

**Teach Your Children Well: A Critical Examination of the  
“Genuine” History of Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century School  
Textbooks**

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## Introduction

This paper examines some of the school history textbooks used in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in United States schools, including government run Indian boarding schools. The examination shall move from the text to the author and reader onward toward the larger forces of market, politics, and power. This journey is not nostalgic; neither yearning for days of old nor seeking the vain sadness of opportunities lost. A conscious attempt is made not to judge the texts and authors by what history has discovered since their production, but rather what should have been known at the time of their production. In the nineteenth century, Indians were much researched and written about (Conn, 2004, p. 4). As Barry O’Connell notes of William Apess, perhaps this can be “an accounting of what has been and what might yet be done differently” (1992, p. 276). The use of criteria developed in this century by American Indians to evaluate textbooks does not necessarily violate the principle of historicity because many, if not all of the criteria are of equitable concern no matter the period. Perhaps our future school history texts can refuse to wrong the American Indian so that they are not “darkly slandered by the pen of the historian” (p. 61).

The paper title draws upon the Bible verse in Proverbs 22:6 and the preface to the popular school text *A History of the United States and Its People* (Eggleston, 1888). The author has “tried to make this a genuine history.” He acknowledges that errors accepted in childhood become faith and are difficult to change. The author tells of the years of

labor spent in examining original authorities and documents to insure correctness (iii). By his own words shall he be judged?

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### The Importance of Textbooks

The curriculum in most American schools is defined by one particular artifact, the standardized text. Students spend a great deal of their time with texts (Apple, 1991, p. 24). The 19<sup>th</sup> century child read little besides his or her schoolbooks (Elson, 1964, p. viii). The texts are important, in and of themselves, separate from the teaching methodology because even the most enlightened pedagogy has content and in our schools that means books. The most efficient and effective teaching and learning strategies cannot provide students the “whole truth” and “cause profound understanding about the past” which can lead to “understanding of how to deal with the present” without content that provides the “whole truth” (Henry, 1970, p.244). Professor of education and old school text bibliographer and collector, John Nietz realized that to know “what was really taught in the schools of the past one would have to know what was in the textbooks used in the past” (Nietz, 1961, p. v). Past educational theories did not have much effect in the classroom since the teachers in the early days of American public schools had little training and education and they relied on the textbooks for both what to teach and how to teach (p. 1). In some school districts, uniform tests were given and the teachers and students relied on the textbooks because the tests were drawn from the texts (Tyack, 1974, p. 47). Neitz makes an important claim regarding the importance of schools and texts when he says that “The molders of our American civilization were the products of the schools of the past. The thinking and ideals of these leaders evidently were greatly

influenced by textbooks they studied in these schools” (1966, p.vi). The content of textbooks is important to who we are and what we shall become.

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Textbooks are more than delivery systems of facts (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 1). They result from political, economic, and cultural struggle and compromise. They are published within constraints of market and power. They are fought over and contested by communities, teachers, and students. Books are written, designed, and conceived by real people that have real interests (p. 2). During the time period of this paper, individual authors or printer/producers were of more import since the national associations and committees of various associations, including disciplinary associations, had not yet come to fruition (Nietz, 1966, p.1). These authors, perhaps influenced by larger forces noted above and perhaps in concert with other actors, made choices and selections concerning the content and form of the book. These choices signify a particular construction of reality and ways of organizing and selecting from the vastness of possible knowledge (Apple & Christian-Smith, p. 3). The textbook authors admit of the selective tradition. “Attempts to write about everything are fatal” (Eggleston, 1888, iii). “The story, therefore, has been restricted to the discoveries . . .” (McMaster, 1897, p. 5). “The work is presented in the form of an abridged narrative” (Ridpath, 1878, p. iii). Someone selects what is included, what is excluded, what is legitimate, and how such is viewed—one group’s cultural capital is valued, others are disenfranchised (Apple & Christian-Smith, p. 4; Williams, 1961, pp. 50-59). These old textbooks tell us not only what knowledge is worth knowing, but whose knowledge is worth knowing (p. 1). Textbooks are cultural

artifacts, but also commodities produced within a capitalist market with a strong “public” hand influenced by boards that approve textbook purchases (p. 5).

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The texts can be used in ways to increase regulation and control of both student and teacher. An example is found from Boston in 1899 where a teacher was admonished for not having the student say the page and chapter prior to reading out loud. The proper way to read a book was to hold it in the right hand, open to 45 degrees, with head held straight and high, eyes looking ahead, and spoken in a loud and unnatural tone (Fraser, 1989, p.128). Indian school teacher in the early 1900’s, Gertrude Golden describes a similar event with her principal at Red Moon who would burst into the classroom, scare the children by trying to get them to read by a spell-out-the word method with pointer in hand, and then toss it down in frustration and leave the room hurriedly (1954, p. 19). Gertrude indicates that the teacher had to endure such “tyranny and outright injustice” because they started on probation (p. 16). A photograph from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School reflects the bodily control mandated while reading (Witmer, 1993, p. 28, See Appendix 1). This bodily control along with the ideological regulation from the textual contents, were part of a system of enforcing a sense of duty, morality, and cultural correctness (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 8).

Thus, methodology is important when combined with the use of the text in regulation and control. In fact, the text, both its need and its form, often dictated or influenced the method. The scarcity of highly trained teachers required that most of the text be memorized word for word (Elson, 1964, p. viii). Memorization was often reinforced by

the monitorial system in which an older student would listen to the recitations of the younger students (p. 9). Often, students would be asked to “toe the line” and recite near the blackboard or mark on the blackboard. Students literally had a line on the floor to

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mark the spot in which they were to stand (See photograph Appendix 2). The teaching aids in the textbooks often expected this form of teaching (Elson, p.9). Eggleston provided a section entitled “Suggestions Regarding the Use of the Book.” He states that “Questions for study follow each chapter.” These were to assist the student in studying, but also were to assist the teacher “in preparing and hearing a recitation.” Eggleston does offer a second method used with the recitation—to allow the student to state his answers in his own way with the teacher pointing out his errors and omissions (Eggleston, 1888, vii).

For the American Indian student in a boarding school in the late 1800’s, the bodily control went even beyond those at the white schools. The boarding school is described as an “educational crusade – vast in scope, military in organization, and violent in method – to transform the young Indian people” (Lomawaima, 1994, p. xi). Like the recitation and monitorial methods, the Indian school methods allowed for great control of the many by the few (p. xiii; Elson, p. 9). Control of the many was necessary in kindergarten classes with twenty-five to thirty pupils and teachers with no kindergarten training (Golden, 1954, p. 18). Students wore uniforms, were punished for speaking their native languages, and could not observe traditional ways. Boys had their hair cut, which is a trauma in most tribal cultures. The schools were often run by military men in a military way. The purpose was to assimilate the young into white society by creating independent citizens.

The methods worked against the individuality and creativity to produce good white citizens which was the reported aim of the schools (Lomawaima, p. xiii).

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Textbooks played a role in this colonization of Indian youth. These schools used the same texts as white schools. The superintendent of Indian schools complained in 1885 that Indian agents were selecting textbooks that alternatively represent the Indian as a monster and as a hero of romance. He called for a series of uniform Indian school textbooks (Reyhner & Eder, 2004, p. 75). Apparently, no attempt was made to create Indian texts until around 1940 (p. 220). The popular school textbooks used in Indian schools in the 1800's depicted Indians as savages and even with some progressive changes in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the textbooks used reflected the dominant, non-Indian culture (p. 324). Standing Bear was utterly humiliated when required to recite the same paragraph eleven times in front of classmates (1933, p. 17). "So we went to copy, to imitate; not to exchange languages and ideas..." notes Standing Bear, the first Indian boy to enter Carlisle Indian Industrial School (p. 237). Describing the methods on one of her fellow Indian school teachers, Gertrude Golden says that the teacher would drill for hours on hymns and Bible verses which the children were expected to recite at Sunday school. The children repeated like parrots as "nothing in the way of explanation was ever given" (1954, p. 14). This method was reinforced by what the teachers were taught about the Indian children upon the teachers' entry to service. The Indians were generally slower and "excelled in those subjects which required observation, imitation and memory and were backward in those demanding reasoning and imagination" (p. 8).

The role of the textbooks in dominance should not lead to a conclusion that the Indian children were mere objects or victims. For many, resistance to oppression actually strengthened their own tribal identity and for some, a pan-tribal Indian identity evolved.

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Ironically, a policy designed to eliminate Indian identity, strengthened it (Lomawama, 1994, pp. xii, xiii). One errs in a belief that what is in texts is what is taught or learned. Our analysis should not assume that texts are simple, readable, and literal representations. The reader has power to respond, to accept, to reject, and to negotiate (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, pp. 13-15).

This section has shown the importance of the textbook. The textbook is an object, important to analyze in and of itself. However, this analysis can not simply stop at the text or see the text as fixed. Texts are cultural artifacts, economic commodities, and symbolic representation not separate from unequal power structures in the larger society (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991, pp. 5, 10). Now that the importance of the text and how the texts were used in schools has been generally discussed, we turn to the textbooks themselves.

### The Textbooks

The symbolic representation in textbooks is important for three reasons. They confer legitimacy on the dominant status of particular groups. Socially constructed relations are naturalized and projected as truth. The text screens in and screens out certain ideas and realms of knowledge. (Sleeter & Grant, 1991, pp. 79-80)

In 1970, the American Indian Historical Society published criteria for the evaluation of textbooks (Henry, 1970). These criteria are important because they are not time constrained. In other words, they reflect general fairness concepts applicable across time. The criteria call for the integration of Indians throughout the historical trail, for accurate dates, for non-denigrating descriptions, for recognition of the variety of Indians living in developing societies, for description of Indian relations with each other and other non-whites, for causes of Euro-Indian conflicts, for description of Indians forced into slavery or forced labor and the genocide and massacre of Indians, for Indian contribution and assistance to whites, for special recognition of Indians in the Federal system, and for a recognition of their occupation of the land and for their views of land (pp. 15-24, 148-49). The Pequot Indian, William Apess reminds us from his writings in the 1830's of the historical work already available at that time and certainly accessible to text writers in the later quarter of the 1800's. He cites Dr. Robertson's *History in America* for the proposition that whites considered everything allowable to accomplish their goals against the Indians. Specific white atrocities are provided (O'Connell, 1992, pp. 55-56). Further atrocities against the Pequot are outlined from another historical work of Wynne (p.57). Apess cites extensively from Smith's *History of New Jersey* which gives positive account of the intelligence, character, and society of Indians (pp. 91-92). Evidence of early white enslavement of Indians is provided from Drake's *History of the Indians* (p.279). The historical record by the late 1800's was substantial enough that a textbook writer could have included much favorable information to the Indian that meet basic criteria of fairness.

This section will explore the material in the texts around certain selective themes. A discussion then follows concerning the larger ramifications.

The textbooks present the discovered land as empty or in the process of such. “All the Indians who had lived at this place had died a few years before of a pestilence, and the Pilgrims found the Indian fields unoccupied” (Eggleston, 1888, p. 35). Cabot “did not meet any Indians, but he brought” a trap and a needle back (p.10). Since the Indians “suffered much from hunger and misery, the population of the country was always thin” and “Large tracts of country were left uninhabited” because warring tribes did not want to live by one another. (p. 76). After the War of 1812 and peace with the Indians, the Mississippi Valley filled up rapidly (p.259). “The share of the Indians in our history endures, though their share in our territory wastes away” (Eliot, 1874, p. 48). Eliot then divides the Indians living within what became the continental United States into four groups. The number in the first group could “not have been at all considerable.” Neither were the three divisions lying east of the Mississippi by any means numerous. The entire number is estimated to have been under three hundred thousand, and perhaps not above two hundred thousand, at the time of the first European settlements” (p. 48). “It seems strange that so few, and these few savages, should have exercised so great an influence upon so many, and these many civilized” (p. 49). Perhaps the strangeness is explained by a gross underestimate of American Indians. The numbers of Indians seemed to increase when military reports were made (O’Connell, 1992, p. 69). Eliot concludes his chapter on the Indian Races with a description of “The Country”. The country was wide enough for “many colonies, or many nations”. The vast reaches of the interior were still to be

discovered (p. 52). Even Doyle, the Englishman who gives a rather sophisticated account of the Indians at true first contact, describes the Indians as living in scattered fashion (Doyle, 1876, p. 17). McMaster notes that the Europeans found the country inhabited by people which had spread all over North and South America (1897, p. 66). Still, he notes

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that hardly any Indians were left in New England at the end of King Philip's War (p. 72). Ripath begins his book with a chapter called The Red Men. This seems to be the end of the American Indian for the author. In this chapter, he notes that the Indians east of the Mississippi were down to only to a few thousand (1876, p. 12). The chapter ends with an expression that the only hope for the Indian race lies with the civilized tribes in Indian Territory. "Most of the other tribes are rapidly approaching extinction" (p. 14). "The Saxon race has taken possession of the vast domain. To the prairies and forests, the hunting-grounds of his fathers, the Red man says farewell" (p. 14). This statement is an expression of the racist theories advanced during the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the level of science. Race was the classification system of mankind and such was not alterable. The white race was superior and it was natural that it dominates over the inferior. The disappearance of the Indian created melancholy, but was inevitable. (Elson, 1964, pp. 65-71; Appendix 3)

The textbooks gave degrading descriptions of American Indians. "Savages" was an extremely popular term for Eggleston (1888, pp. 31, 36, 72, 87, 124, 215, 368). Indians were also ignorant, naked, wild, dreaded, treacherous, tricky, fierce, rash, warlike, and cruel (pp. 4, 79, 80, 87, 274, 367, 370). Graphic depictions of cruel Indians with their captives are depicted twice (pp. 146, 216). Ridpath described American Indian women as dreadful creatures who were beasts of burden (1876, p. 13). Interestingly, a communal

people are described as “unsocial” and “solitary”, preferring the woods over the wigwam and over the village. This inaccurate description reinforced the “barbarian” nature of these “primitive”, “wild”, and “feeble” people (pp. 11-13). Doyle classified three groups of Indians on North America: civilized, half-civilized, and savages, also known as Red

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Indians. Of course, most of the Indians in what became the United States were deemed savages (1876, pp. 8-9). The Red Indians were merciless, cruel, savage, and warlike (pp. 19, 114, 234). For McMaster, the American Indian was naked, cowardly weak, treacherous, vengeful, cruel, full of vices, and war lovers (1897, pp. 68-69). One of the more interesting degrading descriptions is shown by a suggested blackboard illustration at the end of Eggleston’s chapter entitled “The Great Charter of Virginia, and the First Massacre by the Indians” (1888, p.34, Appendix 4). On the left vertical is “Idleness and Misery”, on the right vertical is “Industry and Plenty”. At the top is “Land”. Under this category to the left is “undivided” and on the right is “separately owned”. The next category is “Labor”. On the left is “For a common stock”, and on the right is “Each for himself”. The next category is “Living”. On the left is “From a common store”; on the right is “From one’s own purse”. Thus, a society that holds land in common, that works for the common good, and draws from the common good is bad. But a selfish society that divides land and works and gives only for oneself is good. In fact, “History Teaches” this is at the bottom and the history taught from this book is genuine and correct according to its own words.

Even when the Indian is ordained with favorable descriptions, it is for the purpose of American nationalism. The Indian may be savage, but he is the best example of man in

nature (Elson, 1964, pp. 71-72). McMaster exemplifies this when he describes the Indians as ‘most expert woodmen’. Whites were amazed at how the Indian followed the trail, made various animal sounds, and could quietly stalk game. Yet, vices were associated with all this skill and bravery. (1897, p. 69).

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The textbooks complain of fighting the Indian way. Many of the disparaging descriptions of the Indians were associated with the author’s disgust with the way the Indians fought. McMaster complains that even though a lover of war “the fair and honest fight had no charm for him” (1897, p 69). The Indian would not risk his own scalp to take a scalp. The Indians apparently fought by ambush or shot from behind a tree (p. 69). Eggleston complained that “the Indians would not stand still while the white men got ready to shoot” (1888, p. 86). The colonists learned to fight the Indian way including tricks such as wearing snow-shoes backwards (p. 87). These “long continued Indian wars” made the colonists “fierce and even cruel” (p.89). The Englishman Doyle describes that the Indians didn’t fight like civilized soldiers, “where only one man in a thousand has to think” because the Indian fought in small groups where “everything lay in outwitting and surprising the enemy” (1876, p.19). For Indians, the ruler needed more than strength and courage, but wit also. The tribes often had two chiefs, one for peace and one for war. Those with wisdom could rule, even women (p. 19). The insinuation is that egalitarian societies where position is truly based on merit are not civilized. Comparing the massive slaughter involved in European wars verse the limited nature of American Indian warfare; one is compelled to wonder about the advantages of having soldiers that think as opposed to merely take orders (Axtell, 1981, p139). William Apess reminds us that the Indians

first principle of war was to do the most harm to the enemy with the least harm to themselves (O'Connell, 1992, p.65). The Indian officer earned his position by merit based partly upon the ability to save their own men (p. 71).

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The textbooks fail to account for the great variety of American Indian. Eggleston's chapter on "How the Indians Lived" recognizes that there are "many tribes" which greatly downplays the tremendous linguistic, physical, social, and cultural variety of the American Indian. This is especially true when his next sentence is that the "Indian is of a brown or copper color, with black eyes and straight hair" (1888, p. 71). The rest of the chapter goes on to explain how "the Indian" dresses, cooks, makes canoes, and other activities. McMaster begins his chapter "The Indians" with a photo captioned "A Typical Indian" (1897, p. 66; Appendix 5). While he admits of "Three Indian Races" he then proceeds to explain how similarly bad they were (pp. 68-69). Eliot notes "four grand divisions" among the Indians, but then goes on to say the only difference was the extent of agriculture and speaks of Indians as one and similar (1874, pp. 48-52). The organizations of their texts, which isolate the discussion of Indians into a chapter essentializes them.

Miscellaneous remarks on the textbooks. The texts are also important for what they often leave unsaid. For instance, many wars simply start when the Indians attack. No mention is made of why they attack. Concerning the Trail of Tears, Eggleston has nothing. Eliot says that the "unhappy Indians...that could be persuaded to move, were gradually transported to more distant territories in the west" (1874, p. 362). For

McMaster, the Indians pretty much disappeared early in the 1800's and are mentioned again when Oklahoma Territory was created from part of Indian Territory (1897, p.458). Ridpath notes that the "Cherokees were transferred to their new homes in the west" (1876, p. 272). Many other examples of special selectivity could be discussed, but for

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space constraints. This short examination of the texts provides sufficient information to understand the broader considerations of textbooks as areas of contest.

### The Authors

Textbooks are authored by real people with real interests (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 2). The real authors discussed below were white and of privileged class. This is not to suggest that they merely reproduced the symbolic representations of the dominant group. Texts are areas of contestation. Authors often reflect the educated, liberal philosophy and contest pure market driven ideology (Apple, 1991, p. 34). The authors below are educated, wealthy, and often have charitable goals and activities. They have their own "contradictory consciousness" (p. 34). While each is different individually, they all speak from the fish bowl of white privilege and dominance.

Edward Eggleston's mother was the daughter of an Indian fighter. His father was a lawyer and politician and graduate of William and Mary and belonged to a Virginia family of importance since colonial days. Born on the Indiana frontier in 1837, he became a Bible agent and Methodist minister before becoming a journalist and fiction writer. (Malone, 1933, vol. 6, pp. 52-53)

John Ridpath was also born on the so-called Indiana frontier in 1840 to parents “of more than average culture”. He graduated Indiana Asbury University and became a teacher and administrator before returning as a professor at his alma mater as history and belles-lettres professor. His style was popular and his books sold very well, even if he did

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not exercise scholarly care. (Malone, 1933, vol. 15, p. 599) Sales seem to drive content to some degree and perhaps more than accuracy.

John McMaster was born in Brooklyn to his planter-banker father in 1852. His paternal grandfather came from England in 1796 and was shop owner (Malone, 1933, vol. 12, pp. 140-141). He graduated with a B.A. from the College of the City of New York and remained another year to study English. He spent time making maps for General Sheridan in the early 1870’s before earning an engineering degree and practicing engineering. While a professor of engineering at the College of New Jersey, he literally penned *The History of the People of the United States*. Appleton and Co. reluctantly published from the long-hand manuscript in 1883. The books sold well and served as the basis for his textbook. He became professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania for 37 years. His history was criticized by some for the lack of hero worship. Even the “fervent patriotism” and “strong nationalistic spirit” of his history, did not satisfy some. He sold more than two and half million copies of the textbooks which were graded to meet the needs of pupils from primary to high school. (p. 141). We are reminded of the “public”, imagined or real, that is of import in publishing. We can speculate whether the books would have sold so well without the “fervent patriotism” and “strong nationalistic

spirit”. Did the author know the answer and thus include these elements? Is this an example of the censorship of profitability (Apple, 1991, p.31)?

Samuel Eliot was “a Boston gentleman of the old school” (Malone, 1933, vol. 6, p.81). Born to wealth in 1821, he graduated first in his class at Harvard in 1839 and traveled in Europe from time to time (p. 80). After serving as professor and then

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president of Trinity College, he devoted his life to educational, religious, and charitable institutions. He even served as headmaster of Girl’s High and Normal School and superintendent of the city schools (p. 81).

John Doyle was of sufficient means that he never had to earn a living. He was the only child of a newspaper editor and the heir to Sir John Easthope. Educated at Eton and Oxford, the Englishman studied the history of the United States and probably only visited the United States once. He lived with his parents in a house they had built for most of his young life and remained in the house upon their deaths. His writing is described as containing relatively detached judgments (Matthew & Harrison, 2004). Perhaps this is why the publisher in his 1876 textbook found it necessary to proclaim that the “work, though it may conflict at points with our national prepossessions, and may, in specific matters, use rules of criticism that we are slow to apply to our own case” still enjoys a breadth and a freedom from bias unlike “a writer at home” (1876, preface). Minor editing did not change the author’s judgments, but the book is “an outside view of the United States” (preface).

This remarkable preface reminds us that textbooks have ideology. Texts represent the complex interplay between author, publisher, and a real or imagined public. The market,

both in its financial and political aspects, is omnipresent. Censorship does not have to be overt. The desire to be popular and make money from sale creates a censorship of profitability (Apple, 1991, 1931).

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### The Publishers and the Market

The prime function of book publishing has always been to earn the producers a living (Apple, 1991, p. 25). The book market is fickle and uncertain. The industry is decentralized with operations of mixed mass-production and craft. Somewhat like the authors, book producers are poised between the demands of commerce and the responsibilities as guardians of the national symbolic culture (Coser, Kadushin, & Powell, 1982, p. 3). And as we have seen with the authors, publishers have historically published books to satisfy a public at a competitive price (Febve & Martin, 1976, p. 109). Interestingly, the printing press and the rise of publishing companies increased volume, but increased selectivity. Essentially, publishers commit to that which is already popular (p. 109). In textbook publishing, this is played out by the desire to produce a limited number of large sellers at comparatively high prices. To do this, publishers need to produce texts with standard content that with minor adjustments can be sold for years to come (Coser, Kadushin, & Powell, 1982, p. 190). Standard content is that which is not controversial for the dominant ideology. The result was bland, rather homogenous books designed not to offend the particular taste, prejudices, and desires of the local politicians that selected the textbooks (Isser & Schwartz, 1985, p.103).

After the Civil War, competition between publishers of textbooks was intense. With “battling armies of competing agents and many scandalous practices surrounding school-book adoption”, publishers strongly felt the pressures of the market (Wolfe, 1981, p. 262). Publisher had various long-standing means or reducing competition. The courtesy principle was widely accepted. This principle reduced competition by giving the first

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American appropriator of a foreign work, the rights to exclusively publish it. This was not a legal mechanism of enforcement, but one between publishers (Madison, 1966, p. 21). Appleton and Co. joined with four other textbook publishers in 1890 to form the American Book Co (Dzwonkoski, 1986, p.26). The goal was to reduce competition. The belief was that efficiencies could be gained and prices reduced (Wolfe, 1981, p. 262). American Book Company was accused of “monopolistic practices, bribery, threats, and intimidation” (p. 263). Appleton published Eggleston’s History text in 1888.

Henry Holt and Co. published Doyle’s history text in 1876. Holt is famous for being one of the first publishers that started without first owning a printing shop or book store first (Dzwonkoski, 1986, p.205). Holt was a strong promoter of publishing as a profession rather than a pure commercial enterprise and pushed for concepts such as the courtesy principle to restrict competition (Madison, 1966, p. 21). He had been president of the American Publishers Association when it was declared an illegal restraint of trade. Textbooks provided Holt’s major source of profit (Dzwonkoski, p.207).

Trade restrictions were not successful in barring entry into textbook publishing. Macmillan and Co. established an education department in 1894. By 1920, textbooks provided half the company’s income (Dzwonkoski, 1986, p.291). In 1897, Macmillan

published Harvard Professor Channing's *A Students History of the United States*. This book was published only seven short years after the 1890 census declared the frontier closed. With no frontier and Indians children being assimilated through boarding schools, there was little need to dwell on the Indian. Channing has no index listing for Indian, no

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chapter on Indians, and makes scant reference to Indians. Those scant references indicate how just the whites were to Indians (pp. 66, 117).

#### Politics, Law, Policy, Scholarship, and History

The absence of Indians in later texts is not surprising when we consider that the 1890 census had declared the frontier closed. Historian Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis of 1893 changed the study of history, but also indicated the closing of the first period of American history. For if it was European interaction with the frontier that transformed people into Americans, the question then remained about what would transform and define a people without the frontier. For historians and others, the Indian question was answered by simply not asking it. (Conn, 2004, pp. 220-226) The drawing of a frontier line on maps was no longer necessary. The implication in early maps was that the Indians and Whites were separated into wilderness and settled-civilized areas by a real line. Maps are a tool to marginalize and erase. Early maps emphasized a vast empty land; later maps showed the frontier line. Channings's 1897 map stressed the density of the settled United States with all parts shaded (1897, p. 582). Indians received so much attention from scholars and writers and were included in early textbooks because they

were seen. Indians and whites interacted on a daily basis for most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Indians were everywhere (Conn, 2004, p. 2). By the late 1800's, authors noted that Indians were not seen. The massacre of Indians at Wounded Knee in 1890, which effectively ended a generation of warfare, caused many to believe that the Indian problem had been solved (p.2). So it is not surprising that W.E.B. DuBois would write in 1903

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that the problem of the 20<sup>th</sup> century would be the black-white color line. The Indian became invisible (p. 1). Textbooks began to reflect this consciousness. Earlier textbooks reflected the so-called scientific race theories. The classification scheme of race was rigid and immutable. Classification included a ranking of races (Elson, 1964, p. 65). This provided a claim of superiority and an excuse based on nature for the extermination of the Indian. With the role of textbooks in preparing the next generation of leaders, early textbooks prepared students to exterminate the Indians and later texts prepared them to ignore the Indians.

Connected to the intellectual developments are the political, legal, and economic developments. As white population increased, demand for land increased. The intellectual theories allowed for the removal of an inferior race. Different conceptions of land and natural resources were settled by race theory such that white views were superior. Are we surprised that Eggleston's blackboard depiction of land and individualism previously discussed appeared at essentially the same time as the General Allotment Act, commonly referred to as the Dawes Act? This law provided for allotment to individual Indians of tribal lands and allowed so-called excess lands to be made available to whites (Churchill & Morris, 1992, p.14). To complete the assimilation into

an individualized society, the Indian Education acts were passed in 1891 and 1893. These acts forced Indian parents to send their children to school. Gertrude Golden describes a principal of an Indian school driving out to Indian camps and taking Indian children from the arms of Indian parents (1954, p. 17). These laws followed the 1871 end to making treaties with Indian tribes. Before this, laws dealt with Indians as communal tribal

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entities. Making treaties and removal involved group to group interaction. The textbooks neglected the special federal-Indian relationship, but did tend to see Indians as communal groups even to the extent that some essentialized into the typical Indian. The changing legal environment is noted in the treatment of Indians in textbooks to one of almost complete absence.

## Conclusion

Textbooks provide the content of schooling and are important regardless of methodology. When combined with various methodologies, they can oppressively regulate conformity.

Textbooks are written by real people with real interests. While individually different, authors are often part of the dominant ideology even as they may contest certain parts of the dominant ideology. They and their texts often have contradictory consciousness. Authors imagine a public and exist within market forces.

Textbooks are part of a selective tradition which begins in the present where certain things are selected for value and emphasis governed by varying interests or power. Those interest and power select the history that is written. What is left out is as important as

what is said. Textbooks are symbolic representations of what and whose knowledge is valued and of the power structures within a society. They are cultural artifacts.

Readers are not mere passive receivers. They can accept the message at face value, negotiate the meaning, reject the message and reposition themselves in opposition, or some combination thereof. They bring their own stories, values, and beliefs to the text.

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Textbooks are economic commodities. Companies produce them for profit. Publishers face varying pressures from Bourdieu's two types of capital: symbolic and financial. The economic and political hands guide decision making. Textbooks are selected by committees and boards in a decentralized structure which necessitates not alienating many different individuals, but especially those of the dominant groups which serve on selection bodies. The market is focused on those with power to select rather than the students and the marginalized

Every one of these players and products exists within larger political, economic, religious, philosophical, and power fields. While independent of each other, they certainly exhibit what Bourdieu refers to as "homology" (Bourdieu, 1991). Thus, those with economic power do not necessarily control and dictate textbook production. For example, they may be challenged to some extent by an intellectual field. But this struggle takes place within a dominant discourse.

The history textbooks examined in this article were used at a time when great reliance was placed on the text. Unprepared teachers regulated body and mind by combining text and physical methodologies. For the Indian student, the regulation was extreme. They were written by privileged white men of means who imagined a public and the market.

By their own admissions, authors selected materials for inclusion. By their own words, we may judge the “genuiness” of their selections. They wrote for the market of local school boards and selection committees made up of the colonizers. Publishers sought profit. This meant they needed a standardized, uncontroversial work that could be sold over the long haul with perhaps only a few additions along the way. All of these factors

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lead to the treatment and representation of the Indian as noble savage, inferior, and naturally on the way to extinction from a superior race. Generations of white children were taught of their superiority. These children became the nation’s leaders. Generations of Indian children were taught the inferiority of Indians and their culture. The historian’s pen slandered these children. Let this accounting of the past serve to remind us to examine our present to see what might yet be done differently.

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