chosen and organized version" of history. This process resulted in the American "creation story" that pervaded nineteenth century textbooks. The resulting narrative—or myth—acted as a "cultural adhesive" for American school children and their families.⁵⁴ Joyce also contextualized the textbook as a result of the various pedagogical movements that were percolating throughout the nineteenth century and claimed that authors were driven to construct their textbooks in a way that would appeal to the realities of the nineteenth century education system, rather than the community of history scholars and educators present in the 20th century.

Much methodological inspiration can be gleaned from other books as well. Adam R. Shapiro's innovative study in *Trying Biology: The Scopes Trial, Textbooks, and the*

⁵⁴ Barry Joyce, *The First U.S. History Textbooks: Constructing and Disseminating the American Tale in the Nineteenth Century* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015), 103, 102, 105. For a precursor to Joyce's modern analysis of nineteenth century textbooks, see Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century* (University of Nebraska Press, 1972).

Antievolution Movement in American Schools set out to re-center the scholarship on the oft-referenced Scopes trial away from conflicts between scientific and religious ideology. Instead, Shapiro argued that the Scopes trial was fueled by the circumstance of the textbook adoption and revision process, which allowed these underlying tensions to bubble to the surface in a very public and enduring way. He placed textbook salesmen at the center of the action on the ground, establishing lucrative relationships with local school officials and politicians. What resulted was the stereotype of the “corrupt textbook salesman” as the public began to express more outrage over rising textbook costs and the political corruption that went with it.⁵⁵ Shapiro’s approach delves far deeper into the particulars of the adoption and sales process than any book discussed to this point and any scholarship published today. His ties between adoption and revision of content are more concrete than his predecessors’ and this is to be commended. This kind of textured portrait of the process is what the broader body of scholarship is lacking.

There is another area of textbook scholarship in need of reconsideration. In studies of textbook content, primary consideration has been granted to textual content rather than visual representations of history—images, maps, charts, and graphs. Some scholars have made preliminary headway in creating a more holistic view of textbook content, but there is a significant amount of work remaining. In the March 1998 edition of *The Journal of American History* Louis Masur published “‘Pictures Have Now Become a Necessity’: The Use of Images in American History Textbooks.” The article serves as an analysis of textbooks’ ability to use visual material as a historical artifact,

⁵⁵ Adam R. Shapiro, *Trying Biology: The Scopes Trial, Textbooks, and the Antievolution Movement in American Schools* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 29, 30.

explaining to students an image's proper historical context—cultural, political, and material.⁵⁶ James Andrew LaSpina's *The Visual Turn and the Transformation of the Textbook* offers another major, yet largely ignored, contribution to the field. He positions the monograph as a response to what he felt was a “widespread cultural assumption” that “[v]isual information is inherently vacuous and deceptive, and images are without content.”⁵⁷ LaSpina's most valuable contribution to the field comes in his analysis of how designers and publishers sought to make *meaning* for students using the visual material in new textbooks.⁵⁸

What is needed, perhaps more than anything in the field, is an analytic framework for studying the history of history textbook authorship and publishing. Leslie Howsam's work in *Past into Print: The Publishing of History in Britain, 1850-1950* comes closest to providing such a method. Her work, however, is not calibrated specifically for the study of textbooks. She proposed four key areas of analysis. The first focused on what she termed “the life cycle of the history-book reader.” This conceptualization imagines history readers and their reading habits from childhood through adulthood, analyzing how different segments of the history publishing industry shaped an individual's historical knowledge over one lifetime. School books were a part of this ecosystem as were popular and academic histories. The second area of analysis centered on “the agency of the publisher.” The third examined the “tension between professional and popular accounts

⁵⁶ Louis Masur, “‘Pictures Have Now Become a Necessity’: The Use of Images in American History Textbooks,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 84, No. 4 (March 1998), 1412.

⁵⁷ James Andrew LaSpina, *The Visual Turn and the Transformation of the Textbook* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998), 3.

⁵⁸ At the time of writing this chapter, I could find only a single review of the book, and zero citations on Google Scholar.

of the past” and the fourth looked at “history books as material objects.”⁵⁹ Each of these categories provides rich areas for future scholarship to explore, but they are lacking the specificity needed to assess the textbook publishing ecosystem in the twentieth century.

Howsam’s four categories should be viewed with a critical eye. The life-cycle approach to studying how works were received does not fully capture the complexity of the exchange of ideas between authors, publishers, and readers. Howsam traces a simple narrative in her work, by which young children absorbed the “nursery histories” read to them in their earlier years. Then, once the young men went to university, their professors and textbook authors sought to help them “un-learn this simple narrative.”⁶⁰ Surely there is a significant amount to be learned from this methodology, but it leaves much to be desired when looking at the complex reception of history textbooks rather than the entirety of the history publishing industry.

Howsam’s focus on the agency of the publisher perhaps also provides too limited a perspective to capture complex relationships between authors and publisher. Her point about the emphasis on “the individuality, if not the individual genius, of the author” in traditional scholarship regarding publishing books, especially literature is, no doubt, an important one to keep in mind. She also wisely noted that “in the case of history, as publishers began to experiment with the series format (as a way to package and market books on their list that concerned past times in various places), writers found themselves fitting their writing into a narrative scheme not of their own making.”⁶¹ This is, of course,

⁵⁹ Leslie Howsam, *Past into Print: The Publishing of History in Britain, 1850-1950* (Toronto, ON: The University of Toronto Press, 2009), 3-9.

⁶⁰ Howsam, *Past into Print*, 4.

⁶¹ Howsam, *Past into Print*, 6.

true. In the case of textbooks of the twentieth century, however, the individual genius of the author was applied to a project likely far more complex than the average literary history or scholarly monograph. A theoretical framework more tailored to the realities of textbook publishing is needed.

Perhaps given the scope of Howsam's study, 1850-1950, she chose to focus on the tension between popular and professional accounts of the past. The time period saw the height of the struggle between the traditional literary histories and the rising professional historians. According to Howsam, at the time "many of the writers whose history books were published in this period were not university-based academics, but men and women of letters."⁶² It is not apparent that the same paradigm is relevant to the study of history textbooks in the twentieth century. Instead of being men of letters, textbook authors tended to be university professors, carrying the prestige of their professional credentials and esteemed universities. Of authors who were not university professors, most were practicing educators with the credentials to teach in schools. Hence, they were qualified to write history textbooks. Simply put, there was not a tremendous amount of tension between professional historians and non-academics in the twentieth century textbook publishing ecosystem.

Howsam's conceptualization of the history book as material artifact was also not fully tuned to the study of textbooks. She mentioned that "history was published in periodical formats as well as in monographs," some examples being the "slender sixpenny schoolbook" and "general literary quarterlies," and "journals dedicated to

⁶² Howsam, *Past into Print*, 8.

historical writing.”⁶³ This conceptualization focuses far more on the varying types of history publications rather than the material characteristics of an individual book.

Howsam did, at times, dissect the layout and visual depictions of history on the pages of schoolbooks, though this approach is not universal in *Past into Print*.⁶⁴ There is much work still to be done in this regard. Textbooks are, indeed, complex material artifacts. Formats changed over time as did the size of the books and the material used to create them. A suitable conceptualization of textbook publishing needs to put this front-and-center.

The analytical framework this dissertation utilizes includes four key categories, largely inspired by Howsam’s earlier framework. These categories are, however, specifically calibrated to the study of history textbooks. The first category focuses on the cycle of feedback between authors, publishers, and readers. The second accounts for the textbook’s form and content, as mediated by authors and publishers working together in a collaborative system to create a textbook that meets market demands. Third, this dissertation focuses on the tension between the expectation for traditional textbook prose and attempts to make the prose more stylized and readable. Lastly, this dissertation conceptualizes the textbook not simply as a material text. Rather, it is a *pedagogical technology* designed and published with a specific intent.

⁶³ Howsam, *Past into Print*, 9.

⁶⁴ See Howsam, *Past into Print*, 11-23 for examples.

Cycle of Feedback Between Authors, Publishers, and Readers

Any conceptualization of cycles, or circuits, in the history of books needs to begin with Robert Darnton's seminal communication circuit. In 1982, Darnton envisioned a publishing ecosystem with authors, publishers, readers, booksellers, shippers, printers, binders and suppliers all having a role.⁶⁵ In his essay, Darnton's conceptualization of readers' role is somewhat limited. He wrote: "The reader contemplates the circuit, because he influences the author both before and after the act of composition. Authors are readers themselves. By reading and associating with other readers and writers, they form notions of genre and style and a general sense of the literary enterprise, which affects their texts...He addresses implicit readers and hears from explicit reviewers."⁶⁶ His flow chart of the communication circuit reflected a similar dynamic. Readers are present on the circuit, but only with a dotted line with an arrow pointing from them to the author. Of course, Darnton's conceptualization of this relationship was primarily based on literary authorship and readership, but the dynamics of textbook publishing are more nuanced than the communication circuit would indicate.

The study of textbooks requires a feedback loop that encompasses each of the core groups—authors, publishers, and readers. In textbook publishing, readers responded to texts viscerally in many regards and both authors and publishers heard feedback loud and clear. Whether sending personal complaints directly, or relying on community political activism to sound the alarm, readers lent pressure to both facets of the publishing

⁶⁵ See Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?," *Daedalus*, Vol. 111, No. 3 (Summer, 1982).

⁶⁶ Darnton, "What is the History of Books?," 67.

industry. The same was true for positive comments. Any conceptualization of reception and reading in the textbook industry must take this into account.

Of course, histories of reading are particularly difficult to piece together. Jonathan Rose noted that the source material used to reconstruct the history of reading can be disparate, not limited to “memoirs and diaries, school records, social surveys, oral interviews, library registers, letters to newspaper editors, fan mail, and even the proceedings of the Inquisition.”⁶⁷ Much of the scholarship on the history of reading utilizing these sources is squarely focused on the consumption of literature. No matter, this dissertation is based in the types of source material Rose suggested.⁶⁸ In examining the archival collections left behind by textbook authors, it becomes quickly apparent that there was significant interchange between authors, publishers, and readers in correspondence and market studies. This archival record is the foundation for the history of textbook reading presented in the chapters following this introduction.

Collaboration Between Authors and Publishers

Book historians have long identified the relationship between author and publisher to be instrumental for the creation of books. This dissertation treats this relationship as the core collaboration that created college textbooks in the twentieth century. Of course, alongside the core textual narrative each textbook’s paratext is a key product of this collaboration. Every textbook has binding, a cover, blurbs, illustrations,

⁶⁷ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), I.

⁶⁸ See Leah Price, “Reading: The State of the Discipline,” *Book History*, Vol. 7 (2004) for a detailed historiography of the field and its focus on reading literature.

not to mention ancillary teacher's guides and promotional brochures.⁶⁹ Together, authors and publishers worked to wed text to paratext and create a comprehensive textbook. This material, alongside the textual narrative, is analyzed at length throughout this dissertation.

It so happens that there is a wealth of primary source materials providing insight into the relationship between authors and publishers. These sources provide the backbone of the study in this dissertation. Thomas A. Bailey's papers, available at Stanford University's Archives and Special Collections, document an extensive relationship between Bailey and his textbook publishers—F.S. Crofts and Company and D.C. Heath and Company. The collection is also remarkably complete. Bailey kept not only incoming correspondence, but also carbon copies of outgoing letters, all of which are now contained within his papers. In addition, the folders contain a tremendous amount of promotional brochures, book proposals, reviewer reports, reader correspondence, and manuscript drafts for analysis. Together, these materials made the study in this dissertation possible and yield limitless insights into the process of drafting and editing American history textbooks in the middle of the twentieth century. Regrettably, the D.C. Heath and Company records at Syracuse University's Special Collections Research Center are unprocessed and unavailable for research.⁷⁰ However, it stands to reason, given the completeness of Bailey's own papers, that the research detailed throughout this dissertation gives a reasonably complete portrait of the collaboration between Bailey and D.C. Heath to produce *The American Pageant*.

⁶⁹ See Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1997) for the original work theorizing paratext. See Leslie Howsam, *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 4.

⁷⁰ See D.C. Heath and Company Records, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Libraries, Syracuse, NY.

Bailey's papers are, of course, not the end of the story. The materials left behind by many other textbook authors in college and university archives greatly supplement the insights from Bailey's papers and provide essential context to his career. The papers of John D. Hicks and Samuel Flagg Bemis are particularly vital to this study. With each collection it is possible to discern how competing authors and their publishers viewed Bailey's work in the marketplace and adjusted their own work to compete. The insights gleaned from these papers also provide a more textured portrait of textbook publishing during World War II and the postwar years. To a lesser extent, the papers of Merle Curti, Richard Hofstadter, Henry Steele Commager, and Daniel Aaron have provided valuable context throughout this dissertation and shed light on the college textbook market for American history books.

Tension Between Traditional Textbook Prose and Stylized, Readable Prose

In 1979 Frances Fitzgerald argued that the "prose style" of nineteenth century textbook writers was unparalleled in the twentieth century.⁷¹ She noted that the books of the twentieth century were "written in terse, declarative sentences" and the texts were stripped of the "old eccentricities of style." In Fitzgerald's opinion, the authors of the twentieth century textbooks hid their opinions behind the dull prose. This claim has stood relatively unchallenged for decades. Perhaps it is time for another look at the textbook genre, contextualizing the books in a new light.

⁷¹ Fitzgerald, *America Revised*, 50.

This dissertation takes a cue from Beth Luey's particularly useful book, *Expanding the American Mind: Books and the Popularization of Knowledge*. There, Luey noticed that "internal correspondence at some publishing houses reveals turf battles over whether a book would be published as a trade paperback or as a textbook, while in other cases the same book would be given two different covers: one stodgy enough to be a textbook and one flashy enough to stand out on bookstore shelves."⁷² As Luey also saw, it was impossible to extricate textbook publishing from the shift in college enrollments and reading habits brought on by the advent of World War II and the G.I. Bill. The period brought on a rapid expansion of potential readers and sales for authors and publishers.⁷³ As this dissertation will argue, this change also opened the door to any textbook author who was able to write in a readable, engaging style. This style, of course, was not welcome to all readers or historians. Gregory Pfitzer's noted that "historians are often interested primarily in the *rise* of intellectual movements" rather than how to communicate these movements to wide audiences. His research acknowledged these developments, but was more "concerned with the emergence of popular history at midcentury as a dominant strategy for understanding and disseminating information about the past."⁷⁴ Though his narrative left off at 1920, it provided a launching point for the narrative in this research. Indeed, debates over the writing styles historians employed in popular and academic histories were integral in debates throughout the 1940s and

⁷² Beth Luey, *Expanding the American Mind: Books and the Popularization of Knowledge* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), 102-103.

⁷³ Luey, *Expanding the American Mind*, 50-53.

⁷⁴ See Gregory M. Pfitzer, *Popular History and the Literary Marketplace, 1940-1920* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 10.

1950s as some historians embarked on a mission to educate readers during World War II and the postwar ambiguity caused by the growing Cold War.

The Textbook as a Pedagogical Technology

Perhaps the most vital concept illustrated throughout this dissertation is the idea that the textbook is a *pedagogical technology*.⁷⁵ Simply put, this dissertation seeks to look at the textbook holistically. The books existed as an amalgamation of textual narrative, maps, illustrations, tables, headings, subheadings, appendices, paper, and coverboards. Little has been done on the part of historians to theorize the relationship between all of these items in history textbooks.

Norm Friesen's *The Textbook and the Lecture: Education in the Age of New Media* provided a starting point for how this dissertation conceptualizes the textbook as *pedagogical technology*. In his work, he paints a portrait of the textbook as a medium constantly molded to suit cultural changes in education. Textbooks, in Friesen's estimation, existed *avant la lettre*, before the "textbook" moniker was created. He attributed this to the "careful visual design and economy" that has existed throughout the history of the textbook. The authorship of each book was essential in constructing this dynamic as was the "deliberate and highly detailed" mode of ordering textbooks. Lastly, Friesen noted the dialogue between author and student inherent in textbook content as a vital part of the book's utility.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ See Jordan M. Reed, "The Textbook as Technology in the Age of Open Education Resources," *The History Teacher* 52, No. 4 (2019), 637-651 for another example of this framework defining the textbook as a pedagogical technology.

⁷⁶ Norm Friesen, *The Textbook & the Lecture: Education in the Age of New Media* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 91-94.

This research is primarily concerned with these two key elements. The relationship between author and readers gives the *pedagogical technology* its usefulness in the classroom. Friesen saw this as especially essential to the *Heidelberg Catechism*, which had a “wide range of detailed typographical variation and cueing” which was “part of a careful and efficient visual organization” constructed by its author. The book also addressed the reader as “you” and created “direct address to those reading and reciting.”⁷⁷ In the twentieth century, this relationship was somewhat different, but the core purpose remained the same—connection to imagined readers. Authors and publishers in the twentieth century sought to craft prose style and layouts that would connect with their readers and effectively impart historical ideas and content.

The second element focuses squarely on the deployment of illustrative material to make meaning for readers, both students consuming the material and educators putting it to pedagogical use. Friesen showed that illustrations were used to “engage the learner to draw conclusions from what he or she already knows and plainly sees.” This mode of student engagement in textbooks is a core feature to the pedagogical technology and “had been developed and refined in textbooks for hundreds of years.”⁷⁸ This dissertation takes a critical look at how this dynamic played out in history textbooks in the middle of the twentieth century. Louis Masur observed of modern history textbooks:

And yet, for all the money, research, and creativity employed in selecting pictures, textbooks do not provide students with even a superficial understanding of the place and meaning of images in American history. Authors do not situate the images in their historical context or locate those images within the history of visual production and reproduction; they do not discuss the images within the narrative, thereby reinforcing the notion that pictures may illustrate but not shape historical events. Nor do the

⁷⁷ Friesen, *The Textbook & the Lecture*, 98.

⁷⁸ Friesen, *The Textbook & the Lecture*, 104-105.

authors interpret these images or suggest how to read them as texts with multiple meanings that speak not only to the past, but to the present.⁷⁹

Masur's observations, made in the final years of the twentieth century, deserve serious examination. Much can be learned from an analysis of how textbook authors and publishers sought to, or failed to, construct meaning for their readers with their illustrative scheme and design format. This dissertation will dig into this process and the textbooks that were created in the middle of the twentieth century.⁸⁰

Chapter Summary

The first chapter of this dissertation places Bailey's early life and career into context. It begins with a look at his childhood reading habits, including textbook reading, which shaped his development as a stylist. Next, it traces his development throughout the process of earning his bachelor's degree, master's degree, and PhD at Stanford University. Of particular interest are his connections to his mentors at Stanford—Ephraim Douglas Adams and Edgar Eugene Robinson—and their influence on his style of teaching. The chapter ends with an analysis of Bailey's early scholarship, particularly his stylistic qualities. Throughout the early portion of his career, Bailey developed an interest in engaging teaching and writing, but had not yet figured out how to translate this into his own writing.

Chapter two examines how Bailey's first textbook, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, married his growing interest in teaching and stylized prose to textbook

⁷⁹ Masur, "'Pictures Have Now Become a Necessity,'" 1410.

⁸⁰ Little work has been done by book historians in this regard, but Matthew Skelton, "The Paratext of Everything: Constructing and Marketing H.G. Wells's *The Outline of History*" *Book History*, Vol. 4 (2001) comes closest to resembling the methodology used in this dissertation.

authorship for the first time. Contextualizing Bailey's career within the divide in the historical profession between pedantic writers and popularizers, the chapter shows that he went head-to-head with Samuel Flagg Bemis, a pedant and the author of the competing *A Diplomatic History of the United States*. This first venture into textbook authorship was ultimately made successful by Bailey's innovation in textbook prose and illustration.

The third chapter takes a look at the effect World War II had on higher education and, by extension, the textbook industry. It is argued here that the transformation in college enrollments made Bailey uniquely positioned to be successful in the college textbook market during the war and in the post-war years. During this time, adopters demanded more readable books. Publishers and authors, including Bemis and Bailey's colleague John D. Hicks, scrambled to create textbooks suitable for military adoption.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, after the success of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, Bailey sought to make his writing and scholarship more accessible to general readers. Chapter four of this dissertation examines this effort by analyzing Bailey's monographic output. During this time, Bailey deliberately wrote to educate the public about foreign policy, particularly the failures of Woodrow Wilson to construct a lasting peace in the aftermath of World War I. He also focused on the power of American public opinion to shape government policy and action. Each of these books also represented a distinct approach to combining illustration with textual material, which built upon Bailey's work in his first textbook. The approach to authorship Bailey constructed in the 1940s and 1950s ultimately became the foundation for his authorship of *The American Pageant*.

The final pair of chapters deal specifically with the creation of *The American Pageant* and its reception on the textbook market. Chapter five provides a comprehensive narrative of the massive number of publishers pursuing Bailey's manuscript, appealing to his desire to craft a readable textbook with a pedagogically useful set of visual material. Further, Bailey's editorial relationship with his publisher, D.C. Heath and Company, is detailed in full as they worked to create a textbook ideally suited for the postwar college textbook market. Attention is also paid to the reaction of Bailey's competitors and extensive peer review network. Indeed, Bailey's colleagues, fellow historians, read and commented on his manuscript. This process molded Bailey's stylistic approach to textbook writing and provided a solid foundation for success after publication.

The final chapter provides a history of the reception of *The American Pageant*. Here, particular attention is paid to how the book was an immediate commercial success because of the stylistic and pedagogical approach Bailey and D.C. Heath infused into the book. Most importantly, there is extensive analysis of how readers—historians, teachers, and students—provided extensive feedback on the first edition of the textbook and shaped future editions. Lastly, the chapter examines how Bailey's immediate success grew *The American Pageant* brand and resulted in ancillary materials, including a primary source reader, quiz book, and subsequent editions of *The American Pageant*.

A closing Epilogue briefly sketches the changing historical profession in the 1960s and 1970s and examines Bailey's complex relationship with these trends. During this time, Bailey resisted the new revisionist scholarship challenging traditional historical interpretations. He also stepped up his critiques of these interpretations and authored new books in this context. Some of these projects sought to educate citizens and voters, much

like Bailey's writing of the 1940s and 1950s. Other projects represented new approaches to textbook authorship. Through all of this, Bailey's style of textbook writing remained a powerful force on the textbook market for historians, educators, and students until his death in the 1980s and continued into the twenty-first century.

CHAPTER 2: THOMAS A. BAILEY'S FOUNDATIONS AS TEXTBOOK

AUTHOR

The stylistic flair Bailey showed during his career as an author and historian had its roots in his childhood reading habits. Early on, he developed an enthusiasm for reading fiction, including Horatio Alger's novels and George Alfred Henty's juvenile historical fiction. Bailey recalled he "was inclined to skip the historical background to get on with the breathless adventures of the young hero" in each book.⁸¹ His response as a young reader to Alger's and Henty's writing was actively cultivated by the authors and their respective publishers. Alger's reputation, as shown in advertising material, indicated that he "never" authored "a poor book" and utilized a "most fascinating style" to reach his readers.⁸² Similarly, Henty was "one of the best storytellers for young readers" who held "the very first rank" for authors of historical adventure. Recalling his own love for Henty's books, historian James Lea Cate assessed Henty's style as "simple and forthright" with "no artificial effort to recreate the past with archaic words like eftsoons and forsooth and zounds." The prose style Henty utilized was "easy to follow through," a testament to his ability to "tell a story with real skill."⁸³ This skill was applied to his prose in an effort to immerse readers in the contemporary settings in which his stories were placed. His descriptions of New York City throughout his books provided "his readers

⁸¹ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 7.

⁸² The advertisements referenced are taken from the "Books for Boys" advertisement section at the end of G.A. Henty, *Maori and Settler: A Story of the New Zealand War* (New York, NY: A.L. Burt, Publisher, Undated).

⁸³ James Lea Cate, "With Henty in Texas: A Tale of a Boy's Historian," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (1964), 166-167.

delightfully intimate glimpses into the lurid lives of the underprivileged” and “pander[ed] to their hunger for romantic adventures in dangerous and exotic locales.”⁸⁴

Undeniably, the “young readers” both Alger and Henty intended to reach in their historical writing were Bailey and other young boys in the early decades of the twentieth century. Prefaces to Henty’s work frequently started with “My Dear Lads,” addressing his male readers.⁸⁵ Alger’s works were part of his “Series for Boys,” published to “please the very large class of boys who regard Mr. Alger as a favorite author.”⁸⁶ Henty was “The Prince of Story Tellers,” “The Boy’s Own Historian,” and “a preserver and propagator of history amongst boys.”⁸⁷ Horatio Alger’s work served a similar function and “charmed young readers with stories of Ragged Dick” and “exploited the rags-to-riches theme...to lure readers to what might otherwise have been too grim a subject for juvenile fiction.”⁸⁸ Of course, these books played a significant role in the formation of male readers’ identities, emphasizing themes of social mobility and good character. Like many of his fellow readers, Bailey absorbed this conceptualization of American history in his early years.

⁸⁴ Thomas L. Hartshorne, “Horatio Alger in Harlem: ‘Manchild in the Promised Land,’” *Journal of American Studies* 24, no. 2 (1990), 244.

⁸⁵ For more examples of the use of “My Dear Lads” see the G.A. Henty, *Maori and Settler: A Story of the New Zealand War* (New York, NY: A.L. Burt, Publisher, Undated), v; G.A. Henty, *In the Heart of the Rockies: A Story of Adventure in Colorado* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1894), 5. See Robert A. Huttenback, “G. A. Henty and the Imperial Stereotype,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (1965), 63 for more information about Henty’s audience of “virtually all boys.” Glenn Hendler, “Pandering in the Public Sphere: Masculinity and the Market in Horatio Alger,” *American Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (1996), 415-38 provides more context for Alger’s place in the market for male readers.

⁸⁶ See the advertisement for Alger’s books in Horatio Alger, Jr., *Andy Gordon or The Fortunes of a Young Janitor* (New York, NY: Hurst & Company, Undated), 2. See also, Henty, *Maori and Settler*, 83-84.

⁸⁷ G.A. Henty, *The Golden Cañon* (Chicago, IL: M.A. Donohue & Co., Undated), v.

⁸⁸ Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation*, 223. See also Roy Schwartzman, “Recasting the American Dream Through Horatio Alger’s Success Stories,” *Studies in Popular Culture* 23, no. 2 (2000), 76; Madonne M. Miner “Horatio Alger’s ‘Ragged Dick’: Projection, Denial and Double-Dealing,” *American Imago* 47, no. 3/4 (1990), 233; and Hartshorne, “Horatio Alger in Harlem,” 243 for more context regarding Alger’s narrative structure.

While Alger's and Henty's approach to writing historical novels is notable, the style with which Henty did so left perhaps the most significant impact on Bailey. His interpretation of American history and character would grow more nuanced during his career as a professional historian, but Bailey's stylistic convictions as an author would closely resemble Henty's throughout the bulk of his career. Henty's approach allowed him to "invest the dry facts of history with life, and make them attractive to the modern schoolboy." This style's implications for the historical content within the book is essential to understand. Accuracy was a prime consideration in Henty's authorship. One scholar described Henty's efforts to preface his books with a letter addressed to "My Dear Lads" as an effort to set the stage for a "homely truth."⁸⁹ Another scholar indicated that Henty "prided himself on historical fidelity." Of course, the actual accuracy of his narrative is questionable. According to one scholar, Henty's work was "often in error about generalizations and in details."⁹⁰ Henty did, however, understand that the illusion of historical accuracy was essential to maintain credibility with his readers.

There was a practical element to this approach as well. By making these historical facts engaging, Henty said it was "questionable if history has any better means of fixing itself in the minds of youthful readers than as it is read in the pages" of his historical fiction.⁹¹ This stylistic idea was useful for Henty and echoes the style of textbook writing Bailey would cultivate in his later years. It is difficult to draw any direct connections to Bailey's early reading habits and his later authorship. The archival record for his life

⁸⁹ See Lea Cate, "With Henty in Texas," 160; Huttenback, "G. A. Henty and the Imperial Stereotype," 64, 66.

⁹⁰ Godfrey Davies, "G. A. Henty and History," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1955), 159, 165.

⁹¹ Henty, *The Golden Cañon*, v, x-xi.

before 1930 is virtually non-existent. The best sources available are Bailey's own recollections of his childhood reading and how it shaped his writing. However, it is notable that he chose to start his own memoir, *The American Pageant Revisited*, with his own childhood exposure to the lively historical writing of Alger and Henty. When read within the context of this memoir it appears that at least Bailey saw some connection between his later textbook style and interest in the works of Alger and Henty. This is especially true given that the title of the memoir alludes to his later textbook, *The American Pageant*.

The authors of his favored historical writing were not his only influences. Bailey's mother, Annie Mary Nelson, was particularly influential on his early life and education. Perhaps most importantly, she helped to mold his reading habits. According to Bailey's memory she was a "remarkable woman who loved children, books, and teaching."⁹² Through her, Bailey also found other early influences on what would become the distinct style found in his textbooks. *Poor Richard's Almanac*, a favorite that came from his mother's "New England background," provided him "a steady diet of proverbs." These sayings stuck with Bailey and "worked their way" into his later "conversation and writing," including his later monographs and textbooks. As he developed as a scholar his writings would come to exhibit both a stylistic flair using catchy proverbs.⁹³

⁹² Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 1-3, 6-7. In the first pages of this chapter I cite heavily from this single source, Bailey's personal memoirs, because it remains the only comprehensive account of Bailey's early years. Other secondary sources also rely heavily on the memoir when discussing Bailey's biographical background. See Langley, "The Diplomatic Historians"; Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*; DeConde, "Thomas A. Bailey: Teacher, Scholar, Popularizer"; O'Connor, "Thomas A. Bailey: His Impact." In lieu of citing these secondary sources, I have chosen to rely on Bailey's own recollections in *The American Pageant Revisited* in my analysis.

⁹³ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 10.

In 1915, grammar school textbooks started to hold Bailey's attention as he commenced his "formal introduction to American history" in California schools. Later, at Santa Clara High School, Bailey was exposed to the many "dreary, colorless textbook[s]" used in each course, but there was one exception.⁹⁴ David Saville Muzzey's classic text *An American History* (1911), originally purchased for his high school American history course, influenced Bailey throughout his career. At the time, the book was perhaps the most dominant textbook on the market with some estimates stating it held the largest market share until the 1930s, and continued in print for a total of sixty-five years. In her study of history textbooks, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century*, Frances Fitzgerald noted that Muzzey's books were "in comparison with other history texts...wonderfully lively and colorful" as "verbs always carry the sentences, and the sentences are varied enough to create nice changes of rhythm." Muzzey's narrative histories were "full of characters" who possessed "beliefs, emotions, and voices of their own."⁹⁵ Muzzey's approach to writing history engaged his readers, including a young Bailey. His interest in Muzzey's style was solidified as he was home ill for six weeks with the Spanish Influenza in 1918. During that time, he was forced to outline the entirety of the book in lieu of his attendance to class. These stylistic characteristics of Muzzey's work had staying power in Bailey's pedagogy. Muzzey's *An American History* was later used as reference to sharpen and expand lectures he delivered at Stanford. The text's "clarity" resonated with Bailey throughout his career. In it, he saw its "gracefully and lucidly written" prose and a narrative with "more than a little sparkle" and "anecdotal

⁹⁴ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 13.

⁹⁵ Fitzgerald, *America Revised*, 59-61.

coloration.” Bailey noted the book shunned “tedious detail” and the “barren parade of proper names and dates” that burdened other books.⁹⁶ The result, in Bailey’s estimation, was a more readable textbook tailored to elicit student interest.

Bailey’s memories of Muzzey’s impact came at the end of his career, published shortly before his death. They were, however, revealing as to his mindset as an author. In these reflections it was clear that Bailey attributed much of his later authorship to the engaging reading experiences he had as a child. There is reason to believe that Bailey’s response to Muzzey’s work was typical, a direct result of Muzzey’s style. Fitzgerald mentioned a personal friend who read Muzzey’s work as a child. The friend recalled: “I had Muzzey... Wonderful book. I’ll never forget the scene of Lincoln after the battle of Gettysburg looking over the graves in the cemetery and a voice crying out to him, ‘Calhoun! Calhoun!’” Fitzgerald’s friend’s memory was not wholly accurate, since the Muzzey book actually included an anecdote of William Lloyd Garrison speaking at a banquet, not Lincoln. After, Muzzey included the refrain, “Did the echoes of his voice reach a grave over which stood a marble stone engraved with the single word ‘Calhoun?’” No matter the friend’s flawed memory, Fitzgerald noted that the “dramatic irony” of the passage was recalled, which “was surely the essence” of what Muzzey hoped to communicate.⁹⁷ This was made possible, above all else, by Muzzey’s narrative style which emphasized storytelling above historical detail and fact. Later, Bailey’s textbooks

⁹⁶ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 8-10, 113-116.

⁹⁷ Fitzgerald, *America Revised*, 18. David Saville Muzzey, *A History of Our Country: A Textbook for High School Students* (Boston, MA: Ginn and Company, 1936), 420.

would be authored with a similar purpose. Bailey believed “it is better to remember the coloration and general impression” of a historical event “than nothing at all.”⁹⁸

Like Fitzgerald’s friend, Muzzey’s penchant for storytelling reinforced his historical interpretations in Bailey’s mind. His mindset as a teenager in the early twentieth century was augmented by Muzzey’s work. He recalled developing “pro-Ally sentiments” during World War I and was “shocked” to find one girl in his grade publicly displaying “pro-German sympathies.” He served as a local orator to promote Liberty Loans as one of George Creel’s “Four Minute Men,” filling his speeches with “blasts at the Kaiser and his goose-stepping minions.”⁹⁹ Reading Muzzey’s book in 1918 cemented the patriotic mindset he had started to develop during the duration of World War I. He left this experience with an expected, idealistic outlook on American history, which comes from reading these texts, which favored the Patriots over the Loyalists, Lincoln’s Union over the Southern traitors, and a thoroughly anti-British mindset.¹⁰⁰ In later years, Bailey’s own historical judgments would evolve to be more critical of the United States, but aspects of his early education in American nationalism were never quite phased out.

Though Bailey’s formative years in California, his mother’s love of reading and education had perhaps the greatest impact in paving his path toward a career as a historian and author. From 1919-1920, as he completed high school, Bailey grew increasingly interested in current events as he read the *Literary Digest* and the *Review of*

⁹⁸ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 182.

⁹⁹ Thomas A. Bailey, “Confessions of a Diplomatic Historian,” *Newsletter – Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations*, Vol. 4, No 3 (1975), 2-3.

¹⁰⁰ For more context on Muzzey’s perspective see Fitzgerald, *America Revised*, 61-70; for Muzzey’s view of American identity, particularly race, see Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation*, 148-153, 161-162, 167-168, 184-185, 226-227.

Reviews to which his mother subscribed. She was also the reason he ultimately attended Stanford University, a decision she had made for her son at an early age. Bailey's mother followed the founding of Stanford in 1891 "with keen interest" and decided to spare her son what he described as "the uncertainties of two choices: whether to go to college and where to go." Though his mother initially intended for Bailey to become a lawyer, the decision proved consequential for his eventual professional path. In his memoir, Bailey remembered this period as one of "Higher Yearning and Learning." Because of his mother's wisdom in this area of his life, Bailey yearned and learned and he did so at an institution with a particularly significant history and educational culture of its own.¹⁰¹ This context enabled him to, over time, wed his growing stylistic sensibilities with his own historical interpretations.

Bailey at Stanford University

Surely, Bailey's convictions as an author and educator are inextricably linked to his institutional context at Stanford University and its department of history. He spent the bulk of his life as an undergraduate and graduate student there from 1920-1927 before returning as a member of the faculty in 1930. During this time, the university modeled a distinct culture of pedagogy and progressive education. In this culture, Bailey formed his identity as an educator. Upon the university's founding in 1891, then named Leland Stanford Junior Memorial University, inaugural president David Starr Jordan expressed a vision for the institution's academic culture:

¹⁰¹ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 18, 20, 25.

Some day our universities will recognize that their most important professors may be men who teach no classes, devoting their time and strength wholly to advanced research....They set high standards of thought. They help to create the university spirit, without which any college is but a grammar school of little higher pretensions.¹⁰²

As demonstrated in Starr Jordan's remarks, the ideal of research, characteristic of all emerging research universities across the United States in the late nineteenth century, was intrinsic to the culture at Stanford. Alongside Berkeley, Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Harvard, and Wisconsin, Stanford was developing as one of the leading research universities to emerge in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Influenced by the German research university, these institutions supposedly prized research activity above all else.¹⁰³

However, this was not the sole purpose of the university founders Leland and Jane Lathrop Stanford created. Starr Jordan also viewed "personal contact of young men and young women with scholars and investigators" as a central tenet of the university culture forming at the institution.¹⁰⁴ Under the leadership of Starr Jordan and sole trustee, Jane Lathrop Stanford, the educational mission expressed in the early years of the university vacillated between these stated ideals of research, practical training, and the "development of the soul."¹⁰⁵ All of this was facilitated by the faculty of scholars hired

¹⁰² As quoted in Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*, 19.

¹⁰³ David Labaree, *A Perfect Mess: The Unlikely Ascendancy of American Higher Education* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2017), 53; Laurence Veysey, "The Plural Organized Worlds of the Humanities" in Alexandra Oleson and John Voss, *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America, 1860-1920* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 42.

¹⁰⁴ As quoted from David Starr Jordan's inaugural address in Hugh Hawkins, "University Identity: The Teaching and Research Functions" in Oleson and Voss, *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America*, 287.

¹⁰⁵ Jane Lathrop Stanford, *The Leland Stanford University: Address to the Trustees, February 11, 1897* (Stanford University, CA, 1897), p. 7-8 as quoted in Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American Research University* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 399.

by the institution. Indeed, the Stanford academic culture “located the professor-student relationship as central to forming the student’s moral character.” In *How Scholars Trumped Teachers: Change Without Reform in University Curriculum, Teaching, and Research 1890-1990*, Larry Cuban argued this mission was to “inspire a love of learning” which led students to discover “practical use for what had been learned.” This vision is closely aligned with the “California Idea” that characterized higher education institutions in the state from the late nineteenth century throughout the early twentieth. The idea coincided with the rise of California Progressives, who valued rational policy making and believed that it was possible to achieve. This group of individuals also viewed their own university education as the key to their own success and the panacea for a variety of social and economic woes.¹⁰⁶ Stanford’s early decades were influenced by these ideals, including the education of future president, engineer and humanitarian, Herbert Hoover.¹⁰⁷

Perhaps most important was the system’s desired outcome of “unity of morality and knowledge in a faculty-student bond where friendliness, respect, and cooperation could be cultivated.”¹⁰⁸ Progressive reformers viewed their preferred practical education as a way to train a labor force and maximize the value of its work, however, the Stanford history department was more closely associated with another related facet of the progressive model—molding productive citizens. The vision that David Starr Jordan

¹⁰⁶ See John Aubrey Douglass, *The California Idea and American Higher Education: 1850 to the 1960 Master Plan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 84-87; John Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, Second Edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 138-140. See also John R. Thelin, “California and the Colleges,” *California Historical Quarterly* 56 (Summer 1977): 140-63 (part 1); 56 (Fall 1977): 230-49 (part 2).

¹⁰⁷ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 139-140. Herbert Hoover, in later years, also provided comment of Thomas A. Bailey’s textbooks and access to the Hoover Papers at the Hoover Institution.

¹⁰⁸ Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*, 17.

provided for the university sought to use the means of liberal education to cause social change. The students educated at Stanford were to use their education to craft solutions to the challenges faced by Californians and the United States. The faculty at Stanford used their expertise to mentor students to seek a practical, useful education. This model of progressivism permeated the culture Bailey inhabited as a student and then later shaped him as a historian and educator.

Following the progressive model, ideals of citizenship held a prominent place in Stanford's curriculum throughout the early twentieth century. Ray Lyman Wilbur was named president in 1916 after his friend and Stanford trustee Herbert Hoover advocated for his appointment. Wilbur's tenure was marked by significant curricular transformation. During that time, a faculty committee proposed changes and reoriented the university's required coursework more deliberately toward the ideals of "liberal education."¹⁰⁹ In an effort to align the curriculum with practices set by Columbia University, the University of Chicago, Williams College, and Dartmouth College, a new course was created: "Problems of Citizenship." It was formulated as a general education requirement to mold citizens within Stanford classrooms. The Stanford University *Annual Report* of 1920, the year Bailey started as a Stanford undergraduate, provided a rationale for the creation of the course. It asserted:

...these freshmen are destined to become leaders in their respective communities. They are forming the political, economic, and social ideas that will characterize that leadership. And they are forming them now while the air is full of strange doctrines and without waiting for a critical and scholarly insight. Can the University not render a substantial social service by providing a sound basis of elementary scientific facts and principles by which the validity of these doctrines may be tested?¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ As quoted in Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*, 22-23.

¹¹⁰ From the Stanford University Annual Report as quoted in Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*, 24.

The ideals of this curriculum revision and the resulting classroom experiences shaped Thomas Bailey's formative years as a Stanford undergraduate. Bailey's formal high school teacher credential, issued by Ellwood Cubberley, Director of the School of Education in 1927, lists the "Citizenship" course as part of his official academic record.¹¹¹ Cubberley was, himself, a significant figure pushing forward progressive education reforms from the School of Education at Stanford. While his influence on Bailey and the Stanford History Department is difficult to state definitively, he did provide another facet of the progressive spirit that took hold in the early decades of Stanford's existence.¹¹²

While Bailey had always been exposed to stylized, engaging historical writing, it took time to develop a suitable purpose for his published work. Constantly exposed to citizenship education in the Stanford history department, he would later find that purpose in his mission to educate citizens, leaders, and policymakers with his writing. Much of the history outlined throughout this dissertation chronicles the manner in which Bailey developed this vision as textbook author.

Bailey's Mentors

Bailey's experience in the "Citizenship" course was shaped by the faculty members who developed and taught the class. These men would later become Bailey's

¹¹¹ High School Teacher's Credential and Attached Academic Record, July 15, 1927, Box 1, Folder 1, Thomas Andrew Bailey Papers (SC0054). Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, Calif.

¹¹² For more on Cubberley at Stanford see Douglass, *The California Idea and American Higher Education*, 89-92.

mentors and colleagues as he was an undergraduate, graduate student, and faculty member at Stanford. Among these figures was Ephraim D. Adams, who established Bailey's eventual field of study, diplomatic history, at Stanford. Another was Edgar Eugene Robinson, who took on the task of coordinating the "Citizenship" course.¹¹³ Adams was an educator operating in a system where he was fulfilling what Cuban referred to as the "value-laden task" of creating "active citizens." Cuban also noted that this tension was an essential part of the culture of Stanford's Department of History, especially when historians authored textbooks. Adams was in the process of doing precisely this at the time of his death.¹¹⁴ It was no coincidence that Bailey's mentors at Stanford were interested in writing history for use in American schools.

Adams's influence on Bailey was profound, not limited to ideals of citizenship and educating students. He also provided Bailey with stylistic inspiration. Bailey showed particular interest in Adams's performance in lectures. He remembered his former mentor "as a very engaging gentleman, rather small in stature who lectured with machine-gun rapidity." Echoing his praise of Muzzey's style, Bailey said Adams's lectures themselves "were beautifully organized and delivered with extreme clarity."¹¹⁵ The style was so memorable that when Bailey wrote his memoir he noted that Adams "brought home to [Bailey] the value of the short illustrative anecdote or the pungent phrase" which became "used in both [Bailey's] writing and lecturing" like the proverbs he gleaned from *Poor Richard's Almanac*. The impact, according to Bailey, was also prevalent decades later on the pages of his textbooks. He cited an anecdote of Adams lecturing on "the European

¹¹³ Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*, 26, 92.

¹¹⁴ Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*, 93.

¹¹⁵ Thomas A. Bailey to Diane Howell, June 2, 1947, Box 3, Folder 26, Bailey Papers.

immigrant to America who wrote home about the joys of ‘three meat meals a day.’” What Bailey remembered the most was Adams’s quip that the diet “was probably not good for [the immigrant].” To Bailey, this was also representative of the impact a teacher could have as “his thoughts and words are carried on by geometrical progression through his students and their students.”¹¹⁶ Here, it was evident that Adams’s style connected Bailey’s childhood reading habits and his developing interest in history education at Stanford. From Adams, Bailey learned to connect lively style with pedagogical purpose for the first time.

Perhaps even more influential than Adams was the “progressive reformism” of Edgar Eugene Robinson.¹¹⁷ Cuban noted Robinson was part of the core group of faculty who “prized pedagogy” and placed a heavy emphasis on mentorship with the purpose of promoting good citizenship.¹¹⁸ Lecturing was Robinson’s strength, much like Adams. Bailey remembered him as “a gifted public speaker, blessed with a platform presence that [he had] never seen surpassed by any other man.”¹¹⁹ Another former student of Robinson’s recalled a lecture where he donned the attire of a cowboy—“ten-gallon hat and bandanna”—in order to enliven a lecture about the men of the frontier.¹²⁰ Together Adams and Robinson served to increase Bailey’s nascent interest in blending historical scholarship with an engaging, if not over-the-top, style for the purpose of education.

Bailey’s postgraduate record also revealed a deep investment in education and Robinson’s emphasis on teaching history. In addition to “Problems of Citizenship,” he

¹¹⁶ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 71.

¹¹⁷ Kennedy, “Thomas A. Bailey as Textbook Author,” 11.

¹¹⁸ Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*, 118.

¹¹⁹ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 71.

¹²⁰ Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*, 120.

completed courses on “History in America,” “Junior High School,” “Principles of Secondary Education,” “Practice Teaching,” and “Methods and Management.”¹²¹ In 1926, during his PhD work at Stanford, Bailey acted as an Instructor in “Citizenship” after an invitation from Robinson. His enthusiasm for the appointment was varied. Bailey recalled “the course covered too broad an area and too many disciplines for anyone to claim expertise in any one of them.” He appreciated the course’s use of the Socratic method to get students thinking about broad issues of citizenship, but he worried that the course was too scattered in subject to be taught effectively.¹²² Later, after joining the faculty, Bailey supported the continuation of this “Citizenship” course despite faculty efforts to alter the requirement in the Stanford curriculum given the perceived subjectivity of its content and purpose. Likely, Bailey was sympathetic to the broad educational aims of the course as laid out by Robinson, but pedagogically it was overwhelming for an instructor early in his career, no matter how distinguished an educator he would become. The experience was, however, a point of exposure in Bailey’s broader development as a historian with a civic mission.

As a student at Stanford, Bailey’s development as historian and educator was in its nascence. His mentors recognized this. Robinson’s earliest thoughts on Bailey’s potential were recorded in a letter of reference he provided in support of Bailey’s 1924 application for a Rhodes Scholarship. Writing in that same year, Robinson indicated the utmost respect for Bailey’s scholarship and “distinctly original thought.” However,

¹²¹ Thomas A. Bailey’s Postgraduate Record, Box 1, Folder 1, Bailey Papers; Thomas A. Bailey to Edgar Eugene Robinson, January 24, 1934, Box 1, Folder 10, Bailey Papers.

¹²² Edgar Eugene Robinson to Herbert Eugene Bolton, February 12, 1926, Box 4, Folder 20, Edgar Eugene Robinson Papers (SC0029B). Dept. of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, Calif.; Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 85.

Robinson did not yet see the stylistic flair that Bailey would become known for in his writing. He remarked, “[Bailey] has not, as yet, developed any marked ability in writing, although his papers are marked by clarity and finality.”¹²³ As evidenced in Robinson’s comments, Bailey’s style was not an immediate development in his career. It would not begin to form in full until he planned to write his first textbook, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. No matter, the foundation for what would become his distinct style as textbook author was set.

Even if Bailey had not fully developed as a writer, his commitment as a teacher was already growing rapidly. Bailey’s motivation to communicate history to students was perhaps the most significant development in this period. In 1925, while spending a year of his graduate work at the University of California at Berkeley, Bailey wrote to Robinson that “teaching is by far the most enjoyable part of my work.” In his six sections of classes, Bailey found students who were “encouragingly responsive to [his] efforts.” He also saw these teaching duties as intertwined with his scholarly pursuits since his readings for upcoming doctoral examinations helped secure “historical data more firmly in [his] mind” since he had to teach the same concepts to his students.¹²⁴ The time at the University of California also provided Bailey another mentor in teaching—Herbert Eugene Bolton. Much like his recollections of Adams and Robinson at Stanford, Bailey praised Bolton as a highly effective lecturer” capable of captivating a large lecture hall with his “History of the Americas” course. He noted how Bolton’s method utilized the “acoustically excellent Wheeler Auditorium” and allowed students to take “meaningful

¹²³ Edgar Eugene Robinson to Farnham P. Griffiths, October 31, 1924, Box 3, Folder 15, Robinson Papers.

¹²⁴ Thomas A. Bailey to Edgar Eugene Robinson, November 8, 1925, Box 3, Folder 18, Robinson Papers.

notes.” Bolton’s attention to his “gigantic and specially constructed maps” also caught Bailey’s attention.¹²⁵ Again, Bailey was drawn to a historian who possessed a penchant for clarity and novelty of presentation.

Bailey was also impressed by Bolton’s writing for students. In 1928 Bolton published his *History of the Americas: A Syllabus with Maps* with Ginn and Company. Bolton aimed to provide “freshness” with this book in light of the stale United States history courses at colleges and universities. He saw the standard course as a simple rehashing of the history education provided in grade schools. The resulting book emphasized “colonial policies, commerce, industry, and culture, colonial expansion and international rivalry” and “the wars of independence..., the development of the independent American nations, their relations to one another and with the rest of the world.” Further, it was based on his successful course at the University of California.¹²⁶ Bailey expressed admiration for innovative and engaging works of history education, particularly schoolbooks like Bolton’s syllabus. He described the work as “beautifully done” and pointed to the “clarity of [Bolton’s] invaluable lecture summaries...and the amazingly large number of pertinent and hitherto unpublished maps.”¹²⁷ To Bailey, this presentation was indicative of an effective textbook.

For both Bailey and his mentors, an engaging lecture and presentation style were the means to impart a useful liberal education. In 1930, Bailey was set to return to

¹²⁵ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 80-81.

¹²⁶ Herbert Eugene Bolton, *History of the Americas: A Syllabus with Maps* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1928), iii iv. See the Preface for a further articulation of Bolton’s purpose and goals.

¹²⁷ Ginn and Company to Thomas A. Bailey, January 28, 1929, Bailey Papers. The letter, while from Ginn and Company, includes a re-statement of what Bailey sent to the publisher in support of Bolton’s *History of the Americas*.

Stanford as an Assistant Professor of History after three years at the University of Hawaii. Before Bailey's return, Robinson laid out his own vision of the teaching model at the university in a memo written upon Bailey's hiring. Robinson saw the "useful knowledge" provided in history courses as "liberalizing" in a way that any "confused" student "may be made to see." Here, Robinson's commitment to progressive ideals of liberal education WAS apparent. His, and the history faculty's, mission was to contribute to the education of students in need of an education to make well rounded citizens. In his charge to Bailey, Robinson noted that Bailey's task was "twofold" in the department. Bailey needed dual commitment to "teaching a student," especially delivering liberal education to undergraduates, and "developing a subject" through his scholarship and training graduate students.¹²⁸ Robinson attributed this dual aim to Stanford's founding, and Jane Lathrop Stanford's and David Starr Jordan's visions for the institution, as a research university rather than teaching college. Robinson saw Bailey's potential as a researcher and teacher, imploring that it was Bailey's "duty to carry on."¹²⁹

Bailey as Historian

Bailey's foundations as an educator and author were influenced, in part, by the "New History" tradition and particularly the progressive historians of the time. A few core intellectual threads are present in Bailey's work, particularly as it relates to his efforts as author to promote good citizenship and make history accessible. James Harvey Robinson, the intellectual father of what became the "New History," saw history's role in

¹²⁸ Edgar Eugene Robinson to Thomas A. Bailey, October 31, 1930, Box 1, Folder 4, Bailey Papers.

¹²⁹ Edgar Eugene Robinson to Thomas A. Bailey, January 10, 1929, Box 1, Folder 2, Bailey Papers.

informing the progressive momentum of modern society. “This appears to be the most impressive message that history has to give us, and the most vital in the light that it casts on the conduct of life,” Robinson wrote in his seminal *The New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* in 1912.¹³⁰ For Robinson and his contemporaries, it became essential for history to be an instrument of “social betterment” as an increasing number of leading intellectuals of the time invoked history to inform progressive agendas. Peter Novick suggested that this mission was cast in a particular context that provided an imperative for progressive historians to counter the intellectual tendencies of the preceding conservative generation. Conservatives were too inclined to apply the wisdom of the past to the present, even though intellectual trends and historical context were vastly different.¹³¹ Fitzpatrick noted that “some argued that a new paradigm was needed, one that forged clearer connections between the discipline and the realities of contemporary history.”¹³² To progressive historians, history had to have relevance to shed light on events and educate readers.

This emphasis on presentism and reality became somewhat of a rallying cry for the progressive historians.¹³³ “We must develop historical-mindedness upon a far more generous scale than hitherto, for this will add a still deficient element in our intellectual equipment and will promote rational progress as nothing else can do,” wrote James Harvey Robinson.¹³⁴ Ellen Fitzpatrick noted in *History’s Memory: Writing America’s*

¹³⁰ James Harvey Robinson, *The New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* (New York, NY: The Macmillan Company, 1912), 251-252.

¹³¹ Robinson, *The New History*, 252; Novick, *The Noble Dream*, 94.

¹³² Fitzpatrick, *History’s Memory*, 185.

¹³³ See Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 98 on presentism and Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians*, 184 on reality.

¹³⁴ Robinson, *The New History*, 24.

Past, 1880-1980 that the “New History” promoted new approaches to history so that historians could more readily develop this “historical-mindedness.” There was a growing interest in histories of the “masses” as they were essential to the practice of democracy. The approach “made much of the importance of writing the history of ‘common’ men and women, as opposed to brilliant statesmen, skillful politicians, and valiant warriors.” In pursuit of these narratives, the “New History” was open to social scientific approaches to generate evidence. The movement and one of its intellectual leaders, Charles Beard, “exhorted” individuals “to seize control of their future through education and other forms of self-improvement” in hopes that such action would “advance progress for all humanity.” This was taken up with enthusiasm by a younger generation of historians eager to break away from the conservative predilections of the elders of the field.¹³⁵

Bailey’s tie to this progressive intellectual movement was direct. His mentor, Edgar Eugene Robinson, had studied at the University of Wisconsin under Frederick Jackson Turner.¹³⁶ The interest in teaching and citizenship education Bailey absorbed from Robinson was directly connected to progressives’ interest in communicating the past in a new way with a deliberate purpose. For Bailey, this meant moving away from histories that merely gathered and presented facts and embraced narrative histories with a purpose. His mentors at Stanford did not fit perfectly with the currents of the New History promoted by Beard and his colleagues. Ephraim Douglass Adams pushed back against Beard’s strict adherence to the economic interpretation of American history and the Constitution. He felt economic interpretations subordinated “an emotion, a sentiment,

¹³⁵ Fitzpatrick, *History’s Memory*, 16-17, 53, 70, 97.

¹³⁶ Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*, 119.

or an ideal” as motivating forces in history. These were known to be the “all powerful spring[s] of conduct, and the prime cause of political action” despite sometimes being “directly contrary to economic interests.”¹³⁷ While the group of historians at Stanford certainly sympathized with the effort to educate citizens with new historical interpretations, they were not wholly in agreement with the economic determinism that permeated much of the scholarship of the time, especially Beard’s work.¹³⁸ Bailey would build upon the foundations his mentors provided, shying away from an economic interpretation of American history to show contemporary sentiment. Instead, he looked to public opinion as the animating force of American diplomatic history. From this, he would glean lessons to impart to students in his classroom and reading his textbooks.

It should also be noted that the “New History” and its followers did not necessarily align directly with the efforts to build social studies curriculum. Bailey remained closely involved with these developments at Stanford, though his connections to the social studies movement remain largely intellectual and philosophical rather than pedagogical. The American Historical Association’s Commission on the Social Studies and the associated National Council for Social Studies (NCSS) met resistance as historians focused more on their commitment to scholarly research instead of teaching. When initiated in 1922, the NCSS was “to lay the foundations for training democratic citizens,” particularly in elementary and secondary schools. The council’s mission sought to achieve this goal by “promoting co-operation among those who are responsible for

¹³⁷ Ephraim Douglass Adams, *The Power Ideals in American History* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1969), 59-60 as quoted in Pfitzer, *Popular History and the Literary Marketplace, 1840-1920*, 284.

¹³⁸ See Townsend, *History’s Babel*, 77-80 for more information about the professional and historiographical diversity of the “New History” movement.

such training, including at least the university departments which contribute knowledge of facts and principles to civic education.”¹³⁹ Of course, these goals mirror closely the hopes that the “New History” would better inform the present. The presentism of the New Historians, however, did not directly translate into social studies education. Charles Beard was especially vocal against the social studies. Bailey would have likely expressed comparable sentiments at the time. Beard attacked the “social studies which discard or minimize history.” He deemed the curriculum to be “superficial in the worst sense of that word.” Beard also critiqued textbooks of the time for a “slovenly, third-rate style.” Problems-based courses lacked the proper depth of study that the topics required.¹⁴⁰

In later years, Bailey expressed a concern that would have sounded familiar to Beard. This is especially vital to understanding Bailey’s approach to history education as a textbook author. In his objection to social studies approaches to history education, we can likely see his reasons for eventually resisting writing for high school history classrooms. Instead, writing for college audiences allowed him to keep his textbooks closer in line with the historical scholarship at the time, which he deemed more adequate in educating citizens. Bailey lamented:

My chief complaint against Social Studies as I understand them is that they are being made a catchall, that history is being shoved off to one side, and that the student comes away from these courses with a smattering of a number of things with a grasp of nothing. I do not believe that the number of units of history required of the prospective teacher are adequate. I shudder to think of what goes on in the classroom if the poorly prepared students we turn out have to take over. Yet I realize that they are probably

¹³⁹ “National Council for the Social Studies,” *The American Historical Review* Vol. 23, No. 3 (April 1922), 491. The same announcement was published as “National Council for the Social Studies,” *The Journal of Education* Vol. 95, No. 18 (May 1922), 491.

¹⁴⁰ Charles A Beard, “A Memorandum from an Old Worker in the Vineyard,” *Social Education*, Vol. 2 (September, 1938), 383, 384 as quoted in Tyrrell, *Historians in Public*, 128.

better prepared than many who are drafted, including football coaches, to teach the Social Studies.¹⁴¹

In his opinion, social studies education watered down historical content, and the scholarship it was based on, to the point of being almost meaningless. This method of teaching did not allow for the nuance necessary to fully understand contemporary historical sentiment in order to inform students' present. If anything, the social studies needed a more robust curriculum centered on history of this was to ever be achieved. If this was not done properly, students would not walk away with a realistic understanding of history. Therefore, their education as citizens would be incomplete and potentially problematic.

Bailey and Citizenship Education

Bailey frequently combined his mission to educate citizens and readers from the very beginning of his career. He was presented with opportunities to communicate historical events to a public in need of context for contemporary events. In 1928, he arranged to travel to the Democratic National Convention in Houston, Texas, and the Republican National Convention in Kansas City, Missouri, as a staff correspondent for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. He saw his role in this assignment as an opportunity to report the events and educate the public. Bailey believed that “journalists are also teachers...though often with undue emphasis on the sensational and conspiratorial” at the expense of fact.¹⁴² He intended to use his platform to provide meaningful historical narrative. His colleague at the University of Washington, K.C. Leebrick, wrote Bailey

¹⁴¹ Thomas A. Bailey to Thomas Corbett, January 29, 1946, box 3, folder 18, Bailey Papers.

¹⁴² Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 104.

with congratulations. Leebrick felt that it would “give [Bailey] the way to authority and something to talk about to the politicians and the students.”¹⁴³ This authority and the ability to connect with students and politicians in a meaningful, educational way defined much of Bailey’s early scholarship and later his marquee textbooks.

Characteristic of the new and progressive histories, Bailey’s early scholarship exhibited the empirical, scientific qualities of history scholarship at the time. Bailey was committed to getting the facts of history correct, destroying historical myths along the way. He hoped that a more accurate depiction of history would have a beneficial effect on educating citizens. Here, Bailey’s progressivism was apparent. Much of Bailey’s early scholarly work, especially journal articles, exhibits this desire to get the facts of history correct and avoid mythmaking. It did not, however, include the engaging style he would develop later in his career. Diplomatic historian Lester Langley later recalled that Bailey “dealt with simple problems in such a matter of fact way that the result often changed current professional judgments on several seemingly shopworn ideas.”¹⁴⁴ His earliest contributions were representative of Langley’s point and were oriented toward laying out, in extensive detail, the facts of historical events. In “The World Cruise of the American Battleship Fleets, 1907-1909” Bailey provided a sourced account of Theodore Roosevelt’s decision to send the American battleship fleet on a world tour in the early days of twentieth-century imperialism. Bailey described it as “an event which deserves consideration as a major episode in the emergence of the United States as a world power,” ultimately concluding that the venture was “far-reaching in its results for

¹⁴³ K.C. Leebrick to Thomas A. Bailey, June 28, 1928, Box 1, Folder 2, Bailey Papers.

¹⁴⁴ Langley, “The Diplomatic Historians,” 52.

good.”¹⁴⁵ In another article, “The Lodge Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine,” for *Political Science Quarterly*, Bailey provided a detailed portrait of the events surrounding Henry Cabot Lodge’s 1912 expansion of the scope of the Monroe Doctrine to protect United States interests around the globe and across oceans. In this article Bailey concluded that it was “too early to predict what the fate of this new doctrine...will be,” but alluded to the idea that contemporary studies which dismissed the significance of the action may be premature since the Department of State had already cited the measure “at least four times.”¹⁴⁶ While this body of work represented thorough, sound scholarship at the time, it was devoid of any notable stylistic innovation that would define Bailey’s later career. As he sought to establish himself as a historian Bailey avoided any potentially controversial style in these early publications.

Bailey’s earliest monograph had many of the same characteristics, while focusing on domestic developments in the United States. *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* focused on the domestic front and its relation to diplomatic actions abroad.¹⁴⁷ Unlike feedback for his later monographs, published in the 1940s, reviewers noted no remarkable style in Bailey’s earliest writing.¹⁴⁸ Comments on Bailey’s style

¹⁴⁵ Thomas A. Bailey, “The World Cruise of the American Battleship Fleet, 1907-1909,” *Pacific Historical Review* Vol. 1, No 4 (December 1932), 389.

¹⁴⁶ Thomas A. Bailey, “The Lodge Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine,” *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 48, No. 2 (June 1933), 220, 239.

¹⁴⁷ Thomas A. Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1934).

¹⁴⁸ For examples of reviews devoid of comments on Bailey’s style, see George Bernard Noble, Review of *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (June 1935), 503-504; E.T. Williams, Review of *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (April 1936), 339-340; Paul S. Bachman, Review of *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* by Thomas A. Bailey in *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (September 1935), 377-378; P.J., Review of *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* by Thomas A. Bailey in *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1931-1939)*, Vol. 14, No 5 (September-October 1935), 735-736; Charles Nelson Spinks, Review of *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* by Thomas

were limited to two instances. In *Political Science Quarterly*, Harold M. Vinacke declared the book “well-written.”¹⁴⁹ “He writes lucidly,” Howard K. Beale said in *The American Historical Review*.¹⁵⁰ Neither of these comments rise above a simple professional courtesy stating that a book was readable to fellow historians, nor do they provide any indication that there was anything distinct about Bailey’s style. That would soon change. The whole experience publishing *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* during the height of the Great Depression had been difficult for Bailey. Initially, he sent the manuscript to two publishers—Doubleday and Putnam—but it was swiftly rejected given the lack of demand for a heavily footnoted academic text. In the end, Stanford University Press accepted the manuscript, but only after Bailey “rattled the tin cup” and acquired a \$500 subsidy from the Rockefeller Foundation. The last of the 530 copies of the book printed after all of this effort was finally sold seventeen years later. Bailey found the whole experience “humiliating” and “traumatic,” but it managed to create his resolve to “write something that people would want to read.” From this trauma came his first textbook, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.¹⁵¹

A. Bailey in *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol 4, No. 1 (March 1935), 87-88; Paul Hibbert Clyde, Review of *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (March 1935), 578-579; L.B. Shippee, Review of *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* by Thomas A. Bailey in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 179 (May 1935), 269-270; Paul S. Taylor, Review of *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* by Thomas A. Bailey in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (September 1935), 270.

¹⁴⁹ Harold M. Vinacke, Review of *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* by Thomas A. Bailey in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (December 1935), 623.

¹⁵⁰ Howard K. Beale, Review of *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese-American Crisis* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (April 1936), 561.

¹⁵¹ Bailey, “Confessions of a Diplomatic Historian,” 5.

Bailey's tone evolved over time. In the next group of articles Bailey authored, his criticisms of historical error were more pointed. In the opening paragraph of "Why the United States Purchased Alaska" Bailey's judgements were clear. He wrote:

It would not be difficult to make up a list of thirty arguments that were advanced by proponents of the purchase of Alaska. But to determine which of these arguments weighed most heavily with the American people is quite another matter. Numerous commentators have made half-hearted attempts to solve this problem, but their results have been sadly lacking in uniformity.

Specifically, he criticized Henry W. Clark's conclusion in his book *History of Alaska* that William H. Seward's role in the purchase was the chief reason for its occurrence. His critical tone also extended to diplomatic history textbooks. Bailey noted that John Latane's seminal textbook, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, fully excluded any notion of friendship between the Americans and Russians from being a contributing factor to the purchase of Alaska.¹⁵² What was important in this particular article is twofold. First, that Bailey's critical tone was shifting and he was beginning to assert himself as the arbiter of historical facts—at least as he understood them. Bailey's own conviction was to clarify what he saw as errant interpretations of history, which in turn sullied educational texts. Second, Bailey was frustrated with textbook authors' tendency to boil down complex interpretations and lose nuance. In this instance he was frustrated with Latane's apparent misinterpretation of another historian's work. This frustration had broader implications. If used in the classroom, this errant section of the textbook would

¹⁵² Thomas A. Bailey, "Why the United States Purchased Alaska," *Pacific Historical Review* Vol. 3, No. 1 (March 1934), 39, 40, 49. See also Henry W. Clark, *History of Alaska* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1930) and Frederick W. Seward, *Seward at Washington as Senator and Secretary of State* (New York: Derby and Miller, 1891). This conclusion, Bailey argued, directly contradicted Frederick W. Seward's conclusion in *Seward at Washington as Senator and Secretary of State*, which intimated that "the American people bought Alaska" since "treaties have little chance of running the senatorial gauntlet unless they are supported by public sentiment."

give students a misguided view of American history, affecting their development as productive citizens.

This attack on historical errors in textbooks was especially apparent in his article from the October 1935 edition of *The American Historical Review* titled “The Sinking of the Lusitania.” Bailey posed the question “What are the true facts?” related to the Lusitania incident and contended that there had been no hard proof that “the British diabolically exposed the liner” to provoke the Germans. Bailey’s work correcting the myths of the *Lusitania* incident also changed how he viewed textbooks in the field. Years later, he took exception to how his colleague in diplomatic history, Samuel Flagg Bemis, had characterized the incident in his textbook *A Diplomatic History of the United States*. Bemis had “pointed out in this curious post-chapter appendage, as [Bailey] had in [his] article, that the British Admiralty had deliberately not provided armed escorts” to the *Lusitania*. Bemis failed to mention Bailey’s additional contention that “the ship would have escaped if it had been steaming at high speed and zig-zagging, as ordered.”¹⁵³ Bemis opted to take a stance critical of the British, but that position was not consistent with the entirety of Bailey’s work. Bailey wrote to Bemis “urging him to make the necessary corrections” in his textbook, but the note remained in the subsequent editions, “continued verbatim.” Bemis’s cavalier attitude towards getting the historical record accurate irked Bailey. Bailey understood that Bemis’s personal experiences aboard the *Sussex* shaped his view of the *Lusitania*. The ship was torpedoed with Bemis aboard in 1916, causing long-term health problems. Much of Bemis’s attitude and skepticism of the British

¹⁵³ Thomas A. Bailey, “The Friendly Rivals: Bailey and Bemis,” *Newsletter for the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations* Vol. X (March 1979), 14. See also Thomas A. Bailey, “The Sinking of the Lusitania,” *The American Historical Review* Vol. 41, No 1 (October 1935), 54-73.

government came from the experience, and Bailey knew this. However, it was not deemed an adequate excuse for an errant interpretation, especially an interpretation being used by a textbook author with an outsized influence on students studying history.¹⁵⁴ It is clear that Bailey's early criticisms of existing textbooks valued historical accuracy. However, he had not fully developed his stylistic critiques quite yet. His early reading habits did not yet entirely influence his perception of well-written, engaging textbooks. As the next chapter of this dissertation explores, Bailey's interest in the style of writing developed rapidly as he looked to supplant Bemis's diplomatic history textbook. It was not, however, a significant driver of his writing early in his career. This is not to say that Bailey was not developing what would become his signature approach to writing.

For Bailey, if he were to most effectively educate his students into proper citizens, he needed to craft as engaging a style as possible first in his lecturing and later in his writing. He emphasized helpfulness, especially as it related to students and he achieved success with this early in his career. In Bailey's philosophy of classroom teaching, "enthusiasm [was] the mainspring of successful teaching." This was, no doubt, derived from his years watching Adams and Robinson capture the attention of Stanford students in lecture halls. He saw his role as a researching historian as a way to serve his pedagogy. He saw the process of producing scholarship as the means for the historian to gain "greater confidence" so that he could teach and write in a way that "speaks with greater authority."¹⁵⁵ Students noticed Bailey's enthusiasm during his time in his first teaching position at the University of Hawaii. When Bailey left the institution to return to

¹⁵⁴ Bailey, "The Friendly Rivals," 14-15.

¹⁵⁵ Thomas A. Bailey, "The Obligation of the Teacher to be a Scholar," *Social Education* 13, Iss. 8 (1949), 355.

Stanford, the student newspaper lamented the loss in an article titled “Dr. Bailey—Scholar and Teacher.” The student author of the piece wrote:

In Dr. Bailey we see the happy combination of the scholar and the teacher. Many of us will recall his clear melodious voice, now imparting some new facts and then opening new vistas of thought. His lectures are noted for their beautiful phraseology and choice of words, and for their lucidity and conciseness. Through his lips, the glorious pageantry of American history unfolded itself with vitality and movement to the student.

Further, the students noted that this approach was not typical for history professors, citing dull lectures as the norm. In Bailey’s classroom, there was an emphasis on style and a distinct flair. The students were also cognizant of Bailey’s aptitude as a scholar and “not a few students...caught the contagion of his critical attitude.”¹⁵⁶ This response was an early indicator of Bailey’s magnetic presence as a teacher and eventual reputation as textbook author.

To best accomplish his goal and engage with a student audience, Bailey needed suitable historical material. His selection of short, pointed quotes for his lectures represents this portion of Bailey’s vision. Through this process, he amassed a massive collection of historical information he could test out in his lecture halls to see what would resonate best with his audience. He accomplished this with a practice of meticulous notetaking, which eventually helped develop his textbooks. He was an avid collector of historical information. As he read through new scholarship, Bailey would jot down “pointed quotations, illustrative anecdotes, slogans, or even bits of contemporary doggerel” to insert into his prepared lectures. His selections were chosen to help students “fix facts or concepts in mind.” He chose shorter quotations as he “learned that unless

¹⁵⁶ Clipping from *O’Hawaii*, “Dr. Bailey—Scholar and Teacher,” Undated, box 1, folder 5, Bailey Papers.

quoted material is particularly pungent, students are apt to tune out while it is being read.” Bailey had mixed feelings about the lecture method, simultaneously believing it to be outmoded, but a necessary evil. Reading a full lecture off the page was needlessly dull, but some form of notes was necessary to gain the respect of students, who may feel that “the lecturer is a show-off whose dates or statistics may be unreliable.”¹⁵⁷ Bailey’s method of note taking and improvising was the middle ground he chose for his teaching method. With the material he gathered, he made the best of what he felt was a flawed pedagogical form. He enlivened his lectures and engaged with the students in his classroom deliberately. The same process informed his later textbook authorship.

Bailey’s presence and reputation on campus aligned with his efforts to develop his style. He left his sandstone tower located on the Stanford Quadrangle frequently and he became a fixture and almost mythical figure for both faculty and students. He was known for his meticulous schedule and, according to former student Alexander DeConde, Stanford undergraduate and graduate students thought they could set their watches based on Bailey’s daily walk between his home and the Quadrangle. DeConde wrote that the lecture halls surrounding the Quad were the locations where Bailey truly cultivated his reputation as stellar lecturer despite his typically silent demeanor. Students and their wives sought out his lectures to “experience a Bailey performance,” much like his admiring students in Hawaii. DeConde’s description of Bailey’s lecture style is notable for its parallels to Bailey’s descriptions of Adams’s and Robinson’s teaching style. In DeConde’s recollection Bailey “flamboyantly held center stage...and delivered his lectures in rapid, energetic bursts.” Bailey’s manner of preparation added to the mythos.

¹⁵⁷ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 98-99.

He was meticulous and rehearsed with a mirror. According to legend he also recorded the lecture for the purpose of studying his performance and tweaking for future courses.¹⁵⁸

For Bailey, this process was essential to be continually connected with his students and achieve his goals as an educator.

It should be noted that Bailey's conceptualization of who counted as a scholar, or a quality student, was not always inclusive, though not uncommon for his contemporary context. This altered his perception of his audience for his teaching and writing. At times, women historians thought Bailey was insensitive and condescending.¹⁵⁹ They have a point. In 1938 Bailey wrote a confidential memo to Robinson lamenting that "the admissions of a large additional body of women has, materially altered the composition of the student body" at Stanford. This new portion of the student body was, according to Bailey, associated with "with the lowering of the admissions standards" causing the faculty to "work with an inferior type of student, particularly among the women." He further indicated that the women were "naturally much more interested in art, drama, and courses of a cultural nature" than the men who filled Stanford classrooms before.

No matter, Bailey's views here were consistent with his mission as an educator. At face value, Bailey's sentiment seems dismissive of women in the classroom. The full picture of Bailey's attitude towards women at Stanford and in his classroom was more complicated, and revealing of his mindset. Bailey made a set of recommendations to Robinson in order to accommodate women. He still believed that the history department faculty "owe something to the new students" and he proposed another faculty member's

¹⁵⁸ DeConde, "Thomas A. Bailey: Teacher, Scholar, Popularizer," 164-65.

¹⁵⁹ See Douglass, *The California Idea and American Higher Education*, 85-86 for more detail about the "reactionary and thoroughly undemocratic" goals some California progressives possessed.

course in “European Thought and Culture” as a possible offering for the new student body with a growing population of women since they were more interested in culture than the standard political and military histories. These fields were, according to Bailey’s mind, still of interest to primarily male students. As always, Bailey was keen to “avoid rigor mortis” in the history department’s curriculum and the teaching of history in general while teaching to the interests and needs of the student body in history classrooms.¹⁶⁰ This illustrates something that is key to understanding Bailey’s intellectual composition as an educator. Any condescension he exhibited was frequently paired with a desire to reach these individuals as students. That desire was, of course, well in-line with contemporary sentiment that deemed history as a field of study for men. Prejudices persisted throughout his career. Later, when he published his memoir in 1982, he opined that history was “essentially a man’s subject” since “the movers and shakers—the makers or wars and nations” were men.¹⁶¹ He remained a product of his generation’s limited view of the role of women in historical studies.

Whatever his preference for students, Bailey’s stylistic tendencies were paramount as he recommended lecture and teaching methods to colleagues. Providing professional advice to historian and friend Kenneth Chun, Bailey suggested “enlivening” lectures with “anecdotal and illustrative material” by writing or pasting any useful information encountered in research down on an index card and filing it away for future lecture use. At the time of Chun’s inquiry Bailey had not yet authored either of his marquee textbooks, but he did harbor opinions of which textbooks on the market were

¹⁶⁰ Thomas A. Bailey to Edgar Eugene Robinson, February 2, 1938, Box 1, Folder 28, Bailey Papers.

¹⁶¹ Recollections of women’s concerns come from DeConde, “Thomas A. Bailey: Teacher, Scholar, Popularizer,” 170. Quotes from Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 145, 107.

better than the rest. He described Samuel Eliot Morison's and Henry Steele Commager's *Oxford History of the United States*, originally published in 1930, as the "most readable" with "the best brief critical bibliography for the field."¹⁶² Bailey was already cognizant of the relative merits of history textbooks and making mental notes for his future work in the field.

Perhaps more revealing than any opinion Bailey held about particular textbooks is his belief in what made a good teacher in the year immediately preceding the preliminary work on his inaugural textbook. In correspondence, Bailey frequently reflected on his "accomplishments in the field of teaching" throughout his career. One of the earliest examples of this reflection came in his response to George Walker, an admirer who, in December 1934, had inquired about Bailey's success in the classroom. Bailey pointed to his "success with the large elementary courses consisting of around three hundred students" which he noted required a different skill set than teaching in a small classroom. This success can be attributed to some of the qualities Bailey had come to possess at Stanford. To Walker, he recommended a teacher have "personality, a good voice, an excellent command of the language... and an ability to skim the cream off a large amount of erudition." Further, Bailey expressed the need for "an ability to see the point of view of the student, and not to try to talk over his head." He looked down upon educational

¹⁶² Thomas A. Bailey to Kenneth Chun, April 11, 1935, Bailey Papers. Bailey indicates in his memoir, *The American Pageant Revisited*, that this lecture material and association index cards was provided to the University Archives at Stanford University Libraries for future researchers to access. However, this material appears to have been lost when the Thomas Andrew Bailey Papers were processed at the archives. The collection does not include the files. See also Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *Oxford History of the United States* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1930). Later, the book's name would be changed to *The Growth of the American Republic* during its many revisions. Bailey also mentions Ralph Volney Harlow, *A History of the United States* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1934) and David Saville Muzzey, *An American History* (San Francisco, CA: Ginn and Company, 1920) as good textbooks, though he describes the Morison and Commager book as the best.

theory with some disdain since “successful teachers are born and not made” by extensive training. In the end, he conceded that “educational theory may add to one’s teaching effectiveness, but after all the teacher and his personality are the important things.”¹⁶³

What mattered more than anything may have been how a teacher translated a magnetic personality into pedagogical methods. When he later turned to writing college textbooks, Bailey’s experience teaching in college classrooms became the central component to his prose style. His lecture notes became the outlines for individual chapters. Cards with catchy quotations, excerpts of literature, stanzas of poetry, and biographical sketches became the starting point for lively narrative. Soon all of this would be compiled, for the first time in his career, into a textbook.

¹⁶³ Thomas A. Bailey to George H. Walker, December 22, 1934, Bailey Papers.

CHAPTER 3: CONSTRUCTING BAILEY'S *A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE*, 1935-1943

At the time Bailey was developing his style of teaching and writing, the college textbook industry was growing more interested in innovations in textbook style to add to traditional textbook catalogs. Fred Crofts, who entrusted Thomas A. Bailey with his first textbook, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, remarked in his 1938 Bowker Lecture on Book Publishing that publishers first needed to pursue authors with respectability in their field. The manuscript needed to be judged “regardless of the publisher’s personal reactions to the ‘New Education,’ the ‘New History,’ or even the ‘New Deal.’” Rather, the decision needed to be squarely focused on “the quality of the work and the adaptability to the market at which it [was] aimed.”¹⁶⁴ Crofts imagined successful manuscripts emerging from productive relationships between the publisher, its travelling salesmen, and the faculty adopting the textbooks. He wrote of college salesmen: “they not only meet their authors, but also have the opportunity to learn of new trends in education, from which they sense a demand for a needed book.”¹⁶⁵

Sure enough, the style of textbooks was a key component to how textbooks would need to be presented in the market. In the same lecture, he also noted that textbooks had, historically, lacked a reputation for any “lively” style.” There was little effort made by authors and publishers in the first few decades of the twentieth century to “appeal, in one case, to the emotions, and, in the other, to the aesthetic tastes of their readers.” Crofts’s

¹⁶⁴ Frederick S. Crofts in *Bowker Lectures on Book Publishing* (New York, NY: R.R. Bowker Company, 1957), 48.

¹⁶⁵ Crofts, *Bowker Lectures*, 53.

explanation for this was simple. There was less competition in the marketplace and little incentive for publishers and authors to get creative.¹⁶⁶ Crofts also noted students' developing interest in an "attractive book" in textbook publishing.¹⁶⁷ By 1938, there had been some "radical experiments" in the "presentation" of textbooks. The University of Chicago Press created "introductions to the sciences with unusual pictorial aids." D.C. Heath and Company created "visual vocabularies" for language textbooks. The Century Company created assignments to be ripped out of chapters with "perforated leaves."¹⁶⁸ The ideal textbook Crofts described in his Bowker lecture was the same type of book Bailey sought to create in diplomatic history.

The "Preface" of Bailey's *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, published in 1940, served as the first published statement of his aims as an author of textbooks. He rejected the conventions of traditional diplomatic history, which at the time was primarily "written by merely presenting digests of the official correspondence." Feeling this was only one side of the story, Bailey chose to imbue his text with the history of public opinion since it was "necessary to consider what the people thought about what was happening, and to discover what pressure they brought to bear upon the government to change its course."¹⁶⁹ These aims were evident throughout the textbook and many of the interpretations would become hallmarks of Bailey's monographs written in the 1940s.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Crofts, *Bowker Lectures*, 43.

¹⁶⁷ Crofts, *Bowker Lectures*, 45.

¹⁶⁸ Crofts, *Bowker Lectures*, 52.

¹⁶⁹ Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York, NY: F.S. Crofts & Company, 1940), xi.

¹⁷⁰ The monographs referenced here are Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944); Thomas A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945); and Thomas A. Bailey, *The Man in the Street: The Impact of Public Opinion on American Foreign Policy* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948).

As an illustrative example, this chapter will look at Bailey's content related to Woodrow Wilson. This is representative of the broad themes shown throughout Bailey's text. Attention was given to Wilson's belief that "the texts of treaties should be made public so that the people concerned would know what obligations had been assumed by their governments." The textbook showed how Wilson fought "vigorously for more publicity" while competing powers "blocked any such course" and reporters, eager to get the information to the American people, "made a tremendous outcry."¹⁷¹ On the domestic front on Capitol Hill, Wilson found Congress "compromising away the fourteen points" as a result of the President's insistence on going to Paris rather than staying home and managing domestic politics and opinion.¹⁷²

Public opinion, and Wilson's reaction to it, was the central thread of much of Bailey's narrative in *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. Any major event during the negotiation of the peace process—both domestic and international—was tied to Bailey's interpretation of public opinion. He argued that it was central to the democratic process and directly affected diplomacy. The textbook observed that French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau was "immediately responsible" to the French "electorate" so much that "if he had not vigorously supported the interests of the French people, he would have been replaced by someone who would do so." Wilson's own domestic political context was given extra attention as Bailey showed both Republicans, who were seeking political retribution against Wilson, and liberals, who were upset with Wilson for compromising away the ideals of the Fourteen Points, both opposing the draft

¹⁷¹ Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 657.

¹⁷² Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 661.

of the agreement brought back to the United States from Paris. Another hallmark of Bailey's scholarship in diplomatic history—hyphenated Americans—also appeared as a distinct pressure on American politicians. Bailey argued Italian Americans were “bitterly dissatisfied.” He observed that many of these Italian Americans lived in Massachusetts, the home state of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who led much of the opposition to the Treaty of Versailles and was beholden to these hyphenated Americans for reelection. German Americans saw the treaty as “a base betrayal of the Fatherland.” Hibernian-Americans were alarmed that Wilson had not “affronted Great Britain” and pushed for Irish independence. Wilson's name was “hissed by huge Irish crowds” who shared the sentiment of the Hibernians.¹⁷³

The interpretations in Bailey's book were entering a textbook market already occupied by a more traditional diplomatic historian. Samuel Flagg Bemis published *A Diplomatic History of the United States* in 1937—three years prior to Bailey's text. In contrast to Bailey's, Bemis's “Preface” was evidence of a more traditional approach. His stated purpose was to “embody the contributions of a generation of vigorous research by scholars in many countries, increasingly from a multi-archival approach, and to give perspective and interpretation to the whole diplomatic history and foreign policy of the United States.” In more contemporary chapters covering the most recent history, the narrative was “articulated with the analysis of American foreign policy, general and regional, now taking shape in the projected studies of the Yale Institute of International

¹⁷³ Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 665, 667.

Studies.”¹⁷⁴ Bemis’s approach to authoring the text was squarely focused on scholarship and analysis.

The content in Bemis’s *A Diplomatic History of the United States* diverged from Bailey’s less traditional aims. Bemis placed the negotiation of the post-war peace plans, including the Fourteen Points, squarely into the context of the ongoing conflict and broad geopolitical forces, particularly in Europe as empires fell and Wilson sought to construct a revised world order instead of focusing on political pressures as they relate to public opinion and Congress. He wrote, “it was for the Allies to decide among themselves what political conditions they would attach to the military surrender.”¹⁷⁵ In Bemis’s definition, the “Allies” exerting any type of influence were the politicians, statesman, and diplomats in Europe rather than the American or European people. In his coverage of Wilson’s handling of domestic politics, Bemis alluded to the fact that Wilson “issued a public appeal for the election of a Democratic majority in both houses of Congress in order that he might be wholly unhampered in the approaching negotiations.” However, Bemis’s chief focus remained the advisers who cautioned Wilson against this strategy. He focused on the “plenipotentiaries” who were at the table negotiating at the Peace Conference at Paris in January of 1919. This trend continued throughout Bemis’s work. When Bemis did seem to focus on how opinion shaped the negotiations of the peace, he still focused on the opinions of statesmen, not their constituents. He paid particular attention to the process by which Senator Lodge caused hurdles for Wilson’s peace plan in the Senate with hearings, amendments, and the Committee on Foreign Relations. In a brief

¹⁷⁴ Samuel Flagg Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1936), vii-viii.

¹⁷⁵ Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, 623.

paragraph, Bemis noted that President Wilson “resort[ed] to his most effective political weapon” and went on a “speaking tour of the country” in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt “to rally public opinion to his support and to that of an unamended treaty.”¹⁷⁶ No matter, Bemis’s allusion to the American public remained limited, and a tertiary concern to the main diplomats of the time.

Bemis’s *A Diplomatic History of the United States* was squarely focused on the major players in diplomacy—their actions and consequences. In addition to Woodrow Wilson’s diplomatic dealings, Bemis explained the Neutrality Acts of 1930, generally agreeing that isolationism remained a good policy. The Open Door Policy was covered with a focus on how it would benefit the United States as well as the British and the Chinese. Bemis showed skepticism that Theodore Roosevelt’s imperial actions were good for the country. Jerald Combs noted in *American Diplomatic History: Two Centuries of Changing Interpretations* that Bemis’s “influence...derived from the intensity of research that lay behind them, especially his exhaustive use of archives of all nations involved in a given diplomatic situation.”¹⁷⁷ In Bemis’s early monographs and seminal textbook his tendency to write straight, traditional diplomatic history is evident. He covered the essentials of the actual events of diplomatic history, focusing what sources—diplomatic cables, correspondence, and speeches—were available in the archives he visited around the world. Not concerned with style and writing, Bemis focused on rigorous research, the specialty of the professional historian.

¹⁷⁶ Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, 624, 627, 635, 641-643, 646.

¹⁷⁷ Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, 613, 806-807, 803-804; Jerald A. Combs, *American Diplomatic History: Two Centuries of Changing Interpretations* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 160.

Bemis's lack of interest in public opinion and its relation to diplomatic negotiations is especially evident when compared directly to the efforts Bailey put forth to emphasize Wilson's efforts to appeal to the public. Notably, Bailey included a political cartoon originally published by the *Chicago Daily News* showing Wilson "Going to Talk to the Boss." In the left of the frame are two clerks sitting at desks labeled "Senate" and "House." Wilson is walking away from these desks with a document tucked under his arm labeled "League of Nations" reaching for a door labeled "American People." Bailey captioned the cartoon with a simple statement: "Wilson appeals to public opinion."¹⁷⁸

Bailey's inclusion of cartoons illustrates a key difference between his and Bemis's approaches to authoring textbooks. In Bemis's case, the approach was consistent with his approach to writing historical monographs. Lester Langley assessed Bemis's book *Jay's Treaty: A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy* as "somber in tone" as it "followed a step-by-step discussion" of historical events in diplomatic history.¹⁷⁹ The monograph, like his textbook, was not authored to deliberately connect with an audience of educators and students. The structure of *A Diplomatic History of the United States* reads much more like a standard monograph than a textbook curated and constructed with undergraduate student readers in mind. Each chapter of Bemis's text contained narrative without cartoons or illustrations. Footnotes piled up on the bottoms of pages throughout each chapter. In each of the two chapters related to Wilson and efforts for peace after World War I, Bemis's narrative continued uninterrupted for nearly thirty pages.¹⁸⁰ Periodically,

¹⁷⁸ Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 673.

¹⁷⁹ Langley, "The Diplomatic Historians," 62, 63.

¹⁸⁰ See "The World War and the Peace Settlement (1917-1921)" and "The Great Debate and the Separate Peace (1919-1936)" in Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, 611-664.

maps, tables and diagrams would be included in the text to illustrate geographical dimensions to diplomacy and conflict or significant statistical figures, but none were present for the post-war peace chapters.¹⁸¹ It seems that throughout the textbook, Bemis's only attempt to address the needs of teachers and students as readers was to direct them to his supplementary work, *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States*, which was the "comprehensive technical supplementary volume" accompanying the main textbook.¹⁸² Bemis's approach is stripped of stylistic concerns, written from a scholarly perspective focused on the analysis of events rather than any approach written for reader interest.

Conversely, the experience reading Bailey's *A Diplomatic History of the American People* is markedly different and designed with students and teachers in mind. Unlike Bemis's work, Bailey's text was not one long section of unbroken narrative. Each chapter was broken into segments with descriptive sub-headings. The section subtitled "Linking Shields with the Allies" discussed the United States's status as an "associate" of the Allied powers while "The Pen is Mightier" covered the "moral leadership" Wilson showed as he penned the Fourteen Points.¹⁸³ In "Senator Lodge's Round Robin" Bailey discussed the Senator's efforts to use the apparatus of the United States Congress to defeat the League of Nations proposal. Bailey's judgment of Wilson's success was

¹⁸¹ For a full inventory of the maps, tables, and diagrams see Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, xi-xii.

¹⁸² Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, vii-viii. See also Samuel Flagg Bemis and Grace Garnder Griffin, *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States, 1775-1921* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1935).

¹⁸³ See Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 648-649.

presented in “Compromising Away the Fourteen Points.” Hyphenates led “The Parade of Prejudice” and ultimately “The Triumph of Partisanship” defeated Wilson’s idealism.¹⁸⁴

These headings are one example of many efforts Bailey made “to add color and vitality” to the textbook. In addition, he did so “by stressing personalities and by introducing a large number of brief contemporary statements” and he wrote with “simplicity and directness.” The result was a stylized narrative that readers would respond to and drove the success of Bailey’s book. In Bailey’s writing, “delirious throngs” turned out to “cheer” Wilson—the “American savior”—upon his arrival in Europe. When Wilson decided to appeal to the American people, he had “decided upon an audacious step” according to Bailey’s prose. Bailey’s editor, Dixon Ryan Fox, declared in his own “Editor’s Foreword” to the text that “this is a book for which American scholarship does not have to apologize in the matter of literary quality.” Bailey had provided teachers and students “a ‘reading book’ as well as a ‘study book.’”¹⁸⁵ *A Diplomatic History of the American People* was the culmination of Bailey’s career as a teacher-scholar to that point, emphasizing a less-conventional history with a style meant to connect with students. If Bailey’s approach reflects his convictions as teacher-scholar, Bemis’s approach is that of the traditional research-oriented academics of the twentieth century American research university. These diverging approaches to textbook authorship shaped the textbook publishing market in diplomatic history, affecting the authors, their publishers, and readers.

¹⁸⁴ See Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 659, 661, 667, and 676.

¹⁸⁵ Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, ix, 656, 672.

Conceptualizing *A Diplomatic History of the American People*

Bailey's first attempt to become a textbook author in 1934 when he applied for a research grant through the Stanford University history department. He was beginning work on a collection of source material since none of the textbooks on the market related to diplomatic history had an accompanying source reader. At the time of the grant application, Bailey had three publishers already interested in seeing a manuscript—Ginn and Company, D.C. Heath and Company, and Henry Holt and Company. The work in progress was a topical treatment of the subject, with forty-five individual topics organized as chapters, each including ten to fifteen pages of source material related to treaties, diplomatic exchanges, presidential speeches, letters, and memoirs. The requested grant would be used to fund a graduate student who, in cooperation with Bailey, would dig through Congressional records, correspondence, newspapers and writings to find the requisite source material for the chapters. Bailey's purpose in this project was clear, though it never fully came to fruition. He intended "to depart from the beaten path and dig out materials which will change the students' point of view regarding a number of problems." The student, Bailey's reader, would be put "in a new setting" and surrounded by "a contemporary atmosphere" of a moment in diplomatic history. Further, the sources included would "go further and correct errors of fact that have crept into our traditional accounts."¹⁸⁶ Here, Bailey's mission was evident. He sought to create a highly readable volume for the student, which will mimic the feeling of the contemporary sources. He also intended to correct historical myths and misnomers, while educating students about

¹⁸⁶ Thomas A. Bailey to Payson Treat, April 24, 1934, box 1, folder 10, Bailey Papers.

what he saw as essential issues and problems. This first proposal, which never actualized, exhibited the essential qualities of Bailey as a teacher and textbook author.

Bailey sent the original book proposal for *A Diplomatic History of the American People* to F.S. Crofts editor Allen Wilbur in 1935, a little over a year after his Stanford grant application. In the cover letter for the packet, he indicated that one of the key inspirations for the project had been the continuous, booming growth of the diplomatic history course he taught at Stanford, which grew from seventy to 140 enrollments between 1930 and 1935. In the preceding years Bailey had “tried out” the material he would use in the proposed text using the students in his classroom as a test audience. This exercise confirmed that “students react favorably to it.” The sample chapter he provided with the proposal related to Alaska was an example of the result of this positive feedback.¹⁸⁷

The proposal also listed a few key objectives for the textbook, both interpretive and stylistic. In terms of historical content, Bailey wanted to write a book that focused less on official statements of policy and instead emphasized the “formulation of...abstract policy by an administration and the methods by which that policy is carried into effect by the diplomatic corps.” Once again, Bailey’s stated intention was to move away from conventional interpretations of diplomatic history. To Bailey, new interpretations presented an opportunity in the textbook marketplace as he saw “a number of one-volume histories of the foreign policy of the United States,” but was unable to identify an “adequate history of American diplomacy.” In another effort to present a less

¹⁸⁷ Thomas A. Bailey to Allen Wilbur, May 10, 1935, box 1, folder 14, Bailey Papers.

traditional narrative, he wanted to give the book a perspective that encompassed the entirety of American society, not only diplomatic circles. He wrote:

Most of the present histories of American foreign relations pay little or no attention to public opinion. They have been written almost solely from the documents on the mistaken theory that everything of importance that occurs in diplomatic circles is recorded on paper. As a matter of fact, a considerable portion of diplomatic correspondence consists of attempts to conceal true motives. In considering, therefore, the foreign affairs of a responsible government...it is necessary to go beyond the documents and determine what influence that people have had on the conduct of their diplomacy.

This focus on public opinion would be presented alongside an enhanced emphasis on domestic developments. Bailey believed “diplomatic history simply cannot be written in a vacuum” nor could one “understand the foreign relations of the United States without reference to current slavery controversies, financial panics, and other purely domestic happenings” within the United States throughout its history. This went hand-in-hand with Bailey’s desire to “re-create as far as possible the contemporary atmosphere...using brief excerpts from contemporary sources” accessed in archival repositories at the Library of Congress and the Archives of the Department of State. This approach, from Bailey’s standpoint, remedied students’ tendency to “read back into the past conditions which did not and could not then exist.”¹⁸⁸ Bailey’s main purpose in this proposal for *A Diplomatic History of the American People* echoed his grant application from a year prior.

The historiographical and stylistic characteristics of Bailey’s work were emerging at a time when the gap between academic history and popular history was growing, though by no means a new development. Gregory F. Pfitzer noted in *Popular History and the Literary Marketplace, 1840-1920* that upon the American Historical Association’s

¹⁸⁸ Thomas A. Bailey to Allen Wilbur, May 10, 1935, box 1, folder 14, Bailey Papers.

founding in 1884 rhetoric and style were already viewed with suspicion by academics as they sought to create standards for professional historical writing that would supersede popular literary histories. Rhetorical presentations of history were deemed full of “superfluous and meretricious verbiage” after they were critiqued during the emergence of scientific approaches to finding historical truth.¹⁸⁹ Edward Eggleston’s career during this time is perhaps most illustrative of this central tension in the profession throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Formerly a successful author of novels, Eggleston produced *The Household History of the United States and Its People* in 1890 with a few distinctive stylistic characteristics. He was sure to include “curious and picturesque details” throughout the narrative and provide “such anecdotes as lend the charm of a human and personal interest to the broader facts of the nation’s story.”¹⁹⁰ Much of Eggleston’s *Household History* was drawn from his previously published textbook *A History of the United States and Its People for the Use of Schools* (1888), written with the same stylistic aims. In the textbook, it is also obvious why some of Eggleston’s narrative tendencies were of concern to an increasingly professionalized group of historians. Eggleston wrote, “attempts to write a little about everything are fatal to lucidity.” As a result, he sacrificed some historical topics in favor of providing a coherent core narrative. This decision opened him up to some legitimate criticism regarding the ahistorical nature of his approach.¹⁹¹ No matter, Eggleston was

¹⁸⁹ Pfitzer, *Popular History and the Literary Marketplace, 1840-1920*, 9. Quotes are from Richard Berkhofer Jr., *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995), 91.

¹⁹⁰ Edward Eggleston, *The Household History of the United States and Its People* (New York, NY: D. Appleton, 1890), iii-iv.

¹⁹¹ Edward Eggleston, *A History of the United States and Its People for the Use of Schools* (New York, NY: American Book Company, 1888), iii.

purposefully diverging from the path of professionalization and specialization. He criticized the “old historians” who “took note of nobody but princes, courtiers, and generals.” Eggleston felt that “history, like everything else, has become more democratic in these modern days and the real hero of the historian’s story to-day is the community itself.”¹⁹²

Despite his opposition to the traditional approach to studying history, Eggleston was elected as President of the American Historical Association after the success of his book *The Beginners of a Nation* in 1896. Though elected in 1900 at a time when the Presidents of the AHA still tended to be amateur historians, Eggleston’s experience put him at the center of the growing rift between professional and popular historians. Typifying the approach of the New History, Eggleston called for history education to engage in molding good citizens and act as a vehicle for progress. To accomplish this, historians would need to write better and incorporate broader, more inclusive democratic narratives that focused on American culture. Eggleston’s vision for the future of the profession was not shared by all historians. Many opponents “attacked such reductionist efforts” shown by Eggleston and popularizers, and argued they were “irresponsible in the naïve assumption that they could subsume all of history into digestible metanarratives.” Professional historians receded into ever more narrow specialties, favoring the monograph over broad, popular histories and university presses emerged to publish for academic audiences. Eggleston remained unconvinced that the academic professionalization of the discipline was the best path. Not trained as a professional historian, he still believed that literary quality added to the value of historical writing.

¹⁹² Eggleston, *The Household History*, iv, viii, iv-v.

Eventually the professional historians attempted to take over, led by George Burton Adams in the first decade of the 1900s. According to Gregory Pfitzer, Adams “initiated a campaign to purge the association of social historians like Eggleston” and took issue with the core of what would become to social studies movement—economists, sociologists, political scientists, and geographers. Reform-oriented scholars were not in line with growing conventions of professional history.¹⁹³ Eggleston’s experiences are revealing for Bailey’s future work, which also existed at the boundary between professional scholarship and popular writing, which was much more desirable to the reading public.

Like Eggleston, Bailey’s approach to writing history would prove more popular than Bemis’s professional academic writing. This is partly because Bailey’s *A Diplomatic History of the American People* was published as American readers were clamoring for more accessible histories to counteract the dull, academic textbooks. The history of this trend begins with H.G. Wells’s *The Outline of History*, in which he argued that the history of the world was a story of progression from disorganized societies to a place of “serenity and salvation of an ordered and coherent purpose.” Wells was also critical of contemporary political developments, which emphasized a “community of faith” instead of a “community of will.” In order to restore a “community of will” society needed a “new educated and creative elite” to avert further social problems and preserve the future of civilization.¹⁹⁴ *The Outline of History* was well received by progressively-minded academics, including Carl Becker who praised Wells’s efforts to bring the past lessons of

¹⁹³ Pfitzer, *Popular History and the Literary Marketplace*, 215-216, 218-221. See also, Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 49 and Fitzpatrick, *History’s Memory*, 42-43.

¹⁹⁴ H.G. Wells, *The Outline of History* (Garden City, NY: Garden City Publishing, 1920) as quoted in Joan Shelley Rubin, *The Making of Middlebrow Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 212.

history to light in order to secure the future. Other historians critiqued Wells's use of historical sources, but the book was a success throughout the 1920s and sold close to 500,000 copies.¹⁹⁵ In addition to Wells, and perhaps most famously, Will Durant made a career as an author of popular philosophy texts starting in the 1920s. With the assistance of his publisher, Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, Durant published a series of essays on prominent philosophers. In this process Haldeman-Julius made clear stylistic decisions. First, he titled the works "stories" instead of "guides" because that suggested narrative structure devoid of "pedantry." Haldeman-Julius avoided marketing the books as "esoteric" and was successful in his efforts as Durant's work sold even better than the publications of the philosophers he summarized. All of this was balanced with Durant's academic credentials, displayed prominently as "Will Durant, PhD" or "Dr. Will Durant" on the title page alongside additional publications. Durant's nearly six-hundred-page-long *The Story of Philosophy* was an even bigger success, adapted from the pamphlets Haldeman-Julius originally published. Ultimately, the book became the best-selling nonfiction book within the United States at the time. Durant's success has been attributed to his ability to allow readers "authoritative access" to the portions of a liberal arts education many readers found to be "ostensibly most abstruse." Wells's success was a result of a similar reason, described by Joan Shelley Rubin in *The Making of Middlebrow Culture*:

Like a good schoolmaster, he incorporated into his narrative frequent summaries of his own discussions, reminding his audience what they had read and providing glimpses of the road ahead. His diction was spare and his syntax straightforward, on the assumption that nothing ought to interfere with the comprehension of the facts. Coupled with the clarity of

¹⁹⁵ Rubin, *The Making of Middlebrow Culture*, 213-214.

organization and language was a high level of generalization that substituted the ring of authority for ignorance and confusion.¹⁹⁶

Wells's and Durant's works are significant in the development of textbook style as they laid out stylistic characteristics of best-selling non-fiction. First, their commitment to educating readers directly echoes Bailey's goal to educate citizens in significant contemporary issues. Second, and most important for the particular style Bailey created in textbook authorship, Wells and Durant crafted a readable, accessible style. Bailey's own style reflected a similar purpose.

In 1935 Bailey saw a flaw in textbook style that would have been familiar to Wells and Durant. Bailey believed that imparting historical knowledge to students was complicated by the "burdensomely detailed narrative" in many comparable texts. Instead, he sought to write something that would "be more provocative of thinking than the ordinary factual text." Now that Bailey's vision from the project had moved beyond a simple documentary reader, he was free to craft a narrative with key stylistic maxims. Central to this mission was his effort to create a contemporary atmosphere with "attractive bits from contemporary materials." He also intended to "write from a liberal and highly critical point of view" and not "pull [his] punches" since "this highly sophisticated generation of college students thoroughly enjoys well-grounded 'debunking.'" To avoid the dullness created by other textbook authors, Bailey proposed a few key rules for his style. He wrote in his book proposal:

1. I shall subordinate names, dates, and figures, and make every effort not to freight the narrative with excessive detail.

¹⁹⁶ E. Haldeman-Julius, *The First Hundred Million* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1928), 4, 101, 107, 158, 223, 322 as quoted in Rubin, *The Making of Middlebrow Culture*, 233-235, 214.

2. I shall avoid long paragraphs and long chapters. My observation has been that the student thinks he is going faster when the chapters are short; and as a result interest is more likely to be sustained.
3. I shall avoid long and involved sentences, striving for pithy epigrammatical statement.
4. I shall work in as many salty phrases (contemporary preferred) as I can judiciously manage.
5. I shall use as effectively as possible catchy chapter headings and section headings. I shall try, however, to avoid strained attempts in this direction.
6. Two rules govern my use of quoted material. That passages must all be brief. My experience has been that students bog down in the middle of long excerpts and skip the remainder. Secondly, the quoted passage must be intrinsically interesting. Treaties and other formal documents of a dry nature will be paraphrased rather than quoted. The material that I do quote, however, will be taken from newspapers, diaries, printed speeches, letters, sermons, etc., and must invariably have a punch. Some of it will be humorous and gossipy; but, if used, it must always illustrate some point that is being made. I can think of no more effective way of showing the student what people of the time were thinking about what they were doing. I shall even make some use of contemporary poetry as an expression of public opinion and as a means of influencing it.¹⁹⁷

Bailey's rules can be broken into three core categories. First, he intended to trim the excess from textbooks by eliminating tedious detail, contorted sentences, and excessive quotes. Second, his texts would include vivid language—his “salty phrases” and “epigrammatical statement.” Lastly, despite his efforts to create a contemporary atmosphere, his selection of contemporary materials would be brief and to the point, while driving home his interpretations in the most engaging way possible. He sought to modernize the historiography and style of the textbook to best represent the newest scholarship, a more progressive history, for students in classrooms across the United States.

As Bailey worked on bringing these stylistic and historiographical characteristics into his own work, he was still using his colleagues' conventional work. In the academic

¹⁹⁷ Thomas A. Bailey to Allen Wilbur, May 10, 1935, box 1, folder 14, Bailey Papers.

year spanning 1936-1937 Bailey was scheduled to teach courses in diplomatic history at George Washington University. In his correspondence with Lowell Joseph Ragatz, who was receiving his textbook adoption for the year, Bailey seemed reticent to adopt any textbook even though he acknowledged that students at GWU would expect and need a text for the course. Bailey asked Ragatz if he was “correct in assuming” that textbooks were preferred “if good textbooks are available.” With Samuel Flagg Bemis’s *A Diplomatic History of the United States* due out the summer before his time at GWU, Bailey was still loyal to John Latane’s *A History of American Foreign Policy*, which he typically used for his courses. He felt “with all its defects” the textbook was “still the best in the field.”¹⁹⁸

Bailey was not the only historian to hold these views of Latane’s book. According to one reviewer, Latane’s text was praised by many for its ability to give “the reader a vivid impression of the whole without in any way sacrificing the details.”¹⁹⁹ Another reviewer felt that the revised 1934 edition of the book, revised by David Wainhouse instead of Latane, tended to “place undue emphasis on outstanding events” and did not “explain some of the development of our foreign policy during the past twenty-five years.”²⁰⁰ Perhaps this failure to explain the development of recent foreign policy was partly a result of Latane’s death in 1932, preventing him from putting his consistent voice into future revisions. As a result of this, Bailey’s interest in adopting the book remained

¹⁹⁸ Thomas A. Bailey to Lowell Joseph Ragatz, July 3, 1936, box 1, folder 17, Bailey Papers.

¹⁹⁹ Graham H. Stuart, Review of *History of American Foreign Policy* by John H. Latane, *The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (September, 1927), 191-192. See also, John Holladay Latane, *A History of American Foreign Policy* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1927) and John Halladay Latane and David Wainhouse, *A History of American Foreign Policy* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1934).

²⁰⁰ Review of *A History of American Foreign Policy*, *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (December 1934), 370.

limited. Bailey was open to Bemis's text and ultimately decided to adopt the book in August 1936.²⁰¹ No matter, Bailey's tone in the correspondence suggested dissatisfaction with his available options. His own textbook was crafted to rectify this frustration.

Constructing and Editing *A Diplomatic History of the American People*

Between 1935 and 1938, Bailey drafted the preliminary manuscript for *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. By May 1936, he submitted a new request for Stanford funds in order to travel to the Library of Congress and uncover more manuscript materials and funding for a graduate student to continue researching footnotes and clippings. A typist was also needed. The project, then tentatively named "Main Currents of American Diplomatic History," had started integrating public opinion into the narrative. At the time, Bailey was halfway through the manuscript with twenty out of forty chapters completed and six publishers were interested in the book. F.S. Crofts, which ultimately published the text, had already seen portions of the manuscript. After the publishing house's adviser on history manuscripts, Dixon Ryan Fox, reviewed the specimen chapter, Fred Crofts wrote to Bailey with a personal offer to publish the finished volume.²⁰² A year later, Bailey was "working away on the rewriting of about chapter twenty" with the goal of finishing the full manuscript before the summer of 1938.²⁰³ Little else is known about this period in the drafting of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. Bailey's early drafts have not been preserved in any archive and his

²⁰¹ Thomas A. Bailey to Paul Pearlman, August 22, 1936, box 1, folder 17, Bailey Papers.

²⁰² Thomas A. Bailey to E.A. Cottrell, May 15, 1936, box 1, folder 16, Bailey Papers.

²⁰³ Thomas A. Bailey to Gordon Wright, November 10, 1937, box 1, folder 21, Bailey Papers.

correspondence is limited. It appears that he worked on the textbook primarily in solitude with the help of a couple of graduate student researchers from 1935 to early 1938.

In the first half of 1938 Bailey started to send his working chapter draft to notable academics within his professional network. Dixon Ryan Fox later remarked that Bailey had “more thoroughly and successfully than any other historian...sought and secured a special corps of experts to give preliminary critical reading to each chapter.” As editor, Fox felt that this effort would allow the text to “face his final public with an unusual assurance.”²⁰⁴ Indeed, Bailey was wary of what he saw as “the liability of error” in the project, hence the extensive peer review process he enacted. In sum, Bailey’s finished book listed eighty historians as reviewers and additional members of the Stanford English Department who reviewed the work for “style and syntax.” The historians came from a range of colleges and universities, public and private, large and small.²⁰⁵ Some of these peer reviews had a discernible effect on the final, published version of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. The network even included authors with competing textbooks, Bemis in particular. The previous year Bailey had reviewed Bemis’s text at Bemis’s request, making minor corrections and suggestions to portions of chapters Bailey was qualified to review. In his reply, he encouraged Bemis to reconsider characterizing the Hoover administration as “Humanitarian” since the Bonus Army would likely take exception to it.²⁰⁶ Bemis was grateful for Bailey’s suggestion and later requested that his

²⁰⁴ “Editor’s Foreword” in Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, ix-xiv.

²⁰⁵ “Preface” in Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, xi.

²⁰⁶ Thomas A. Bailey to Samuel Flagg Bemis, January 17, 1936, box 1, folder 21, Bailey Papers.

publisher, Henry Holt and Company, send a copy of the published text to Bailey in August 1937.²⁰⁷

When it came time for Bailey to ask Bemis to review chapters for his own book he first approached Bemis with modesty—likely somewhat fabricated—saying that he felt “ashamed to send such elementary stuff to the leading scholar in the field.” Bemis received a few of the first chapters of the volume, which suited his specialty in American diplomatic and foreign policy history in the early republic. In what was common practice for this correspondence, Bailey asked Bemis to “glance the chapters over for any glaring errors of fact or interpretation that would not be caught in the ordinary checking” and “also any misappropriation” since Bailey’s text would be a broad synthesis of existing scholarship. He admitted that his first chapter was “very sophomoric,” but would be “bolstered and rewritten” since he “touched too lightly on certain technical matters having to do with international law,” listing the foreign policy during the American Revolution and Armed Neutrality in the early republic as prime examples of this concern.²⁰⁸

Bemis took the opportunity to respond to Bailey, criticizing his synthesis, and what he perceived as a lack of citation. The reply seems like a shot across the bow to a future competitor rather than any reasonable criticism. It also had a distinct impact on Bailey’s published text. Bemis wrote in June of 1938:

I do not suggest that you omit the references for your quotations, but I do rather think you ought to give more prominence by citations. Not too numerous, but nevertheless appropriate to such authorities on have already

²⁰⁷ Samuel Flagg Bemis to C.A. Madison, August 2, 1937, box 56, folder 697, (MS74) Samuel Flagg Bemis Papers, 1891-1973, Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

²⁰⁸ Thomas A. Bailey to Samuel Flagg Bemis, May 19, 1938, box 1, folder 22, Bailey Papers.

worked the ground and established the fundamental truths or interpretations... When you cite these authorities in your present text it is rather by way of taking a quoted document from them than informing the innocent reader of the significance of their original scholarship, contribution, new interpretation, characterization, or even original phrases.²⁰⁹

Bailey took some exception to this feedback. He wrote in response to Bemis that he had, indeed, studied many of the documents himself and even found inaccuracies in the ways that were quoted in published secondary sources. He also made a conscious decision to “avoid freighting [his] work with footnotes.” Credit would be given to Bailey’s scholarly predecessors in each chapter’s corresponding bibliographical note after the conclusion of the synthesized narrative. However, the “force” of Bemis’s “suggestion” compelled Bailey to “add footnote references throughout the manuscript to the more important monographs, as well as continue with [his] plan for the critical bibliography.”²¹⁰ A look at the finished textbook indicates that he was careful to address Bemis’s concerns and alleviate any potential fallout from perceived professional slights. The earliest editions of *A Diplomatic History of the American People* contain a “Bibliographical Introduction” alongside the acknowledgements and preface of the textbook. The introduction stated that Bailey did extensive work with primary sources, including some of the sources of which Bemis expressed concern. It also includes an ode to “the monumental work of Samuel Flagg Bemis and Grace Gardner Griffin” in *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States, 1775-1921*, which Bailey said “is so complete as to make fuller bibliographies unnecessary.” He also plainly said that he “derived many ideas and facts from the excellent treatises of a few listed scholars “and particularly Samuel Flagg

²⁰⁹ Samuel Flagg Bemis to Thomas A. Bailey, June 27, 1938, box 1, folder 22, Bailey Papers.

²¹⁰ Thomas A. Bailey to Samuel Flagg Bemis, August 10, 1938, box 1, folder 22, Bailey Papers.

Bemis.”²¹¹ Perhaps it was a mere coincidence that Bailey included this language rather than it being a direct attempt at appeasing his competitor, but Bemis’s textbook, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, included no comparable bibliographical note. It appears that Bemis’s warnings did lead Bailey to make an effort to give his academic predecessors their due in order to enhance the scholarly integrity of the finished textbook.

Bailey also sent manuscript chapters to a broader community of historians and colleagues. Bailey was sure to send chapters which matched each reviewer’s specialty as a historian. Herbert Eugene Bolton received the draft manuscript chapters of what would become chapter XVI, “The Annexation of Texas, 1821-1845,” and chapter XVII, “War and Peace with Mexico, 1846-1848.” Charles Tansill received what would become chapter XX, “The Dawn of Asiatic Interests,” and chapter XXVII, “Blaine and Spirited Diplomacy, 1877-1893.” W. Stull Holt was asked to comment on chapter XXXII, “Acquiring the Panama Canal Zone, 1900-1903,” and chapter XLII, “Coolidge and the Diplomacy of Prosperity, 1923-1929.” Howard K. Beale was asked to review a grouping of chapters covering Theodore Roosevelt’s diplomatic actions in the early twentieth century. John Caughey was asked to review chapters related to westward expansion and disputes.²¹²

The responses Bailey received to these requests for peer review were varied in their usefulness. Some provided words of encouragement rather than more extensive

²¹¹ To see the discrepancy in bibliographic entries between Bailey’s and Bemis’s books see Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* and Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*.

²¹² See Thomas A. Bailey to Herbert Eugene Bolton, May 28, 1938, box 1, folder 22, Bailey Papers; Charles Tansill to Thomas A. Bailey, March 26, 1938, box 1, folder 29, Bailey Papers; Thomas A. Bailey to W. Stull Holt, July 13, 1938, box 1, folder 25, Bailey Papers; Thomas A. Bailey to Howard K. Beale, June 6, 1938, box 1, folder 22, Bailey Papers; Thomas A. Bailey to John Caughey, June 3, 1938, box 1, folder 23, Bailey Papers. This is a partial listing of the historians who received chapters for review. A wider sampling is available in the Bailey Papers at Stanford.

feedback about Bailey's treatment of the subject within each chapter. Others provided brief historiographical suggestions. Caughey provided what he described as a "trivial list of annotations" on the chapter draft he returned to Bailey, observing that "several paragraphs [were] needed on [James K.] Polk's utilization" of his administration's diplomats.²¹³ Additional scholars in Bailey's network provided feedback directly tied to the historical interpretations within the manuscript. Fred Harvey Harrington, then just beginning his career at the University of Wisconsin, offered comment on Bailey's treatment of the Philippines. Characteristic of his liberal anti-imperialism views, and what would become the foundation of the Wisconsin School of Diplomatic History, Harrington wrote Bailey was "unwise" to lump the Open Door Policy in with his coverage of the United States' actions in the Philippines. He encouraged Bailey to focus on the motives of the silverites, who were seeking a war to move the country off the gold standard, the emotional nature of colonial expansion, and the political ambitions of early imperialists that did not necessarily align with the ethos of Hay's Open Door Note.²¹⁴ Bailey bracketed off this section of Harrington's letter and responded to the concern. He wrote, "I am a bit uneasy myself about having the Open Door with the Philippines," but ultimately elected to stick with the draft as it was since he initially tried both interpretations and the "advantages" of putting the Open Door and Philippines together

²¹³ John Caughey to Thomas A. Bailey, June 21, 1938, box 1, folder 23, Bailey Papers. Unfortunately, the attached chapter Caughey apparently returned to Bailey is not included in the Bailey Papers. This is rather common in the collection. Many letters reference an attached hand-marked chapter, but few letters have the full chapter included in the collection. Much of what I have included in this chapter is pulled from the cover letters Bailey's reviewers included summarizing the reviewers' thoughts.

²¹⁴ Fred Harvey Harrington to Thomas A. Bailey, February 15, 1939, box 2, folder 6, Bailey Papers.

“seem[ed] to outweigh the disadvantages.”²¹⁵ No changes were made to the final text, but the historiographical debate was present in the process.

Many of Bailey’s colleagues noted both historiographical and stylistic advantages to Bailey’s vision for the textbook in progress. Robert Pollard of the University of Washington declared that Bailey’s “statement of aims” was “decidedly significant.” Pollard was specifically referring to the book’s purpose to move beyond conventional interpretations of diplomatic history. He believed, like Bailey, that “too much of the writing on American diplomatic history has been concerned with diplomatic exchange, and far too little with social, economic, and political forces, including public opinion, which serves as the solid foundation upon which national policy must inevitably rest.”²¹⁶ At Wisconsin, Harrington also admired these historiographical features and added that Bailey’s “use of quotations and cartoons, the cutting down of name-date material as well as the other features mentioned give promise of an excellent book.”²¹⁷

Merle Curti, another notable Wisconsin progressive historian and future textbook author, provided further feedback echoing Pollard’s and Harrington’s endorsement of Bailey’s approach to the subject matter. Foreshadowing his later pioneering work in social history, Curti wrote to Bailey:

I like immensely your use of quotations from newspapers, periodicals and the like. But what is the purpose of these? I take it that one purpose at least is to indicate what various representatives of various interests and groups were saying about diplomatic problems and relationships. Would it not be desirable and possible to suggest, at least, that these quotations themselves reflect more than abstract, illustrative “opinion” or “verbalization”? Just who were these writers, what was the frame of reference of their periodicals or newspapers, what did they stand for?

²¹⁵ Thomas A. Bailey to Fred Harvey Harrington, February 21, 1939, box 2, folder 6, Bailey Papers.

²¹⁶ Robert Pollard to Thomas A. Bailey, June 3, 1938, box 1, folder 28, Bailey Papers.

²¹⁷ Fred Harvey Harrington to Thomas A. Bailey, March 30, 1938, box 1, folder 26, Bailey Papers.

This portion of the letter received a margin note—“good”—from Bailey, who was eager to bring a wide array of voices to life in the textbook. A more inclusive view of American diplomacy remained a central goal throughout the project and Curti also encouraged Bailey to show the linkages between these new voices and the Department of State. Curti was even more enthusiastic about Bailey’s style, stating “American diplomatic history has never, to [his] knowledge, been written to engagingly and interestingly.” He lamented the “dreadful tradition” historians have continued which propagated the belief “that diplomatic history is dry and...removed from the actual stuff of everyday life.” Bailey had “brought [diplomatic history] down to earth where it belongs.” Curti ended his feedback predicting “much success” for *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. Bailey took note as he read Curti’s feedback, underlining where Curti praised his approach to the topic and jotting in the margin that Curti’s “words give me courage.”²¹⁸ John Caughey also appreciated Bailey’s ability to bring diplomatic history to life, complimenting Bailey’s use of contemporary quotations in conjunction with Bailey’s “own words and interpretations” which “match the best of the quotations.”²¹⁹ This correspondence was an early indication that Bailey’s approach to textbook writing would be widely accepted by readers—professional scholars and students.

Positive reviews were not universal. There was some concern expressed in regard to Bailey’s stylistic choices. Charles Hunter of the University of Hawaii pointed directly to his perception that Bailey has used sarcasm throughout the text and the potential for confusion for students who would be reading the text. Bailey insisted that he would

²¹⁸ Merle E. Curti to Thomas A. Bailey, May 7, 1938, box 1, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

²¹⁹ John Caughey to Thomas A. Bailey, June 21, 1938, box 1, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

continue to “fully reserve the right to employ sarcasm” where it would be effective in the book, despite Hunter’s warnings. Hunter had provided Bailey with a warning based on the fact that, even by Bailey’s own admission, sarcastic statements are “out of place in a PhD dissertation.” However, Bailey reminded him that “it so happens [he was] not writing a PhD dissertation” enthusiastically adding “thank God!”²²⁰ Hunter’s response to Bailey’s defiance is particularly noteworthy. He insisted that he was not opposed to the use of ironic or sarcastic language in concept. His reservations centered on two key areas. First, he worried that the sophomore and freshmen students reading the book would have to be “hit...over the head” with the phrasing “so they would not take it literally.” Lastly, he questioned whether Bailey’s prose style was some sort of overcompensation. Comparing Ernest Hemingway’s “compulsion to show redbloodedness” which some critics saw as “wearing false hair on the chest,” Hunter argued that Bailey’s stylistic choices would be seen in a similar light. He contemplated whether or not Bailey’s “vaunted pants” would be “violently removed—and in public.”²²¹

There was certainly reason to be concerned that Bailey’s innovative text would be seen as too far outside the norm. This was no secret to Bailey. Early in the process of sending chapters out for review he noted “whether I write this book at age thirty-five or sixty-five the reviewers will undoubtedly take my hide off” but later in his career he likely wouldn’t have the energy to try. He viewed the textbook’s first edition as the first iteration of his work as a textbook author. Since he was publishing it “early in [his] career” Bailey would “have ample time to revise it in light of the criticisms of reviewers

²²⁰ Thomas A. Bailey to Charles Hunter, February 25, 1938, box 1, folder 26, Bailey Papers.

²²¹ Charles Hunter to Thomas A. Bailey, March 19, 1938, box 1, folder 26, Bailey Papers.

and friends.” Perhaps most telling was Bailey’s assertion that he had “some fresh ideas” and the drive to publish them since they were commercially viable. He cited his “experience trying to peddle a manuscript of a monograph in the midst of the depression” as the impetus for his “wisdom of doing something that has some appeal to a commercial publishing house.”²²² Ultimately, Bailey was conscious of this dichotomy central to his style. While its reader-oriented approach was marketable for any reputable textbook publisher, it was not likely to be widely accepted and praised by academic historians or research men. He indicated to Edward Mead Earle that students would like his extreme “figurative language” but professors would not. As a result, he would act on Earle’s suggestion to tone it down somewhat.²²³ Bailey saw a “middle category” that would be “sound from the standpoint of scholarship, yet sufficiently animated in style as not to repel readers.” He was striving for the “spoken language” his critics noted in their reviews rather than the language of the *American Historical Review*. Bailey knew he would likely be seen as a “radical” in this regard, but he stayed with his “idea that language should be used to convey, not cloud, thought.”²²⁴ The advice of Bailey’s colleagues was heard, but overall he held to his stylistic convictions and the vision he laid out for the volume in his initial proposal in 1935.

A Diplomatic History of the American People in a Competitive Marketplace

Before *A Diplomatic History of the American People* was ultimately published with F.S. Crofts, it was sought after by publishers because of Bailey’s distinct approach

²²² Thomas A. Bailey to Merle E. Curti, April 30, 1938, box 1, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

²²³ Thomas A. Bailey to Edward Mead Earle, February 9, 1939, box 2, folder 5, Bailey Papers.

²²⁴ Thomas A. Bailey to Edward Mead Earle, February 15, 1939, box 2, folder 5, Bailey Papers.

to the subject. Notably, Allan Nevins approached Bailey on behalf of D.C. Heath and Company, citing the need for a new book to compete with Bemis's *A Diplomatic History of the United States*. At the time, Nevins was a central figure in considerable discussion of the inherent dullness of academic history. In an issue of *The Saturday Review of Literature*, Nevins published "What's the Matter with History?" lamenting the fact that few historical books in the preceding years "attain[ed] a wide reading public." To Nevins, academic historians tended to fall short of crafting readable prose. He also labeled three distinct approaches to historical writing. The first, he labeled "pedants," who were so preoccupied with the scholarly values of historical work—the laborious thoroughness and extreme accuracy—that they totally neglect all literary values." The second, the "popularizers," were "so preoccupied with the literary values of their work—with interest and color—that they are careless or even contemptuous of precision and thoroughness" much like Bailey. Nevins believed that "the health of history," and its appeal to readers, depended on historian's ability to find a middle ground between pedantry and popularization. He wrote, "the best history is neither mere pedestrian fact-accumulation on the one side nor mere pleasant writing on the other, but represents a fusion of facts, ideas and literary grace in a single whole." Too strict adherence to the pedantry of academic history would suppress interest in historical works.²²⁵ Nevins thought the Bemis textbook was "extremely expert at many points" but "badly marred...by its opinionated....quality and by its literary flatness." Nevins clearly viewed Bemis's work as too pedantic to meet a wide, engaged readership. In broader terms, Nevins critiqued

²²⁵ Allan Nevins, "What's the Matter with History?" *The Saturday Review of Literature* Vol. XIX, No 15, February 4, 1939, 3-5.

the emerging professionalization of academic history for the tendency to “warp and destroy” the talent of history graduate students. In universities, these “ambitious spirits” were trained “to look for petty monograph subjects, drill them in their own plodding, barren discipline of footnotes and bibliography, and kill the vital spark.” Conversely, Nevins praised “A younger generation of university men” which was “springing up and manifesting a healthy impatience with pedantry.”²²⁶ Bailey’s approach, both scholarly and literary, was the antidote Nevins sought to challenge Bemis’s work and a part of the new movement to create more engaging scholarly histories.

Nevins wanted Bailey’s *A Diplomatic History of the American People* for D.C. Heath’s University Series to published in a “format as attractive as J.G. Randall’s *Civil War and Reconstruction*” and promote the highest sales possible.²²⁷ There are some rather notable similarities to the book Randall produced and the volume Bailey ultimately published with F.S. Crofts. Randall attempted to “reproduce the feelings and problems of a civilization in a time of distortion, stress, and passion” much like Bailey’s efforts to recreate the contemporary atmosphere of diplomatic history. In fulfillment of his “merciful wish to spare the reader” of excessive detail, Randall condensed coverage of the Grant administration in favor of fuller coverage of the Civil War within the limitations on the text’s length. Further, the volume also included copious numbers of illustrations showing contemporary documents and posters as well as photographs of significant men of the time.²²⁸ Much of this approach echoes Bailey’s own proposal for *A Diplomatic History of the American People* and the resulting published volume.

²²⁶ Nevins, “What’s the Matter with History?”, 16.

²²⁷ Allan Nevins to Thomas A. Bailey, May 19, 1938, box 1, folder 28, Bailey Papers.

²²⁸ J.G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1937), vi-xvii.

Nevins's offer was of interest to Bailey, who agreed to send sample chapters for review so Nevins could get a sense of Bailey's aims and style. Bailey was careful to keep D.C. Heath open as an option since he was concerned that Crofts would hesitate to "publish what [he regarded] as a reasonable number of contemporary cartoons for illustrative purposes." There was a sense of pride in his collection of cartoons and he boasted to Nevins that he had collected "every early American caricature of any significance." He had gone to great lengths to uncover each item, working through over 30,000 individual pieces at "the great Eastern collections, ranging geographically from the American Antiquarian Society...to the Library of Congress."²²⁹ This collected material was essential to Bailey's vision for *A Diplomatic History of the American People* and it was imperative that his chosen publisher was fully on board for with his use of these materials. Ultimately, Bailey's textbook would feature twenty-four cartoons. Bemis's *A Diplomatic History of the United States* did not include a single cartoon.²³⁰

Around the same time Nevins pursued Bailey's manuscript on behalf of D.C. Heath, Bemis and Henry Holt and Company, the publisher of Bemis's *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, started to take note. Unlike Nevins, the staff of the college department at Holt were dismissive of Bailey's forthcoming book, telling Bemis they

²²⁹ See Thomas A. Bailey to Allen Nevins, May 24, 1938, box 1, folder 28, Bailey Papers. There are two versions of this letter and one is marked "Not Sent." The quotes are from the unsent version.

²³⁰ See the "List of Cartoons" in Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, xxiii-xxiv; and Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*. Notably, Bemis's text includes thirty-five maps in comparison to the twenty-three Bailey's book lists on p. xxi. Further, Bemis's text includes eighteen "Tables and Diagrams" in comparison to Bailey's nine "Tables and Appendices." It is unclear precisely how readers responded to Bemis's use of maps, tables, and diagrams, but I can conclusively say that Bailey's readers responded positively to his use of cartoons. This fact outlined in my citations throughout this chapter, and the resulting sales numbers, indicates that his decision to emphasize cartoons over Bemis's maps, diagrams, and tables. See "Maps" and "Tables and Diagrams" in Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, xi-xii for a full listing of these items and their location in the textbook.

were skeptical he “need[ed] to worry too much about it since [Bemis’s] book ha[d] established itself so thoroughly as a commanding book in the field.” Holt’s college department expected the Bemis text to hold at the same level of sales, after the addition of an extra chapter in 1940 or 1941 to update the book and account for the years since publication.²³¹ By July of 1938, Bemis did not seem too concerned about the threat Bailey’s book presented to his own book’s market share. Writing to T.J. Wilson at the time, he remarked dismissively that the chapters Bailey sent him for review were “a rewrite of the standard literature of the period 1775-1800,” namely Bemis’s own scholarship. He noted Bailey’s use of the “spicy phraseology of campus” as well as “contemporary...journalistic expressions...of a vivid and peppy nature.”²³² Overall, to Bemis and Holt there was little reason to be concerned about the coming publication of Bailey’s new work. Conventional wisdom dictated that Bemis’s traditional scholarly approach and his reputation as senior diplomatic historian would win over professors adopting a diplomatic history text no matter the stylistic innovations Bailey included in his text.

In the early months of 1939 before Bailey’s text was published, Bemis’s dismissive attitude toward Bailey’s soon-to-be-released text shifted. The exact reasons for this change remain unclear, but Bemis’s concern for the competition was evident. In January of that year, he conceded to T.J. Wilson at Henry Holt that Bailey’s “will be a good book” since “it will be written down to campus style and will sell well.” Providing a further concession, he wrote that “Bailey is a first-rate scholar and his work will

²³¹ T.J. Wilson to Samuel Flagg Bemis, June 13, 1938, box 56, folder 698, Bemis Papers.

²³² Samuel Flagg Bemis to T.J. Wilson, July 9, 1938, box 56, folder 698, Bemis Papers.

incorporate the new literature on the subject” which was published after the inaugural edition of Bemis’s text. In the first of many such requests, Bemis implored Holt to plan to release a new edition of *A Diplomatic History of the United States* in September of 1940 to directly compete with Bailey’s new text. Bemis was convinced that without a new edition his book would “lose ground to Bailey’s.”²³³

Despite Bemis’s change of heart, the staff at Henry Holt remained dismissive, refusing to see Bailey’s book as a serious threat because of the considerable financial investment they had already made in the Bemis text. Wilson conceded that any “outstanding book runs the risk of being attacked and possibly threatened by a competitive book,” however, he did not see the Bailey book posing such a threat even if it was “a fairly considerable success.” Citing confidence in Bemis’s work, Wilson held faith that the book’s adoption numbers would hold steady. It was unclear if Wilson actually meant what he said, or if he was simply playing to Bemis’s ego as the senior, established diplomatic historian. In reality, Holt was in a financial bind with Bemis’s text and unwilling or unable to commit the financial resources to a revision. In early 1939, Holt had enough stock of Bemis’s book to last throughout 1940 and “could not consider any revision of the plates of the present edition before 1941.” There was even doubt that a new edition would make financial sense for the publisher in 1941. Instead, Wilson recommended the publication of a thirty to fifty-page pamphlet in 1940, which would cover current diplomatic events since the publication of the first edition. It seems this pamphlet would substitute for the addition of a new chapter in a revised edition.²³⁴ Bemis

²³³ Samuel Flagg Bemis to T.J. Wilson, January 24, 1939, box 56, folder 699, Bemis Papers.

²³⁴ T.J. Wilson to Samuel Flagg Bemis, January 27, 1939, box 56, folder 699, Bemis Papers.

understood Wilson's concerns about the feasibility of an immediate revised edition given the stock on hand, but he strongly objected to Wilson's compromise. The "little supplementary booklet" was seen as "an awkward thing at best, and a confession of incompleteness on the part of the history" which competing salesmen promoting Bailey's book could point to as a sign of weakness. He wanted no additional printings of his book, preferring to sell down the available stock and revise. The sense that "teachers will turn to [Bailey's book], with justification" had started to permeate Bemis's mind.²³⁵ Wilson held his ground, emphasizing to Bemis that "the market for a text in American diplomatic history [was] not an enormous market" and a book already as expensive to produce as Bemis's needed to last five years before revision to be financially viable and worthy of fresh or modified printing plates.²³⁶

Bemis's worries were not ended because of Holt's financial bind. He continued his attempts to assess the threat Bailey's book posed. Most notably, Bemis had a conversation with Bailey's publisher, Fred Crofts, during a visit to Yale. According to Bemis's recollection, Crofts admitted Bailey's *Diplomatic History* was "based a great deal on [Bemis's]." Echoing his warning to Bailey regarding citations and bibliographical notes, Bemis "suggested to [Crofts] the desirability of stating" Bailey's use of Bemis's text throughout the book. Crofts also indicated that the intention for his publishing house was to have the Bailey book "appeal to a slightly lower level than" that of *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, affirming Bemis's contention that the book was "written down into a sprightly campus vernacular" in support of Bailey's aim to

²³⁵ Samuel Flagg Bemis to T.J. Wilson, January 30, 1939, box 56, folder 699, Bemis Papers.

²³⁶ T.J. Wilson to Samuel Flagg Bemis, February 8, 1939, box 56, folder 699, Bemis Papers.

“cultivate...‘reader interest.’” It is unclear precisely how forthcoming Crofts was being in this conversation with Bemis. Having already acquired Baileys text for his own publishing house, Crofts had some interest in keeping trade secrets to himself and misleading Bemis. For example, it is questionable whether or not Crofts truly was seeking a lower-level audience that would not take away too much from Bemis’s wide adoption. It is possible that Crofts indicated this to Bemis to assuage the historian’s fear of competition. No matter, Bemis’s recollection of the conversation served to confirm the fact that F.S. Crofts saw the opportunity to disrupt the textbook market with a volume written in a language that would resonate with student readers. Whatever Crofts’s intent in the conversation, Bemis’s reaction was clear. Anticipating publication in 1940 based on his conversation with Crofts, Bemis once again implored Holt to allow him to revise his text, but to no avail.²³⁷

It was not until August 1939 that T.J. Wilson and Holt were on board with the idea of revising *A Diplomatic History of the United States* quickly to compete with Bailey’s expected publication in 1940. There were some financial caveats to this new willingness to revise the first edition. First, Holt did not “feel justified in sacrificing 500 to 1,000 copies” even with the expected rate of selling down the remaining 6,300 copies of the first edition held in the Holt warehouse. Over the coming years, the publisher expected to sell 3,000 copies annually. Further, the proposed revision would not include an investment in the novel features of Bailey’s book—“illustrations, cartoons, and photographs.” Wilson saw little potential financial return on such an investment because “many teachers would realize” the inclusion of this material was an attempt “to take the

²³⁷ Samuel Flagg Bemis to T.J. Wilson, February 17, 1939, box 56, folder 699, Bemis Papers.

edge off [Bailey's] innovation" and even "resented." Lastly, Wilson was skeptical of "the efficacy of this kind of illustration in a book like [Bemis's]." ²³⁸ Throughout the remainder of 1939, Bemis continued to insist on the necessity of a revised edition of his book, but Wilson remained conservative. Wilson insisted that the Holt salesmen "feel absolutely no fear for [Bemis's] book" since it "ha[d] made so strong an impression that no other book [could] threaten it for some time to come." ²³⁹

Another blow came to Bemis's hopes for a swift revision in September 1939 when Wilson insisted on delaying revision until "all American post-war policies" were finalized. Otherwise, the revision would "be out of date very quickly." In addition to this rationale, Wilson indicated that there was some level of inevitability to the success of Bailey's book if Bemis's concerns proved correct. Bailey's new book would secure adoptions, many of the adopters being former users of Bemis's text, and Holt's "mere promise to teachers" that there would be "a new edition of [*A Diplomatic History of the United States*] in September" would not keep any teacher from adopting Bailey instead "if they like Bailey's book." Bemis's first edition had been fortunate to compete with only one book, John Latane's already outdated *A History of American Foreign Policy*. As a result he was able to rapidly secure adoptions with a new book. But, in the late 1930s, "the field...already changed somewhat" with more change to come if Bailey's book found success. A premature revision of Bemis's text wouldn't allow Holt and the author to properly adjust the revised edition based on the shift in the market. ²⁴⁰ After being

²³⁸ T.J. Wilson to Samuel Flagg Bemis, August 9, 1939, box 56, folder 700, Bemis Papers.

²³⁹ See Samuel Flagg Bemis to T.J. Wilson, September 7, 1939, box 56, folder 700, Bemis Papers; T.J. Wilson to Samuel Flagg Bemis, September 9, 1939, box 56, folder 700, Bemis Papers.

²⁴⁰ T.J. Wilson to Samuel Flagg Bemis, September 11, 1939, box 56, folder 700, Bemis Papers.

promised a revised edition if Bailey's book provided robust competition, Bemis wrote to Bailey expressing good wishes for the impending publication of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. Bemis promised to be a good sport about the competition and nothing would diminish his respect for Bailey's scholarship or character.²⁴¹ In December of 1939, he had received his complimentary copy of *A Diplomatic History of the American People* and remarked to Wilson:

Professor Bailey's book has now reached me, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. I wish you would take a look at it. It is very attractively gotten up, particularly the illustrations and maps. I think it will be a very formidable competitor and that we had better direct our plans to a revision of mine that will put his out of date.²⁴²

As 1939 ended Bailey's book was bound and distributed and confirmed Bemis's worry that it would be stiff competition. Many more historians teaching diplomatic history at American colleges and universities would soon get to see the book and choose between Bailey and Bemis.

The Reception of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, there was significant desire among diplomatic historians to have an option other than Bemis's text. Howard K. Beale remarked that "in view of his experience with the [diplomatic history] course, [Beale was] eager to see a more useful book than the Bemis." Beale was awaiting the promised complimentary copy of Bailey's book and hoped to receive it in time to consider it for adoption.²⁴³ Bailey's own assessment of the competition for *A Diplomatic History of the*

²⁴¹ Samuel Flagg Bemis to Thomas A. Bailey, November 20, 1939, box 2, folder 1, Bailey Papers.

²⁴² Samuel Flagg Bemis to T.J. Wilson, December 6, 1939, box 56, folder 700, Bemis Papers.

²⁴³ Howard K. Beale to Thomas A. Bailey, November 27, 1939, box 2, folder 1, Bailey Papers.

American People acknowledged this reception of Bemis's book. He immediately dismissed the threat Latane's work posed given the fact that it had not been revised in eleven years and the publisher's "original plates still [stood], errors and all." As a result, Latane was not a viable text for any professor looking to provide up-to-date content for students. He characterized Bemis's book as "the most recent and scholarly" but dismissed its utility in the classroom and appeal for students. The book was "excellent for graduates" but it was "too encyclopedic and too heavily freighted with detail...to appeal to the average undergraduate." This issue had caused "a number of men" to go back to adopting Latane. Bailey's manuscript was written and revised with this knowledge of the reception of Bemis's work. It was his intent to have his "lucid and colorful" style "attract the average undergraduate" and the professors adopting the book for their courses.²⁴⁴

A positive reception of Bailey's published work started to build as *A Diplomatic History of the American People* was published. Edward Mead Earle agreed to blurb the book for F.S. Crofts. He declared it "one of the best written textbooks which American students have been fortunate to put in their hands for a long time." In addition, he praised the "first-rate scholarship" Bailey incorporated into his work.²⁴⁵ Earle also wrote in *The New Republic* that "there will...be academics who will find this volume so easy to read that they will be suspicious of its authenticity and dignity." Earle's review continued to cite Bailey's meticulous research and praised his interpretive emphasis on the democratic aspects of American diplomacy, namely the intersection of public opinion and economic interests in the aftermath of World War I. To scholars at the time, democratic principles

²⁴⁴ Thomas A. Bailey to F.S. Crofts, January 6, 1939, box 2, folder 4, Bailey Papers.

²⁴⁵ Edward Mead Earle to Allen S. Wilbur, December 19, 1939, box 2, folder 10, Bailey Papers.

and sound scholarship formed the core of a quality textbook.²⁴⁶ Other reviews also acknowledged the scholarly process and distinct style of Bailey's project. *The Baltimore Sun* noted that the author submitted portions of his manuscript to "sixty-seven fellow historians."²⁴⁷

Privately in correspondence, Fred Harvey Harrington further affirmed the viability of Bailey's text, writing to Bailey that *A Diplomatic History of the American People* "should sweep the text field and do well as a trade book too" due to the "splendid combination of scholarship and readability." Bailey noted in the margin of Harrington's letter that it was a "good comment." The positive reviews in publications and correspondence were helping to build Bailey's confidence in his innovation and with good reason. By November of 1940, well into the first adoption year for the text, Harrington declared to Bailey "students and historians agree to [the book's] outstanding qualities. You have arrived."²⁴⁸ Edgar Eugene Robinson was also pleased with his former student's accomplishment. He was "glad to know of the success of the book" and referenced a particularly glowing review in *The Saturday Review of Literature* where a critic had awarded Bailey "first place for the history prize of 1940."²⁴⁹ Professor Mary Williams of Goucher College provided the most telling comment and best evidence that Bailey met his goal to generate reader interest. Williams's "brightest and most ambitious student borrowed [the book]...and read it with much interest fifty pages before she

²⁴⁶ Clipped review from *The New Republic Review* authored by Edward Mead Earle, box 2, folder 12, Bailey Papers.

²⁴⁷ Clipped review from *Baltimore Sun* for *Diplomatic History*, January 7, 1940, box 2, folder 4, Bailey Papers.

²⁴⁸ See Fred Harvey Harrington to Thomas A. Bailey, January 20, 1940, box 2, folder 12, Bailey Papers; Fred Harvey Harrington to Thomas A. Bailey, November 9, 1940, box 2, folder 12, Bailey Papers.

²⁴⁹ Edgar Eugene Robinson to Thomas A. Bailey, April 30, 1940, box 2, folder 14, Bailey Papers.

returned it the next morning.” As an educator, Williams was particularly struck by Bailey’s “bits of verse and well-chosen cartoons” which assisted “student on their way towards grasping the whole.”²⁵⁰ *A Diplomatic History of the American People* and Bailey’s vision were resonating with readers.

Much of the book’s early commercial success can be attributed, in part, to the aggressive promotional strategy Bailey executed in coordination with F.S. Crofts. In November 1939, Bailey requested the six copies he was owed as part of his contract and an additional thirteen copies for personal distribution. He also asked that F.S. Crofts send complimentary copies to seventeen historians who reviewed chapters since the men also consistently taught diplomatic history courses and therefore were candidates for adoption of the book in those classes. Charles Hunter, Bemis, Harrington, and Williams were all included on this list. Lastly, he provided to Crofts a list of “men who teach American history at institutions where American Diplomatic History is not taught, and who would be good prospects for introducing such a course.” John Caughey and W. Stull Holt, a pair of Bailey’s peer reviewers, were two of many on this list of prospects. Bailey specifically requested that Crofts send complimentary copies to this list and was willing to shoulder the financial burden for this promotion if the publisher did not view these as viable candidates to create new courses at their institutions. Lastly, Bailey asked for a number of additional copies to be sent, at his own expense, to personal contacts. This list included many individuals who were enthusiastic about the book project from the beginning—Edward Mead Earle and Allan Nevins—among others who had supported him in his research at the Library of Congress. All told, Bailey sent out sixty-nine copies of the new

²⁵⁰ Mary Williams to Thomas A. Bailey, December 14, 1939, box 2, folder 16, Bailey Papers.

book to supportive colleagues and potential adopters, many of whom appear on his early list of adoptions.²⁵¹

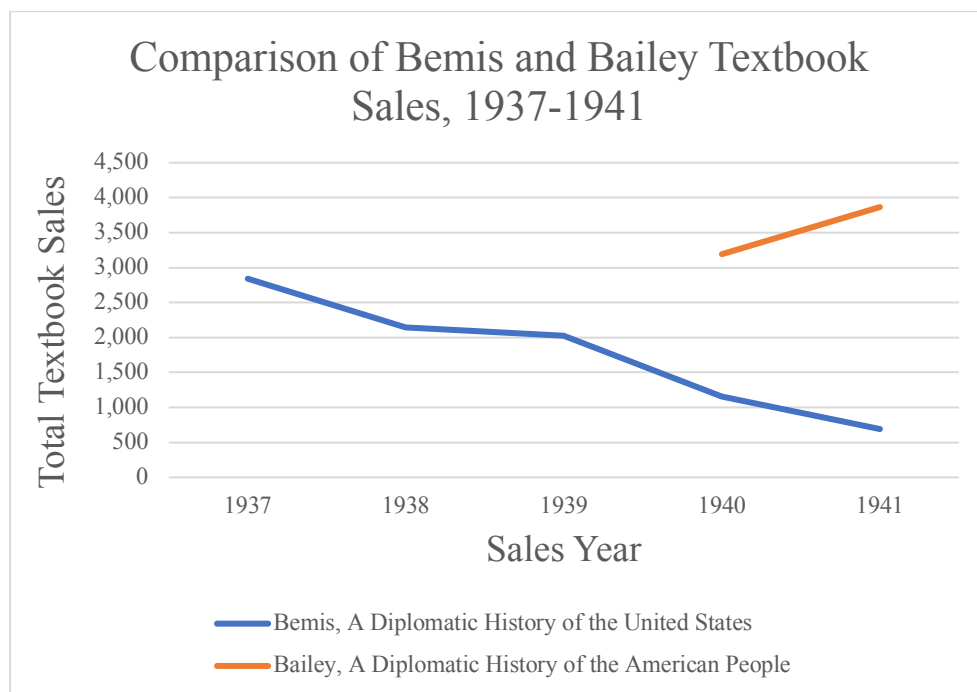


Figure 1: Comparison of Bemis and Bailey Textbook Sales, 1937-1941

This effort to promote *A Diplomatic History of the American People* and Bailey's style quickly won commercial success over Bemis. Bailey's success was devastating for Bemis and Henry Holt and Company. In 1937, the first year of its publication, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* had sold 2,841 copies. The book experienced a small dip in sales to 2,148 in 1938 and 2,203 in 1939—approximately a twenty-two percent decrease in sales over two years caused by some adopters returning to their use of Latane's text. In 1940, Bailey's first year on the market, Bemis's sales cratered to 1,156 copies, which represented approximately forty eight percent decrease. That first year, Bailey's *A Diplomatic History of the American People* sold 3,192 copies. This was more

²⁵¹ Thomas A. Bailey to Allen Wilbur, November 24, 1939, box 2, folder 11, Bailey Papers.

than Bemis had sold even at his peak in 1937 and Bailey's success was not finished. For 1941, Bailey's total sales reached 3,866 and Bemis's reached a nadir of 691 copies representing twenty-four percent of the sales from the book's first year in 1937. The book sold 5,200 copies by April 1942 and Crofts did not have enough copies on hand for fall adoptions in that same year. The book went into its third reprint in May 1941. Allan Wilbur at F.S. Crofts enthusiastically declared the book a "success d'estime."²⁵²

The high sales numbers for Bailey's book can be attributed to a couple key factors. First, the aggressive marketing campaign employed by the author and publisher, promoting the book to as many stakeholders as possible and encouraging them to create courses in diplomatic history based on the Bailey text. Second, Bailey's style made his work accessible to readers and teachers. For Bailey, it was the start of a career as a textbook author and validation of his innovative approach to authorship in the market for diplomatic history textbooks. His colleagues started to take note. Gordon Wright quipped that he heard through Crofts salesmen that Bailey was "becoming a capitalist since the appearance" of the textbook and indicated that his own students were "enthusiastic over the book."²⁵³

²⁵² These royalty figures have been calculated based off a review of both the Bailey Papers and Bemis Papers. For more detail see Allan Wilbur to Thomas A. Bailey, April 4, 1941, box 2, folder 17, Bailey Papers; FS Crofts Royalty Statements for *Diplomatic History*, November 1, 1939 to April 30, 1940, November 1, 1939, box 2, folder 11, Bailey Papers; Royalty Statement from F.S. Crofts – November 1, 1940-April 30, 1941, box 2, folder 18, Bailey Papers; Royalty Statement from F.S. Crofts – May 1, 1941 to October 31, 1941, box 2, folder 18, Bailey Papers; Royalty Statement for the Year 1937, April 25, 1938, box 56, folder 698, Bemis Papers; Royalty Statement for the Year 1938, April 25, 1939, box 56, folder 699, Bemis Papers; Royalty Statement for the Year 1939, April 25, 1940, box 56, folder 701, Bemis Papers; Royalty Statement for 1940, April 25, 1941, box 56, folder 702, Bemis Papers; Royalty Statement for 1941, April 25, 1942, box 56, folder 703, Bemis Papers.

²⁵³ Gordon Wright to Thomas A. Bailey, June 24, 1941, box 2, folder 22, Bailey Papers.

For Bemis and Henry Holt and Company, the publication of Bailey's *A Diplomatic History of the American People* was a catastrophe. As early as January 1940, Robert MacMurphey from the college division, asked Bemis to recapitulate "in some detail several of the shortcomings of the Bailey book" Bemis mentioned in their previous conversations. The publisher was seeking enhanced talking points for the travelling salesmen to use when speaking with professors about adoptions.²⁵⁴ Bemis responded vigorously. In a memo labeled "confidential," he provided his "Comments on Professor Thomas A. Bailey's 'A Diplomatic History of the American People'" in what was his most direct written critique of the style Bailey had crafted. His tone was unmistakable, prefacing the memo with a complaint about Crofts's press agent getting a "puff" piece in *Time* magazine "with an incidental belittling footnote" for Bemis's text. The first grouping of Bemis's critiques can be considered historiographical in nature, focused on the scholarship present in Bailey's work. He attacked Bailey's text for being somewhat derivative and "A Rewrite of Bemis" since Bailey was "careful not to give [Bemis] credit" for his interpretations of American diplomacy. He also griped that the "structure, arrangement, and interpretations of Bailey's book imitate or follow that of Bemis's work" without acknowledgement.²⁵⁵ It is important to turn a critical eye on Bemis's comments, especially since a review of Bailey's book shows they hold little water. In addition to the general bibliographical introduction, which heaped praise on Bemis's scholarship, Bemis was mentioned exhaustively in the footnotes and bibliographical notes appended to each

²⁵⁴ Robert H. MacMurphey to Samuel Flagg Bemis, January 4, 1940, box 56, folder 701, Bemis Papers.

²⁵⁵ Samuel Flagg Bemis to Robert H. MacMurphey, January 10, 1940, box 56, folder 701, Bemis Papers.

individual chapter of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.²⁵⁶ It stands to reason that Bemis's complaints may have been unjustified as he reached for criticisms of Bailey's work.

Bemis also zeroed in on Bailey's emphasis on public opinion, which was "stressed" at the expense of "economics and understanding of International Law." The memo also expressed the belief that Bailey largely ignored Latin America, one specialty of Bemis's work. Here, he also critiqued one of Bailey's stylistic trademarks, the "many amusing cartoons and spicy newspaper quotations." But, Bemis said, "an experienced historian realizes how insecure newspaper and cartoons are as fundamental historical sources." The quotation from the memo is remarkable for a couple reasons. First and foremost, for the way Bemis attempted to position himself as the "experienced historian" over Bailey's relatively young career. Second, he removed the cartoons from all context and did not acknowledge their intended purpose in the text—to enliven the core scholarly narrative.²⁵⁷ It is also worth noting that Bailey's text was originally written to remedy the limited view other sourced provided to diplomatic history. Bailey viewed official speeches, diplomatic correspondence, and policies with skepticism similar to Bemis's distrust of cartoons and news clippings. All of this illustrated the significant historiographical rift between the two scholars.

²⁵⁶ For more detail, see the footnotes and "Bibliographical Note" appended to each chapter in Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.

²⁵⁷ Samuel Flagg Bemis to Robert H. MacMurphey, January 10, 1940, box 56, folder 701, Bemis Papers. For an example of how cartoons enhanced the textbook Bailey had authored, please see my discussion of "Going to Talk to the Boss" from Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 673 in the introduction to this chapter.

The core of Bemis's memo deals with Bailey's "flashy, rather than durable style." Echoing his earlier concerns that Bailey's writing, "written down to the level of campus vernacular," would be highly desirable for students and professors. Bemis turned this observation into a sharp criticism. Bailey's captions were described as "sometimes cheap, undignified, and meretricious." He expressed doubt that teachers would want to employ this style in their classrooms. The style Bemis used in *A Diplomatic History of the United States* "ha[d] not suffered at the hands of any critics" and proved that "a clear, serious and dignified style, not devoid of a sense of humor and never descending into flippancy or ephemeral vernacular, will stand up longer than a collection of wise-cracks, glittery captions and flashy vernacular." Bemis was unaware of his colleague's critiques of his style revealed in Bailey's correspondence. He ended the memo comparing Bailey's text to a "good paint job" that manufacturers may use to cover up the metal beneath—the essential hardware.²⁵⁸

A distillation of the memo made it into the *Holt Intelligencer*, the periodical used internally at Holt to keep salesmen abreast of developments in the house's catalog. Bemis received a copy of the publication from C.A. Madison, his contact in the college department at Holt and he was not pleased that his confidential, potentially inflammatory thoughts made it to print. Bemis requested that Holt "send out an individual letter" to all salesmen who received the *Intelligencer* with instructions to "destroy it forthwith." He worried that the quotations would reflect poorly on himself to the point that he also called the Holt office and insisted that the letter be sent out immediately. Ultimately, Madison

²⁵⁸ Samuel Flagg Bemis to Robert H. MacMurphey, January 10, 1940, box 56, folder 701, Bemis Papers. Note Bemis's use of the word "meretricious." This term was also used to attack literary histories in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as explored earlier in this chapter.

obliged and send a communication to the traveling salesmen to treat Bemis's as confidential and destroy the respective page of the periodical.²⁵⁹ The exchange revealed Bemis's increasingly anxious state of mind in the early years of his competition with Bailey on the college text market.

Revising *A Diplomatic History of the American People*

Bailey's *A Diplomatic History of the American People* was quickly rushed to a reprint and plans were made to craft a revised edition for 1942. In April 1941 Allan Wilbur at F.S. Crofts reached out to Bailey to discuss plans for a second, fully revised edition of the text.²⁶⁰ Bailey planned to update the book's bibliography and incorporate new articles and monographs to keep the book's scholarly quality up-to-date.²⁶¹ The book's continued success required Bailey to synthesize scholarship from across the historical profession. He was set on giving the book a full revision for the spring or summer of 1942 instead of providing a supplementary pamphlet to bring content up-to-date, especially since news of Bemis's forthcoming revision had reached the Crofts college department. The revision of the core text also put another project on hold—a book of primary source documents to accompany the book.²⁶² The publisher was eager to keep hold of the market share earned from Bemis and Henry Holt. By August 1941 Bailey was ready to commit to a full revision for the following fall in an effort to keep

²⁵⁹ See C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, January 30, 1940, box 56, folder 701, Bemis Papers; Samuel Flagg Bemis to Robert MacMurphey, January 31, 1940, Bemis Papers; C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, January 31, 1940, box 56, folder 701, Bemis Papers.

²⁶⁰ Allan Wilbur to Thomas A. Bailey, April 4, 1941, box 2, folder 17, Bailey Papers.

²⁶¹ Thomas A. Bailey to Allan Wilbur, August 6, 1941, box 2, folder 17, Bailey Papers.

²⁶² Allan Wilbur to Thomas A. Bailey, April 4, 1941, box 2, folder 17, Bailey Papers.

Bemis and his book “over the barrel.” He and Crofts needed to avoid Bemis’s new edition rendering Bailey’s *Diplomatic History* “obsolete,” much as Bailey had done to Bemis’s book in 1940. Maintaining adoption numbers required Bailey’s book to match Bemis’s revision cycle. In addition to updated bibliographies, Bailey’s revision would include corrections throughout the academic year and new plates for some sections of the core text significantly affected by developments in diplomatic relations. In fact, Bailey felt that some of these developments could even help drive sales and provide a logical end to a text on diplomatic relations. He wrote, “from the viewpoint of the textbook business it would be fortunate if we should get into a shooting war because we could have a definite place at which to end the chapter.” Through the revision process, Bailey intended to make *A Diplomatic History of the American People* “the leader in the field” rather than merely a consistent seller.²⁶³ Wilbur concurred that the revision must be a priority, asking to have it in hand by May 1, 1942 in order to prepare a detailed prospectus of edits and revisions to send out to adopting professors.²⁶⁴

Bailey and Wilbur were correct that Bemis was preparing a revision with Henry Holt and Company with a targeted release date of spring 1942, but that revision process was fraught with competing priorities. Ever conscious of cost, Holt’s Robert MacMurphey insisted that the book would remain unrevised for the first 600 pages, with a near complete rewrite for the remainder of the book. He also requested that Bemis do everything in his power to keep the book at its current length and, if possible, shorten the text. In addition to pricing concerns, this revision was to be done in response to

²⁶³ Thomas A. Bailey to Allan Wilbur, August 6, 1941, box 2, folder 17, Bailey Papers.

²⁶⁴ Allan Wilbur to Thomas A. Bailey, November 21, 1941, box 2, folder 18, Bailey Papers.

complaints received from teachers that the text was too long.²⁶⁵ Bemis responded with an alternate idea to expand the book into two volumes, which he felt would allow him to stress contemporary Latin American diplomacy and “problems of the present war.” He also saw this as an opportunity to break into the trade market if the book was “dressed up with illustrations” and “portraits of American statesmen.”²⁶⁶ This proposal noticeably echoes Bailey’s approach to textbook authorship and is indicative of Bemis’s effort to construct a textbook that, in some ways, mirrored Bailey’s. Focusing on issues associated with the then-expanding World War II runs parallel to Bailey’s mission to educate American citizens and statesmen involved in contemporary diplomacy. His desire to include illustrations calls to mind the amount of visual material Bailey sought to make a staple of his own text. Here, Bemis shows that he was conscious of parts of what made Bailey a success, though he offered no change to his writing style. He stuck to the conventions of writing history that Bailey sought to avoid.

Even if Bemis had wanted to adjust his style, the rewrite would have been financially untenable for Henry Holt and Company. The publisher was unwilling to invest in a two-volume edition, despite a professor at Iowa State University who suggested a two-volume publication. A single professor’s opinion did not make the idea viable. The number of potential courses in diplomatic history for which the second volume would be used remained too low to justify the investment.²⁶⁷ In October 1941, Robert MacMurphey conceded that there may be a slight chance for a financial justification for a “complete re-setting” of the book. However, he expressed concern that

²⁶⁵ Robert MacMurphey to Samuel Flagg Bemis, April 21, 1941, box 56, folder 702, Bemis Papers.

²⁶⁶ Samuel Flagg Bemis to Robert MacMurphey, April 24, 1941, box 56, folder 702, Bemis Papers.

²⁶⁷ C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, October 21, 1941, box 56, folder 702, Bemis Papers.

Bemis and Holt were “not in complete accord concerning [the] revision” based on the feedback of the travelling salesmen who indicated “it will be useless to attempt to meet the Bailey competition without important compromises” from Bemis.²⁶⁸ Cost continued to be the determining factor in much of the revision process for Bemis and Holt and prevented them from fully adjusting to the stylistic appeal of Bailey’s book, though they were aware of its effect. Somewhat dismissively, MacMurphey indicated that the goal of the revision was to “recapture at least part” of the diplomatic history textbook market “since some of the Bailey addicts will recognize the weakness of his text.” By that month, only a dozen colleges and universities were using Bemis’s book, down from a high of eighty-five.²⁶⁹

Throughout the revision process, Bemis and Holt remained out-of-sync with each other and readers—the “Bailey addicts.” The college department was hesitant to incorporate a request from a teacher to have Bemis include a bibliography in the revised edition. Madison “did not see much point in it” as Bemis had included footnotes throughout the text.²⁷⁰ It is possible that the teacher’s initial request for bibliographies in Bemis’s text had originated from the extensive bibliographies Bailey had included in his own text at the aggressive urging of Bemis. In March 1942, Madison insisted Holt was committed to making revised edition “as practical and valuable as possible to teachers” but was unwilling to spend too much on the maps Bemis sent for inclusion, citing high costs of production.²⁷¹ In the following month Madison expressed surprise that Bemis

²⁶⁸ Robert MacMurphey to Samuel Flagg Bemis, October 7, 1941, box 56, folder 702, Bemis Papers.

²⁶⁹ Robert MacMurphey to Samuel Flagg Bemis, October 24, 1941, box 56, folder 702, Bemis Papers.

²⁷⁰ C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, January 14, 1942, box 56, folder 703, Bemis Papers.

²⁷¹ C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, March 9, 1942, box 56, folder 703, Bemis Papers.

“wanted all the extra writing and other material on the map.”²⁷² Correspondence between the author and his publisher show a bumpy revision process constrained by budget, competing priorities, and disjointed vision.

On May 2, 1942, the day after Bailey’s revision was due to F.S. Crofts, Bemis sent his revised manuscript, maps, and charts to Henry Holt via Railway Express. The manuscript adhered to the initial plan for revision laid out by Holt. The plates for approximately the first 600 pages remained intact with heavy revisions in the latter half of the book. With the manuscript, Bemis provided a novel idea—a revised index—to help market the book which calls to mind Bailey’s approach to his colleagues. The proposed index would include “every author and the pages on which he is cited in the footnotes” since “there is nothing that more flatters a prospective user of this book in a college classroom that to see his name mentioned in the index with as many page references as possible.” This gesture was Bemis’s effort to garner the same favorable view of the textbook that Bailey’s extensive peer-review process generated from key colleagues and potential adopters.²⁷³ Bailey’s text was the dominant consideration throughout the entirety of Bemis’s revision. Later in May 1942, MacMurphey wrote that he received word that Bailey “may be drawn into service” and therefore his revision of *A Diplomatic History of the American People* would be delayed and allow Bemis to have a favorable market position.²⁷⁴ Bemis quickly dismissed the notion as Crofts “spoofing [Holt] a bit.”²⁷⁵ In reality, Bailey had already created a text in high demand by readers and

²⁷² C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, April 1, 1942, box 56, folder 703, Bemis Papers.

²⁷³ Samuel Flagg Bemis to C.A. Madison, May 2, 1942, box 56, folder 703, Bemis Papers.

²⁷⁴ Robert MacMurphey to Samuel Flagg Bemis, May 20, 1942, box 56, folder 703, Bemis Papers.

²⁷⁵ Samuel Flagg Bemis to Robert MacMurphey, May 21, 1942, box 56, folder 703, Bemis Papers.

educators. Without drastic revision Bemis and Holt would struggle to gain a foothold in the market regardless of Bailey's service obligations.

The competition in the textbook market appeared to strain Bailey and Bemis's professional relationship, illustrated by some snippy exchanges via correspondence and publications. Some of their conflicts were rather petty. In December 1941 Bemis sent Bailey a letter rebuking him for going over a time limit with a conference paper. Bailey retorted that he was aware of the time limit, but skeptical that a fellow session member would be able to keep within the allotted twenty-minute slot. He suggested that Bemis had granted an "extension of time" to his other colleague while choosing to criticize Bailey. This instance is perhaps the most minor in a series of more substantial rifts throughout the men's careers. The professional disagreements extended beyond quibbling over conference logistics. The best illustrations of this dynamic came in a piece Bailey published in the newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations at the end of his career in 1979 titled "The Friendly Rivals: Bemis and Bailey." The piece was a retrospective—specifically from Bailey's perspective—on the historians' interactions earlier in their careers. Despite the amiable title, the article is laced with signs of their fraught relationship. Bailey recalled that Bemis had been "patronizing" during the 1935 meeting of the American Historical Association in Chattanooga.²⁷⁶ He had suggested Bailey consult a source he already used for the paper he had presented at the conference. In hindsight, Bailey deemed this condescending since he had consulted the

²⁷⁶ Thomas A. Bailey, "The Friendly Rivals: Bemis and Bailey," *Newsletter – Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations*, Vol. X, March 1979, 12.

source and integrated it into his paper. The implication was Bemis did not respect Bailey's work or consider it the same quality as his own.

Bailey recalled another anecdote from a conference, which occurred around the initial publication of Bailey's *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. When a colleague asked Bemis what he thought of the book, he quipped "I can't write like that."²⁷⁷ Bailey observed "[t]his statement can be interpreted in two ways: either he was literally unable to write like that or he did not want to." Bailey was "strongly inclined to accept the latter interpretation." He also held similar feelings about Bemis's style. In one passage of *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, Bailey noted that Bemis had included the word "uniparous" in an anecdote and it was not until looking the word up in a thesaurus did Bailey discover that the word referred to a seal birthing a single pup in a given season. After discovering this, Bailey "filed this gem away in the category of words never to be used by a historian, only by zoologists and botanists."²⁷⁸ He continued to avoid academic jargon and the presentation of drab, day-to-day happenings in United States diplomatic history.

The competition between Thomas A. Bailey's and Samuel Flagg Bemis's diplomatic history textbooks illustrates, at a small scale, the effect that Bailey's approach to authorship had on the college textbook market. The textbook Bailey crafted, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, deliberately went against the traditional approach to diplomatic history Bemis represented. He wrote his progressive version of diplomatic history into the content of the book, emphasizing public opinion and liberal

²⁷⁷ In this anecdote, the question was posed to Bemis by an unnamed graduate student of Bailey's.

²⁷⁸ Bailey, "The Friendly Rivals: Bemis and Bailey," 17.

ideals. This progressive history was combined with a distinct style Bailey thought would best connect with students reading the volume. Bemis and Henry Holt and Company were at first dismissive of the competition Bailey's book represented, holding to the convention that Bemis's traditional scholarly analysis would hold onto the market. Quickly, Bemis realized the threat Bailey's text posed to his royalties and adoptions, but his publisher was slow to react. Market forces and the expensive nature of textbook revision forced constant delays of Bemis's revised edition and limited what was feasible for the publisher. No matter, after the publication of Bailey's text, it was evident that the new book irked Bemis who felt his book was still superior because of its more conventional approach.

By the fall of 1943, F.S. Crofts was ready to capitalize on the potentially lucrative textbook market during and after World War II. In October, Fred Crofts wrote to Bailey with an inquiry: "What have you ever done about your plan for a one-volume history of the United States?" Crofts saw an opportunity for Bailey to do on the general American history survey textbook market what he had done with diplomatic history—quickly seize a sizable portion of adoptions. He observed that Bailey "will write an entirely different type of book" than the most up-to-date conventional treatments available. Crofts reminded Bailey that he wished "to publish any textbook" which Bailey would author and attempted to set up an exploratory meeting while Bailey was on leave from Stanford teaching at Harvard to discuss plans for a survey text.²⁷⁹ Bailey would not begin drafting his survey textbook, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic* until 1950, but he had already proven his marketability on the college textbook market. Perhaps more than

²⁷⁹ Fred S. Crofts to Thomas A. Bailey, October 5, 1943, box 3, folder 1, Bailey Papers.

any other factor, the transformation of the college textbook market during World War II set him up for success as a textbook author.

CHAPTER 4: TEXTBOOKS IN WARTIME

By November of 1941, F.S. Crofts boasted a lengthy list of adoptions for Bailey's *A Diplomatic History of the American People* at colleges and universities across the United States. Promotional materials distributed by Crofts listed eighty-five institutions ranging from elite private research universities to large public universities, and liberal arts colleges. However, some of the most significant adoptions on the list were institutions for military training, particularly the United States Naval Academy.²⁸⁰ While the college and university adoptions held by Bailey showed promise for the volume, they were not guaranteed in perpetuity. Military adoptions became essential to the market for college texts as World War II altered the stability of the traditional college textbook market. In this marketplace, textbooks with a distinct, readable style were more in demand than traditional, pedantic texts.

The following month, on December 7, 1941, the market for college textbooks would be transformed. Pearl Harbor and the aftermath would shape many corners of the American economy, including the college textbook industry. College textbook and trade publishers felt pressure on two fronts. First, they were subject to the wartime rationing policies prevalent for the duration of the conflict. Paper rations were widely felt in the publishers' business model throughout World War II.²⁸¹ By the end of December 1941, Samuel Flagg Bemis's editorial team at Henry Holt for *A Diplomatic History of the United States* was feeling the pressure of these policies. Anticipating the advent of the

²⁸⁰ "Crofts Book News" attached to Allen Wilbur to Thomas A. Bailey, November 21, 1941, box 2, folder 18, Bailey Papers.

²⁸¹ See John B. Hench, *Books as Weapons: Propaganda, Publishing, and the Battle for Global Markets in the Era of World War II* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), 23.

United States military involvement in the war, the publishing house had planned “with such an eventuality in mind” as “paper and type metal” would be subject to “war-time need.”²⁸² However, at the same time paper shortages took hold, demand for textbooks in the traditional college and university market also evaporated.

The military draft and demand for young soldiers took college students overseas instead of to American campuses. In the 1939-1940 academic year, before the United States’ military involvement in the conflict, American college and university enrollment totaled 1,494,000 students. For the 1941-1942 academic year, total enrollment fell six percent to 1,404,000 in the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor. By the 1943-1944 academic year, enrollment fell to 1,155,000, representing a loss of twenty-two percent of the enrollment present in the 1939-1940 academic year.²⁸³ This drop in traditional college enrollments gave college textbook publishers fewer adoptions to compete for in an already limited market.

This trend was not universal. Elite American military academies experienced enrollment growth because of their close connection to the war effort. In the 1939-1940 academic year, the U.S. Naval Academy had a total enrollment of 2,307.²⁸⁴ The following 1940-1941 academic year, this number increased twelve percent to 2,602.²⁸⁵ In the 1941-1942 year, the Naval Academy had a total enrollment of 3,117, an increase of thirty five

²⁸² Robert MacMurphey to Samuel Flagg Bemis, December 23, 1941, box 56, folder 702, Bemis Papers.

²⁸³ Thomas D. Snyder, “120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait” (National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Washington, DC, 1993), 76.

²⁸⁴ “Annual Register of the United States Naval Academy: Ninety-Fifth Academic Year, 1939-1940” (United States Naval Academy, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1939), 122.

²⁸⁵ “Annual Register of the United States Naval Academy: Ninety-Sixth Academic Year, 1940-1941” (United States Naval Academy, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1940), 122.

percent since 1939-1940.²⁸⁶ This enhanced enrollment held throughout the duration of the war, with the Naval Academy enrolling 3,028 students in the 1942-1943 academic year and 3,043 students in the 1943-1944 academic year.²⁸⁷ This trend made the Naval Academy a prime opportunity for textbook sales as the traditional college market dwindled during World War II. Bailey, Bemis, and their publishers came to compete bitterly for adoptions at the Naval Academy.

The competition for the lucrative Annapolis adoption predated Pearl Harbor by sixteen months. Bailey and Crofts earned the Naval Academy adoptions when the first edition of *A Diplomatic History of the American People* was published in 1940. This did not go unnoticed by Bemis. Bailey's early success put him in an advantageous position in the coming wartime market and placed Bemis and his publisher at a loss. Bemis wrote to MacMurphey at Holt that "Crofts's salesman" were "ahead of us in Annapolis and loaded them up with Bailey!" Bemis chided MacMurphey and Holt for being slow to move on the Annapolis edition as conversations Bemis had with men at the Naval Academy earlier in the year indicated that "it would not have been impossible to load them up with Bemis!" To Bemis, this was "a hint of the competition to be expected" from Bailey's book, adding "I told you so" to drive the point home to his publisher.²⁸⁸ The following year Bemis forwarded a letter from Professor Walter B. Norris at the Naval Academy which concluded that Bemis's text "remains the authority on the subject because of its

²⁸⁶ "Annual Register of the United States Naval Academy: Ninety-Seventh Academic Year, 1941-1942" (United States Naval Academy, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1941), 130.

²⁸⁷ "Annual Register of the United States Naval Academy: Ninety-Eighth Academic Year, 1942-1943" (United States Naval Academy, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1942), 182; "Annual Register of the United States Naval Academy: Ninety-Ninth Academic Year, 1943-1944" (United States Naval Academy, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1943), 128.

²⁸⁸ Samuel Flagg Bemis to Robert MacMurphey, May 22, 1940, box 56, folder 701, Bemis Papers.

thorough and accurate presentation.” Seeing some hope for earning the Annapolis adoption in Norris’s letter, Bemis forwarded it along to MacMurphey pointing out the sentiment that his text “remains” the authority and inquired as to whether or not the Holt salesmen could “convert them to [the Bemis] book” with the knowledge at hand.²⁸⁹

Bemis’s optimism did not translate into winning the adoption. Two years later, after Bailey’s book became the definitive market leader, Bemis and Holt continued their efforts to earn the adoption. By December of 1942 Annapolis received an additional 1,000 copies of the new revised edition of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.²⁹⁰ As United States involvement in World War II deepened after Pearl Harbor, Bailey maintained the Annapolis adoption, but Bemis and Holt did not give up their effort. In February of 1943, Bemis sent an inscribed copy of *A Diplomatic History of the United States* to the Assistant Commandant of Midshipmen at the request of C.A. Madison in the Holt College Division. Madison hoped that “the History will do the men in the Navy a great deal of good.”²⁹¹ In March of the same year, Madison appeared to give up hope of securing the adoption, conceding that sending a salesman to talk to the course instructors at the academy the previous fall was “about as much as [Holt] can do under the circumstances” since the instructors were tasked with making the final decision on the course adoption.²⁹² By October 1943, Annapolis requested another 1,000 copies of

²⁸⁹ Walter B. Norris to Samuel Flagg Bemis, April 14, 1941, box 56, folder 702, Bemis Papers; Samuel Flagg Bemis to Robert MacMurphey, April 16, 1941, box 56, folder 702, Bemis Papers.

²⁹⁰ Allen Wilbur to Thomas A. Bailey, December 21, 1942, box 2, folder 30, Bailey Papers.

²⁹¹ C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, February 26, 1943, box 56, folder 705, Bemis Papers.

²⁹² C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, March 3, 1943, box 56, folder 705, Bemis Papers. In the same letter Madison informed Bemis that the Pulitzer Committee was not willing to consider *A Diplomatic History of the United States* for the Pulitzer Prize in History. In the context of the broader exchange between Madison and Bemis, it appears the pursuit of the Pulitzer was another effort to get Bemis the recognition he felt he deserved.

Bailey's textbook and F.S. Crofts depleted the stock of *A Diplomatic History of the American People* once again.²⁹³ No matter his efforts, Bemis's book would not secure the Naval Academy adoption on its own merits. However, extenuating circumstances in wartime provided another opportunity.

Though the Annapolis adoption presented Bailey and Crofts a foothold in the market, it was subject to the challenges for wartime production. Both Crofts and Holt were affected by the paper and metal shortages that limited the production of the diplomatic history texts and many best sellers. Bailey and Crofts were hit with these shortages especially hard and struggled to reprint enough copies of *A Diplomatic History of the American People* to meet demand once existing stock depleted in 1943. Fred Crofts, head of the publishing house, attributed the shortage to the lack of loggers to clear trees and provide the lumber needed to manufacture the pulp necessary to make paper. Further, the War Production Board (WPB) did not allow publishers enough rationed paper to produce their full catalog. In Bailey's and Crofts's case, this proved challenging for the Naval Academy adoption, which needed over 1,000 copies of the text by November of 1943 to run a course on diplomatic history. After a direct appeal to the WPB, Bailey and Crofts were denied an increased allotment until the next supply would be available in January 1944. To manage the situation, Crofts dispatched a salesman to Annapolis in hopes of encouraging the faculty to "postpone [the text's] use until later in the year."²⁹⁴ This effort appears to have been successful, since Bailey managed to

²⁹³ Fred S. Crofts to Thomas A. Bailey, October 5, 1943, box 3, folder 1, Bailey Papers.

²⁹⁴ Fred S. Crofts to Thomas A. Bailey, October 14, 1943, box 3, folder 1, Bailey Papers. Bailey also struggled to get copies of his own book to use in a seminar he would be teaching at Harvard. See Robert MacMurphey to Samuel Flagg Bemis, December 23, 1941, box 56, folder 702, Bemis Papers for brief insight into how it affected Henry Holt and Company.

maintain the Annapolis adoption. No matter, the publisher's efforts in the face of supply deficits attest to two realities. First, the Annapolis adoption was essential for the success of Bailey's *Diplomatic History of the American People*. Second, the Naval Academy had enough of a favorable opinion of the text to be patient with Crofts and Bailey. The clear preference was to use Bailey's book over Bemis's.

With the Annapolis adoption definitively out of reach for the moment, Bemis and Holt found some success with other, less significant, military adoptions. The United States Army Quartermaster Corps of New Jersey ordered 550 copies of *A Diplomatic History of the American People* in November 1943.²⁹⁵ C.A. Madison at Henry Holt was enthusiastic about the sale since "the shrinkage of classes in the college has definitely affected the sale" of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. From the publishers' perspective, any adoption from a military source was welcome. Bemis was skeptical of the adoption, wondering to his publisher if these adoptions were actually indicative of an increase in sales. In a reply, Madison insisted that in the wartime market any large influx of sales was out of the ordinary and financially attractive.²⁹⁶ In this exchange, the desperation of Holt's college textbook staff is evident, even though Bemis was nonplussed. In many cases, military adoptions were making college textbooks successful, or at least allowed the publishers to break even on production costs.

No matter his skepticism of the Quartermasters adoption, Bemis saw it as an opportunity to approach the U.S. Naval Academy once more and around the time that Crofts's struggle with paper rationing should have made the adoption of Bemis's text

²⁹⁵ C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, November 16, 1943, box 56, folder 705, Bemis Papers.

²⁹⁶ Samuel Flagg Bemis to C.A. Madison, November 20, 1943, box 56, folder 705, Bemis Papers; C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, November 24, 1943, box 56, folder 705, Bemis Papers.

more likely. In November 1943, Annapolis and the United States Military Academy at West Point were still exercising what Bemis called “bad judgment” to use Bailey’s text. Bemis felt the “new edition” of his text “set in a swing against Bailey’s work” and provided a prime opportunity to seek both the Annapolis and West Point adoptions for Henry Holt.²⁹⁷ His publisher saw little hope, despite Bemis’s optimism. Bemis and Holt found Annapolis remained committed to Bailey’s book because of its distinct style. Holt sales representatives were told by Annapolis faculty that Bemis’s text was “more scholarly than Bailey’s.” However, the faculty were “not interested in giving their students a knowledge of diplomatic history” as presented in Bemis’s narrative. Above all else, the faculty wanted “an interesting and readable account of the United States in world affairs,” which was present “more readily in Bailey’s.” No matter, the Annapolis contacts indicated that Bemis’s book would be put to use if F.S. Crofts’s stock of Bailey’s book was depleted.²⁹⁸ Of course, this never came to fruition, indicating that Annapolis may have been trying to appease Bemis in their reply. Most importantly, the correspondence reveals that it was Bailey’s readable style that put him ahead of Bemis in adoptions. The military academies, and the significant influence they exercised on college textbook publishers, demanded readable, stylized prose.

Bemis still had hope despite, this further indication that the style of his textbook was a detriment to its adoption. He saw Annapolis’s intent to adopt his text if Bailey’s was unavailable as an indication of how the war effort put stress on both textbook publishing and military academies. He noted that it was common practice for each

²⁹⁷ Samuel Flagg Bemis to C.A. Madison, November 20, 1943, box 56, folder 705, Bemis Papers.

²⁹⁸ C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, November 24, 1943, box 56, folder 705, Bemis Papers.

academy to keep a large stockpile on hand at all times in anticipation of future classes using the stock until it was depleted. He implored the staff at Holt to monitor the stockpile since it could be an indicator that class sizes were “swelling” faster than anticipated in a way that would “liberate” the faculty of Bailey sooner than anticipated. Bemis’s use of the term “liberate” indicates that he was hopeful that the Naval Academy would switch to his text, allowing the publisher to stock the institution “with a big surplus of Bemis instead of Bailey.” The continued competitive spirit of the competition between the two authors for the Annapolis adoption was, according to Bemis, “a circus.” There was little acknowledgement that his own dogged, perhaps hopeless, pursuit of the adoption was the chief cause for that particular circus. C.A. Madison at Holt continued to temper Bemis’s optimism, indicating that Bailey’s book would only go out of stock in Annapolis if F.S. Crofts lacked the paper needed to run a reprint due to wartime restrictions. Crofts had already experienced the same issue earlier in the fall of 1943 with Harold Faulkner’s survey textbook, *America: Its History and People*.²⁹⁹ In that case, Holt was able to print their own competing survey text to fill the need of the military academies and were hoping for a similar outcome for Bemis’s text.³⁰⁰

In the end, Holt and Bemis were not successful in selling to Annapolis or getting a foothold in the market for courses at the academies and beyond. By October 1944, C.A. Madison conceded that *A Diplomatic History of the United States* was “not doing too

²⁹⁹ See Harold U. Faulkner and Tyler Kepner, *American Its History and People*, Fifth Edition (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950), xv. The Preface indicates the authors “were encouraged by the adoption of this book for basal use by the United States Armed Forces Institute during the recent war.” Faulkner and Kepner saw this as “civilian and military approval of the book.”

³⁰⁰ Samuel Flagg Bemis to C.A. Madison, November 26, 1943, box 56, folder 705, Bemis Papers; C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, November 30, 1943, box 56, folder 705, Bemis Papers.

well...for the simple reason that there aren't enough students taking the course to give [Bemis] an adequate share of the market." Of the faculty adopting the diplomatic history text and the students reading it, Bailey's *A Diplomatic History of the American People* was still preferred as it was proven to be "the easier book."³⁰¹ For the fall semester of the following year Bailey and F.S. Crofts had received another order for 550 copies of the textbook.³⁰² Bailey's style had once again proven to be Crofts's most effective selling point for the duration of the Second World War.

The prominent impact the Naval Academy had on textbooks continued into the postwar years and shaped subsequent editions. As Bemis and Holt struggled to get a foothold in the market for military academy adoptions, Bailey and F.S. Crofts were at work molding *A Diplomatic History of the American People* to the needs of the institutions as World War II waned across the globe. Throughout the process, Bailey and Crofts were keen to listen to the needs of the faculty at Annapolis and made some changes to the text based off these requests. In 1945, Walter B. Norris, a faculty member at the U.S. Naval Academy, sent a letter containing comments and feedback on the textbook from twenty-two individuals who taught the students at Annapolis. In "general criticism" Norris indicated that the teachers were disappointed that issues of neutral rights on the seas "were so often put into footnotes and not given much prominence" so that the concept "did not shape itself up in the minds of the student." Other instructors desired "a fuller statement in terms of treaties" of importance to naval power and even requested a revision of the text that "recast the chapters after 1920 into chapters dealing with different

³⁰¹ C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, October 30, 1944, box 56, folder 705, Bemis Papers.

³⁰² Allen Wilbur to Thomas A. Bailey, December 1, 1945, box 3, folder 21, Bailey Papers.

policies rather than with separate administrations” in order to better align with Annapolis curricular structure.³⁰³

Bailey and Crofts were constrained in their efforts to accommodate Norris’s requests by the realities of textbook production, particularly the high cost of creating wholly new printing plates. Norris’s suggestion for an organization based on policy for the post-1920s history was met with Bailey’s reticence since “there would be other difficulties—perhaps of a more serious nature—in shifting suddenly to the topical approach,” though he assured Norris the suggestion would be taken under serious advisement. Moving to a topical approach would have required brand new printing plates for most, if not all, of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. This effort would have been both overly burdensome in terms of labor for Bailey and cost for Crofts. Further, it would have jeopardized all adoptions from adopters who preferred the original chronological approach. As a result, the change was never enacted. Norris also requested changes directly related to Bailey’s stylistic approach in visual aids. He hoped for a “note” to explain a “cartoon’s reference to the handing over of the Russian fleet to Britain.” There was a need for “more places mentioned in the text” to be “located on the map” on page 163. Bailey wrote to Norris that he would “be able to make only minor alterations to the original plates, bring the bibliographies up to date, and add a rather extended chapter on [American] diplomacy” in World War II. As a result, many of Norris’s suggested edits would have to go unincorporated into the new, third edition of the textbook. In an effort to show willingness to accommodate the needs of the academy, Bailey did write that the following edition of the book, its fourth, would “involve the

³⁰³ Walter B. Norris to Thomas A. Bailey, Undated, box 3, folder 4, Bailey Papers.

resetting of the entire book” at which point he would attempt to put the faculty’s feedback on textual narrative, maps, and other visual aids into effect. He warned that his ability to fully accommodate requests for more visual aids may be hampered since the addition of more maps would potentially put the cost of the text over the desired \$4.25 price point. Bailey did, however, hope to add a modest number of maps to the new edition, including one Norris requested to illustrate the “Chinese railroad situation.”³⁰⁴ Maps and contemporary illustrations continued to be a core component of Bailey’s stylistic vision for the book. Any enhancements in this regard would be implemented, if cost effective. That vision, in this instance, was shaped by the direct feedback of the faculty in Annapolis.

Though interested in molding the book in a way that would maintain adoptions, Bailey and Crofts were committed to maintaining the integrity of the text, both in terms of historical content and style. Bailey did provide some indication that his personal reasons for resisting the suggested changes were not wholly pecuniary for him as author, though Crofts was certain to be primarily concerned with profitability. Indeed, his stylistic vision was important in this regard. Echoing his initial statement of aims for *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, Bailey wrote to Norris that his “general purpose was to eliminate non-essential detail in the interests of speeding up the narrative and causing the more essential things to stand out.” Maps were created with a similar purpose since “a map which includes everything is so crowded that the student cannot find the specific thing to which the text refers.” Any additional content added to the text would violate these rules Bailey set for his authorship and put the book close to the

³⁰⁴ Thomas A. Bailey to Walter B. Norris, June 1, 1945, box 3, folder 14, Bailey Papers.

“practicable optimum” for publication. He dismissed any concern over a lack of detail as “a matter of personal judgment,” but was willing to note how “some clarification would be desirable” for the Annapolis teachers.³⁰⁵ This portion of Bailey’s response was particularly revealing as it showed how his style of authorship continued to be the lens through which he mediated requests for revision. While the faculty at Annapolis were welcome to provide comments, Bailey was the ultimate arbiter of their merits. This dynamic shaped the future editions of *A Diplomatic History of the American People* well into the post-war years.

Armed Services Adoptions and the Textbook Market

Bailey’s and Bemis’s competition for the U.S. Naval Academy adoption represented a small portion of the sum total of potential military adoptions. During the war, college and university campuses across the United States opened their doors to military training programs as a way to offset lagging enrollments. Here, the focus is on two core programs—the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) and the Navy’s V-12 program—to show their impact on the college text market. These programs represented prime opportunities for textbook publishers and authors seeking profitable adoptions.

Higher education’s revenue streams changed dramatically during the war. Traditional revenue sources in tuition and fees fell from \$200,897,000 in the 1939-1940 academic year to \$154,485,000 in 1943-1944, a decrease of twenty-three percent.

³⁰⁵ Thomas A. Bailey to Walter B. Norris, June 1, 1945, box 3, folder 14, Bailey Papers.

Meanwhile, in the same time frame college and university revenue from the federal government increase by six-hundred ninety-three percent from \$38,860,000 to \$308,162,000.³⁰⁶ Military programs were a key part of this revenue growth. Further, total expenditures increased forty-four percent from \$521,990,000 to \$753,846,000 over the same time. Enhanced federal funding allowed colleges and universities to increase spending despite lagging traditional enrollments in wartime. Most notably, spending on instruction and research grew from \$280,248,000 to \$334,189,000 for an increase of nineteen percent.³⁰⁷ For college text publishers, increased spending on instruction meant potential adoptions.

The war effort also forced college presidents to reimagine the core function of their institutions in order to survive. One core function in wartime was military training. As early as 1941, college and university leaders were involved in national conferences discussing how to best train soldiers recruited through the selective service system. That year, at a conference held in Washington, D.C., it was noted that many draftees could not read or write “even to sign their names or to read signs to find their way back to their tents.” This caused some trouble for the army—both in recruiting and public relations—so the military leadership requested that college faculty and graduate students contribute to an unspecified solution.³⁰⁸ No matter, the conference participants agreed that it was in the national interest for colleges and universities to play a key role in training soldiers. It

³⁰⁶ Snyder, “120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait,” 89.

³⁰⁷ Snyder, “120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait,” 90.

³⁰⁸ “Higher Education Cooperates in National Defense: The Report of a Conference of Government Representatives and College and University Administrators, Held in Washington, D.C., July 30-31, 1941,” *American Council on Education* (Washington, D.C., 1941), 14.

was clear that in many instances formal training would be necessary with effective pedagogical tools, including textbooks.

In support of the war effort, the fabric of higher education changed in the United States as college and university leaders pursued federal funding. Academic calendars were shifted to support year-round instruction, award academic credit for military instruction, and support students' physical fitness. Each of these areas represented a shift or sacrifice in the typical function of colleges and universities at the time. They were, however, quickly rewarded by the federal government for their commitment. The military training programs on college campuses brought \$97,000,000 in revenue to conduct military training curriculum in technical fields and the liberal arts.³⁰⁹ This need for liberal arts instruction was particularly important for authors and publishers with history textbooks in need of adoptions. Potential adoptions were not the only motivating force in the college text market. Authors and publishers also had to provide books that fit within the ethos of liberal education during the war.

The efforts of colleges and universities during the war also needed to address the growing concern among military leaders that unrest would break out amongst servicemen upon their return. Historians had a role to play in this. During the war, the American Historical Association (AHA) created pamphlets for the War Department, which aimed to promote postwar prosperity or, at the very least, stability. During the war Frederick Osburn, the commander for the Army's Information and Education Division (IED), worried that the servicemen would return home with views potentially deleterious for the

³⁰⁹ James Axtell, *Wisdom's Workshop: The Rise of the Modern University* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 317-318.

United States. According to Robert Townsend's study of the pamphlet program for the AHA, it was possible servicemen would develop "a negative view of the allies..., a negative attitude toward military service generally..., and significant concerns about what would become of them after the war."³¹⁰ These fears, naturally, led to military leaders attempting to find ways to educate servicemen in a way that would allow them to reintegrate into American society with pro-American views that would add to the postwar world. This trend led to the creation of the G.I. Bill in the latter stages of the war, but it also created a distinct purpose for historians and authors seeking to contribute their expertise and writing to the war effort.

At Stanford, the faculty and administration founded the School of Humanities in response to a particular fear. President Ray Lyman Wilbur wrote:

With the marked emphasis now given to technological education in our universities, due to the war, we are in danger of losing sight of the great importance of the humanities and the social sciences in the training of our men and women. We hope to win the war with technologically trained men, but certainly without the humanities and the social sciences, we are likely to lose the peace.³¹¹

Wilbur's remarks illustrate the central purpose of liberal education as it developed in World War II. The new School of Humanities would serve to promote the importance of related disciplines in the war effort, with an eye towards post-war peace. Most importantly, the School of Humanities at Stanford was shaping itself to be consistent with

³¹⁰ See the "Origins: The Military and Social Context" section of Robert Townsend, "Constructing a Postwar World," American Historical Association's Website, February 23, 2002, Accessed August 17, 2019, <https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/gi-roundtable-series/constructing-a-postwar-world-background-and-context>.

³¹¹ "Annual Report of the President of Stanford University" (Stanford University, Stanford, CA, 1942), 117. See also Charles Dorn, "Promoting the 'Public Welfare' in Wartime: Stanford University during World War II," *American Journal of Education*, Vol. 112 (November 2005), 113-117 for more background on the specific development of the Stanford University School of Humanities.

the curriculum appearing in the military training programs appearing on campuses. The Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP), which Stanford hosted during the war, included a variety of history courses mirroring the School of Humanities' focus. One course, "American History: AST-USMA," listed "postwar problems" as an area of coverage.³¹² Another course, "History 11," focused on "basic interests, institutions, and ideals determining our national policy and participation in two world wars." "History 31" focused on the "United States in World Affairs since 1918" as a means of analyzing the post-war years of World War I. Lastly, "History: AST-133" included the "European origins of current American institutions ideals; development of American unity; development of democratic ideals and institutions; emergence of the United States as world power; causes and course of World War II" and, like AST-USMA, a focus on "postwar problems."³¹³ Taken together, these course descriptions depicted a history curriculum primarily focused on the issues of war. Hence, there was an imperative for the programs to adopt textbooks that fit this need. These history courses were taught at hundreds of campuses across the United States for hundreds of thousands of students. Any textbook adopted for these courses needed to represent the vision for liberal education expressed in the curriculum. Bailey had a front row seat to these curricular developments at Stanford. In the summer of 1943 he taught a section of AST-133 to over 200 Army trainees.³¹⁴

³¹² "Army Service Forces Manual: Catalog of Curricula and Courses, Army Specialized Training Program" (Armed Service Forces, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1945), 39.

³¹³ "Army Service Forces Manual," 45-46.

³¹⁴ "Director's Weekly Report on Instruction in Army Specialized Training Units," August 16, 1943, box 8, folder 218, Stanford History Department Records.

Textbook publishers and authors also needed a catalog of texts tailored toward a military student population. The students in these programs represented a departure from traditional students enrolled at colleges and universities across the United States. The military trainees were “less amenable to tradition and more egalitarian in its orientation.” These students were much more interested in practical education, with contemporary relevance, than the students who filled campuses before the war. There were some benefits that came with this culture shift. At the University of Virginia military students brought a new sense of “serious regard for academic work” to courses, contrary to the habits of students who came before. Past students had only really studied for final exams to just get by with a passing grade.³¹⁵ However, faculty and administrators did not universally view these new ASTP students as marked improvements over traditional students in terms of academic quality. This was especially true at more selective institutions, where faculty viewed the trainees as having less academic ability than the pre-war students. At Stanford in particular, about half of the trainees would have met the standard admissions requirements in place before the war. The same was not true of less selective colleges and universities. Faculty at those schools did not report a significant difference in overall quality.³¹⁶

In the Navy’s V-12 program, there was a less significant difference in academic quality. Of course, there were mixed reactions, just as there had been with incoming ASTP students. More selective institutions tended to be less satisfied with the quality of

³¹⁵ Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr. and Robert L. Baxter, Jr. “Higher Education Goes to War: The University of Virginia’s Response to World War II,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 100, No. 3 (July 1992), 413-416.

³¹⁶ V.R. Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993), 43.

student while less selective institutions were not as frustrated.³¹⁷ The men joining these programs on college and university campuses were typically students with years of college experience under their belts. The structure of the V-12 was also much more in line with the standard academic year, consisting of 16-week terms closely mirroring a standard semester. Many of the classes the V-12 students were enrolled in were also occupied by the remaining civilian students who had not traveled overseas to join the war effort. In particular, Princeton President Harold Dodds noted that the V-12 curriculum was essentially liberal arts in nature. A Dean at Yale considered the curriculum to be essentially the same as their standard first-year curriculum “plus a course on Naval organization and history.”³¹⁸ In these programs, textbook adoptions remained in the domain of the faculty teaching each class. During wartime, many of these classes were primarily populated by V-12 students, with civilian students constituting a minority.³¹⁹ Taken together, the ASTP and V-12 adoptions presented a significant amount of promise for textbook publishers and authors. On one hand, the V-12 market resembled the pre-war market. Students were to follow a course of study comparable to a standard college curriculum. Many students were also college caliber. The ASTP presented a different challenge. The program was technologically-oriented as a whole. In history courses, it was oriented towards concerns of creating a lasting peace. Further, student quality was questionable. To successfully obtain adoptions, publishers’ history catalogs had to address these dual realities.

³¹⁷ Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II*, 61.

³¹⁸ Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II*, 53-56.

³¹⁹ Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II*, 58.

Indeed, history textbook publishers and authors saw the liberal arts component of the military curriculum as an opportunity. The military training programs demanded “the high efficiency of the American textbook method of teaching.” After the war in 1949, an American Textbook Publishers Institute pamphlet recalled that “faced with the problem of training millions of men...in a bewildering variety and diversity of subjects and skills in the shortest possible time, the Army, Navy, and Air Force turned to textbooks.”³²⁰ Further, according to the publishers, “teachers chosen to administer the educational program for military personnel set up classes only after they were certain that good textbooks could be supplied to their students.”³²¹ Initially, the Institute was created to produce the textbooks needed for the war effort in a short time frame. Under the wartime leadership of William E. Spaulding, formerly of Houghton Mifflin Company, the editorial department of the United States Armed Forces Institute developed texts, including high-level college texts, in coordination with textbook publishers to fill the tremendous need in military training programs.³²²

Publishers demonstrated significant interest in these programs soon after the beginning of American military involvement in the war. Textbook authors became a source of market intelligence to shed light on how the programs developed on campuses. After learning that 2,000 students training for the Air Force and 600 instructors would be based at Yale, Madison wrote to Bemis in December 1942. Madison suspected that the

³²⁰ “Textbooks in Education: A Report from The American Textbook Publishers Institute to its membership, its friends, and any others whose interest in the development of the education system in the United States goes beyond a mere passing fancy” (The American Textbook Publishers Institute, New York, 1949), 13.

³²¹ “Textbooks in Education: A Report from The American Textbook Publishers Institute”, 3.

³²² “Textbooks in Education: A Report from The American Textbook Publishers Institute,” 129-130.

federal government “might want their prospective officers” to be well versed in American diplomatic history before going overseas for the war effort. If this were the case, Bemis’s book could find use “in a supplementary manner.” Bemis was asked to keep the publisher abreast “of any such possible use” that could assist “in furthering the sale of the book.”³²³ Later in the same month, Madison wrote to Bemis with news of a plan for 200,000 soldiers to be educated and trained at colleges to be “taught a combination of American history and politics” among other subjects. He asked Bemis for any information he might have about how the course was to take shape at Yale in hopes that these insights would give Henry Holt a competitive advantage to secure adoptions or prepare a new text for these courses. Time was of the essence as other publishers would target the same programs.³²⁴

This was not limited to the relatively small piece of the college text market Bailey’s and Bemis’s diplomatic history books occupied. These training programs altered the writing and publishing of general American history survey texts as well. Noted author of *The Federal Union*, *The American Nation*, and *A Short History of American Democracy*, John D. Hicks, and his editors at Houghton Mifflin watched the development of the military training programs on college campuses with great interest. Hicks noticed that the men joining the military training programs were inclined to question the necessity of taking history courses during their time on college campuses. According to Hicks, they asked “What has that got to do with killing Japanese in the South Pacific?”

³²³ C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, December 9, 1942, box 56, folder 704, Bemis Papers.

³²⁴ C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, December 17, 1942, box 56, folder 704, Bemis Papers.

Other students, however, seemed to realize the necessity for understanding the causes of war for the peacetime to come after the conflict.³²⁵

Before the military training programs were widely set up on college campuses, Hicks and Houghton Mifflin received a preview of the curriculum to determine if any of their text offerings could fill the need. According to a semi-confidential planning document for “The Course in American History” to be implemented in the Army Basic Training Program, the curriculum would impart “a sound knowledge and understanding of the origins of American institutions (social, economic, political, and military)” to trainees. They would need to learn “the struggle for American unity and the emergence of American national consciousness” and understand “the emergence of the United States as a world power” and the “responsibilities for international leadership which have been created and which America must assume.” The “trends, movement, and events” causing World War II were also of interest in the course objectives. It was apparent that the Army was striving for a course, and textbook, which would espouse American values, but with a critical eye. The course plan also stipulated that “instruction should take a realistic middle-of-the-road interpretation of historical truths” that gave credence to “the importance of America’s part in the world drama” while allowing room for “the nation’s failures and shortcomings.” All of this would be present in the “common materials” assigned as part of the curriculum, including the textbooks.³²⁶ The approach also would

³²⁵ John D. Hicks, *My Life with History: An Autobiography* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), 219-220.

³²⁶ “The Course in American History” attached to William Cobb to John D. Hicks, March 22, 1943, carton 26, “Short History” folder, John Donald Hicks Papers, 1906-1970 (BANC MSS 69/132), The Bancroft Library, The University of California-Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.

allow student readers to understand past American failures to secure peace throughout the world after World War I.

The broad curricular plans Hicks and Houghton Mifflin received from the Army were similar to the plans in the Navy's V-12 college program. After attending the Navy Orientation School for college and university administrators who would be hosting the programs on their campuses, the President of Northwest Missouri State Teachers College, Uel. W. Lamkin, remarked that "the Navy is interested in the whole man" and wanted to instill "such personal characteristics as honesty, development of personality, leadership qualities, and the like."³²⁷ From Princeton, Gordon Sikes remarked to Lamkin about his admiration of "the desire of the Navy to have colleges assist by giving the Navy candidates the broad basic background" that to most higher education administrators and faculty was "the correct education procedure as opposed to the narrow specialized training...considered typical of the regular Armed Services."³²⁸ Ultimately, the function of the liberal arts component of the V-12 curriculum served to create American leaders capable of promoting peace. This would supplement the requisite technical skills.

The Navy saw this type of liberal education as a central component to past successes. Writing separately to Harold Dodds, then President of Princeton, Sikes noted the rhetoric that was used at the Navy Orientation School. According to Sikes, a Navy Commander, providing remarks on the importance of history in the V-12 curriculum declared that "it was [Admiral] Dewey's studies beforehand that enabled him to make

³²⁷ Letter from Uel W. Lamkin, December 18, 1943, box 1, "Navy Orientation" folder, (AC234) Bureau of Student Placement Records, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

³²⁸ Gordon Sikes to Uel W. Lamkin, October 12, 1943, box 1, "Navy Orientation" folder, (AC234) Bureau of Student Placement Records.

brilliant decisions in action.” The importance of history would be consistent for the conflicts in World War II.³²⁹ It was essential for college faculty to provide the “broad base” of liberal education that specialists would layer their “specialized training” upon. The ultimate goal was to produce “men of imagination and vision to see beyond the immediate job and to work with other men.” That imagination would be essential in the post-war years. The key goal was to ensure that they were able to train men for a post-war world that would, hopefully, be safer for peace and democracy.³³⁰

The realities of this curriculum affected how authors and publishers promoted their books for adoption. In an outline Hicks wrote to provide a vision of how his text, *A Short History of American Democracy*, would be used in the V-12 program, he highlighted the major curricular pieces that needed to be included for a successful adoption. One week of the proposed course was themed around the “European Background of American Institutions” and another on “American Governmental Institutions.” The frontier was highlighted in the “Growth of American Democracy Section” and American government was distinguished from Europe in another chapter on the “ideals” of the United States. Problems of international relations, especially as it relates to the sea, were covered in “International Complications” and “Problems of Neutrality” to satisfy the Navy’s need to provide students with historical background for

³²⁹ Gordon G. Sikes to Harold Dodds, October 14, 1943, box 1, “Navy Orientation” folder, Bureau of Student Placement Records.

³³⁰ “Navy-Marine Orientation Course for College Officials,” October 8, 1943, box 1, “Navy Orientation” folder, Bureau of Student Placement Records.

their missions.³³¹ Each of these sections was deemed essential to creating world peace through the spread of American values and democracy.

Concerns about lucrative adoptions motivated Hicks and Houghton Mifflin to move swiftly in promoting the book. By February of 1943, there was little clarity on precisely what curriculum would be implemented in the military training programs, but Hicks's editor, William Cobb, noted there was "certainly a good chance that American history will be in demand."³³² The following month, Cobb wrote with news that "perhaps as many as 100,000" students would be enrolled in the Army Basic Training Program on campuses throughout the United States. Further, it was vital to secure these adoptions as soon as possible since the Army would pay for the textbooks for the first incoming class of students, and the stock purchased with those initial adoptions would be used throughout the duration of the program.³³³ Like Bailey's and Bemis's correspondence pursuing the Annapolis adoption, Hicks's publisher pushed for the swift production of a book suitable for the armed services. Hicks's and Cobb's pursuit of the military adoptions shed light on the broader context for textbook adoptions and authorship during World War II. These training programs were essential to the success of any given history textbook.

Much like the pressure Holt and Crofts felt with Bailey's and Bemis's volumes, there was a sense of urgency to get Hicks's slimmer one-volume *A Short History of American Democracy* to press in time for the military adoptions. While a history course

³³¹ Memo attached to William Cobb to John D. Hicks, February 11, 1943, carton 26, "Short History" folder, Hicks Papers.

³³² William Cobb to John D. Hicks, February 11, 1943, carton 26, "Short History" folder, Hicks Papers.

³³³ William Cobb to John D. Hicks, March 22, 1943, carton 26, "Short History" folder, Hicks Papers.

for Army engineers adopted Hicks's two-volume history in the interim, the large adoptions coming through the military programs would not be obtainable without a condensed, one-volume edition. Houghton Mifflin was willing to sacrifice some content covering international relations leading up to World War II, and cut an additional 200 pages of text, if it meant getting the book to print in time for it to be used in courses beginning in May 1943. The military's clear preference for slimmer, more efficient texts is notable. Hicks's experience condensing his *Short History of American Democracy* affirms that the shorter, simplistic nature of Bailey's *A Diplomatic History of the American People* was an asset over Bemis's heftier *A Diplomatic History of the United States* in a competitive market dictated by the military. Hicks was forced to trim his volume because of this pressure. Bailey's economical style, deliberately brief and simplified, set him up for success in the college text market targeting a military audience.

Some publishers were so eager to secure military adoptions that they rushed books into production, only to have the Army or Navy curriculum change and render their books obsolete. D.C. Heath and Company and Allan Nevins worked to craft a book on the causes and historical background of World War II. Nevins's and Heath's book was meant to be adopted in the Navy course on American history. In an early iteration of the curriculum, the course was proposed as a simple primer on the causes of the war, but in the final draft a more general history survey course was proposed. Despite the effort to get ten to fifteen historians to contribute to the volume on the assumption the Nevins and D.C. Heath had "inside information as to what the Army and Navy courses were to contain," Nevins and Heath were "embarrassed" by the real curriculum. There was also some indication that Nevins and Heath spread a rumor after the release of the curriculum

that the Navy would ultimately revert back to the initial design of the course and only cover history since 1914. This was quickly dismissed as a rumor to conceal their embarrassment and Robert MacMurphey, then the Chairman of the College Publishers' Co-operative Committee, assured Cobb and Houghton Mifflin that this was not based in fact. The more general survey of American history would remain in the military training plan.³³⁴ Clearly, overeager publishers ran the risk of creating a book out-of-line with the military's needs. If they failed to properly construct their book to the training programs' ultimate curricular prescription adoptions would not come. No matter, the urgency to secure military adoption was readily apparent.

Textbook adoptions were also a source of anxiety for the instructors on college campuses teaching history courses. Hicks's experience at his home institution, the University of California in Berkeley, is a representative anecdote. Hicks remarked to Cobb that the Army and Navy "descended on us in force," leaving him in a difficult position as the person "in charge of everything that pertains to American History" in Berkeley. To Hicks, the experience was a "prison term" with overtime hours required. At the same time, his colleagues teaching sections of American history for the Navy made the delayed publication of his *A Short History of American Democracy* an issue. One colleague insisted on having the "beginning pages" of the book in time for the Navy course to begin on July 5th. If the pages were not provided, he intended to begin the course with another, complete volume. Once again, challenges of production and the

³³⁴ See William Cobb to John D. Hicks, March 31, 1943, carton 26, "Short History" folder, Hicks Papers; William Cobb to John D. Hicks, April 29, 1943, carton 26, "Short History" folder, Hicks Papers. The book D.C. Heath developed was ultimately published despite the problems of producing it for the military training programs. See Allan Nevins and Louis M. Hacker, *The United States and Its Place in World Affairs, 1918-1943* (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1943).

availability of stock imperiled the adoption of a preferred textbook. The ASTP program's need for texts immediately also presented a challenge at Berkeley. The Army course started with Nevins's edited volume, *The United States and its Place in World Affairs, 1918-1943*, but Hicks's textbook would be ordered for the remainder of the course once available from Houghton Mifflin.³³⁵ Hicks was fortunate this arrangement could be made at his home institution. His book was also in use in the Stanford AST-133 courses. The university requested an additional 800 copies of his text between 1943 and 1944 when the ASTP enrollments were expected to spike.³³⁶ There is, however, a lack of sources detailing how this situation played out at ASTP programs across the United States. No matter, Hicks's experience at Berkeley shows the delicate balancing act these adoptions required on a tight deadline.

Houghton Mifflin remained hopeful that, when completed, *A Short History of American Democracy* would compete with the leader in the American survey textbook field at that time, Harold Faulkner's *American Political and Social History*. Faulkner's was the most widely adopted American history text in the military training programs, though the sales staff at Houghton Mifflin hoped that Hicks's "splendid" new volume would "supplant the Faulkner volume" at military schools across the country. Thanks to the "admiration" of a colleague at Lake Forest College, Dr. Richard Hantke, Hicks's two-volume series was already adopted to be used by 400 Army Specialized Training students there, but the sales staff at Houghton Mifflin felt that they needed to push hard for a

³³⁵ John D. Hicks to William Cobb, June 11, 1943, carton 26, "Short History" folder, Hicks Papers. See also Allen Nevins and Louis M. Hacker, *The United States and its Place in World Affairs, 1918-1943*.

³³⁶ See "Stanford University, Form 2, A.S.T. Text Books," Undated, box 8, folder 227, Stanford Department of History Records, 1903-1974 (SC0029A), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

larger number of adoptions.³³⁷ That effort would require the group to better differentiate Hicks from Faulkner in terms of style.

Ultimately, Hicks and Houghton Mifflin prepared a memo titled “The One-Volume Text in American History” to explicate the distinctions between his and Faulkner’s book detailing style and readability as the main areas of differentiation between Hicks’s and Faulkner’s work. The document was prepared to assist the sales staff stationed at colleges and universities. In many ways, the document mirrors the memo Samuel Flagg Bemis drafted critiquing Bailey’s *A Diplomatic History of the American People* for Henry Holt. Hicks critiqued Faulkner’s text as “undistinguished in appearance” and “too big for students to carry easily” in comparison to Hicks’s “attractive format.” Faulkner’s “conventional” maps were inferior to Hicks’s “artistic” and “highly original” maps and frontispiece. Hicks also pointed out that his volume had more than twice the number of illustrations as Faulkner. In terms of prose style, Hicks felt that Faulkner used “commonplace” language, though it was always “grammatical and clear.” According to Hicks, students described the Faulkner text as “dull and dry.” California students rated Faulkner lower than Hicks’s two-volume texts, which were consistently rated the best when compared to competing textbooks. Hicks added anecdotally that “book-sellers report a dearth of second-hand copies because students refuse to part with their books.” Though there is reason to be skeptical of the veracity of Hicks’s claim here, it does present significant insight into the sales strategy authors and publishers felt they needed to implement to secure military adoptions. Positioning a book as more readable and engaging was a useful strategy to secure adoptions against already

³³⁷ Carter Harrison to John D. Hicks, August 10, 1943, carton 26, “Short History” folder, Hicks Papers.

established authors and books. This style, combined with up-to-date historical content aimed at the military's idea of liberal arts education, made a marketable textbook. Hicks also noted that his book was "complete on recent history" occurring after World War I when compared to Faulkner. Though Faulkner had "no equivalent section," Hicks had a chapter covering "Communism; Fascism; Nazi-ism; European and Asiatic causes of World War I."³³⁸ Fresh, readable content is what most successfully secured adoptions, especially when it spoke to causes of World War II and the eventual peacetime.

There is little evidence regarding precisely how successful Hicks and his publisher were in supplanting Faulkner. The Faulkner book did experience some stock shortages because of the sheer quantity of orders the publisher was receiving, which left opportunities for competing texts to get a foothold in the market as demand exceeded supply.³³⁹ There is, however, significant evidence that Hicks and Houghton Mifflin continued to invest time and energy in securing a maximum number of adoptions. At the very least, this indicates that their efforts were worthwhile enough to continue for the duration of the war and into the post-war textbook market. In September 1945, as the war came to a close, the Hicks book was supplied to teachers in the Army who would "teach the enlisted men students the various courses being offered in camps in [the United States], and in post V-E Day training camps in Europe." In sum, 25,000 copies were produced in a "special paper-bound edition" for this purpose.³⁴⁰ In a rush, the printer was unable to incorporate some of Hicks's recommended changes to the printing plates

³³⁸ "The One-Volume Text in American History," Carton 26, "Short History" Folder, Hicks Papers.

³³⁹ "A Note of Explanation and Apology," Undated, box 8, folder 227, Stanford History Department Records.

³⁴⁰ William Cobb to John D. Hicks, September 13, 1945, Carton 26, "Short History" Folder, Hicks Papers.

because the publisher was working with “instructions to make as many as possible without delaying the printing.”³⁴¹ Publishers continued to be willing to make military adoptions feasible to the best of their ability.

Some evidence exists to show that Hicks’s work resonated with the soldiers using his text in much the same way that Bailey’s work met an enthusiastic response. This revealed that the style of textbooks affected readers, not only the instructors and administrators selecting textbooks. Readers wrote to ask for clarification on some points and to praise Hicks’s style. During August 1944, one soldier who was enrolled in a Navy V-12 program at the University of North Carolina wrote to Hicks to request a “source of information” for Hick’s writings on “Neutrality and War.” According to Robinson there was “quite some difference of opinions expressed” in the “history class on this point.” Any “clarification in this matter” Hicks could provide “would be greatly appreciated.”³⁴² Robinson’s comments show that Hicks’s writing generated the discourse on American foreign policy and neutrality that the Navy sought when choosing a text to best impart a liberal education. Other soldiers commented specifically on Hicks’s style. After the war in May 1946, two brothers, C.J. Britt and E.A. Britt wrote to Hicks to tell him *A Short History of American Democracy* was the “best history text it [had] ever been [their] duty to peruse.” Further, they found it “very easy to read, vastly informative.” The “sense of humor possessed by its writer” was perhaps most appreciated. Hicks’s narrative about Andrew Jackson had the brothers “laughing out loud, feeling that, after all, history can be very human.” They resonated with the humor provided throughout the book, declaring

³⁴¹ Dara L. Peebles to John D. Hicks, October 1, 1945, Carton 26, “Short History” Folder, Hicks Papers.

³⁴² Don C. Robinson to John D. Hicks, August 13, 1944, Carton 26, “Short History” Folder, Hicks Papers.

that “history was never like this” before endorsing “more good, red-blooded history texts.”³⁴³ Indeed, the appeal of a textbook well-written for a student audience was a powerful force on the market for American history textbooks for military students and adopters alike.

Bailey and the Post-War Period

The war-time environment on university campuses was transformational for the college textbook market as well as the authors of those texts as they transitioned into the post-war market. Bailey found himself growing dissatisfied with the state of things at Stanford, which were “very dismal...with many resignations and few replacements.” He found the environment to be lacking, especially in the realities of the post-war world. At the same time, he was looking forward to travelling to Europe that summer “under the auspices of State, War, and Navy” to prepare to teach at the National War College.³⁴⁴ For Bailey, the experience furthered his respect for the military education system that had been so essential to the success of his textbooks. In October of 1947 he wrote to Hicks his impressions of the students and the college. He found the students in his class to be “keen, mature, and experienced,” benefitting from an administration which had put “much intelligent thought and planning to the curriculum, and in fact...worked out pedagogical devices that we laymen could well emulate.” Indeed, Bailey was particularly struck by the pedagogical tools available to him. The college provided “all conceivable

³⁴³ C.J. Britt and E.A. Britt to John D. Hicks, May 9, 1946, Carton 26, “Short History” Folder, Hicks Papers.

³⁴⁴ Thomas A. Bailey to John D. Hicks, Undated, box 3, Folder 25, Bailey Papers.

teaching aids, from books to specially drawn maps and charts.”³⁴⁵ Notably, the teaching aids he pointed out were also essential to his textbooks.

Bailey was also impressed by the breadth of instruction, and the type of instructors tapped to lead courses. He remarked that the college brought students and teachers to a common place to “learn together and interchange information and ideas.” This required “instructors of mature judgment, and keen critical facilities” who were adaptable. The benefits of this experience were twofold in Bailey’s eyes. First, it had the effect of “broadening one’s background and recharging the intellectual batteries.” Second, it gave Bailey “the satisfaction of knowing that one is serving one’s country at a critical time” when foreign relations continued to be vital in the post-war years.³⁴⁶ In this vein, historians like Bailey could contribute their own ideas to promote peace after World War II.

Upon returning to Stanford in late 1947, Bailey found himself disillusioned with the students and culture on campus in contrast with the National War College. He felt “as though [he was] stepping off the plane into a new, non-military world in which there was relatively little concern about the things that had been uppermost in our minds in the College.” In particular, he now found Stanford students to “seem young, somewhat naïve, and much too disposed to accept unquestioningly the pontifications of their professors.” He found students and faculty “pinning their faith rather completely to the United

³⁴⁵ Thomas A. Bailey to John D. Hicks, October 6, 1947, box 3, Folder 25, Bailey Papers.

³⁴⁶ Thomas A. Bailey to John D. Hicks, October 6, 1947, box 3, Folder 25, Bailey Papers. See also Thomas A. Bailey, *America Faces Russia: Russian-American Relations from Early Times to Our Day* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950), vii. The Preface includes a reference to how his experience in Europe in the post-war years informed his writing of the book. In particular, Bailey notes the “scores of United States army and foreign service officers” he interviewed who “provided much off-the-record information as to their dealings with the Soviets near or within the iron curtain.”

Nations,” unlike the War College, and labeling Bailey a “warmonger” when he argued for the United States’s “policy of trying to contain the expansion of Soviet Russia.” Bailey was not, however, looking back on his experience at the War College with completely rose-colored glasses. Despite the College’s emphasis on objectivity, Bailey felt “it generally seemed to be taken for granted...that we have made no mistakes in dealing with the Soviets, that they have no justifications for their fears of us, and that our side of the controversy is always the right one.” To Bailey, it was imperative that historians “need to do more looking at these problems from the point of view of Moscow” instead of only the United States.³⁴⁷ He was intent on using his platform as historian and successful textbook author to educate his readers about essential issues of diplomacy and foreign policy in the aftermath of wartime.

As Bailey continued to become more interested in questions of citizenship and service in the post-war years, he maintained dominance in the textbook market for diplomatic history. Like college textbook publishers attempting to secure adoptions for survey textbooks, the editorial team at F.S. Crofts saw the post-war textbook market as full of potential profit. In December of 1945, Allen Wilbur, Bailey’s editor, indicated that the United States Department of Education expected “an increase in normal civilian college population this fall of over 25%.” Adoptions for Bailey’s *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, still in its second edition, were increasing in line with that figure.³⁴⁸ Samuel Flagg Bemis and Henry Holt and Company were still attempting to compete with

³⁴⁷ Thomas A. Bailey to L.L. Lemnitzer, February 9, 1948, box 3, folder 35, Bailey Papers. In this same letter, Bailey recommended a book, Vera M. Dean, *The United States and Russia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1947), as an example of scholarship which “leans over backward to do justice to the Soviets” and was deemed an “admirable” attempt by Bailey.

³⁴⁸ Allen Wilbur to Thomas A. Bailey, December 1, 1945, box 3, folder 21, Bailey Papers.

Bailey's text, but with little success. In 1946, Bemis's *A Diplomatic History of the United States* sold 2,497 copies and in 1949 it sold 2,163.³⁴⁹ In between those two years, Bailey's book remained widely adopted, relegating Bemis's to second place. From just May to October 1947, the third edition of Bailey's text sold 8,046 copies. Between November 1947 and April 1948, it sold an additional 4,733 volumes.³⁵⁰

The post-war textbook market developed in a way that would allow Bailey's books and their style to remain dominant in the market for diplomatic history texts. With the passing of the G.I. Bill in 1944, veterans were given the opportunity to return to American colleges and universities after the war. These veterans also altered the culture of American campuses, in many ways building upon the campus culture prevalent during the time of the V-12 and ASTP programs. Many of the veterans returning to campus had, in fact, participated in these programs throughout the war. They brought with them a more experienced, vocationally oriented mindset, differentiating them from the young undergraduates that populated colleges and universities before the war. Further, this was a cohort of students who would likely not have attended college *en masse* if not for the tuition benefits provided by the G.I. Bill. They ended the monolithic nature of college enrollment, previously drawn from a core social and economic segment of American society from specific geographic locations on the coasts.³⁵¹

³⁴⁹ "Royalty Statement," January 1, 1946 - June 30, 1946, box 57, folder 707, Bemis Papers; "Royalty Statement," July 1, 1946 - December 31, 1946, box 57, folder 707, Bemis Papers; "Royalty Statement," January 1, 1949 - June 30, 1949, box 57, folder 709, Bemis Papers; "Royalty Statement," July 1, 1949 - December 31, 1949, box 57, folder 709, Bemis Papers.

³⁵⁰ "Royalty Statement," May 1, 1947 - October 31, 1947, box 3, folder 24, Bailey Papers; "Royalty Statement," November 1, 1947 - April 30, 1948, box 3, folder 32, Bailey Papers.

³⁵¹ David Riesman, *On Higher Education: The Academic Enterprise in an Era of Rising Student Consumerism* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1980), 44-48.

These changes altered the course of American higher education, and the associated textbook market, for the remainder of the twentieth century. Leaders at colleges and universities saw that the potential student market for higher education could include far more than the upper echelons of American socio-economic classes. This realization altered the way these institutions approached testing, curriculum, and vocational training. The community college, another potential market for college texts, experienced growth in this new market.³⁵² In total, enrollment increased from approximately 1.5 million students in 1939-1940 to 2.7 million total students in the 1949-1950 academic year.³⁵³ The veterans who attended college would also expect their own children to attend college in the future, making for sustainable growth over time.³⁵⁴ In 1960, total enrollment reached 3.6 million and in 1970 the figure increased to 7.9 million.³⁵⁵ To find success in this market, textbook publishers and authors needed to translate the lessons learned in the World War II into new revisions of existing books in their catalogs, and brand new texts tailored specifically for the post-war market.

As early as 1946, Bailey saw a potential leader in the post-war college text market in his revision of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. He remarked to Harvard professor Frederick Merk that “there is a great demand for textbooks of this type, what with the returning veterans.” The first printing of the third edition of the textbook sold out in three weeks.³⁵⁶ Merk had read the book himself and noted how it defied the traditional

³⁵² Joseph F. Kett, *The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties: From Self-Improvement to Adult Education in America, 1750-1990* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 407.

³⁵³ John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, Second Edition (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 261.

³⁵⁴ Kett, *The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties*, 407.

³⁵⁵ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 261.

³⁵⁶ Thomas A. Bailey to Frederick Merk, August 15, 1946, box 3, folder 21, Bailey Papers.

conventions of textbook writing. Textbooks, according to Merk, had reduced the “vital and throbbing” New Deal to a narrative of “dullness.” Conversely, Bailey captured “the drama and tenseness and color” that was prevalent throughout the period.³⁵⁷ In this drama and color, Merk saw “new and rigorous judgments and fresh scholarship of old problems” and a “refreshingly new” perspective. The revision and “interesting bibliographical aids” represented Bailey’s “genius for doing new and stimulating work.”³⁵⁸ Again, the key to success in this post-war market and a positive reception was innovation in style and pedagogical utility. Authors and publishers who did not effectively design books for this reality continued to meet resistance in the market.

In the post-war years, Bemis continued to obsess over the Annapolis adoption with little success into the 1950s. In January of that year, he wrote to his editor “whether there might not be a tendency and a desire, there to stress the period since 1898 more intensely than the earlier period,” which was his own expertise.³⁵⁹ That year, Bemis was due to publish *The United States as a World Power: A Diplomatic History, 1900-1950* with Henry Holt in an attempt to craft a book more focused on current events. The book was “a reprint, adapted and slightly revised” from the third section of Bemis’s *A Diplomatic History of the United States*.³⁶⁰ Bemis felt this book would be a good fit for the Annapolis faculty and students because it placed “more stress to naval problems and to international legal problems relating to naval operations than any other text in the

³⁵⁷ Frederick Merk to Thomas A. Bailey, June 27, 1946, box 3, folder 21, Bailey Papers.

³⁵⁸ Frederick Merk to Thomas A. Bailey, August 23, 1946, box 3, folder 21, Bailey Papers.

³⁵⁹ Samuel Flagg Bemis to C.A. Madison, January 18, 1950, box 57, folder 710, Bemis Papers.

³⁶⁰ Samuel Flagg Bemis, *The United States as a World Power, 1900-1950* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1950), v.

field.” From Bemis’s perspective, this book presented the Holt salesmen an opportunity to finally secure the Annapolis adoption.³⁶¹

Despite Bemis’s hopes, the Holt salesmen found that Bailey’s *A Diplomatic History of the America People* still possessed a stranglehold on the Annapolis adoption. One salesman spoke with Annapolis Professor William Jeffries, who would be the person to adopt *A Diplomatic History of the United States*. Jeffries continued to object to Bemis’s work because “(1)...it is too long and (2)...it is too difficult.” Though he and other Annapolis faculty conceded that Bemis’s work was “the more scholarly one” Bailey’s text remained more “teachable.” Jeffries left the door open for Annapolis to adopt the shorter Bemis book, *The United States as a World Power*, as long as it had “enough background at the beginning to prepare the student for the text dealing with the twentieth century.” C.A. Madison implored Bemis to write a proper introduction to the new, shorter book to meet these concerns. However, without a comprehensive revision to Bemis’s prose, a simple reprint and revision to the main text would not be likely to address the concern that Bemis’s book was “too difficult” compared to Bailey’s “teachable” work.³⁶²

By the end of the spring of 1950, Bemis continued to network at Annapolis in hopes of securing the adoption. He delivered a lecture at St. John’s College in Annapolis on the topic of “American foreign policy and some Mistaken Lessons in History affecting our recent policy,” attended by Jeffries and a Captain from the Naval Academy. In the talk, Bemis critiqued “some of the lessons taught by Professor Bailey’s book,” but he

³⁶¹ Samuel Flagg Bemis to C.A. Madison, January 18, 1950, box 57, folder 710, Bemis Papers.

³⁶² C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, April 11, 1950, box 57, folder 10, Bemis Papers.

refrained from attacking Bailey outright in the lecture. Instead, he alluded to what he believed were Bailey's "misconceptions." From Bemis's vantage point, the talk was "very well received" and admirals and officers in attendance "seemed to like the talk and agreed with the sentiments."³⁶³ Bemis's editor, C.A. Madison, expressed that they were "sure that most of the admirals and leading officials of the Navy will agree" with Bemis's sentiment, adding "let's hope for the best" with the adoption.³⁶⁴ Given the relatively banal response received from Madison, Bemis's reaction was remarkable. Reading into the "white space" between Madison's words, which Bemis took as a disapproving tone, he assured Madison that he "did not write this book for the approval of admirals and leading officers of the Navy" nor did he travel to Annapolis with any intention of meeting them. However, he would be "quite pleased" if they agreed with his ideas, though he feared that this would encourage Madison to label him as a "warmonger." Bemis felt the Naval officers "hate war but love freedom first" and with that knowledge he would "be much pleased if they agree" with Bemis enough "to use [his] treatise" in their courses. The book, at least in Bemis's view, was "the best book on the market for the realistic and freedom-loving instruction of our college youth in the history of American foreign policy and diplomacy."³⁶⁵ In any light, the competition with Bailey was clearly under Bemis's skin.

There were some additional moments of hope that indicated Bemis had a chance to secure military academy adoptions. In 1951 he received suggested corrections for *The*

³⁶³ Samuel Flagg Bemis to C.A. Madison, April 12, 1950, box 57, folder 710, Bemis Papers.

³⁶⁴ C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, April 14, 1950, box 57, folder 710, Bemis Papers.

³⁶⁵ Samuel Flagg Bemis to C.A. Madison, April 15, 1950, box 57, folder 710, Bemis Papers. This letter is marked "Draft of letter dictated but not sent." Though never sent, it provides a window into Bemis's mindset during the adoption process for Annapolis and his relationship with his publisher.

United States as a World Power, from Colonel G.A. Lincoln, who taught the social sciences at West Point. Bemis let the sales staff at Henry Holt know so they could express their thanks to Lincoln the next time they visited West Point. At the time, West Point did not run a course on diplomatic history, but Bemis felt that with Lincoln's reading of the book there was opportunity to convince him to start a course.³⁶⁶ Bemis's attempts were not successful at West Point or at the Naval Academy. In 1952, the New York Office of the Navy requested pricing on 200 copies of *The United States as a World Power*, which Madison deemed "tantamount to an order and that the book will be used with the Navy personnel."³⁶⁷ However, this was not the same as an Annapolis adoption and Bemis noticed an opportunity to "exhibit" this Navy Department purchase "to the appropriate teachers at the Naval Academy...presenting at the same time such testimonials as you may be able to obtain" from this order. At the same time, Bemis wanted to push the Air College School of Higher Officers in Alabama to adopt the book.³⁶⁸ In 1955, Bemis heard that the instructors at West Point and Annapolis were considering changing their adoption from Bailey's *A Diplomatic History of the American People* to Bemis's *The United States as a World Power*.³⁶⁹ C.A. Madison offered "hope that they will give [Bemis's] books serious consideration" and wrote to the lead faculty at each institution even though the traveling salesmen had "already seen the people in each place." The sales staff did not share Bemis's optimism.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁶ Samuel Flagg Bemis to Mary Louise Johnson, March 13, 1951, box 57, folder 712, Bemis Papers.

³⁶⁷ C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, April 3, 1952, box 57, folder 713, Bemis Papers.

³⁶⁸ Samuel Flagg Bemis to C.A. Madison, April 9, 1952, box 57, folder 713, Bemis Papers.

³⁶⁹ Samuel Flagg Bemis to C.A. Madison, February 10, 1955, box 58, folder 716, Bemis Papers.

³⁷⁰ C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, February 14, 1955, box 58, folder 716, Bemis Papers.

Three years later, in 1958, Bemis, Madison, and Henry Holt were still chasing the military academy adoptions with different versions of Bemis's work. One salesman visited Annapolis and convinced Madison they would "have a good chance" with a new book, *A Short History of American Foreign Policy and Diplomacy*, which Bemis and Holt were in the process of creating as a condensed version of *A Diplomatic History of the United States*. Both the West Point and Air Force adoptions were also a consideration in the process of constructing this edition. Holt's editorial staff asked Bemis for "a few paragraphs indicating the general nature of the condensed edition, in order that we may send this information to each of these services, with the idea of getting them interested in the new book before it actually appears." They were still willing to "make a special effort to get them to use the book" and encouraged Bemis to use his existing network in the military academies to secure adoptions.³⁷¹ However, Bemis's approach to authorship remained inconsistent with the needs of the academies.

When contrasted with Bemis's and Henry Holt's approach to the post-war textbook market, Bailey's experience is profoundly different and evidence of a position of power. Like Hicks, his writing resonated with veterans of World War II. One veteran, a graduate student at Georgetown University, wrote to Bailey for help selecting a dissertation topic in diplomatic history.³⁷² Another wrote to Bailey saying "words are insufficient to describe the pleasure" he received from reading Bailey's style and

³⁷¹ C.A. Madison to Samuel Flagg Bemis, January 21, 1958, box 58, folder 719, Bemis Papers.

³⁷² Captain Anthony Milnar to Thomas A. Bailey, February 5, 1945, box 3, folder 13, Bailey Papers.

scholarship.³⁷³ Again, Bailey's text is associated with a readability not present in Bemis's work.

Even when confronted with demands from the Naval Academy in Annapolis, Bailey and the staff at F.S. Crofts acted from the advantageous position they maintained with the adoption. In March 1954, editor Allen Wilbur wrote to Bailey with news that Annapolis was requesting a revision of *A Diplomatic History of the American People* from the content dealing with 1933 to the 1950s. Wilbur felt at least some sense of urgency to preserve the 1,000 copy adoption and was willing to do extra plate changes to do so. Through this, Wilbur also acknowledged that Annapolis was likely bluffing on the likelihood of the institution switching to a different textbook.³⁷⁴ Annapolis's hesitation was attributed to the chronological treatment of Bailey's book, which did not align perfectly with the topical treatment used in the Naval Academy's courses for the post-1920 content. Bailey was hesitant, if not unwilling, to change to a topical treatment in his text because the chronological treatment was more in demand outside Annapolis. Too much accommodation for Annapolis could lead to greater losses at colleges and universities. Bailey also concurred with Wilbur's judgment that Annapolis was bluffing, adding the additional detail that Annapolis was, in fact, thinking of implementing a general American history survey course instead of the diplomatic history course.

As a means to meet Annapolis's demands, Bailey told Wilbur to promise that the revised edition would incorporate the most recent historiography and maintain the same pagination. He was also open to suggestions from the faculty at Annapolis, saying he was

³⁷³ Louis Miglip to Thomas A. Bailey, Undated, box 3, folder 36, Bailey Papers. The letter is likely from 1948 as it is in a folder with correspondence from that year.

³⁷⁴ Allen Wilbur to Thomas A. Bailey, March 31, 1954, box 4, folder 30, Bailey Papers.

“glad to receive any specific suggestions...regarding the improvement of the up-to-dateness of these sections” though he could not “guarantee to tailor the book to their needs.” The revision would also come with “new illustrations and other new types of material.”³⁷⁵ Ultimately, Bailey and the people at F.S. Crofts were relatively comfortable with their position in the market can be summed up with one statement from their correspondence:

If we had a tip-top competitor in the field, I would be more concerned with the professor’s reaction, but as the situation now stands, I suspect that we can maintain the book’s high position on the basis of the next text material added and the thorough revision of the Appendix bibliography.³⁷⁶

Put frankly, Bemis’s *A Diplomatic History of the United States* was not viewed as a “tip-top competitor.” This attitude toward to competition gave Bailey and Crofts a significant amount of latitude when discussing how they would respond to criticism from individual faculty or institutions requesting changes.

Bailey’s experience as a textbook author during World War II was transformational for his view of himself as a historian. He wrote that he had “a ‘mission’ ...to educate public opinion to its responsibilities in foreign affairs.” Ultimately, he thought “the public will be better served” if he made an effort to use his writing, through which he was “influencing many more people than [he] could possibly reach in the classroom and in the [Stanford] University community.” By then his *A Diplomatic History of the American People* sold 20,000 copies.³⁷⁷ Through this experience, Bailey found comfort and meaning in the wide readership his style and approach to authoring

³⁷⁵ Thomas A. Bailey to Allen Wilbur, April 2, 1954, box 4, folder 30, Bailey Papers.

³⁷⁶ Allen Wilbur to Thomas A. Bailey, July 28, 1954, box 4, folder 30, Bailey Papers.

³⁷⁷ “Thoughts Re T.A. Bailey as an Administrator,” box 3, folder, 7, Bailey Papers.

history textbooks had already earned him. His career as author in the 1940s and 1950s would continue to build upon this foundation.

CHAPTER 5: PUBLISHING HISTORY FOR THE PUBLIC: BAILEY'S MISSION TO CREATE A MORE INFORMED CITIZENRY

In his book, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers: Change Without Reform in University Curriculum, Teaching, and Research, 1890-1990*, education historian Larry Cuban placed Bailey within the context of a culture of teacher-scholars within Stanford University's history department. Following in the footsteps of his mentors in the department, Ephraim D. Adams and Edgar Eugene Robinson, Bailey sought balance between his obligations to produce original scholarship and desire to effectively educate undergraduates. The way Bailey fulfilled these obligations became much more apparent in his scholarly output during the 1940s and early 1950s. In this period, Bailey's writing came to exhibit many more of his qualities as a teacher-scholar. In Cuban's analysis, this change came as Bailey attempted to navigate the "tensions between his teaching and scholarly obligations, which [he] had to negotiate in a more competitive academic field" than his mentors experienced years before him.³⁷⁸

It was in this context that Bailey set out to formulate his reputation as a historian and textbook author. His output as an author during World War II and throughout the post-war years exhibited his shift towards publishing more purpose-driven history writing, educating the American public about the fraught nature of war and peace in hopes of creating a more informed citizenry. Building on his pathbreaking focus on American public opinion in *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, Bailey put this scholarship into a pair of more specialized books with topics relevant to American life in

³⁷⁸ Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*, 122-126.

the 1940s and 1950s—*The Man in the Street: The Impact of American Public Opinion of Foreign Policy* and *America Faces Russia: Russian-American Relations From Early Times to Our Day*. In an additional pair of books about the years following World War I—*Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* and *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*—Bailey set out to detail the political blunders of the past to help the United States’s political leaders and citizens avoid the same fate. All of this was done in prose featuring what was becoming Bailey’s trademark lively style as an author. He also further codified this style with additional elements. In each of these books, he applied his approach to writing in *A Diplomatic History of the American People* to make key innovations in the formatting of his monographic work, specifically including cartoon illustrations. This foreshadowed the first edition of his survey textbook, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*. Together, this body of work served to cement Bailey’s status as a leading popular historian and honed his vision for what a survey textbook should be, in both historical content and style.

Bailey as Teacher-Scholar

Bailey’s development as a teacher was well underway by the 1940s. In the summer of 1938, the School of Education at Stanford had formed a conference dedicated to “social education” and training students for citizenship since “relatively little attention has been given to a study of the social problems facing the people of this generation.” Edgar Eugene Robinson provided an overview of the power he saw education had in American democracy and ended with some sermonizing. He wrote, “only as the processes of education continually raise the objectives, the factual content, and the

abilities of our people, can there be hope that there will be realized in these United States the vision of leaders and the means they offer us as a self-governing people of attaining the better life.”³⁷⁹ These comments are noteworthy given the drastic difference between the attitudes of professional historians and Robinson’s beliefs. To Robinson, education was an asset to the progressive mission to improve life for future generations. Bailey’s own progressivism exhibited a similar purpose. The monographic work Bailey produced in the 1940s dovetailed nicely with this development in Bailey’s career as an educator.

Fortunately, Bailey published his statement of philosophy for his life as a teacher-scholar. At the end of the decade, in 1949, Bailey published “The Obligation of the Teacher to be a Scholar,” in the journal *Social Education*. He expressed his own vision for how we would balance the tension between his role as teacher and scholar. Bailey wrote:

At any rate few will deny that the teacher exercises a tremendous influence on the thinking, attitudes, ideals, and habits of our youth. He has therefore a heavy obligation to be not a timeserver, not a propagandist, not a doctrinaire—but a scholar.

If teachers were going to influence the students in their classrooms to become good citizens, Bailey believed teachers must also practice sound “original research in the form of heavily documented monographs” to expand the students’ perception of the world. If not a monograph, Bailey insisted on “at least learned articles in which a rivulet of text

³⁷⁹ Stanford Education Conference, *Social Education* (New York, NY: The Macmillan Company. 1939), v, 50. The proceedings of this conference, and Edgar Eugene Robinson’s contributions to it, survive in this volume published by The Macmillan Company. In the summer of 1936, Bailey participated on a panel related to the “The Significance of the Report of the Commission on Social Studies of the American Historical Association” for the School of Education’s Conference on Curriculum and Guidance. See also “Forums, Discussions Fill Day at Conference,” *The Stanford Daily* (Stanford, CA) July 7, 1936. It is unclear precisely what Bailey said in this presentation. There appears to be no record or draft of the paper available in print. For the purposes of this chapter, I have instead done my best to construct the context of these conferences with the limited record of the events available for research.

meanders through a meadow of footnotes.”³⁸⁰ Publishing consistent and thorough scholarship was an asset to teaching citizens. For Bailey, it would have the effect of enhancing his lecture materials. However, by putting his scholarship into books, designed for the consumption of general readers, he was able to teach in new ways.

Bailey also believed that effective scholarship required the right “state of mind not a mound of footnotes.” As a consequence, it was possible to fall short of scholarship, even with a lengthy publication record. Indeed, Bailey was cognizant of the state of the research culture at some universities where scholarship was “the pedantry of piling up inconsequential facts in routine fashion...all for the primary purpose of ascending another rung on the promotional ladder rather than contributing to the sum total of human knowledge.” He was careful to mention that “a man may write a textbook and still be a scholar, even though the book is successful.”³⁸¹ Bailey’s vision required excellence and precision in scholarly publication. This also required excellence in authorship to make that scholarship relevant and readable.

Bailey’s chosen outlet for his essay, *Social Education*, is particularly telling as his context within the contemporary trends in history education. Lewis Paul Todd, who eventually co-authored the popular *Rise of the American Nation* textbook with Merle Curti, served as the editor of the journal at the time. The idea of democracy, and by extension citizenship, is present throughout the issue, including in an essay titled “Fundamental Concepts of Democracy.” The author of this particular essay felt that in

³⁸⁰ Bailey, “The Obligation of the Teacher to be a Scholar,” 355

³⁸¹ Bailey, “The Obligation of the Teacher to be a Scholar,” 356. On pages 356-57 Bailey also provides specific terms to describe his ideal of the scholar-teacher. He asserted that the scholar is “humble,” “thorough,” “accurate,” “honest,” “openminded,” “objective,” “a thinker,” “courageous,” “helpful,” “intelligible,” “constantly growing,” and “industrious.”

order to stem the “selfish interests” threatening basic democratic concepts “it has become paramount that honest citizens examine those claims in the light of modern conditions” and “tradition must give way to reason and false claims must be rejected.” Well-educated citizens were necessary. Other articles looked at contemporary issues, including the United States’s relationship with the Soviet Union much like Bailey’s book, *America Faces Russia*. Perhaps most notable is the issue’s content related specifically to textbooks and pedagogical material. Recently published social studies texts were included in a bibliography. An advertisement for a “source unit” titled “Community Planning in a Democracy” was printed and available to teachers as was “Developing Citizenship Through School Activities.”³⁸² Bailey’s essay joined this chorus calling for citizens to be educated properly.

In “The Obligation of the Teacher to be a Scholar,” Bailey hinted at the need for accessible style in scholarly writing. He issued a call for scholars to be “helpful” and “intelligible” for students and readers outside the Ivory Tower. Bailey encouraged brevity and the “recogni[tion] that tedious length kills interest” and prose that “makes every effort to clothe [the scholar’s] ideas in attractive but unsensational habiliments.” In addition, Bailey’s style was dependent on the scholar’s ability to communicate beyond academic audiences. This could include the selection of a word in common vernacular instead of academic jargon and the use of phrasing that had contemporary relevance. Bailey’s ideal scholar also “leaves his ivory tower to mingle with the outside world.” It was important to know “the minds and idioms of those whom he addresses” since “the

³⁸² See *Social Education* Vol. VIII, No. 8 (December 1949), 354, 367-370, 372-374, 382-383, 395.

recluse who knows books but not people is something less than a man of learning.”³⁸³

The passage is a clear criticism of the pedantic specialists writing history for each other, not general readers. It also reveals Bailey to be a student- and reader-centered author. In this regard, Bailey found balance between his roles as teacher and scholar.

Bailey’s philosophy was developing at a key moment. Like Bailey, many historians had their professional lives altered in the 1940s. During the war, historians left their traditional teaching posts at American colleges and universities to take up positions in the United States Department of State and military training programs. Graduate students joined the war effort as enlisted men, sometime abandoning dissertations and scholarly contributions in progress. The new post-war professional uncertainty was similar to the experiences historians faced in the aftermath of World War I. According to Roy Nichols’s assessment of post-war historians’ mindset in *The American Historical Review*, the world was possibly “tottering on the brink of another conflict, unable to make peace and plagued by the terrors of cold war.” Further, the United Nations, like the League of Nations, was showing its flaws. Democracy was “in danger.”³⁸⁴ From this climate of fear and apprehension emerged an evolution in the writing of history. This shift in the historical discipline altered the way scholars practiced their craft and had lasting ramifications for historical scholarship and textbooks.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ Bailey, “The Obligation of the Teacher to be a Scholar,” 357.

³⁸⁴ Roy F. Nichols “Postwar Reorientation of Historical Thinking.” *The American Historical Review* 54, no. 1 (1948), 81.

³⁸⁵ Though the primary focus of this chapter is the transformation of historical writing in the 1940s, it should be noted that the world of history education was also transforming at the same time for similar reasons. See ITyrell, *Historians in Public*, 130-152 for a full overview of how the same dynamics forced historians to think of new ways to reach students in hopes of educating them for good citizenship.

According to John Higham, the time lent itself to the emergence of what ultimately became consensus history. Higham saw a decline in the intellectual diversity of history writing after the war. He wrote, “the current fog of complacency, flecked with anxiety, spreads backward over the American past.”³⁸⁶ In Higham’s estimation, the consensus history that emerged after the war amplified a unified, homogenous view of American identity, democracy, and liberal values to assuage national anxieties. Historians’ worries about their professional standing were also lessened. Frances Fitzgerald saw a similar trend in the history textbooks of the era. She wrote: “Ideologically speaking, the histories of the fifties were implacable, seamless. Inside their covers America was perfect: the greatest nation in the world, and the embodiment of democracy, freedom, and technological progress.”³⁸⁷ Textbook authors had joined the intellectual trends moving through university history departments. There is certainly some merit to this contention. It is logical that historians faced with uncertainty would move towards more nationalistic presentation of the American past. This idea is, however, oversimplified. Ellen Fitzpatrick astutely noted that Higham’s judgments here, and broader assumptions about consensus history, are somewhat specious. In her estimation, Higham’s view led to a “simplistic summation of postwar historical writing that made of the late 1940s, the 1950s, and the early 1960s a stolid, unimaginative, and

³⁸⁶ John Higham, “The Cult of the ‘American Consensus’: Homogenizing Our History,” *Commentary* (February 1959), <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-cult-of-the-american-consensushomogenizing-our-history/>.

³⁸⁷ See Fitzgerald, *America Revised*, 10-11 for information about how consensus history was shown on the pages of American history textbooks. See also Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation*, 253-254.

deeply conservative moment in the intellectual history of the discipline.”³⁸⁸ History publishing in these decades was, indeed, more diverse than Higham acknowledged.

Bailey’s development as a historian and author during and after World War II demonstrated another key development in the historical profession after the war—the desire to effectively educate students and readers for the post-war world. At the time, historians were calling for a greater number of their colleagues to move in this direction. In *The American Historical Review*, Conyers Read observed that “it is the rare bird who is interested in the past simply as the past.” In light of this reality, Read felt “the teaching of history has to justify itself in social terms” as the taxpaying public asks “What is the good of history anyway?” He quipped: “If we produce an answer which leads the taxpayer to conclude that history butters no bread, he may decide that in that case it shall furnish no bread and butter for the historian.”³⁸⁹ For historians to find success in the post-war world, they had to research and write in a way that proved useful for Americans trying to make sense of the world around them. Sometimes, as the consensus myth goes, this would require nationalistic narratives. Many other times it would simply require scholarship speaking to post-war anxieties.

Other historians noted flaws in the traditional approaches to history. In another issue of *The American Historical Review*, Roy Nichols chastised the profession for being too focused on the “annals of government” at the expense of more granular histories focused on the people. Nationalism was allowed to shape the writing of political histories, allowing the narratives to be controlled by the leaders in the upper echelons of

³⁸⁸ Fitzpatrick, *History’s Memory*, 191.

³⁸⁹ Conyers Read “The Social Responsibilities of the Historian.” *The American Historical Review* 55, no. 2 (1950), 279.

American life. Nichols directly attributed this shortcoming to the textbook culture that was present throughout the American education system. He wrote, “this tendency to concentrate on the surface has blinded historians to the real underlying processes of social change.”³⁹⁰ Textbooks focused on broad political and economic narratives, driven by the top-down history commonly written. Nichols called for historians to dig deeper into social change in America, taking lessons from physicists who had recently discovered the atom and changed their perception of the laws of the physical world. For Nichols the answer lay in a greater investment in local histories, which would better educate students and readers.³⁹¹ From this investment, historians would achieve a greater relevance in American life. This was, at least, Nichols’s theory. No matter, historians acknowledged that there was demand for a more heterogeneous offering of historical writing after World War II. Bailey’s focus on societal change created by public opinion runs parallel to Nichols’s call.

Further, Bailey’s conceptualization of the teacher-scholar was not unique. Read, in particular, tied the post-war moment for historians to a need to fully realize the social importance of their teaching at American colleges and universities. He called the prevailing practice of judging professors by their monographic output into question, noting that even the most widely read of these works reached only hundreds of readers. According to Read, the historical knowledge spread through word of mouth in the classroom was at least “equally potent” if not even more so. He further expanded on this idea, writing that “those who read [monographs], read about the minutiae while those

³⁹⁰ Nichols, “Postwar Reorientation of Historical Thinking,” 78-89.

³⁹¹ Nichols, “Postwar Reorientation of Historical Thinking,” 82.

who listen [in classrooms] scan...the great panorama of the past.” Read saw the latter, dealing with the “social significance of history” as the more-worthy endeavor given its potential for “greater service.”³⁹² Indeed, Read asked his audience in *The American Historical Review* “what part are we as historians to play in what everybody is calling education for democracy?” Textbook authors, he argued, were especially influential in seeking answers to this question. This venture was, however, fraught with challenges. These authors had to “conform to certain standards” and risk “a visit from the secret police.” Read’s broader point here was essential. Textbook authors, by and large, “cannot afford to be unorthodox, not when the merits of democracy are in question.”³⁹³ While Bailey would agree with Read’s overarching philosophy, he would question Read’s judgment of textbook conventions. His existing success with *A Diplomatic History of the American People* proved there was some flexibility in the textbook publishing industry. Every book he published in the 1940s and early 1950s tested just how much flexibility existed.

Adapting Previous Work for New Purposes

In 1943, after the second edition of *A Diplomatic History of the American People* was published, Bailey set out to adapt the textbook into new forms. In conjunction with an American nonprofit organization, the Foreign Policy Association, Bailey published a short Headline Book titled *America’s Foreign Policies: Past and Present*. In essence, the book was an extremely condensed version of the diplomatic history textbook. Through its

³⁹² Read, “The Social Responsibilities of the Historian,” 277.

³⁹³ Read, “The Social Responsibilities of the Historian,” 281-282.

Department of Popular Education, the Foreign Policy Association was publishing these short works to “provide sufficient unbiased background information to enable readers to reach intelligent and independent conclusions on the important international problems of the day.”³⁹⁴ The organization sought out established academics with the reputation for writing accessible or popular work to write for the series. Ultimately, Bailey’s Headline Book reached a wide audience, selling 55,000 copies to the general public. Another 50,000 were used in a symposium for soldiers fighting in World War II. This circulation augmented Bailey’s reach as an author beyond the 20,000 copies of his diplomatic history textbook sold by 1943. Bailey’s growing prominence as an author made him aware that through his writing he was “influencing many more people than [he] could possibly reach in the classroom and in the University community.” It reaffirmed his conviction that he had a “mission” to “educate public opinion to its responsibilities in foreign affairs.” In Bailey’s estimation, the public was “better served” when he used his writing to educate citizens.³⁹⁵

The Foreign Policy Association book helped prove Bailey’s wide marketability for publishers. Allen Wilbur and the staff at F.S. Crofts, who edited and published *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, were less concerned with Bailey’s personal mission, but saw an opportunity in Bailey’s work on the Headline Book. The book for the Foreign Policy Association would not detract from sales of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, but the bibliography contained at the end of the work, which contained

³⁹⁴ Thomas A. Bailey, *America’s Foreign Policies: Past and Present* (New York, NY: Foreign Policy Association, 1943), 96.

³⁹⁵ Figures and quotes come from a memo titled “Thoughts Re T.A. Bailey as an Administrator” from box 3, folder 7, Bailey Papers. The precise date for the memo is not provided, but it is located in a folder with correspondence from 1944. See also Bailey, “Confessions of a Diplomatic Historian,” 9-10.

Bailey's text, could "lead readers to go further in the subject" and serve as advertising for the full textbook to the potential 100,000 readers in possession of *America's Foreign Policies: Past and Present*. Moreover, Wilbur expressed some "disappointment" on the behalf of F.S. Crofts that the Association had contacted Bailey about the idea before Crofts. The publishing house was looking for new ways to adapt its textbook catalog based on "recommendations of the Government in regard to both high school study and college courses during the War emergency." If not a Headline Book, Bailey's work could have found new life in a variety of formats for schools in need of relevant reading for wartime classrooms. The staff at F.S. Crofts expected there to be curricular developments where diplomatic history would "be given greater emphasis," but reluctantly provided their blessing for Bailey to work with the Foreign Policy Association and left the door open for an adaption of the text for "something else lying between the Headline book" and the existing text.³⁹⁶ Bailey's name and style was a commodity for F.S. Crofts, especially in the wartime market emerging in the 1940s.

Bailey's efforts to produce *American Foreign Policies: Past and Present* with the editorial staff at the Foreign Policy Association reveals some of the stylistic considerations present in history publishing during World War II, many of which mirrored Bailey's vision for his writing. There existed a need to reach a general audience, starting with the title of the book. Originally, Edith Greenburg, who was managing the project, suggested the title "Our Foreign Policy, 1783-1943," which Bailey objected to since the use of "our" could serve as a point of confusion to readers in Canada and Europe. There was also some dissatisfaction with the eventual subtitle of the volume,

³⁹⁶ Allen Wilbur to Thomas A. Bailey, November 5, 1942, box 2, folder 30, Bailey Papers.

“Past and Present,” since Bailey was hesitant to “stress in the title the historical aspects of the book.” He realized American history teaching had not left most students with a significant interest in history. A Headline Book that seemed too historical would not have sold as well, at least in theory. One of his suggested alternative titles for the book, “The American People and Their Foreign Policy,” echoed the already successful *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.³⁹⁷ The title page of the book was contested territory as Bailey sought to put his stylistic mark, aimed at a wide audience, on the book.

Much of Bailey’s approach to constructing *America’s Foreign Policies: Past and Present* mirrored his initial proposal for his diplomatic history textbook. The plan he outlined for the Headline Book was modeled off another already published in the series, *Mexico: The Making of A Nation* by Hubert Herring. In regard to the illustrations and cartoons for the booklet Bailey insisted that they should “set the atmospheric stage for the chapters” and “represent actions, because action is best calculated to catch the eye.” He requested illustrations of “a Federalist orator haranguing for war against France,” “a statue of Liberty upholding a dollar instead of a torch,” and a “buck-toothed Japanese delegate.”³⁹⁸ The proposed illustrations were to be an extension of Bailey’s prose style. Though many of his proposals never made it into the printed book, his requests reveal his philosophy of illustration clearly.

Bailey’s manuscript met criticism that echoed the feedback he received about the initial edition of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. After review from the Foreign Policy Association’s editorial advisers, which included Charles Beard, Headline

³⁹⁷ Thomas A. Bailey to Edith Greenburg, April 20, 1943, box 3, folder 2, Bailey Papers.

³⁹⁸ “Bailey: American Foreign Policies,” box 3, folder 2, Bailey Papers.

Books Editor Sherman Hayden indicated to Bailey that, on the whole, the manuscript was “extremely lucid” and adhered to the “pattern” and structure they had desired for the book. Hayden did, however, identify some “over-simplifications” which led to “quite misleading” passages. In a letter, he attributed this issue to Bailey’s “space limitations,” though Bailey’s style was most likely at fault in some cases. Bailey’s manuscript described Native Americans as “bloody-handed Indians” and “murderous redmen.” The Anglo-Saxon was “ambitious” and the Latino “sleepy.”³⁹⁹ These descriptions were characteristic of Bailey’s attempts to stoke reader interest. They did, however, present some challenges in interpretation for readers, especially those not well-versed in history. Ultimately, Bailey relented on his vivid descriptions of Indians. The final copy for *America’s Foreign Policies: Past and Present* included few references to the population. The most controversial was Bailey’s description of “marauding Indians” running throughout Florida in 1818. The bulk of his descriptions were mild.⁴⁰⁰ Editorial objections to this style bolstered the argument that Bailey’s stylistic tendencies were problematic as he increasingly sought a wider audience for his work. Bailey’s more mellow descriptions in the final text for the book indicated that these editorial objections were essential in molding his style for publication.

Bailey’s historical interpretations were also critiqued and many of these criticisms stemmed from Bailey’s adjectival style, which strayed from a thoroughly objective tone. Hayden noted that Bailey left the reader with the perception that “all the colonists left Europe gladly” and were not trying to “escape” the realities of persecution overseas. In

³⁹⁹ Sherman Hayden to Thomas A. Bailey, April 1, 1943, box 3, folder 3, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁰⁰ Bailey, *America’s Foreign Policies*, 23. See also pages 7, 28, 37, and 39 for examples of mild content related to Indians.

other sections of the book Bailey had a tendency to “over-state the hard-boiled view of international politics.” There was also concern that in an effort to avoid an overtly patriotic narrative, Bailey had left the reader with “the impression that the United States was always wrong, or that governments are activated by purely worldly motives.” Hayden’s remarks here are especially relevant and indicate that Bailey’s work broke away from the consensus mold. Bailey tended to criticize the United States for what he perceived as foreign policy blunders. According to Hayden, this tendency was evident in Bailey’s treatment of the French Alliance during the Revolutionary War and his coverage of the Mexican-American War. In the coverage of the latter, the “implication [was] pretty strong that [the United States] continually bullied the Latin Americans.” Theodore Roosevelt was unfairly characterized as a “brute and a blow-hard” and Woodrow Wilson was portrayed as “the stock figure of an idealist, helpless in the face of facts.” From Hayden’s perspective, Bailey’s “tone” needed to be “softened” as it verged on being too partisan for the Headline Books series.⁴⁰¹

Hayden’s feedback was not taken kindly by Bailey, who was “somewhat shocked” that the publisher would revise the manuscript without giving the author the “opportunity to see all of the changes” proposed. Suggesting a stylistic compromise, Bailey offered “hostile Indians” instead of “bloody-handed Indians” and “restless redmen” instead of “murderous redmen.” He insisted that he still stood by his initial claim that the Indians were both “bloody-handed” and “murderous” even if “many of them had good reason to be.” He agreed to refrain from labeling Latin American populations as “sleepy” so his book would not “condemn whole peoples with an

⁴⁰¹ Sherman Hayden to Thomas A. Bailey, April 1, 1943, box 3, folder 3, Bailey Papers.

adjective,” though he contended that “the original statement comes close to the truth.”

Bailey was inclined to hold firm on his own historiographical interpretations. He dismissed Hayden’s point about his “hard-boiled” interpretation of international political development as “a matter of opinion.” Bailey intended to adhere to his own opinion and reminded Hayden that Headline Books typically included “a statement to the effect that the views expressed are those of the author and the [Foreign Policy Association] accepts no responsibility for them.”⁴⁰²

Despite Bailey’s attempt to adhere to his convictions, he made some notable concessions to communicate clearly to his readers. He was “not aware” he had portrayed Theodore Roosevelt as a “brute and a blow-hard” and agreed to tone down the rhetoric. He agreed to drop the language that showed Roosevelt “herding kings and emperors,” which played on Roosevelt’s persona as a “rough rider.” Instead, Bailey would swap out the “figurative” language for something that would better appeal to the “literalists” who would object to such a style. He agreed to change the portrayal of Woodrow Wilson as hopelessly idealistic in favor of a balanced interpretation that alluded to the practical parts of Wilson’s leadership. He recommended the deletion of a phrase describing Wilson as “the idealist and the moralist” and added another indication that “Wilson was doubtless right,” but was “uncompromising” in his approach to enacting his policies.⁴⁰³

At the Foreign Policy Association, Edith Greenburg happily accepted Bailey’s revisions assuring the author that they were not opposed to his interpretations in *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. She said the space constraints of the

⁴⁰² Thomas A. Bailey to Sherman Hayden, April 6, 1943, box 3, folder 3, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁰³ Thomas A. Bailey to Sherman Hayden, April 7, 1943, box 3, folder 3, Bailey Papers.

Headline Book caused the concerns with interpretation as Bailey made stylistic choices in his effort to condense the narrative. Bailey's editors were primarily concerned with how the audience for the Headline Book would receive the condensed narrative since the readers would likely have "insufficient background to fill in their own modification." The Foreign Policy Association envisioned a readership of "adults who [had] little background in the subject" and high school students who received the book as supplementary reading.⁴⁰⁴ This imagined readership, combined with college students working with Bailey's *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, comprised Bailey's primary intended audience throughout the 1940s. In each of these groups, Bailey saw a need to be educated on the issues of the day, both in wartime and the eventual peace. Perhaps more significantly, they needed to be educated with a readable book—not dull and pedantic, nor overly stylized. Bailey, with the help of his editors, needed to aim between these two extremes.

Writing and Educating for Peacetime

Bailey's second effort to educate readers in the 1940s came in a pair of books—*Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* and *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*. With an emphasis on making peace, Bailey wove a narrative with contemporary relevance to students and general readers alike. Historiographically, the books represented Bailey's admiration for Wilsonian idealism and its role in attempting to construct a lasting peace in the aftermath of World War I with the Treaty of Versailles. In the "Foreword" to

⁴⁰⁴ Edith Greenburg to Thomas A. Bailey, April 9, 1943, box 3, folder 3, Bailey Papers.

Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace Bailey “confess[ed] to a great for many of Wilson’s qualities, and to complete sympathy for the broad ends that he sought to attain.”⁴⁰⁵

However, balancing that admiration was Bailey’s recognition of the stark reality that the President’s efforts were unsuccessful because of his failures as a leader when trying to get the treaty approved by Congress and earn the support of the American public.⁴⁰⁶ The book ended with a chapter titled “Blessed are the Peacemakers” trumpeting the loss of Wilson’s “noble vision” at the hands of a “tragic mistake.”⁴⁰⁷ Bailey supported the League of Nations in concept and where it fit in with Wilsonian progressivism despite questionable practicality. He believed any progress towards peace was admirable, though these high ideals were jeopardized by a flawed man. These ideals were also worth replicating in American citizens.

The Wilson books also illustrated Bailey’s progressivism, the reformer mentality he shared with other progressive historians from the era. In *That Noble Dream* Peter Novick noted the rise of “reform-oriented scholars” in the interwar period and the rise of progressive historical writing well into the 1940s.⁴⁰⁸ Bailey’s style of progressivism was particularly relevant during the war. This reformism in the Wilson books was mixed with his own commitment to educating statesmen and citizens. In the Wilson volumes, Bailey’s historical scholarship paired more clearly with his convictions as a teacher-scholar than in any of his article or monographic output related to public opinion. He wrote on the lessons of Wilson’s blunders:

⁴⁰⁵ Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace*, vi.

⁴⁰⁶ Combs, *American Diplomatic History*, 265.

⁴⁰⁷ Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace*, 324.

⁴⁰⁸ Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 239.

A horseman must know his horse and its limitations; a statesman must know his people and their limitations, as well as the limitations of foreign peoples. Otherwise he is not a statesman. He must not set for his people impossible goals, however desirable they may be in the abstract. He must train public opinion by gradations for new tasks.... He must educate the people in advance for the responsibility, which he is asking them to shoulder. Otherwise, even though they may temporarily take on the burden, they are likely to find it too wearisome and cast it aside.⁴⁰⁹

It was evident that Bailey put the onus on statesmen to be effective leaders. He hoped statesmen would read his account of Wilson and apply the lessons to their own practice. Perhaps most notable was Bailey's emphasis on statesmen educating the public. Here, he combined the need for effective leadership with the necessity of a well-informed populace. Bailey felt that informing the public would lead to more effective peacemaking. Alongside the efforts of statesmen, Bailey crafted his narrative to contribute to this process.

The lessons readers were meant to glean from the books were plainly stated. Bailey put forth "a few maxims in relation to peace-ratifying and peace-executing." These ranged from general calls for politics to stay out of peace treaties and cautions against perfectionism to concrete suggestions to eliminate the two-thirds rule in the Senate. Of course, he mentioned a need to educate the public. It should also be noted that Bailey dedicated six pages of his conclusion to a total of fourteen maxims—Bailey's own Fourteen Points.⁴¹⁰ These points were what Lester Langley described as the demonstration of "Bailey's concern for practical alternatives as a means of achieving idealistic goals."⁴¹¹ Through this, Bailey wanted his readers who were statesmen and

⁴⁰⁹ Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 368.

⁴¹⁰ Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 362-367.

⁴¹¹ Langley, "The Diplomatic Historians," 55.

leaders to live up to their obligations to the American people and make better decisions in the future. General readers were meant to take these practical points with them into civic life and promote peace.

This purpose was especially evident in the promotional material that accompanied the Wilson books. The dust jacket covering the first edition of *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* was designed with educating his readers in mind. It posed a few key questions for readers to consider:

Are we making the same blunders again?
Must we send our boys abroad every 25 years?
Can we construct a lasting peace?
Have we learned anything from last time?

The inside flap stated his aim as clear as any other portion of the book, indicating that the “book is designed to help Americans and their representatives act with greater vision in framing the next peace than they did in 1919.” Bailey believed “no lasting peace can be framed or carried out without the support of an informed public opinion.”⁴¹²

The core themes present in the Wilson books also formed the central thread in Bailey’s 1948 book, *The Man in the Street: The Impact of American Public Opinion on Foreign Policy*. The volume was an extensive monographic study of the ways the American public exerted pressure on policy makers in pursuit of their own interest. In doing this study, he sought to educate that same public about the power they held in American life and how they should wield it for the betterment of the country. Bailey contended that “all governments, whatever their nature, rest on the foundation stone of public opinion.” In the case of the United States, it was “the most powerful nation in the

⁴¹² Dust jacket quotes are taken from the author’s personal copy of the first printing of Bailey’s *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace*, which was purchased with the dust jacket preserved.

world” and therefore had “the most powerful body of public opinion in existence.” That populace wielded influence over each branch of government, though the public was not always respected by those in power.⁴¹³

Bailey saw some valid reasons for this lack of respect, revealing his own tendency to condescend to the uninformed public with his writing.⁴¹⁴ He deemed “the masses” to be “notoriously shortsighted” and unable to “see danger until it is at their throats.” This, Bailey said, was why “our statesmen are forced to deceive them into an awareness of their own long-run interests.” He feared that “deception of the people may in fact become increasingly necessary, unless we are willing to give our leaders in Washington a freer hand.”⁴¹⁵ In this light, it is clear that Bailey held many statesmen in high regard, respecting their knowledge and expertise in the field. The public, however, was simply not informed enough to understand the vast implications of diplomatic policy. In other words, an uninformed public made well-intentioned leaders purposefully deceive Americans in order to promote noble foreign policy aims. The wisdom of Bailey’s thesis is questionable to say the least. No matter, it is a revealing insight to his

⁴¹³ Bailey, *The Man in the Street*, 2.

⁴¹⁴ See DeConde, “Thomas A. Bailey: Teacher, Scholar, Popularizer,” 169-170 for more background about Bailey’s condescending tone. DeConde provides recollections of this portion of Bailey’s reputation from his memories as Bailey’s graduate student and colleague.

⁴¹⁵ Bailey, *The Man in the Street*, 1-2, 13. This emphasis was also noted in DeConde, “Thomas A. Bailey: Teacher, Scholar, Popularizer,” 180. DeConde wrote that Bailey was able to give “full expression to his hypothesis that public opinion and pressure group power were dominant forces in the shaping of American foreign policy.” This condescension was also prevalent in Bailey’s early career. After a stint as a reported for the Honolulu Star-Bulletin covering the 1928 Democratic National Convention he criticized the attendees. A colleague, K.C. Leebrick provided a word of advice to temper Bailey’s opinions. He wrote to “caution [Bailey] not to let [his] feelings of superiority over the so-called mob get into [his] thinking to the point that it becomes evident.” Leebrick saw that Bailey was running the risk of alienating his readers and colleagues and implored him “to be sincerely interested in people as well as in facts.” See K.C. Leebrick to Thomas A. Bailey, July 21, 1928, Box 1, Folder 2, Bailey Papers.

conceptualization of his readers and how vital he saw his role in educating them about the power of their collective public opinion.

In addition, his treatment of immigrants and minorities in American revealed some conservative predilections. One of Bailey's former students, Alexander DeConde, noted this aspect of Bailey's career. He observed "Bailey seemed to go out of his way to impugn the loyalties of what he and other patriots of his generation called hyphenated Americans."⁴¹⁶ In *The Man in the Street* Bailey wrote:

America is the land of pressure groups, and among those more powerful and militant organization are those formed by hyphenates to promote some foreign cause. In many instances the hyphenated American minorities are better organized to achieve their special purposes than are native American majorities. It is not unusual for the Washington government, under such compulsion, to make decisions that are more conducive to the interests of foreigners than of Americans.⁴¹⁷

This passage highlighted Bailey's focus on the struggle between so-called American interests and those of foreigners. He resented the hyphenates' loyalties abroad and believed they should join what he perceived to be the true American community. In this regard, Bailey participated in the post-war effort to infuse American history with a nationalistic tone. Bailey's contribution to this tone was, however, complicated by the criticism he directed at policymakers and the American people. Certainly, Bailey's writing had shades of nationalistic thought. It does not, however, provide an uninterrupted narrative of American progress and power in the world. The more critical approach Bailey took to his work was deemed essential to properly educate the reader. It was also the ideal balance Bailey sought as a teacher-scholar.

⁴¹⁶ DeConde, "Thomas A. Bailey: Teacher, Scholar, Popularizer," 169. See also Langley, "Bailey and Bemis," 57 for more perspective of Bailey's aversion to hyphenate groups.

⁴¹⁷ Bailey, *The Man in the Street*, 17.

At the conclusion of the 1940s and the dawn of the 1950s, Bailey applied his perspective to the issues of the burgeoning Cold War. In *American Faces Russia*, published in 1950, Bailey provided a survey of the United States's relations with Russia throughout history and "emphasiz[ed] the prevalence of untruth as a factor in America's image of Russia" to correct the average Americans' popular opinion of Russia. In a retrospective of Bailey's career, Lester Langley noted that the conclusion of the book included some typical "sermonizing in an appeal to understand the Russians by promoting centers for Slavic studies in the United States and to inform Soviet leaders about the 'American way of life.'"⁴¹⁸ This dual purpose would mold public opinion and enhance the prospect for peace on both sides of the conflict.

Bailey's work in *America Faces Russia* was conducted specifically to rectify some of the misleading presentations of American-Russian relations found in contemporary textbooks. From this perspective, this correction was particularly important in the books that were produced for an educational purpose. He remarked to a colleague that the coverage in Charles and Mary Beard's *The Making of American Civilization*, Mabel B. Casner's and Ralph H. Gabriel's *The Story of American Democracy*, and David Saville Muzzey's *A History of Our Country* was "inadequate in scope" if the goal was to improve American international relations abroad. Bailey opined that the bibliographies of the Muzzey and Beard books were horribly antiquated" by twenty-five years and proved to be inadequate for the needs of post-war classroom use. Bailey sensed a need to improve upon these textbook offerings, which were rapidly becoming outdated.

⁴¹⁸ Langley, "Bailey and Bemis," 55.

Implementing Bailey's Style of Presentation

While the intellectual mission of Bailey's work in the 1940s and early 1950s was clearly educational, he and his publishers had to work to further establish his brand as history author. The Wilson books marked the first time Bailey's flair, as shown to his readers in *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, was visible to readers in his monographic work. Prominently featured on the front cover of the June 30, 1945 edition of *The Saturday Review of Literature*, readers found an engraving of a serious looking Bailey in the foreground with and equally serious Woodrow Wilson in the background.⁴¹⁹ The cover was complemented by a review within the magazine promoting *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*. Bailey's prominence in the issue was telling. For historians, the *Saturday Review of Literature* provided access to middlebrow readers during the 1920s and 1930s. Allan Nevins and Bernard DeVoto, among others, were some of the historians associated with the popular histories promoted within the periodical at the time. Like Bailey, this group bemoaned pedantic specialization within the historical profession and the loss of popular potential this represented in history publishing. They were some of the leading voices setting tastes for history writing on the pages of the *Saturday Review* and deliberately shirked historians who wrote only for fellow specialists.⁴²⁰

In the same decade, *The Saturday Review of Literature* was in the midst of a transformation under the leadership of Norman Cousins that further aligned the

⁴¹⁹ See the cover of *The Saturday Review of Literature*, June 30, 1945, Vol. XXVIII, No. 26.

⁴²⁰ Tyrell, *Historians in Public*, 35, 46. See also Janice Radway, *A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste, and Middle-Class Desire* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 297-300.

magazine's mission with Bailey's own. Cousins sought to make the magazine appeal to a more educated audience than before, keenly interested in delving into the problems of international affairs and the United States' place in the world. Compared to another middlebrow publication, *Reader's Digest*, the *Saturday Review of Literature* appealed to middlebrow tastes in the upper echelon of the category. By the 1960s, it led all other weekly magazines in education and social status. Of its readership, 52 percent were college graduates, 46 percent held professional and managerial jobs, and 16 percent held government jobs. Only 15 percent of *Reader's Digest* readers possessed a college degree. Cousins's editorial philosophy was the impetus for these statistics and the World War II era was particularly essential in his efforts.⁴²¹ Throughout World War II, Cousins developed a sense that his magazine and editors should "see books not as ends in themselves but as part of an activist and political world." He posed questions essential to American life in the 1940s and 1950s: "How should we use or not use the power which had made us the most powerful nation that ever existed? What should we do about those inside and outside our own boundaries whom we could no longer call merely 'the lesser breeds without the law'?" Indeed, the *Saturday Review of Literature* was deliberately crafted with an educational purpose for the era—to educate American citizens for the new world that World War II created.⁴²² Bailey's writings in the Wilson books and later in *The Man in the Street* dovetail neatly with answers to these particular questions, shedding light on the role of American citizens and public opinion in the political realm.

⁴²¹ Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 73; See also W. R. Simmons, *Selective Markets and the Media Reaching Them* (New York: Simmons Media Studies, 1966).

⁴²² As quoted in Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 75.

In the *Saturday Review of Literature*'s subscribers, he found a readership primed to be interested in his own work.

Bailey's presence inside the pages of *The Saturday Review of Literature* was a mix of positive and negative for his promotional efforts. The review of *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, authored by Edgar G. Sisson, within the periodical was not particularly positive toward Bailey's work. It largely focused on Sisson's own disagreement with Bailey's appraisal that Wilson's flaws as a politician and communicator compromised his ideals and cause the peace to fail.⁴²³ However, an advertisement created by Macmillan to highlight *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* for the issue declared that "to read this book is to be forearmed." It touted Bailey's work as a "dramatic story," an appeal to the readers who would be consuming the ad.⁴²⁴

Along with this promotional messaging, Bailey and Macmillan shaped their style of presentation to appeal to the readers Cousins cultivated in the *Saturday Review*. In late 1944, Bailey remarked to a colleague that he wrote the second book, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, as a "who dun it" since that clientele bought the first Wilson book "with some enthusiasm." Macmillan was particularly enthusiastic about the "who dun it" quality of the new publication, anticipating high sales. In addition, before the publication of *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* there was some discussion of shortening the title to simply read "The Great Betrayal." The staff at Macmillan believed that this change would "net a good many sales to the 'sucker' trade." That is, book buyers

⁴²³ See Edgar G. Sisson, "The Breaking of the Peace," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, June 30, 1945, Vol. XXVIII, No. 26, 9-10.

⁴²⁴ See the inside cover of *The Saturday Review of Literature*, June 30, 1945, Vol. XXVIII, No. 26.

who would buy the book expecting a riveting story, only to find history. “The Great Betrayal” was seen as a more “seductive” title—at least by the publisher.

As it turned out, there were limits to how far Bailey was willing to go in pursuit of sales, which likely helped his book refrain from condescending to a more educated audience. While he did see the mounting interest in Wilson’s post-war policies as a significant opportunity to sell as many books as possible, he was less inclined to go with a more sensationalist title. He remarked to H.S. Latham at Macmillan that *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* was “a more honest title” as it accurately identified the book as a work of history. Second, the longer title would tie it to *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* and further promote the sale of the first volume in the series. Lastly, Bailey’s imagined audience was comprised of “intelligent laymen” instead of “Susie the stenographer.” Essentially, he expected his readers to be discerning in their tastes, actively looking for a volume that would educate them on the state of world affairs. Cousins’s readers, which trended towards upper middlebrow, closely aligned with Bailey’s imagined reader. A more sensationalist title would not speak to that reader.⁴²⁵ It is debatable how realistic Bailey’s judgments were in this area. The example does, however, show how much of a commodity Bailey’s writing was becoming for publishers. When this demand was combined with Bailey’s educational mission, Bailey’s potential as a successful college survey textbook author was undeniable.

This was even more clear in the marketing materials for the Wilson books. A promotional brochure prepared for the *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* declared

⁴²⁵ Thomas A. Bailey to H.S. Latham, February 16, 1945, box 3, folder 13, Bailey Papers. See also Bailey’s recollections in Bailey, “Writing Diplomatic History,” 6.

Bailey was “exposing past errors” with “striking illustrations of mistakes which must be avoided this time” after World War II. Americans would do well to read the book and be informed. The cartoon illustrations included in the book were featured in the brochure as well. It promised that “twenty-eight excellent cartoons from various papers throughout the country vividly reflect contemporary opinions.”⁴²⁶ Those cartoons were complemented by five maps.⁴²⁷ The second volume, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, also included five maps, but increased the number of cartoons to forty.⁴²⁸

In using these visual aids, Bailey honed his style of presentation for his readers, foreshadowing his future work in *The American Pageant*. The visual material also served as another selling point for his publisher to connect with a wide readership. Each aid enhanced his core aims in the book to communicate his historical narrative effectively to his audience and to develop his readers into capable citizens in peacetime. For example, *Woodrow Wilson and The Great Betrayal* featured a cartoon from the *New York World*. In it, Wilson was portrayed holding a magnifying glass. Above his right shoulder was a blazing sun labeled “PUBLIC OPINION.” The sun’s rays were being focused into a beam incinerating a United States senator striding along with “SENATE OPPOSITION” emblazoned across his chest.⁴²⁹ Here, Bailey brought the stylistic thrust of his work to bear. He provided his readers with an evocative illustration of the book’s focus on the force public opinion applied to American politicians. This illustrative material was juxtaposed with a section of text on the previous page examining how Wilson sought to

⁴²⁶ See promotional brochure in box 3, folder 13, Bailey Papers and the “List of Cartoons” in Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace*, xi.

⁴²⁷ See “List of Maps” in Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace*, xii.

⁴²⁸ Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, xi-xii.

⁴²⁹ Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 121.

harness crowds turning out at his national tour to put pressure on the Senate to ratify the League of Nations.⁴³⁰ Together, this text and cartoon created meaning for readers in a dynamic manner.

The maps included in the books served a similar purpose. *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* included a map illustrating “Wilson’s Transcontinental Tour” across the United States to harness American public opinion in his favor. The map showed Wilson’s progression from Washington, DC across the Midwest, up to Minneapolis, Minnesota and then westward to Seattle and Tacoma, Washington. It traced his progress down the west coast to Los Angeles and his journey across the Rocky Mountains through Salt Lake City, Utah, and Denver, Colorado, before the trip was halted in Wichita, Kansas. The map preceded Bailey’s own narrative of Wilson’s tour across the nation, focusing on the “the westward-speeding presidential party” and the speeches delivered to the crowds gathered at each stop.⁴³¹ Like the cartoons, Bailey used the maps as a means to present his argument visually to connect with his readers in a dynamic way. Both cartoons and maps were embedded within the textual narrative, much as they were in *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.

The style and format of Bailey’s published work certainly stood out in the 1940s when compared to other history books published at the time. In the analysis in this chapter, these comparisons are essential to establish Bailey’s position in history publishing of the period. Indeed, books varied from author to author and publisher to publisher. These distinctions allow for a precise analysis of the form Bailey’s work

⁴³⁰ Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 120.

⁴³¹ Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, 102, 105.

created. For example, Charles Beard's controversial book *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941* represented a similar intellectual mission to Bailey's Wilson books—the effort to inform the public about presidential blunders—but was markedly different in its format. The inside flap of its dust jacket indicated the book asked “how did war come to the United States in 1941?”—the “central question” of the 1940s according to Beard. It was important for the American people to understand the events of 1941 in order to exercise “effective popular control over private decisions and secret agreements of the Executive, involving the life and death of the Republic as established by the Constitution.”⁴³² Though he was stating it less explicitly than Bailey, Beard's goals for *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War* were comparable and hoped to educate the American public to exert influences on decision makers in American government. In fact, reviewers skewered Beard's work for precisely this reason. In the journal *Pacific Affairs*, reviewer C.A.W. Manning noted Beard's tendency to point out “presidential doings” he worried “may be precedents for the future” in order to alert readers.⁴³³ This approach paralleled Bailey's treatment of Wilson's blunders and his hope that exposing these mistakes could pave the way for a sustainable peace after World War II.

Despite having comparable educational goals, Beard's book was distinct in style from Bailey's work. There were, however, no illustrations comparable to Bailey's

⁴³² See the original dust jacket of Charles A. Beard, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1948). The author has utilized his personal copy of this book in the analysis for this chapter. This particular copy of the book was from the volume's third printing from April 1948. Per the colophon of the book, printings one and two were also from April 1948, indicating that it is unlikely to design of the dust jacket differed from the original volume.

⁴³³ C.A.W. Manning, “Review of *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941*,” *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (March 1949), 106.

cartoons. The textual material within Beard's work stood largely on its own, without any visual aid. This difference illustrated the varying tactics two historians used to try to achieve comparable ends for readers. It should also be noted that Beard's book was published by Yale University Press unlike the majority of Bailey's books in the period. Only one of Bailey's books, *America Faces Russia*, was published by a university press. The others were published by Macmillan, which at the time had both a robust textbook publishing arm and a trade division.⁴³⁴ Bailey's books were published by the latter division given the intended audience of general readers. Given this distinction, other comparison points are needed.

Published as a trade book by Little, Brown and Company in 1943, Bernard DeVoto's book, *The Year of Decision*, placed a heavy emphasis on readable style, much like Bailey and Macmillan. The book's dust jacket declared the narrative in the text to be "human, alive, vibrant, full of characters whose lives and personalities had so great an influence on America's growth." DeVoto and the publisher were striving for a dramatic portrayal of American life as pioneers moved west.⁴³⁵ DeVoto's preface indicated the book had a "literary purpose" and he wrote "for the nonexistent person called the general reader."⁴³⁶ Like Bailey, he included a few maps scattered throughout the book. In general, these were used to illustrate geographical space and the paths of settlers moving westward, like Bailey's map of Wilson's travels. One such map in DeVoto's work plotted the journey of Lewis and Clark and other expeditions moving toward the Pacific

⁴³⁴ John Tebbel, *Between Covers: The Rise and Transformation of Book Publishing in America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1987), 361.

⁴³⁵ See the original dust jacket of Bernard DeVoto, *The Year of Decision, 1846* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1943). Like the Beard volume, the DeVoto book is also in the author's personal collection.

⁴³⁶ DeVoto, *The Year of Decision*, xi.

Ocean.⁴³⁷ These maps were, however, the extent to which DeVoto's book was illustrated for his readers. Despite his literary goals for the book, DeVoto did not blend his prose with extensive illustration. Where Bailey and Macmillan saw cartoons and illustration as essential components to their books in the 1940s and 1950s, other authors writing history and their trade publishers chose an approach focused squarely on the stylized text. This dynamic made Bailey somewhat of an outlier with a distinctive style.

Some of Bailey's colleagues publishing academic histories during the same period did include illustrations in their work, but with a profoundly different approach. One example was fellow textbook author, Merle Curti, who published *The Growth of American Thought* in 1943 with Harper & Brothers Publishers. The book's title page indicated it was "illustrated" and the table of contents indicated "a group of illustrations" was available "following page 396."⁴³⁸ Rather than being distributed throughout Curti's analysis in a manner similar to Bailey's work, the twenty-two illustrations were contained within an eight-page section in the middle of the book. It included engravings from *Harper's Magazine* and other notable contemporary publications. In some cases, photographs were provided. One image showed "Chataqua Culture." Propaganda posters from World War I and World War II illustrated American thought closer to the publication of Curti's book.⁴³⁹ Curti's and Harper & Brothers's selection of illustrations notably differed from Bailey's, which only included only cartoons and engravings. Cartoons were, therefore, a distinct aspect of Bailey's style of illustration. Rather than

⁴³⁷ DeVoto, *The Year of Decision*, 51.

⁴³⁸ See the Title Page and Table of Contents in Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*, Second Edition (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1943).

⁴³⁹ See the section of illustrations between pages 396-397 in Curti, *The Growth of American Thought*.

selecting photographs to expand upon his writing visually, he was committed to a scheme of illustration that placed cartoons at the forefront. This was consistent with the rest of his scholarship and allowed him to bring light to contemporary public sentiment.

Bailey's style of illustration continued into the 1950s. *America Faces Russia*, the last of Bailey's pre-*American Pageant* scholarly output, was built upon the stylistic foundation the Wilson books laid. The volume included twenty-nine illustrations, namely cartoons, on par with Bailey's 1940s works.⁴⁴⁰ In a chapter titled "The Red Specter of Bolshevism" Bailey and his publisher, then Cornell University Press, featured a cartoon titled "On the Threshold!" from the *Los Angeles Times* in 1920. Its purpose was to provide an example of American attitudes on the subject. In it, a large, brutish man labeled "Bolshevism" was dressed up in military garb brandishing a sword in his left hand. On his right, he thrust open a door labeled "Civilization" with a bloodied right hand. Bailey captioned it simply, "A typical Red Scare cartoon."⁴⁴¹ By the publications of *America Faces Russia*, Bailey had solidified his approach to authorship. The prose style and method of illustration in these works remained the foundation of his scholarly and textbook output for the remainder of his career.

Reception of Bailey's Brand

As Bailey's brand as author was taking full form during this time, so was the reception of his work. The Wilson books, like his diplomatic history text, met an enthusiastic readership. As a result, the first 5,000 copies of the book were sold within the

⁴⁴⁰ Bailey, *America Faces Russia*, xi.

⁴⁴¹ Bailey, *America Faces Russia*, 249.

first two months, and a reprinting took several weeks. This stock depletion caused Bailey to comment that there were “two general kinds of embarrassment” for authors. The first, was a large print run that did not sell well. The second, a print run that quickly sold out, rendering the book unavailable. Bailey conceded to his colleague: “I must confess that I find the second one somewhat more flattering.”⁴⁴² High sales numbers started to become a powerful force for Bailey at this time as praise for his books filtered in.

Both colleagues and general readers provided words of encouragement about Bailey’s Wilson books. Historian Frank Klingberg expressed his enjoyment of *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace*, complimenting Bailey on his ability to avoid other writers’ tendency “to bury themselves under the weight of their own profundity.” To Klingberg, Bailey understood that “the average American can understand how we lost the peace.” Further, Bailey knew that it was necessary to explain the developments “in a concise and understandable way.” Klingberg had even given the book to his mother and father, who complimented the book for similar reasons.⁴⁴³ Bailey’s style already had some resonance in the marketplace. From Harvard, Frederick Merk indicated he felt *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* was “even better than the first, from the point of view of writing and current interest.” The book was even on prominent display at local bookstores and Merk’s colleagues at Harvard praised Bailey’s accomplishment.⁴⁴⁴ Most notably, Bailey received praise from a reader who happened to be a veteran of World War II. Louis Miglip, a veteran attending Illinois State Normal University wrote that “words are insufficient to describe the pleasure...derived from reading the first, clear-cut account of

⁴⁴² Thomas A. Bailey to Wallace Davies, December 18, 1944, box 3, folder 9, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁴³ Frank Klingberg to Thomas A. Bailey, January 6, 1944, box 3, folder 12, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁴⁴ Frederick Merk to Thomas A. Bailey, July 30, 1945, box 3, folder 13, Bailey Papers.

the first post-war period.” Clearly, Bailey’s stylistic flair resonated with Miglip. Further, Miglip was “a firm believer that ‘history has lessons to read’” for Americans.⁴⁴⁵ The educational mission Bailey wrote into his work also was central to Miglip’s reading experience.

Academic reviewers noted Bailey’s mission to educate his readers, but saw his stylistic approach to be problematic in communicating his argument. In *The Journal of Modern History* Raymond J. Sontag noted that “as an educational tract,” *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* was “worthy of Bailey’s reputation as a really great teacher of undergraduates.” Charles Tansill commented that it was Bailey’s “hope that it will serve as a guidebook for the men who will make the peace that will terminate the present world conflict.”⁴⁴⁶ The book was also perceived as an effort to reach a “popular audience” by Allen R. Foley in *Political Science Quarterly*.⁴⁴⁷ Ruhl J. Bartlett observed in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* that “it is often said that serious and competent historians write books that will be read only by other historians and thus by default leave the historical enlightenment of the public to professional writers and journalists while they decry at the same time the disastrous results of this policy.” Bailey’s book, in his estimation, was not consistent with this conventional wisdom.⁴⁴⁸

Sontag, however, likened Bailey’s approach to a saturation bombing aimed at educating the masses rather than the precision bombing required for proper monographic

⁴⁴⁵ Louis Miglip to Thomas A. Bailey, Undated, box 3, folder 36, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁴⁶ Charles C. Tansill, review of *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (April 1945), pp. 108-109.

⁴⁴⁷ Allen R. Foley, review of *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* by Thomas A. Bailey in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (March 1945), pp. 144-145.

⁴⁴⁸ Ruhl J. Bartlett, review of *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (September 1948), pp. 332.

scholarship.⁴⁴⁹ In *The American Historical Review*, Bartlett noted that Bailey's tendency to argue that Wilson's and other American leaders' mistakes of the time were "flagrant," "extraordinary," "costly," or "reverberating" caused readers to lose the core of his argument. According to Bartlett, "when these blunders are piled upon another and driven home with adjectival extravagance, the total picture of Wilson's efforts for peace is somewhat out of focus."⁴⁵⁰ Bartlett's objections were not unique. Another reviewer in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* remarked on Bailey's characterization of Wilson's blunders. He wrote: "For example, there was the "most costly blunder," the "most far-reaching blunder, the "greatest blunder," the "most important blunder," the "most significant blunder," the "most disastrous blunder," the "most reverberating blunder," ad infinitum."⁴⁵¹ Bailey's use of adjectives did not sit well with all readers, though it did translate into a high number of sales.

Bailey's work in *The Man in the Street* also met varied critical review. The book received the expected accolades for Bailey's "stimulating and lively" style of writing.⁴⁵² A review by Richard W. Leopold in *The Journal of Modern History* perhaps best encapsulated the overarching praise of Bailey's style. Leopold wrote:

The present volume is a pioneer survey of American foreign relations in their broadest aspect. The treatment is interpretive and suggestive rather than chronological and exhaustive....Like every path-breaking endeavor, it has virtues and defects. Among the former are the novelty of presentation, the catholicity of illustration, the forthrightness of judgment,

⁴⁴⁹ Raymond J. Sontag, review of *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (December 1944), p. 319-320

⁴⁵⁰ Ruhl J. Bartlett, review of *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (January 1945), pp. 365-366.

⁴⁵¹ George C. Osburn, review of *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* by Thomas A. Bailey in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 244, Controlling Group Prejudice (March 1946), p. 193

⁴⁵² Review of *The Man in the Street* from the *Los Angeles Times*, May 2, 1948, box 3, folder 32, Bailey Papers.

and the vigor of style. Bailey has a keen eye for the significant. Sage comments and shrewd insights illuminate every page. . . . The crisp epigrammatical sentences, interspersed with amusing but germane anecdotes, he dissects the “cult of Monroeism,” the “miasma of manifest destiny,” the “spirit of spread-eagleism,” the “sucker tradition,” the “American way in war,” and “xenophobia and xenophilism.”⁴⁵³

Many other reviewers echoed Leopold’s judgments. In the *Journal of Politics* Malcolm Moos said the book “sparkles with [Bailey’s] literary skill and . . . the swift pace of his pen.”⁴⁵⁴ A colleague even noted its prominent place as a featured reading on display for patrons at the Tampa Public Library.⁴⁵⁵ Another reader, a Dartmouth student, noted the book’s “practical philosophy” that made it stand out from other books in the field. Bailey’s tendency to use his work to impart lessons to be applied to civic life resonated with this student.⁴⁵⁶ A reviewer for *The American Journal of International Law* admired the “provocative quality in the book which derives partly from interest in the subject matter but considerably from its style.” This quality was achieved by Bailey’s “pungent sentences to characterize elements of opinion and to express his views on policy.”⁴⁵⁷

There were, of course, detractors who viewed Bailey’s writing as flawed. Even Richard Leopold, who had praised Bailey’s style conceded that Bailey seemed to “intimate rather than to demonstrate” some of his key points. Historical evidence was sometimes given less priority than a catchy turn of phrase.⁴⁵⁸ Grayson L. Kirk wrote in

⁴⁵³ Richard W. Leopold, review of *The Man in the Street* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (September 1949), 248.

⁴⁵⁴ Malcolm Moos, review of *The Man in the Street* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Feb 1949), 265.

⁴⁵⁵ Stephen J. Fraser to Thomas A. Bailey, July 21, 1948, box 3, folder 33, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁵⁶ J.D. Wiggins, Jr to Thomas A. Bailey, March 13, 1949, box 4, folder 9, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁵⁷ John E. Lockwood, review of *The Man in the Street* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (July 1948), 766.

⁴⁵⁸ Richard W. Leopold, review of *The Man in the Street* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (September 1949), 248.

The American Political Science Review: “This is a difficult book to appraise. It is written in a lively style, and the reader’s interest never lags. But this reviewer felt that too great an effort had been made at deliberate popularization. Exactness has too often been sacrificed for a well-turned phrase of glib generalization.”⁴⁵⁹ Peter Odegard provided the most scathing indictment of Bailey’s style in *The American Historical Review*. He wrote:

It is regrettable, however, that this fascinating and useful study should be marred as it is by a kind of academic self-righteousness and the use of wisecracks and bad puns. For example, his references to “the atomic fireworks at Hiroshima,” and his statement that “if the politician will but fashion a better claptrap, the vulgar herd will beat a path to his door,” are but samples of the many labored pseudo-witticisms. This is more than a touch of snobbery in the book. For example: “In the period before Andrew Jackson, our Presidents were distinguished leaders, experienced in statecraft both at home and abroad and not identified with the untutored crowd.” The author refers to “Harry S. Truman, the ex-haberdasher,” with an ill-concealed sneer at the President’s humble origin. Professor Bailey’s sound and legitimate plea for better-trained diplomats and statesmen is marred by such statements as this: “We need statesmen, not politicians picked from the ruck of the masses.”⁴⁶⁰

Odegard rightly noted that Bailey’s tonality in *The Man in the Street* barely concealed a contempt, or “snobbery,” directed toward the average American. More important is the idea that Bailey’s overly dramatic phraseology created a convoluted meaning and perhaps limited Bailey’s ability to communicate his message. It is unclear that Bailey actually meant to “sneer” at Truman’s “humble origin,” given that Bailey was aware of Truman’s public service in Missouri and as a United States Senator in Washington, D.C. before becoming Franklin Roosevelt’s Vice President and his successor. No matter, Bailey’s readers were picking up on his condescension as they consumed his writing.

⁴⁵⁹ Grayson L. Kirk, review of *The Man in the Street* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 42, No. 5 (October 1948), 1018-1019.

⁴⁶⁰ Peter H. Odegard, review of *The Man in the Street* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (January 1949), pp. 391.

Non-academic readers also responded to what they perceived as Bailey's failure to adequately educate the public with his condescending tone. A farmer wrote to Bailey commenting specifically on his treatment of the average American, the "class" he recognized as his own, throughout *The Man in the Street*. The man conceded that there was a need to educate Americans about the precarious state of world affairs. He did not, however, find the majority of the fault to be with the average American despite Bailey's tendency to "eternally flay the poor devil at the bottom for his innocuous ways" using vivid language. The reader felt that a greater amount of lively criticism was due to the leaders at the helm of United States foreign policy instead of the average American.⁴⁶¹

In fact, there were many instances of individuals and groups taking exception to Bailey's portrayal of the way "pressure groups" influenced American politics. A reader, James McGing, was offended by Bailey's "broadly interpretive" approach to the Irish throughout the book. McGing and his friends thought Bailey's style of writing left the impression that immigrants, like the Irish, who "look back with fondness on their birthplaces should be sent back there immediately." According to McGing, Bailey "should be able to see what injustices could be performed according to the system suggested by [his] writings." In the book, the Irish were depicted as agitators against the British. McGing also noted Bailey's inference "that the Irish are a race of drunken braggards" and undesirable. To these readers, Bailey's stylistic choices resulted in the perpetuation of damaging stereotypes about immigrant communities and jeopardized the American tradition of being nostalgic about each immigrant community's homeland. According to McGing and his friends, Bailey was "about as far from the man in the

⁴⁶¹ J.G. Masters to Thomas A. Bailey, May 15, 1948, box 3, folder 36, Bailey Papers.

street” as they were “from Mars.” His prose made banal bigotry and stereotypes to be lively dynamics of American public opinion.⁴⁶²

Bailey was inclined to hold his ground amidst pressure to edit his florid interpretations in *The Man in the Street*, but sometimes he conceded. Reacting to a complaint from the National Jewish Welfare Board (NJWB),⁴⁶³ Bailey insisted to his editor at Macmillan that “all hyphenate groups are pressure groups” no matter individual groups’ objection to his characterization of them. While the NJWB was “relatively above criticism” compared to others, it remained in that category. Bailey instructed Macmillan to remove references to the group in future printings of the book. To the NJWB, he offered his sincere apologies for including the organization in his more searing indictments of pressure groups and their influence on politics.⁴⁶⁴ No matter, the final copy of *The Man in the Street* included lively criticisms of Jewish influence on American policy. Bailey opined of Zionist policies that there “was something grimly humorous about attempting to force Jews whom we would not receive upon Arabs who wanted them even less than we did, and with far better reasons.” The whole ordeal, according to Bailey, was “a striking illustration of the harm that can be done when the hyphenate hoists his own flag above that of his adopted country.”⁴⁶⁵ Here, even editing out specific references to a specific pressure group left controversial stereotypes in the remaining pages of the book.

⁴⁶² James McGing to Thomas A. Bailey, August 21, 1948, box 3, folder 36, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁶³ Arthur Weyne to Thomas A. Bailey, June 18, 1948, box 3, folder 36, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁶⁴ Thomas A. Bailey to Charles Cunningham, June 29, 1948, box 3, folder 36, Bailey Papers; Thomas A. Bailey to Arthur Wayne, June 30, 1948, box 3, folder 36, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁶⁵ Bailey, *The Man in the Street*, 26.

The controversy surrounding Bailey's style was present for all books discussed in this chapter. Arthur Dean, former president of the University of Hawaii and Bailey's father-in-law, was conflicted about the style present in *America Faces Russia* when it was a draft manuscript. Dean was "all for some spice in writing" though he felt that Bailey allowed metaphors to obfuscate his message. The "emotionally charged terms" in Bailey's work, such as "liberal and reactionary," were also called into question. Dean implored Bailey to fully define these terms for his reader rather than using them to simply amplify a point. The "oh what silly asses" tone Dean identified in Bailey's description of the Red Scare was particularly vexing to Dean's mind as he felt it was unjustified. The existing language Bailey used throughout the book made it seem "that those who would have the American people enslaved by labor union bosses and bureaucrats with Jehovah complexes are the liberals, and those who still believe in human freedom are reactionaries."⁴⁶⁶ Dean's personal political beliefs clearly conflicted with Bailey's own, which may have caused some of his displeasure with the book. No matter, it is clear that Bailey's style contributed to the severity of Dean's objections.

Bailey took exception to his father-in-law's opinions and was committed to staying the course with the manuscript's style. The "figurative language" would continue to be used throughout the book simply because Bailey had "a weakness for it" and it had "come to be part" of his "personality" as an author. He attributed Dean's objection to the use of "reactionary" to the changing definition of many epithets since "the conventionally accepted expressions of today may become the epithets of tomorrow."⁴⁶⁷ From Bailey's

⁴⁶⁶ Arthur Dean to Thomas A. Bailey, May 19, 1949, box 4, folder 3, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁶⁷ Thomas A. Bailey to Arthur Dean, May 21, 1949, box 4, folder 3, Bailey Papers.

perspective, there was little reason to change the word given that it was subject to so much subjective interpretation. He intended to stick with his original wording. He did, however, agree to eliminate some of his more strained metaphors given that they did not “hold together” in many instances.⁴⁶⁸ As was becoming his norm, Bailey agreed to temper his style, but only at a minimum.

This mixed reaction continued after *America Faces Russia* was published by Cornell University Press in 1950. Of course, Bailey’s style was praised in a variety of reviews. The *Chicago Sunday Tribune* noted that it was a “most readable book.” Reviewers in a variety of academic journals commented as well. *The American Slavic and East European Review* commented that it was “brightly written” and the *Journal of Politics* described the style as “lively and simple.”⁴⁶⁹ Along with other publications, *The American Historical Review* tied Bailey’s “lively style” to his “generous use of anecdotes and thought-provoking cartoons.” The same feature was noted by a pair of Christian publications, one created by the Baptists Sunday School Board and another by YWA Books Clubs. The *Jackson Sun*, published in Jackson Tennessee, cited the “profuse use of contemporary cartoons as illustrations” as “one of the great virtues” of *America Faces Russia*.⁴⁷⁰ The signature style Bailey formed was widely recognized by readers at this point.

⁴⁶⁸ Thomas A. Bailey to Arthur Dean, May 24, 1949, box 4, folder 3, Bailey papers.

⁴⁶⁹ These reviews were found in Cornell University Press’s archival book review file for *America Faces Russia*. These have been provided to the author as scanned copies courtesy of Michael McGandy and Karen Laun at Cornell University Press. In addition to the reviews mentioned in the text of this chapter, the Cornell file also includes reviews from *Social Education*, *Western Political Quarterly*, and *Foreign Policy Bulletin* which make similar comments about Bailey’s style.

⁴⁷⁰ Winston U. Stolberg, review of *America Faces Russia* by Thomas A. Bailey in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 65, No. 4 (December 1950) pp. 590-592; Vera Micheles Dean, review of *America Faces Russia* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (July 1951), pp. 846-848; See also Cornell’s book review file.

Other reviewers were not so optimistic about Bailey's writing. The *Ithaca Journal's* reviewer remarked that "it is unfortunate that Dr. Bailey is not as good a writer as he is a historian." The reviewer saw a flaw in the book's "flippant, and sometimes a little bit cute" portrayal of the subject, though it was never a "laborious" read. *The Yale Review* saw a similar problem, citing Bailey's superficiality. His flippancy had caused "hasty and unwarranted generalizations about Russian character." *Political Science Quarterly's* reviewer described a "sprightly style...marred by excessive alliteration and a few strained metaphors." In the *Daily Worker*, Robert Friedman was especially harsh. Of Bailey's treatment of Russia he wrote: "But it is a shallow, vulgar book, written in a style and tone more typical of a Hearst scribbler than what one would expect from a 'professor.'" ⁴⁷¹ Remarkably, these reviews come from a variety of publications—newspapers and academic journals. In each instance, similar concerns about Bailey's style were expressed, even in the highly political *Daily Worker*. The limitations of Bailey's style were evident to reviewers in a wide variety of publications.

No matter the negative reviews of Bailey's writing, readers and reviewers saw potential in Bailey as an author. Perhaps most notable were the reviews that tied *America Faces Russia* to pedagogical use in American classrooms. In 1951, Kenneth Weaver remarked in *Social Education* that Bailey's "literary style is as entertaining as Bailey himself can be at the lecture platform." To those in his audience—both students and readers—Bailey's words took them on an "exciting adventure...with liberal dashes of humor, surprise and the author's inimitable *mots justes*." Because of this style, Weaver predicted the book would "have a ready appeal to students at high school and college

⁴⁷¹ See Cornell's book review file.

levels.”⁴⁷² Later, when publishing *The American Pageant* in 1955, Bailey “purposely thrust the human actors forward on the stage” in order to “create a sympathetic understanding of the problems confronting our statesmen, and to implant a more lively concern for the lessons of the past.”⁴⁷³ This style was largely built on the success Bailey had found with *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace*, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal*, and *America Faces Russia*.

Bailey found a way to cross over between his dual roles as teacher and scholar in his monographic work. It was, however, more difficult to justify writing textbooks. Cuban observed: “Beyond the substantial differences in writing for scholars and writing for uninformed students was the fact that authoring textbooks took much time—5 years for each of [Bailey’s] texts—and they were often dismissed by historians as non-scholarly publications.” It certainly calls into question why Bailey would have chosen to write textbooks when they were unlikely to satisfy one of his core constituencies as a historian. Cuban conjectured that there are a few possible reasons for Bailey’s decision. First, the lure of textbook royalties. Second, the genuine desire to educate uninformed readers. Third, that securing tenure at Stanford had allowed him to “fulfill that heartfelt missionary impulse to teach history’s lessons to undergraduates and the public.”⁴⁷⁴

Bailey’s true motives likely lay somewhere where these possibilities intersect.

What we do know for certain is Bailey’s involvement in the Stanford history department’s broader efforts to work with educators in the 1940s. In some instances,

⁴⁷² See Cornell’s book review file.

⁴⁷³ Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, First Edition (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1956), vii.

⁴⁷⁴ Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*, 127.

these activities place Bailey at the center of discussions on how to best improve textbooks, and history education more broadly. The Institute of American History was founded in 1943 by Bailey's mentor at Stanford, Edgar Eugene Robinson. The Institute was responsible for formulating a series of conferences bringing college and university history faculty throughout California together with hundreds of high school history teachers in the state. It also remained involved in significant pedagogical issues throughout the 1940s and 50s. Bailey remained active at the Institute throughout its existence, keen to get a sense of what teachers desired in textbooks used for their courses. Perhaps most meaningful was the Institute's 1942-43 study titled "What the Teachers Say of American History in the California Public Schools," representing a survey of 600 history teachers from 400 California public schools. The study was focused on the "nature and scope of the required course in American history taught in California secondary schools." Questions sent to teachers centered on course titles, time dedicated to American history, and textbooks used. Teachers' attitudes towards these texts, as described in the report, are particularly interesting in light of Bailey's career as textbook author. Sixty-five percent of teachers viewed the texts as adequate, but many provided considerable suggestions for improvement. The Institute's report, authored by Stanford faculty, suggested that the books were "loaded with background material," to the detriment of the student and teacher.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁵ Cuban, *How Scholars Trumped Teachers*, 126. See Tyrell, *Historians in Public*, 135-136 for more information about the Institute of American History's mission to educate students as citizens. See also "What the Teachers Say of American History in the California Public High Schools," Undated, box 2, folder 2, Stanford University, Institute of American History Records (SC 0162), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

Comments from California secondary-level history teachers included in the report's appendix were particularly revealing. One teacher anonymously stated that the schools needed to "eliminate dull texts of history in grammar grades so that pupils will enter high school anxious to study history." Another griped that "human interest is lacking in many textbooks in American history." There was a broader sentiment, expressed by one teacher, that "textbooks are still too traditional" yet "fine for reference reading." Another respondent identified a need for "a literary, dramatic story of our history, accurately told." Another added "books should be simplified, made more attractive, with more illustrations and larger print" since they tend to be less than readable for "average students."

This sentiment was not universal, though its detractors were few and far between. One such skeptic responded to the survey indicating that texts needed to have "less dependence on Hollywood, the radio and current news items for a foundation," contending that "the sensational is emphasized at the expense of what is substantial."⁴⁷⁶ This survey was revealing for a variety of reasons. First, it provided a window into the mindset of history teachers in the 1940s during the first few years after the publication of Bailey's *Diplomatic History of the American People*, which he was in the process of revising, and as he started to look towards writing his first survey text, *The American Pageant*. Many, if not most, teachers harbored some desire for a more engaging text with a literary style and emphasis on engaging visual presentation.

⁴⁷⁶ "What the Teachers Say of American History in the California Public Schools," box 2, folder 2, Institute of American History Records.

Bailey's efforts to write history after World War II followed a similar trajectory as historians followed when writing textbooks after World War I. At the time, textbook writers attempted to create books that fit the demands of the post-war United States. Many saw the market in similar terms as Bailey did. Samuel Eliot Morison, the author of the popular *The Growth of the American Republic* with Henry Steele Commager, identified "an obligation that he [the historian] owes to the public [in] the writing of textbooks for schools and colleges." The book they created was meant to present a lively alternative to the drab traditional history textbooks present in schools.⁴⁷⁷ Other authors attempted to write books with a civic mission. Yale University's Ralph Gabriel joined with Connecticut high school teacher Mabel Casner to create *Exploring American History* in 1931. Harold Faulkner's book, which was used extensively by military training programs throughout World War II, was initially a result of the post-war world created by the previous war. Arthur Schlesinger and Merle Curti had created their textbooks under similar circumstances. Of course, many of these authors continued to update their American history survey textbooks into new editions throughout the 1940s and 1950s, considering the needs of educators training students as citizens in American classrooms. Some of these authors even attempted to take on new textbook projects to create wholly new books for the market.⁴⁷⁸ For Bailey, the post-war market presented him the opportunity to weave his own perspective on American history and ever more marketable style into a highly successful American history textbook. Bailey's vision for *The American Pageant* was ready to be put on the page.

⁴⁷⁷ See Samuel Eliot Morison, *Vistas of History* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1946), 41-42 as quoted in Tyrell, *Historians in Public*, 144.

⁴⁷⁸ Tyrell, *Historians in Public*, 145.

CHAPTER 6: DEVELOPING *THE AMERICAN PAGEANT*

As Bailey's brand as textbook author became increasingly more desirable in the market for college textbooks during the post-war years, college textbook publishers were transforming. Even companies previously focused heavily on trade books started to put more time and effort into developing textbooks. College textbook publishing in particular grew to become especially lucrative after World War II.⁴⁷⁹ Historian Beth Luey noted that "between 1940 and 1950, college enrollment in the United States increased by 78 percent" largely due to the G.I. Bill. When the G.I. Bill tuition program expired in 1956, a total of 2.8 million veterans had attended college.⁴⁸⁰ These overall numbers obscure the absolute transformation in college enrollments during the brief time Bailey drafted and published *The American Pageant*. Between 1950 and 1960, enrollment in public two-year colleges alone exploded from 168,043 to 339,553, an increase of 102 percent.⁴⁸¹ Enrollment across all institutions also expanded drastically. Between 1950 and 1955 alone college enrollments expanded from 2,281,000 to 2,653,000, an increase of sixteen percent. By 1961, five years after Bailey first published *The American Pageant*, enrollment grew to 4,145,000, representing an increase of eight-one percent over a little more than one decade.⁴⁸² This enrollment boom promoted \$84 million worth of sales in the relatively smaller college textbook market compared to \$149 million in the market for

⁴⁷⁹ Luey, *Expanding the American Mind*, 52-53.

⁴⁸⁰ Beth Luey, "The Organization of the Book Publishing Industry" from David Paul Nord, Joan Shelley Rubin, and Michael Schudson, *A History of the Book in America, Volume 5* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 38. See also John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, Second Edition (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 263.

⁴⁸¹ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 299.

⁴⁸² Snyder, "120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait," 76.

kindergarten through twelfth grade in 1958.⁴⁸³ The college text market rapidly became an indispensable component of any publisher's market strategy and revenue. This market also demanded a specific type of history textbook with an appealing style and presentation. Within this context, Bailey's approach to authoring works of history, both textbooks and trade books, positioned him as an ideal textbook author to be recruited to write a United States history survey book.

Publishers in this marketplace were seeking a particular intellectual approach to textbook development and authorship that differentiated the books from all the rest on the market. As explained in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, this process started well before the end of World War II and the expansion of college enrollment. Bailey and Crofts were on the vanguard of textbook design and presentation in the 1940s. They also predicted the market dynamic textbook authors and publishers needed to cultivate in the college market throughout the 1940s and 1950s. It was essential that any textbook was developed within the context of university education and the demands of professors and students.

Textbooks maintained their lackluster reputation in style and pedagogical utility by the time Bailey created *The American Pageant* with D.C. Heath. The textbook market after World War II made this reality untenable for publishers in the long term as more and more entered the ever-more-competitive space. Publishers and textbook authors were aware of the perception that textbooks were dull and useless. It became a natural area to differentiate a textbook for adopters who recognized this reputation.

⁴⁸³ The quote is taken from Beth Luey's chapter, titled "The Organization of the Book Publishing Industry," 38.

Bailey was a natural fit for this post-war market dynamic. After his experience with *A Diplomatic History of the American History* and monographic work in the 1940s, his philosophy of bringing history to life in a lively way was solidified. He proposed history educators “adopt the technique of the fiction writer and play up clash, conflict, and controversy” because “a good fight normally arouses interest, whether we are Irish or not.” He also sought to “clothe the skeletons of important personages with flesh and blood.” Further, he implored educators to focus on “human interest” and “employ a judicious seasoning of brief poetical passages, snatches of songs, bits of scandal, and amusing anecdotes, as well as surprising or ironical details, quotable quotes, quips, and slogans.” Lastly, it was important to “add zest to our subject by revealing a sense of humor.”⁴⁸⁴ Bailey’s Foreword to *The American Pageant* presented his readers with an indication that this philosophy was apparent throughout the book. He “purposefully thrust human actors forward on the stage and...emphasized the color and drama of the story” and committed to making sure the narrative was not overly detailed. Overall, Bailey wanted to “stimulate interest” in American history.⁴⁸⁵

The college text market also started to require more and more innovative features and illustration in each book as production technologies arose and student interest changed with American cultures. Much of the early innovation in illustration and formatting had been enabled by the “educational renaissance of the machine age” which led to greater professionalization in education publishing. The first half of the twentieth century saw publishers taking on more responsibility for illustration and formatting,

⁴⁸⁴ Thomas A. Bailey, “Revitalizing American History,” *Social Education* Vol. XXIV (December 1960), 372.

⁴⁸⁵ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, vii.

which had previously been delegated to printers. This market required expertise from both an in-house “production engineer” and knowledgeable subject matter experts—textbook authors.⁴⁸⁶

By the time *The American Pageant* was developed in the 1950s, textbook publishers were in a “competitive race in color illustration.” There was, however, no real certainty that this type of illustration was “an asset in the learning process.” In this context, editors were making a “full count of black-and whites, two-color and four-color illustrations.”⁴⁸⁷ Henry F. Thoma, John D. Hicks’s editor in the College Department at Houghton Mifflin, saw this imperative to illustrate as deeply intertwined with the expansion of college enrollments and the pedagogical demands of the 1950s and beyond. Even by the middle of the decade, publishers expected college enrollments to double by 1970, with much of that growth coming in junior and community colleges. This presented a challenge for educators and a purpose for textbook publishers. Textbooks had a role to play if “the level of teaching is to be maintained.” Thoma foresaw a time when textbooks would have to teach the teachers as well as the student as universities struggled to keep faculty levels in line with student demand. Student quality was also a concern. “They will also have to provide mature help for students who can take it,” Thoma wrote, “yet be phrased simply enough for those whose talents are cut of a smaller cloth.”⁴⁸⁸

The utility of the books was the essential consideration when developing a book tailored for market demand. The textbooks created in the 1950s and in the future would

⁴⁸⁶ W.W. Livengood, *Our Textbooks Yesterday & Today* (Textbook Clinic, American Institute of Graphic Arts, 1953), 19.

⁴⁸⁷ Livengood, *Our Textbooks Yesterday & Today*, 20.

⁴⁸⁸ Henry F. Thoma, “Good Morning, Professor, Want to Write a Textbook?” *College English*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (November 1957), 45, 47.

need to address teachers' need for a comprehensive pedagogical tool, with "foolproof tests, checks, and self-helps." Publishers and authors also needed to address the fact that students were already being exposed to closed-circuit classrooms through television, which showed preliminary promise. Textbooks, if they were to compete for student attention, would need to be designed to compete in the television era.⁴⁸⁹ Within this context, Thoma proposed a set of items that made a textbook "good." First, the books needed to be written with "unremitting labor, merciless self-criticism, sweet reasonableness in listening to the reports of the teaching experience with others, a mental gyroscope which holds one to his own balance...and an iron will to do one's damndest in textbook as in classroom." The textbooks had to be student-centered, "out of a reasonable notion of what today's students are like as people, what motivations appeal to them, what intelligence, interests, and knowledge that bring to college, what they can smile with and what they are equipped only to laugh at."⁴⁹⁰

The philosophy of the college textbook publishing system, as reflected in Thoma's writing, provides a near perfect parallel to the process D.C. Heath and Bailey enacted to develop *The American Pageant*. Notably, Thoma's remarks are absent any mention of a need for education for citizenship or indoctrination during the Cold War. While Bailey's textbook fit in with this context, building on his work in the 1940s to educate citizens, the actual publishing process used to create his text was largely separate from these considerations. It seemed that publishers expected that an already established

⁴⁸⁹ Thoma, "Good Morning, Professor," 47.

⁴⁹⁰ Thoma, "Good Morning, Professor," 48.

historian and author would naturally write a historical narrative suitable for the college market.

Sure enough, the final version of *The American Pageant* included Bailey's characteristic judgments and efforts to use past American blunders to inform contemporary citizens during the 1950s. "In the interests of our own security, if for no better reason, we should have used our enormous strength to shape world-shaking events," Bailey wrote of Wilson's and the United States's failure to establish a post-war peace following World War I. In a final warning at the end of the corresponding chapter, Bailey wrote "we permitted ourselves to drift along aimlessly and dangerously toward the abyss of international disaster."⁴⁹¹ Echoing his aims in *America Faces Russia*, Bailey ended a chapter related to the growing arms race in the then-raging Cold War with a warning about the dangers of atomic weapons in the ideological conflict. He warned: "If the cold war should blaze into a hot war, perhaps there would be no world left for the Communists to Communize—a sobering thought that may have given them pause. Peace through mutual terror might yet come to be the best hope of mankind."⁴⁹² This historical content, expected from Bailey and other textbook authors, was a given in the publishing process. The relative consistency in the historiographical interpretations has been noted time and time again by scholars writing about history textbooks.⁴⁹³ The main point of differentiation between the books quickly became the style with which that content was presented to readers.

⁴⁹¹ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, 765.

⁴⁹² Bailey, *The American Pageant*, 924.

⁴⁹³ See Fitzgerald, *America Revised* and Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation*, 253-263 for more context about the historiographical content of 1950s history textbooks.

The American Pageant was born as a product of the post-war college text market, developed to become as pedagogically valuable as possible for an ever-expanding and diversifying population at American colleges and universities. Publishers throughout the industry recognized Bailey's potential to create a blockbuster textbook for this market and he was pursued aggressively by hungry publishers. In his eventual relationship with D.C. Heath, Bailey developed a textbook that wed an appealing prose style with an attractive illustration scheme and additional pedagogical features. Because of this, *The American Pageant* went on to be a stunning success and quickly led the college textbook market.

Bailey as In-Demand Textbook Author

Bailey's appeal as a survey textbook author preceded his work on *The American Pageant*. In the fall of 1944, Merle Curti wrote to Bailey with a proposition. Alongside Richard Shryock and Thomas Cochran, Curti was developing a two-volume survey textbook in American history to be published with Harper and Brothers. The group of authors felt that "fairly like-minded scholars could, as a result of their special knowledge, produce a text which would be richer and more satisfactory than any single historian can now do in view of the status of scholarship in the several fields of American history." As they planned, the group started to wish Bailey were a contributor to the volume since one of their hopes was to "give a good amount of emphasis to diplomatic history and relations with other countries." If Bailey were to join the collaborators, Curti felt he could do

“some very new and exciting things” for the book.⁴⁹⁴ Their interest in Bailey was, no doubt, linked to the instant success of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.

Members of the collaborative team of authors on Curti’s project previously expressed interest in the stylistic characteristics of history books. Between 1925 and 1929, Yale University Press published a widely read and reviewed series of pictorial histories edited by Ralph Gabriel. That series, *The Pageant of America*, included over 11,000 pictures, mixed with drawings and maps meant to grab the attention of readers. The *Saturday Review of Literature* proclaimed it “surely the most fascinating text in American history ever compiled.”⁴⁹⁵ Shryock praised “the easy accessibility” of *The Pageant of America*, and deemed it more useful for educational purposes than films.⁴⁹⁶ Here, it is apparent that Curti’s collaborators were also keenly interested in histories that presented historical content in visually stimulating, pedagogically valuable ways. Bailey was a natural recruit to join their project.

Curti’s inquiry marked the first time historians attempted to recruit Bailey to a textbook project, over a decade before Bailey would publish *The American Pageant* in 1956. Bailey was flattered by the recruiting effort, finding it “exceedingly attractive.” However, it was unclear that it was the right time in Bailey’s career to join a collaborative effort. He was in the midst of publishing *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* and *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* and attempting to keep *A Diplomatic History of the American People* up-to-date and ahead of Bemis’s text in content and sales. Maybe most important in his consideration was the fact that he was “contemplating

⁴⁹⁴ Merle Curti to Thomas A. Bailey, September 12, 1944, box 3, folder 8, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁹⁵ Editorial, “The Second Step,” *The Saturday Review of Literature*, February 5, 1938, 8.

⁴⁹⁶ As quoted in Tyrrell, *Historians in Public*, 60.

a one-volume text of [his] own.”⁴⁹⁷ At the time, Bailey confided to Curti that his own text “probably will never be written.”⁴⁹⁸ He did, however, want to keep the option open just in case.

Bailey was disinclined to commit to Curti’s, Shryock’s, and Cochran’s project because of his own workload and aspirations, but the potential collaborators were willing to make concessions to recruit him. Harper and Brothers was willing to allow Bailey to use any of the four chapters he wrote for the book in any future survey text he would write as a solo author. From Curti’s perspective, this was a good incentive since textbook writing could be time consuming. In his memory, John D. Hicks invested a decade of his life writing *The Federal Union* and *The American Nation*. It was “a great deal of one’s life put into a text, no matter how good it is.” Viewing himself primarily as an academic historian, Curti saw little point in investing so much time in textbook writing.

Bailey was not concerned with the investment of time a textbook required, but he was hesitant to join a collaborative effort with disparate ideas of what a textbook should be. Curti felt that the group had “many very good ideas...that the younger, more thoughtful teachers of American history will welcome.” On Bailey’s part, there was fear that his own ideas would be “too far out of line” with Curti’s collaborators. If this were the case, he was unwilling to commit to the venture in order to avoid conflict in the collaboration process.⁴⁹⁹ Curti had an outline to the plan for the textbook sent to Bailey, but it was not enough.⁵⁰⁰ Bailey’s Wilson book was going into a second printing and he

⁴⁹⁷ Thomas A. Bailey to Merle Curti, September 16, 1944, box 3, folder 8, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁹⁸ Thomas A. Bailey to Merle Curti, September 29, 1944, box 3, folder 8, Bailey Papers.

⁴⁹⁹ Merle Curti to Thomas A. Bailey, September 25, 1944, box 3, folder 8, Bailey Papers; Thomas A. Bailey to Merle Curti, September 29, 1944, box 3, folder 8, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁰⁰ Merle Curti to Thomas A. Bailey, October 6, 1944, box 3, folder 8, Bailey Papers.

started to get the sense that his stylistic flair had wide appeal. The success made him commit to writing *The Man in the Street*. There was no need to commit to a textbook project where his own voice might be watered down in collaboration. He observed that the project would require his chapters on diplomatic history “to be so severely compressed that [he] should either be an unhappily acquiescent collaborator or a disagreeable one.”⁵⁰¹ Naturally, Curti was disappointed, but he understood. Bailey’s success as an author was no secret. Fred Crofts had visited Curti recently and was “enthusiastic about a new order for 1000 copies” of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.⁵⁰²

In 1949, five years after Curti attempted to recruit Bailey to his collaborative textbook project with Harper and Brothers, Michael Harper wrote to Bailey with another proposition. Harper and his staff recalled that Bailey turned down Curti’s offer because of the possibility of his own one-volume text. He felt Bailey was “the logical person to approach for such a book” to be published with Harper’s. There was little sense that the existing two-volume collaborative text, which was “heavy on the intellectual and cultural side,” would compete with the type of book Bailey would write.

Further, there was a significant dynamic happening in the market for college textbooks that made a quality one-volume history textbook essential for a publishers’ catalog. Salesmen for Harper’s firm noticed that institutions were locked into a one or two-volume text depending on whether or not they trained teachers. In Pennsylvania, teacher training programs typically used two-volume texts since students only completed

⁵⁰¹ Thomas A. Bailey to Merle Curti, October 16, 1944, box 3, folder 8, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁰² Merle Curti to Thomas A. Bailey, October 22, 1944, box 3, folder 8, Bailey Papers.

half of the standard American history six-credit course. Harper observed that “in institutions that do not train teachers this situation does not apply and the trend is toward use of a one-volume book.” Many large universities also offered both three and six-credit courses, so there was demand for both one and two-volume histories. This marketplace would make Bailey’s one-volume book in demand, no matter what would happen with Curti’s book.⁵⁰³ For similar reasons, John D. Hicks had published the one-volume *A Short History of American Democracy* alongside the dual volume set, *The Federal Union* and *The American Nation*.

Bailey informed Michael Harper that the publisher’s “enthusiasm and generosity strongly tempt[ed] [him].” He expected to begin work on his one-volume text, soon to become *The American Pageant*, in the fall of 1949 and expected the writing to take three years. Bailey was willing to entertain the possibility of publishing with Harper under a key condition. He wanted to maintain the possibility that the book he produced for the college market could later be adapted into a two-volume history and possibly for the high school text market.⁵⁰⁴ Harper was not fully willing to guarantee Bailey these conditions. The publishing house still intended to keep Harold Faulkner’s and Tyler Kepner’s *America: Its History and People* at the top of its high school catalog for the foreseeable future, though he conceded that “no text goes on forever.”⁵⁰⁵ The college text market was complex and publishers like Harpers had many commitments to other texts that constrained their ability to publish new, innovative books.

⁵⁰³ Michael H. Harper to Thomas A. Bailey, June 10, 1949, box 4, folder 3, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁰⁴ Thomas A. Bailey to Michael H. Harper, June 14, 1949, box 4, folder 3, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁰⁵ Michael H. Harper to Thomas A. Bailey, June 20, 1949, box 4, folder 3, Bailey Papers.

Harper's correspondence with Bailey did, however, demonstrate the core reason he deemed Bailey so uniquely fit to write a new one-volume text on American history.

Bailey's reputation as a stylist was essential. Harper wrote:

We are not looking for a one-volume survey from any author solely because he happens to be well-known in his profession. More important than the name of the author, we want a well written text and believe you could do the most readable one on the market. I can honestly say that your *Diplomatic History* is one of the very few college textbooks I ever found interesting enough to read from cover to cover. I believe that if marketed properly your style would make a survey that should sweep the field. There are plenty of competent historians who would do the book for us, but the majority of historians give the impression that they write with the left foot and have never outgrown their doctoral dissertations. Over the long run the text that will survive is the one that students can get something out of without falling asleep over it.⁵⁰⁶

Harper's interest in Bailey's survey text was founded on Bailey's reputation from *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. It was Bailey's accessible style that made his texts so in demand for publishers. Many historians could write a textbook as Curti, Shryock, and Cochran had. Few could write a book as engaging for students as Bailey created.

Besides Harper and Brothers, many other publishers pursued *The American Pageant* while it was being drafted. These efforts and Bailey's responses reveal precisely how publishers imagined Bailey's textbook fitting into the market for college history texts. They also illuminate Bailey's approach to authoring the book before its publication in 1956 by D.C. Heath and Company. During his travels to San Francisco in the spring of 1949, Alfred A. Knopf sent a handwritten note inviting Bailey to lunch. Knopf's publishing house was traditionally a venue for trade books, but was assessing the college

⁵⁰⁶ Michael H. Harper to Thomas A. Bailey, June 20, 1949, box 4, folder 3, Bailey Papers.

textbook market as a growth opportunity. The lunch was initially meant to discuss the book that would eventually become *America Faces Russia*, but Bailey took the opportunity to establish a rapport and later gauge Knopf's interest in his plan for a survey textbook.⁵⁰⁷ Bailey requested a tremendous amount of control over the project. Knopf's openness to this idea was limited. In his request, Bailey indicated an interest in seeing "several options...as to type, face, and format of the published book." Knopf insisted he and his editorial staff were "responsible for the design and production" of any book published by the house. There was little interest in catering too much to the author's individual taste.⁵⁰⁸ Bailey's concerns were not mitigated by this response. He regretted past mistakes made by his publishers when selecting a type face. One type had "an unusually long line, and the general effect was a forbidding, overcrowded page." At the time, Knopf's reputation for preparing impeccably designed books was well-known to Bailey, who was willing to trust the publisher to produce a well formatted textbook. His concerns are notable because of his renewed focus on the design of the book. Concerns about the "overcrowded page" characterized Bailey's continuing interest in making his books as readable as possible in terms of prose style, illustration, and even type face.⁵⁰⁹

Interested publishers continued to approach Bailey throughout the early 1950s. Walter R. Ryan, from the American Book Company, was "interested in knowing how things [were] coming along" in the fall of 1950.⁵¹⁰ Editors at Henry Holt, familiar with

⁵⁰⁷ Alfred A. Knopf to Thomas A. Bailey, March 10, 1949, box 4, folder 5, Bailey Papers; Thomas A. Bailey to Alfred A. Knopf, April 5, 1949, box 4, folder 5, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁰⁸ Alfred A. Knopf to Thomas A. Bailey, April 11, 1949, box 4, folder 5, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁰⁹ Thomas A. Bailey to Alfred A. Knopf, April 15, 1949, box 4, folder 5, Bailey Papers.

⁵¹⁰ Walter R. Ryan to Thomas A. Bailey, October 19, 1950, box 4, folder 13, Bailey Papers. See Charles D. Anderson to Thomas A. Bailey, May 14, 1951, box 4, folder 15, Bailey Papers for indication of interest from Macmillan's College Department.

Bailey's work from his competition with Bemis, reached out in February of 1951 to see if he would be interested in committing his manuscript to Holt. They were searching for a successor to Ralph Volney Harlow's *Story of America*, which was their primary United States history textbook appealing to both college and high school markets. They felt that Bailey's writing ability would position him well for success in the same market position.⁵¹¹

While flattering, Holt's interest was not a good match for Bailey's developing vision for *The American Pageant*. He was unwilling to be the cause of the liquidation of Harlow's book. Perhaps most significantly, the timeline Holt proposed for the manuscript was not one Bailey could meet. Holt wanted the draft in hand in 1952, a little over a year from the time of their correspondence. At the time, Bailey had only seven out of forty-five projected chapters completed and intended to take another two years to finish the first draft of the manuscript, and another two years after to polish the book. He had no intention of committing to a publisher before the first half of that process was complete. In addition, the high school market was not a primary consideration in the book he was drafting. Bailey was "going in rather heavily for interpretation" in his writing, which would likely not naturally translate into sales in high schools.⁵¹² He preferred a publisher who did not have any commitments to already published volumes and would not be in a position to influence him to write for the high school market. If the book Bailey produced would find success in high schools, he would be pleasantly surprised. He was committed to solidifying his interpretive narrative with as little publisher influence as possible.

⁵¹¹ Alden H. Clark and Gilbert Loveland to Thomas A. Bailey, February 6, 1951, box 4, folder 15, Bailey Papers.

⁵¹² Thomas A. Bailey to Alden H. Clark, February 6, 1951, box 4, folder 15, Bailey Papers.

Interestingly, Bailey's intentions were not fully acknowledged by the staff at Holt. They viewed his style as means to develop a book for a specific corner of the high school market. Later, Milton Hopkins, the Editor in Chief at the Holt School Department, reached out to Bailey about Bailey's potential to write a high school text that would augment the publisher's history catalog. Harlow's *Story of America* was unsuitable in its current form because it was "geared neither to the academic student nor to the slow learner." Rather it was "a middle-of-the-road text." They intended to revise Harlow's book down to the slow-learner level and use Bailey's new manuscript to replace the portion of the catalog previously held by *Story of America*. This move was intended to side-step Bailey's concerns about competing with Harlow's book and acquire the coveted manuscript for the Holt catalog.⁵¹³ Of course, Bailey did not ultimately publish the text with Holt as a high school text, but publishers remained keenly interested in his manuscript and style for the high school market. This was especially true as they looked for suitable authors to write books for the market emerging in the post-war period.

It appears Bailey did not completely dismiss the possibility of writing a high school-level textbook in conjunction with *The American Pageant*. In 1951, he had a conversation with Richard E. Gross from the Florida State University's School of Education, who was interested in collaborating with Bailey on a text. Their discussion centered around "the need for a textbook at this level which presented the color and drama of history" and focused on "those aspects which are most teachable and important in our own times." Gross predicted that such a book would "sweep the field" and

⁵¹³ Milton Hopkins to Thomas A. Bailey, February 19, 1954, box 8, folder 34, Bailey Papers.

proposed a collaborative text with Bailey to do so.⁵¹⁴ While Bailey sympathized with Gross's general goals, he imagined that his future publisher would prefer to adapt the one-volume college book he already had in progress to the high school level.

The book, already well into its first draft, was building upon the lessons he learned from writing *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. The manner in which he applied these lessons likely precluded his book from the high school market. In his new manuscript, Bailey was running into more difficulty when "attempting...to bring in some color and anecdote." The space limitations in the survey text were vexing. Bailey lamented: "A simple anecdote means that a paragraph of considerable importance has to go out, and in the general fight for space this does not seem at all wise. I have had to use more commonly the colorful contemporary phrase or the interestingly turned phrase as well as other devices." He doubted that the book that would result from this process would be suitable for anything other than the college market that already received his diplomatic history so enthusiastically. Even that assumption would possibly be a stretch. Bailey thought "it may not even be particularly successful at the college level."⁵¹⁵

Publishers seemed to be more confident in Bailey's future success. By the end of 1951, publishers started to offer Bailey what amounted to full term sheets with contractual offers in an effort to secure his manuscript. The President of Dryden Press, Stanley Burnshaw, indicated "there [was] no other manuscript in the United States which excite[d] [Dryden Press] as much as [Bailey's] American History."⁵¹⁶ He offered Bailey seventeen percent royalties on the first 50,000 copies sold and an eighteen percent royalty

⁵¹⁴ Richard E. Gross to Thomas A. Bailey, October 24, 1951, box 4, folder 16, Bailey Papers.

⁵¹⁵ Thomas A. Bailey to Richard E. Gross, November 1, 1951, box 4, folder 16, Bailey Papers.

⁵¹⁶ Stanley Burnshaw to Thomas A. Bailey, November 6, 1951, box 8, folder 34, Bailey Papers.

on the remainder, plus a guaranteed trade edition of the text. At the time, John D. Hicks was earning the industry standard, a fifteen percent royalty, on sales of *A Short History of American Democracy*.⁵¹⁷

In terms of marketing, Burnshaw promised promotion in perpetuity, plus two pages worth of advertising in the Dryden annual catalog. This guarantee was, according to Burnshaw, uncommon for publishers to commit for a single textbook year after year.⁵¹⁸ After the 1951 holiday season passed, Burnshaw continued pursuing Bailey's commitment. On January 2, 1952 he sent a memo to Bailey with a section titled "WHY SHOULD PROFESSOR BAILEY PUBLISH WITH DRYDEN?" It featured compelling points:

- Dryden will spend more money than any other publisher in the initial making of the book.
- Dryden will guarantee non-competing agreement.
- Dryden will offer maximum royalty compatible with conditions.
- Dryden will advance cash for expenses.
- Dryden will launch book with 32-page brochure and guarantee follow-up promotion for 3 years.
- Dryden will send out an agreed number of exam copies surpassing maximum sent out by others.⁵¹⁹

It was a list of lofty guarantees that surely appealed to both Bailey's pocketbook and his hope that his book would reach the maximum number of readers. Burnshaw also guaranteed a minimum of four editions of the book to be published in 1957, 1961, 1966, and 1970.⁵²⁰ This guarantee was notable, given the possibility that Bailey's book could fail to earn adoptions and render new editions costly.

⁵¹⁷ See the contract between Hicks and Houghton Mifflin from 1943 in carton 26, "Short History" box, Hicks Papers.

⁵¹⁸ Stanley Burnshaw to Thomas A. Bailey, December 24, 1951, box 8, folder 34, Bailey Papers.

⁵¹⁹ Stanley Burnshaw to Thomas A. Bailey, January 2, 1952, box 8, folder 34, Bailey Papers.

⁵²⁰ Stanley Burnshaw to Thomas A. Bailey, January 16, 1952, box 8, folder 34, Bailey Papers.

Despite these overtures, Bailey was not comfortable with Dryden Press as the publisher for his text. With many suitors for the manuscript, Bailey was free to select the publisher he believed was most stable and in-line with his stylistic vision for *The American Pageant*. He had a conversation with a sales representative from another publishing house, who provided reason to be skeptical of Dryden's offer since the house did not have salesmen in the field visiting colleges and universities to promote their textbooks. Dryden's pricing was also questionable, which caused Bailey's informant to develop "grave concerns" about the publisher's "financial stability."⁵²¹ Burnshaw was, of course, offended by Bailey's concerns. He implored Bailey to consider that "the success of a college textbook essentially depends on the book itself." Whatever the reality of Dryden's financial situation and sales force at the time, it was remarkable that the press would view Bailey's book in this manner. First, it revealed a belief that the United States history text Bailey produced would be an instant best seller and easily secure adoptions. Second, it showed that the publisher, on the whole, trusted Bailey's work to speak for itself without much sales assistance. It was a testament to the reputation and brand Bailey cultivated to that point in his career. Keen to appeal to Bailey's desire to incorporate his style, Dryden also warned that if Bailey were to select a more conservative, established publishing house he would run the risk of having his innovations in textbook authorship mitigated. The old houses presented "inevitable dangers of inflexibility, routinization, stodginess, etc" that Dryden did not possess. Instead they opted for "new approaches and the imaginative."⁵²² This pitch is remarkable and acknowledges that Bailey was

⁵²¹ Thomas A. Bailey to Stanley Burnshaw, April 30, 1952, box 8, folder 34, Bailey Papers.

⁵²² Stanley Burnshaw to Thomas A. Bailey, May 20, 1952, box 8, folder 34, Bailey Papers. The underlining of "essentially" is present in the original source. I have replicated that underlining in this quote to keep the

attempting to do something outside the norm in history textbook writing. Publishers knew this and thus crafted their acquisition efforts to appeal to this portion of Bailey's needs as an author.

The buzz surrounding Bailey's manuscript kept publishers clamoring for the finished product with generous offers. A former student of Bailey's, Alexander DeConde, wrote to his mentor that many of the travelling book salesmen "express[ed] a deep interest in it" when they visited his office at Whittier College in California.⁵²³ The word of mouth in the publishing world was palpable. According to an editor at Harper and Brothers, Bailey's manuscript was the "most important topic" discussed during a recent sales conference.⁵²⁴ John Barker from J.B. Lippincott wrote to Bailey during this time to highlight the publisher's dedicated traveling college salesmen, who went to all "degree-granting schools at least twice a year." Speaking to Bailey's concern about the quality of the book, he mentioned that the house used the "best materials available in the manufacture" of textbooks and paid special attention "with respect to the aesthetic side of the product." He also made the editorial staff sound particularly amenable to author input throughout the design and production process.⁵²⁵

original emphasis Burnshaw intended. See also "MEMORANDUM FOR PROFESSOR BAILEY, "AN ATTEMPT AT A RATIONAL ANALYSIS OF SOME SUPPOSED "OBJECTIONS," June 21, 1954, box 8, folder 34, Bailey Papers for another example of Dryden's attempts to satisfactorily answer Bailey's concerns.

⁵²³ Alexander DeConde to Thomas A. Bailey, March 2, 1952, box 4, folder 20, Bailey Papers.

⁵²⁴ Frank S. MacGregor to Thomas A. Bailey, February 18, 1952, box 4, folder 21, Bailey Papers.

⁵²⁵ John Barker to Thomas A. Bailey, September 3, 1952, box 4, folder 20, Bailey Papers. At this point, it would likely be counterproductive to include every single effort publishers enacted to inquire on the most basic level about the status of Bailey's manuscript. However, if you feel compelled to seek more examples, see Alden Graves to Thomas A. Bailey, December 2, 1953, box 4, folder 22, Bailey papers; President of Macmillan to Thomas A. Bailey, December 7, 1953, box 4, folder 22, Bailey Papers; Alden Clark to Thomas A. Bailey, November 20, 1953, box 8, folder 34, Bailey Papers.

The deliberate efforts publishers made to impress Bailey with the design ability of their firms was most telling. James Reid from Harcourt, Brace and Company proposed a robust package of illustrations for the book, 300 in total distributed across charts, maps, and other drawings. He proclaimed “it is our intention to make *The American Pageant* the best-looking book in its design and overall appearance.” It was also guaranteed that Bailey would be “the court of final appeal on all matters editorial and visual.” Any comments editors provided would be “suggestions not prescriptions.”⁵²⁶ In 1954, Vice President and Head of the College Department, J.H. McCallum, wrote to Bailey proposing a two-column design to avoid unnecessary “bulk” for the finished textbook, but also because “a double column page allows more pleasing variety of design than a single-column page.” To sweeten the proposal, he offered Bailey a twenty-percent royalty on all sales if Harcourt Brace were to publish *The American Pageant*. McCallum declared the offer “the most extraordinary” ever provided by the publisher’s college department to a textbook author.⁵²⁷ Bill Truman, the College History Text Editor for Rand-McNally, made an offer comparable to Reid’s. His department’s philosophy was that “history books must have plenty of maps, many more than in the normal textbook.” Unlike many college books, history texts “must be profusely illustrated.” Bailey, given his expertise, would be trusted to construct such a book.⁵²⁸ The author was hesitant to commit to any particular illustration plan before the manuscript was complete, but his goals were in harmony with the plans put forward by Reid and Truman. He understood

⁵²⁶ James Reid to Thomas A. Bailey, October 5, 1953, box 4, folder 22, Bailey Papers. See also J.H. McCallum to Thomas A. Bailey, May 11, 1953, box 8, folder 36, Bailey Papers for another example of Harcourt Brace’s efforts to appeal to Bailey’s interest in book design.

⁵²⁷ J.H. McCallum to Thomas A. Bailey, June 11, 1954, box 8, folder 34, Bailey Papers.

⁵²⁸ Bill Truman to Thomas A. Bailey, October 28, 1953, box 4, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

that any successful textbook would need to be profusely illustrated. He contemplated if it would make sense to sacrifice headpieces for each chapter, as was proposed by Reid, in favor of “cartoons and other contemporary illustrations of historical value.” He emphasized his view of the importance of creating “a high-class teaching vehicle,” even if moderate cost overruns are necessary.⁵²⁹ Here, Bailey’s deep concern for the pedagogical utility of *The American Pageant* was paired with his intention to have as much editorial control over the project as possible. This desire for control encompassed the book’s historical content and design.

Design and stylistic considerations were widespread across publishers seeking to create the best American history textbook for the college market in collaboration with authors. In 1950, John D. Hicks was called to the offices of Houghton Mifflin in Boston to discuss putting his textbooks into “a totally new format, with two columns to the page and on slick paper in order to permit profuse illustrations.”⁵³⁰ This was not the only effort made to spruce up the book’s stylistic characteristics. In the following years, Hicks and his co-author, George Mowry, commenced the process of collaboratively revising Hicks’s *Short History of American Democracy*. By 1953, Hicks received word that Bailey was gaining confidence in his own manuscript and was “sure” *The American Pageant* would “beat” Hicks and Mowry’s new edition. Of course, Bailey was so certain of this because of his own style. Kenneth Stamp was skeptical. Hicks reported that

⁵²⁹ Thomas A. Bailey to James Reid, October 22, 1953, box 8, folder 36, Bailey Papers. See Stanley Burnshaw to Thomas A. Bailey, January 25, 1954, box 8, folder 34, Bailey Papers; John Barker to Thomas A. Bailey, March 16, 1954, box 8, folder 34, Bailey Papers; Stanley Burnshaw to Thomas A. Bailey, March 23, 1954, box 8, folder 34, Bailey Papers for other examples of a publisher pursuing Bailey and his interest in illustration.

⁵³⁰ Hicks, *My Life with History*, 316.

Stampp “saw some of Bailey’s book, and reported that if there were such a thing as underestimating the sophomore mind, he was sure Bailey had done it.”⁵³¹ Whatever Stampp’s personal opinion, it was clear that Bailey was constructing a textbook that Hicks and Mowry thought they were competing with directly. As with Bailey’s manuscript, book design was a central consideration in their revision. Mowry wrote to their editor at Houghton Mifflin, inquiring as to whether or not the new edition would contain and single or double-column format. In possibly changing formats, the authors sought to differentiate the new edition significantly from the previous books, especially Hicks’s two-volume series. This would “present to would-be adopters a real alternative between the one and two volumes instead of more or less of precisely the same thing.”⁵³²

Hicks was particularly focused on the revision of the book’s prose. For the new edition, Mowry was taking the lead on this and Hicks was alarmed that Mowry elected to change so little of Hicks’s writing from the original edition. He declared the edits made to be “too inconsequential to be worth it.” Hicks wrote: “For the present that may still be good enough—the book still sells. But as time goes on we shall be up against stiffer and stiffer competition from the younger men. Bailey is coming up with a one-volume book soon which he is sure will sweep the market.” With Bailey, other authors were also joining the market and Hicks’s writing, initially created in the 1930s, would not hold up forever. It was Hicks’s opinion that Mowry should put “an unmistakable brand” on the

⁵³¹ John D. Hicks to George Mowry, October 7, 1953, carton 1, “Short History-Mowry” Folder, Hicks Papers. See also Hicks, *My Life with History*, 196 for more about his work with Mowry.

⁵³² George Mowry to Stephen W. Grant, December 11, 1952, carton 1, “Short History-Mowry” Folder, Hicks Papers.

new edition.”⁵³³ An innovation in creating a distinct style was the only way to maintain prominence in the market for college textbooks.

It is, however, unclear how distinct the style Hicks encouraged was. Many of the prescriptions he provided to Mowry were directly comparable to Bailey’s goals in his prose. In one chapter, Mowry’s revision was “heavy and ponderous” and Hicks wondered if Mowry “had a student audience in mind when [he] wrote.” In his opinion, “the youngsters would find it hard going” when reading. Hicks provided some suggestions to Mowry, first imploring him to focus on “writing history, not writing about history.” To do this properly, Mowry needed to give the student reader sufficient background facts to clarify his interpretations. Regarding word selection, Hicks wrote:

Look with the gravest suspicion on any word of more than two syllables, and remember that a succession of big words makes a sentence unintelligible to the average sophomore. Words like discernible, deterioration, intrigued, inchoate, and aberrations are words to be used sparingly, and only when the context makes their meaning fairly clear. Students will not use a dictionary if they don’t understand you; they will just refuse to read your book.

Hicks’s recommendations here mirror Bailey’s philosophy, which emphasized clarity and simplicity of expression with student-centered prose. It was an effort to “cultivate direct and uninvolved communication” with the student. Mowry needed to “stick to the active voice,” but there was a key distinction between what Hicks proposed and the style Bailey was writing. Hicks told Mowry to “avoid figures of speech, especially anything that smacks of irony, or personification.” It was unwise to “pile up words into a compound adjective that should be a dependent clause.” He should write with “feeling and vigor,”

⁵³³ John D. Hicks to George Mowry, July 22, 1953, carton 1, “Short History-Mowry” folder, Hicks Papers. See also John D. Hicks to George Mowry, September 16, 1953, carton 1, “Short History-Mowry” folder, Hicks Papers.

but avoid the temptation to “pretend anything [he didn’t] feel or believe” just for the sake of style.⁵³⁴ Bailey’s style was notorious for including these figures of speech and adjective-driven descriptions of historical events and figures.

No matter the particulars, there was wide agreement among historians, specifically textbook authors, that something had to change in the way textbooks were written for college students. Fred Harvey Harrington, who joined Curti’s collaborative text project when Bailey declined, wrote that college textbooks were “wretchedly written” and “not written for the students to read...but merely to impress professors for adoption purposes.” Harrington saw the improvement of textbook prose to be essential if historians were to make students “want to read history after leaving college.” According to his assessment of textbooks on the market, Bailey’s diplomatic history text was the only sophomore-level history book to achieve readability. Like Bailey, he also called for the elimination of needlessly “cluttered” details, which prevented students from seeing the “main points.” Authors and publishers sacrificed “usefulness” in favor of “the tendency to make the books exhaustive.” Harrington also mentioned a need for college textbooks to mimic the pedagogical utility of high school books. One of his colleagues mentioned the need for “teacher’s aids in college texts.” This could range from the standard maps to “graphs,...statistical tables, cartoons, more pictures, etc.”⁵³⁵ With these realities of the college text market in mind, Bailey slowly settled on the publisher for his book as the manuscript neared completion.

⁵³⁴ John D. Hicks to George Mowry, November 16, 1953, carton 1, “Short History-Mowry” folder, Hicks Papers.

⁵³⁵ Fred Harvey Harrington to Thomas A. Bailey, April 29, 1949, box 4, folder 4, Bailey papers.

Ultimately, Bailey deemed D.C. Heath and Company to be the suitable publisher for *The American Pageant*. The publisher had a history of publishing textbooks exclusively, dating back to 1885 when Daniel Collamore Heath founded the company. They already had a reputation for publishing quality textbooks, especially in the sciences and the “Modern Language Series.”⁵³⁶ Information about the house’s history is scattered, perhaps because its archival records are inaccessible at Syracuse University’s library. However, a 1910 article from the *Journal of Education* described that house in this way:

D.C. Heath & Company aim to do something more than simply to do over again what somebody else has done well. They aim to do better than anybody has done before and to add something to the sum of knowledge or, at any rate, the method of presenting that knowledge to the learner. This house has refused many excellent books, which would sell well perhaps, but which did not mark a distinct advance on any that had gone before. They prefer evidently to publish a book which will do some good educationally rather than a book which will “sell well” and add nothing intrinsically to the educational forces or results in the world.⁵³⁷

Given their commitment to publishing books that were markedly different than existing textbook offerings, D.C. Heath was, seemingly, most open to Bailey’s approach to the textbook in the postwar era. He recalled to historian Max Savelle that the publisher had been “highly enthusiastic” about the book, even more so than publishers who pursued him with vigor. Stanley Burnshaw at Dryden Press read an early portion of the manuscript and felt that, according to Bailey’s recollection, Bailey “had written so interestingly that the student would not remember what he read.” Bailey detected Burnshaw’s interest in sending “the manuscript to his rewrite boys and have them cut out most of the adjectives, the sparkling phrases, and other bits of color.” This was not

⁵³⁶ Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 157-158.

⁵³⁷ “The Growth of a Great Publishing House, D.C. Heath and Company,” *The Journal of Education*, Vol. 71, No. 23 (June 9, 1910), 652-653.

desirable from Bailey's perspective. He preferred the book to be his "own flop and not the brain child" of the publisher's staff if it were to fail to earn adoptions.⁵³⁸ Again, it was important that Bailey maintain as complete editorial oversight of the book as possible with whatever publisher brought *The American Pageant* to market. D.C. Heath was willing to provide this in a way that earned them the manuscript.

Bailey's working relationship with D.C. Heath was fruitful from the start. The author and his publisher were largely in lockstep on the overall vision for the textbook. In an early letter to John Walden, who helped shepherd the book through the editorial process for the D.C. Heath college division, Bailey listed his "first concern" to be creating a "dignified book with attractive format" and he expected to have a voice in choosing the format. In terms of illustration, Bailey felt that only line-cut illustrations and maps were necessary. He believed that "one can do everything, from a pedagogical point of view with black and white that one can do with color for a book aimed at college freshmen and sophomores." Further, he expected the editorial staff to "provide careful editing without undue influence with the author's style."⁵³⁹ Walden was amenable to Bailey's requests, saying they were "entirely acceptable" to the staff at D.C. Heath.⁵⁴⁰ He was even more accepting of Bailey's style. He wrote:

A style that makes a book difficult to put down is more often heard of than encountered. Your manuscript certainly has it. It has, however, another merit which I think is perhaps even more valuable in a textbook, namely that the story fixes itself in the reader's mind and is remembered. This quality and style do not necessarily go together, and I think you are to be highly congratulated on the pains and skill with which you have selected

⁵³⁸ Thomas A. Bailey to Max Savelle, August 4, 1954, box 4, folder 30, Bailey Papers.

⁵³⁹ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, June 12, 1953, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁴⁰ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, June 16, 1953, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

your material and organized it. This is, as you may surmise, the sort of thing we are interested in!⁵⁴¹

Walden's words showed definitively that Bailey's work with D.C. Heath was the best chance to bring his own vision for a survey textbook into reality. Unlike Burnshaw and others, Walden saw the pedagogical value in Bailey's style and the impact it would eventually have on students.

Walden's reaction was not unique at D.C. Heath. Other editors read the chapters with similar enthusiasm and, through Walden, pointed to a few key elements of Bailey's style that made the writing more "comprehensible and interesting" than the average textbook. Bailey's "handling of personalities" for historical figures counteracted students' expectations that the material would be "dull." According to the editors, this was apparent in the "treatment of Roosevelt and the other men of the period." The "vivid but extremely well balanced" treatment was a testament to Bailey's "emphasis on the makers of American history" and he used this "device most effectively." The student's "readiness" to process the material was a product of Bailey's elimination of unnecessary detail. The detail Bailey did provide was "related in such a way to what comes before and after that they are quickly intelligible and quickly seen to be significant." Walden's only suggestion for improving Bailey's manuscript was to "combine a few paragraphs here and there to give a little variety of pace" and "thin out the adjectives and nicknames in the places where they are least significant to strengthen their effect in other places." Overall, the "style [was] a strong selling point" and the editors were especially fond of the rhymes throughout the manuscript.⁵⁴² Bailey accepted the editorial feedback with

⁵⁴¹ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, September 28, 1953, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁴² John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, October 5, 1953, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

appreciation, acknowledging that he had drafted the manuscript “without any assurance” that it “would be acceptable for textbook purposes.”⁵⁴³ In each other, Bailey and D.C. Heath found the potential to create a textbook ideally suited for the post-war college textbook market. Together, they would navigate the editing and production process to craft a textbook with superior style, format, and illustration.

Constructing the Historical Narrative Through Peer Review

Bailey’s partnership with D.C. Heath was essential for the creation of *The American Pageant*, but the editorial process was perhaps most consequential for the formatting and design of the finished textbook. To finalize the book’s prose and historical content, Bailey created a distinct editorial process. Throughout the preparation of his manuscript, Bailey utilized a vast network of his fellow historians to harness feedback on his draft chapters much as he did for *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. More than seventy academics with expertise in specific areas of American history received drafts of Bailey’s manuscript to “comment on portions of chapters, individual chapters, or groups of chapters.”⁵⁴⁴ Many reviewers did this gladly, whether out of professional courtesy or the promise they would receive an inscribed copy of the final textbook with compliments of the author. Through this process Bailey hoped to accomplish a couple of key tasks. First, he wanted to be sure that his facts were correct throughout the volume. Using his network to vet out these particulars saved him a significant amount of embarrassment after the publication of the first edition of *The American Pageant* and

⁵⁴³ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, October 9, 1953, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁴⁴ See the Acknowledgements in Bailey, *The American Pageant*, viii-x.

reduced the number of factual revisions required in subsequent editions. Second, Bailey wanted to be certain his historical interpretations were in line with the conventional wisdom of professional historians. This allowed him to gauge historians' responses to the narrative and figure out if his book was deemed suitable for adoption. Lastly, this peer review process allowed him to receive an initial response to his prose style. Of course, he was already familiar with the general divided response to his prose style. However, for past manuscripts reviewer feedback helped him moderate his descriptive language. The reviewer network would allow him to do this for what would become his marquee textbook.

As it was for Bailey's competition with Bemis's *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, his self-initiated peer review process stood out as distinct from his competitors' survey textbooks. Harold Faulkner's and Tyler Kepner's *America: Its Story and People* referred only to "the assistance of members of the Department of Social Studies in the Brookline High School in the development of the original organization of the book" as well as "numerous teachers throughout the country who have contributed helpful suggestions for the general improvement of the volume." Here, the authors were acknowledging the comments received in between editions of the book, rather than any extensive author-initiated peer review network to draft the first edition of a textbook.⁵⁴⁵ The earliest editions of Hicks's textbooks provided little indication that he created a review network comparable to Bailey's. In the first edition of *The Federal Union*, he thanked a total of six colleagues for their work reading his manuscript. Frederic L.

⁵⁴⁵ Harold Underwood Faulkner and Tyler Kepner, *America: Its History and People*, Fifth Edition (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950), xvi.

Paxson was his “constant adviser.” Curtis P. Nettels and William B. Hesseltine read sections of the manuscript “in which they were most interested” and “made valuable suggestions.” Two graduate students worked on the “preparation of maps” and created the index.⁵⁴⁶ This network was nowhere near the size and scale of Bailey’s. There was little indication that this dynamic changed over time. By third edition of Hicks’s book, there were no more extensive acknowledgements.⁵⁴⁷ The differentiation between Bailey’s approach to peer review and his colleagues’ was essential. The feedback Bailey received shaped the final version of his textbook and likely promoted greater awareness for the project throughout history departments in American colleges and universities. It also primed the market and potential adopters, his reviewers, to be more willing to accept his style as thoroughly vetted by historians.

The anonymous reviewers D.C. Heath used to review Bailey’s early chapters were the first to provide feedback. They expressed a reception that was familiar to Bailey at this point in his career as author. The first reviewer wrote the book was “well-written, eminently readable, and interest-sustaining” for student readers. It was “a model of compactness and economy in the use of language.”⁵⁴⁸ A second reviewer felt the book would “catch the interest of most students perhaps as no other book has” and this was “particularly true of boys” because of its “humor.”⁵⁴⁹ Bailey later found out that Harold Faulkner, already a competitor in the textbook market, was one of these reviewers D.C.

⁵⁴⁶ John D. Hicks, *The Federal Union: A History of the United States to 1865*, First Edition (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937), vi.

⁵⁴⁷ See John D. Hicks, *The Federal Union: A History of the United States to 1877*, Third Edition (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957), ix-xii.

⁵⁴⁸ “General Reader Comments, Undated, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁴⁹ “Memorandum on THE PAGEANT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE,” Undated, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

Heath selected. Faulkner's feedback was largely positive and provided some corrections related to the National Banking system.⁵⁵⁰

These compliments, as expected, came with qualifications and the first reviewer observed "the merits of readability and compactness each have their weakness." Bailey's work risked "journalese superficiality" when focusing on readability. It could lead the reader to miss the complexity of a historical issue in an effort to keep the book compact. This was most important in the survey course, where "the responsibility [was] particularly great to give as clear and accurate a picture as possible." Bailey's "'clever' writing, quipping, sloganeering, use of nicknames, and writing in the vernacular" detracted from this responsibility. The reviewer cited Bailey's description of the New England Confederation, where "straightforward and sober historical events [were] treated with a style approaching flippancy." Further, it was objectionable to describe Alexander Hamilton as "boyishly brilliant" or "sleeplessly daring." In another section of the manuscript, Bailey wrote "we fattened as feeders while the Europeans famished as fighters." According to this particular anonymous reviewer, excerpts like this example would confound student readers trying to make sense of the American past. The first reviewer also noted that the "excessive number of short, choppy paragraphs and the superfluity of sub-heads...detract from continuity and will make student note-taking difficult."⁵⁵¹ The second reviewer noted that Bailey's prose was full of "'hells' and 'damns' and one 'sonofabitch'" alongside what seemed to be "too many sex

⁵⁵⁰ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 185.

⁵⁵¹ "General Reader Comments," Undated, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

references.”⁵⁵² In each of these comments, the attention to student use is particularly apparent.

Many people in Bailey’s self-created network of peer reviewers offered general praises of Bailey’s style that were in harmony with the anonymous reviewers from D.C. Heath.⁵⁵³ Some accolades were notable. Arthur Link described himself as a “charter member of the Bailey Club” from his time in college when he read *A Diplomatic History of the American People* for class “a week after it first appeared.” His enthusiasm showed just how impactful the diplomatic history book was on professional historians. By the time Bailey sent his manuscript for *The American Pageant* out for peer review, it was already in its thirteenth year of existence. Even John Hope Franklin had sought the book out to study for his PhD exams while at Harvard. At the University of Pennsylvania, Wallace Davies jokingly griped that after *The American Pageant* was published that he would not be able to use Bailey’s “familiar chestnuts” to enhance his own lectures because having them put into textbook form “deprives the teacher of using them.” He also referenced the tendency for professors who assigned Bemis’s text to “crib their lectures from Bailey, and get the reputation of being sparkling wits.” W. Turrentine Jackson remarked that, because of the textbook, Bailey’s “presentation and style [was] a subject of conversation in the profession.” That reputation would lead *The American*

⁵⁵² “Memorandum on THE PAGEANT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE,” Undated, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁵³ See Ira V. Brown to Thomas A. Bailey, August 5, 1953, Box 4, Folder 22, Bailey Papers; Wallace Davies to Thomas A. Bailey, August 27, 1953, box 4, folder 23, Bailey Papers; Frank Friedel to Thomas A. Bailey, September 12, 1953, box 4, folder 23, Bailey Papers; Paul W. Gates to Thomas A. Bailey, August 13, 1953, box 4, folder 24, Bailey Papers; Kent Roberts Greenfield to Thomas A. Bailey, September 29, 1953, box 4, folder 24, Bailey Papers; Richard Leopold to Thomas A. Bailey, September 2, 1953, box 4, folder 25, Bailey Papers; Elting E. Morrison to Thomas A. Bailey, November 5, 1953, box 7, folder 11, Bailey Papers.

Pageant to become “a real money-maker.”⁵⁵⁴ Many of the younger historians reviewing Bailey’s manuscript had used the book as students. Many older historians had adopted it for their classes. Bailey’s style was immediately recognizable for a variety of reasons. Most notably, his “use of color words and slang” to “make for appeal and quick comprehension.” Raymond G. O’Connor, Bailey’s graduate student at the time, believed it was a “much more adult approach than the pedestrian, fact-packed text.” Overall, the book “enable[d] the student to avoid the usual dilemma over what he should try to remember and what he can safely forget or ignore.”⁵⁵⁵

Replicating the overall reception of Bailey’s style noted by D.C. Heath’s anonymous reviewers, many historian reviewers found general flaws in Bailey’s stylized approach. Kent Greenfield was “disturbed...about certain lively expressions which the publisher’s requirements may seem to demand.” He seemed to be unaware that Bailey’s style was, in fact, his own vision. The publisher was simply in harmony with that view, rather than forcing Bailey to write in a specific manner. No matter, Greenfield felt that it gave the chapter a tone that “as a historian, [Bailey] would hardly wish to convey.”⁵⁵⁶ Another reviewer exclaimed “You’ve read *TIME* too much!” in a critique of Bailey’s adjective-infused prose. For this colleague, Bailey’s tone was too journalistic and diminished the historical knowledge he was seeking to impart in his analysis.⁵⁵⁷ Of

⁵⁵⁴ Arthur Link to Thomas A. Bailey, September 20, 1953, box 4, folder 35, Bailey Papers; John Hope Franklin to Thomas A. Bailey, May 15, 1953, box 4, folder 23, Bailey Papers; W. Turrentine Jackson, October 16, 1953, box 4, folder 25, Bailey Papers; Wallace Davies to Thomas A. Bailey, August 27, 1953, box 4, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁵⁵ “Comments on *The Pageant of the American People*, by Thomas A. Bailey, Submitted by Raymond G. O’Connor,” Undated, box 4, folder 26, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁵⁶ Kent Roberts Greenfield to Thomas A. Bailey, September 29, 1953, box 4, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁵⁷ Bernadotte Schmitt to Thomas A. Bailey, November 11, 1953, box 7, folder 11, Bailey Papers. See also Richard Leopold to Thomas A. Bailey, September 2, 1953, box 4, folder 25, Bailey Papers for another instance of a reviewer objecting to Bailey’s use of journalistic language.

course, the general reception was anticipated. Bailey quickly dismissed this feedback for being too oriented towards traditional textbook writing. It was unlikely reviewers would persuade him that his overall approach to writing was flawed. He was, however, open to feedback specifically critiquing his clarity of writing and intended to improve his prose and interpretations.

In this regard, many reviewers provided fact checking that helped Bailey avoid embarrassment when *The American Pageant* was printed and used in classrooms. Many of these comments were focused on how Bailey's style could obscure facts. One colleague took exception with treatment of whiskey prices in the 1790s and worried that "students [would] assume...one could buy a gallon of whiskey for the equivalent of twenty-five cents of 1953 money."⁵⁵⁸ William Diamond noticed Bailey's use of the term "bloated trusts" to describe Gilded Age businesses. He pointed out that Bailey did not use quotations around the words in his draft, indicating that the term was Bailey's own opinion of the trusts rather than "contemporaneous opinion" at the time. Given that economists disagreed on the general merits of trusts for the economy, Diamond argued "too many simplifications may be unnecessary and too many labels may be dangerous." This complicated student comprehension, because the "catchiness of the phrase and the related interpretation may lead a young reader to forget or to minimize the positive role that the trust played in American economic development."⁵⁵⁹ According to another reviewer, Bailey created a similar issue when he described German U-Boat actions as

⁵⁵⁸ Charles Wiltse to Thomas A. Bailey, September 11, 1953, box 4, folder 28, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁵⁹ William Diamond to Thomas A. Bailey, January 13, 1954, box 7, folder 11, Bailey Papers. See Richard Hofstadter to Thomas A. Bailey, September 10, 1953, box 4, folder 25, Bailey Papers for another example of a reviewer's concern about student comprehension.

“mad-dog submarine warfare.” In using this phrasing, Bailey put “readers in the dark” and did not reveal if he was “merely describing the American viewpoint of the day or passing [his] own judgment on what the Germans were doing.”⁵⁶⁰ Student comprehension was a key concern among reviewers. It was unclear in many cases where Bailey’s judgment began and descriptions of contemporary sentiment ended.

When commenting on these word selections, reviewers homed in on Bailey’s efforts to target his audience of students in the 1950s. Wallace Davies saw that “the general style of the text suggest[ed] it [was] being written for freshman-sophomores who [were] raised more on comic books than Macaulay.” The approach was “probably far shrewder than that of Morison and Commager” in their survey textbook, but it also required a greater degree of precision in language because of the risks the style entailed. Davies was skeptical that students would know the distinction between words such as “interstate” and “intrastate,” recommending that Bailey include explanatory parentheses to be sure students understood this language. Further, Bailey’s description of Trinity Church as “magnificent” would put “the wrong impression” into the mind of students. This would be even more pronounced if the students ever visited the actual church, which Davies believed would leave the students with the feeling it was “old and gloomy” rather than positive.⁵⁶¹

Other comments were targeted at Bailey’s efforts to enliven his prose with his choice of descriptive language. Raymond O’Connor objected to Bailey’s use of “crackbrained,” assuming he was trying to combine “crackpot” and “harebrained” into a

⁵⁶⁰ Harold Deutsch to Thomas A. Bailey, December 4, 1953, box 7, folder 11, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁶¹ Wallace Davies to Thomas A. Bailey, August 27, 1953, box 4, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

new catchy word.⁵⁶² Richard Leopold preferred Bailey describe Henry Cabot Lodge as “angular” instead of “lanky,” as Bailey did in the manuscript draft.⁵⁶³ The content Bailey authored covering the Oneidan religious community was also called into question. Bailey wrote that they practiced “free love.” A reviewer countered that the Oneidans actually preferred to label their practice as “complex marriage.”⁵⁶⁴ Paul W. Gates found that Bailey’s “selection of phrases” had the effect of making his writing sound “more critical, more in the nature of indictments” than was likely to be Bailey’s goal. One such example involved Daniel Drew, who Bailey wrote “illegitimately” issued suspect stock.⁵⁶⁵

Reviewers also started to note another problematic aspect of Bailey’s choice of words to create a lively textbook. His treatment of many races and specific ethnic groups was questioned. The first comment came from Earle D. Ross from Iowa State College, who critiqued Bailey’s treatment of the Irish because many people of that “race” would find it “objectionable.” Significantly, Ross also pointed out how these types of presentations were omitted from subsequent editions of other textbooks. E.A. Freeman had included a “wisecrack about Negroes and Irish in the first edition of his *Recent History*,” but it was “omitted from later editions.” Morison’s and Commager’s book had lost adoptions from a school in New York City since they used “Sambo” in a generic sense to label broad swaths of America’s mixed-race ethnic composition.⁵⁶⁶ The questionable racial descriptors were also applied to the treatment of the Japanese, who

⁵⁶² “Comments on *The Pageant of the American People*, by Thomas A. Bailey, Submitted by Raymond G. O’Connor,” Undated, box 4, folder 26, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁶³ Richard Leopold to Thomas A. Bailey, September 2, 1953, box 4, folder 25, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁶⁴ Ira V. Brown to Thomas A. Bailey, August 5, 1953, box 4, folder 22, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁶⁵ Paul W. Gates to Thomas A. Bailey, August 13, 1953, box 4, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁶⁶ Earle D. Ross to Thomas A. Bailey, August 14, 1953, box 4, folder 27, Bailey Papers.

Bailey referred to as the “slant-eyed sons of Nippon” in the draft manuscript. Kent Greenfield, from of Office of Military History in Washington, D.C., likened this to an author using “‘thick-lipped, kinky-haired blacks from Africa’ in writing about Negroes.” Bailey had not used this particular descriptor in his manuscript, but Greenfield said it would be another example of “catering to prejudice” for the sake of lively style.⁵⁶⁷ Reviewers felt that Bailey would be best served to edit these potentially inflammatory descriptions out of the inaugural edition of *The American Pageant* and learn lessons from competing authors who made edits only for subsequent editions.

Bailey’s responses to peer reviewers’ critiques were varied. When his overall stylistic approach was questioned, he tended to defend his approach to writing. Louis Martin Sears, from Purdue University, did not agree with the “use of the colloquial” in the manuscript. While Bailey’s understood Sears’s “appreciation of classical interest,” he still believed “that in the interest of getting down to the freshman-sophomore level it is somewhat necessary to employ somewhat simplified terms.”⁵⁶⁸ To reviewers who criticized his more journalistic language, he had a similar response. Bailey wrote to Richard Leopold: “I am aware that I am overdoing the Timesesque stuff, but for a generation being reared on comic books this is, I am confident, the wave of the future. Let’s face it. Gibbon is on the way out.”⁵⁶⁹ Pushing back on Wallace Davies’s concerns, Bailey asserted “if the prose is like a Hearst editorial, I would regard that as something of

⁵⁶⁷ Kent Greenfield to Thomas A. Bailey, September 29, 1953, box 4, folder 24, Bailey Papers; See DeConde, “Thomas A. Bailey: Teacher, Scholar Popularizer,” 169-170 for an additional critique about Bailey’s tendency to use racial language in an attempt to be lively.

⁵⁶⁸ Thomas A. Bailey to Louis Martin Sears, June 10, 1953, box 4, folder 28, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁶⁹ Thomas A. Bailey to Richard Leopold, September 8, 1953, box 4, folder 25, Bailey Papers.

a compliment,” but only if Davies was “not referring to the content.”⁵⁷⁰ Style was not Bailey’s concern so long as the prose he wrote was still in line with the interpretations of professional historians, not journalists. Based on his experience with students, he was “reasonably confident...that this is the kind of thing in general that they like.”⁵⁷¹

While hesitant to change his stylistic approach, Bailey was eager to correct factual errors and did so frequently. He “shamelessly incorporated” the “very words” suggested by George Howe.⁵⁷² He was “indebted” to Paul W. Gates for saving [Bailey] much embarrassment” after the feedback helped catch factual errors that would not have been discovered in the normal editing process with D.C. Heath. Bailey hoped the remaining “chapters of the manuscript [would] assay less high in historical infelicities.”⁵⁷³ He expressed further anxiety to Kent Greenfield that “if other chapters were subjected to a panel of equally knowledgeable experts, probably the same general quantity of errors would turn up.” To Bailey, his extensive peer review process was essential in catching these errors since “one of the hazards” of writing a textbook was the need to write beyond an individual author’s narrow historical expertise across “great periods of time.”⁵⁷⁴

When the reviewers suggested changes beyond mere correction of facts, Bailey was inclined to resist recommendations in order to preserve his stylistic mission. Bailey wrote to Wallace Davies that “compression [was] a big problem” in the draft chapters and he was “forced to leave out the names of some of [Davies’s] favorite architects and painters.” Bailey saw no value in the over-inclusion of names since they would “be

⁵⁷⁰ Thomas A. Bailey to Wallace Davies, September 2, 1953, box 4, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁷¹ Thomas A. Bailey to Bernadotte Schmitt, November 17, 1953, box 7, folder 11, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁷² Thomas A. Bailey to George Howe, September 22, 1953, box 4, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁷³ Thomas A. Bailey to Paul W. Gates, August 19, 1953, box 4, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁷⁴ Thomas A. Bailey to Kent Greenfield, October 5, 1953, box 4, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

promptly forgotten” by students. He preferred to “say enough about the individual’s personality and peculiarities to try to fix him in the mind of the student.”⁵⁷⁵

There were, however, times when Bailey felt that compromising on his more egregious use of descriptive language in his manuscript would be beneficial for *The American Pageant*. Bailey agreed with William Diamond’s assessment that his use of “loaded expressions as ‘bloated trusts’ should be used with the utmost care.” Bailey promised to “reexamine [his] treatment of big industry” because of Diamond’s recommendation.⁵⁷⁶ The printed version of *The American Pageant* demonstrated Bailey’s toned-down language. He described the trusts using less interpretive language. The trusts were “monopolistic” or “giant” instead of “bloated.” Bailey did, however, keep a glint of his own judgment against the merits of the trust on the page, subtitling the section “Tackling the Trust Evil.”⁵⁷⁷

The approach Bailey followed when addressing racially tinged language in his manuscript is particularly notable. In response to Kent Greenfield’s objection to the use of “slant-eyed sons of Nippon,” Bailey significantly revised his treatment of the Japanese. Instead, Bailey wrote “the Japanese fanatics forgot that when one stabs a king, one must stab to kill” in reference to Pearl Harbor. Later in the text, he referred to the collapse of “Japan’s rickety bamboo empire” at the end of World War II, but this was as close as Bailey came to imbuing his final text with racial stereotypes of the Japanese.⁵⁷⁸ Here, it

⁵⁷⁵ Thomas A. Bailey to Wallace Davies, September 1, 1953, box 4, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁷⁶ Thomas A. Bailey to William Diamond, January 22, 1954, box 7, folder 11, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁷⁷ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 529, 533.

⁵⁷⁸ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 880, 898.

was clear that Bailey was sensitive to how his lively descriptions could be perceived as problematic.

This was not, however, widely applied to all treatments of race in *The American Pageant*. Bailey was stubborn in his interpretations of the experience of black Americans. This started with his opinion on Abolitionism and some of the movement's white leaders. John Hope Franklin objected to Bailey's treatment of William Lloyd Garrison, and deemed it needlessly harsh.⁵⁷⁹ Bailey had focused his description of Garrison's home life. Those descriptions survived and were printed in the first edition of *The American Pageant*. The section on Garrison's movement was suggestively titled "Garrisonian Hotheads." Garrison was described as "the emotionally high-strung son of a drunken father who had deserted his wife" who had "published...his militant abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*."⁵⁸⁰ Bailey argued that this writing was "a means of indicating that in an unbalanced home he may have developed the emotional imbalance he later displayed."⁵⁸¹ Aside from the merits of Bailey's personal belief here, the potential effect of his style on the student readers is obvious. By treating Garrisonian abolitionists as unbalanced Bailey could delegitimize abolitionism in the students' minds.

As a historian he felt this approach was justified. He wrote to Franklin "as a student of American history, I have no doubt in some degree reacted against the Abolitionist-tinged, made-in-New England history with which we were surfeited until

⁵⁷⁹ It is important to note that John Hope Franklin's original notes to Bailey were not found in Bailey's papers at Stanford. Bailey's response to Franklin does survive and is used here. See Thomas A. Bailey to John Hope Franklin, June 26, 1953, box 4, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁸⁰ It is important to note that John Hope Franklin's original notes to Bailey were not found in Bailey's papers at Stanford. Bailey's response to Franklin does survive and is used here. See Thomas A. Bailey to John Hope Franklin, June 26, 1953, box 4, folder 23, Bailey Papers; Bailey, *The American Pageant*, 367, 368.

⁵⁸¹ Thomas A. Bailey to John Hope Franklin, June 26, 1953, box 4, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

within recent decades. I feel something of an obligation to pull the pendulum back to a median position.” He was especially critical of how extreme abolitionists enabled unprepared freedmen to enter American society. He wrote:

Their agitation no doubt helped expedite the freeing of the Negroes, but under circumstances, as I indicate, which were of dubious benefit to the Negro and of very great harm to the white. In writing my account, I am thinking in terms of the welfare of the entire nation and now, cruel as this may sound, of the so-called submerged one tenth.⁵⁸²

In this exchange with Franklin, Bailey’s historiographical foundation is revealed to be the Dunning School of Reconstruction history. No amount of reviewer feedback was able to push him away from the interpretation he deemed proper. *The American Pageant* included his interpretations in his characteristic style. Bailey’s narrative told of “bewildered Negroes” who “were utterly unprepared for their new responsibilities at citizens and voters,” painting a picture of a helpless race. He described one scene of voter registration: “After the Negroes were told to come in for registration, many appeared with boxes or baskets, thinking that registration was some new kind of food or drink.” He juxtaposed this scene with the “thousands of ablest Southern Whites” who “were being denied the vote.” Bailey illustrated this point with a scene of “ex-governors, ex-Congressmen, and ex-judges” who were unable to vote. They were in a room where “the only voter...was the Negro who served the meal.”⁵⁸³ The anecdote revealed the complexity of Bailey’s interpretations. While on one hand, he was willing to alter his colorful language to avoid offending the Japanese, he was unyielding in his descriptions of black Americans during Reconstruction.

⁵⁸² Thomas A. Bailey to John Hope Franklin, June 26, 1953, box 4, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁸³ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, 475.

Bailey's treatment of race is nuanced, especially when considered in the broader context of his career and philosophy as an educator. He later wrote, "we can also give the 'forgotten men' of American history their due," particularly immigrants and "Negroes." Bailey felt that, when minorities are treated fairly, "we unobtrusively develop in our students a higher degree of objectivity, tolerance, breadth, urbanity, humility, and sympathetic understanding, while combatting self-righteousness, bigotry, demagoguery, jingoism, and militant nationalism."⁵⁸⁴ But, as we can see in Bailey's treatment of the Japanese and black Americans, he did not apply this philosophy equally. There are some potential explanations for this. In terms of his content regarding black Americans, the interpretations he used were still acceptable in the 1950s. The does not, however, explain his leniency with the Japanese in the aftermath of World War II when the memories of Pearl Harbor and the Pacific theater would have still been fresh, especially in California, where Bailey was at Stanford. The answer may be located in Bailey's earliest monograph, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese American Crisis*. After the book was published in 1934, a reviewer noted Bailey's first sentence of the book.⁵⁸⁵ It read "Our story is one of race prejudice."⁵⁸⁶ It is likely, given the book's focus on prejudice against the Japanese, that Bailey was more attuned to these racial sensitivities than he was with those effecting black Americans. He adjusted his prose in *The American Pageant* accordingly.

⁵⁸⁴ Bailey, "Revitalizing American History," 373.

⁵⁸⁵ See E.T. Williams, Review of *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese American Crisis* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol 30, No. 2 (April 1936), 339.

⁵⁸⁶ See Thomas A. Bailey, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Japanese American Crisis*, 1.

In addition to Bailey's reviewer network, there was some moderate pressure from John Walden and D.C. Heath to encourage him to alter some of his more vivid descriptions. The reader reports generated made them think "the Puritans were handled a bit roughly" and that this, along with the scattered use of "profanity" would possibly affect sales. Here, Walden believed Bailey had allowed the "stylistic device" to "call too much attention to itself or, at least, call attention away from the ideas that are important enough to maintain the reader's interest." They believed it was easily adjusted in revision.⁵⁸⁷ Referencing the success of this precise "type of material" in *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, Bailey was disinclined to make many edits. Further, he was unaware of any response from readers that would indicate Walden or the reviewer were correct in their opinions. He wrote: "I do not think that a student, reading short gulps as daily assignments, will have quite the same reaction."⁵⁸⁸ No matter, in the final draft of *The American Pageant* the Puritans are described somewhat colorfully. They were a "difficult and militant minority" but this was as scandalous as Bailey's interpretation was in the book. Much of his description was banal in comparison to his other interpretations, especially those dealing with race.⁵⁸⁹

Bailey's insight into student response to his language was supported by research. Nearly a year after the bulk of his fellow historians provided their assessment of the first draft of the manuscript, Bailey enlisted students in his classes to assess the revised draft of his work. He described the effort as "an experiment with 110 entering freshmen" where they would "work through seven representative mimeographed pages of the

⁵⁸⁷ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, July 20, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁸⁸ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, July 21, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁸⁹ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 23, 32-35.

manuscript.”⁵⁹⁰ Students did not offer much objection to the prose style. Bailey also became convinced that he should keep paragraphs and sections as brief as possible. “Subheads and topical sentences” would be included to “make it relatively easy for the student to grasp the gist” of any given page of the textbook.⁵⁹¹ These stylistic features, indeed, made it into the first edition of *The American Pageant*.

No matter Bailey’s student survey, he and D.C. Heath were in harmony with the idea that “the manuscript [would] be toned down somewhat, particularly in the use of racy expressions and superfluity of adjectives.”⁵⁹² This decision was likely made to appeal to adopting professors rather than their students. Marie Edel, who joined the project to shepherd the manuscript through copy editing, directed her efforts to “parallel [Bailey’s] own concern for the relatively inexperienced freshman or sophomore.” In addition, she provided recommendations for “single words, figures of speech, and the like.”⁵⁹³ Bailey appreciated her efforts and noted that “the first two or three chapters might cause the most difficulty” because his style would be new to the student as well as much of the historical content. He remarked to Edel that he was being even “a little more merciless with superfluous adjectives” than she was as he prepared the final drafts of the textbook.⁵⁹⁴ Through this editorial collaboration, the final manuscript of *The American Pageant* took shape.

⁵⁹⁰ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, July 21, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁹¹ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, August 18, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁹² Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, August 18, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁹³ Marie Edel to Thomas A. Bailey, September 16, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁹⁴ Thomas A. Bailey to Marie Edel, September 20, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

Finalizing the Textbook with D.C. Heath

In the summer of 1954, Bailey informed John Walden that he had settled on the title *The American Pageant* for the textbook rather than the “Pageant of the American People,” which was also under consideration. Consistent with his overall philosophy in writing, Bailey felt *The American Pageant* had “the virtue of compactness.”⁵⁹⁵ With the finalized title in mind and the manuscript revision in progress, it was time to set the particulars of the book’s formatting and pedagogical features in stone. Bailey was relying on D.C. Heath to work with him in order to come up with an appropriate assortment of non-textual features to accompany his prose. He thought “some of the lack of clarity or detail [would] be taken care of by tabular material and by maps and charts.”⁵⁹⁶

Bailey believed it was “pedagogically sound to have the maps and charts put in where they tell the story.” It was imperative that maps not be “included for decorative purposes or to provide a break.” Any map included needed to have a pedagogical purpose. Preferably, whatever was included would not be “hackneyed.” Instead, it would “convey a fresh point of view...or a fresh set of facts.” The material needed to be “evident at almost a glance” without a need for “the student to turn his book around.”⁵⁹⁷ Through this approach, he hoped to make the book’s format promote readability and ease of use for students.

Compared to Bailey’s flashy prose, his restraint in illustration is somewhat remarkable. He knew that there was some reason to include color, because it was desired

⁵⁹⁵ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, July 26, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁹⁶ Thomas A. Bailey to Marie Edel, September 20, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁵⁹⁷ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, October 7, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

in other texts, but in *The American Pageant* he preferred a minimum amount. The “end-paper maps, and possibly on a log cabin or some such design on the title page” were the only places he felt were necessary to include color in the illustrations. Maybe it would make sense for a few additional maps, but Bailey showed no sense of urgency to make illustrations more eye-catching throughout the book. The reason for his lack of interest in color was not entirely clear. He did reference that fact that “some critics may feel that [his] writings [was] flashy enough as it [was] without introducing additional color into the maps.”⁵⁹⁸ Whatever the reason, Bailey and D.C. Heath implemented a plan for illustration that was much more focused on the pedagogical value of the textbook’s illustrative scheme rather than any general desire to be flashy and eye-catching. Marie Edel and her colleagues at D.C. Heath agreed with Bailey’s approach and remained enthusiastic about the book.⁵⁹⁹

With this overarching philosophy in mind, Bailey set out to select illustrations. He did not wish to include “photographs of persons or of scenes.” Instead, as was characteristic of his other work, he focused on finding appropriate cartoons. Especially important were cartoons from *Punch* and *Harper’s Weekly* for the nineteenth-century content. He avoided illustrations from *Puck* because the originals were in color, and would not translate into a line-cut black and white illustration. Some of the cartoons included in *The American Pageant* were familiar to Bailey’s readers. As he had done in *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, Bailey used the same cartoons for his new

⁵⁹⁸ Thomas A. Bailey to Marie Edel, October 8, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers. See also Thomas A. Bailey to Marie Edel, December 22, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers for more indication of Bailey’s hesitation to have illustrative material deemed over-the-top and flashy.

⁵⁹⁹ Marie Edel to Thomas A. Bailey, October 13, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

book in some instances. One notable example was a cartoon of Woodrow Wilson seeking the support of the American people when he attempted to promote the League of Nations. This particular cartoon was noted in the diplomatic history textbook in the second chapter of this dissertation.⁶⁰⁰ Bailey's preference for cartoons was certainly a key element in his textbook illustration.

These cartoons fit in with Bailey's broad philosophy that illustration should augment key points in the written text rather than serve as an eye-catching extra with limited pedagogical utility. Consistent with this intent, Bailey included a cartoon of "The Real British Lion" in a section related to American foreign relations in South America. In the cartoon, taken from the New York *Evening World*, a large hog is standing, draped over the world with a Union Jack held aloft by its curled tail and a hoof placed over South America. The cartoon was placed between paragraphs describing the military standoff British and American forces risked during confrontation in Venezuela in the 1890s. Here, the cartoon served to provide a vivid depiction of the contemporary opinion of British foreign policy expressed by Americans during the confrontation.⁶⁰¹ In a later section of the textbook covering the trials in Nuremberg following World War II, Bailey used a cartoon from the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* in a similar fashion. In it, a Nazi with a swastika-emblazoned arm band was facing dozens of skulls suspended above bones. The caption simply read "Witness for the Prosecution."⁶⁰²

⁶⁰⁰ See Bailey, *The American Pageant*, 758 ;Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, First Edition, 673.

⁶⁰¹ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, 610.

⁶⁰² Bailey, *The American Pageant*, 912.

Bailey's reliance on cartoons differentiated him from his competing textbook authors, much as it did in previous books he published. Faulker and Kepner's *America: Its History and People* tended to use photographs instead. For example, to depict domestic life in early America they included an image of a "Colonial Kitchen."⁶⁰³ Cartoons were used sparingly, but to similar effect in Bailey's work. One example is a cartoon depicting Franklin D. Roosevelt carrying a child labeled "The Banks" across a room to a tub labeled "Bank Clean-Up." Roosevelt exclaims "You're gonna wash all over while we're at it!!" The cartoon augments the material related to the Banking Act of 1933 that was included in the page before and after.⁶⁰⁴

The approach used in Hicks's *Short History of American Democracy* represented the change college textbooks went through between the 1940s and mid-1950s. In the 1946 edition, the book included two-sided inserts scattered throughout rather than having images integrated within the textual content. One example included illustrations of George Washington and Benjamin Franklin alongside a photograph of Abraham Lincoln. It was juxtaposed with a section titled "The Three Greatest Americans" on the previous page. On the other side of the inset was a photo of a hand-drawn map from an early explorer and an illustration of map makers. These illustrations were put next to a section titled "The Expanding World" on the following page.⁶⁰⁵ A similar format is found throughout the entire book. In the 1956 edition of the textbook, illustrations were no longer included in two-sided page inserts. Instead, the book was now in a two-column format with illustrations sharing the page with text. One page included a page of *The New*

⁶⁰³ Faulkner and Kepner, *America: Its History and People*, Fifth Edition, 31.

⁶⁰⁴ Faulkner and Kepner, 828.

⁶⁰⁵ Hicks, *A Short History of American Democracy*, 18-19.

England Psalm-Singer or Chorister with a Paul Revere engraving. On the top of the page was an illustration from *Poor Richard's Almanac*.⁶⁰⁶ Importantly, these illustrations tended to be photographic reproductions of the original sources, unlike the cartoons and engravings used in Bailey's *The American Pageant*. All authors and publishers recognized the value of illustration, but each created a different method of integrating this content into the textbook for students.

For maps, Bailey's main consideration was to be sure that "the story of our geographical expansion, military campaigns, and similar data" was properly displayed.⁶⁰⁷ In fact, his interest in providing artistic direction ran deep. Bailey offered to "use trace paper and other devices to bring the maps and other materials into as nearly final form" as possible. Of course, Bailey knew professional artists would take those designs and create final versions for printing. He was, however, interested in having as much creative control over the final product as possible. Writing to Walden, he said: "I assume that they will draw the maps and other materials from my sketches in a tentative way and send them to me for correction. Then when I have approved them, they will be drawn in final form."⁶⁰⁸ The editorial staff at D.C. Heath was insistent that this amount of effort would be unnecessary. They simply needed a "precise description of the number and kind of maps and charts" to get a sense of the labor required to produce them. In most cases, they would need no more than a sentence worth of description.⁶⁰⁹ Bailey relented on providing extensive tracings of each map, but provided another prompt to serve as the philosophy

⁶⁰⁶ John D. Hicks and George E. Mowry, *A Short History of American Democracy*, Second Edition (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1956), 34.

⁶⁰⁷ Thomas A. Bailey to Marie Edel, October 15, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁰⁸ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, November 2, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁰⁹ Marie Edel to Thomas A. Bailey, November 5, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

for map design. He wrote that in the “first four chapters, the maps and charts come so thick and fast that I shall probably not want to break up the text further with more illustrations.” He attempted to “get around this problem by combining pictorial data with the maps in such a way as to give tone and atmosphere.” Like other illustrations in the book, this choice was meant to promote student readability.

To bring this vision to life in the book, D.C. Heath hired Russell H. Lenz, the Chief Cartographer for the *Christian Science Monitor* to create “the maps, graphs, charts, and diagrams” present throughout *The American Pageant*. Bailey was so satisfied with the result that he wrote in the book’s acknowledgements that the illustrations “speak for themselves.”⁶¹⁰ Lenz’s work was truly meaningful throughout the textbook, starting on the first page of the first chapter. For it, he created a timeline starting in 4000 B.C. when “Recorded History Begins.” The mid points of the timeline show Jesus’s birth and the founding of Virginia in 1607 before it ends with the conclusion of World War II in 1945. The timeline is complemented by a section of the text titled “Perspectives,” which explained to the reader that “the pageant of the American people, fascinating though it is, does not loom large on the time chart of man’s known past.”⁶¹¹

Lenz’s maps were also created to amplify the narrative in meaningful ways. Some were straightforward. For a section dedicated to the exploration of North America, he created a map showing the territories between Spanish, French, English and unexplored territory.⁶¹² A few pages later, there was a map illustrating mountainous topography and General Braddock’s march across it from Ft. Cumberland in Maryland to Ft. Duquesne in

⁶¹⁰ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, ix.

⁶¹¹ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 3.

⁶¹² Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 47.

Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War.⁶¹³ It had the effect of giving student readers the sense of the difficulty of the terrain and geography of the conflict. Lenz designed another map with a wider view. Here, he illustrated the boundaries of the conflict in the colonies and also showed the movements of the Indian forces. Pontiac's uprising is shown to the left with a banner and an Indian wielding a machete. Indian movements are drawn with arrows moving up through Michigan in place of the standard line used for most maps.⁶¹⁴

In Faulkner and Kepner's book, the maps represented a different style of illustration. In one such map, the book includes a depiction of the "Changes in Ownership of North America, 1664-1783," much like the map in *The American Pageant* showing the respective territories of the English, French and Spanish.⁶¹⁵ They were arguably less eye-catching and lack the stylistic flair of the maps Lenz created with Bailey's and D.C. Heath's guidance. The same was true of the maps in Hicks's and Mowry's work. A map of the boundary between Maryland and Virginia provided little more than dotted lines to delineate the division.⁶¹⁶ Maps in the book were almost exclusively dedicated to either showing boundaries changing over time or the movement of soldiers in wartime with little to no ornamentation. Again, Bailey and D.C. Heath managed to create a style of map illustration that differentiated *The American Pageant* from competing college textbooks.

⁶¹³ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 57.

⁶¹⁴ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 62.

⁶¹⁵ Faulker and Kepner, *American: Its History and People*, Fifth Edition, 59.

⁶¹⁶ Hicks and Mowry, *A Short History of American Democracy*, Second Edition, 20.

In addition to the illustrative component of the textbook, Bailey and editors at D.C. Heath spent a significant amount of effort selecting the appropriate font. Alongside the discussions about map design in the fall of 1954, there was an extensive analysis of what was the most readable typeface for the book.⁶¹⁷ Walden told Bailey that the “capitals are less heavy” in Caledonia. For *The American Pageant* this would be a key consideration since there would be many names and nouns in need of capitalization throughout. An alternative font would possibly “give a spotty effect,” but Caledonia would diminish this issue considerably. The “suave” italics of the font were an added consideration.⁶¹⁸

Characteristic of his thoroughness, Bailey surveyed his students to see if they had a clear preference between two fonts. A junior seminar he was teaching that quarter “reacted with a ten-to-one vote in favor of the Caledonia.” They noted that the “less crowded and slightly larger typeface” was “somewhat more inviting than the darker but somewhat more closely packed Times Roman.” Graduate students consulted in Bailey’s study preferred Times Roman, but he paid less attention to their opinion since *The American Pageant* was being designed for undergraduates.⁶¹⁹ Bailey managed to poll his freshman students as well. That group “voted 114 to 105 in favor of Times Roman.” Bailey was, however, skeptical of his sample. Four out of every five students in that sample were boys, but the girls polled showed a “strong preference” for Caledonia.

⁶¹⁷ This discussion starts in Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, November 16, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers. The initial mention of typeface in their correspondence came in Thomas A. Bailey to Charles Weden, May 27, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers when the author first mentioned *The United States Since 1865* by Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick as a possible point of comparison.

⁶¹⁸ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, November 29, 1957, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁶¹⁹ Thomas A. Bailey to Marie Edel, December 7, 1941, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

Because of this, he concluded that Caledonia was, indeed, the best choice for the book. This decision quickly turned into a source of anxiety since he chose a larger font. It required him and D.C. Heath to reduce the cartoons from seventy-five pages worth of material to fifty pages to save space.⁶²⁰ Bailey was ultimately willing to make this sacrifice because it would enable him to use the “more handsome and less forbidding type face.”⁶²¹

For Bailey, the type face was an essential component of his stylistic vision for *The American Pageant*. He sent the editorial staff at D.C. Heath copies of books from his personal library which used Caledonia. One had forty-three lines on each page. Bailey wanted the format and quality of paper used in the book to be used as an example for the D.C. Heath design staff since “much depends upon the quality of paper finally chosen insofar as clarity and readability are concerned.” It was important to keep this consideration in mind since there was no definitive rule to properly design a book for readability. Bailey noted that “trade books...achieved a very handsome effect with the forty-five-line....format.”⁶²² Again, Bailey was intimately involved in the design process for his book, making sure that his prose was brought to life properly by the book’s illustration and formatting.

Lastly, Bailey and D.C. Heath developed features for the book’s appendices, which were meant to give the book more pedagogical utility for potential adopters. Marie Edel noted that the absence of the Constitution from the book’s Appendix would

⁶²⁰ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, December 10, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers; John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, December 7, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁶²¹ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, December 17, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁶²² Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, December 20, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

potentially dissuade professors from choosing it for their classes.⁶²³ Another colleague, Margaret Treat, provided further advice. Channeling her experience at the Ethel Walker School in Connecticut, she insisted that Bailey include the Constitution and Declaration of Independence to have any hope of adoptions at the high school level. State curricular requirements all but required this and most other college textbook authors already included it in their volumes and students were frequently tested on them.⁶²⁴ While the usefulness in high school classrooms was not a primary motivation in creating *The American Pageant*, Bailey and D.C. Heath still believed there were pedagogical tools in high school texts to be adopted for the college level.

Treat provided suggestions to achieve this utility. She felt that the Constitution in Faulkner and Kepner's *America: Its History and People* was inadequate and encouraged Bailey to come up with a more innovative method. Faulkner and Kepner put footnote references in the Constitution to provide further context with an ambiguous shorthand reference to the main text.⁶²⁵ Conversely, the method employed by another textbook, Henry Bragdon's *History of a Free People*, was pedagogically useful since it connected "the point in the text to a reference" in the Constitution included in the book. For example, in the text it would provide a parenthetical saying, such as "(See Article II, Section 4, p. 118)," to direct students to the proper page of the Constitution. From the Constitution, it would say "the example I have just given is on p. 344 of the text."⁶²⁶

⁶²³ Marie Edel to Thomas A. Bailey, October 29, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁶²⁴ Margaret Treat to Thomas A. Bailey, November 20, 1954, box 4, folder 30, Bailey Papers.

⁶²⁵ Margaret Treat to Thomas A. Bailey, November 20, 1954, box 4, folder 30, Bailey Papers; See Faulkner and Kepner, *America: Its History and People*, Fifth Edition, 888-903.

⁶²⁶ Margaret Treat to Thomas A. Bailey, November 20, 1954, box 4, folder 30, Bailey Papers.

Treat recommended a method closer in line with the straightforward directions provided in Bragdon's text.

Bailey employed Treat's recommendations in both the Declaration of Independence and Constitution included in *The American Pageant*. With Marie Edel he developed a method of cross-referencing to specific parts of the textbook.⁶²⁷ In the Declaration, he included bracketed references. For example, in connection with the complaint that the King of England "refused to assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good" Bailey instructed students to "see royal veto, p. 87."⁶²⁸ The Constitution contained multiple means of directing students to the appropriate textbook content. In the left-hand margin next to the text of the document, he included page references. Next to the First Amendment, Bailey directed students to see the "background" of the "Bill of Rights" on page 152.⁶²⁹ Utility was his goal throughout this process. He remarked to Marie Edel that "it might be useful, from the standpoint of the teacher, to require the students to read the Constitution with its notations before they begin reading the book" since this exercise would make the document "mean a great deal more to them." With this in mind, he believed "if [his] editing of the Constitution [could] be made as interesting and relevant to the present" as possible, it would give the book "a great deal in the way of substance and dignity."⁶³⁰ Edel concurred with his assessment. She felt it "would certainly lend much" to the student reading experience."⁶³¹ Incorporating this method into the appendices of *The American Pageant* marked the last

⁶²⁷ Thomas A. Bailey to Marie Edel, November 5, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁶²⁸ See the "Declaration of Independence" in Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 957.

⁶²⁹ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 970.

⁶³⁰ Thomas A. Bailey to Marie Edel, November 5, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁶³¹ Marie Edel to Thomas A. Bailey, November 9, 1954, box 8, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

innovation Bailey and D.C. Heath enacted to make the book as suited for the college text market as possible.

The book Bailey and D.C. Heath constructed seemed destined for widespread adoptions, at least from the perspective of Bailey's colleagues and potential adopters. Even competing textbook authors felt this way. "If your one-volume text is done with any of the flair of your diplomatic history," wrote Richard Hofstadter, "it ought to make you rich!"⁶³² From Davidson College, Edward Guerrant wrote that he was "sure that the biggest worry" Bailey would face with *The American Pageant* would be "paying the additional income taxes." He added that his own writings had not yet been as lucrative as Bailey's.⁶³³

Others speculated that *The American Pageant* would quickly lead the market. Bailey's former graduate student, Armin Rappaport, thought "the book will probably push Hicks and Faulkner as the Diplomatic History pushed Bemis." He noted "the pace is fast, the style vivid, the fact sufficient without being overwhelming." Overall, there was "a sense of breathlessness conveyed."⁶³⁴ Before the publication of the textbook, Bailey already had a sense that the book may meet an enthusiastic readership—both in professors adopting the book and students reading it. This feeling resulted in the preliminary pursuit of adoptions beyond the college market, aided by the readability and pedagogical utility Bailey and D.C. Heath infused into the book. Before the official publication of *The American Pageant*, Bailey sent a preliminary assessment of the sales potential of his book beyond the college market. He observed:

⁶³² Richard Hofstadter to Thomas A. Bailey, August 31, 1953, box 4, folder 25, Bailey Papers.

⁶³³ Edward Guerrant to Thomas A. Bailey, October 29, 1953, box 4, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁶³⁴ Armin Rappaport to Thomas A. Bailey, August 18, 1953, box 4, folder 27, Bailey Papers.

Two high school teachers of my acquaintance have shown an active interest in the forthcoming book and one of them assures me that she will adopt it. I am wondering if any provision can be made for distribution to such high schools as may want to use the book. I happen to know that our one volume Hicks has considerable sale in high schools.⁶³⁵

The potential adopter Bailey reference in his correspondence, in all likelihood, was Margaret Treat. Her interest in the project was present from the beginning. Toward the end of the process of drafting the manuscript and preparing the first edition of *The American Pageant* Bailey and D.C. Heath started to see that the book was likely to be a blockbuster, appealing well beyond the standard college market. In due time, the reception of the textbook would confirm this suspicion and shape the future of the project, both in revisions of the core textbook and expansion of the ancillary pedagogical aids and reading material.

⁶³⁵ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, September 10, 1954, box 8, folder 36, Bailey Papers.

CHAPTER 7: *THE AMERICAN PAGEANT* IN THE MARKETPLACE

At the close of 1955, Marie Edel wrote to Thomas A. Bailey to express her gratitude for his work throughout the editorial process of *The American Pageant*. The pair had been collaborating for fifteen months to construct the format and presentation. Ten months before, they sent the first finalized chapters to the printer to prepare printing plates. This work was ending. Edel regarded her work on the book as “a real landmark of [her] years of work” at D.C. Heath. She was especially grateful for Bailey’s “generosity toward editorial suggestions” and “skill in making a good paragraph better.” It was “without precedent” throughout her time as an editor. Edel was transitioning to a new project with a new author, but she was doing so “with a real sense of anti-climax.”⁶³⁶ Indeed, her work on *The American Pageant* had a significant impact on Edel, but her experience was not unique. Edel remarked that Bailey was likely unaware “what enormous pride” Russell Lenz, the project’s map maker, felt for his work on the finished product. It was a “high point of his professional career,” much as it was for Edel. Beulah Folmsbee, who created the book’s layout, remarked to Edel ““it’s the first textbook I’ve ever designed that I wanted to put in my own library, because it’s the first one you can read.”” Bailey sent Lenz and Folmsbee autographed copies of the printed textbook for their libraries.⁶³⁷

While the staff at D.C. Heath was optimistic about the book, it was still unclear how well Bailey’s innovations in textbook style would be received on the market. To launch the book, D.C. Heath printed a promotional flyer to highlight the book’s merits.

⁶³⁶ Marie Edel to Thomas A. Bailey, December 16, 1955, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁶³⁷ Marie Edel to Thomas A. Bailey, January 19, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

The quotes included from professors attested to Bailey's well-known style. O. O. Winther, from Indiana University, remarked that "*The American Pageant* is written mainly for the student, not for the professor." Other comments highlighted the book's illustrations, maps and charts. One historian declared them "especially good" and another described them as "super."⁶³⁸

The way *The American Pageant* was presented to the market by Bailey and D.C. Heath stands out from how competing texts were promoted. By then, the collaboration between Merle Curti, Richard Shryock, Thomas Cochran and Fred Harvey Harrington produced a one-volume combination of their previous two-volume work with Harper & Brothers. This one-volume work, *A History of American Civilization*, was in direct competition with Bailey's work for college adoptions. The promotional brochure for this book was far less focused on its merits for pedagogical use. Instead, it touted its "distinguished authors" and focused on historiographical content, listing three key selling points:

1. In proportion to its length it includes considerably more political and military history.
2. It contains more dates, more facts. And an important feature of the new text is an extremely useful 26-page section of significant dates in American history, as well as a list of the presidents, and the Constitution of the United States.
3. It devotes less space to American intellectual history.

A single sentence mentioned the illustrations, stating that "the striking maps" from the two-volume editions were put in the new one-volume version, "but without the blue

⁶³⁸ See advertising brochure for *The American Pageant*, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

backgrounds.”⁶³⁹ Harper & Brothers opted for an approach that significantly diverged from Bailey’s and D.C. Heath’s. Their marketing, and the book they were promoting, seemed squarely focused on the professors who would be seeking up-to-date factual, historical content for their classes. This approach was less successful than the student-centered efforts represented by *The American Pageant* and its marketing campaign.

More successful was the promotional campaign to promote “The Hicks Histories,” authored by both John D. Hicks and George Mowry. A brochure from 1957 promoted the books as “Readable, Scholarly, Comprehensive.” *A Short History of American Democracy*, the book in most direct competition with *The American Pageant*, was described in a way that echoed the merits of Bailey’s words. The copy on the brochure played up the “dramatic evolution” the book’s narrative presented. The “well-illustrated chapters which round out the student’s understanding of American civilization from horn books to television.” A “double column” format in the book was accompanied by “a great spread of contemporary illustrations.” Lastly, the maps “add[ed] pleasure to every page.”⁶⁴⁰ Given the date of these brochures, created after the inaugural edition of *The American Pageant* was on the market, it is possible they were responding directly to the threat Bailey’s work posed to their own adoptions. No matter, the brochures were a clear indicator that publishers sensed a demand for books with pedagogical utility in the college market.

⁶³⁹ See advertising brochure for *A History of American Civilization*, box 6, “Correspondence to and from Cochran, Shrock, and Harrington, 1944-1960” folder, Merle Eugene Curti Papers Additions, 1908-2000 (MS2006-092), Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI.

⁶⁴⁰ “The Hicks Histories” brochure, Undated, box 18, “HMC Co – Corresp – Folder I” folder, Hicks Papers.

Two of these brochures and the books they promoted were far more successful than the third. A sales study of one-volume American history texts conducted by the staff at D.C. Heath in 1961 discovered that the first edition of Bailey's *The American Pageant* and the most recent edition of Hicks's and Mowry's *A Short History of American Democracy* were the clear leaders in the field. Of the more than 150 adopters surveyed, *The American Pageant* was used by fifty-two and *A Short History of American Democracy* by forty-nine. The next closest book was Richard Hofstadter's *The United States: A History of a Republic*, co-authored with Daniel Aaron and William Miller. That volume was adopted by thirty-one professors. Curti's *A History of American Civilization* did not register a single adoption on the survey.⁶⁴¹

It is exceedingly difficult to capture the complexity of the textbook market from a single textbook adoption study, especially one that only surveyed a little over 150 adopters. The study D.C. Heath constructed also did not account for high school adoptions, so it truly was unclear if Bailey's lead over Hicks grew when other types of adoptions were factored in. It was also unclear if Hicks's adoptions would surpass Bailey's when other markets were factored in. What was certain, however, was that Hicks's and Bailey's work led in the marketplace for American history one-volume textbooks. This warm reception was best shown by the attitudes expressed by Bailey's readers—both professors and students. It was also evident in D.C. Heath's rapid expansion of books and materials related to *The American Pageant*. Bailey had tapped into the zeitgeist of the 1950s textbook market and laid that foundation that would

⁶⁴¹ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, February 15, 1961, box 7, folder 47, Bailey Papers.

continue his legacy as historian and author throughout the remainder of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first.

Adoptions

Soon after the first printing of his textbook, Bailey was not yet fully confident his achievement in textbook style and design would be a success. He requested John Walden at D.C. Heath to send a copy of *The American Pageant* to Samuel Eliot Morison at Harvard. Amongst professional historians, there was speculation that Morison was considering writing his own one-volume American history, which would compete directly with Bailey and Hicks. Bailey hoped that seeing the newly published textbook would discourage the professor from entering the market.⁶⁴² It is possible that Bailey was merely trying to tout his accomplishment to Morison, certain that his superior textbook prose and design would convince him that it would be futile to write a competing book in an ever-more-crowded college textbook field. Another explanation for this decision could be mere professional courtesy. It is, however, quite likely that Bailey and D.C. Heath were conscious about how tenuous any success in the college market would be as more and more distinguished authors entered the arena.

Positive news about adoptions arrived quickly. In mid-January of 1956, The College of Charleston became the first adopter of *The American Pageant* with an order for sixty copies. With this news came word from a contact at the University of Georgia who said “one of the large southern universities” was looking to use the book in the coming year. If won, this adoption would unseat Hicks’s *A Short History of American*

⁶⁴² Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, January 27, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

Democracy as the adopted text at that Southern university.⁶⁴³ It is unclear if the source was speaking specifically about the University of Georgia, but the information is a clear sign that from the first month of publication on, Bailey's work had succeeded in penetrating the market Hicks led. Also, within the first month of publication came indication that an adoption at the United States Naval Academy was possible. At a lecture in Annapolis, Bailey was informed that the faculty was considering switching from a course on American Diplomatic History, where his *A Diplomatic History of the American People* was in use, to a general survey of American history. If this were the case, Bailey and D.C. Heath would potentially secure an adoption of 1,050 copies annually. Because of their experience with Bailey texts to date, *The American Pageant* was a clear frontrunner for the adoption.⁶⁴⁴

In May 1956, the D.C. Heath staff was ready to conservatively estimate sales of 10,000 copies for the adoption list they already secured to that point. The sales for the second half of the year were expected to bring the total around 20,000 copies, but possibly many more.⁶⁴⁵ By the summer of 1956, six months after initial publication, the adoption list was "growing steadily." The University of Missouri put in an order for 700 copies and San Antonio College bought another 750. Smaller colleges were also placing orders. Moberly Junior College in Missouri needed eighty copies and Wartburg College in Iowa requested seventy-five.⁶⁴⁶ As Bailey's book gained momentum, competitors took note.

⁶⁴³ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, January 17, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁴⁴ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, January 31, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁴⁵ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, May 17, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁴⁶ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, July 3, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

John D. Hicks's own adoptions for *A Short History of American Democracy* seemed to be affected by Bailey's entrance to the one-volume text competition. In February 1956, the sales staff at Houghton Mifflin expressed to Hicks that they got the "feeling that Bailey would attract a lot of attention and some business, but no one felt that [Hicks] would not continue to dominate the field."⁶⁴⁷ By May, there was less reason to be optimistic. Due to a printer mishap, the freshly printed copies of the new edition failed to make it to the Mississippi Valley History Association's annual meeting to be promoted at the Houghton Mifflin table.⁶⁴⁸ Soon after, co-author George Mowry wrote to Hicks with clear reservations. He regretted the delay in getting the new edition out, which likely was too late to secure many adoptions after Bailey's was published in January. Mowry hoped the sales that resulted would not disappoint Hicks.⁶⁴⁹ Indeed, there was an aura of uneasiness as competing authors assessed the impact Bailey's entrance into the survey text market.

The American Pageant's success, however, was not a certainty for its publisher. Throughout the first few months of *The American Pageant* being on the market, the staff at D.C. Heath continued to answer concerns about the book's "thinness." Bailey provided Walden a series of talking points to push back against these concerns. Of course, he attributed some of his stylistic innovations as the cause of this perception, but quickly noted that this was "an illusion rather than a fact of thinness." This was especially true of his deliberate effort to eliminate non-essential "encyclopedic dates and proper names."

⁶⁴⁷ Stephen W. Grant to John D. Hicks, February 17, 1956, carton 1, "Short History-Mowry" folder, Hicks Papers.

⁶⁴⁸ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, May 1, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁴⁹ George Mowry to John D. Hicks, May 15, 1956, carton 1, "Short History-Mowry" folder, Hicks Papers.

⁶⁴⁹ George Mowry to John D. Hicks, May 15, 1956,

Further, *The American Pageant* contained specific sections that were considerably more detailed than competitor volumes. Bailey pointed to presidential campaigns and the nineteenth chapter, dealing with “The South and the Slavery Controversy” as prime examples of this comparative thickness. Consistent with his design vision for the visual material in the book, Bailey noted that “the numerous charts, graphs, diagrams, and tables carry a great deal of the detail which otherwise would clutter up the narrative and create the impression of “thickness.””⁶⁵⁰ In sum, Bailey argued that when taken as a whole, *The American Pageant* was a comprehensive pedagogical tool that was, indeed, more detailed than a cursory reading would indicate.

Overall, initial field reports from the D.C. Heath staff were favorable, except for a few negative comments dealing with Bailey’s style. This was expected and Bailey quickly noted that “for everyone who ha[d] misgivings about the style, there [were] at least twelve who single[d] this out as the most attractive feature of the book.”⁶⁵¹ Walden had a largely positive experience at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and noted the “enthusiasm” for the book from many historians who stopped at the D.C. Heath table. There was “a constant crowd of people around the table” throughout the meeting since professors were thinking about adoptions for the fall semester. Another D.C. Heath staff member had traveled to Maryland’s State Teachers College just before and discovered that the faculty there had adopted *The American*

⁶⁵⁰ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, March 19, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers; See also Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, March 9, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁵¹ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, April 19, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

Pageant after having no interest in a one-volume book the previous year. Walden observed, “this seems to speak volumes for what the book will do.”⁶⁵²

That summer, Bailey was scheduled to speak with the college sales staff at the D.C. Heath annual meeting. It was a particularly vital time for the changing college market. D.C. Heath sensed that there was “a slight trend toward the use of a one-volume book where two-volume books [had] previously been used.”⁶⁵³ Walden expected Bailey would provide the sales staff with perspective on “the planning and building of *The Pageant*.” In particular, this needed to include the merits of its historical interpretations and “significance to students.” He also urged Bailey to compare the book to competing volumes and styles of authorship. Particularly urgent was the need to differentiate the perceived thinness of the one-volume texts compared to the two-volume books.

The staff believed there was a tremendous amount of potential to convert two-volume users to single-volume books, but professors selecting the books expressed hesitation when faced with more condensed one-volume works.⁶⁵⁴ There were significant obstacles to these potential sales, depending on the institution considering the adoption. Oscar O. Winther wrote to Bailey to express his appreciation for “the Bailey punch, zip and good humor” throughout the text, but he faced institutional hurdles that prevented the adoption of Bailey’s book for courses. At Indiana University, he and his colleagues were constrained in assigning collateral reading to accompany the core textbook because students did not have ample space in the library to sit and read after checking out the extra material. There was, because of this issue, a heavy preference to assign a two-

⁶⁵² John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, May 1, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁵³ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, July 3, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁵⁴ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, July 13, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

volume textbook, which was perceived to have a higher quantity of relevant content. It was still Winther's preference to assign a one-volume book and provide ancillary reading in the library in the future, but that day had not yet come. When it did, he planned to adopt *The American Pageant* as the standard book for Indiana University United States history courses.⁶⁵⁵ It is evident that departmental politics mixed with curricular demands to make the adoption of a new one-volume work problematic. Perhaps D.C. Heath's sales staff was overly optimistic when they saw great potential for sales despite these constraints. No matter, it was clear Bailey's book was desired by two-volume adopters.

For D.C. Heath's sales staff, this opportunity allowed them to sell *The American Pageant* in a way that more authentically reflected Bailey's own view of the college text market. It was a chance to home in on the key needs instructors possessed. Up-to-date historical content was a selling point, but the same selling point every textbook claimed to have. The real differentiation between Bailey's work and others was its distinct approach to style. Winther's compliments regarding Bailey's readable style indicated that the readability of the book was a significant factor. This was the selling point the D.C. Heath sales staff needed to present to college faculty throughout the country.

Toward the end of the summer of 1956, there was further indication that this sales strategy was effective. In early August, Walden reported that there were already adoptions at 140 institutions with more coming in weekly. Estimates for fall sales numbers were well in excess of 20,000 copies and the book was being rushed to a reprint of 35,000 copies to be delivered by the end of the month. The demand put *The American*

⁶⁵⁵ Oscar O. Winther to Thomas A. Bailey, February 20, 1956, box 7, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

Pageant temporarily out of stock.⁶⁵⁶ With this printing came a new sales brochure.

Bailey, sensing the pulse of the market, recommended highlighting a few key aspects of the book. First, was the “interesting style and sublimation of excessive detail down through the uniquely annotated Constitution.” Now that there was an ever-growing list of adoptions available, Bailey thought it would be a good idea to include the list on the brochure “so that those who have had some doubt about adopting the book on the grounds that it may not be used by others may have their fears put at rest.” Here, he was deliberately appealing to the “band-wagon mentality” he sensed amongst history professors.⁶⁵⁷

One year after the publication of the text, the market was clearly disrupted by Bailey’s entrance to the race for adoptions. John Walden met with Carl Bridenbaugh at the close of 1956 and learned that Bridenbaugh heard that *The American Pageant* sold a total of 36,000 copies in its first year of adoptions. It was apparent to Walden that Bridenbaugh heard this figure from one of Alfred A. Knopf’s travelling salesmen. It also seems that the figure was correct and Bailey likely leaked it. In November of 1956, Walden had written to Bailey informing him that he estimated total sales of the textbook to be approximately 36,000. Walden warned Bailey not to share sales figures as they may be used in the field to promote a competitor’s sales numbers in an effort to play on the bandwagon mentality many professors were subject to. Walden noted that Prentice Hall had “the habit of boasting about 50,000 copy sales for a good many of their books without being at all definite as to how long a period they are talking about.” There were

⁶⁵⁶ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, August 7, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁵⁷ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, August 10, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

many reasons to be skeptical of the veracity of their claims, but it still indicated that a high number of sales was used by salesmen to demonstrate a position of power on the market.⁶⁵⁸ While difficult to ascertain how close the 36,000 figure is to the actual number of sales at the time, it was evident that Bailey's success with *The American Pageant* had exceeded his and his publisher's expectations. There was also interest in obscuring the extent of that success to keep competitors guessing.

The commercial success quickly provided Bailey with a healthy amount of royalties. Bailey wrote to a lawyer to inquire about how he could improve the tax situation his royalties presented. Hicks introduced the lawyer to Bailey in the months prior and indicated that it was possible to save a significant sum of money by rewriting book contracts. The first year of adoptions for *The American Pageant* produced \$40,000 in royalties and it was expected that the figure would "level off at about \$50,000 a year in the next ten or so years." These figures were far beyond those for *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, which produced \$10,000 in royalties for the year and was expected to produce \$12,000 annually in the coming years. Compared to his Stanford salary, which was approximately \$15,000 at the time, textbook royalties were quickly making Bailey wealthier than he expected.⁶⁵⁹ By all financial metrics, the first edition of *The American Pageant* was a terrific success. Financial figures are, however, only one way to judge Bailey's impact. If the book was to have a long life on the college text market, it also needed to be respected for its historical content and pedagogical utility.

⁶⁵⁸ See John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, November 2, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers; John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, January 3, 1957, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁵⁹ Thomas A. Bailey to Verne-Marie, April 9, 1957, box 5, folder 3, Bailey Papers.

Reception

Because of the extensive peer review network Bailey created for his manuscript drafts, he already had a good sense of how the published version of *The American Pageant* would be received by the historians adopting the text. A few months after its launch, the first indications of overall reception were received in the form of comments aggregated by D.C. Heath. Bailey wrote to Walden with relief “that there [was] so little criticism of points which [Bailey] feared that [he] might be vulnerable.” He also polled his students regarding the concerns about “thinness” in the text. The students disagreed with the worries of faculty members adopting the book, indicating to Bailey that there was “a great deal to be gotten hold of” throughout the textbook.⁶⁶⁰ Bailey once again applied the survey study he used to gauge student reaction to the mimeographed manuscript drafts, but this time to the printed textbook. Students in his “American History, 1789-1890” course were using *The American Pageant* “on a purely optional basis,” which led one third of the class to purchase the book. The students who answered the survey were presumably the individuals who used the book in the semester as a lecture supplement. In sum, seventy percent of those students indicated that the textbook should be made the required test for the course. In the positive comments, these students declared the book “interesting, “enjoyable and pleasurable,” and “easy to read” as well as noting the “excellent cartoons.” On the negative side, students identified a need for “more detail...in spots,” “a tendency to flippancy,” and “overemphasis on the minor to the detriment of the major.”⁶⁶¹ These responses mirrored the concerns of professional

⁶⁶⁰ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, March 7, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers

⁶⁶¹ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, March 23, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

historians, but also assuaged some of Bailey's anxieties about the effectiveness of his student-centered approach to textbook authorship. Perhaps there was little reason to be anxious in the first place. *The American Pageant* was, of course, written with the student reader in mind. However, students at Stanford in Bailey's classes were not the sole source to determine the success of the book. The extensive feedback Bailey received from readers about the first edition of the textbook solidified its status as a success and started to shape future iterations of *The American Pageant*, both its second edition and ancillary material.

The first group sending comments and suggestions to Bailey consisted of the historians and educators using the book. Feedback from this group came in to the D.C. Heath office in stacks of comment cards. Largely, this feedback replicated much of what was already suspected about the reception of the book.⁶⁶² The comments sent directly to Bailey from his colleagues are somewhat more revealing. At the University of Pennsylvania, Roy Nichols complimented Bailey's "interesting and novel ideas" that proved his "knack of making a very readable book."⁶⁶³ Away from the Ivy League at San Jose State College, Edgar A. Hornig was "particularly impressed with [Bailey's] highly interesting, lucid, and meaningful style." He predicted the book would enhance history education at colleges and universities throughout the United States.⁶⁶⁴ Harold Deutsch at the University of Minnesota seemed to believe it was a cut above the competitors, noting that "if this doesn't challenge the interest of the students, certainly nothing will."⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶² John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, March 2, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁶³ Roy Nichols to Thomas A. Bailey, January 20, 1956, box 7, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁶⁴ Edgar A. Hornig to Thomas A. Bailey, January 24, 1956, box 7, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁶⁵ Harold Deutsch to Thomas A. Bailey, January 28, 1956, box 7, folder 37, Bailey Papers. See also Wallace Smith to Thomas A. Bailey, April 16, 1956, box 5, folder 1, Bailey Papers; Unknown Professor

Most notable were the particular stylistic innovations Bailey and D.C. Heath crafted to accompany the textual narrative. Tom Hutchinson, from the University of Chicago, asserted to Bailey that D.C. Heath had “done well by [him].” In Hutchinson’s view, the “illustrations ought to make it much easier for history instructors to compete successfully with college athletics for the students’ attention.”⁶⁶⁶ Whether or not Hutchinson’s assertion was overstated for effect here was certainly questionable, but one thing was evident. Historians were viewing Bailey’s work as a new tool in their pedagogical arsenal to vie for student interest. Bailey managed to effectively put his own dynamic lecture style onto the page for distribution to history classrooms throughout the country. Indeed, it even inspired new approaches to lecturing for select professors. J. Fred Rippy reported he read *The American Pageant* twice by February 1956 and he was inspired to “spend an entire morning trying to plan a lecture on ‘Political Folk-Poetry My Mother Taught Me.’” He was thrilled to be mentioned in the Preface as a reviewer and felt he was already “ten times repaid” because of the value of the book’s content.⁶⁶⁷

Feedback from professors rapidly became a means to identify errors of interpretation, emphasis, and fact in *The American Pageant*. Sometimes these comments had limited effect. I.N. Carr, a professor from Carson-Newman College in Tennessee, sent a few corrections. In the book, Bailey wrote that “it was probably fortunate for the Union that secession and civil war did not come in 1856, following a Republican victory at the polls.” Carr believed this sentence to be in error since Democrat James Buchanan

from Pomona College Department of History to Thomas A. Bailey, April 18, 1957, box 5, folder 4, Bailey Papers. Each of these examples include general comments about Bailey’s style and presentation.

⁶⁶⁶ Tom Hutchinson to Thomas A. Bailey, February 3, 1956, box 7, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁶⁷ J. Fred Rippy to Thomas A. Bailey, February 5, 1956, box 7, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

had, in fact, won the election that year. Bailey believed a simple word change would rectify the confusion. He wrote to Carr he would change the word “following” to “assuming” to further clarify his statement. He intended to present this as a hypothetical situation, arguing that the road to war would have been much swifter if the Republican candidate, John Fremont, had won that year.⁶⁶⁸ Interestingly, the change Bailey promised was not present in the second edition of *The American Pageant*.⁶⁶⁹ There are many possible reasons for this. Bailey may have been simply playing to the ego of Carr, promising to make a correction while intending no such thing. He also may have misplaced his notes in a filing error and the correction never made it back to the editors at D.C. Heath to fix the plates. Lastly, it was possible that he revisited the issue when it came time to edit the second edition and decided against the change. No matter, it was Bailey who remained the ultimate mediator of feedback and the textual narrative of the textbook.

Bailey tended to be much more open to correcting simple factual errors. Carr also noted that Bailey erred when he wrote that “[Herbert] Hoover proved to be the first Republican Candidate in 48 years to carry a state that had seceded.” Carr said that in reality “this statement is not true since Tennessee had voted for Warren G. Harding in 1920.”⁶⁷⁰ Bailey thanked Carr for this note, saying it was “quite obviously one of those

⁶⁶⁸ I.N. Carr to Thomas A Bailey, October 29, 1956, box 4, folder 35, Bailey Papers; Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 401. Carr’s notes also included an assertion that Bailey was wrong to include information that Woodrow Wilson attempted to pursue a third nomination for the presidency. Bailey was unwilling to change the text for this correction because he believed this fact was well documented in the historical record.

⁶⁶⁹ Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, Second Edition (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1961), 401.

⁶⁷⁰ I.N. Carr to Thomas A Bailey, October 29, 1956, box 4, folder 35, Bailey Papers; Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 806.

embarrassing errors that occasionally creep in, despite every effort to check” the manuscript.⁶⁷¹ In this instance, the second edition of the textbook included a correction noting the Harding victory in 1920.⁶⁷² John Burnham, from Claremont Men’s College in California, provided perhaps the most specific error possible. After apparently scouring the index for Henry D. Thoreau, Burnham noted that despite the index’s assurance that there was a mention of Thoreau on page 355 of *The American Pageant*, there was no such mention.⁶⁷³ Bailey was “saddened by the uncovering of the error” and promised that his own “sin of commission” would be addressed immediately, but “the sin of omission” would have to wait for the next type resetting for correction. Indeed, by the time the second edition was printed, this error was fixed.⁶⁷⁴

Burnham’s comments also delved into a perceived shortcoming of historical interpretation. He was curious “if the Texas war for independence might be better played down and the Mexican War...set out a little more distinctly.” Burnham was concerned about the coverage because of his experience using the book in the classroom. He had asked students to give the “causes and results of the Mexican War” after reading the textbook. In response, the students only spoke about Texas.⁶⁷⁵ Bailey promised to give the potential revision of this section “careful thought” and was open to shifting the interpretation away from a focus on the Texas Revolution if it was necessary. He was hesitant to make changes perceived as too drastic because many universities in Texas

⁶⁷¹ Thomas A. Bailey to I.N Carr, November 5, 1956, box 4, folder 35, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁷² See Bailey, *The American Pageant*, Second Edition, 806.

⁶⁷³ John Burnham to Thomas A. Bailey, November 9, 1956, box 4, folder 35, Bailey Papers; Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 1004, 355.

⁶⁷⁴ Thomas A. Bailey to John Burnham, November 13, 1956, box 4, folder 35, Bailey Papers; Bailey, *The American Pageant*, Second Edition, 1033.

⁶⁷⁵ John Burnham to Thomas A. Bailey, November 9, 1956, box 4, folder 35, Bailey Papers

were adopting *The Pageant* and he was uncertain they would “welcome such an ugly development” in his coverage of the events.⁶⁷⁶

In reality, Bailey’s coverage of the conflict was adequate in Burnham’s eyes and Bailey misinterpreted the initial complaint. Burnham wrote: “Good heavens! Do not—in the name of Texas—de-emphasize the Texan Revolution. My remarks perhaps should have led me to make a more concrete suggestion. I suspect that my flock—some of whom are not too bright—missed the starting point of the Mexican War in the smooth flow of Bailey’s prose.” Burnham thought that Bailey’s section headings were sufficient, but they were not sufficient in this instance “to get through the skulls with which [Burnham was] dealing with.”⁶⁷⁷ To make the section idiot-proof, Bailey changed none of his content related to the conflict, but relabeled the first section of text dealing with the event. He changed the subtitle from the first edition’s “Mexican Misunderstandings” to some more simple in the second edition: “Basic Causes of the Mexican War.”⁶⁷⁸ This exchange was particularly remarkable in the manner it revealed Bailey’s mindset in the first year after *The American Pageant* was published and in use in classrooms. Of course, concerns about student use remained paramount, hence his edit changing the section head for subsequent editions. It also revealed that Bailey was becoming concerned about how edits would affect potential future adoptions of revised editions of the text.

By 1959, this mindset was still apparent when schools in Georgia objected to particular segments of content in the final chapter of the textbook. In a section of the

⁶⁷⁶ Thomas A. Bailey to John Burnham, November 13, 1956, box 4, folder 35, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁷⁷ John Burnham to Thomas A. Bailey, November 18, 1956, box 4, folder 35, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁷⁸ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 292; Bailey, *The American Pageant*, Second Edition, 292.

concluding chapter of *The American Pageant* subtitled “Ending Second-Class Citizenship,” Bailey wrote:

American democracy—political and social—cannot fulfill its promise until its blessings reach every citizen. The plight of the minority groups must be improved, especially that of the 16,000,000 Negroes who constitute a submerged one-tenth of the nation—a population larger than Canada’s set down within the United States.

Yet the lot of the Negro has been markedly improved in recent years, Communist propaganda notwithstanding. North and South, more colored citizens are voting, more are serving on police forces, more are being elected to public office, more are enjoying fuller health, better education, bigger incomes, higher standards of living. Our 16,000,000 Negroes are driving more and better motor cars than all the 200,000,000 people of the Soviet Union. The integration of the Negro into the Army, achieved in 1950, was a giant stride toward abolishing the color line. And the memorable decision of the Supreme Court in 1954 sounded the ultimate doom of segregation in the schools and elsewhere.

The quoted material included above comes from an original 1956 printing of *The American Pageant*. This interpretation caused West Georgia College and Oglethorpe University to drop the adoption and the entire University System in Georgia was “advised not to use Bailey” because of these statements. Walden was skeptical that any edits Bailey made could appease the adopters, especially since the book was previously so strong in obtaining adoptions in the South. No matter, Bailey made edits in an effort to preserve the universities in Georgia and head off any further Southern objection.⁶⁷⁹

Significant changes were enacted to appease Southern adopters in the new version of the “Ending Second-Class Citizenship” section, but their overall effect on the broader implications of Bailey’s stance were debatable. Instead of declaring “the plight of minority groups *must be improved*,” Bailey asserted that the plight “calls for

⁶⁷⁹John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, February 4, 1959, box 7, folder 48, Bailey Papers; Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition (1956 printing), 947-948.

improvement.” It is a subtle change, but alters Bailey’s tone from that of an assertive activist to a more objective observer. Other changes were neutral. Rather than declaring “the lot of the Negro has been markedly improved in recent years, Communist propaganda notwithstanding,” Bailey took a different route. Bailey wrote “the Negro still encounters discrimination both North and South, but his lot has been markedly improved in recent decades.” Here, Bailey simply revised the passage, but his interpretation remained intact. He was, however, still inclined to mitigate his more activist statements. He walked back his assertion that the integration of the Army “was a giant stride toward abolishing the color line.” In his revised prose, he said the decision “resulted in closer race relationships and a better utilization of manpower” rather than moved the nation closer to the end of racial divisions. Lastly, he no longer declared “the ultimate doom of segregation in the schools and elsewhere” after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. He revised his words to state: “What the long-range results of the school-integration decision by the Supreme Court in 1954 will be, only the future can tell.”⁶⁸⁰

Parsing Bailey’s edits is difficult in this instance. He made some clear concessions that certainly mellowed out the declarative nature of his interpretations. On the whole, however, his is still clearly taking a stance in support of the improvement of the rights of minorities. This was particularly notable given the racial overtones of some of his other content, particularly that dealing with Reconstruction. No matter, in his revised printing of *The American Pageant* he managed to strike a balance here and D.C. Heath felt would at least stop the loss of Southern adoptions. Walden sent a request for 30,000 copies of

⁶⁸⁰ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition (1959 printing), 947-948. Both of the printings used in this chapter are from the author’s personal collection. Italics in quotes were added to emphasize the changes between the two printings.

the book with the revised pages to the printer and declared it “should satisfy any Southerner that can be satisfied.”⁶⁸¹

If Bailey’s specific historical interpretations and viewpoints were negotiable, it did little to alter his approach to constructing a student-centered style of presentation. He reiterated this central purpose of book design to James A. Beatson of the University of Arizona. The feedback he received from “the men who teach the course” was helpful given the limited information directly available to him outside of Stanford and his own classroom.⁶⁸² Sometimes these examples of classroom use beyond Stanford referenced student perceptions of the textbook. Bailey learned from Herbert Alexander at Los Angeles City College that students there “like[d] the book.” From their perspective, it was “friendly and relaxed” reading. Alexander noted that “the remarkable assemblage of caricature and the continual humorous vein please[d] them” while the prose “carried none of the academic terrors of a pompous historian on a rock-bound campus expounding an endless chain of treaties, tariffs, bills, campaigns, dates.” Alexander’s observations were derived from four classes of enthusiastic students using *The American Pageant* over the course of a year, but his personal perception of the book was not wholly in line with his students’. One drawback, from his perspective as a professor, was that the book was “not balanced by sober, straight writing” and resulted in the appearance that Bailey’s humor was “forced and contrived.”⁶⁸³

Whatever Alexander’s personal reservations about the style, Bailey accumulated ample evidence that his work was resonating with students, particularly in California. A

⁶⁸¹ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, March 11, 1959, box 7, folder 38, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁸² Thomas A. Bailey to James A. Beatson, July 24, 1956, box 7, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁸³ Herbert Alexander to Thomas A. Bailey, October 9, 1957, box 5, folder 4, Bailey Papers.

student from San Jose State College, Sarah Bower, wrote to Bailey praising his work after using the book in Professor Mildred Winters's class.⁶⁸⁴ George Bruntz, also from San Jose State, passed along a few comments from his own students. They said:

This is the first book that ever was interesting reading.
I like his style of writing. He makes it so fascinating.
I like his reference to the songs and poems to illustrate points. Make history more real and more interesting.
Dr. Bailey has a unique style of writing which makes you want to read more. Shows that history can be made interesting.

Overwhelmingly, the comments from students were positive, save for one outlier who felt the book was "a bit too facetious" at points.⁶⁸⁵ Despite the negative reaction, Bailey's approach to style was clearly having an impact in history classrooms. Students were engaging with his style of writing and, in their own assessment, it was prompting them to want to read more history.

The first edition of *The American Pageant* caused a wave of fan mail to arrive in Bailey's mailbox directly from students. A student from Bailey's own United States history course at Stanford sent him an anonymous handwritten note to inform Bailey of the "pleasure" the textbook provided to its reader.⁶⁸⁶ A student from a two-year college in California was baffled to find herself "writing a fan letter to a text writer." She lamented the "numerous murderous texts" she encountered during her time as a junior college student, while stating why Bailey's work stood apart from that category. She wrote, "perhaps nobody has thought to tell you that you have managed painless learning

⁶⁸⁴ Mildred Winters to Thomas A. Bailey, October 18, 1956, box 5, folder 1, Bailey Papers. This anecdote is reference in the correspondence between Winters and Bailey. In it, Winters references the student's letter, which Bailey had forwarded to her. Unfortunately, the original letter was not located in the Bailey Papers at Stanford.

⁶⁸⁵ George Bruntz to Thomas A. Bailey, July 25, 1956, box 7, folder 37, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁸⁶ Unnamed Student to Thomas A. Bailey, 1960, box 5, folder 7, Bailey Papers.

combined with egg-headed wit much to the pleasure of a lowly form of life.” That form of life she referenced was herself, “the addled [junior college] student.”⁶⁸⁷ This positive student feedback was promising for *The American Pageant*’s continued success. Junior colleges were an essential component of the broader college market. Between 1950 and 1960, enrollment at junior colleges boomed from 168,043 to 393,553, more than doubling in only a decade. By 1970, enrollments increased to 2.1 million. California was particularly affected by this booming growth. There, junior colleges eventually transformed into community colleges and became an essential stepping stone for California residents either seeking either terminal two-year degrees or transferring to four-year institutions.⁶⁸⁸ This was an essential part of the post-World War II explosion of college enrollments and *The American Pageant* was particularly apt at appealing to these students’ interests.

A few students from four-year colleges across the country also wrote to express their enthusiasm. One, from the College of William and Mary, was working through a summer history course using *The American Pageant* at Jacksonville University in Florida. He insisted Bailey was “one of the most versatile, humorous and gifted writers [he had] ever read.” The student believed “anyone that can take the History of the United States and make it so thoroughly readable and interesting must have a touch of genius in them.” He wrote, “I actually enjoy doing my homework now!” The whole experience reading Bailey’s narrative made the student decide to change his major from Sociology to

⁶⁸⁷ Dolores Schultz to Thomas A. Bailey, September 19, 1960, box 5, folder 7, Bailey Papers. In the last quote, the “jr. coll.” In the original document is switched to “junior college” for the sake of clarity. This change is represented in the brackets.

⁶⁸⁸ Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, Second Edition, 299-301.

History and he declared himself a “lifelong fan.”⁶⁸⁹ Another student studying at Texas Wesleyan College told Bailey, “till about two years ago I was a ‘history hater,’ then I became gradually more and more interested.” Reading *The American Pageant* completed her transformation into a fan of studying history.⁶⁹⁰ Certainly, there was a large number of students across the United States expressing similar sentiments in their classrooms. Here, it is important to acknowledge that these examples surely do not reflect each and every students’ reception, though they are the examples that survive in the archival record. These comments were, however, remarkably consistent with the response of Bailey’s reviewer network and adopters. With this insight, the general thrust of the reception of *The American Pageant* was clear.

The textbook was not used exclusively in college classrooms at the time. It was also used in some private high schools on the East Coast. Though it is impossible to say precisely how widely the text was used in these schools, there is some significance in the fact that the book had already made its way into select high school classrooms with its first edition. This was not a brand-new development for Bailey textbooks. A teacher from the Taft School in Connecticut actually used Bailey’s *A Diplomatic History of the American People* in an honors course for seniors in previous years. The text proved to be “the most popular” of any textbook in use at the school. *The American Pageant* became the standard history textbook for United States history classes there as soon as it was published. The maps and illustrative material were particularly valuable for students and teachers at the Taft School.⁶⁹¹ This insight was key and confirmed that the effort D.C.

⁶⁸⁹ Walter Thomas Hendrix to Thomas A. Bailey, July 20, box 5, folder 7, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁹⁰ Judy Garland to Thomas A. Bailey, February 7, 1969, box 5, folder 7, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁹¹ Henry P. Stearns to Thomas A. Bailey, October 17, 1956, box 5, folder 1, Bailey Papers.

Heath and Bailey made to incorporate a large number of illustrations, like many high school texts, paid off. It also opened up the possibility of adoptions in both the college and high school markets. Bailey was not surprised by this success. He wrote to Stearns that he “assumed” many of the private schools would end up using *The Pageant* given their use of the diplomatic history book. Bailey requested that Stearns send him suggestions for future revisions.⁶⁹² From the author’s perspective, it was valuable to get feedback from all corners of the market, especially those that presented growth opportunities beyond the college and university market.

The positive reception of Bailey’s writing was also evident in correspondence from students at private high schools. A student from the Storm King School in Cornwall on Hudson, New York wrote to Bailey calling him “a man of such distinction.” In the student’s own experience, he “became interested, no, subjugated at [Bailey’s] style of writing and eloquent manner of conveying the information to the reader.”⁶⁹³ The power dynamic the student described using the term “subjugated” is particularly notable. In it, Bailey’s style is imagined as forceful, grabbing the attention of the reader. It was clear that *The American Pageant* and Bailey’s style had momentum on the textbook market and a distinct ability to grab student attention. It was unclear that any other textbook was received in the same way.

Though not as extensively as their teachers and professors, students processed the interpretations Bailey put forward in the text within their contemporary educational setting. A student reader from Culver Military Academy in Indiana inquired about a

⁶⁹² Thomas A. Bailey to Henry P. Stearns, October 15, 1956, box 5, folder 1, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁹³ Michael Polak to Thomas A. Bailey, January 18, 1959, box 5, folder 6, Bailey Papers.

specific passage of the book. It said, “The United States, despite its marvelous development, will one day reach its peak, as Greece and Rome did.” The student asked Bailey to clarify his meaning for a special issue of his campus newspaper on “America’s Democratic Heritage.” Of particular concern was whether or not Bailey believed countries other than America would reach their peak. It called into question whether Bailey thought “the world would again be ‘void and without form’ or new countries and powers” would simply take their place as world leaders after these countries declined from their peak. Lastly, he asked a question of particular relevance to the Cold War context in which he was living. He wrote:

Is it likely that one day the United States will be a minor power, or we will have a new type of government? In your opinion, when is this likely to happen, and if these events do take place once, will they be recurring? Lastly, Mr. Bailey, what do you believe to be the turning point in United States history?⁶⁹⁴

To this point, little in this chapter speaks to the way in which Bailey’s textbook sought to prompt critical thought about citizenship, despite this being essential for his work throughout the 1940s and 1950s. Simply put, this element of Bailey’s career took a back seat to the need for him and D.C. Heath to construct a textbook that was written and designed for a market in need of a lively pedagogical aid. Here, however, in this exchange with a student was evidence of how Bailey’s interpretive narrative prompted students to think about their country’s place on the global stage.

⁶⁹⁴ Larry S. Doblin to Thomas A. Bailey, October 2, 1961, box 5, folder 10, Bailey Papers; Bailey, *The American Pageant*, First Edition, 4.

Bailey's response was particularly telling. He noted that it was important to define "peak" as "the peak of power and influence and this in turn is relative to other nations."

He expanded on the implications of this concept, writing:

If the world is not incinerated in the meanwhile, the probabilities are the United States will one day slip further in relation to its chief rival, today notably Russia. The present government in Washington cannot last forever, if for no better reason than that the world will not last forever. We may be utterly destroyed by megaton bombs, or we may fall prey to conquest. Or we may simply abandon capitalism in favor of socialism in order to combat communism. When such events may take place, I have no idea, not being a prophet. But once a nation loses a dominant position, it does not easily bounce back.

In his response, it was evident that Bailey's interpretation emphasizing the impermanence of the American position as a world power was meant to call Americans to action. He worried about the longevity of the American way of life because, as of the writing of this latter, he believed America "still [had] more power than the Soviet Union, but the advantage [was] being narrowed with every passing year."⁶⁹⁵ His efforts to get students thinking about these issues were successful to the point that they were inspired to expand on these ideas in their own student newspapers, at least in this particular exchange. Another one of the core pedagogical purposes central to Bailey's career was fulfilled.

New Projects

The immediate success of *The American Pageant* warranted the creation of ancillary materials to enhance the utility of the main text. There were two key projects under consideration to augment the D.C. Heath catalog. The first, a book of primary

⁶⁹⁵ Thomas A. Bailey to Larry Doblin, Undated, box 5, folder 10, Bailey Papers.

source readings to accompany the core textbook, was highly interesting to Bailey. The project was in the works as soon as the initial textbook was published in January 1956. Its creation was delayed by Bailey's commitment to the impending revision of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. There was little hope that he would be able to turn his attention to the book of readings until at least the following year, when the diplomatic history revision was complete. D.C. Heath proposed bringing a collaborator into the project to expedite its completion, but Bailey was reluctant to do so. Any collaboration with another historian to complete the readings book on a compressed timeline would still require extensive use of Bailey's labor. In his own words, he said "inevitably the 'master mind' ha[d] to get in there and pitch" no matter the ability of the collaborator. It is impossible to be certain whether or not Bailey's true reason for refusing this suggestion was labor concerns or a general desire to maintain sole authorial control over anything related to *The American Pageant*. Whatever the reason, he intended to lend his "master mind" to the project and infuse it with his style.

Bailey was, however, willing to consider collaborators for another project. The other expansion of *The American Pageant* brand under discussion was a high school edition. Bailey did not feel he was the best person for the task given his status as a college professor. Instead he recommended the project "be taken over...by two active high-school people." Putting some distance from himself and primary responsibility for the project, he listed two potential collaborators for a similar reason. The first, Dr. Carl Winter, was a teacher in the Sacramento public school system who had "some little flair for writing." The second was Margaret Treat, a teacher at the private Ethel Walker School in Connecticut who was "most sympathetic toward [Bailey's] style" and one of

the reviewers he relied on to provide feedback on the initial manuscript for *The American Pageant*. The 200 pages worth of notes she provided on Bailey's work displayed "extensive comments on how the book might be adapted for high-school purposes" at the time.⁶⁹⁶ Naturally, she was a top candidate to lead the adaptation of *The American Pageant*. Of these two projects, only one ever came to fruition—the book of readings that would become *The American Spirit: United States History as Seen by Contemporaries*. The other would be rendered irrelevant as *The American Pageant* would slowly work its way into high school classrooms naturally, with little change required. Through it all, Bailey's style, the key to his brand, was the paramount concern.

The potential stylistic challenges involved in creating a high school book with Bailey's name on it were seen by D.C. Heath. Walden questioned how much a high school book "would retain the characteristics" that made *The American Pageant* "superior." Specifically of concern were the "problems of style" that typically characterized collaborative authorship. Without Bailey as the primary author on the project "much might be lost."⁶⁹⁷ Even after agreeing that Margaret Treat was a worthy collaborator, Walden and D.C. Heath expressed that they were "anxious that the book should have the consistent stamp of [Bailey's] style and general presentation." If the book was simply condensed, there was little concern as it would preserve the prose more consistently than a collaborative rewrite. Bailey's editors were concerned about who would write new sections of the text when expansion on certain segments of content was necessary for a high school audience.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁶ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, January 20, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁹⁷ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, January 30, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁶⁹⁸ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, February 17, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

A murky confluence of factors ultimately rendered an edition of *The American Pageant* specifically tailored for high schools moot. While none seemed to definitely kill the project, there were considerable reservations about the project in the latter half of the 1950s. D.C. Heath was concerned that high school adoptions may “injure the sales” of the original textbook at colleges and universities. This concern was especially applicable to the robust California market, where students could use *The American Pageant* in the California public school system, only to turn up to the state university system and inform their professors they already used the book at the high school level.⁶⁹⁹ Bailey was indifferent to this concern, believing it could be argued either way, beneficial or harmful to college sales.⁷⁰⁰

Bailey’s waning interest in the project was perhaps explained by the success the first edition of the textbook found on the high school market. By 1960, *The American Pageant* was being “widely used in the more advanced high schools” to prepare students for “advanced placement courses and examinations” which were becoming ubiquitous at the time.⁷⁰¹ Bailey observed that this dynamic would possibly push the “introductory work” in United States history “down into the high schools” in these advanced placement courses. From Bailey’s perspective, this would mean that there would be little competition between a high school edition of the textbook and the existing college version.⁷⁰² In reality, this shift in high school education likely rendered an adaptation of the book unnecessary. No matter, it was a convenient development that aligned with

⁶⁹⁹ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, May 17, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁷⁰⁰ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, May 21, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁷⁰¹ Thomas A. Bailey to Marie Edel, June 3, 1960, box 7, folder 47, Bailey Papers.

⁷⁰² Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, August 23, 1960, box 7, folder 47, Bailey Papers.

Bailey's own philosophy of authorship. "Rather than write down" to high school audiences, Bailey wrote he "preferred to require the high schools to 'reach up.'"⁷⁰³

Advanced placement courses and exams demanded a college textbook for use in the classroom. *The American Pageant* was an ideal fit for these adoptions. These courses were originally conceived as a means to upgrade high school education during the Cold War. Initially, the program was created to give high-achieving high school students early exposure to college courses before they turned eighteen. The Ford Foundation created the Fund for the Advancement of Education in 1951, which funded a study titled *General Education in School and College: A Committee Report by Members of the Faculties of Andover, Exeter, Lawrenceville, Harvard, Princeton and Yale*. In his history of the creation of advanced placement courses, Eric Rothchild called the report "unashamedly elitist throughout." Its authors, faculty at Ivy League universities and elite preparatory schools, never intended for the program to be widely implemented across the United States.⁷⁰⁴ They wrote: "while we have tried to outline a program of study which would offer all students of college caliber a better education, *we have been particularly concerned about the superior students*. This concern is partly the result of our belief that standard can be pulled up from the top more easily than they can be pushed up from the bottom."⁷⁰⁵ Being educators and administrators at elite preparatory schools and universities, their perspective was certainly limited. It was unlikely that they ever

⁷⁰³ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 188.

⁷⁰⁴ Eric Rothchild, "Four Decades of the Advanced Placement Program," *The History Teacher*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (February 1999), 176, 177; See also Chester E. Finn, Jr. and Andrew E. Scanlan, *Learning in the Fast Lane: The Past, Present, and Future of Advanced Placement*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 9-20.

⁷⁰⁵ *General Education in School and College: A Committee Report by Members of the Faculties of Andover, Exeter, Lawrenceville, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952),

imagined widespread advanced placement courses throughout public school systems beyond the campuses of elite prep schools. No matter the authors' intentions, advanced placement courses grew at a rapid rate.

The first AP exams were administered in 1954, developed by Educational Testing Service (ETS). At first, college faculties were hesitant to accept any AP credits, skeptical of the quality of high-school level teaching and its ability to substitute for a proper college-level class in any given subject. There was, however, significant financial incentive for ETS and the College Board, who administered AP, to rapidly expand the program. By 1958, the program remained in the red and exam fees were quickly increased.⁷⁰⁶ Soon thereafter, public endorsements of the program enabled rapid expansion of the program and, by extension, textbook adoption opportunities for Bailey and D.C. Heath. James B. Conant declared in 1961 "the success of the Advanced Placement Program in the last few years is one of the most encouraging signs of revival in our educational system...To my mind, every high school ought to strive to provide the opportunity for Advanced Placement in at least one subject, no matter how few candidates there may be."⁷⁰⁷ Between 1954 and 1961, the total number of AP examinations administered rose from 959 to 17,609. United States history did not have an exam until the 1955-1956 school year, when a mere 207 students completed the history test. By 1961, that number increased to 2,644 students. This was just the beginning of explosive growth in AP enrollments. A decade later, in 1971, all AP exams totaled

⁷⁰⁶ Rothschild, "Four Decades of the Advanced Placement Program," 183.

⁷⁰⁷ James B. Conant, *Slums and Suburbs* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1961), as quoted in "Advanced Placement Commended," *The College Board Review* Vol. 45 (Fall 1961), 7.

74,409 and U.S. History was 12,695.⁷⁰⁸ Each of these exams represented a student and a potential reader for *The American Pageant*. While this figure still fell far short of the total number of adoptions Bailey could acquire if he were to develop a high school text, there were significant benefits to allowing *The American Pageant* to simply be adopted in this market as-is. First, it would allow Bailey and D.C. Heath to enhance revenue without going through the process of developing a fresh book with the help of a high school collaborator. Second, and most significantly, it allowed them to preserve Bailey's style without worrying about the writing ability and philosophy of any potential collaboration. This new market provided a convenient opportunity to circumvent these problems and focus on enhancing the pedagogical utility of the core textbook.

Other proposed projects never took off, at least not immediately. Even though in later editions *The American Pageant* would be given the two-volume treatment, there was little movement toward this after the first edition was published. Bailey remained uninterested in the project even though Walden asked consistently.⁷⁰⁹ In addition, there was international interest in creating a French translation of the textbook, but Bailey did not hold any reciprocal interest in going through with the project. While there would be obvious benefits in potential royalties and prestige, Bailey preferred to preserve his control over the language and design of the book. Any adaptation might have required illustrations, appendices, and bibliographies to be removed. Perhaps of most concern was Bailey's worry that a "Communist spokesperson" may "take over the job and warp things along the lines of his own thinking."⁷¹⁰ As the Cold War grew at the time, this would

⁷⁰⁸ Rothschild, "Four Decades of the Advanced Placement Program," 206.

⁷⁰⁹ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, March 13, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁷¹⁰ Thomas A. Bailey to Walter Cowles, April 9, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

have been unacceptable and no amount of royalties or prestige would counterbalance Bailey's concerns.

The largest project Bailey and D.C. Heath undertook during this time was the primary source reader, *The American Spirit*. That sales team was particularly interested in having the book in the catalog and even suggested the idea to Walden before he brought it up to them.⁷¹¹ Planning became serious in April 1956 when Bailey sent his first proposal for the book to Walden.⁷¹² As the book of readings was developed, special attention was paid to its structure. It needed to not only be a companion to *The American Pageant*, but also easily work with any other college text on the market.⁷¹³ The ideal primary source reader would expand on key points in the textbook. Competing source readers at the time were using a problems-based approach in their organization to achieve this expansion. Student readers found this approach useful as it created "the opportunity to concentrate attention on large background topics like the nature of Puritanism and the causes of the Revolution."⁷¹⁴

As there was with *The American Pageant*, there was also mixed expectation as to how effective Bailey's style would be in the book. A D.C. Heath salesman questioned "whether there was some danger of going too far in the direction of entertainment values" when selecting material to be included in the volume. Walden insisted that since the main textbook was effective in style, the book of readings did "not need to be colorful in the

⁷¹¹ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, April 16, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁷¹² Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, April 19, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁷¹³ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, May 4, 1956, box 7, folder 23, Bailey Papers.

⁷¹⁴ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, May 7, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers. Competitors mentioned were R.W. Leopold and A.S. Link, *Problems in American History* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963) and the "Amherst Series."

same degree.”⁷¹⁵ Too much style risked becoming perceived as excessive and could damage the brand. As they did in the editing process for *The American Pageant*, author and editor needed to find a suitable middle ground. No matter the stylistic concerns of D.C. Heath related to the college market, there was considerable enthusiasm for another Bailey book. A professor from a Catholic college wrote to Walden that the book of readings was a “must!” A book of readings would be a “shot in the arm” for efforts to get Catholic colleges to adopt Bailey’s books.⁷¹⁶

Over the following years Bailey generated the first chapters of the manuscript for *The American Spirit*. In early 1959, he turned in a preliminary manuscript to Walden and the editors at D.C. Heath. In response, Walden noted that “contemporary feeling does certainly come through” to the point that “students used to the glossy finish of high school history [textbooks] should wake up” upon reading the sections. He had two chief concerns about the manuscript, both related to readability and pedagogical utility. First, it seemed that Bailey had included only short excerpts and sources which made pacing of the reading too consistent. More variety in length would make for better reading. Second, Bailey included a single question for consideration at the end of each source, particularly as it related to the debate over the Constitution. Walden noted that teachers “might say they wanted more pieces that the student could sink his teeth into, more pieces where the argument is sustained, to balance the one-shot expression of personal opinion.”⁷¹⁷ These suggestions were put forward to enhance what Walden felt would already garner student

⁷¹⁵ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, May 17, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁷¹⁶ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, October 25, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁷¹⁷ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, March 11, 1959, box 7, folder 48, Bailey Papers.

attention. The chief concern was the needs of the teachers adopting the book for classroom use.

The final version of *The American Spirit*, indeed, was full of pedagogical aids. Many were easily recognizable to readers and adopters of *The American Pageant*. The Foreword to the volume indicated Bailey's intent to put his "spotlight on personalities." In the process of selecting material for the volume, he said he "ferreted out clearly written and pungently phrased items that combine intrinsic human interest with significant observations or conclusions." Cartoons, which he called "pictorial editorials," were included throughout. Following the advice of his editors, he made the general scheme of the book follow *The Pageant* chapter-by-chapter. The selected material maintained *The American Spirit*'s utility for professors who adopted competing core textbooks.⁷¹⁸

Like the overall structure of the source reader, each individual chapter and source was enhanced for pedagogical use. Each chapter included introductory prologues and each source contained within the chapter included a prefatory note. For example, the penultimate chapter to the book, "Truman and the Fateful Fifties," started with a prologue briefly summarizing Truman's containment policy, the growing conflict in Korea, General MacArthur's dismissal, and the rise of Senator Joe McCarthy.⁷¹⁹ In his prefatory notes for each source, Bailey's recognizable voice started to emerge. This was especially evident before one source, "McCarthy Upholds Guilt By Association (1952)." "In McCarthy's view, fowls that waddled like ducks, quacked like ducks, and associated with ducks were presumed to be ducks," Bailey wrote in his contextualization for students. As

⁷¹⁸ Bailey, *The American Spirit: United States History as Seen by Contemporaries*, First Edition (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1963), v.

⁷¹⁹ Bailey, *The American Spirit*, First Edition, 882.

a pedagogical aid for teachers, Bailey ended each prefatory note with a question or statement meant to prompt critical thought from the student reading each source. For this particular McCarthy source Bailey said to the student, “Decide whether innocence-by-association is as valid a concept as guilt-by-association, and whether a man may be grievously hurt even though not found guilty of anything.”⁷²⁰ For a different source, which contained letters from two Harvard undergraduates written to the *Harvard Crimson*, Bailey paired a prompt with a question: “Determine who had the sounder position. Could these letters have been a Communist ‘plant’?”⁷²¹

Pedagogically, each of these selections was remarkable, and represented Bailey’s broader approach to constructing *The American Spirit*. The prompts included at the end of each prefatory note directed students to insert themselves directly into the contemporary debates of the Cold War. In Bailey’s overarching philosophy of history and authorship, this was necessary to mold each student into an effective citizen of the United States. Secondly, the questions prompted students to evaluate the veracity of primary sources and build the essential skills of a historian. This was continued in the “Thought Provokers” included at the end of each chapter in a section of five listed prompts and questions dealing with the preceding material. At the end of this particular chapter, Bailey wrote: “Critics charged that McCarthy aided Communism more than he hurt it by creating hysteria at home, shaming America in the eyes of the free world, and diverting attention from the real Communist menace—that abroad. Comment critically.”⁷²² Here, students were asked to participate in a contemporary debate covered in both *The*

⁷²⁰ Bailey, *The American Spirit*, First Edition, 893.

⁷²¹ Bailey, *The American Spirit*, First Edition, 897.

⁷²² Bailey, *The American Spirit*, First Edition, 901.

American Spirit and *The American Pageant* and of critical importance to American citizens at the time.

Bailey's primary source reader appeared to be constructed to stand out from competing books on the market. One volume, titled *Documents of American History*, edited by Henry Steele Commager, was in its sixth edition in 1958 when Bailey and D.C. Heath were in the early stages of developing *The American Spirit*. Commager's book included prefatory notes comparable to Bailey's in purpose, but not in style. The book included no chapter-by-chapter breakdown, instead including all 633 documents in a continuous sequence.⁷²³ A document, "Senate Censure of Senator McCarthy, December 2, 1954," was paired with a contextualizing prefatory note. It did not, however, have any prompt for students, nor did it have anything resembling the "Thought Provokers" Bailey created for *The American Spirit*. Other volumes mirrored Commager's approach to presenting individual primary sources. In *A Documentary History of the American People* by Avery Craven, Walter Johnson, and F. Roger Dunn, each chapter and source included a contextualizing note. Richard Hofstadter's *Great Issues in American History: A Documentary Record* and *Problems in American History*, edited by Richard W. Leopold and Arthur S. Link, used a similar approach to presenting the material in a problems-based organization with short prefatory essays written by historians who possessed subject-matter expertise relevant to individual chapters.⁷²⁴ Indeed, the pedagogical qualities of other primary source readers did not directly parallel Bailey's work.

⁷²³ See "Table of Contents" in Henry Steele Commager, *Documents of American History*, Sixth Edition (New York, NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1958).

⁷²⁴ See Avery Craven, Walter Johnson, and F. Roger Dunn, *A Documentary History of the American People* (Boston, MA: Ginn and Company, 1951); Richard W. Leopold and Arthur S. Link, *Problems in American History* (New York, NY: Prentice Hall, 1952).

The primary source readers that existed previously were early iterations of this approach. The Preface to Craven's *A Documentary History of the American People* declared that the primary sources were becoming more widespread in undergraduate classrooms. The volume presented historians with the opportunity to involve students in the process of examining and interpreting historical sources rather than reading a simple textbook narrative. Above all, the sources in the book had the potential to "make the student aware of the need of careful reading, logical thinking, and critical analysis."⁷²⁵ While the inquiry-based approach was evident in these books, it had not fully come to manifest itself on the page of primary source readers. The books left teachers to formulate the classroom exercises, discussion prompts, and questions to be used. The editors and publishers of these early readers relied on the sources to speak for themselves, with competing viewpoints that would generate class discussion and active learning.

None of this is to say that competing primary source readers, which did not provide the same pedagogical features as *The American Spirit*, struggled in the marketplace because of the differences. Hofstadter's *Great Issues* two-volume set was, of course, tailored as a book for classroom use and "proved to be a respectable pedagogic device" for teachers who used it. It sold well. Between the two volumes, sales were estimated at 40,000 annually. The core pedagogical feature Hofstadter saw in the volumes was the selected documents themselves. Providing advice to Clarence Ver Steeg, a potential collaborator in creating a new reader on colonial history, Hofstadter

⁷²⁵ Craven, et.al., *A Documentary History of the American People*, iv-v. See the prefaces in Leopold and Link, *Problems in American History*, v-vi and Richard Hofstadter, *Great Issues in American History: A Documentary Record* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1959), vii-viii for more evidence of approaches meant to stimulate inquiry.

wrote that it was important to include “the obvious and well-known document...in such a collection” because teachers “usually, and...quite rightly, want[ed] students to read.”⁷²⁶ Instead of the thought-provoking prompts and questions Bailey and D.C. Heath used to augment *The American Spirit*, Hofstadter was solely focused on the significance of the sources selected for the books. His publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, believed that this approach was suitable for the college market since professors tended to assign readers when the textbook reading was deemed to lack enough detail.⁷²⁷ It was not until 1969 that a teacher’s guide for Hofstadter’s *Great Issues* books was created, several years after the first edition of *The American Spirit*.⁷²⁸

Commager’s source book was constrained not so much by the will of the author and publisher to make the book pedagogically valuable as it was the high cost of drastically changing the volume throughout the 1960s.⁷²⁹ As with Hofstadter, revisions to the book simply included the addition of sources as a means to enhance pedagogical utility.⁷³⁰ Even adapting the book to a two-volume paperback edition, such as Hofstadter’s, was challenging. With the sources in the single volume book, the second volume of a two-volume set would have twice the amount as the first volume.⁷³¹ Unlike Bailey and D.C. Heath, neither Hofstadter nor Commager prepared guiding materials that

⁷²⁶ Richard Hofstadter to Clarence Ver Steeg, March 28, 1963, box 5, “Knopf, A.A.” folder, Richard Hofstadter papers, 1944-1970 (MS#0603), Butler Library, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, NY.

⁷²⁷ Clif to Richard Hofstadter, June 24, 1963, box 5, “Knopf, A.A.” folder, Hofstadter Papers. In this letter, the sender’s name is difficult to read, but the letter itself is on letter head from Alfred A. Knopf. We can be reasonably certain that this letter came from an editor at the publishing firm.

⁷²⁸ Nettie Lead to Richard Hofstadter, May 21, 1969, box 5, “Knopf, A.A.” folder, Hofstadter Papers.

⁷²⁹ Walter J. Green to Henry Steele Commager, June 26, 1969, box 70, folder 42, Henry Steele Commager Papers, Amherst College Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College, Amherst, MA; Walter J. Green to Henry Steele Commager, May 20, 1970, box 70, folder 42, Commager Papers.

⁷³⁰ Martin S. Stanford to Henry Steele Commager, June 2, 1961, box 70, folder 43, Commager Papers.

⁷³¹ Martin S. Stanford to Henry Steele Commager, May 12, 1961, box 70, Folder 43, Commager Papers.

would generate student thought as they read each document. The particular reasons for this difference are difficult to assess beyond a reasonable doubt, but there are some potential explanations.

The reason for the profound pedagogical difference between Bailey's *The American Spirit* and its competitors may be found in the Amherst Project, conducted in the early 1960s to enhance the pedagogical effect of historical inquiry in classrooms. Broadly, the project was part of a grassroots movement meant to promote "inquiry" and "discovery" in history classrooms through partnerships between local high schools, colleges, and universities." This project stemmed from earlier movements toward child-centered approaches characteristic of progressive education reforms. Historian William Weber noted that much of the emphasis on "inquiry" teaching in history classrooms originated in elite private school settings, where Bailey's work was already widely adopted after the first edition of *The American Pageant*. Like the movement toward advanced placement courses, the inquiry-based approach of the Amherst Project was also motivated by Cold War anxieties about the state of American education.⁷³² The Amherst Project was not the first time historians attempted to move towards an inquiry-based approach, but it was a turning point.

D.C. Heath was a key player. In 1963, the same year Bailey published *The American Spirit*, the publishing house was preparing the inaugural pamphlets of the Amherst Project.⁷³³ These pamphlets were essentially primary source collections on given topics published in D.C. Heath's "New Dimensions in American History" series. In

⁷³² William Weber, "The Amherst Project and Reform of History Education, 1959-1972," *The History Teacher*, Vol. 51, Iss. 1 (November 2017), 40-44.

⁷³³ Weber, "The Amherst Project and the Reform of History Education," 38.

the introduction to the series the editors emphasized that the pedagogy was “built primarily out of source material—the raw material with which the historian works.” The book was an attempt to “make it possible for the teacher to present history not simply as a collection of facts to be mastered, but as a rich and rewarding intellectual exercise.” In achieving this, each book in the series included a teacher’s edition, which “asks the student, through a series of relatively simple questions, to put into use and develop his powers of critical thinking and analysis.” These questions ranged from prompts to formulate a hypothesis to analyses of specific pieces of evidence. In the end, the pedagogy was meant to push students “toward some generalizations which will have relevance and meaning for his own approach to the problems and complexities of the world in which he lives.”⁷³⁴ This approach was in harmony with what Bailey hoped to achieve with his textbook writing. D.C. Heath was also in agreement, hence their support for the source readers emerging from the Amherst project. Walden and Bailey, sensing a trend in history education rapidly taking expanding, likely constructed the pedagogical utility of *The American Spirit* to closely mirror the demands of the Amherst Project. Bailey’s prompts and questions are clearly created to provoke thought from students reading the provided source material. Given the multi-purpose focus of the Amherst Project, it was also clear that constructing a primary source reader in this way could potentially appeal to an audience of high school and private school adopters as well as the college market.

⁷³⁴ Edmund Traverso and Van R. Halsey, *The 1920’s Rhetoric and Reality* (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1964), v, vi.

The American Spirit was not the only project in demand to accompany *The American Pageant*. Aside from the need for a primary source reader, the sales team at D.C. Heath pushed Bailey and Walden to develop a product to speak to “the desirability of having a collection of tests” to accompany *The American Pageant*’s first edition.⁷³⁵ The answer to this demand was *The American Pageant Quiz Book*. As he did when considering the high school edition of the textbook, Bailey recommended Margaret Treat as the person to develop the *Quiz Book*. Walden had provided a list of potential collaborators from Educational Testing Service in Princeton, NJ, but Bailey was disinclined to enlist “doctors of education” in the project, preferring practicing teachers.⁷³⁶ In the context of their interest in potentially appealing to a high school audience in the future, the selection of Treat made sense. Additional pedagogical aids were, after all, an essential component to any adoptable high school book.

Bailey imagined the *Quiz Book* “as kind of a streamlined instructor’s manual that will be more useful than the ordinary instructor’s manual because it will not be cluttered up with topics for investigation that are never used.” Again, Bailey and D.C. Heath saw the fast-growing state higher education system in California to be a suitable test environment for the *Quiz Book*. Bailey planned to distribute a rough plan to colleagues teaching at junior and state colleges in the state, who would likely have more need for the *Quiz Book* at the college level. With larger enrollments, the book was an essential tool in

⁷³⁵ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, October 25, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁷³⁶ See John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, October 18, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers; Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, October 19, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

test preparation. Bailey hoped to develop “fifteen multiple-choice questions for each chapter together with two or three essay questions.”⁷³⁷

The archival record of the development of the *Quiz Book* is limited.

Correspondence exists showing Bailey sending four copies of a proposal for the book. According to Bailey’s cover letters, he and D.C. Heath intended to “include for each chapter a dozen or so fill-in-the-blank questions even though these are a little more difficult to correct than the alternate-choice questions.”⁷³⁸ Responses to these inquiries are unavailable as is the proposal Bailey circulated, but Bailey and Walden ultimately settled on a scheme of questions with “fifteen or twenty objective questions followed by twelve or fifteen questions.”⁷³⁹ The content of the *Quiz Book* was not developed by Margaret Treat or professional educators. Treat worked on the early stages of the project, but did not see it through to completion for reasons that are unclear.⁷⁴⁰ Instead, Bailey worked with “two young men,” who remained unnamed in his correspondence, to create the draft of the *Quiz Book*. The men were likely Bailey’s graduate students, but exactly which students is unknown. Student labor was certainly a part of the process of generating content. Bailey wrote in January 1957 that a group of twenty students had just generated “multiple-choice questions as a special project.” These questions were then molded into the *Quiz Book* by Bailey’s two collaborators after some editing at Bailey’s

⁷³⁷ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, October 29, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁷³⁸ See Thomas A. Bailey to Albert S. Rodds, November 8, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers; Thomas A. Bailey to Clair R. Nelson, November 8, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers; Thomas A. Bailey to Edgar A. Hornig, November 8, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers; Thomas A. Bailey to Clarence G. Osborn, November 8, 1956, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁷³⁹ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, January 22, 1957, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers; John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, January 25, 1957, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

⁷⁴⁰ See Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, January 24, 1957, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers. In this letter, Bailey asked Walden to send Treat a check for twenty-five dollars to “compensate her for the initial work that she did on the quiz book.”

hands.⁷⁴¹ No matter the process, the anecdote reveals that the rapid expansion of pedagogical materials necessitated by the early success of *The American Pageant* ultimately placed considerable demands on Bailey's time.

The Second Edition of *The American Pageant*

There was little question as to whether or not a second edition of *The Pageant* was desirable. From the first year on, the book continued to exceed the expectations that D.C. Heath and Bailey possessed. The conventional wisdom of the textbook market dictated that the longer an edition of the textbook was on the market, the fewer adoptions it would receive as newer, more up-to-date competing books were published. Bailey's work defied these trends. In the first half of 1958, the book sold 3,800 copies. In the same time period the following year it sold 4,900 copies, an increase of 22%. Despite the expectation that there would be a significant drop off in adoptions between the second half of 1959 versus 1958, the book again beat expectations. The period of 1959 saw 22,000 copies sold, versus 26,000 in 1958. Walden remarked that "Certainly one of the most gratifying things has been the way in which the book has held its ground." This was especially true given the "enormous number of new two-volume" texts hitting the market at the time. Further, Bailey's work outperformed Richard Hofstadter's text, *The United States: The History of a Republic*, published with Prentice Hall in 1957. According to Walden, the Hofstadter book "certainly did not come up to the expectations that a good

⁷⁴¹ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, January 31, 1957, box 7, folder 24, Bailey Papers.

many people had for it.” All of this was indicative of a promising future for *The American Pageant* in its second edition and beyond.⁷⁴²

Few, if any changes were made to alter the central character of Bailey’s text. By and large, the second edition’s historical content remained the same as that of the first. Changes that were made tended to focus on the pedagogical utility of the book and adding recent history rather than overhauling the first edition’s interpretations. The concluding chapter underwent an “extensive revision” and Bailey added a “new chapter on the Eisenhower Era now that the former general’s presidency had ended by the second edition’s publication in 1961.”⁷⁴³ One major revision was made to enhance the book’s pedagogical value. In the bibliographies that followed each chapter of the book, Bailey included an extension of the original list of readings subtitled “New Titles.” These additions included any scholarship relevant to a corresponding chapter and published after the first edition of *The American Pageant*.⁷⁴⁴ At the end of the book, in the appendices, Bailey expanded the Supplementary Bibliography. He added a section titled “The Pick of the Paperbacks,” which was “designed to provide interesting, stimulating, and inexpensive collateral reading for the type of student who would be using *The American Pageant*.” Ever-conscious of the need to point students in the direction of sound scholarship and lively reading, Bailey noted books in the list that were “of unusual significance” with bold typeface and “more interesting than the average” with an

⁷⁴² John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, January 27, 1960, box 7, folder 47, Bailey Papers. See also Richard Hofstadter, *The United States: the History of the Republic*, First Edition (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1957).

⁷⁴³ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, Second Edition, vii.

⁷⁴⁴ See the “Select Readings” section of any chapter of the second edition of *The American Pageant*.

asterisk.⁷⁴⁵ Along with this, Bailey incorporated the factual corrections and revisions made by readers discussed earlier in this chapter.⁷⁴⁶ Lastly, at Bailey's urging, a dust jacket was added to the second edition. He had lingering concerns that the "cloth covers of the first edition tended to scratch rather badly in shipping." This, combined with the fact that competitors "issued their volumes in rather splashy jackets" made a dust jacket desirable. Bailey believed that a jacket would give the second edition "class" and "accentuate the newness" of the revision.⁷⁴⁷ The dust jacket was, perhaps, a way for Bailey's style to be present in both his prose and on the cover of the new edition.

The reception of the second edition was varied, as it was for the first. Many commenters wrote to D.C. Heath praising Bailey's style. One reviewer from Mt. San Antonio College in Walnut, California was "especially intrigued with Mr. Bailey's sense of humor, ease of writing and quality of the material." Other reviewers expressed appreciation for the maps, cartoons and general scheme of illustrations. On the historiographical improvements of the new edition, the responses were mixed. One reviewer from Fresno City College felt the second edition "certainly brings history up to date." Another, from Sacramento City College, felt it was a significant improvement over the first edition, attributing much of it to the enhanced bibliographies and listing of paperback titles. He did, however, note "a few minor errors of fact or interpretation...have not been corrected," but in sum they were still "fewer than in most textbooks." Another professor at the same institution had a different, more damning take on the revision, stating "it appears that the only revision is the addition of material and

⁷⁴⁵ Bailey, *The American Pageant*, Second Edition, 1004.

⁷⁴⁶ See the Preface in Bailey, *The American Pageant*, Second Edition, vii-viii.

⁷⁴⁷ Thomas A. Bailey to John Walden, January 23, 1961, box 7, folder 47, Bailey Papers.

chapters, not the correction of errors within the text itself.”⁷⁴⁸ No matter their complaints, there was no indication that the market’s enthusiasm for *The American Pageant* was dampened. By November of 1961, Walden was ready to estimate the sales of the second edition to be somewhere between 40,000 to 42,000 copies with an additional 6,000 to 7,000 to still be purchased in the spring semester.⁷⁴⁹ These numbers exceeded the first-year adoptions of the first edition of the book.

Bailey’s popularity continued to grow and so did market pressures, especially from the high schools adopting the book. In late 1961, a D.C. Heath salesman found himself “in the heat of a terrific battle” for an adoption in Des Moines, Iowa schools. *The American Pageant* was under consideration to be used in the “Upper Track” for the school’s history courses for elite students. The adopters in Des Moines were dissatisfied with Bailey’s use of the term “woolly-witted liberals” to describe “Iowa favorite son” Henry Wallace’s supporters when the candidate challenged Harry Truman for the presidency in 1948 as a candidate for the Progressive Party. The sales staff asked that Bailey write a letter to the Iowa adopters to help smooth over their concerns. Meanwhile, the editorial staff was somewhat baffled by Iowans’ objections to the coverage, particularly since Wallace was not described as “woolly-witted” himself. Only his supporters were described as with this language. Most notably, D.C. Heath applied no pressure to encourage Bailey to change the textbook’s colorful language in this passage

⁷⁴⁸ All of the comments mentioned here are found in “Comments on Bailey: AMERICAN PAGEANT, Second Ed.,” May 23, 1961, box 7, folder 47, Bailey Papers.

⁷⁴⁹ John Walden to Thomas A. Bailey, November 7, 1961, box 5, folder 11, Bailey Papers.

in an effort to secure a lucrative adoption. Marie Edel wrote to Bailey, “it is entirely up to you to decide whether any reply should be made. Ignore the whole thing if you like.”⁷⁵⁰

Bailey did end up writing a letter to provide further context on his opinions of Wallace. He told the D.C. Heath Sales Manager Sturtevant Hobbs that he had “a good deal of admiration and sympathy for Henry Wallace.” Bailey did not feel he was “too rough” on Wallace when the candidate’s record advocating for friendlier policies towards Russia emboldened American Communists and duped the American electorate. If a change were to be made in the text, Bailey offered the term “well meaning” to describe Wallace’s supporters instead of “woolly-witted.” He also proposed a clarification of the sentence to show that there were many supporters who did not fit into this category. He provided a rationale for this concession, writing: “I do not like to change what I have written under pressure from dissatisfied groups, but I think, in good conscience, I could substitute the adjective “well meaning” and indicate that not all the Progressives fell into the category indicated.”⁷⁵¹ Indeed, Bailey expressed the root cause of his hesitance to delve too deeply into the high school market. The pressure exerted on historical content by adopters at the state and local level was significant, unlike at the college level. Later in his career, he recalled that he “deliberately refrained from writing...high school books.” This decision led him to experience “little or no pressure from special-interest groups that concern themselves with community affairs.”⁷⁵² He preferred to maintain some level of integrity with his historical content and was generally unwilling to cave to the will of

⁷⁵⁰ Marie Edel to Thomas A. Bailey, November 30, 1961, box 5, folder 11, Bailey Papers.

⁷⁵¹ Thomas A. Bailey to Sturtevant Hobbs, December 5, 1961, box 5, folder 11, Bailey Papers.

⁷⁵² Thomas A. Bailey, “Writing Diplomatic Diplomatic History,” *Newsletter – Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations*, Vol. X (December 1979), 3-4.

adopters unless he saw the flaw in his style. He did, however, make compromises when that style caused issues. In the third edition of *The American Pageant* he replaced “woolly-witted” with “well-meaning,” as he had suggested he would to appease the Des Moines adopters.⁷⁵³

Once *The American Pageant* entered the textbook market it was a game changer, not only for Bailey, D.C. Heath, and its readers, but also for competing textbook authors and publishers. Perhaps most impacted was *The United States: The History of a Republic*, authored by Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron. The book was published in 1957 by Prentice Hall and, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, performed well below expectations set for the volume. Compared to Bailey and Hicks’s share of the market, the book received only a fraction of the adoptions. This is somewhat surprising given Hofstadter’s growing reputation at the time and the way the book was marketed. It is likely that Bailey’s book was a significant factor in keeping sales down.

According to the first promotional brochure advertising the book, Hofstadter’s collaborative team of authors were “not afraid to generalize and make original analyses to give life and meaning to their discussion and presentation of facts.” These analyses were “kept simple enough...to be most provocative to the average student.” Further, “the crisp, lucid style, and the taste and simplicity of the exposition” resulted in “one of the most lively and readable [textbooks] available.” The brochure indicated that from this style and the authors’ “elaboration of many subjects usually treated in passing, the authors succeeded in giving the student a ‘feel’ for significant periods and events.” This effect

⁷⁵³ Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, Third Edition (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1966), 921.

was not achieved by only the narrative and the list of features continued. The brochure indicated:

The narrative is enlivened by hundreds of striking and relevant illustrations (portraits, cartoons, paintings, photographs) and more than 120 excellent maps especially prepared for this text by Vaughn Gray, cartographer for *The New York Times*.

Fresh, Well-chosen contemporary quotations from congressional debates, pamphlets, newspapers, diaries, private letters, novels and poems pinpoint the discussions and illuminate the pungent character sketches throughout the volume.

These illustrative materials not only depict events and ideas more forcefully, broaden the dimensions of the text, portray the spirit of each epoch and section, but also do justice to the literary style of the text.⁷⁵⁴

The similarities to the way Bailey and D.C. Heath presented *The American Pageant* to the market are immediately striking, both in stylistic goals and illustrative scheme. This does, however, present interesting questions about why Bailey's work was so much more widely adopted than Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron's book.

Given the similarities in the book's defining features, it would stand to reason that both books would, alongside Hicks's texts, gain equal share of the market. Hicks's prominence at the top of the list is easy to explain. By the time Bailey published *The American Pageant* in 1956 and Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron published *The United States: The History of A Republic* in 1957, Hicks's books were already established on the market. Getting a new textbook onto the market one year earlier may have provided Bailey and D.C. Heath and advantage over Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron. These factors, combined with the reputation Bailey cultivated as author and historian, likely explain the

⁷⁵⁴ See the 1957 brochure titled "Announcing Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron's *The United States: The History of a Republic*," box 657, "Pub. – *The United StatesL History of a Republic*" folder, Daniel Aaron Papers, 1939-1972 (CA.MS.00369), Smith College Special Collections, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

disparity in adoptions in full. At the time, Hofstadter was certainly a public intellectual with a wider-than-average readership for a historian. Bailey was, however, a popularizer with a reputation specifically cultivated around his style. Perhaps this allowed his claim of creating a more readable textbook to resonate more authentically with his readership.

Whatever the precise reasons for Bailey's dominance, Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron revised *The United States: The History of a Republic* for a second edition. Unlike Bailey's *The American Pageant*, which was revised within five years, their book waited a full decade for a new edition. It is likely that this was because of the lower-than expected sales numbers, which prevented a new edition from being economical until the mid-1960s. The promotional effort for the second edition of *The United States: The History of a Republic* was revealing for how it was imagined to fit in the college marketplace. Prentice Hall declared it "in many respects a new book designed to make an outstanding one better for student and teacher alike." The new brochure made no mention of the prose style of the core textbook, a significant departure from the presentation of the first edition's defining features. Instead, it touted the "many new maps" all of which were "redrawn for clarity and simplicity *and to make the most advantageous use of color.*" To accompany this "many new striking illustrations [were] introduced." Bibliographies and suggested reading lists were updated and a teacher's manual and student workbook were also created to accompany the textbook.⁷⁵⁵ It seemed that Prentice Hall, Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron deemed it necessary to resort to traditional pedagogical aids in order to

⁷⁵⁵ "American History Text by Hofstadter/Miller/Aaron," box 657, "Pub. – *The United States: History of a Republic*" folder, Aaron Papers. Italics are also present in the original document.

make the textbook as suitable for the classroom as possible. Color illustrations and ancillary materials were the go-to means to achieve this in the college textbook market.

Bailey and D.C. Heath continued to have little incentive to put *The American Pageant* through a drastic transformation in the same way. By the time Hofstadter's *The United States* was published in 1967, Bailey's text was in its third edition with many of the same features as its first edition. The book's "vigorous narrative" was highlighted, along with the "light touches" and "flair for expression that incites interest and keeps students reading ahead of assignments." In sum, it was "a mature narrative for young minds." The promotional brochure made no mention of updated illustrations or a greater amount of color throughout the book. No changes had been made in this regard.⁷⁵⁶

Bailey's stylistic approach to textbook authorship remained the single most significant factor defining *The American Pageant*'s success in the college text market. While other authors were able to find a niche with conventional illustration schemes and teaching aids, Bailey managed to maintain his own vision for his own textbooks that made him stand out from the rest throughout the 1960s.

⁷⁵⁶ See brochure titled "Bailey, *The American Spirit*, *The American Pageant*," box 1-2, folder 1-16, Bailey Papers.

EPILOGUE: THOMAS A. BAILEY'S LASTING LEGACY

Gauging the long-term impact of a history textbook can be a challenge. Sales numbers are obscured by publishing houses and it is therefore near impossible to get a true sense of how widely a textbook was read. It is also near impossible to get a sense of how the book was used within classrooms. The same is true of *The American Pageant*, with a few caveats. Since its initial publication, there has been a surprising and quirky fan culture surrounding the textbook, which had produced a significant amount of fan mail. In his own recollections of the success of *The American Pageant*, Bailey offered a number of anecdotes illustrating the telling response to the textbook shared with him by students and educators. Near his sixtieth birthday in the 1960s Bailey received word from a class of students in California that they hoped he “would continue to live to write more books like *The American Pageant*.” Another letter came from a class of twenty-one students at the York Community High School in Elmhurst, Illinois. They called themselves the “Bailey Fan Club.” They invited Bailey to join. Further, in an accompanying photograph, each student was dressed in a t-shirt created for the club. Once a mother from Rhode Island wrote to Bailey indicating that her son had stolen a copy of *The American Pageant* from his high school. His reason was that the book “was so great” and “he had to own it.”⁷⁵⁷ These are mere snapshots of a much broader reception of *The American Pageant*. Each reveals some insight into the power Bailey’s particular approach to textbook authorship had in history classrooms.

⁷⁵⁷ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 191.

While Bailey's textbook seemed to have continued resonance with students using it, Bailey faced an ever-more complicated world of professional historical writing in the 1960s and 1970s. At this point in Bailey's career, he continued on his mission to write readable popular histories. He published a trio of books examining the American presidency, each aimed at a general readership. In *Presidential Greatness: The Image and the Man from George Washington to the Present*, he sought to provide "a new look at old stereotypes rather than a dirt-farming piece of research."⁷⁵⁸ Later, *The Pugnacious Presidents: White House Warriors on Parade* detailed a "President-by-President analysis of each incumbent's militancy or combativeness" and *Presidential Saints and Sinners* examined each president's morality and integrity.⁷⁵⁹ Inspired by Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s survey of American historians to rank American presidents, Bailey intended each book to provide a framework for analyzing the relative merits and successes of presidents throughout history in a way that would inform the public. Indeed, Bailey's goal throughout the last decades of his career as author focused on crafting engaging books to educate the public and its leaders. *The Art of Diplomacy: The American Experience* was the result of Bailey's desire to write a book useful for the President of the United States and the Secretary of State, as well as "the small army of foreign service officers who implement...policy abroad and the host of intelligent citizens, including students, who help shape it at home."⁷⁶⁰ The book itself provided an analysis of how diplomacy and

⁷⁵⁸ Thomas A. Bailey, *Presidential Greatness: The Image and the Man from George Washington to the Present* (New York, NY: Appleton-Century, 1966), v.

⁷⁵⁹ Thomas A. Bailey, *The Pugnacious Presidents: White House Warriors on Parade* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1980), ix; Thomas A. Bailey, *Presidential Saints and Sinners* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1981).

⁷⁶⁰ Thomas A. Bailey, *The Art of Diplomacy: The American Experience* (New York, NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968), v.

foreign policy of the United States was conducted on a global stage. One reviewer noted it was a “useful introduction to diplomatic practice,” a comment on how readers—students and policy makers—would find wisdom within its pages.⁷⁶¹

Bailey’s name also continued to be a commodity for publishers. The Meredith Press’s Spring 1968 catalog prominently featured the most recent Bailey books in a push to attract general readers, supplementing Bailey’s own efforts as an author. The catalog declared *The Art of Diplomacy* to be “authoritative and eminently wise” as well as “perceptive and witty.” *Presidential Greatness* was “at once anecdotal and authoritative.” Another Bailey book, *Democrats vs. Republicans: The Continuing Clash*, was said to end “with a look into the crystal ball and an assessment of the leading Presidential hopefuls for 1968.” As he had done with his books from the 1940s, Bailey attempted to write books with immediate contemporary relevance. As it had before, this translated into sales potential for publishers. In the 1940s, it was to inform the postwar peace efforts and the burgeoning Cold War. In 1968, it was to inform the electorate about the broader context for contemporary presidential politics and inform voters about their options. The only way Bailey could achieve these aims was to continue writing for a general, popular

⁷⁶¹ Calvin D. Davis, Review of *The Art of Diplomacy: The American Experience* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (December 1968), 639. Bailey published other books during this time as well. See Thomas A. Bailey, *The Marshall Plan Summer: An Eyewitness Report on Europe and the Russians in 1947* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1977); Thomas A. Bailey, *Voices of America: The Nation’s Story in Slogans, Sayings, and Songs* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1976). For the sake of keeping the narrative in this dissertation relatively succinct, I have not delved into these books throughout my analysis. The first is simply a printed and edited version of Bailey’s diary in Europe observing the efforts of the Marshall Plan in the summer of 1947. The second provides a place to publish Bailey’s vast collection of interesting material, much of which already appeared in his textbooks. Bailey’s authorship of this book is also somewhat limited. He acknowledged in the Foreword that a colleague, Stephen M. Dobbs, drafted a few individual chapters and also helped shepherd the book through the publication process. Thomas A. Bailey and Paul B. Ryan, *Hitler v. Roosevelt: The Undeclared Naval War* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1979) also presents some challenges in attributing authorship. Insight into each of these books is also absent from the bulk of the Bailey Papers at Stanford.

audience. This is also evident in the blurbs Meredith Press chose to include on the spring catalog. The *New York Times* blurb included in the catalog listing called *Presidential Greatness* “delightful and astonishing” and Allan Nevins called it “a book of lasting value.”⁷⁶² It is telling that these quotes came from the paper of record in the United States and a preeminent popular historian and journalist.

Bailey’s reputation among professional historians was, however, in flux. Raymond G. O’Connor recalled that “Bailey’s reputation as a scholar [was] dimmed by his later publications” mostly because of their lack of “meticulous attention to detail.” He felt that this may have been a result of Bailey’s “failure to submit manuscripts to other readers.”⁷⁶³ Overall, the later books did little to add to new scholarship. In Alexander DeConde’s opinion, the books “lacked the interpretive thrust of his earlier works.” Bailey’s focus on public opinion in diplomatic history also started to fall out of vogue.⁷⁶⁴ Indeed, the critical reviews from historians were mixed. A commander in the U.S. Navy remarked in the *Naval War College Review* that *Presidential Greatness* was “not a good research book.”⁷⁶⁵ Another reviewer noted that the “factual super-excellence” typical of most Bailey books slipped in the new book.⁷⁶⁶ *The Pugnacious Presidents* was deemed by Richard Leopold to be “not the product of extensive research.” Leopold was disappointed that “despite the claim that the book will demolish myths and surprise

⁷⁶² See “Spring 1968 Books Meredith Press” catalog, box 1-1, folder 1-18, Bailey Papers.

⁷⁶³ O’Connor, “Thomas A. Bailey: His Impact,” 304.

⁷⁶⁴ DeConde, “Thomas A. Bailey: Teacher, Scholar, Popularizer,” 181, 186-187.

⁷⁶⁵ J.R.M. Fisher, Review of *Presidential Greatness: The Image and the Man from George Washington to the Present* by Thomas A. Bailey in *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 19, No. 10 (June 1967), 139.

⁷⁶⁶ Eugene H. Roseboom, Review of *Presidential Greatness: The Image and the Man from George Washington to the Present* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (June 1967), 118.

readers, specialists will find little new.”⁷⁶⁷ Perhaps this was intentional on Bailey’s part as he was not writing for specialists. Rather, he was seeking to provide a framework for general readers to get a sense of the merits and detriments of American Presidents. Moreover, Bailey’s attempts to debunk historical myths were out of line with historiographical trends of the 1960s as he aged and a new generation of historians with new interpretations took hold. There was simply not much “new” Bailey offered in his new books as he focused more on producing popular histories and textbooks rather than articles and monographs.

The professional historians reviewing the new Bailey books did, however, provide extensive comments on the defining of feature of Bailey’s work—his prose style. One said “the style is vintage Bailey” in *The Pugnacious Presidents*.⁷⁶⁸ This was, of course, the key feature of Bailey’s text that allowed him to connect with audiences beyond his immediate professional circles. To these readers, the anecdotes he provided would lead them to find much new information in his books, despite Leopold’s observations. A high school teacher observed of *Presidential Greatness* that “Bailey’s felicitous turn of phrase and his selection of memorable quotations make for highly entertaining reading.” He also felt that the book was “a gold mine of information about our presidents,” confirming that

⁷⁶⁷ Richard W. Leopold, Review of *The Pugnacious Presidents: White House Warriors on Parade* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 86, No. 5 (December 1981), 1140.

⁷⁶⁸ Richard W. Leopold, Review of *The Pugnacious Presidents: White House Warriors on Parade* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 86, No. 5 (December 1981), 1141. See also David Hect, Review of *The Pugnacious Presidents: White House Warriors on Parade* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 457, National Security Policy for the 1980s (September 1981), 217-218.

the book had utility for non-specialists.⁷⁶⁹ Another reviewer noted of *Pugnacious Presidents* that scholars were likely to “pluck a few gilded plums for their lectures.”⁷⁷⁰

Despite the continued appreciation of Bailey’s prose style, the reviews Bailey received for these books were one sign of many that Bailey was increasingly out of sync with the rising generations of historians, educators, and students. O’Connor noticed that throughout the 1960s Bailey’s lectures were becoming less in demand because of increased interest in “relevance” and his lecture style was ridiculed by incoming college students. Specifically, Bailey’s “mimicking of Japanese diplomats speaking English” during class were interpreted by many students to be “undignified, patronizing, and racist.”⁷⁷¹ Much of this was done by Bailey to hold student interest in past decades, but a new student body culture found this unacceptable. Bailey retired from teaching at Stanford in 1968, on what he described as “the eve of the worst phases of the violent student revolt.” Bailey felt that the “joy of teaching students orally was diminishing, largely because [he] sensed that we were not operating or ‘relating’ on the same wavelength.”⁷⁷² Some of Bailey’s key work in these later years was his effort to grapple with these changes. This body of work and the changes underway with new editions of *The American Pageant* presented a fresh set of challenges for Bailey whose formative years as a historian spanned the interwar period, World War II, and the earliest years of the Cold War.

⁷⁶⁹ Thomas E. Hoyer, Review of *Presidential Greatness: The Image and the Man from George Washington to the Present* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The History Teacher*, Vol. 1. No. 1 (November, 1967), 45.

⁷⁷⁰ Geoffery S. Smith, Review of *The Pugnacious Presidents: White House Warriors on Parade*, *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (June 1981), 101.

⁷⁷¹ O’Connor, “Thomas A. Bailey: His Impact,” 307.

⁷⁷² Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 204.

Perhaps the most significant, and controversial, expression of Bailey's frustration with the changes around him was "The Mythmakers of American History," an adaptation of his presidential address to the Organization of American Historians for the *Journal of American History*. When examined in full, the essay reads as a searing indictment of the new, activist historians on the rise in the late 1960s. Bailey felt that the conflict in Vietnam was caused, at least in part, by Americans' inability to parse out the "false assumptions" that the national understanding of history created.⁷⁷³ Historians were partly to blame for the false assumptions as, in Bailey's opinion, they became "hysterians" in the 1960s and placed their "responsibilities as scholars" on the backburner in favor of more political writing. It resulted in scholarship that was "often more visceral than cerebral."⁷⁷⁴ His critique was aimed at multiple corners of the profession. He took aim at Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and Theodore Sorensen for too great a loyalty to John F. Kennedy and many historians for falling into their own camps regarding key interpretations of American history. He attacked 1960s revisionist historians for being too quick to pass judgment. The "disciples" of his own former mentor, Herbert Eugene Bolton, and Frederick Jackson Turner were criticized for protecting the interpretations of "the master" and taking their interpretations "beyond all reasonable bounds."⁷⁷⁵ All of this, from Bailey's perspective, added up to "the myth of American righteousness" that was perpetuated by "nationalistic textbooks" which were inclined to "stress the view that there are two sides to every international dispute: our side and the wrong side."⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷³ Thomas A. Bailey, "The Mythmakers of American History," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (June 1968), 21.

⁷⁷⁴ Bailey, "The Mythmakers of American History," 11.

⁷⁷⁵ Bailey, "The Mythmakers of American History," 13, 14, 15.

⁷⁷⁶ Bailey, "The Mythmakers of American History," 20.

Some of Bailey's complaints about the nationalistic writing or hagiographical accounts of presidencies are reasonable. However, some of his perspective is questionable given the reputation that the revisionist histories of the period gained for disrupting nationalistic interpretations of American history almost immediately in the decade. Surely, the monolithic portrayal of flawed, myth-making historical writing Bailey provided in his essay does not hold water. However, the essay does provide insight into how Bailey sought to navigate the new political realities of the time as a textbook author. Bailey's earlier writings were expressing opinions on the historical profession focused on making history more readable and stylized. Previously, in his essay "The Obligation of the Teacher to be a Scholar" Bailey stated his belief that teachers and history professors held "a heavy obligation to be not a timeserver, not a propagandist, not a doctrinaire—but a scholar."⁷⁷⁷ Here, he expressed the core idea that would be expanded upon later in "The Mythmakers of American History," but the earlier essay does not indict the profession. It was largely focused on the ways that historians could use their scholarship to inform their teaching. That changed in the 1960s. During the decade, his frustration with the profession grew sharper. His new writing now took historians to task for creating national myths. He felt that there was a distinct need for history to be de-mythologized and that new trends in the profession were allowing the political to eclipse the scholarly. The manner in which this affected his textbook authorship is complex, and does not follow a straight path. No matter, it does reveal the central tension Bailey experienced in the latter days of his career as historian and author.

⁷⁷⁷ Bailey, "Obligation of the Teacher to be a Scholar," 355.

Bailey's philosophy as expressed in "The Mythmakers of American History" did seep into his writing for textbook audiences, namely in *Probing America's Past: A Critical Examination of Major Myths and Misconceptions*. This was the most intriguing new book Bailey produced after the creation of *The American Pageant* and *The American Spirit*. In the Preface of *Probing America's Past*, Bailey wrote that "many college textbooks do little more than retrace the nation's past in broader outlines and greater detail." It is unclear whether or not he thought the same was true for *The American Pageant*, but he did find it necessary to provide *Probing America's Past* to be used to "supplement or complement the standard surveys, especially the short ones." The book was structured around major questions such as: "How New Was the New Deal?", "Did the Munitions Trade Provoke Germany to War?", and "Did the South Have Superior Generals?"⁷⁷⁸ A reviewer noted that the book certainly had pedagogical utility, providing "teachers with up-to-date bibliographical data and historical interpretations on important topics" that would supplement shorter survey texts. It was a "historiographical *tour de force*" that would give college professors a useful "handbook to insure that their treatments of areas outside their specialties [did] not ignore recent interpretations."⁷⁷⁹ It was, however, questionable if a new generation of historians would accept Bailey's perception of historical myths.

In fact, in *Probing America's Past* Bailey came off as rather dismissive of new interpretations coming into vogue during the 1960s and 1970s. One example perhaps best

⁷⁷⁸ Thomas A. Bailey, *Probing America's Past: A Critical Examination of Major Myths and Misconceptions* (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1973), v, 384, 540, 658.

⁷⁷⁹ Walter Rundell, Jr, Review of *Probing America's Past: A Critical Examination of Major Myths and Misconceptions* by Thomas A. Bailey in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (September 1977), 403-404.

illustrates the growing divide between Bailey and newer historians. In a section of *Probing America's Past* subtitled "Was the A-Bomb Aimed Primarily at Russia?" Bailey critiqued the "sensational thesis" Gar Alperovitz wrote in his seminal book *Atomic Diplomacy* in 1965. Bailey described it as a product of the "New Left school" which argued that "Truman used the bomb to show the Russians that Uncle Sam had atomic muscle, and to warn them to be acquiescent in American postwar policy or suffer possible destruction." Bailey deemed this conclusion to be inadequate as he felt it was "supported by inference rather than convincing proof."⁷⁸⁰ Bailey's dismissive tone was notable. It would be difficult to overstate the impact of Alperovitz's writing on the rise of revisionist New Left scholarship. It was almost instantly canonized. In 1973, Robert James Maddox declared it a "staple of 'New Left' historiography, already widely available in historical anthologies. Typically, it was accepted as scholarship by "orthodox" historians, but that reception was not universal."⁷⁸¹ Christopher Lasch declared Alperovitz's work "made it difficult for conscientious scholars any longer to avoid the challenge of revisionist interpretations."⁷⁸² Clearly, Bailey's own description of Alperovitz's work was not congruent with the appraisal Maddox and Lasch had in the 1970s. This was representative of a growing rift between Bailey and the historians writing about diplomatic history in the 1960s and 1970s. *Probing America's Past* did not achieve the same level of success as either *A Diplomatic History of the American People*

⁷⁸⁰ Bailey, *Probing America's Past*, 746. See also Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1965).

⁷⁸¹ See Robert James Maddox, "Atomic Diplomacy: Gar Alperovitz" in *The New Left and the Origins of the Cold War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), 63.

⁷⁸² See Christopher Lasch's Introduction in Gar Alperovitz, *Cold War Essays* (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 12.

or *The American Pageant*, quite possibly because Bailey's own favored historical interpretations were falling out of relevance as new scholarship appeared.

While *A Diplomatic History of the American People* and *The American Pageant* survived beyond *Probing America's Past*, Bailey's hallmark style remained a familiar point of contention. In a searing critique of Bailey's style in the summer of 1980, Warren Kimball observed that he "never heard one single colleague defend Bailey's text as intellectually superior to the other texts which were available." Calling on his memory of his early years teaching at the Naval Academy in the 1960s, he recalled debates surrounding the use of Bailey's text. Kimball wrote:

Each year the faculty, about fifteen of us as I recall, would meet to consider what text to adopt (although the final decision was in the hands of the person in charge of the course). The discussion was essentially the same one I have always heard about the Bailey text. It's not the best text for scholars, but students really like it. What's the sense in using a text that they won't even read? Besides, the argument went on, Bailey has all the basic facts which a text should provide. Is that what a text is supposed to supply—just the basic facts?

Kimball worried that professors' commitments to the Bailey book left students "beguiled by cartoons, clichés, alliterations, and an endless supply of anecdotes" to the point where they did not engage with the historical concepts on each page. Perhaps more dangerous was Bailey's "simple, appealing, picture of an honest and innocent American public, often misled by the demagogues and politicians but then saved in the nick of time by its elite leaders." This was, in Kimball's estimation, "seduction without satisfaction."⁷⁸³ Putting Kimball's sexual innuendo aside, his critiques can be broken

⁷⁸³ Warren Kimball, "Seduction Without Satisfaction: Textbooks and the Teaching of the History of American Foreign Policy and Diplomacy," *Newsletter-Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations*, Vol. XI (June 1980), 16-17.

down into two familiar categories of criticism Bailey faced throughout his career at textbook author. First, that Bailey's style was devoid of intellectual rigor and meaning. Second, and perhaps of more concern in the 1980s, was that Bailey's historiographical leanings were overtly nationalistic and favorable to the United States.

Bailey, of course, disagreed with Kimball forcefully. In a fiery article, he objected to Kimball's implication that Bailey was a monocausationist, showing an overly simplified narrative of the past. Bailey also pushed back against Kimball's accusations of American nationalistic writing, saying that contrary to Kimball's assertion, he "never regarded James K. Polk and Franklin Roosevelt as great heroes." Kimball accused Bailey of downplaying American statecraft in the early republic. Bailey, however, contended that he had simply "borrowed phrase from the distinguished Samuel Flagg Bemis."⁷⁸⁴ This, perhaps more than anything, illustrated the generational divide that was occurring between Bailey and younger diplomatic historians. Kimball's critique came after the rise of the heavily critical New Left school of diplomatic history, which deliberately moved away from the old guard's more favorable interpretations of America and its leaders. Bailey, on the other hand, fell back on the interpretations of the old guard, namely his and Bemis's. In the later years of his career, this was a critical challenge for Bailey's authorship of *A Diplomatic History of the American People*.

The same tension between generations of historians and schools of historiography characterized the authorship of *The American Pageant* in the 1970s and 1980s. Kennedy joined the project for the sixth edition of the book, published in 1979. A significant

⁷⁸⁴ Thomas A. Bailey, "Seduction with Satisfaction," *Newsletter-Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations*, Vol. XI (September 1980), 6

portion of the decision to bring Kennedy onto authorship team was to complement Bailey's expertise in "political, diplomatic, and military history." Kennedy's strengths were in "economic, social, and intellectual history"—the newer trends in historiography at the time.⁷⁸⁵ In Kennedy's first edition as author, he molded his writing to Bailey's style, added a chapter on social history and constructed a new feature of the textbook—a section of "Varying Viewpoints" highlighting the different historical interpretations of topics throughout the book. There was, indeed, a need to rapidly update the historical content of the book. D.C. Heath was concerned with new competitors jumping into the field, including Mary Beth Norton's "social history book," *A People & A Nation*, which was incorporating approaches that moved away from conventional history textbooks.⁷⁸⁶

Many of Bailey's traditional interpretations remained in *The American Pageant* until the eighth edition of the book, published in 1987 after Bailey's passing and solely revised with Kennedy's historical specialties. This edition was rife with changes made necessary by Bailey's interpretations, which seemed out-of-touch with professional trends by the late 1980s. Kennedy sent D.C. Heath responses to a chapter-by-chapter questionnaire with an indication of the updated historical content in each section. In the first chapter, "New World Beginnings," Kennedy added "expanded discussion of pre-Columbian civilizations" and "new material on ecological and demographic impact of discovery." The chapter "American Life in the Seventeenth Century" included an "extended treatment of slavery [and] emergence of Afro-American culture, with new map showing African sources of slaves." This was essential given the sheer amount of

⁷⁸⁵ Bailey, *The American Pageant Revisited*, 215.

⁷⁸⁶ Ann H. Knight to David M. Kennedy, July 23, 1982, box 26, "Pageant 7th Edition" folder, Kennedy Papers.

revisionist scholarship about slavery that appeared in the 1970s and 1980s.⁷⁸⁷ The chapter, “The Ordeal of Reconstruction” was a “virtually all-new chapter, rewritten to clarify constitutional [and] political issues in Reconstruction [and] to reflect most recent scholarship on freedmen, Republicans in Congress, [and] ‘radical’ governments in [the] South.” Here, Bailey’s adherence to the antiquated Dunning School of Reconstruction was edited out of *The American Pageant* in favor of revisionist scholarship. These changes were accompanied by broader changes in the historiographical character of the textbook. In another chapter, Kennedy wrote a “lively, fast-paced narrative” which “makes connections between social and political history” to tie Bailey’s older narrative to the newest directions in the field. Traditional military history was “condensed” in another chapter.⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁷ See Peter J. Parish, *Slavery: History and Historians* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 1989) for an overview of the historiography of the time.

⁷⁸⁸ See the questionnaire in box 26, “Pageant 8th Edition” folder, Kennedy Papers. As this conclusion was being drafted, *The American Pageant*’s current treatment of Reconstruction and slavery was mentioned as a part of the “1619 Project” published in *The New York Times Magazine*. In the relevant article, journalist Nikita Stewart wrote of her own experience using the textbook: “We used ‘The American Pageant,’ a textbook first published in 1956 and now in its 17th edition. It’s a book that, although not failing, was still found to be lacking by the Southern Poverty Law Center’s survey. It graded books based on how they treated 10 different key concepts, such as establishing that slavery was the central cause of the Civil War or explaining that the country’s founding documents are filled with protections for slavery. A modern edition of the book I used received a 60 percent mark, barely adequate.” About Bailey, she wrote “Thomas A. Bailey, a professor of history at Stanford University, was the textbook’s original author. Bailey was influenced by what is known as the Dunning School, a school of thought arguing that the period of Reconstruction was detrimental to white Southerners and that black people were incapable of participating in democracy. This theory, along with the older ‘lost cause’ ideology, helped to reinforce Jim Crow laws.” Kennedy’s revision and attempt to update historiography was mentioned, but deemed inadequate by Maureen Costello from the Southern Poverty Law Center. Stewart noted Costello’s reservations about the most recent editions of *The American Pageant*, particularly the descriptions of intimate relations between slaves and masters. Stewart concluded her analysis of *The American Pageant* by saying “It’s a reminder that although textbooks like ‘The American Pageant’ are evolving, it’s a slow process, and in the interim, misinformation about slavery persists.” This is not particularly revealing for how Kennedy sought to update Bailey’s interpretations in the 1980s, the focus of this conclusion, but it does make a compelling argument for the continued relevance of *The American Pageant* in today’s discourse about history education. See Nikita Stewart, “‘We are committing educational malpractice’: Why slavery is mistaught—and worse—in American Schools,” *The New York Times Magazine*, August 19, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/19/magazine/slavery-american-schools.html>.

There were additional demands placed on *The American Pageant* throughout the latter years of Bailey's career. Along with the need for historiographical changes, *The American Pageant* adapted to the changing demands on its characteristics as a pedagogical technology. By the sixth edition, the book was designed with a two-column format and a two-volume edition. Accompanying Bailey's favored cartoons, there were now color reproductions of paintings and a litany of photographs. Throughout each chapter were selections of contemporary quotes in stand-alone excerpts. One read:

During the bitter campaign of 1944, Roosevelt's pre-Pearl Harbor policies came under sharp attack from Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce (the "Blonde Bombshell"), who violently charged Roosevelt with having "lied us into war because he did not have the political courage to lead us into it."

These new features allowed Bailey, Kennedy, and D.C. Heath to illustrate public sentiment in a new way outside the confines of the textual narrative. At the end of each chapter, the new "Varying Viewpoints" section authored by Kennedy highlighted different historical interpretations of topics in any given chapter.⁷⁸⁹

Alongside the need for historiographical changes in *The American Pageant*, these changes in format and design are essential to understand the book as a pedagogical technology. First, the alterations represented a move towards making *The American Pageant* a more traditional textbook in terms of formatting. Bailey's adherence to line-cut maps and cartoons were, in some ways, a point of differentiation between his book and that of competing authors and publishers who were already using photography to

⁷⁸⁹ See the "American Life in Painting, 1865-Present" section of Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, Volume II, Sixth Edition (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1979) between page 674 and 675. Later chapters include a litany of photographs depicting leaders and major historical events for the most recent history included in the textbook. The example of stand-alone quotes comes from p. 827.

illustrate their books in the 1940s and 1950s. Second, many of these changes simply augmented Bailey's original stylistic intent, particularly the need to provide a snapshot of contemporary sentiment. Sections dealing with quotations for significant historical figures and cartoons provided a means to continually keep this a central feature of the book's presentation. Lastly, these changes served to answer some concerns about the book's historical narrative. The "Varying Viewpoints" section in particular represented an opportunity for publisher and author to provide adopters a means to augment Bailey's own, perhaps aging, interpretations. It was no mistake that Kennedy's work on the sixth edition included the writing of these sections. It was a chance to use his expertise in social, economic, and intellectual history in a way that enhanced the historical content of *The American Pageant* without altering Bailey's core narrative. That more comprehensive revision work would, of course, come after Bailey's passing. In the interim it was essential to make the textbook's format and pedagogical features answer the growing concerns of a new generation of historians, educators, and students.

Despite all of the formatting and historiographical changes that shaped *The American Pageant* since its inaugural edition, one thing remained constant. The readable style of the most recent iterations of the *Pageant* appeared to be resonating with modern student readers in classrooms across the United States. In the 1980s students and teachers using the textbook across the United States shared their opinions of Bailey's style with Kennedy. A ninth-grade student from Mission Viejo, California declared *The American Pageant* to be "much superior to the dull, dry history texts" she was "forced to study in

the past.”⁷⁹⁰ A teacher from Wellesley, Massachusetts wrote to Kennedy informing him that her 11th grade class “found the text lively and interesting.” The teacher was particularly appreciative of the “expressions and vocabulary, the strong statements which incite debate, and the use of political cartoons and key quotations.”⁷⁹¹ The *Pageant* struck some readers as a compelling, readable textbook in American history. These sentiments, authored in the 1980s, echoed the enthusiasm students expressed for Bailey textbooks in the mid-twentieth century.

Readers in the 1980s also expressed criticisms of the *Pageant* and Bailey’s writing that were familiar throughout his career. For some readers, Bailey’s style struck them as problematic or counterproductive. In 1988, a student from Los Altos High School in California published a scathing critique of Bailey’s style in her school newspaper. She wrote that “Bailey suffers from an over-bearing personality” and “bends over backwards to make the presentation so gosh darn witty, entertaining, and lively that the history ultimately loses significance.” She continued, contending that “Bailey’s literary devices are so numerous and so corny that the reader often ends up intensely irritated instead of amused.” In this regard she took special exception to the “agonizing analogies,” “painful plays on words,” “stupid similes,” “putrid personifications,” “pathetic platitudes,” and “weird word choice” that characterized Bailey’s writing.⁷⁹² A teacher sent the student’s critique to Kennedy, who responded noting Bailey’s influence.

⁷⁹⁰ Andrea Bell to David M. Kennedy, March 4, 1986, David M. Kennedy’s Personal “Reader File,” Stanford, CA. This letter is quoted from a collection of correspondence David Kennedy provided to me. The file currently is in Kennedy’s personal files.

⁷⁹¹ Kate Rousmaniere to David M. Kennedy, April 16, 1987, Kennedy’s Personal “Reader File.”

⁷⁹² Karen Hong, April 21, 1988, “Palmer vs. Bailey: Which is the Better Book?”, Kennedy’s Personal “Reader File.” This is a news clipping sent to Kennedy from Hong’s teacher, Howard Dienger.

Kennedy attributed the student's misgivings about the book's style to Bailey's deliberately crafted effort to write a book "that students could react to, disagree with, argue over—but one that would engage them in the subject of history rather than present it to them as an inert lump of data and predigested conclusions." Bailey's stylized narrative was intended to be provocative and elicit student responses. Further, Kennedy noted that, in her editorializing, the student used "many of the same literary devices (alliteration, colorful adjectives, a punchy lead, and a strong, arguable thesis) that have long been among the hallmarks of *The American Pageant*."⁷⁹³ No matter the student's perception of the quality of the book, it certainly seemed to have engaged her in the study of history.

Bailey's narrative style was, indeed, a point of contention for many readers in the 1980s. One reader, a teacher from Kansas, questioned why Bailey started the book declaring that "despite its marvelous development, the United States will one day reach its peak, like Greece and Rome" and "ultimately fall on evil days, as they did." This was the same quote that caught the eye of a student from Culver Military Academy in 1961 after reading the book's first edition.⁷⁹⁴ Kennedy attributed this particular passage to "Bailey's approach to history that...introduced such an unsettling and thought-provoking idea in the opening paragraphs" to elicit reader response.⁷⁹⁵ Another teacher and her students found the *Pageant* to be "vague, wordy, and unnecessarily cryptic" as the authors' "effort to use flowery and interesting language" obfuscated the text's meaning and ability to properly educate students. The class found that "the metaphor, allusions,

⁷⁹³ David M. Kennedy to Howard Dienger, April 29, 1988, Kennedy's Personal "Reader File."

⁷⁹⁴ Don Heinrichs to David M. Kennedy, September 29, 1986, Kennedy's Personal "Reader File."

⁷⁹⁵ David M. Kennedy to Don Heinrichs, November 3, 1986, Kennedy's Personal "Reader File."

and general poetics do so much harm” to the book’s core message “that reading the book is a chore which takes far too long rather than the pleasant, enlightening experience it should be.”⁷⁹⁶ In response, Kennedy pointed out that a key portion of Bailey’s goal in writing the *Pageant* was to be “memorable,” which had obviously been achieved by the teacher’s strong reaction to the text.⁷⁹⁷ Another student was bothered that the *Pageant* described George Washington as “pockmarked,” a stylistic decision that Kennedy assured her had more to do with Bailey making a broader point about the impact smallpox had on the American colonies than making fun of Washington.⁷⁹⁸ Again, Bailey’s stylistic choices could obscure his meaning and profoundly affected the reading experience for students and teachers throughout the many editions of *The American Pageant*.

Student engagement with *The American Pageant* and Bailey’s prose continued into the twenty-first century. Since 2011, numerous Twitter accounts have appeared memorializing the book’s style. One account, @AmericanPageant, has a profile description labeling the *Pageant* as “only the best AP US History book imaginable.”⁷⁹⁹ Another account, @AmPageantQuotes, proclaims itself “definitely not the first and probably not the last” account to pay tribute to the *Pageant*’s more memorable quotations. These accounts are followed by a mix of high school history teachers, high school students, and college students who recently completed high school. Collectively,

⁷⁹⁶ Judith Wise to Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, May 11, 1984, Kennedy’s Personal “Reader File.”

⁷⁹⁷ David M. Kennedy to Judith Wise, June 5, 1984, Kennedy’s Personal “Reader File.”

⁷⁹⁸ Heather R. Moss to David M. Kennedy, March 9, 1986, Kennedy’s Personal “Reader File.”; David M. Kennedy to Heather R. Moss, May 30, 1986, Kennedy’s Personal “Reader File.”

⁷⁹⁹ @AmericanPageant, Profile Description, December 30, 2018, <https://twitter.com/AmericanPageant>.

the accounts have a total of 131 individuals and organizations following these quotes—a negligible number of followers when contextualized within Twitter’s millions of users. However, even this small Twitter following is significant given that no other history textbook has a similar presence on social media.⁸⁰⁰ As a point of comparison, neither Eric Foner’s popular *Give Me Liberty!* nor the collaboratively authored *A People & A Nation* yielded a following on Twitter or a tribute account.⁸⁰¹ The existence of tributes on Twitter is even more telling when the American history textbook is assumed by many historians and teachers to be the bane of students’ existence, devoid of interesting or even memorable material. The *Pageant* appears to be connecting with readers in meaningful ways, even today.

Since 2011, whoever runs each tribute Twitter account for *The American Pageant* has intermittently tweeted out some of their favorite quotes. For example, @Amer1canPageant was fond of the book’s description of the Boston Tea Party. Per one tweet, the *Pageant*’s authors wrote that “a crowd of several hundred watched approvingly from the shore as Boston harbor became a vast teapot.”⁸⁰² That particular line from the

⁸⁰⁰ @AmPageantQuotes, Profile Description, December 30, 2018, <https://twitter.com/AmPageantQuotes>. In addition, another account simply dedicates itself to “classic quotes” from the book. See @AmericaPageant, Profile Description, December 30, 2018, <https://twitter.com/AmericaPageant>. The fourth tribute account dedicates itself to “ridiculous quotes.” See @apushtextbook, Profile Description, December 30, 2018, <https://twitter.com/apushtextbook>. The figure of 131 followers was tabulated simply by adding up the number of followers across each account listed on December 30, 2018. The point that many followers were history teachers or students comes from reading the previews of each accounts’ profile description visible in the follower list.

⁸⁰¹ Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty!: An American History*, Fifth AP Edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2016); Mary Beth Norton, Jane Kamensky, Carol Sheriff, David W. Blight, Howard Chudacoff, *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States*, 10th Edition (Boston, MA: Cengage Learning, 2014). While certainly not exhaustive, using these two books as a comparison to the *Pageant* is useful for the point I’m making in this paragraph. Foner’s book, like the *Pageant*, is used widely in AP history classes. *A People and a Nation* is another book from Cengage, the current publisher of the *Pageant*.

⁸⁰² @Amer1canPageant, ““A crowd of several hundred watched approvingly from the shore as Boston harbor became a vast teapot.” (pg 132)” #APUSH”. September 12, 2013, 3:35am, <https://twitter.com/Amer1canPageant/status/378044285758627840>.

text is representative of the *Pageant*'s vivid style and has a history all its own, a history that dates back to the inaugural edition of *The American Pageant*. The tenth edition of the textbook, revised in 1994 by Kennedy, stated that colonists "dumped the 'cursed weed' into Boston harbor, while a silent crowd watched approvingly from the wharves as salty tea was brewed for the fish."⁸⁰³ Bailey's first edition of the textbook simply stated that the colonists "dumped the 'cursed weed' into the harbor, while a silent crowd watched approvingly from the wharves."⁸⁰⁴ Each version of that same passage was written in each, distinct phase of authorship of *The American Pageant*. It is also undeniably true that this line follows a direct line back to the stylistic ethos Bailey infused into *The American Pageant*. The ethos dates back to Bailey and his contemporary setting at Stanford University in the middle of the twentieth century. It is Bailey's lasting legacy as an influential American history textbook author that lives on in the pages of the modern version of *The American Pageant* and in the Twitter accounts of the book's admirers.

⁸⁰³ Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, Tenth Edition (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1994), 130.

⁸⁰⁴ Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic* (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1956), 96.

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