

Pride and Prejudice: Treatment of Immigrant Groups in United States History Textbooks, 1890-1930

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Between 1881 and 1890 more than five million immigrants entered the United States. The decade marked the beginning of a period of unprecedented growth in the number of newcomers arriving on America's shores. Indeed, between 1890 and 1930 approximately twenty four million immigrants poured on to the nation's soil continually adding to the rich and complex mix of American humanity. The impact of mass immigration on public education was profound. By 1909, for example, when the U. S. Immigration Commission investigated the ethnic origins of students in thirty seven of the nation's largest cities, officials discovered more than sixty nationalities and noted that 57.8% were of foreign-born parentage. In some of the major cities the percentage was even higher. In New York it was a staggering 72%; in Chicago, 67%; in Boston, 64%; in Cleveland, 60%, and in San Francisco, 58%. From 1899 to 1914 school enrollment in New York City increased by more than sixty percent. Some school classrooms choked with sixty to eighty students of various nationalities, while others were forced to deny admission to children due to the acute lack of space.¹

In response to this period of intense immigration American educators considered a variety of educational solutions. In particular, three distinctive approaches emerged. The first alternative considered was to divest recent arrivals of their native culture and compel them to conform to the "virtues" of Anglo-Saxon traditions. This position was persuasively encapsulated by Ellwood P. Cubberly of Stanford University who declared in 1909 that the primary task of educators was "to assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of our American race, and to impart in their children...the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government." As a representative of the dominant culture Cubberly's values were accepted as the norm; the burden of change clearly rested with the immigrant groups.²

Others, particularly those originally born outside the United States, questioned this narrow conception of the American identity preferring instead to adopt the metaphor of the "melting pot" popularly characterized in Israel Zangwill's 1909 play. In this alternative version America was portrayed as "God's crucible." A land in which the best traits

of various ethnic groups would be fused together to fashion a new and celebratory American identity.³ A third approach, offered by a small group intellectuals and educators, involved building an educated society based upon the ideals of "cultural pluralism." The essence of this position was that minority groups would be encouraged to pursue their own unique traditions as they simultaneously contributed to a broader America society. In contrast to the assimilationist or "melting pot" theory, cultural pluralism determined that individual ethnic identities would be valorized and not diluted.

Although none of these alternative visions of American society was entirely accepted by all educators in the United States, for the most part the precepts of Anglo-conformity dominated American education in the first half of the twentieth century. In keeping with a robust tradition established for more than two centuries the schoolroom was not viewed as a place to legitimate diversity or to celebrate multiculturalism. Rather, its primary function was to impose an orthodox set of traditions and values typically prescribed by a white, Protestant, elite. An important aspect of this function was to impress on children a Eurocentric vision of a unified nation, a common set of values, and a shared national identity.

As a consequence, in the decades surrounding World War I schools were charged to maintain the established order through a policy of "Americanization." Underlying this policy was the widely held belief that the sooner immigrants shed their "alien" skin the sooner they could be embraced as true "Americans." No place existed for distinctive ethnic groups. President Wilson's address to new citizens underscored this fundamental conviction. "You cannot become thorough Americans if you think of yourselves in groups," he told his audience in Philadelphia in May 1915. "America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American."⁴

Of particular concern to those in the mainstream was the flood of immigrants who arrived from southern and eastern Europe. Between 1880 and 1914 approximately 22 million Russians, Poles, Bohemians, Slovaks, Greeks and Rumanians entered the United States. Their tendency to settle in urban

areas and their contrasting lifestyles, mores, and political orientations troubled the Protestant elite. "These southern and eastern Europeans are from a very different type from the northern Europeans who preceded them," Ellwood P. Cubberly remarked in 1909. "Illiterate, docile, lacking in self-reliance and initiative, and not possessing the Anglo-Teutonic conceptions of law and order, and government, their coming has served to dilute tremendously our national stock, and to corrupt our civil life."⁵ Sharing Cubberly's fears many educators throughout the United States wrestled with the burning dilemma of how best to "Americanize" new arrivals.

In many respects "Americanization" was a complex process enacted differently in differing contexts and historical settings. At its most fundamental level the policy involved educating children to master the English language. However, with the onset of World War I greater attention was paid to inculcating immigrants with a sense of American pride and patriotic loyalty. Not without coincidence the years immediately following the Great War witnessed a bevy of "Americanization laws" passed at the state level variously calling for the establishment of classes in "citizenship," "the fundamentals of the Constitution," and "American institutions and ideals."⁶

The process of Americanization, however, went well beyond the traditional boundaries of the schoolroom. In New York City, for example, teachers found themselves giving hundreds of baths each week to lice-ridden immigrant children.⁷ Historian David Tyack further noted how,

Textbooks for immigrants stressed cleanliness to the point of obsession, implying that the readers had never known soap, a toothbrush, or a hairbrush. The California Immigration Commission primer for immigrant women declared: 'Dirty windows are bad; 'A dirty sink is bad; 'A dirty garbage can is bad.' It went on to tell mothers to send their children to school, clean and on time: 'Do not let your child be tardy. If you do, when he grows up he will be late at his work. Thus he will lose his job, and always be poor and miserable.'⁸

As never before the curriculum expanded to include lessons in manners, cleanliness, dress, cooking, and how to get along with fellow students.

Although the desire to impress upon children an orthodox view of American identity permeated the curriculum, the history classroom often was considered the primary place for educators to mold students' appreciation of their national heritage and what it meant to be an American. For history teachers and authors of history textbooks in this period of mass immigration important questions arose: What history should be told? Or, perhaps more importantly, *whose* history should be told? How should the experiences of various ethnic groups be portrayed? Did a common American identity exist? And, if it did, how should this "shared" national identity and experience be presented in history classrooms?

Significantly, to understand how textbook writers in the years from 1890 to 1930 responded to these questions also is to appreciate the dominant values and ideology of the age. Furthermore, to examine the ways in which national identity was presented in school textbooks offers an opportunity to appreciate how certain societal forces validated the historical contributions of identified groups over the claims of others.

The influence of the history textbook in shaping how children came to understand their past and what it meant to be "an American" should not be underestimated. Scholars have long noted the central place of the history textbook in classroom instruction. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for example, apart from the Bible, the most widely read texts were schoolbooks written by an assortment of amateurs who, no matter how ill qualified to do so, helped to create and solidify an idealized image of the American type.⁹ Unquestionably, the most widely circulated textbooks of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were Noah Webster's *Elementary Spelling Book* and William Holmes McGuffey's *Readers*.¹⁰ First appearing in 1783 Webster's *Speller* sold over 20 million copies in 60 years. In 1828 alone 350,000 editions were purchased and two decades later sales had approached a million copies a year. The McGuffey *Reader* enjoyed similar success selling over 122 million copies in the years following 1836. Dominating American education in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these books stressed the Puritanical virtues of honesty, truth, temperance, obedience, industry, and thrift. Their moral catechisms were memorized by young Americans throughout the nation and they set the tone for books in other areas of the curriculum.

By the end of the nineteenth century so distinguishing was the heavy reliance on the textbook that Europeans characterized it "the American system."¹¹ The reasons for this slavish devotion to the textbook were simple to understand. At the turn of the twentieth century few teachers were educated beyond the high or grammar school level. Faced with the daunting prospect of teaching classes of up to 60 students in more than ten separate subject areas teachers understandably took refuge in the security of approved texts.¹² One educational administrator in Kentucky who decried the "poorly prepared corps of teachers" in state schools echoed the concerns of others when he reasoned that the only viable solution was to equip teachers with the best possible textbooks. "The poorer the teacher, the better the textbooks need to be."¹³

Large publishing houses quickly recognized educators' increasing need for school textbooks. By 1900, enrollment in high school had doubled from the previous decade and new schools were appearing at the average rate of one per day.¹⁴ Understandably, publishers eagerly responded to the attraction of such a rapidly expanding market. At the end of the nineteenth century, five large houses including A. S. Barnes,

Appleton and Co, and Harper Bros. combined their textbook offerings to form the American Textbook Company.¹⁵ The consolidated company controlled 80% of the market and determined the content of virtually every subject in the curriculum.

In many respects the period from 1900 to 1930 signified the heyday of American history textbook writing.¹⁶ Written by professional historians credited with a flair for reaching young audiences, several of the textbooks written in this period dominated history instruction in schools into the 1950s and beyond. Not surprisingly, therefore, when, in 1935, Professor Thomas Briggs of Teacher's College, Columbia focused on the instructional habits of 104 of the "best teachers" in New York City suburban schools he concluded that the vast majority continually engaged in traditional recitation and that 80 percent were "teaching from the textbook."¹⁷

Of course as Michael Apple and Linda Christian-Smith note "we cannot assume that what is 'in' the text actually is taught. Nor can we assume that what is taught is actually learned."¹⁸ Teachers and students always have constructed their own meanings out of textual materials. How students and teachers understand, negotiate, and transform their personal understandings of textual material is a complex process which defies simple interpretation. Nevertheless, all available evidence suggests that historically the influence of the textbook is profound.¹⁹

Textbooks not only illustrate the historical content transmitted to the young, but they also offer a window into the dominant values and beliefs of established groups in any given period. Textbooks are socially constructed cultural, political, and economic, artifacts. Their contents are not pre-ordained but are "conceived, designed, and authored by real people with real interests."²⁰ For this reason study of major history textbooks written between 1890 and 1930 offers a fascinating insight into the ideological and epistemological perspectives which dominated American education at the time of mass immigration. More specifically, by looking at school history textbooks we are better able to appreciate the explicit messages sent to America's children, whether immigrant or native born. Indeed, we are able to ascertain, in some measure at least, how prevailing societal attitudes towards immigrants were systematically reinforced in the history classroom.

Portrayal of Immigrants in US History Textbooks, 1890-1930

Arguably the most representative history textbook of the early twentieth century was *American History*, authored by David Saville Muzzey, professor of history at Columbia University, New York. First published in 1911, the text immediately became a best seller. In subsequent decades Muzzey's books out sold all competitors. It represented the

standard historical diet for the majority of American school children from the days of the horse and buggy to those of the jet aircraft.²¹ Incredibly, Muzzey's book, which was still available in the 1970s, remained largely unaltered at the time of his death in the 1960s.

Like most other textbook writers of this period, Muzzey was a product of New England patrician society. Born in Massachusetts in 1870 he descended from a line of preachers and teachers who could proudly trace their roots back to the Puritans. In both heritage and outlook Muzzey symbolized the tradition of the WASP intellectual elite. As others have noted, to Muzzey and other educators of his ilk, "Eurocentricism was not an intellectual position but a serene certainty."²² Muzzey's old world biases littered the pages of his textbooks. As a representative of most textbook writers of the era, his literary treatment of immigrant groups proved particularly revealing.

In general, Muzzey portrayed immigrants not blessed with Anglo-Saxon blood as a "problem" for America. They fell outside the purview of what Muzzey considered to be "we Americans" and were constantly referred to as an unassimilable "they." Accordingly, Muzzey perpetuated the fear that "they" threatened to become "an undigested and indigestible element of our body politic, a constant menace to our free institutions." Read by native born and immigrant alike, Muzzey's textbooks constantly reminded children of the threat that "aliens" represented to American life. Various, immigrants were chastised for falling "prey to the manipulations of political bosses," for presenting "problems for agencies of Americanization," and for turning cities into "breeding places of crime."

Muzzey's best selling textbook referred to new arrivals from southern and eastern Europe as a "redundant and ill-digested population" and eagerly pointed out the burden that they placed on existing American citizens. In particular, Muzzey claimed that immigrants were responsible for huge city debt and for "taxing the middle class out of existence." As evidence he noted that cities were increasingly pressurized to undertake burdensome social services and appeared troubled by the fact that "the poorest immigrant [could] have optical or dental treatment at the free clinics, a bed in the free hospital wards, the free use of parks, playgrounds, baths, and art museums." However, what concerned Muzzey, and others of his ilk, most was the frightening prospect that unabated immigration might lead to social and political upheaval within the United States.²³

The following passage from a 1927 edition of Muzzey's *The American Adventure* typified his pessimistic portrayal of immigrant people and underscores the suspicion and distrust of immigrants so prevalent in the early decades of this century:

The aliens were coming faster than we could assimilate them. They were bringing from centers of social turmoil and proletarian revolution ideals which were repugnant to an orderly freedom and the voluntary respect for the law.... There were Polish, Hungarian, Russian unions in our labor organizations, with their interest and sympathies primarily with the fortunes of the lands from which they had come. There were communists who "took their orders from Moscow" and set the Russian soviet above the American Constitution. Over one thousand newspapers printed in thirty foreign languages were in circulation. Eleven percent of the population over ten years of age could not speak the English language. Great numbers of immigrants showed no desire to acquire American citizenship. The unassimilated and unassimilable elements of our population were growing to alarming proportions."²⁴

As this extract graphically illustrated what also troubled Muzzey was the way in which Anglo-Saxon traditions either were being ignored or diluted. To preserve the purity of the American race Muzzey clearly believed that some immigrants were more desirable than others. Topping the list were those of northern European Protestant stock. Others were less welcome. To Muzzey, for example, "the Chinese remained orientals, unassimilable, with furtive traits and incomprehensible habits."²⁵

Not surprisingly Muzzey's texts celebrated the principle of introducing legislation, chiefly established in the 1920s, to restrict immigration. He was, however, less enthusiastic about the specifics of these acts which favored those peoples who immigrated after 1910. Muzzey lamented that good citizens from "Denmark, Sweden and Holland, who sent us fewer immigrants after the opening of the twentieth century" would lose out to "immigrants of questionable desirability" who "flooded the county in more recent times."²⁶

Not only were Muzzey's prejudicial attitudes towards immigrants shared by other textbook authors of the era, they were also built upon the racial legacy of textbook writers of the nineteenth century. Most history textbook writers of the nineteenth century held views predicated upon the underlying assumption that some nationalities, races, and civilizations were innately superior to others. In particular geography and history textbooks propagated the widely accepted scientific theories of race expounded by Joseph Gobineau, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, John Calhoun, and George Fitzhugh.²⁷ Central to their belief was the notion that nature had conferred certain immutable characteristics on each member of a racial group. According to the theorists the white or Caucasian race was considered the paragon of all races: intellectually, morally, and physically superior to all others. Throughout the nineteenth century, geography and history textbooks pushed these racial theories on the young. Typically, children were required to memorize these "inherent" racial characteristics and rank them in an established hierarchy. In descending order of racial worth the Caucasian

always appeared at the top commonly followed by the Mongolian, the Malaysian, the Negro, and the American Indian.²⁸

Children also learned to appreciate that nationality, like race, presupposed certain biologically determined qualities. Some nationalities were, therefore, considered inexorably superior and hence more desirable than others. Of course, the portrayal of national groups in America textbooks was not objectively considered. Instead, the superiority of a particular race was determined by the extent to which each national group mirrored the ideals of a staunchly Protestant New England society. Those nations which promoted a temperate, frugal, moral, well educated, and religiously sober citizenry were held as prototypes for American civilization.

What emerged, therefore, from nineteenth century textbooks were very crude and racially divisive estimations of different national groups. As Ruth Elson's richly detailed study of nineteenth century texts illustrated, northern European groups such as the Scots, the Swiss, the English, and the Germans were particularly favored.

In contrast to the positive representation of northern Europeans and Protestant nations, Catholic countries and nations from southern Europe were treated with varying degrees of disdain. For example, one textbook written in 1844 proved representative of others in according certain national traits to selected national groups:

The Irish in general are quick of apprehension, active, brave, and hospitable; but passionate, ignorant, vain and superstitious....

The Italians are affable and polite; they excel in music, painting and sculpture; but they are effeminate, superstitious, slavish and revengeful.²⁹

Nations beyond Europe also fell victim to the jaundiced views of American textbook writers of the nineteenth century. For example, Latin Americans were regarded as "naturally weak and effeminate," dedicating "the greatest part of their lives to loitering and inactive pleasures."³⁰ The Chinese suffered similar indignities. Chinese immigrants who settled on the west coast in the post Civil War period received particularly vicious treatment. Children learned through texts written in the 1880s that in San Francisco the Chinese live "huddled together in hovels, almost like rats" and that in Chinatown "one may see opium dens, idol temples, theatres, dirt, squalor and wickedness."³¹

The extent to which American children readily accepted the bigoted perspectives offered by textbooks is difficult to ascertain. However, unlike children today who have many alternative sources of information, students in the nineteenth century were captive to the texts unquestioned authority. Children influenced by the texts central message that some people were destined to prevail over others no doubt would question the incessant arrival of immigrants from Asia and

southern Europe; would consider the Negro unfit to adopt an equal place in American civilization; and would reject the efficacy of amalgamating undesirable alien traits into an "American melting pot."

The dawning of the twentieth century did nothing to arrest the racial legacy of previous generations. To be sure, history textbook writers and educators of the early twentieth century continued the accepted tradition of elevating the status of selected ethnic groups to the determinant of others. Echoing the jaundiced opinions of David Saville Muzzey, other prominent textbook writers solidified the belief that some immigrant groups were more acceptable than others. For example, at a time when hordes of immigrants poured into the United States, textbook authors keenly celebrated their ancestry. Children learned that the success of America was founded on the desirable qualities of northern European civilization. *History of Our Country*, published in 1923 by the hugely influential American Book Company, for example, devoted an entire section to "our debt to the northern races" and appeared particularly eager to herald America's English ancestry and the "thrifty, hard working, and God fearing" nature of their forefathers.³² In a similar vein, Willis Mason West's *American History and Government* heroically described British settlers on the frontier as "sinewy of frame, saturnine, restless, and dauntless of temper."³³ As educators wrestled to define what an American was or was not, textbook authors increasingly emphasized their English roots. As Frances FitzGerald noted,

In their discussion of exploration and colonization, they gave far greater space and approval to Sir Francis Drake than to any of the other explorers except Columbus, and they concentrated on the English colonists to the near exclusion of the French, the Spanish, and the Dutch.... They viewed the colonies as extension of England into the New World, and they looked on the American Revolution as a matter of practical politics more than anything else.³⁴

Authors routinely shared Muzzey's concern that unabated immigration both threatened tradition and polluted the quality of American stock. One text suggested that just as the United States "excludes foreign horses, cattle, and sheep that are not sound and healthy," so too should immigrants be carefully screened and selected.³⁵ Others talked of "race suicide" and were critical of the dramatic increase in non-Anglo immigrants. They also lamented the "rapid decrease in the birthrate of families of the older American stocks (especially of the New England stock)."³⁶

Without exception textbooks written in the first decades of the twentieth century focused on the changing character of America's new arrivals. In *An American History*, published in 1911, Muzzey noted with approval that "before 1880 four fifths of all immigrants originated from Canada and the northern countries of Europe." He described these immigrants as

"a most welcome addition to our population" and heralded the fact that they were "allied to us in blood, language, customs, religions, and political ideas."³⁷ In a similar fashion Halleck cherished the arrival of these "good races that had left their mark on the history of the world."³⁸ In contrast, however, textbook writers proved exceedingly alarmed by the rapid influx of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe which occurred in the decades following 1880. Muzzey appeared horrified that the Germans, Swedes, and English rapidly were being replaced by hordes of "Hungarians, Poles, Russians, Italians and other peoples of southern and eastern Europe."³⁹ West additionally pointed out that, whereas in 1880 these immigrants only constituted one twentieth of all immigrants, in 1900 they made up one fourth and he further lamented that these immigrants were "illiterate," "unskilled," and accustomed to a "low standard of living."⁴⁰

Textbooks written in this era commonly accepted and perpetrated the widely held belief that rapid immigration constituted a menacing problem for the United States. To a limited extent, Charles and Mary Beard's *History of the United States* deviated from convention. Rather than placing the blame for mass immigration on the immigrant groups, their textbook was at pains to point out that, in a hunger for profits, American "captains of industry" had actively recruited foreigners because they represented a source of "cheap and abundant labor."⁴¹ However, this somewhat unconventional interpretation, did not disguise the authors' genuine concerns about the literacy rate of new arrivals who, they suggested, knew nothing "of American history, traditions, and ideals."⁴²

A striking feature of all textbooks written in this era was their unequivocally negative view of American immigration in the period from 1890 to 1930. William C. Doub's *A History of the United States* proved typical of the age. Doub appeared concerned about the impossibility of assimilating non-Anglo aliens into American customs and ideals and claimed that, overall, immigrants who arrived in the United States in the years since 1900 produced an "undesirable effect on social conditions."⁴³ Waddy Thompson's *A History of the People of the United States*, published in 1919 by D. C. Heath and Company, offered an even more severe indictment of mounting immigration. Thompson's book spoke of "ignorant foreigners" "undesirable arrivals," and "immigrants...of low intelligence." In keeping with the sentiments other textbook authors, Thompson pointed out that the "influx of so many undesirables" presented the republic with two main problems.⁴⁴

First, Thompson argued that foreign immigrants would not only weaken the social fabric of American society, but that they would also reduce the wages of American workers. Claiming that illiterate and "ignorant foreigners...would work for wages" that "no self-respecting American" would work for, Thompson's book served to reinforce anti-immigrant sentiment so prevalent in post-World War I American soci-

ety. Second, *A History of the People of the United States*, supported the conviction that the admission of arrivals into the United States potentially could lead to unsavory political agitation. Unapologetically, Thompson's text informed young readers that because southern and eastern Europeans were "downtrodden by tyrannical governments in the Old World," these immigrants were "suspicious of all governments [and were] consequently easily led by agitators."⁴⁵ Indeed, to ensure that children who read his text were left in no doubt that recent immigrants were not welcome, the only end of chapter question which focused on the topic required students to explain "why are so many of the immigrants who have come in recent years undesirable?"⁴⁶

In every respect, therefore, the most widely read textbooks published during the period from 1890 to 1930 informed young readers that continued immigration spelt trouble for American society. Specifically, textbook portrayals of immigrants reflected the widely held belief that newcomers were innately inferior; that to progress in America society immigrants must completely repudiate their native culture; and that the middle class standards of the WASP⁴⁷ establishment were the benchmarks against which all arrivals would be judged.

The consequences for young immigrants of this narrowly conceived perspective were no doubt profound. On the one hand, textbooks reinforced mainstream societal views that in order to be accepted in American society immigrants should renounce their personal history and at once submit to the demands of the "superior" Eurocentric culture. On the other hand, textbooks not only encouraged native born children to treat recent arrivals with suspicion and disdain, they also solidified the orthodox belief that children from established northern European backgrounds were morally and intellectually superior to their woefully inadequate classroom counterparts.

Essentially, therefore, US history textbooks written during the period from 1890 to 1930 continued to support the ideological perspectives of the Anglo-Saxon establishment.⁴⁸ Coursing through American history textbooks produced during this period was the strain of unceasing progress and of manifest destiny, a respect for individual rights and recognized authority, and a reflexive suspicion of collectivist and "alien" ideals. For the most part these history textbooks never were intended to promote reflective thought, to stimulate critical analysis, or to celebrate cultural diversity. The function of history in American schools essentially was to instill in the young a sense of unity and patriotism, a veneration for the nation's glorious Anglo-Saxon heritage, and a reverence for the Western canon. Almost without exception textbooks written in the period of intensive immigration between 1890 and 1930 supported this indelible and uncompromising tradition.

Footnotes

1. See, D. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA, 1974), 230-31; L. A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York, 1964), 72.
2. As cited in S. Rippa, *Education in a Free Society* (White Plains, NY, 1997), 138.
3. L. A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York, 1964), 68-69.
4. M. R. Olneck, "Americanization and the education of immigrants, 1900-1925: An analysis of symbolic action," *American Journal of Education*, 92 (1989), 402.
5. As cited in, L. A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York, 1964), 67-8.
6. B. L. Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States* (New York, 1926), 107.
7. L. A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York, 1964), 71.
8. D. Tyack, *The One Best System* (Cambridge, MA, 1974), 235-236.
9. R. Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln, NE, 1964), vii.
10. S. Rippa, *Education in a Free Society* (White Plains, NY, 1997), 60.
11. F. FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1980), 19.
12. L. Cuban, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1800-1990* (New York, 1993), 31.
13. M. W. Apple and L. K. Christian-Smith (ed. M. W. Apple and L. K. Christian-Smith), "The politics of the textbook," in *The Politics of the Textbook* (New York, 1991), 9.
14. L. Cuban, *How Teachers Taught* (New York, 1993), 31.
15. G. T. Sewall and P. Cannon, (eds. P. G. Altbach, G. P. Kelly, H. G. Petrie, L. Weis) "New world of textbooks: Industry consolidation and its consequences," in *Textbooks in American Society: Politics, Policy, and Pedagogy* (New York, 1991), 67.
16. F. FitzGerald, *America Revised* (New York, 1980), 52.
17. L. Cuban, *How Teachers Taught* (New York, 1993), 71.
18. M. W. Apple and L. K. Christian-Smith (ed. M. W. Apple and L. K. Christian-Smith), "The politics of the textbook," in *The Politics of the Textbook* (New York, 1991), 9.

19. As G. T. Sewall's 1987 study of American history textbooks neatly concluded, "To many teachers and almost all students, the textbook is taken to be a well of truthful and expert information. It creates a convenient armature on which the unpublished curriculum hangs. The examples, episodes, anecdotes, viewpoints, information, and data that a textbook contains will constitute the essential corpus of American history in the classroom where it is used." G. T. Sewall, *American History Textbooks: An Assessment of Quality* (New York, 1987), 61-62.
20. M. Apple, (eds. P. G. Altbach, G. P. Kelly, H. G. Petric, L. Weis) "Regulating the text: The socio-historical roots of state control," in *Textbooks in American Society: Politics, Policy, and Pedagogy* (New York, 1991), 2.
21. See, F. FitzGerald, *America Revised* (New York, 1980), 52, 58-60; G. B. Nash, C. Crabtree, and R. E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York, 1997), 26-27.
22. G. B. Nash, C. Crabtree, and R. E. Dunn, *History on Trial* (New York, 1997), 48.
23. D. S. Muzzey, *The American Adventure: A History of the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1927), 475.
24. D. S. Muzzey, *The American Adventure: A History of the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1927), 787.
25. *Ibid.*, 154. Muzzey's textbook also informed readers that, "Their quarters in Chinatown were squalid, reeking with opium and vice."
26. *Ibid.*, 788.
27. R. Elson, *Guardians of Tradition* (Lincoln, NE, 1964), 65.
28. *Ibid.*, 66-8.
29. M. L. Fell, *The Foundations of Nazism in American Textbooks, 1783-1860* (Washington DC, 1941), 157.
30. J. Garcia, "The changing image of ethnic groups in textbooks," *Phi Delta Kappa*, (September 1993).
31. R. Elson, *Guardians of Tradition* (Lincoln, NE, 1964), 164.
32. R. P. Halleck, *History of Our Country* (New York, 1923), 120.
33. W. M. West, *American History and Government* (Boston 1913), 146.
34. F. FitzGerald, *America Revised* (New York, 1980), 77.
35. R. P. Halleck, *History of Our Country* (New York, 1923), 528.
36. See, for example, W. M. West, *American History and Government* (Boston 1913), 653.
37. D. S. Muzzey, *An American History* (Boston, 1911), 622.
38. R. P. Halleck, *History of Our Country* (New York, 1923), 529.
39. D. S. Muzzey, *An American History* (Boston, 1911), 623.
40. W. M. West, *American History and Government* (Boston 1913), 653.
41. A. Beard and M. R. Beard, *History of the United States* (New York, 1921), 448.
42. A. Beard and M. R. Beard, *History of the United States* (New York, 1921), 607.
43. W. C. Doub, *A History of the United States* (Nashville, Tennessee, 1909), 413.
44. W. Thompson, *A History of the People of the United States* (Boston, 1919), 399.
45. W. Thompson, *A History of the People of the United States* (Boston, 1919), 399.
46. W. Thompson, *A History of the People of the United States* (Boston, 1919), 410.
47. White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant.
48. See, for example, L. A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York, 1964); David Tyack, *The One Best System* (Cambridge, MA, 1974); S. Ripka, *Education in a Free Society* (White Plains, NY, 1997); L. Cuban, *How Teachers Taught* (New York, 1993); M. R. Olneck, "Americanization and the education of immigrants, 1900-1925: An analysis of symbolic action," *American Journal of Education*, 79 (1989), 398-423.